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# The Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement: Findings from New Empirical Analysis

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## PART I

# The Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement: Findings from New Empirical Analysis

By Jeni Klugman\*

### ABSTRACT

*To date, research and analysis of the gendered dimensions of forced displacement have been limited. This Quarterly Digest highlights findings from a new, major World Bank Research Program which has sought to fill this important gap. The papers published from the Program include eight detailed country investigations and three multi-country studies covering 17 countries, and feature innovative methodological approaches, combining different sources of data to test hypotheses. The Digest presents the results over four main areas of research (poverty, livelihood, intimate partner violence, and gender norms), and concludes with a series of recommendations to improve the collection of data to investigate the intersectionality of gender and displacement. The Program's findings lend support to a number of expected patterns, like the disadvantages faced by displaced women in economic opportunities, but also reveal some counter-intuitive results in particular settings, underscoring the importance of country-specific analysis.*

### Introduction

While there have been welcome advances in global evidence and understanding about forced displacement, research and analysis of the gendered dimensions of

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\* Senior Adviser, Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement, The World Bank; Managing Director, Georgetown Institute of Women, Peace and Security, Georgetown University and Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution.

Keywords: Forced Displacement, Gender Dimensions, Poverty, Livelihood, Intimate Partner Violence, Gender Norms

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displacement have been limited. A major World Bank Research Program has sought to fill this important gap<sup>1</sup>. A series of papers were commissioned from leading experts—with eight detailed country investigations and three multi-country papers covering 17 countries—to address several key questions, namely:

- How does gender inequality affect the extent and patterns of different dimensions of poverty in forcibly displaced populations?
- How do conflict and displacement affect gender norms, and the prevalence of intimate partner violence and child marriage for women and girls?
- What are the implications for the design and implementation of policies and programs?

The [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement \(GDFD\) Research Program](#) reveals that much more can be done even with existing data, both to enrich our understanding of expected patterns of gender inequality, and to capture some counter-intuitive results. The analyses demonstrate how diverse data sources—ranging from well-known datasets such as the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), to more recently fielded labor market and household income and expenditure surveys purposely designed to include or study forcibly displaced persons (FDPs) (Brück and Stojetz, 2021)—can cast light on the gendered dimensions of forced displacement. This can be achieved when gender and displacement status are examined alongside such key variables as age and family structure, the duration of displacement, and so on.

Innovative methodological approaches, combining different sources of data to test hypotheses on the gendered dimensions of forced displacement, include the research on gender-based violence (GBV) which spatially links data from the Domestic Violence module of the DHS to the Armed Conflict Location and Events Database (ACLED) to allow conflict-affected communities to be identified and contrasted to communities that are not exposed to conflict (Kelly et al., 2021a; Ekhatior-Mobayode et al., 2020).

The GDFD's findings lend support to a number of expected patterns, like the disadvantages faced by displaced women in economic opportunities, but also highlight

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<sup>1</sup> This work is part of the program 'Building the Evidence on Protracted Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership'. The program is funded by UK Aid from the United Kingdom's Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO), it is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The scope of the program is to expand the global knowledge on forced displacement by funding quality research and disseminating results for the use of practitioners and policy makers. This work does not necessarily reflect the views of FCDO, the WBG or UNHCR.

some counter-intuitive results in particular settings, underscoring the importance of country-specific analysis. For example, in Darfur, Sudan, internally displaced (IDP) women work more than non-IDP women but are poorer, on average. We find that in Somalia—in a context of very high poverty rates—male-headed households are worse off than female-headed households overall, but that some types of female-headed households are the worst off. This points to the importance of going beyond household headship, a theme to which we return below.

## Poverty

New research emerging from the Program—multi-country studies of multidimensional poverty covering Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan (Admasu et al., 2021a; Admasu et al., 2021b), and monetary poverty analysis in Somalia and Jordan (Hanmer et al., 2020; Hanmer et al., 2021)—provides important insights into the nature and scale of deprivations facing displaced women and men, girls, and boys.

The overall finding is that displaced households are generally poorer than non-displaced households according to both multidimensional and income poverty measures. However, a portfolio of research approaches and, importantly, analysis at individual and household levels is needed to uncover gender-poverty links.

To pursue this aim, a tailored Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) (Adamsu et al., 2021b) at the household and individual levels was constructed to analyze the way gender, forced displacement, and multidimensional poverty intersect in Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan. The index encompasses measurements in several domains like housing, health, education, as well as some gender specific ones, like child marriage, that capture non-income dimensions of poverty. To varying extents across settings, the results reveal gender gaps in school attendance, primary school completion, employment, and access to legal identification—which can then be targeted by government policies and programs to improve the situation for those who are multidimensionally poor.

The findings suggest that displacement status is associated with deprivation status at household level, and gender has important impacts on individual deprivations within households. In fact, within households, gender emerges as an important predictive factor in chronic deprivation, like school completion. Among the multidimensionally poor, girls are less likely than boys to complete school—reflecting accumulated disadvantage over time. We also find that the gender of the household head is an indicator of deprivation in most but not all countries.

For monetary poverty, many of the differences in income poverty risk between IDPs and non-IDPs are associated with differences in household demographic characteristics and the gender and number of earners in the household. These, in turn, are often associated with household composition and gender roles.

One important implication of both the multidimensional and monetary poverty analysis is the need to go beyond the gender of the household head to comprehensively assess deprivation and poverty. For example, male-headed households are income poorer than female-headed households in both Somalia and Jordan. But gender influences poverty risk—for example, in Somalia single female caregivers, households with few working-age men, and IDP widows living outside IDP settlements are all high poverty risk categories. Having more income earners of either sex reduces poverty risk for IDP and non-IDP households alike. Interestingly, for IDP households, the largest decrease in poverty risk is associated with having more female earners, while having more male earners is associated with the lowest poverty risk for non-IDPs.

## Livelihoods

The Research Program studies on livelihoods cover diverse forced displacement settings: refugees in Ethiopia (Admasu, 2021) and protracted displacement of IDPs in Darfur, Sudan (Stojetz and Brück, 2021). Evidence from all the countries investigated demonstrates that substantial barriers constrain the economic opportunities of displaced women—most notably, limited education and care responsibilities. For example, among Ethiopian refugees, the livelihoods of men and women are impacted differently by displacement: adverse gender norms<sup>2</sup> result in women having fewer

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<sup>2</sup> Gender norms can be defined as the social rules and expectations deeming what are acceptable and appropriate behaviors and actions for men and women in a specific setting. See below for elaboration.

opportunities for economic advancement and bearing more care responsibilities at home. In Germany, Kenya, and Niger, when the International Rescue Committee (IRC) interviewed women refugees to better understand what was needed to improve livelihoods, the most cited needs included skills building and business support, expanded social networks for information sharing, safe spaces, access to childcare, and support from influential local authorities (IRC and WRC, 2021).

The drivers of these constraints vary across settings. Endowments, specifically lack of access to land, emerge as important in Ethiopia, while lack of education is critical in both Ethiopia and Darfur. Gender norms as well as factors like access to land shape access to paid work and self-employment versus agriculture in Darfur (with women working predominantly in family farms and businesses). In Turkey, recent analysis found that large-scale Syrian refugee inflows had negative associations with host women employment rates in sectors with high degrees of informality, such as agriculture and domestic services, where women tend to work (Erten and Keskin, 2021).

Some barriers are similar for displaced and non-displaced women. For example, female household headship increases the likelihood of women's employment for refugees and hosts in Ethiopia. Nonetheless, some differences emerge across different contexts. Interestingly, in Darfur displaced women are more likely to work than women in the host community, and while having women in paid work can reduce poverty risks (as found in Somalia, for example), there is also evidence that displaced women in paid work have low earnings.

The specific policy and programming implications will vary by context, although three directions emerge as critical across all the settings characterized by displacement. First, the importance of expanding access to safe and accessible education, as well as access to public technical and vocational training, which could include non-traditional occupations and skills to enable displaced women to run their own business<sup>3</sup>. Second, a full range of sexual and reproductive health services is needed to help women determine whether and when to have children. Third, access to affordable childcare services is critical in camps and host community neighborhoods.

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<sup>3</sup> For a recent review of education and displacement, see Abu-Ghaida, Dina and Karishma Silva. (2020). "Forced Displacement and Educational Outcomes: Evidence, Innovations, and Policy Indications", in Abu-Ghaida, D. and K. Silva. (eds.); World Bank - UNHCR Joint Data Center's Quarterly Digest on Forced Displacement, Second Issue. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group. <https://doi.org/10.47053/jdc.221220>



## Heightened risks of IPV

Most countries have laws in place prohibiting intimate partner violence (IPV), although prevalence remains high and, as outlined above, even worse among displaced women. The findings of the Program’s research in Colombia (Kelly et al., 2021a), Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (Kelly et al., 2021b), Nigeria (Ekhtator-Mobayode et al., 2021), Liberia (Kelly et al., 2021a), and Mali (Ekhtator-Mobayode et al., 2021), underline that IPV rates are significantly higher for women living in households in proximity to conflict, measured by conflict-related deaths, compared to those living in peaceful areas of the country. In Mali, wartime conflict increases the risk of all forms of IPV—physical, emotional and sexual. Women also have less decision-making autonomy over their earnings in conflict-affected districts.

While cross-sectional studies were unable to disentangle causal effects, IPV risk factors appear to be income insecurity, conflict or displacement-related stress leading to marital discord, lack of institutions to respond to violence, low levels of education, alcohol abuse by partners, and more general breakdowns in the social fabric. In Nigeria, Ekhtator-Mobayode et al. (2021) find that conflict (specifically the Boko Haram insurgency) is associated with large increase in recognized drivers of IPV—controlling behavior of husband/partner and women’s lack of agency.

Displaced women experience exacerbated risks of IPV in their new destination, and the risks of IPV are much higher than most of the rates of wartime rape and sexual violence perpetrated by individuals outside of the home (Stark and Ager, 2011). At the same time, women in the DRC who had experienced physical or economic abuses<sup>4</sup> inflicted by armed actors also experienced a significant increase in sexual and intimate partner violence<sup>5</sup>.

Separate qualitative research was conducted in Izmir, Turkey, in 2016, involving focus group discussions with Syrian adolescents and young people aged 15–25 years (in separate male and female groups) and with Syrian adults in mixed groups. The

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<sup>4</sup> Examples of economic abuses would include earnings forcibly taken by an intimate partner.

<sup>5</sup> For an analysis on conflict-related violence in DRC see: Familiar, I., Muniina, P.N., Dolan, C. et al. (2021) “Conflict-related violence and mental health among self-settled Democratic Republic of Congo female refugees in Kampala, Uganda – a respondent driven sampling survey”, *Conflict and Health*, 15, 42. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-021-00377-2>.

emerging evidence suggested that increased financial stress and limited educational opportunities could lead displaced Syrian adolescent girls and young women to marry early or enter the workforce following their displacement (Wringe et al., 2019). Both marriage and employment were considered ways to increase financial security, although marriage was also acknowledged to present risks of intimate partner violence, which were amplified when girls married at younger ages.

The risks faced by displaced women along their displacement journey and impacts of GBV are often lifelong. The Program's findings buttress existing literature – that is, experiencing sexual violence increases risk of future violence, as does witnessing violence, alcohol abuse and tolerance of violence against women. In various conflict-affected settings, women have been found to be more likely to experience abuse at the hands of acquaintances, intimate partners, family members and people in their community than at the hand of armed actors (Stark and Ager, 2011; Ellsberg et al., 2020; IRC, 2014). To address IPV in conflict-affected/displacement settings, the paper on Nigeria (Ekhaton-Mobayode et al., 2020) suggests that promoting women's economic opportunities might be one potential avenue, given the association between women's access to income and reduced risk of controlling behavior from a partner (a risk factor for IPV). More generally, community level interventions like safe spaces and dialogue groups have shown promising results (Murphy et al., 2019).

## Changing gender norms

Two studies in the series focus on gender norms, in the cases of Colombia (Rubiano-Matulevich, 2021) and Jordan (Krafft et al., 2021). Gender norms can be defined as the acceptable and appropriate actions for men and women that are reproduced through social and economic interactions (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020). Norms are typically embedded within both formal and informal institutions.

The results suggest that gender attitudes and gender norms do not always shift together, and do not always progress toward gender equality during forced displacement. Moreover, attitudes and norms can shift without corresponding changes in behavior, at least within the time frames of the studies. For example, among women in Colombia, displacement corresponded with less rigid patriarchal

norms around gender roles and gender-based violence, but reduced the ability of women to make decisions about contraception and earnings.

The Program's research findings on Syrian refugees in Jordan revealed that women and girls held more equitable gender attitudes but that there was no significant difference detected between host and displaced populations around gender norms. Interestingly, displaced Syrian adult women have more mobility than Jordanian host counterparts, but Syrian adolescent girls have less mobility than Jordanian counterparts, likely reflecting higher real and perceived threats to safety in public spaces. This suggests that programming that enables safe mobility and access to safe spaces for girls is critical.

A broad implication of the research is that tracking gender attitudes and behaviors among all members of community is important, but existing data often miss opportunities to collect information on gender norms held by men and boys. Accounting for and changing community and familial gender norms, not just those of girls themselves, is important. In particular, adolescent refugee girls are a distinct group who face unique challenges. Among the implications for policy and programming is the importance of contraception in basic health packages and the engagement of men to promote more gender-equitable relationships.

## Conclusions and implications for data and measurement

The overarching implication from the Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement Research Program is that both humanitarian and development policies and programs should seek to understand and address intersectionality of gender and displacement, to close gender gaps in education and paid work, development outcomes such as income and other dimensions of poverty, as well as the risk of GBV.

A series of recommendations emerge for agencies collecting survey data, including the World Bank, UN Agencies and DHS.

- The importance of including displaced populations in population-wide and household-based data collection, especially in countries where there are significant numbers of displaced people. Much more could be done with standard surveys, provided relevant questions are asked, in countries where displacement is an issue—

say more than 2.5 percent of population and/or more than one million people<sup>6</sup>. In such settings, basic information on displacement should be collected, for example on displacement status, reason for displacement, number of displacements, and duration of displacement (in each location). Large samples with adequate representation of key sub-groups are needed to underpin research on social and economic characteristics over the course of life, which can support improved policies and programming.

- Within households, sex-disaggregated individual-level data is needed to enable a better understanding of the situation of different household members, dependency ratios and so on. Our studies underline the important role of gender norms in shaping constraints and opportunities for women and men, girls and boys. Data on gender norms should be collected, including from men and boys.
- Female household headship can be a useful proxy, albeit insufficient, to understand gendered disadvantages in displacement settings. For individuals in the household, questions about labor market participation, hours of paid work (and ideally unpaid work), earnings and transfers are needed.
- Learning from qualitative information from displaced groups, and including the voices of displaced women, especially those facing multiple disadvantages is key<sup>7</sup>.
- When researching violence against women, displacement status is a key demographic data point to collect—when we are able to disaggregate the population using this variable, displaced women are frequently found to be at significantly higher

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<sup>6</sup> While any particular threshold is somewhat arbitrary, a proportionate measure captures pressure on services and resources, and some small states. By way of illustration, looking just at IDP estimates from IDMC for the year 2020, an absolute threshold would include some large countries, like Ethiopia, India and Turkey, that are below the 2.5% bar on IDPs. There are 21 countries where at least 2.5 percent of the population are IDPs, in order of largest share: Syria, Vanuatu, Cyprus, Somalia, Central African Republic, South Sudan, Yemen, Afghanistan, Colombia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burkina Faso, Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Iraq, Bosnia and Herzegovina, State of Palestine, Honduras, Mozambique. There are 15 countries with at least one million IDPs, in order of largest IDP population: Syria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Colombia, Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia, Nigeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, South Sudan, India, Iraq, Turkey, Burkina Faso, Cameroon.

<sup>7</sup> For a valuable recent example of engaging directly with displaced individuals, see <https://www.unsw.edu.au/arts-design-architecture/our-schools/social-sciences/our-research/research-networks/forced-migration-research-network/projects/refugee-women-and-girls>

risk of experiencing increased gender-based violence in comparison to their non-displaced counterparts.

- Finally, but not least, longitudinal and panel data on displaced communities and hosts along the foregoing lines would enable tracking of trends over time, and better understanding of drivers.

## PART II

# Summaries of Selected Academic Articles and Research Reports \*

## Livelihoods

### **The double burden of female protracted displacement: Survey evidence on gendered livelihoods in El Fasher, Darfur<sup>8</sup>**

*Wolfgang Stojetz and Tilman Brück*

*World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, WPS9824 (2021)*

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/582571635477505457/The-Double-Burden-of-Female-Protracted-Displacement-Survey-Evidence-on-Gendered-Livelihoods-in-El-Fasher-Darfur>

This paper **examines the effect of gender and forced displacement on livelihood outcomes in El Fasher, the capital of the North Darfur region in Sudan**. There are approximately 160,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) living in the Abu Shouk and El Salam camps (IOM, 2021), located in the peri-urban areas of El Fasher town, the majority of whom have been displaced for more than a decade.

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\* The JDC Quarterly Digest provides summaries of published research to encourage the exchange of ideas on topics related to forced displacement. The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed in the literature included in this review are entirely those of their authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Data Center, UNHCR, the World Bank, the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent. For convenience, the Digest contains links to websites operated by third parties. The Joint Data Center and its affiliate organizations do not represent or endorse these sites or the content, services and products they may offer, and do not guarantee the accuracy or reliability of any information, data, opinions, advice or statements provided on these sites.

<sup>8</sup> This work is part of the program "[Building the Evidence on Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership](#)". The program is funded by UK aid from the United Kingdom's Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO). It is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This work was produced under the overall guidance of Lucia Hanmer and Diana J. Arango, task team leaders for the [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement](#) work.

The analysis is based on: (a) survey data collected by IOM from May to July 2018, covering over 18,000 IDPs and non-displaced individuals living in urban and peri-urban areas of El Fasher; and (b) geo-referenced conflict event data from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data (ACLED) dataset. Survey data provide a comprehensive displacement profile of IDPs, including pre-displacement conditions, displacement history and outcomes, as well as detailed socio-economic data for both IDPs and non-IDPs.

The authors categorize the factors affecting employment outcomes into three groups: (1) individual factors such as health status and educational attainment of household members; (2) household factors, such as gender structure and demographic composition of the household; and (3) institutional factors, including both formal rules and regulations as well as informal constraints to behavior, including access to labor and consumer markets, access to land, access to services, access to legal documentation, and safety and security.

Main findings:

- **Women, regardless of whether they have been displaced or not, are less likely to be employed compared to men.** Being a woman is associated with a 24-percentage point decrease in being employed, even when controlling for IDP status.
- **IDPs are more likely to be employed, and the employment gap between IDPs and non-IDPs is driven entirely by women.** Being an IDP is associated with an 8-percentage point increase in the likelihood of being employed, conditional on age and household size. The employment gap between IDPs and non-IDPs is driven entirely by women: displaced women are more likely to be economically active compared to non-displaced women, whereas for men there is no difference in employment status between IDPs and non-IDPs.
- **IDPs are more likely to be poor: the poverty gap between IDPs and non-IDPs does not vary by gender.** Being an IDP increases the likelihood of being poor (below the US\$1.90 per day poverty line) by about 22 percentage points, most likely because IDPs' economic activity is more concentrated in the agriculture sector and generates lower returns. Economically active IDPs also tend to engage in fewer livelihood activities, and for fewer hours and months. These differences are likely to reflect legal, economic, and social barriers to employment; IDPs report poorer access

to the labor market (26 percent of IDPs versus 45 percent of non-IDPs), and to various markets and services, and feel less safe at night than non-IDPs. The large poverty gap between IDPs and non-IDPs does not vary by gender—overall, **IDP women work more than non-IDP women, but are poorer, on average.**

- **IDPs who were displaced to EI Fasher at older ages are less likely to be employed**, and if they do work, they tend to work fewer months of the year on average and they are more likely to work in the agricultural sector.
- **The gender gap in IDP employment also increases with age at displacement**, i.e., among IDPs who were displaced at older ages, there is a much larger gap in employment between male and female IDPs, while among IDPs displaced at younger ages, the gender gap in employment between male and female IDPs is smaller.
- **Compared to displaced men of the same age and background, displaced women were less likely to be in school when they were displaced and have lower levels of schooling and literacy today.** The evidence suggests that IDP women were significantly disadvantaged in terms of formal education in their places of origin, which would constrain their current employment opportunities. Compared to older IDP women, younger IDP women have higher literacy levels and are less likely to work in agriculture, which suggests **younger IDP women have had better educational opportunities in displacement** and time to ‘catch up’ to non-IDP women.

The authors conclude that **displacement and gender strongly combine and interact in shaping livelihood outcomes in protracted displacement settings.** There is a ‘double burden of female displacement’ due to norms and institutions in both their place of origin, resulting in disparities in individual endowments, and at their destination, where IDPs are consistently disadvantaged in the labor market. The double burden is more acute for older IDP women, and less acute for younger IDP women, who have been able to access better education in the camps. These findings highlight the need for and potential of unified policy approaches, explicitly addressing the intersectionality of gender and long-term displacement.



## Forced displacement, Gender and Livelihoods: Refugees in Ethiopia<sup>9</sup>

Yeshwas Admasu

World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, WPS 9862 (2021)

<https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/754711638209414704/forced-displacement-gender-and-livelihoods-refugees-in-ethiopia>

This paper **examines gender differences in livelihood opportunities among refugee and host community households in Ethiopia**. The analysis draws on data from the Ethiopia Skills Profile Survey 2017 (SPS 2017), which surveyed refugees in camps and surrounding host communities in the main refugee hosting regions of Tigray-Afar (Eritrean refugees), Gambella (South Sudanese refugees), Benishangul-Gumuz (Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees), and Somali (Somali refugees). The sample covered 5,317 households including 3,627 refugee households (837 South Sudanese, 871 Somalis, 893 Eritreans, and 1016 Sudanese) and 1,690 host households. Household's livelihood activities are grouped into four categories: (a) wage employment; (b) self-employment; (c) participation in family farm activities; and (d) participation in family businesses.

Descriptive statistics reveal both similarities and differences across refugee groups, and between refugees and host communities. There are more adult women than men in each of the refugee groups (except the Sudanese refugee population) and most refugees are children. Host communities have a higher proportion of adults than each of the four refugee groups, and all refugee groups (except Eritreans) have higher proportions of children than host communities. More than 90 percent of South Sudanese refugee households are headed by women (only 6 percent of South Sudanese refugees are adult men), whereas the majority of Eritrean, Somali, and Sudanese refugee households are headed by men. And, the Eritrean refugee population has more working-age men and a higher proportion of adults than other refugee groups.

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<sup>9</sup> This work is part of the program "[Building the Evidence on Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership](#)". The program is funded by UK aid from the United Kingdom's Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO). It is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This work was produced under the overall guidance of Lucia Hanmer and Diana J. Arango, task team leaders for the [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement](#) work.

Main findings of empirical analysis at the household level:

- **Adults in female-headed households are less likely than adults in male-headed households to participate in the labor market.** Among refugees, female-headed households are 7.5 percentage points less likely to participate in the labor market compared to male-headed households. Among hosts, female-headed households are 3.1 percentage points less likely to participate in the labor market compared to male-headed households.
- **Educational attainment, access to land, the number of young children in the household, and remittances influence the likelihood that a household participates in the labor market.** Among refugee households, all levels of educational attainment (primary, secondary, and tertiary) increase the likelihood of employment, however among host households, only tertiary education affects the likelihood of employment. Among host households, access to land increases the likelihood of female-headed households' participation in employment by 16 percentage points. Among refugee households, the number of young children below age six reduces the likelihood of employment for female-headed households but not male-headed households. Receiving remittances significantly reduces the probability of employment across the board—men and women, refugees and hosts.
- **Gender gaps in employment vary across refugee groups, reflecting differences in livelihood opportunities across hosting regions.**
- **Refugees are significantly less likely to be employed than individuals in host community households.** Refugees in Benishangul-Gumuz region (Sudanese and South-Sudanese refugees) are 65 percentage points less likely to be in employment compared to their hosts. Somali and Eritrean refugees are 22 and 35 percentage points less likely to be in employment compared to their hosts.
- **There are large differences in employment rates between female refugees and female hosts, and between male refugees and male hosts.** Overall, female refugees are 24 percentage points less likely to be in employment compared to female hosts, with the largest differences found in the Benishangul-Gumuz region (41 percentage points). **There are even larger differences in employment rates between male refugees and male hosts** (35 percentage points overall, ranging from 19 percentage points in the Somali region, and 29 percentage points in Tigray and Afar region, to 46 percentage points in Benishangul-Gumuz region).

- **Overall, Somali refugees appear to have better employment opportunities than other refugee groups in Ethiopia**, most likely reflecting the shared language and culture with host communities in the Somali region.
- **Disaggregated results by type of livelihood activity suggest that self-employment and agricultural employment are driving the observed differences in employment outcomes between refugees and hosts**, reflecting the limited availability of paid employment opportunities in refugee-hosting regions. There is no statistically significant difference in participation in wage employment between refugee and host households across regions, except among male Eritrean refugees, who are less likely to participate in wage employment compared to their hosts. There are, however, significant differences between refugee and host households in participation in self-employment, household farm activities, and family businesses; several refugee groups are less likely to participate in these activities compared to hosts. Among women, there are significant differences in Benishangul-Gumuz region where female refugees are less likely to participate in self-employment and/or farm activities compared to female hosts, reflecting refugees' lack of access to agricultural land.

Main findings of empirical analysis at the individual level echo the findings at the household level:

- **Women (both refugee and host) are less likely to participate in wage employment compared to men.** Among refugees, women are 15 percentage points less likely to participate in wage employment compared to men. Among hosts, women are 9 percentage points less likely to participate in wage employment compared to men.
- **Education increases the likelihood of wage employment for both women and men, both among hosts and refugees.** While secondary and tertiary education are strongly associated with female employment, tertiary education has a large and strong effect on male employment.
- **Displacement duration significantly increases the likelihood of employment, with women who are displaced for at least three years** more likely to participate in wage employment compared to those displaced for less than three years. In contrast, among men, duration only plays a role for those who are displaced for more than six years.

- **Lack of physical safety—measured as feeling moderately or very unsafe when alone at home or walking around during the day or after dark—significantly reduces wage employment for women (but not men) in the host community;** interestingly there is no significant effect on refugees.
- **Household characteristics influence female participation in wage employment.** Among refugees, having a female household head increases female participation in wage employment and the presence of young children in the household reduces female participation in wage employment. Among hosts, access to agricultural land reduces female participation in wage employment (and increases female participation in family farm activities), but has no effect for female refugees.
- **Somali refugees have relatively better access to employment opportunities compared to other refugee groups, especially refugees from South Sudan and Sudan.** Somali women and men are 4 and 5 percentage points more likely to be employed compared to Eritrean women and men, respectively. In contrast, Sudanese men (12 percentage points) and Sudanese women (4 percentage points) are less likely to be employed compared to Eritrean men.

The author argues that policy responses are needed to increase the economic inclusion of refugees through joint refugee-host cooperatives, investment in agriculture and livestock, and employment creation, as there are limited livelihood opportunities in the refugee-hosting regions, and that livelihood support activities should be tailored to the specific challenges faced by refugee and host women. Several other policy responses are recommended including expanding access to education, especially for young refugees, expanding access to sexual and reproductive health services, and expanding childcare services.

## Female employment and intimate partner violence: Evidence from Syrian Refugee inflows to Turkey

*Bilge Erten and Pinar Keskin*

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This paper **investigates the causal effect of female’s economic empowerment—specifically an increase in female employment—on the probability of experiencing domestic violence in Turkey.** In particular, the authors exploit the differences in the inflow of refugees after the outbreak of the Syrian civil war in March 2011 across Turkish provinces as an exogenous shock to female employment.

The analysis is based on: (a) province-level data on registered refugees in 2014 from the Turkish migration authority; and (b) individual-level data on domestic violence and other socioeconomic outcomes from Turkey’s National Survey of Domestic Violence against Women conducted in 2008 and 2014. The survey captures data on whether a woman had ever experienced different forms of physical, sexual, or psychological violence from her intimate partner.

Main results:

- **Syrian refugee inflows negatively affected the labor market outcomes of Turkish women, without significantly affecting the labor market outcomes of Turkish men.** Syrian refugees primarily displaced female workers, with stronger effects in the private sector driven by displacement within agricultural and service sectors. There is no evidence that Syrian refugee inflows significantly affected male labor market outcomes. Syrian refugees in Turkey have been predominantly employed in the informal sector because they were not permitted to apply for work permits until January 2016. Consequently, Syrian refugees who found work in the informal sector were more likely to displace Turkish women, who have tended to be employed in industries with high degrees of informality, such as agriculture and domestic services.
- **There is a significant decline in intimate partner violence in the provinces that received a higher share of Syrian refugees. Inflows of Syrian refugees,** and consequent reduction in local female employment, reduced the likelihood that Turkish women experienced physical, sexual, and psychological violence from their husbands.
- There is some **suggestive evidence that changes related to both employment and domestic violence are concentrated among women with lower**

**levels of educational attainment**, who were more likely to be displaced by the Syrian refugees.

- Changes in partner characteristics, gender attitudes, cohabitation patterns, or the division of labor within the household do not explain these results.
- The disproportionate reduction in women's employment and income induced by the Syrian refugee inflow shock may result in a decline in men's incentives to use violence as a means of extracting resources from women. Similarly, the reduction in employment of women may relieve potential tensions in the household stemming from men having a preference against women's work outside of home. As a result, **women's exposure to intimate partner violence declined.**

These results are consistent with instrumental theories of violence, whereby a decline in a woman's earning opportunities reduces the incentives of her male partners to use violence as a means of rent extraction or gaining control over household decision-making. They are also consistent with men having a preference against their partner's employment, which implies that men reduce their violent behaviors once women comply with men's preferences.

## Poverty

### How does poverty differ among refugees? Taking a gender lens to the data on Syrian refugees in Jordan

*Lucia Hanmer, Eliana Rubiano, Julieth Santamaria, and Diana J Arango*  
*Middle East Development Journal (2020)*  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17938120.2020.1753995>

This paper **quantifies differences between male- and female-headed households' incidence of poverty and identifies some of the demographic characteristics that are linked to greater poverty risk.** The analysis is based on microdata on Syrian individuals and households who arrived and registered in Jordan between 2011 and 2014 drawn from two UNHCR datasets: the Profile Global Registration System (ProGres) database and the Jordanian Home-Visits (JD-HV) dataset.

ProGres includes demographic information on each household's Principal Applicant (PA) and all the other individuals registered under the PA, including the relationship to the PA, age, sex, and marital status. The JD-HV dataset is a non-randomized sample

of ProGres containing socio-economic data, including household expenditure, which is used to calculate poverty.

Households are categorized into six types as follows: (1) single person (18 years or older); (2) unaccompanied child (under age 18); (3) single caregiver with dependents (children, elderly or disabled persons); (4) couple without children; (5) couple with children; and (6) non-nuclear or other households that don't fit into the preceding categories, including extended family, sibling and polygamous households. The final category is split into households with and without children.

One third of Syrian refugee households in Jordan have a female PA. **There are stark differences between the characteristics of male and female PA households in terms of marital status, household type and education:**

- 90 percent of female PAs have an absent spouse or no spouse, compared to only 25 percent of male PAs.
- While 66 percent of male PAs are in a couple with children, only 9 percent of female PAs fall into this category.
- Most female PAs are single caregivers (48 percent) and single persons (20 percent), while most male PAs are in a couple with children (66 percent).
- Female PAs are less educated on average. 29 percent of female PAs have less than six years of education (compared to 17 percent of male PAs), and only 15 percent of them have more than 12 years of education (compared to 19 percent of male PAs).

Additionally, **there are several gender gaps that influence the poverty risk faced by households:**

- A higher proportion of adult men live in households with a male PA and a higher proportion of adult women live in households with a female PA. Having a larger number of adult males is linked to lower risk of household poverty, since male labor force participation is less constrained than female labor force participation.
- Some categories of households are especially vulnerable if the PA is female. Single-caregiver households with female PAs have more children on average but less access to employment than male PA single caregiver households. Compared with

unaccompanied children with a male PA, unaccompanied children with a female PA have little access to irregular and daily work compared to other household types.

Key results from the empirical analysis:

- **Overall, there is no difference between the poverty rates of male and female PA households before they receive humanitarian assistance.** Over half of refugee households registered with UNHCR (53 percent) are poor before they receive humanitarian assistance.
- **Disaggregation by marital status reveals considerable poverty gaps between female PA and male PA households before humanitarian assistance.** For example, before they receive humanitarian assistance, 57 percent of female PAs who are married but living without their spouse are poor compared to 30 percent of comparable male PAs.
- **Disaggregation by household category reveals considerable poverty gaps between female PA and male PA households before humanitarian assistance for several household types.** For example, poverty rates are considerably higher for female single caregivers than for male single caregivers, 60 percent versus 45 percent. 61 percent of female PAs who are unaccompanied children are poor compared to 41 percent of male PAs in this category.
- **Humanitarian assistance reduces overall poverty from 53 percent to 11 percent, but the rate of reduction varies between male and female PAs according to their marital status and household type.** Poverty gaps in favor of male PA households remain for PAs who are married but living without their spouse, single or engaged, widowers/widows, or divorced/separated. Female PA households have significantly higher rates of poverty than male PA households in all household types except for couples with children.
- **Households formed following displacement (for example, sibling households, unaccompanied children, and single caregivers) are extremely vulnerable, especially if the PA is a woman or a girl.** Poverty gaps between male and female PAs for these vulnerable households persist even after humanitarian assistance is received.
- **The higher risk of poverty among female PAs is attributed to differences in household composition.** The number of able-bodied males in the household is



significantly associated with a lower likelihood of poverty for both male and female PAs, but the effect is much larger when the PA is a man. Additionally, larger household size is associated with increased poverty risk for both male and female PA households, but the effect is slightly higher when the PA is female.

In their conclusion, the authors note that although assistance lifted considerable numbers of Syrian refugee households out of poverty in 2013/14, the gender poverty gap widened. The gap is statistically explained by the initial endowments or features that characterize female PA households compared to male PA households such as the presence of children under five, presence of elderly people, differences in education, and household size.

## **A Multi-Country Analysis of Multidimensional Poverty in Contexts of Forced Displacement<sup>10</sup>**

*Yeshwas Admasu, Sabina Alkire, Uche Eseosa Ekhatator Mobayode, Fanni Kovesdi, Julieth Santamaria, Sophie Scharlin-Pettee*  
*World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, WPS9826 (2021)*  
<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/492181635479693932/A-Multi-Country-Analysis-of-Multidimensional-Poverty-in-Contexts-of-Forced-Displacement>

This paper **develops a Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) to examine patterns of multidimensional poverty among IDPs and refugees, with comparisons to host populations, in five African countries.** The MPI is disaggregated to analyze variations in deprivation by displacement status of the household and gender of the household head. The analysis draws on household survey data from Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> This work is part of the program "[Building the Evidence on Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership](#)". The program is funded by UK aid from the United Kingdom's Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO). It is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This work was produced under the overall guidance of Lucia Hanmer and Diana J. Arango, task team leaders for the [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement](#) work.

<sup>11</sup> In Ethiopia, the Skills Profile Survey (2017) sampled refugees in and around camps in the Tigray, Afar, Gambella, Benishangul Gumuz, and Somali regions. In Nigeria, the IDP Survey (2018) sampled IDPs and host communities in six northeastern states (Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe). In Somalia, the High Frequency Survey (2017) sampled IDPs and host communities in secure parts of the country. In Sudan, the IDP Profiling Survey (2018) sampled IDPs and neighboring host communities in the Abu Shouk and El Salam camps, in Al-Fashir. And in South Sudan, the High Frequency Survey Wave 4 (2017) sampled IDPs and host communities in urban areas of seven of the ten pre-war states (Western Equatoria, Central Equatoria, Eastern Equatoria, Northern Bahr-EI-Ghazl, Western Bahr-EI-Ghazal, Warrap, Lakes state).

The MPI measure used in this paper includes 15 indicators covering four non-monetary dimensions of poverty: (1) education (years of schooling, school attendance); (2) health (food security, pregnancy care, physical safety, early marriage); (3) living standards (garbage disposal, drinking water, electricity, cooking fuel, housing, sanitation); and (4) financial security (unemployment, legal identification, bank account). For each indicator, households are assessed as deprived or non-deprived according to specific criteria. The calculation of the MPI uses equal weights for all four dimensions and, within each dimension, all indicators have equal weights. Households deprived in at least half of the weighted indicators are identified as multidimensionally poor. The authors calculate ‘incidence’ or headcount ratio, which is the proportion of the population who are multidimensionally poor; ‘intensity’, which is the average share of weighted deprivations experienced by the poor; and an adjusted headcount ratio, the MPI, which is a product of the incidence and intensity.

Main findings:

- **The incidence of multidimensional poverty varies across countries.** Overall incidence is highest in Somalia, where 63 percent of IDPs and 45 percent of the host population are identified as multidimensionally poor, while the lowest overall incidence is found in northeastern Nigeria, where 23 percent of IDPs and 17 percent of the host population are multidimensionally poor.
- **In all countries, displaced populations have higher incidence of multidimensional poverty, with the largest gap in countries hosting refugees or IDPs in camp settings.** Differences in the incidence of multidimensional poverty between displaced and host populations are highest in Ethiopia and Sudan, where the surveys were carried out in camps. Refugees in Ethiopia have rates of multidimensional poverty 33 percentage points higher than the host population, while IDPs in Sudan have rates of multidimensional poverty 34 percentage points higher than the host population. The smallest significant differences in incidence between displaced and host populations were found in South Sudan (15 percentage points) and Somalia (19 percentage points).
- **The proportion of people identified as multidimensionally poor and deprived in a given indicator is higher among displaced populations for most indicators—but there is variation across countries in which indicator is the most**

**salient.** In Ethiopia, the largest gap between displaced and host populations are for indicators on access to bank accounts and cooking fuel. In Somalia it is years of schooling, in Sudan it is electricity, in South Sudan it is drinking water, and in Nigeria it is legal identification.

- **The percentage contribution of each indicator to multidimensional poverty also varies between displaced and host populations.** For example, among refugees in Ethiopia, lack of a bank account is the largest contributor to multidimensional poverty, while among host communities, the largest contributor is years of schooling. Physical safety, early marriage, and legal identification also contribute more to multidimensional poverty among refugees in Ethiopia than among host communities.

- **Multidimensional poverty varies depending on the gender of the household head.** Those in female-headed households have a much higher MPI compared to those in male-headed households in Ethiopia, South Sudan and Sudan, while the opposite is true for Somalia, where people living in male-headed households have a higher MPI. In Nigeria, there is no statistically significant difference between the MPIs of the two groups. The gender of the household head matters also in relation to the incidence of multidimensional poverty, i.e., the proportion of the population who are multidimensionally poor: those in female-headed households are 39 percentage points poorer in Ethiopia, and 18 and 10 percentage points poorer in South Sudan and Sudan, respectively.

- **Disaggregating multidimensional poverty outcomes by both gender of the household head and displacement status is revealing.** In Ethiopia, the MPI and incidence of multidimensional poverty in the refugee population are much higher for those living in female-headed households, compared to those living in male-headed households, but there are no statistically significant differences by gender of the household head in the host community. In South Sudan, individuals living in female-headed households are more likely to be multidimensionally poor compared to those in male-headed households, both in the IDP and host population. A counterintuitive result is found in Somalia, where the MPI and incidence of multidimensional poverty is higher for people living in male-headed households, in both IDP and host populations. And in Sudan and Nigeria, there are no statistically significant differences in multidimensional poverty outcomes between male- and female-headed households in both IDP and host communities.

- **Drivers of observed gender-based differences in multidimensional poverty vary across countries.** In general, in countries where female-headed households are worse off, the gender gaps in access to legal identification, access to a bank account, early marriage, and physical safety are larger than the gap in other indicators. In Somalia, where male-headed households are poorer, the gap in education is a much larger contributor to the gender gap, followed by the gap in access to legal identification.
- **Households that depend mostly on women's earnings seem more likely to be in multidimensional poverty.** For example, in Ethiopia, multidimensional poverty rates among female-single earners and multiple-female earners in refugee households are the highest (52 percent and 57 percent, respectively). These rates surpass even the multidimensional poverty rate of households without earners. In contrast, 23 percent of refugee households whose income depends on a single-male earner and 16 percent of those that depend on multiple-male earners are poor.
- **In all countries, female-headed IDP/refugee households have both a higher incidence of multidimensional poverty and a higher overall MPI than female-headed households that are not displaced.** Additionally, for female-headed households in camps (Ethiopia, Sudan) multidimensional poverty is more prevalent and more intense than for female-headed households living outside camps.
- **Overall, monetary poverty and multidimensional poverty measures identify different households as poor.** Despite these differences, people living in refugee/IDP households are consistently poorer according to both the monetary and the multidimensional poverty measures. Additionally, households with a single female earner or no earners are consistently identified as poorer according to each of the measures.

The authors argue that the results offer compelling evidence in support of a more disaggregated multidimensional poverty analysis. The findings indicate that **differentiation by gender of the household head, earnings profile, and displacement status of the household have important implications for policy and targeting.**

## Multidimensional Poverty, Gender, and Forced Displacement: A Multi-Country, Intra-household Analysis in Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>12</sup>

*Yeshwas Admasu, Sabina Alkire, and Sophie Scharlin-Pettee*

*World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, WPS9823 (2021)*

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/548251635476246875/Multidimensional-Poverty-Gender-and-Forced-Displacement-A-Multi-Country-Intra-household-Analysis-in-Sub-Saharan-Africa>

This paper **examines individual-level deprivations of women and men in forcibly displaced households and host communities, as well as intrahousehold inequalities, building on prior analysis of the tailored Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) in Ethiopia, Northeast Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan.** The MPI measures deprivations in education, health, living standards, and financial security, by combining 15 indicators across these four dimensions. For the six individual-level indicators (years of schooling, school attendance, pregnancy care, early marriage, legal identification, and unemployment) spanning the education, health, and financial security dimensions, the authors identify which household members are deprived: their gender and their age, and what proportion of eligible household members are deprived. The analysis draws on household survey data in the five countries<sup>13</sup>.

Main results:

- In Ethiopia, there are statistically significant gender gaps in school attendance among the refugee population (3 percentage points for all refugee households, 5 percentage points for MPI poor refugee households), with girls more deprived than boys. Among poor refugee households, there is a statistically significant gender gap

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<sup>12</sup> This work is part of the program “[Building the Evidence on Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership](#)”. The program is funded by UK aid from the United Kingdom's Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO). It is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This work was produced under the overall guidance of Lucia Hanmer and Diana J. Arango, task team leaders for the [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement](#) work.

<sup>13</sup> In Ethiopia, the Skills Profile Survey (2017) sampled refugees in and around camps in the Tigray, Afar, Gambella, Benishangul Gumuz, and Somali regions. In Nigeria, the IDP Survey (2018) sampled IDPs and host communities in six northeastern states (Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe). In Somalia, the High Frequency Survey (2017) sampled IDPs and host communities in secure parts of the country. In Sudan, the IDP Profiling Survey (2018) sampled IDPs and neighboring host communities in the Abu Shouk and El Salam camps, in Al-Fashir. And in South Sudan, the High Frequency Survey Wave 4 (2017) sampled IDPs and host communities in urban areas of seven of the ten pre-war states (Western Equatoria, Central Equatoria, Eastern Equatoria, Northern Bahr-EI-Ghazl, Western Bahr-EI-Ghazal, Warrap, Lakes state).

in employment, with men 12 percentage points more deprived than women, which may reflect low rates of female participation in the labor force. In the host population, there is a statistically significant gender gap in access to legal documentation (11 percent for all host households), with women more deprived than men. Compared to men, early marriage rates are significantly higher among women in both refugee and host populations, regardless of whether they are MPI poor or not.

- In Nigeria, there are no statistically significant gender gaps in education. Women are, however, more likely to be deprived in employment regardless of their displacement status, but among the poor, this gender gap only holds for displaced women. There is a statistically significant gender gap in access to legal documentation, with women 5 percentage points more deprived in both IDP and non-displaced households. Early marriage rates are significantly higher among women than among men in both IDP and host populations, regardless of whether they are MPI poor or not.

- In Somalia, there are no statistically significant gender gaps in education. There are stark differences in deprivation levels by displacement status, e.g., over 95 percent of displaced individuals are deprived in the years of schooling indicator, compared to around 60 percent of host individuals. Women are more deprived in employment only among the non-displaced population, and the gap is larger among the poor. The gender gaps in legal identification are significant only among the non-poor population, where women are more deprived overall. Early marriage rates are significantly higher among women in both IDP and host populations, regardless of whether they are MPI poor or not.

- In South Sudan, gender gaps in education are significant only for the host community, when comparing men and women's rates of primary school completion and school attendance among poor children. There are no statistically significant gender gaps in employment. Gender gaps in access to legal documentation are significant across all groups, but higher in the displaced population. Early marriage rates are significantly higher among women in both IDP and host populations, regardless of whether they are MPI poor or not, but the gender gaps are particularly high for displaced women.

- In Sudan, gender gaps in education and financial security are statistically significant only in the non-poor population. Deprivations are higher for male hosts for the primary school completion indicator and for female hosts in the legal identification

indicator. Women are more deprived in access to employment in both displaced and host communities. Early marriage rates are significantly higher among women in both IDP and host populations, regardless of whether they are MPI poor or not, though the gaps are larger in absolute terms among the poor.

- Forcibly displaced individuals do experience higher levels of intrahousehold inequality than their non-displaced peers in deprivations like school attendance and legal identification, but gender may be the more important predicting factor in chronic deprivations.

These findings suggest that **displacement status most affects the deprivation status of households, whereas gender drives differences in deprivations within households**. The authors suggest that the indicators analyzed in the individual and intrahousehold analysis – school attendance, primary school completion, unemployment, and legal identification – can be targeted by government policies and programs to improve the situation for those who are multidimensionally poor at a more granular, gender-sensitive level.

### **Differences in Household Composition: Hidden Dimensions of Poverty and Displacement in Somalia**

*Lucia C. Hanmer, Eliana Rubiano-Matulevich, Julieth Santamaria*  
*Phase World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, W9818 (2021)*  
[https://research.steinhardt.nyu.edu/scmsAdmin/media/users/ds5910/ALSE\\_PHASE\\_II\\_ENDLINE\\_REPORT\\_06.07.pdf](https://research.steinhardt.nyu.edu/scmsAdmin/media/users/ds5910/ALSE_PHASE_II_ENDLINE_REPORT_06.07.pdf)

This paper **examines the role of gender-based disadvantage in poverty rates among internally displaced people (IDPs) and non-displaced people in Somalia**. The analysis relies on data from the 2017-18 Somalia High-Frequency Survey, which sampled 4,780 households (26,317 individuals). IDPs account for 33 percent of the survey population, most of whom reside in IDP settlements in the Southwest and in urban Jubbaland. About half of all households are headed by women in Somalia, although for IDP households living outside settlements, female headship is less common (36 percent).

Poverty incidence is calculated using a consumption aggregate from the survey's consumption module and the inflation-adjusted international poverty line of US\$1.90

per person per day. The authors analyze three measures of gender-based disadvantage:

- Gender of the household head, disaggregated between de jure and de facto female household heads. De jure female household heads are those who are divorced, separated, or widowed. De facto female household heads are married or in a civil union with their husband or partner living away from the family home.
- Demographic composition of the household, in order to analyze whether caregiving responsibilities increase poverty risk. Households are classified into five categories: male single caregiver; female single caregiver; couple with children; multigeneration with children; and family without children.
- The income profile of the household (number and sex of earners), with households classified into seven categories: no earners, no remittances; remittance recipients only; female single earner; male single earner; equal number of male and female earners; majority female earners; and majority male earners.

Main findings:

- **Poverty rates are high in Somalia, and highest among IDPs.** Seven out of 10 households live below the poverty line. IDP households living in and outside settlements are 10 percentage points more likely to be poor than non-IDPs (77 compared to 67 percent).
- **Male-headed households are poorer than female-headed households in both displaced and non-displaced populations.** Overall, the incidence of poverty is higher for male-headed households than female-headed ones (73 versus 67 percent). This result is driven by the large gender gap in poverty among IDPs (11-14 percentage points), as well as the smaller gender gap in poverty among the non-displaced (3 percentage points). Among non-IDPs, widow-headed households emerge as a group with high risk of poverty, but this result does not hold for IDPs. The relative disadvantage of male-headed households continues to hold when female heads are disaggregated between de jure and de facto female heads. Among poor households, female-headed households located outside IDP settlements experience poverty more intensely than any other group (i.e., they are furthest from the poverty line).
- **Demographic composition of the household is strongly associated with poverty rates for IDPs but not for non-IDPs—suggesting that caregiving**



**responsibilities impact poverty risk for IDP households.** IDP families with children, especially single-female caregivers, experience much higher poverty rates (between 17-20 percentage points) than IDP families without children. In contrast, demographic characteristics are not strongly associated with poverty rates for non-IDPs. Among non-IDPs, only households consisting of multiple generations with children are more likely to be poor than families without children.

- **Having more income earners reduces poverty risk for all households.** For IDP households, the largest decrease in poverty risk is associated with having more female earners, while having more male earners is associated with lower poverty risk for non-displaced households. The finding that IDP households with majority female earners have a lower likelihood of poverty than other IDP households, suggests that some of the normative constraints to women's employment in waged or paid in kind work outside the household may ease during displacement.

The authors conclude that even when poverty rates are very high, there are important differences between poverty risk according to gender and displacement status, and that distinguishing between different types of households beyond the gender of the household head provides insights into poverty risk in situations of forced displacement. The association between a household's demographic composition, its income profile and poverty risk in Somalia suggests that women's lack of economic empowerment and their caring responsibilities elevate poverty risk, even in a context where male-headed households have an overall higher risk of poverty.

## Gender-based Violence

### **Conflict, Displacement and Overlapping Vulnerabilities: Understanding Risk Factors for Gender based Violence among Displaced Women in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo<sup>14</sup>**

*By Jocelyn Kelly, Morgan Holmes, Niamh Gibbons, Amani Matabaro Tom, Maarten Voors*

*World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, WPS9819 (2021)*

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<sup>14</sup> This work is part of the program "[Building the Evidence on Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership](#)". The program is funded by UK aid from the United Kingdom's Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO). It is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This work was produced under the overall guidance of Lucia Hanmer and Diana J. Arango, task team leaders for the [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement](#) work.

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/528551635471118716/Conflict-Displacement-and-Overlapping-Vulnerabilities-Understanding-Risk-Factors-for-Gender-Based-Violence-among-Displaced-Women-in-Eastern-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo>

This paper **examines how displacement and conflict-related abuses are associated with intimate partner violence (IPV) and sexual violence towards women in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)**. The analysis draws on data from a large survey conducted for the Tushinde Ujeuri program, a five-year USAID-funded program supporting prevention and responses to gender-based violence in Eastern DRC. The survey sampled 4,223 respondents in 192 villages, and asked questions about victimization and perpetration of IPV and sexual violence. In this paper, the authors restrict their analysis to the female respondents, who numbered 2,120.

For the IPV analysis, the analysis focuses on women who previously/currently had partners, and who answered questions about their experiences of IPV. Women who had experienced IPV in the 12 months prior to the survey were compared with women who had never experienced IPV. For the sexual violence analysis, women who experienced sexual violence in the 12 months prior to the survey were compared to women who had never experienced sexual violence. Respondents were also asked questions to assess their experience of displacement and exposure to conflict abuses. Respondents on average were 32 years old, with nearly all (94 percent) reporting having dependents at home. Just 25 percent of respondents stated they were the head of the household, and only 41 percent had any formal education. Women reported whether they were single (15 percent), married or cohabitating (61 percent), in a polygamous marriage (7 percent), or divorced/widowed (16 percent). Across the sample 52 percent of respondents reported having been displaced. More than half of the women in the sample had experienced IPV (57 percent), of whom nearly three-quarters (73 percent) had experienced IPV in the previous year. 20 percent of the women in the sample reported experiencing sexual violence in their lifetime, and 15 percent reported experiencing sexual violence in the past year.

Key findings on risk factors for IPV:

- **Displacement is significantly associated with both lifetime and past-year IPV.** Women who had been displaced were 8-10 percent more likely to have also

experienced IPV during their lifetime, and 9-12 percent more likely to have experienced IPV in the year prior to the survey. Several factors were found to increase the risk of both lifetime and past-year IPV including: previous experiences of sexual violence; being in a polygamous union; having more children under the age of 18 in the household; having a father who was violent to the respondent's mother; and having a partner who uses drugs or alcohol. However, a higher wealth score and being head of household were found to be protective factors.

- **Experiences of displacement are associated with an increased risk of IPV—current displacement increases risk of IPV nearly twofold more than former displacement.** The risk of IPV among currently displaced women was nearly twice as high as the risk of IPV among formerly displaced women, but experiences of displacement in the past continued to impact women's risk of current IPV. Women who were formerly displaced have a 9 percent higher risk of lifetime IPV and 11 percent higher risk of past-year IPV, while women who are currently displaced have a 15 percent higher risk of lifetime IPV and a 20 percent higher risk of past-year IPV.
- **Experiences of war-related abuses by armed groups are significantly associated with both lifetime and past-year IPV.** Women who experienced at least one war-related abuse had a 10-12 percent higher risk of lifetime IPV and 12-14 percent higher risk of past-year IPV.
- **Displacement and experiences of war-related abuses each independently increases risk of lifetime and past-year IPV.** Having been displaced at any point increases a woman's risk of lifetime and past-year IPV by 6 percent and experiencing war abuses increased risk of lifetime IPV by 9 percent.

Key findings on risk factors for sexual violence:

- **Armed actors are not the most common perpetrators of sexual violence in the sample population,** even though the survey was conducted in conflict-affected areas. Less than 10 percent of the perpetrators were armed actors. Women were far more likely to experience abuse at the hands of acquaintances, family members and people in their community.
- **Displacement is significantly associated with both lifetime and past-year sexual violence.** Women who have experienced displacement are 9-10 percent more likely to experience sexual violence at some point in their lives and 6-8 percent more likely to experience past year sexual violence.

- **Experiences of war-related abuses by armed groups are significantly associated with both lifetime and past-year sexual violence.** Women who experienced any type of war-related abuse, compared to women who experienced no abuses, were 9 percent more likely to experience lifetime sexual violence and 8 percent more likely to experience this abuse in the past year. Older age and being married were protective, while being employed, having an abusive father and having a partner who uses drugs or alcohol were risk factors.
- **Displacement and experiences of war-related abuses each independently increases risk of lifetime and past-year sexual violence.** Each risk factor increases a woman’s risk of lifetime sexual violence by 6 percent even after adjusting for other risk factors.

The results demonstrate that war-affected women, and particularly those who are displaced, are more likely to have experienced multiple forms of gender-based violence. Abuses are not only perpetrated by armed actors, but by civilians, including family members. The authors argue that the correlation between experience of conflict-related abuses and gender-based violence suggests that post-conflict programming provides an opportunity to “short circuit cycle of violence and to address its consequences for war-affected women.”

### **The Risk that Travels with You: Links between Forced Displacement, Conflict and Intimate Partner Violence in Colombia and Liberia<sup>15</sup>**

*By Jocelyn Kelly, Amalia Rubin, Uche Eseosa Ekhaton-Mobayode, Diana J. Arango*  
*World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, WPS9825 (2021)*

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/449471635478676087/The-Risk-That-Travels-with-You-Links-between-Forced-Displacement-Conflict-and-Intimate-Partner-Violence-in-Colombia-and-Liberia>

**This paper investigates the links between conflict, forced displacement and IPV in two different conflict-affected settings: Colombia and Liberia. Both countries**

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<sup>15</sup> This work is part of the program “[Building the Evidence on Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership](#)”. The program is funded by UK aid from the United Kingdom’s Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO). It is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This work was produced under the overall guidance of Lucia Hanmer and Diana J. Arango, task team leaders for the [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement](#) work.

are affected by a history of long-running civil conflict, displacement, and high levels of societal violence.

The analysis is based on Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data, which in Colombia and Liberia includes questions on internal displacement as well as exposure to IPV. The 2007 Liberia DHS was carried out four years post-conflict, providing insights into the long-term impact of displacement on women, whereas the 2010 Colombia DHS, provides insights into displacement and IPV during the ongoing internal conflict in Colombia. DHS data are combined with data on yearly conflict events and fatalities at the sub-national level for the ten years preceding the DHS survey. For Liberia, this data comes from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), while for Colombia conflict data are drawn from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Conflict Encyclopedia Database (UCDP). The final sample covered 32,083 women in Colombia and 4,913 women in Liberia.

This study examines three outcomes: lifetime IPV, past-year IPV and injury resulting from IPV. Past-year IPV is defined as having experienced any physical or sexual violence in the 12 months prior to the survey. Women who experienced past-year IPV were compared to women who have not experienced IPV.

Main findings in Colombia:

- **Displaced women were 40 percent more likely to experience past-year IPV compared to non-displaced women** after adjusting for other risk factors. Risk factors included: younger age at marriage, being widowed or divorced, being employed in the past year, household headship, having a partner with control issues, having a father who beat the respondent's mother and having a partner who uses alcohol or drugs. Protective factors included having children under the age of five in the home and having a partner with higher educational attainment.
- **Displaced women were 40 percent more likely to experience lifetime IPV compared to non-displaced women.** In addition to being displaced, other risk factors include being widowed or divorced, being employed in the past year, and having an urban versus rural place of residence. Protective factors included: marrying at later ages, having more children under the age of five in the home, and having partners who completed higher education.
- **Displaced women were 40 percent more likely to experience lifetime injury-causing IPV compared to non-displaced women.**

- **Both conflict and displacement were independently and significantly associated with past-year IPV.** The likelihood of experiencing past-year IPV increased by 0.1 percent for each additional conflict fatality and increased by 40 percent among displaced compared to non-displaced women. The interaction between fatalities and displacement did not emerge as significant in the model, suggesting that the two variables do not interact with each other to affect past-year IPV.

Main findings in Liberia:

- **Displaced women were 55 percent more likely to experience past-year IPV compared to non-displaced women.** Risk factors included: younger age at marriage, no longer being in a union, higher educational attainment, having a partner who used alcohol or has control issues, and having witnessed a father beat her mother. Protective factors included: having a partner with a secondary education, household headship, being currently employed and being in the highest wealth quintile.
- **Displaced women were 50 percent more likely to report lifetime IPV compared to non-displaced women.** Risk factors included: having received any education versus no education, being formerly partnered versus currently partnered, and living in an urban versus rural area, having control issues with partner; having a father who beat their mother, and having a partner who used alcohol or drugs. Being a head of household was instead protective.
- Forced displacement does not rise to significance as a risk factor for injury from IPV, although the direction of the association remains the same.
- **Both conflict and displacement were independently and significantly associated with past-year IPV.** A woman's chances of past-year IPV increased by 0.2 percent for each additional conflict fatality in her district, and displacement increased the risk of the same outcome by 60 percent.

**In both Colombia and Liberia, forced displacement and conflict are highly and significantly associated with increased lifetime and past-year IPV.** While the analysis revealed some context specific risk factors for IPV, **most risk factors highly associated with IPV were found in both countries, for example childhood experiences of violence and partner alcohol use.** Recognizing that forced displacement can exacerbate pre-existing risk factors for IPV, while also creating new

vulnerabilities, the authors advocate for more robust policies to identify, address and prevent IPV post-conflict and in displacement settings.

### **Altered social trajectories and risks of violence among young Syrian women seeking refuge in Turkey: a qualitative study**

*By Alison Wringe, Ekua Yankah, Tania Parks, Omar Mohamed, Mohamad Saleh, Olivia Speed, Rebecca Hémono, Bridget Relyea, Mahad Ibrahim, Jaspal S. Sandhu, and Jennifer Scott*

*BMC Women's Health, Volume 19, Article Number 9 (2019)*

<https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-019-0710-9>

This paper examines the risks of gender-based violence against Syrian adolescent girls and young women in Izmir, Turkey and how these risks were shaped by their displacement. By the end of 2017, Turkey hosted an estimated 3.4 million Syrian refugees, of whom approximately one fifth were young women.

The analysis is based on data from focus group discussions conducted in 2016 with Syrian adolescents and young people aged 15–25 years (in separate male and female groups) and focus group discussions with Syrian adults 18 years and older (mixed groups). Discussion was stimulated with the presentation of a vignette about a hypothetical Syrian adolescent girl whose family is experiencing financial difficulties, and participants were invited to reflect on issues facing young Syrian women in Turkey, how these were influenced by their displacement, and how the family might respond to these challenges. Discussions were transcribed and analyzed thematically.

Main findings:

- **Due to increased financial stress and limited educational opportunities, Syrian adolescent girls and young women were more likely to marry early or enter the workforce following their displacement.** Both marriage and employment were considered ways to increase financial security. All the young female participants and most of the adult female participants expressed views against early marriage, however most of the young male participants thought it was acceptable for girls to marry early in order to reduce the family's financial burden or support the family financially.
- **Syrian adolescent girls and young women expressed an increased sense of vulnerability to violence since their displacement,** the most pervasive being

verbal, sexual and physical street harassment when they were outside their homes. Travelling to a workplace alone placed the girls and women at risk of harassment, and they also faced the risk of abuse from employers in the workplace. Many women resorted to being accompanied by a male relative when they were outside the home or travelling to work.

- **Families adopted several strategies to protect young women from violence.** To mitigate the risk of increased violence, many parents reported keeping adolescent girls and young women at home, or ensuring that they were accompanied by male relatives when they were outside the home or travelling to work.
- **Marriage for girls and young women was perceived to be both a risk factor for violence and a protective factor against violence, depending on the perspective.** While many participants highlighted the financial benefits of marriage, marriage was also acknowledged to present risks of intimate partner violence, which were amplified when girls married at younger ages. Other participants, however, suggested that marriage could protect adolescent girls and young women from risks of violence associated with working.

The authors conclude that displacement alters the social trajectories of many Syrian adolescents and young women and exposes them to new risks of violence. The authors argue that some strategies adopted by families to protect young women from violence—including keeping them at home, escorting them outside the home, or marrying them at an earlier age—could reinforce gender inequitable norms, restrict their opportunities, or increase risks of violence. They suggest a few interventions to address gender-based violence including: the provision of safe spaces; access to education and safe transport for young women; financial support for families; and community-based interventions to address the risks of sexual harassment in public spaces.



## Gender Norms

### Do Gender Norms Become Less Traditional with Displacement? The Case of Colombia<sup>16</sup>

*Eliana Rubiano-Matulevich*

*World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, WPS9822*

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/311741635474477371/Do-Gender-Norms-Become-Less-Traditional-with-Displacement-The-Case-of-Colombia>

Between 1997 and 2018, more than 6 million people in Colombia were forcibly displaced, affecting 90 percent of the country's municipalities. This paper **examines the effect of internal displacement on gender norms in Colombia**, including norms relating to reproductive health, economic opportunity, mobility, violence against women, and patriarchy. The analysis considers a person's reference network, i.e., the group of people whose actions and beliefs individuals care about when they act. When people are displaced, they may adapt their behavior to comply with the norms held by a new reference network in their settlement location.

The analysis is based on data from the Demographic Health Survey (DHS) for 2005, 2010, and 2015. The surveys are representative of the female population ages 13-49 at the national, urban, and rural levels, and collect information on health outcomes and socio-economic characteristics. The most recent waves include questions on attitudes towards gender equality, women's role in society, gender-based violence, and intra-household decision-making. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) were oversampled in the three survey waves and represent 7 percent of the individuals who migrated internally each survey-year.

Key findings:

- **While displacement does not alter attitudes towards the use of contraception (most women in the sample agree with the use of contraception), displacement does reduce women's ability to use and decide on contraceptive**

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<sup>16</sup> This work is part of the program "[Building the Evidence on Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership](#)". The program is funded by UK aid from the United Kingdom's Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO). It is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This work was produced under the overall guidance of Lucia Hanmer and Diana J. Arango, task team leaders for the [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement](#) work.

**use.** This may reflect several factors including: poor access to sexual and reproductive health information and services; different attitudes around the ideal family size; control exerted by male partners or female relatives over the use of contraception; and less 'gender-equitable' practices within the household, which tend to be transmitted through the family and passed down to the next generation.

- **Displacement is associated with more traditional attitudes to women in the domestic sphere, a diminution in women's ability to make decisions about money they earn, and a slight redistribution of unpaid domestic work.**

Displacement reduces the probability of disagreeing with the statement 'a woman's main role is family caregiving and cooking' by 6-8 percentage points. Reference networks are strongly correlated with less traditional behaviors around domestic chores but do not influence women's decision-making power over money.

- **It is not clear whether displacement is associated with less traditional gender norms around mobility.**

Displacement does not alter the attitudes of women towards wives' ability to go out without telling their husbands. However, displacement appears to increase the likelihood that women participate in decisions about visits to relatives and friends, and knowing someone who has greater decision-making power around mobility is also associated with less traditional behaviors.

- **Some attitudes and behaviors around violence against women appear to change with displacement.**

Displacement reduces the likelihood of disagreeing with the statement 'it is better not to tempt men when they are mad,' but increases the probability of supporting the statement 'women stay in abusive relations because they like it.' IDP women are more likely than non-displaced women to state that they would call out a friend who abuses a woman.

- **There are no apparent changes in patriarchal gender norms, but there are important changes around women's attitudes which might indicate slow shifts in intra-household dynamics.**

IDP women are significantly less likely than non-IDP women with similar characteristics to disagree with statements such as 'families with men have less problems' and 'a good wife obeys her husband,' but there is no significant difference when asked about men as heads of household and men's last word in household decisions. Displaced women are also more likely than non-displaced women to disagree with all patriarchal statements at the same time. In terms of behaviors, displacement does not alter women's say in important household decisions.

**Overall, forced displacement has mixed effects on gender norms. Gender norms that tolerate violence against women become weaker with displacement, while gender norms that limit women’s economic opportunities become more rigid with displacement.** These findings are consistent with prior research showing that even though displaced women work for pay outside the home, they nevertheless continue to be the main caregivers in the household.

The results also reveal a misalignment between attitudes and behaviors in specific domains of gender norms. For example, displacement is associated with less traditional patriarchal attitudes such as ‘families with men have less problems’ or ‘a good wife obeys her husband,’ but women’s ability to decide about contraception and earnings decreases following displacement.

**The findings underscore the complexity of gender norm change, which can be contradictory and improvements in one area do not imply that all others will automatically follow.**

### **How Do Gender Norms Shape Education and Domestic Work Outcomes? The Case of Syrian Refugee Adolescents in Jordan<sup>17</sup>**

*By Caroline Krafft, Ragui Assaad, and Isabel Pastoor*

*World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, WPS9820 (2021)*

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/914761635472358174/How-Do-Gender-Norms-Shape-Education-and-Domestic-Work-Outcomes-The-Case-of-Syrian-Refugee-Adolescents-in-Jordan>

This paper **examines how gender norms shape the lives Syrian refugee adolescent girls in Jordan.** The authors consider four components of gender norms: (1) personal gender role attitudes; (2) personal gendered behaviors; (3) community gender role attitudes; and (4) community gendered behavior. They analyze how

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<sup>17</sup> This work is part of the program “[Building the Evidence on Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership](#)”. The program is funded by UK aid from the United Kingdom’s Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO). It is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This work was produced under the overall guidance of Lucia Hanmer and Diana J. Arango, task team leaders for the [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement](#) work.

gender role attitudes and gendered behaviors differ by sex, age and nationality, and how domestic work and school enrollment are associated with the gender role attitudes and behaviors of the individual, their parents and those of the surrounding communities. The authors compare outcomes between Syrian boys and girls, and between Syrian girls and Jordanian girls.

The analysis draws on data from the 2016 Jordan Labor Market Panel Survey (JLMPS). The 2016 JLMPS over-sampled neighborhoods with a high share of non-Jordanians in the 2015 Population Census to ensure an adequate sample of Syrians. The survey includes questions on: gender role attitudes (gender equity); justification of domestic violence against women; involvement in decision-making; and mobility. It also includes data on hours of domestic work per week, and current enrollment in school.

Main results:

- **Gender role attitudes are similar across generations for both Jordanians and Syrians.** There are no significant differences between adolescents and adults in gender role attitudes or justification of domestic violence. However, there are differences between adolescents and adults in gendered behaviors (decision-making and mobility) for both Jordanians and Syrians.
- **Women and girls have more equitable gender role attitudes than men and boys.**
- **Gender role attitudes are similar across nationalities.** There are no significant differences between Syrians and Jordanians in gender role attitudes.
- **Syrian adolescents are less likely to justify domestic violence than Jordanian adolescents.** This may reflect more progressive gender role attitudes, reactions to experiences of violence, or the positive impact of humanitarian programming.
- **Syrian adolescent girls are less mobile than their Jordanian counterparts,** which may reflect greater real and perceived risks they face in public. However, adult Syrian women are more mobile than their Jordanian counterparts, which is likely to reflect 'de facto' empowerment because of the absence of men. Controlling for female-headed households, the mobility difference between adult Syrian and Jordanian women became insignificant.

- **Gender inequality in domestic work is substantial.** At age 10, there are no significant differences between girls and boys, but the results suggest that domestic workloads diverge as adolescents get older. Adolescent girls living in communities with higher socio-economic status and Syrian adolescents in camps do significantly less domestic work (possibly because there is less domestic work to do). Among Syrians, children do more domestic work when mothers have more equitable gender role attitudes than fathers.
- **When the community has more equitable gender role attitudes, girls undertake more domestic work.** This counterintuitive finding may reflect expectations in a conservative social context, that when women engage in non-traditional roles (e.g., work outside the home), they must also perform their domestic duties well. While adolescent girls are not working outside the home, they may be taking on more domestic work, e.g., doing the dishes to get permission to visit friends.
- **When girls or their mothers have greater decision-making power, girls engage in less domestic work.** The domestic work that girls do not perform is picked up by their mothers. Girls' own decision-making power and mothers' decision-making power have no effect on men's domestic work hours.
- **There are significant differences in educational attainment and enrollment between Syrian girls and Jordanian girls, but there are no significant differences in educational outcomes between Syrian girls and Syrian boys.** Differences in parental education and paternal employment status explain most of the raw differences in educational outcomes between Syrians and Jordanian girls. However, Syrian and Jordanian girls have similar educational outcomes after accounting for differences in their socioeconomic status.
- **More equitable own gender role attitudes predict significantly higher enrollment in school.** This may, however, be a case of reverse causality, with girls who remain in school longer developing more equitable attitudes. Less gender equitable fathers predict lower school enrollment for girls. Counter-intuitively, more equitable community gender role attitudes predict lower enrollment, and girls who justify domestic violence are more likely to be in school. However, those who live in communities with higher justification of domestic violence are less likely to be in school and, for Syrians, a mother with a higher level of domestic violence justification predicts lower enrollment.

Gendered enrollment and domestic work outcomes depend on own, parental, and community level gender role attitudes and gendered behaviors in complex ways. The results highlight the important linkages between different dimensions of gender norms and social and economic outcomes.

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## Annex A: Overview of Articles

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