Understanding the wellbeing of displaced women and girls

Gender-specific challenges in camps and cities

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About the Protracted Displacement in an Urban World project

This paper is an output from a UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF)-funded research project, 'Out of Camp or Out of Sight? Realigning Responses to Protracted Displacement in an Urban World' (PDUW). The project aimed to address the bias of policy, programming and funding towards camps by demonstrating how urban areas could be more productive, welcoming and safe spaces for refugees. The ultimate goal was to improve their wellbeing and livelihoods, thereby also benefitting host governments and communities.

Protracted displacement in an urban world

About our partner organisations

Cardiff University is a member of the UK's elite Russell Group of top universities, ranked fifth in the UK for research quality.

Samuel Hall is a social enterprise that conducts research in countries affected by issues of migration and displacement.

Maseno University is a public university set up to advance teaching, learning, research and development in Kenya and the Eastern African region.

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The Women's Refugee Commission works to improve the lives and protect the rights of women, children and youth displaced by conflict and crisis.

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Refugee camps remain the default response to mass displacement, despite concerns about their negative impact. Increasing numbers of refugees are bypassing camps to live in urban areas, but this is not without its challenges. This paper provides a gendered analysis of wellbeing and livelihoods outcomes between refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) in camps and urban areas in four countries: Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Jordan and Kenya. The paper highlights gender-specific challenges that women face in refugee camps, particularly around healthcare and physical safety. The research is based on the findings of the four-year Protracted Displacement in an Urban World (PDUW) project.

Contents

Abbreviations

ARRA	Administration for Refugee & Returnee Affairs (Ethopia)
DFID	Department for International Development (former UK government department)
FGM	Female genital mutilation
FHH	Female-headed household
GBV	Gender-based violence
GCRF	Global Challenges Research Fund
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPC	Integrated food security phase classification
n	Sample size (in Figures)
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
NHIF	National Health Insurance Fund
PDUW	Protracted Displacement in an Urban World
PTSD	Post-traumatic stress disorder
rCSI	reduced Coping Strategy Index
UKRI	UK Research and Innovation
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene
WRC	Women's Refugee Commission

Summary

For decades, refugee camps have been the default response to mass displacement, regardless of concerns about their negative impact. Nonetheless, increasing numbers of refugees are bypassing camps to live in urban areas.

This paper provides a gendered analysis of qualitative and quantitative data on the wellbeing and livelihoods outcomes between refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) in camps and urban areas in four countries, based on datasets produced by the four-year Protracted Displacement in an Urban World (PDUW) project.

The research focuses on refugees in Ethiopia, Jordan and Kenya and IDPs in Afghanistan, and produced survey and interview data from a city and a camp (or IDP settlement) in each country.

While the main purpose of this paper is to identify avenues for further, in-depth research, it does draw some preliminary conclusions from the analysis. This includes gender-specific challenges that women face in refugee camps, particularly around healthcare and physical safety.

Our analysis suggests that urban areas could provide more livelihood opportunities for displaced women, allowing them to achieve levels of wellbeing more aligned with those of displaced men. But urban life presents significant challenges for refugee and IDP women, who will require targeted support to overcome gender-specific barriers to their overall wellbeing.

1 Introduction

'Out of camp or out of sight? Realigning responses to protracted displacement in an urban world' (PDUW) was a comparative, mixed-methods research project led by IIED, that ran from 2020 to 2024. It investigated the wellbeing and livelihoods of displaced people in camps and urban areas in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Kenya and Jordan. Funded by the UK Research and Innovation Global Challenges Research Fund, the IKEA Foundation, the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation and the Bernard van Leer Foundation, this study was designed to better understand the reality of camp life versus urban life, with three interrelated aims.

First, the PDUW study was designed to build an evidence base for national and local governments, humanitarian agencies and donors on the opportunities and challenges of hosting displaced people in camps versus urban areas. Second, the study aimed to assess current responses to urban protracted displacement, raise awareness of unmet needs and examine the economic contributions of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs). Third, the project created spaces for dialogue on inclusive solutions to forced displacement between municipal authorities, displaced people, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), organisations of the urban poor and other local actors in four project cities.

This working paper provides a gendered analysis of the findings of the PDUW project. The study focused on refugees in Ethiopia, Jordan and Kenya, and internally displaced people (IDPs) in Afghanistan in a camp and a city in each country. The paper focuses specifically on the wellbeing component of the study, and is largely based on an analysis of wellbeing 'scores' derived from a wellbeing metric. This metric covers five dimensions of wellbeing: bodily, economic, political, social and psychosocial, and is discussed in more detail below.

PDUW research overview

PDUW was a mixed-methods study, and employed a survey, semi-structured interviews with refugees and key informant interviews. The inception phase (February–December 2020) also encompassed concept-testing focus groups to facilitate the design of the survey, which focused on wellbeing and livelihoods. Displaced people living in camps, urban displaced people and urban hosts in each of the four countries were surveyed using purposive random sampling to ensure the same proportion of men and women[1] — see Box 1.

COVID-19 restrictions, and conflict in Ethiopia and in Afghanistan led to delays in or revisions to the roll-out of the survey. In Ethiopia, an additional urban fieldwork site was added. In Afghanistan, data collectors undertook a follow-up telephone survey a year after the Taliban takeover, to assess any change in wellbeing and to supplement the first round of data collection that had taken place in February and March 2021, before the fall of Kabul to the Taliban.

Translated into eight languages,[2] the same survey was used in each location, with limited variations to

[1] The survey only identified people by sex — male or female — and did not take gender identity or sexual orientation into account.
[2] Languages used to carry out the survey and interviews were Afar, Tigrinya and Amharic for Ethiopia, Swahili and Somali for Kenya, Dari and Pashto for Afghanistan, and Arabic for Jordan.

BOX 1. SURVEY LOCATIONS AND SAMPLE

Afghanistan

Round 1 February/March 2021

Barikab Settlement: 362 displaced

Jalalabad: 371 displaced and 156 hosts

Round 2 August 2022

Barikab Settlement: 225 displaced

Jalalabad: 209 displaced and 90 hosts

Ethiopia

March/April 2021

Asaita Camp: 366 displaced

Addis Ababa: 365 displaced and 153 hosts

October 2021

Semera Logia: 372 displaced

Kenya

May/June 2021

Dadaab Camp: 382 displaced

Eastleigh, Nairobi: 315 displaced and 156 hosts

Jordan

February/March 2022

Zaatari Camp: 398 displaced

Sweileh, Amman: 368 displaced and 217 hosts

In all locations, the gender split was approximately 50–50.

accurately reflect each country's policy environment. The survey included questions on basic demographic information, migration trajectories and future plans. The wellbeing segment of the survey included questions about physical health and access to healthcare, water and sanitation, and shelter; debt and finances; community representation and access to justice; access to social spaces and ability to socialise; hopes and aspirations, and the extent to which respondents felt at home and supported in their communities. The survey also asked about income, livelihoods and enterprises.

In addition, using non-random, purposive sampling, 219 qualitative interviews were conducted across the four countries to further explore issues related to wellbeing, along with semi-structured interviews with displaced and host country entrepreneurs. Finally, key informant interviews were conducted with representatives from government agencies, the United Nations, community groups, and NGOs in each country and in each location.

A selection of indicators from the survey were used to create the Refugee Wellbeing Framework which includes five dimensions: bodily, economic, political, social and psychosocial wellbeing.[3] This framework provides a holistic picture of wellbeing, beyond the typically narrow focus of humanitarian actors' vulnerability assessments on basic needs. Wellbeing scores for the sampled populations have been generated from data collected from the survey across the five dimensions.

This paper analyses these scores to compare the wellbeing outcomes of men and women. The discussions of the quantitative data are complemented by analysis of semi-structured interviews with displaced men and women.

Gender and displacement

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there were 103 million forcibly displaced people in the world, as of 2022, including more than 35 million refugees, with an almost even breakdown between women and men (UNHCR 2023a). In 2018, United Nations member states affirmed the Global Compact on Refugees, the global community's commitment to a shared vision for refugee support around the world. Recognising the vulnerability of women and girls affected by displacement, the Global Compact prioritises ensuring their equal access to services and rights, along with a commitment to their empowerment. A specific focus on women and girls in emergencies is critical. UNICEF's 2021 Annual Results Report notes that women and girls' pre-existing marginalisation can be further compounded by humanitarian emergencies. The report also argues that "Pre-existing discriminatory norms tend to restrict them from resources and networks to navigate displacement, and their risk of gender-based violence (GBV) and sexual exploitation escalates" (UNICEF 2021: 49).

The World Bank report 'The Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement: a synthesis of new research' examines the differential impacts of displacement on women, men, girls and boys in various contexts (Klugman 2022). It highlights gendered vulnerabilities and coping strategies in situations of displacement. Using a tailored Multidimensional Poverty Index,

[3] A description of the methodology can be found in the working paper: https://www.iied.org/21571iied

the research reveals the role displacement plays in contributing to deprivation at household level and also exposes the impact of gender within the household. The report notes that "within households, gender emerges as an important predictive factor in indicators of chronic deprivation, such as school completion… reflecting accumulated disadvantage over time" (Ibid: 16).

With more disadvantages over time, women and girls generally have a weaker safety net and are put at increased risk of harassment, violence and abuse. A report by the Women's Refugee Commission, for example, found that when women are displaced due to conflict or human rights abuses, they adopt new strategies to provide for themselves and their families. These new strategies often place them at risk of GBV, including sexual exploitation and abuse, rape and domestic violence. Without safe economic opportunities displaced women employ strategies such as sex work, trading sex for food and leaving the relative safety of refugee camps to collect firewood to cook with or to sell (WRC 2009).

Other reports are more nuanced in their assessment of how displacement impacts women and girls, and on gender relations more broadly. For example, Holloway notes that displacement disrupts in ways that can "create conditions for socioeconomic and cultural transformation, and reconfigurations of power relations, including along axes of gender" (Holloway et al. 2019: 2). Similarly, a study by Joireman (2023: 31) highlights that "Despite significant obstacles, more women become active in labour markets as a result of displacement and conflict." However a report for UN Women looking specifically at situations of conflict, notes that despite the rise in labour market involvement, women encounter significant obstacles such as limited access to employment opportunities, restricted job types, and lower income levels (Justino 2012: 1).

While data exist on the differing impacts of conflict and displacement on women and girls versus men and boys, comparative data on how these impacts differ based on the displacement context (camp or urban setting for example) has been lacking. The PDUW study was designed to address this gap and build an evidence base of the opportunities and challenges of hosting displaced people in camps versus urban areas. Through a qualitative and quantitative dataset from Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Jordan and Kenya, this project contributes to a body of work that seeks to deepen the understanding of the complex role of gender in the wellbeing outcomes of the displaced, highlighting the nuanced differences in the experiences of women and men in camps and urban settings.

2

Study context

The study sites in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Kenya and Jordan have very different histories and contrasting experiences of gender and displacement.

Twentieth century displacement in **Afghanistan** began with the Soviet invasion in 1979. This resulted in more than five million refugees. Many people returned in the 1990s, but there was further displacement after the US invasion in 2001 (Barratt et al. 2023, Ruiz 2002). As of 2022, more than five million Afghan refugees were hosted in other countries and more than three million people were internally displaced within Afghanistan (UNHCR 2023a). Many of Afghanistan's displaced people live in urban centres or in the IDP settlements. These settlements were built under the Afghanistan Land Allocation Scheme to provide land for Afghan refugees returning from abroad, but were later made available to IDPs who were provided with plots of land and housing (Barratt et al. 2023, Majidi 2013).

The PDUW project locations include the camp-like Barikab settlement near Kabul and the Majboor Abad neighbourhood in Jalalabad city, the capital of Nangahar province. According to project informants, Barikab has a population of approximately 4,900 people.[4] Accounts from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) show there are 17,304 IDPs in Jalalabad (Barratt et al. 2023), but the total number of IDPs is likely to be higher, with many concentrated in the Majboor Abad area. The 2013 'National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons',[5] officially recognised the presence and rights of IDPs in the country and provided a road map for integration. But according to Amnesty International (2016), this has not been sufficiently implemented and has left people under frequent threat of eviction. The chaotic withdrawal of American troops in 2021 and the return of the Taliban to power has reintroduced a level of instability and insecurity that is reflected in the project findings (Cordesman 2022).

Afghanistan has a long tradition of discriminatory laws and practices related to women's rights, including forced marriage of young girls and the denial of inheritance rights. Since the 1800s, women's rights were limited by traditional societal attitudes about their place in society. Women were largely confined to the domestic sphere and had limited access to education and employment. The history of women's rights in Afghanistan has been marked by both progress and the rollback thereof. In 1919 for example, women gained the right to vote in Afghanistan, and in 1921 the first school for girls opened. In 1950, Afghanistan officially abolished the purdah system, where women had only limited access to the outside world, thereby allowing them greater mobility and opportunities to participate in community life. During the Communist era from 1978 to 1992, progress was made on the right to education and employment. During the subsequent Mujahadeen era, these rights began to be rolled back — women were forced to wear the burqa and were not allowed to leave their homes without a male guardian. Some restrictions were reversed and women's rights were promoted during the foreign intervention period from 2001 to 2021, when the presence of US and allied troops and international agencies promoted women's participation, employment and girls' education. However, these rights were again rolled back when the Taliban took full control of the country in 2021 (Amnesty International UK, no date). According to UN Women (2023), more than two years into Taliban rule, women are banned from most public spaces, including parks, gyms and public bathing houses. They have been prevented from pursuing education beyond the sixth grade, and their ability to work in positions other than in health and education settings is all but prohibited.

[4] Samuel Hall key informant interviews with three Barikab community leaders in December 2020
[5] UNHCR National Policy on Internally Displaced People https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/59094

While **Kenya** has a long history of hosting refugees, the current situation dates back to the instability and conflict in Somalia and South Sudan of the early 1990s, which resulted in large numbers of refugees (Hargrave et al. 2020). In 2023, there were more than 623,014 refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya (UNHCR 2023b). These numbers have ebbed and flowed over the past two decades, including an increase of more than 100,000 between 2018 and 2022 (UNHCR 2022a). Refugee populations in Kenya are diverse: there are more than 300,000 Somali refugees, more than 160,000 South Sudanese refugees, 56,000 Congolese refugees and just over 35,000 refugees from Ethiopia. UNHCR estimates that around 16% of refugees live in urban areas, including Nairobi (UNHCR 2020).

Kenya has long had an 'encampment policy' and the majority of the refugee population lives in one of the two remote refugee camps established in the early 1990s. These are Dadaab, in northeast Kenya, bordering Somalia, and Kakuma (including Kalobeyei Settlement) in Northern Kenya, bordering South Sudan and Uganda (Owiso 2022, Maina 2019). The PDUW project locations include Dadaab refugee camp and the Eastleigh neighbourhood in Nairobi. According to UNHCR and the Kenyan Department of Refugee Services, in December 2022 Dadaab hosted a population of 233,661 people (not including an estimated 87,194 people awaiting registration), and Eastleigh is estimated to be home to 90,918 refugees. In recent years, the Kenyan government has had a conflicting stance on refugee policy. The government of Kenya signed up to the Global Compact on Refugees and created a Comprehensive Refugee Response Plan. At the same time, the government has periodically announced the closure of the Dadaab camp and repatriation of refugees to Somalia (Jacobi and Jaji 2022). In 2021 new refugee legislation was passed, softening the encampment policy and supporting refugee self-reliance (Government of Kenya 2021). This new model, yet to be implemented or fully realised, comes with high expectations (Miller and Kitenge 2023).

There are significant disparities in Kenya between men and women in educational attainment, health outcomes, representation in parliament and participation in the labour market. Kenya ranks 109 out of the 153 countries in the Global Gender Gap Report 2020 (USAID 2020). For the Somali refugees living in Kenya, however, the gender inequalities are far more pronounced. Somalia, the refugees' country of origin, has extremely high levels of maternal mortality, rape, female genital mutilation and child marriage, and violence against women and girls is common (UNDP 2014). Girls are married early and according to the World Health Organization, approximately 98% of women in Somalia undergo female genital mutilation (FGM) (WHO 2024). The social and economic independence of women is generally not accepted in Somali culture and most GBV cases go unreported (Women in Displacement 2020). Despite numerous reports on the prevalence of gender-based violence in the Dadaab camps (Kagwanja 2000), some research notes emerging trends in changing gender roles such as collective agency among women and new work norms due to constrained circumstances (Ritchie 2017). While all refugees in Eastleigh face problems with police harassment, incarceration and fines, the risks for women are heightened due to their economic fragility. Women primarily engage in petty trade and domestic labour. They generally lack access to capital and credit to acquire business licences and as a result have to rely on men to borrow cash on their behalf. Women are also more likely to lack marketing, management and organisational skills, which impedes their entrepreneurship and business success (Pavanello et al. 2010).

In 2023 **Jordan** hosted 727,838 refugees, not including the 2.3 million Palestinians who have sought sanctuary in the country since 1948 (UNHCR 2023c). While there are 57 refugee nationalities present in Jordan, Syrians make up the largest refugee population after Palestinians. As of September 2023 there were 651,436 Syrians in Jordan (UNHCR, 2023c). The majority of Syrian refugees arrived in the years following the start of the Syrian civil war in 2011 (UNHCR 2021). Most settled in cities in Jordan, rather than camps, which has proved challenging for humanitarian organisations more accustomed to providing services in camps (Davis 2022; Earle 2017). The PDUW project locations include the Zaatari refugee camp and the Sweileh neighbourhood in Amman. According to UNHCR, in October 2022 Zaatari hosted a population of 82,268 people, and Amman is estimated to be home to 195,334 refugees (UNHCR, 2022b). Jordan has a long history of hosting refugees, but is not a signatory to the 1951 UNHCR Refugee Convention, nor the 1967 protocol (Meral et al. 2022, Karaspan 2022).

Syria has numerous laws that discriminate on the basis of gender, such as the law that denies Syrian women the right to grant citizenship to their children, personal status laws, property laws and the penal code (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 2020). Further, the conflict has affected women and girls' ability to enjoy their most basic rights, for example the right to food and health. In 2023 in Syria, almost six million people were in need of nutritional assistance, of whom nearly 75% were women and girls (Welchman 2023). In both Syria and in displacement in Jordan, conservative gender roles have kept many women and girls from participating equitably in the public sphere (UN Women 2018). Displacement, however, has forced women to take on new roles that clash with societal stereotypes, while in Syrian society, women were conditioned to take on stereotypical 'female roles', such as childcare and housework, and husbands were allowed to prohibit their wives from working (Hilton

2017). As refugees, Syrian women have increasingly entered the workforce, in part because in Jordan 40% of Syrian households are estimated to be female-headed (Rajakumar 2020). Even for those remaining in Syria, the conflict has forced women into the role of the provider in ways few had experienced previously (Cookman 2021). In Jordan, many women report wanting to contribute to household income but face difficulties finding work. Issues ranged from the inability to obtain a work permit to a lack of available jobs that were considered appropriate for women (UN Women 2018). Further compounding their ability to work, a study on Syrian refugee women's mental health revealed rates of depression at 62.92%, anxiety 57.46% and PTSD 66.21% (Brooks et al. 2022). Jordan has, however, allowed Syrian refugees to work in a number of sectors since the 2016 Jordan Compact.[6] By the end of 2022, more than 340,000 work permits had been issued to Syrian refugees although only around 8% of these were for women (UNHCR 2023f).

Ethiopia is the third largest refugee hosting country in Africa, home to more than 958,000 refugees and asylum seekers — mainly from South Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea (UNHCR 2023d). The majority of refugees live in 21 refugee camps established across five regional states (Garcia Armado et al. 2023). More than 70,000 others reside in the capital Addis Ababa. According to UNHCR, Ethiopia also has more than 4.3 million IDPs and more than 1.5 million IDP returnees, largely resulting from the ongoing conflict in northern Ethiopia and localised conflicts and tensions in different parts of the country (UNHCR 2023e). In November 2020, armed conflict broke out between the Ethiopian government and a regional rebel force, the Tigray People's Liberation Front. The conflict has killed thousands and internally displaced millions of Ethiopians (USA for UNHCR, no date).

Due to the conflict, the research in Ethiopia took place in three locations: the capital city of Addis Ababa in the Gofa Mebrat Haila area, the regional Afar capital of Semera Logia and the nearby refugee camp Aysaita.[7] The original objective was to compare Tigrinya-speaking Eritrean refugees in Addis Ababa with those residing in a camp in the Tigray region. Following the outbreak of the war in 2020, primarily in the Tigray region, the research focus shifted to Eritrean refugees in the Afar region. Identifying substantial numbers of Afar-speaking refugees in Addis Ababa proved challenging, as noticeable cultural distinctions exist between the Afar (who traditionally lead a semi-nomadic pastoralist lifestyle) and the Tigrinya people, who have transitioned from camps to the capital. As a result, Semera Logia, the regional capital in the Afar region, known for hosting significant populations of Afar Eritrean refugees, was included in the study, to allow for a comparison with Afar-speaking, camp-based refugees.

In **Eritrea**, women were critical players in the nation-building process, from their active participation in the country's independence struggle to their contributions to the country's development. However, gender discrimination remained prevalent in some aspects of Eritrean culture (National Union of Eritrean Women 2014). While Eritrean women played a crucial role during their country's 30-year war of independence, and comprised a third of Eritrea's fighting force, after independence when combatants returned to their families, female fighters were ostracised, seen as unfeminine and not suitable for marriage (Kidan 2019). The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in 2021 reported that the Eritrean National Legal Framework promotes gender equality and provides protection and rights for women through various proclamations and that gender equality is granted through a strong legal and institutional basis. Despite these legal frameworks, however, the implementation mechanisms by which policies can be translated into practice are sometimes absent (UNFPA 2021). Despite legal provisions, hundreds of thousands have fled Eritrea due to the ongoing suppression of basic rights, including to freedom of opinion, religion and expression, and forced mass conscription. Military service is compulsory for all Eritreans aged 18 to 40, male and female (Human Rights Watch 2024). In Addis Ababa, many refugee women have specific protection risks — as survivors of gender-based violence and/or female heads of household (UNHCR 2024). In general, urban refugees living in Addis Ababa face a range of protection challenges that affect their wellbeing and dignity, including delays in accessing asylum procedures and obtaining valid documentation, the lack of sustainable livelihood opportunities, low rates of school enrolment and retention, the prevalence of gender-based violence, especially among women and girls, and physical safety pertaining to arbitrary arrest, detention and refoulement (UNHCR 2024).

PDUW wellbeing framework

The approach taken to understanding and measuring wellbeing in the PDUW project is intended as an alternative to standard vulnerability analyses most often used to profile refugee populations. These are often narrowly focused on basic needs — nutrition, access to shelter, WASH (water, sanitation and hygiene) and health — and do not give a full picture of life in

[6] The Jordan Compact was an agreement between the government of Jordan and the World Bank Programme for Results through which Jordan formalised Syrian refugees' labour in specific sectors in return for increased aid and investment from donors and tariff-free trade opportunities with the EU. See Lenner and Turner (2018) for an evaluation of the pact's successes and failures.
[7] The toponym Aysaita could also be spelled as Asayta or Asayita depending on the source.

protracted displacement. Building on a framework developed by the University of Bath's 'Wellbeing in Developing Countries' project in the 2000s (White 2009, 2010, 2015), the PDUW study has generated a holistic refugee wellbeing framework based on five dimensions: bodily, economic, political, social and psychosocial wellbeing. This framework has been used to code qualitative interviews, and it has also informed the creation of a refugee wellbeing metric, composed of indicators from the PDUW survey that correspond to the five dimensions of wellbeing.[8] These are set out in Table 2 below.

Table 1. Indicators and dimensions used in the Wellbeing metric

BODILY WELLBEING	ECONOMIC WELLBEING	POLITICAL WELLBEING	SOCIAL WELLBEING	PSYCHOSOCIAL WELLBEING
Respondent health	Financial situation of the household	Perceived ability to work legally	Access to a place of worship	Life satisfaction
Quality of healthcare in the area	Income stability	Perceived ability to start a business legally	Access to community and sports facilities	Optimism (life in one year)
Access to healthcare in the area	Household ability to cover expenses	Perceived freedom of movement	Ability to attend social gatherings	Feeling purposeful
Access to a pharmacy and health centre	Earner ratio	Refugee status	Ability to meet friends and family	Feeling independent
Food security — reduced Coping Strategy Index (rCSI)	Household savings	Legal documentation for residence	Ability to partake in group activities	Feeling that one's own time is spent constructively
Access to safe drinking water	Absence of concerning debt	Access to information on rights	Getting along with the displaced/ non-displaced community	Expected future living standards of children
Access to sanitation	Ability to borrow	Perceived degree of representation	Perceived advantages of living in the area, such as social networks	Mental wellbeing (Warwick-Edinburgh 7-Item Mental Wellbeing Scale)
Quality of housing	Wealth by proxy of household asset index	Perceived ability to make a difference in the community		Feeling respected in the community
Perceived safety of area	Access to finance	Quality of courts and perceived availability of justice		Feeling at home
	School attendance of children	Perceived treatment by police		
		Perceived availability of support if in danger		
		Access to education		

[8] See Barratt and Earle's (2023) IIED working paper for a detailed explanation of the construction of the refugee wellbeing metric.

3

Wellbeing findings

Using the wellbeing framework described above, this paper compares the experiences of displaced men and women in each location, using both quantitative wellbeing 'scores', as measured by the metric, and data from qualitative interviews. The wellbeing data in this study revealed that on average, men experience better outcomes than women across the five domains in Afghanistan, Kenya and, to a lesser extent, Jordan. In Ethiopia, results across the domains and locations were mixed, but women had better results than men in Addis Ababa. This paper focuses on the aspects of wellbeing where there is most difference between women and men, as revealed by their wellbeing 'scores' or where gender-specific nuances surfaced in qualitative interviews. For example, these interviews highlighted meaningful differences in access to healthcare, specifically maternal healthcare, women's safety and security, and their access to social networks.

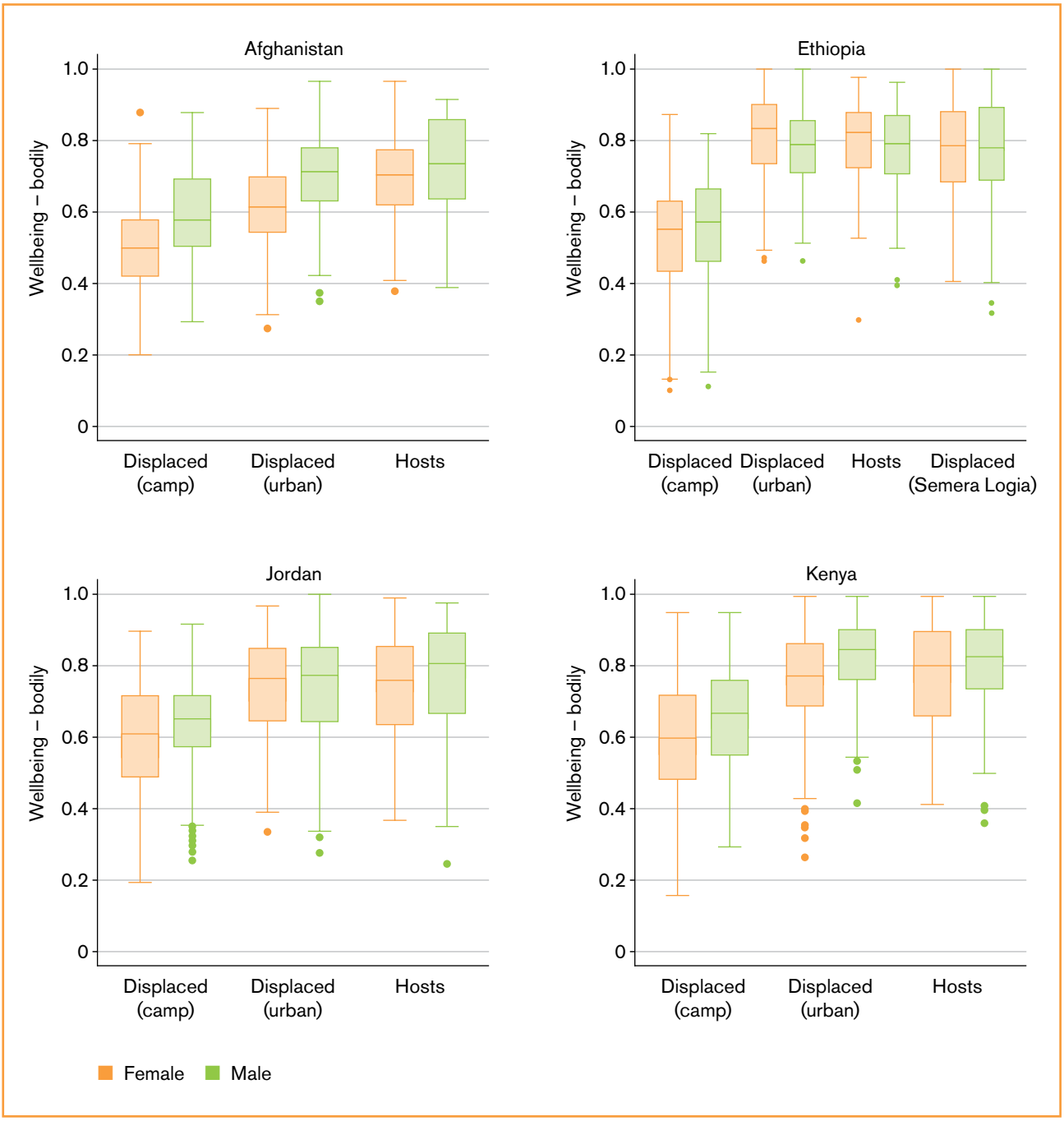
Bodily wellbeing domain

The dimension of bodily wellbeing is based on indicators relating to physical health and security. It covers access to a range of basic services including housing, water, sanitation, healthcare and pharmacies, alongside a number of subjective assessments, including respondents' own rating of their general health, of their housing situation, quality of healthcare in the area and perceptions of safety. A measure of food security scale is also included in the dimension — the reduced Coping Strategy Index (rCSI).

Across all four countries, displaced households living in the urban settings exhibited higher bodily wellbeing on average compared to those living in the camps. While many of the refugees interviewed noted the high cost of living in a city and the associated stress, many also expressed satisfaction in being able to live in culturally acceptable homes and access quality healthcare. The general perception of camp residents was that life is much better in the city, with greater access to services and economic opportunities. The greatest gender differences within bodily wellbeing were seen in Afghanistan.

However, the survey results revealed varying degrees of gender difference between the countries. In Jordan, there was almost no difference in average scores between men and women. In Kenya, women had slightly lower bodily wellbeing scores than men in both locations. In Afghanistan, men's bodily wellbeing was significantly better than women's in both locations. In Addis Ababa, women's bodily wellbeing scores were slightly higher than men's, but there was no difference in the other locations in Ethiopia.

Figure 1. Bodily wellbeing scores of respondents by gender, migration status and country (n=3,981)[9,10]



[9] The boxes in the graph represent the middle two quartiles for each dataset. The lower and upper whiskers extend to a maximum of 1.5 times the range of the box, also known as interquartile range (IQR). Outliers (dots) are any data points that fall outside the whisker range. The horizontal line represents the median. The size of the box is an indicator of spread.
[10] The displaced sample in Eastleigh, Nairobi, was reduced from 399 to 315 at the analysis stage (see Box 1) but all graphs include the original sample of 399.

Health

In Afghanistan and Kenya, where women displayed lower bodily wellbeing scores than men, some of the difference can be attributed to health-related issues. In Ethiopia and Jordan, on the other hand, there were more significant health differences between locations than between genders.

A closer examination of the health indicators making up the bodily wellbeing scores sheds some light on the different experiences of women and men, which is often related to women's reproductive health. The World Health Organization's 2022 World Report on refugee and migrant health notes that "With many women migrating during their prime childbearing years, the health needs of women and girls in any given situation are often different from those of men, and they require additional medical services for prenatal, labour and delivery care, and for postpartum care" (WHO 2022:13). Women require greater involvement with the healthcare system compared to men due to their specific reproductive health requirements, and they may also face a higher likelihood of experiencing adverse health outcomes.

Displaced people in all four countries were asked to self-report their health on a scale from very poor to very good. Male and female displaced populations in Ethiopia and Jordan expressed similar reflections on their health in both settings. However, more than 50% of displaced women in both the camp and urban settings in Afghanistan described poor or very poor health compared to 26% and 16% of men in Barikab and Jalalabad respectively. In Kenya, there were slight differences between how men and women described their health in Dadaab and Eastleigh.

In the first round of data collection in Afghanistan, healthcare and access were rated poorly by both women and men, especially in Barikab. When asked about the quality of healthcare in Barikab, nearly 90% of women rated the care as poor compared to about 75% of men. When answering the question 'In your area, how satisfied are you with access to a health centre?', only about 12% of women in Barikab noted they were very satisfied or satisfied, compared to about 45% of men. In Jalalabad, these numbers increased to about 42% of women and about 60% of men expressing satisfaction. Urban services were considered very expensive or, where they were free, of poor quality.

The second round of the survey, a year after the Taliban takeover, revealed a significant decrease in access to services. The share of respondents who answered the question regarding healthcare being available in their local area as 'unavailable' doubled between the two rounds of data collection. At the same time, dissatisfaction with the quality of care also decreased significantly, with women remaining more dissatisfied than men. Women's dissatisfaction rose from 45% to 61% in 2022 and men's dissatisfaction rose from 39% to more than 50%.

In Kenya, women in Dadaab expressed less satisfaction when answering questions about access to healthcare compared to men. Nearly 30% of women in Dadaab noted the quality of care as 'low', compared with 23% of men. Qualitative interviews exposed tragic maternal healthcare services and outcomes. For example, after losing her child in pregnancy, one woman in Dadaab described botched surgery leading to infection, incontinence and an emergency hysterectomy. Other similar traumas were recounted by interviewees.

In Nairobi, survey respondents seemed generally satisfied with access to healthcare. While around 50% of both men and women respondents in Nairobi reported high standards of healthcare. Qualitative interviews with women in Nairobi again noted maternal care issues, with one woman describing being turned away from hospital due to her complicated pregnancy. Following the creation of a memorandum of understanding between the government of Kenya and UNHCR, registered refugees in Kenya are eligible for the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF), which includes access to maternal healthcare (Maara 2022) but, as noted by McAteer at al. (2023), many refugees are unaware of this provision or unable to pay the associated fee.

In Jordan, looking beyond self-reported health scores to consider experiences with the health system in general, men were more satisfied than women. Female refugees in Zaatari expressed less satisfaction with access to healthcare compared to men. Interestingly, when asked about quality of care, more men than women noted that the quality of care was poor (more than 30%, compared to 20% for women) but less than 20% of all respondents felt that the quality of the care was high. In Amman, more women than men rated the quality of care as high (close to 45%, versus 35% for men). There were very limited differences when assessing health access issues among women and men in Amman.

In Ethiopia, significant differences were evident between camp and urban refugee survey respondents, especially with regards to the perceived quality of healthcare. In the camp, 80% of respondents regarded it as poor. In qualitative interviews, respondents noted that the health clinic was severely under-resourced and that maternal health provision was notably poor, putting women at extreme risk. Interviewees also drew attention to high levels of illness in the camp.

"Ambulance access is not available for pregnant women. They go to Aysaita Hospital by foot while giving birth. Some of them give birth before arriving at the hospital. Many mothers give birth in their home here in the camp. No medical service is provided for a newborn baby for seven or eight months if [the mother] gives birth in her home."

Refugee woman (aged 60), Aysaita

"What kind of good thing would be there in the camp? There's nothing good; there are some things that the ARRA [Administration for Refugee & Returnee Affairs] gives you and you'd live with that. It is very hot… it's not good at all… it's not comfortable at all. There's sickness there… There's malaria and you'd be very sick… That's why I hate it."

Refugee woman (aged 25), Addis Ababa

Safety

Another indicator within bodily wellbeing that contributes to gender differences is physical safety. Across all four countries, in qualitative interviews many refugees were at pains to express gratitude to their hosting nation, for the general security of the environment they were living in. However, when asked for details about their personal safety, unsurprisingly, views differed according to gender, with women experiencing a wider degree of vulnerability in public spaces than displaced men. In each of the four camps in the study, female respondents felt less safe walking at night than their male counterparts. This gender discrepancy in the perception of safety is common (Tandogan and Ilhan 2016). However, this was not the case in the cities in the study. In Jalalabad and Addis Ababa, women more frequently reported feeling safer than the men did, which was likely linked to political and conflict-related tensions at the time of the survey.[11] Jordan was the only country with a clear female disadvantage in terms of perceptions of safety across both camp and city. In Kenya, gender differences were minor. In Nairobi, qualitative interviews highlighted a fear of the police — both men and women being vulnerable to arbitrary arrest and extortion:

"That day, I was coming from the UN offices. I stood at the UN gates until I gave up and started going home. That is when I came across the police. They asked for my identification card and I showed my alien card. They took my card and told me 'You are a refugee'. They arrested me and took me to the Pangani police station, where I spent three days. I was in jail with no medication. By the time I was getting out, I was very ill. In the police station I told them I was sick, I had diabetes but no one cared."

Refugee woman (aged 30), Eastleigh, Nairobi

In qualitative interviews, women spoke about different types of harassment, including abuse and violence. In Jordan, sexual harassment appears to be a common issue, and many women interviewed expressed significant concerns for their daughters' safety moving through the camp, or on public transport in Amman, particularly going to school. Parents reported in interviews that their daughters experienced verbal harassment.

Interviews conducted with women running shops and stalls, and those who worked as street hawkers in Nairobi, highlighted their particular security concerns. These interviews shed light on the challenges these women face, including societal rejection due to the perceived impropriety of women working on the streets. Single mothers, in particular, bear the unjust burden of being stigmatised as prostitutes. Moreover, street hawkers endure persistent harassment, extortion by law enforcement, and there have been alarming reports of assault and rape while working on the streets at night.

Food security

The food security situation, in all locations, was of grave concern for both women and men. In Afghanistan and Kenya, female-headed households were particularly at risk. Of the four camps or camp-like settlements in the study, Zaatari in Jordan was the only location where more than 50% of people surveyed said that their household had had enough to eat in the previous seven days. In Dadaab and Aysaita camps, more than 50% of people surveyed said that they had not had enough to eat in the previous seven days. In Kenya and Afghanistan, the situation for female-headed households was particularly dire. In Kenya, female-headed households surveyed were more likely to experience a higher risk of food insecurity compared to male-headed households, in both camp and urban locations. This striking difference did not exist in the other surveyed locations. It is important to note that the number of female-headed households was higher among the Kenyan sample and this group may have been facing social stigmatisation (McAteer et al. 2023). This marginalisation may have been contributing to their increased vulnerability and fragile food security.

The survey in Afghanistan showed that food insecurity, which was already prevalent, increased after the Taliban takeover, as shown by responses to the phone survey that served as a follow-up to the original survey. In answer to the question 'In the past seven days, have there been times when you or your household did not have enough to eat?', 90% of city survey respondents and 85% of camp survey respondents said 'yes'. This was an increase of 17% and 4% respectively. In the

[11] BBC 2021 Ethiopia's Tigray conflict: Mass arrests and ethnic profiling haunt Addis Ababa. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-59347230

original survey, carried out in March 2021, women were more affected by food insecurity than men, with 49% of women in 'crisis' or 'emergency' as defined by the integrated food security phase classification (IPC) levels, compared to only 27% of men. However, the gap between the two subsequently narrowed. In August 2022, 64% of women and 60% of men were classified as in crisis or emergency.

> *Most of the time, my children cry over food, I burst into tears when I see my kids crying and not having enough food to eat. Whenever I experience such a thing, I complain to God about why he has only made us face such poverty.*
>
> Displaced woman (aged 22), Barikab

The study has highlighted some specific concerns for women in the domain of bodily wellbeing. These relate principally to healthcare, safety in public spaces and food security of female-headed households. These concerns will have knock-on impacts for women and girls in other areas of their lives. For example, harassment in public spaces may lead to girls being removed from school, and for adult women, may limit their ability to earn sufficient money to support themselves and their families. When food is scarce, women may be forced to remain in unsafe partnerships, be coerced into trading food for sex or be married prematurely (Freccero and Taylor 2021). Food is protection, especially for women and girls. The high rates of food insecurity in the camps in this study demonstrate the failure of the international community to meet the most basic needs of refugees. The situation is potentially putting vulnerable women at increased risk and is another argument against encampment policies.

Economic wellbeing domain

The PDUW project measured economic wellbeing according to a range of indicators including a stable and predictable income, the ability to cover one's expenses from work, savings, the capacity to borrow when needed, absence of concerning debt, and access to finance. It also considered the earner/dependency ratio (number of household earners/ number of household members) and approximate wealth, using a household asset index.[12]

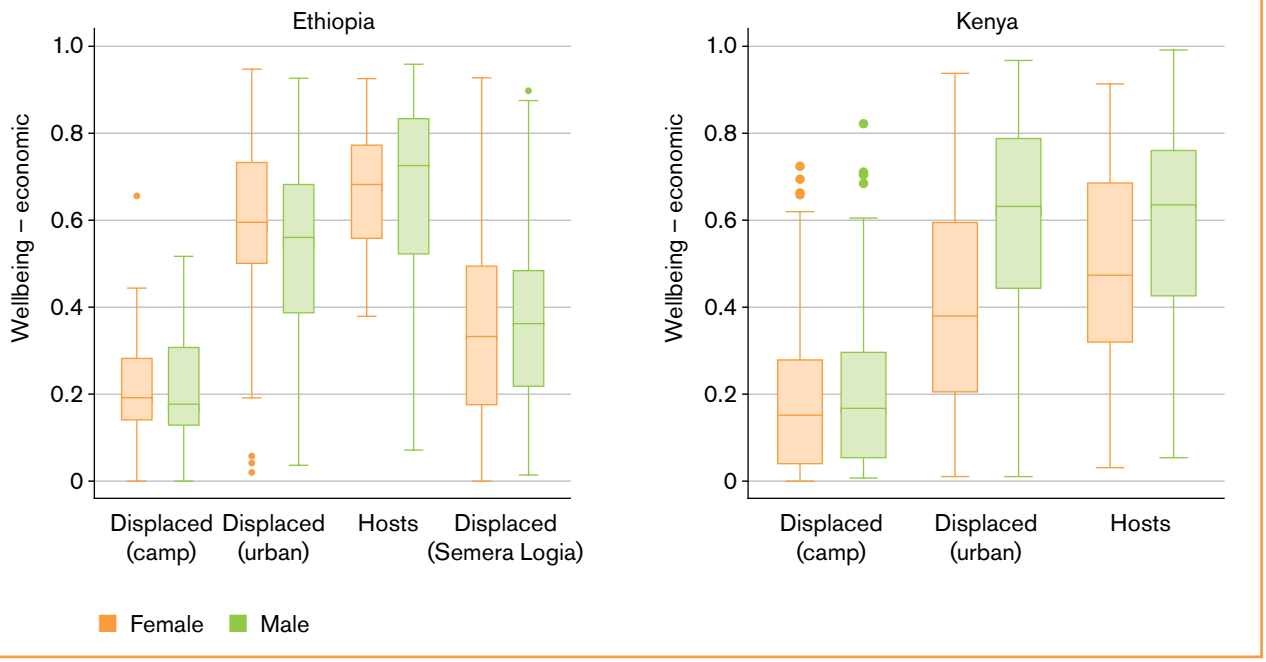
Given that this dimension of wellbeing is primarily measured at the household level, the authors have chosen to avoid making individual gender-based comparisons in this area. Gender of household head was used instead to compare the wellbeing of individuals whose households are led by women compared with those whose households are led by men. However, it should be noted that the sample size of female-headed household was very small in some countries, particularly Afghanistan (9%) and Jordan (12%), and it is therefore not possible to draw conclusions around wellbeing differences based on gender of the household head in these locations. The highest proportion of female-headed households was found in Dadaab camp, Kenya (47%) and in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (43%).

Table 2. Number of displaced female-headed households (FHH) by location

LOCATION	FHHS	TOTAL HHS	% OF FHHS
Barikab	24	362	7%
Jalalabad	42	371	11%
Afghanistan total	**66**	**733**	**9%**
Zaatari	58	398	15%
Amman	32	368	8%
Jordan total	**90**	**766**	**12%**
Aysaita	93	366	25%
Semera Logia	98	372	26%
Addis Ababa	156	365	43%
Ethiopia total	**347**	**1103**	**31%**
Dadaab	180	382	47%
Nairobi	110	315	35%
Kenya total	**290**	**697**	**42%**

[12] The asset index includes assets such as cars, motorcycles, bikes, TVs, radios, fans, mobile phones, fridges, computers and internet connections. As ownership of these items is typically highly correlated, we used the variance-maximising Principal Component Analysis method to assign a score to each respondent.

Figure 2. Economic wellbeing scores of respondents in Ethiopia and Kenya, by gender of household head, migration status and country (n=1,884)



The gender of the household head had varying impacts on economic wellbeing across different countries and locations. In Ethiopia, people living in households led by women in Addis Ababa reported higher economic wellbeing than those in households led by men, but these differences were not noticeable in Semera Logia. Respondents in female-headed households in Kenya were significantly worse off in Nairobi, with little distinction noted in Dadaab. In Jordan and Afghanistan (survey round 1), economic wellbeing score differences were relatively small. That said, following the Taliban takeover, the economic situation in Afghanistan deteriorated significantly for all.

Societal gender norms and gender roles influence economic activity, as does marriage status. Along with this, displacement has an effect on gender roles, changing or reinforcing the social and cultural norms that dictate what is expected from women and men, and their options to engage in income-earning activities. But it also opens opportunities for socioeconomic and cultural transformation, redefining power relations between men and women (Holloway et al. 2019).

Marriage status also has an impact on economic activity. Marriage rates among the sampled population varied widely across countries, with overall marriage rates ranging from 86% in Jordan to 50% in Kenya. Specifically, 76% of women in Afghanistan were married, 59% on average in Ethiopia (reducing to 44% in Addis Ababa) and 50% in Kenya (43% in Nairobi). Many of the women in Kenya who were single parents interviewed in this study described their experiences of being the main breadwinner by saying "I am both mother and father". This illustrates how stretched and challenged they felt, having to do the job of two on their own. For younger men in Kenya, getting married was presented as a financial concern and many single men interviewed stated that they could not afford to start a family of their own, even though they would like to. It is clear that in this context marriage typically requires financial investment from the man's side to be considered socially viable, with some men relying on family savings to be able to get married. For women, on the other hand, financial struggles are more likely to start when they are widowed or divorced.

In the two Ethiopian urban areas in the study, Addis Ababa and Semera Logia, men were substantially more likely to report income from work (38% and 21% respectively) when compared to women (7% and 5%). Employment was lowest in the camp with no significant gender differences (8%). Despite this, female-headed households in Addis Ababa reported higher economic wellbeing than male-headed households. While the differences were small, female-headed households were more likely to be able to borrow money and open bank accounts compared to male-headed households. Further, 77% of women respondents in Addis Ababa reported receiving remittances from abroad frequently or very frequently, compared to 68% of men. In all three locations in Ethiopia, the refugee women surveyed were substantially more likely than the men to say that they were not looking for employment because they were busy with domestic chores. On average, the displaced women surveyed spent twice as much time (six hours) as their male counterparts (three hours)

a day doing unpaid work at home. The survey asked respondents about their employment trajectories before and after displacement. In Ethiopia, there was a decline in employment among both women and men after displacement.

Similarly, in Kenya there were low rates of employment in the camp, where the economy is largely aid dependent, and there are few income-generating opportunities. Indeed, only 33% of men and 16% of women surveyed were working in Dadaab. Employment levels were higher in Nairobi (67% and 50% respectively), and while survey data shows refugees in Nairobi were more satisfied with their work than camp-based individuals, qualitative interviews exposed numerous challenges for women to make ends meet in Nairobi. This was especially the case for single mothers, who said in interviews that they struggle to provide for their families while juggling childcare and facing discrimination. In general, self-employed women in Nairobi face challenges in getting support for their businesses and in accessing key trade networks. Survey data showed a statistically significant difference in access to finance based on the gender of the household head. Respondents in female-headed households had less frequent access to a bank or micro-finance account (21%) compared to respondents in male-headed households (41%). Despite these challenges, there are men and women in Dadaab and Eastleigh who had not been working before they were displaced, who are now receiving an income from work. As in Ethiopia, displaced women surveyed in Kenya spent almost double the amount of time (five hours) as their male counterparts (2.8 hours) a day doing unpaid work around the house.

In Jordan, respondents based in Zaatari were less likely to receive income from work than refugees surveyed in Sweileh, Amman. As noted below, there were also substantial gender differences in both groups, as few female respondents reported income earning in either location (9% in Sweileh and 4% in Zaatari). Those who were in work in Zaatari were substantially more likely to have a work contract than urban displaced interviewees. In both locations, the very few working women surveyed were more likely to have work contracts than men. Additionally, more of the women interviewed who were working felt secure about their jobs than their male counterparts (Alhaj Hasan et al. 2024). In Sweileh, post-displacement job loss was higher for women than for men. The employment rate for men remained relatively stable, with minimal change, while displaced female respondents experienced a notable decrease of more than 50% in employment following displacement. Within the camp, a small percentage of women (4%) were employed post-displacement, despite 20% having had previous employment. Additionally, a significant proportion of displaced men in the camp also faced job loss. In interviews, more women than men said that finding work was hard for them. This could be indicative of additional gendered obstacles faced by women seeking employment. In addition to external obstacles, displaced women surveyed spent an average of 4.5 hours a day doing unpaid work around the house, while the men spent an average of one hour.

In Afghanistan, only 5% of surveyed women (22 individuals) reported income from work in the first round of data collection in 2021, compared to 56% of men (250 individuals). In the second round this had increased to 15% of women (37 individuals) and 64% of men (179 individuals). At the same time, on average, displaced women surveyed in the first round spent more than nine hours a day doing unpaid work around the house, compared to two hours a day by their male counterparts.

The two rounds of data collection in Afghanistan saw an increase in children working in all households, from 7% to 8% in Barikab, and from 7% to 12% in Jalalabad. In terms of financial hardship, 91% of the very few female-headed households sampled, and 88% of male-headed households reported a difficult or very difficult financial situation in 2022, compared to 60% and 66% in 2021, respectively. Despite an increase in reporting income from work among both men and women, all households saw a decline in their ability to cover expenses with work income. In 2021, 22% of households in Jalalabad could cover expenses with work income, dropping to 7% in 2022.

Overall, it appears that displaced people in Afghanistan can no longer afford not to work, because of the deterioration of their household's financial situation. Moreover, the data highlights a concerning trend in workplace abuses. In 2021, 40% of the very few working women in the sample and 44% of working men reported abuses at work. By 2022, these figures increased significantly to 88% for women and 52% for men, signalling a sharp increase for women.

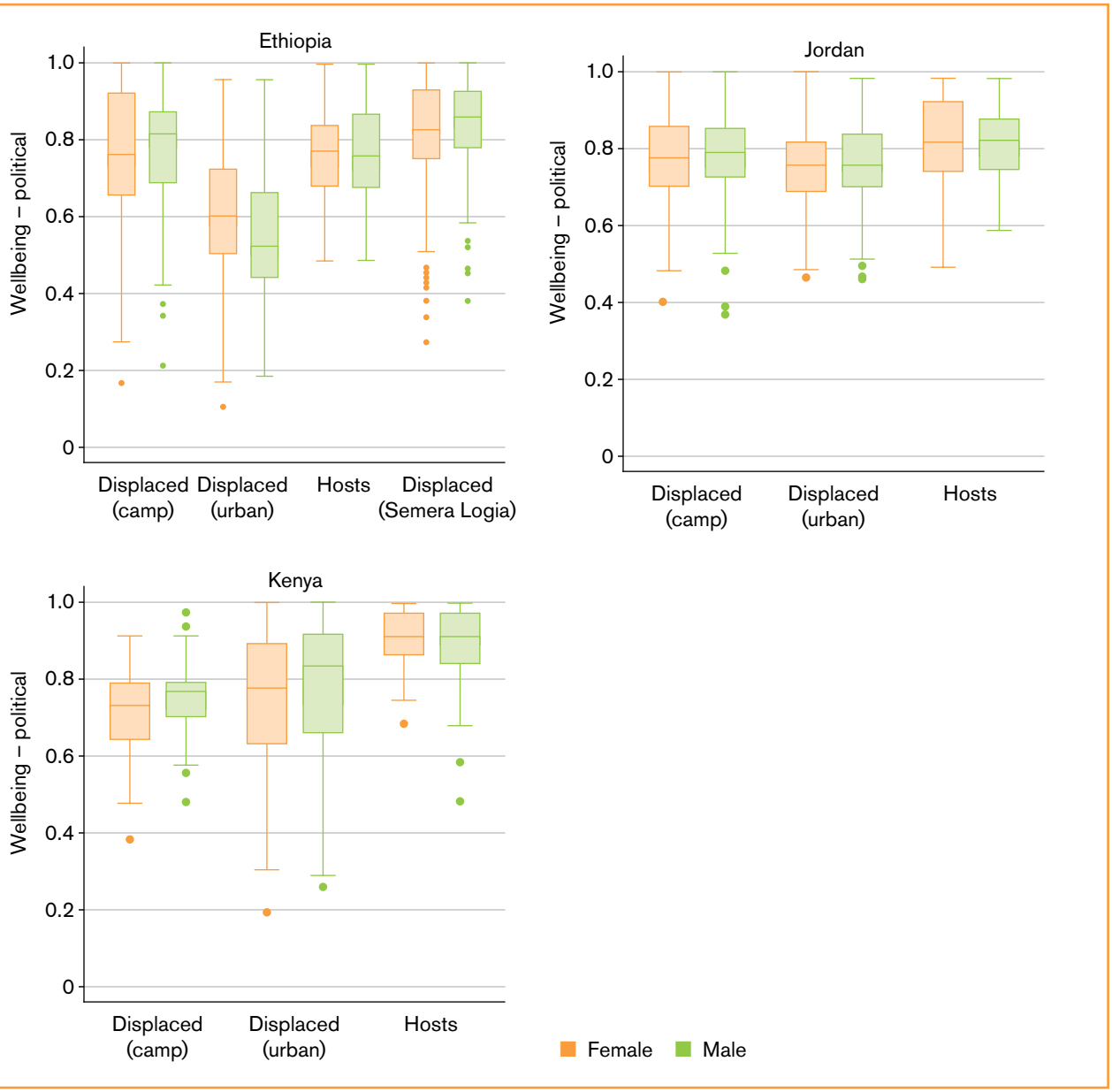
In summary, the PDUW study highlighted challenges faced by displaced people in accessing work or generating an income through self-employment, especially for women. Refugees are often prevented from taking up work in the formal economy, and although informal work can provide opportunities, these types of livelihood strategies may pose a greater risk of violence or exploitation for women than men. This was notably the case for refugees interviewed in Addis Ababa and Nairobi who were working as street hawkers. Risks faced by all women working on the street, are compounded by the lack of legal protections for people working in the informal economy, which may be particularly acute for displaced women without legal documentation. The study has also highlighted the care and housework burden taken on by women, which may be exacerbated in displacement situations and can create an extra barrier to engaging in income generating activities.

Political wellbeing domain

Refugees in the study countries do not have the right to vote and are not officially represented by members of parliament. However, refugees are still affected by public affairs within the host country, particularly concerning their own rights as displaced people and their representation within local communities. To reflect this, the political wellbeing dimension is based on indicators relating to rights to movement, education and work, documentation and legal status, access to justice and information on rights, relationships with institutions and people in authority, and the perceived degree of representation.

Overall political wellbeing scores for the three refugee-hosting countries indicated that female respondents were worse off than their male counterparts, with some exceptions.[13] Refugee women in Kenya who participated in the survey had noticeably lower scores than men, whether they were in the camps or in cities. In Jordan, women's scores were somewhat lower as well. Similarly, in Aysaita camp in Ethiopia, displaced women surveyed scored lower compared to their male counterparts. However, in Addis Ababa urban displaced women had higher average levels of political wellbeing than men.

Figure 3. Political wellbeing scores of respondents by gender, migration status and country (n=3,248)



[13] Because many of the political wellbeing indicators were designed to assess the political inclusion of refugees, some aspects of the metric are not particularly relevant in Afghanistan, where the population studied are displaced Afghan citizens. Accordingly, we have removed the overall score for political wellbeing in Afghanistan in Figure 3, and in the discussion of Afghanistan, we focus on relevant individual indicators.

A regression analysis revealed a positive association between political wellbeing and the life satisfaction of refugee respondents in all four countries. This relationship persisted even when factors such as location (camp versus city), respondent gender and age, marital status, and years spent in the country, were taken into account.

Representation

Survey data and interviews indicated that camp residents generally felt slightly more represented than refugees living in cities. As community representatives are selected or elected in UNHCR-administered camp settings, it is perhaps not surprising that camp residents interviewed were both more likely to know their representatives and to feel more represented (McAteer et al. 2023 and Alhaj Hasan et al. 2023). While camp representation structures are made up of both men and women representatives, women representatives were less likely to be known and named by interviewees, particularly in Aysaita camp (Garcia Amado et al. 2023).

In Kenya, discontent tended to be lower in the camp than in the city. In Dadaab more than 60% of respondents felt 'well' or 'very well' represented. There was almost no difference between women and men in the camp in answers to 'How well do you feel represented/ do you feel your issues are raised with the relevant authorities?' However, one notable difference in terms of representation was that surveyed residents in Dadaab camp seemed to have a stronger sense of political involvement. In the city, approximately 21% of surveyed women felt 'hardly represented' or 'not at all represented' compared to only about 13% of men. In Nairobi, most refugee women interviewed said they were unable to name a leader they felt represented them, while many men in the city named the Kamukunji MP as their representative. Yet the lack of a platform to address issues seemed to be a shared concern at all levels.

In Ethiopia, the men surveyed in Semera Logia and Aysaita camp believed they were better represented than those in Addis Ababa. Fewer than 50% of refugees in Addis Ababa noted that there was someone to represent their community, but women were slightly more satisfied with their representation than men. Although some zone administration representatives in the camp were named in interviews, it is noteworthy that all those named were men, despite each zone requiring both male and female representatives. This raises questions about how effectively gendered representation functions in practice. Additionally, connections with the authorities like ARRA and UNHCR had not been functioning as promised, and the refugees interviewed said they have little faith that the issues they raise with representatives will ever be adequately addressed (Garcia Amado et al. 2023).

In Jordan, refugees living in Zaatari felt slightly better represented than those living in Sweileh in Amman. In Zaatari, 70% of men and 65% of women felt 'very well' or 'well' represented, whereas this decreased to 57% of men and 51% of women in Amman. When asked in the survey 'Who do you feel represents you in your community?', most respondents in the city replied 'nobody' (Alhaj Hasan et al. 2023). In Jordan, both men and women, but particularly women, said they do not have anywhere to voice these concerns, and were unable to approach authorities, UN agencies or NGOs.

> *[Who represents you, or who is the head of this community?] "I wish there was someone I could go and talk to. I say to myself: I want to tell the UNHCR, but they just […] say 'it is not our business'."*
>
> Refugee woman (aged 48), Sweileh

Social wellbeing domain

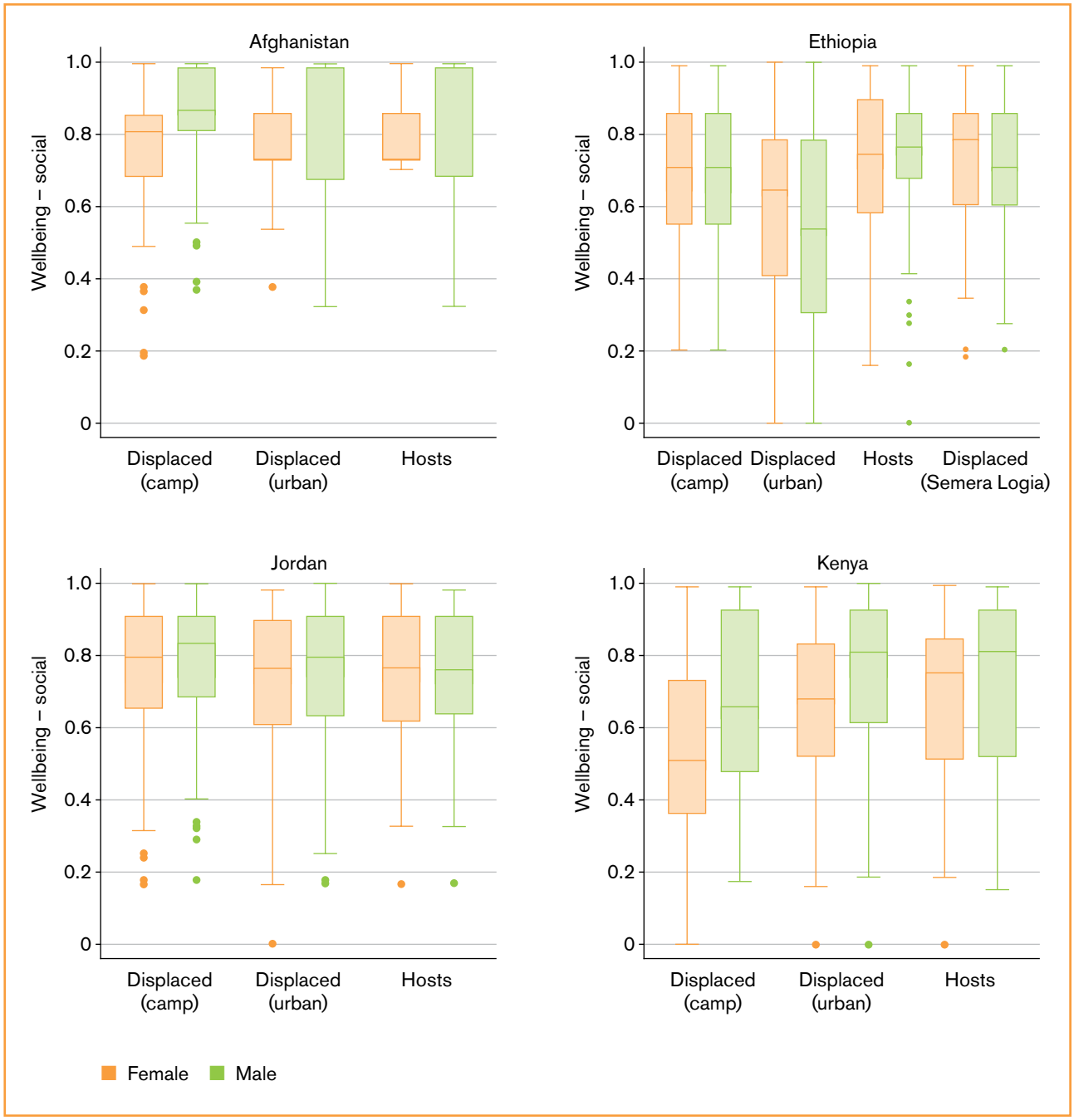
> *"Of course, life is full of ups and downs. We have no option to not deal with them. We have to accept them and move on. Despite difficulties I have in my life, I sometimes go to my sister and brother's house. Sometimes we gather and make fun and play songs and start dancing. Sometimes I sew blankets. These are the things which made me change my mood and enjoy the moments."*
>
> Displaced woman (aged 40), Barikaab

Social wellbeing is defined here as feeling included and having the possibility to seek social interaction. The social wellbeing dimension incorporates indicators relating to social interactions — the ability to spend time with friends and family and to partake in group activities, alongside access to a place of worship, community centre and/or sports facilities. It also includes perceptions of whether the displaced and non-displaced get along well in the community, and the presence of social networks.

Social wellbeing scores exhibited significant variation across the locations and genders, as can be seen in the figure below.

In Jordan, social wellbeing was slightly better in the camp versus the city, and women had slightly lower scores compared to men in both locations. In Afghanistan, women had much lower social wellbeing scores than men within the camp, and slightly lower scores in the city. Men and women had higher average social wellbeing scores in the camp compared to the city. In Ethiopia, social wellbeing scores were notably higher in the camp and the secondary city of Semera Logia than in Addis Ababa, with little gender difference in the camp and women scoring higher on average than men in Semera Logia. In Addis Ababa, women experienced better social wellbeing than men. In Kenya, social wellbeing scores were higher in the city than

Figure 4. Social wellbeing scores of respondents by gender, migration status and country (n=3,981)



in the camp, but displaced women faced significant disadvantages in both settings.

> *"On a daily basis, if [we] are lacking something, we borrow from each other within the building community. This is an interesting practice I like, and I found this is a great way to know each other and sympathise. The community in the area is very different and it amazes me. For example, if the light is gone or not working, we go to the neighbouring house to bake injera. Anything: it may be sugar, oil and other things; we borrow from each other."*
>
> Refugee man (aged 44), Addis Ababa

Social wellbeing scores across locations were affected by the feeling of proximity to community members from the same ethnic and language group, as well as having access to community facilities and places to congregate, socialise and exercise. Men generally had better access to community spaces such as places of worship, sports facilities and social structures such as community councils.

Interviews conducted in Nairobi and Dadaab in Kenya, shed light on the vital role of community in the lives of the displaced:

"I do not engage in the community that much. I have little time. But they have helped me (for example my neighbours). When I was thrown out of the house by the landlord, they helped me pay the rent and asked the landlord not to throw me out again since I had small children. I also have one neighbour who looks out for my children when I am out and makes sure the lady I pay to look after my baby is doing that… Without this community I would not have a job."

Refugee woman (aged 24), Nairobi

"We know each other and we are not from the same ethnicity. We are mostly women. Sometimes we form a group consisting of three to five people and sit under a tree and talk about the life we had in Somalia and how we came to the camp and the challenges we are facing. I really enjoy such stories."

Refugee woman (aged 35), *Dadaab*

Interviewed women in both Dadaab and Nairobi explained how time poverty prevented them from engaging in leisure activities because of constant work or worrying about earning money. This was particularly the case for single mothers. And while social networks can play a positive role, in Kenya some of the single mothers interviewed explained how they had been negatively affected or even harmed by extended family members. Several interviewees spoke of trouble with their husband's or ex-husband's family, expressing fear for their safety or that their children would be taken away from them.

In Jordan, men and women had different levels of satisfaction about their ability to engage in leisure activities; 69% of males in Zaatari and 49% of men in Sweileh expressed being 'somewhat' or 'very satisfied' with their ability to practise sports or other activities, as compared to 52% of women in Zaatari and 49% of women in Sweileh. Whereas the percentages were the same for males and females in Sweileh, when broken down further, 47% of males were 'very satisfied' whereas only 40% of women were. During interviews, men often spoke about playing football as one of their main leisure activities while women in interviews highlighted the lack of public space for similar activities. Focus group discussions revealed that women and girls, particularly in Zaatari camp, lacked access to public spaces for similar activities:

Participant F: Look, those places are exclusively for men, so where do women go? They [men] go to playgrounds and football fields… but women can't access these playgrounds… Men enjoy greater freedom; now if you go to any playground, you will see that it is exclusively for men.

Participant D: There are certain hours of the day [reserved] for girls.

Participant F: Yes [but] it's only accessible up until a certain age. Take my daughter as an example. I let her go play [there] until fourth or fifth grade, but then it's over, because she is getting older, and it's not [culturally] allowed… My daughters face a lot of pressure at home. They don't go out at all; they can only go to school and come back, and then they just keep on studying. They have exams every month, so you feel they are under a lot of psychological pressure. We wish there were some leisure spaces that are exclusively for girls… Life in the camp is extremely unfair towards girls, but it's different for boys.

Participant C: If there were spaces that are exclusively for girls, it would be ok for them to go.

Displaced Syrian women focus group, Zaatari camp, July 2022.

However, according to interviews, refugees living in Zaatari camp have relatives and old acquaintances living nearby, and as such have more extensive and stable social networks. One man noted that in the camp "... We participate in each other's lives as if we are still in our hometown." In Amman, frequent household moves and limited time and resources for socialising contribute to a more isolated life (Dajani et al. 2023). Some Syrian families insist that women only socialise within the home. As a result, women's social lives can also be restricted by household finances and limited space to host guests.

"If you want to host someone at your place, you have to show your hospitality and serve them well; you have to offer them what they offer when you visit them, and I can't do that to be honest… If they invite you, then you have to pay it back later, so I just cut it short in my own way, I say that I am not free, my son has this, or my daughter has that. I try to avoid it in a diplomatic way."

Refugee woman (aged 46), Sweileh

In Ethiopia, survey results indicated similar social wellbeing scores for women and men in Semera Logia and Aysaita, with nearly 97% of both men and women in Aysaita and nearly 93% of both men and women in Semara feeling 'strongly', 'somewhat strongly' or 'neutral' about the statement, 'I feel at home in this area'. In Addis Ababa, women's average social wellbeing score was higher than that of men with 60% of women feeling 'strongly', 'somewhat strongly' or 'neutral' about the statement, as compared to 32% of men. The availability of amenities such as sports facilities, community centres, or places of worship was notably more limited within the camp environment compared to the urban locations. And even though Aysaita camp has few spaces for socialising, it was refugee men living in Addis Ababa who were struggling the most with their overall social integration in the three locations surveyed.

Only 56% of survey participants in Addis Ababa noted positive relations between displaced and non-displaced individuals, but in Semera, that number increased to 93%, and in Aysaita 97%. Language barriers along with fear created by the Tigray conflict created challenges for socialising with local people in the capital — challenges that did not exist in the other locations (Garcia Amado et al. 2023 and Human Rights Watch 2021).

In interviews with displaced people in Afghanistan, urban areas were perceived to provide better access to diverse social networks, community centres and social activities. According to the follow-up survey conducted in 2022, the change of regime in Afghanistan led to only a slight decrease in the overall social wellbeing scores for women in both the city and settlement. The survey results showed higher average social wellbeing scores for women who worked, compared to those who did not in both rounds (Barratt et al. 2023). According to interviews, growing poverty levels following the regime change had reduced the ability to pay to participate in common social activities with family and friends such as visits, picnics and weddings.

In the second round of the survey, almost half of the female participants indicated discontent with their capacity to participate in social events beyond their homes, compared to a quarter in the first round. In addition, among displaced women in Jalalabad, there was a notable rise in dissatisfaction regarding their ability to meet with friends and family, from 2% to 28% in the second round of data collection (Barratt et al. 2023).

> *"I can't think of anything more enjoyable to talk about than visiting my neighbour when I'm sad, to share my pain and spend some time pleasantly with them. At other times, I go to pray Tasbih prayer, which is useful not only in this life but also in the next. My sons go to parks and other recreational facilities such as clubs, which the Taliban have now outlawed, so they only see their friends here."*
>
> Displaced woman (aged 55), Jalalabad

> *"The new government has ordered the women not to go outside their homes without a mahram.[14] Now, it is very difficult for us because our men go to work from dawn to dusk and if we get ill, we should stay at home until our men return from work because we are not allowed to go outside. Besides, when a woman goes outside the house alone for work, the people in the community talk behind her back."*
>
> Displaced woman (aged 50), Jalalabad

In Jalalabad, interviewed women expressed feeling stigmatised due to their perceived poverty. Interestingly, this phenomenon was less pronounced in Barikab where most people perceived their neighbours to be facing similar economic challenges. Some interviewees mentioned their status as internally displaced persons in connection with this feeling of exclusion, but it more frequently revolved around factors such as the absence of familial connections or land ownership, rather than IDP status. The men who were interviewed acknowledged similar levels of income poverty, but did not emphasise its impact on their social relationships as frequently as women did.

> *"Those who have money and relatives can move around freely. But our house is located on the top of the hill and our relatives are ashamed of us, and the reason behind this is our poverty."*
>
> Displaced woman (aged 35), Jalalabad

While this study has highlighted numerous challenges faced by refugees, one of the most important bright spots is the role of community and social networks in the lives of refugees in both city and camp settings. Social networks play a critical role in helping refugees to maintain a sense of belonging and community while also helping to solve the frequent problems that arise when living precariously as displaced people (Jenkins 2024 and Cummins 1996).

> *The best part about this Barikaab Camp is that there are different people with different backgrounds living in the same place. There is not a single case of discrimination here. I visit my neighbours who are Kochis and I attend their wedding ceremonies as well. I cannot bake bread so I take it to Kochis and they bake it for me.*
>
> Displaced woman (aged 40), Barikaab

The study data highlighted how networks can be reinforced or undermined simply through the creation of space and activities for displaced families, especially for women, who may have fewer opportunities go out in public, and may not have a shelter that is deemed acceptable for hosting guests. However, the positive situation set out in the quote above is being undermined in Afghanistan: round 2 of data collection showed a decrease in social connections.

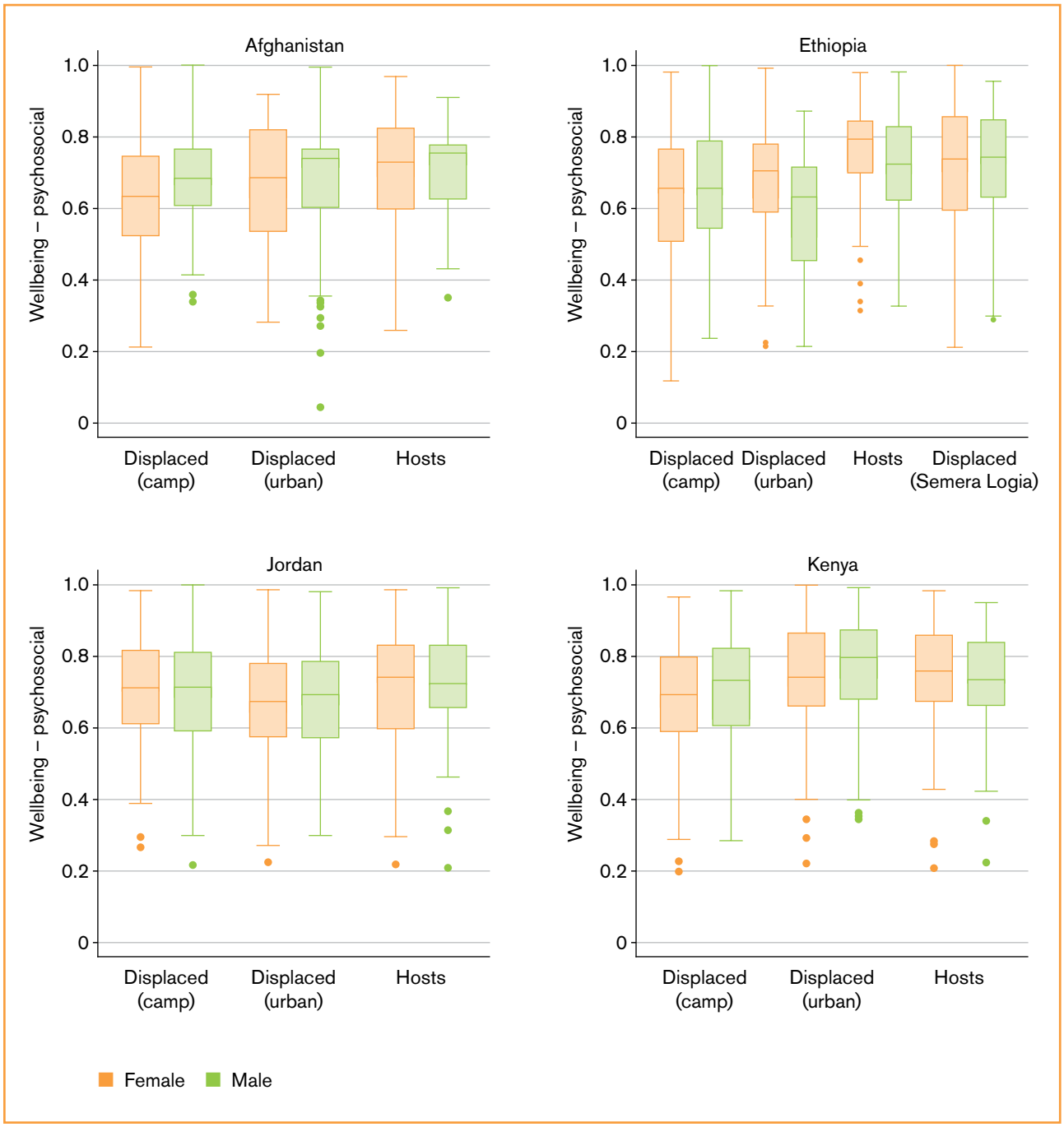
[14] ***Mahram*** is a practice in Afghanistan that restricts women's social interactions and mobility by requiring them to be accompanied by a male relative. It is based on the Islamic concept of ***mahram***, referring to a male relative a woman is not allowed to marry (Barratt et al. 2023).

Psychosocial wellbeing domain

Psychosocial wellbeing is defined in this study as a composite of life satisfaction, feeling at home, optimism about the future for the respondent and the next generation of their community, feelings of independence and agency, and being treated with respect. It also includes the Warwick–Edinburgh (7-item) Mental Wellbeing Scale, where respondents are rated from high or average mental wellbeing down to possible or probable depression (Ng et al. 2016).

Women in Afghanistan and Kenya had lower composite scores than men in both the camp and city. However, in Jordan, the gender effect on psychosocial wellbeing was not clearly defined and, in Ethiopia, women's psychosocial wellbeing scores were higher in Addis Ababa and with little gender difference in the other two locations.

Figure 5. Psychosocial wellbeing scores of respondents by gender, migration status and country (n=3,981)



Life satisfaction

When survey participants were asked how satisfied they were with life, women tended to express higher levels of satisfaction compared to men, with the exception of Barikab in Afghanistan and Eastleigh in Kenya. Displaced women surveyed in Ethiopia and Jordan generally reported higher levels of life satisfaction than men. Being married had a positive influence on life satisfaction for displaced women in Ethiopia, Jordan and Kenya, but not those in Afghanistan. That said, in Jordan, a majority of women surveyed were married (86%) compared to only 50% of women in Kenya. Conversely, marital status had no discernible impact on the life satisfaction of male respondents. In Jordan, women expressed higher degrees of life satisfaction than men in both the city and the camp. Among women in Amman, 71% stated that they were 'somewhat' or 'very satisfied', compared to 64.6% of women in Zaatari. Men in both locations reported similar levels of life satisfaction, with an average of 58%.

> *"I became responsible for myself, responsible for what I say. And if my husband was not here, God forbid, I would be able to support my family. I feel that I am strong and capable of shouldering the responsibility of my children on my own. I am relying on myself more."*
>
> Refugee woman (aged 33), Sweileh

In Afghanistan, respondents tended to be less satisfied with their lives in the Taliban period than before. While life satisfaction sharply declined for both men and women, the decrease was more pronounced among women. In March 2021, 83% of women were at least 'somewhat satisfied', compared to only 58% in 2022. For men, the satisfaction rate was 80% in 2021, which decreased to 66% in 2022 — a 14% decrease.

As noted in the social wellbeing section, people in Aysaita camp in Ethiopia felt part of their community and had a strong sense of shared identity with the people of Afar as well as with other refugees. This, however, did not necessarily equate to feeling content or satisfied with life in the camp. Survey responses indicated that the residents of Aysaita camp had the least favourable opinions about overall life satisfaction: 31% reported being 'somewhat' or 'very dissatisfied' with their lives, in contrast to 18% in Addis Ababa and 21% in Semera Logia.

Optimism for the future

Refugees living in Addis Ababa and Semera Logia described a brighter future compared to the displaced in Aysaita camp, where women anticipated a worse or much worse future. A similar lack of optimism for camp-based refugees is illustrated by this quote from a woman living in Dadaab:

> *"The only difference between where we ran from and here is the peace, but otherwise, we are trapped in the camp. It's suffocating; it's like living in a bottle enclosed from all ends and recycling the same oxygen. That's not a good life to live, is it?"*
>
> Refugee woman (aged 45), Dadaab

However, survey responses suggest a slightly different picture. The survey showed camp-based displaced women in Afghanistan, Jordan and Kenya felt, to varying degrees, more optimistic about the future than displaced women living in urban settings. Further, a higher number of years living in the country was associated with feeling more optimistic in Ethiopia and Kenya, although the effect was relatively small. Gender, however, had no significant effect on feeling optimistic in any of the study countries, when accounting for other factors such as age and number of years in the country.

In Afghanistan, survey results showed a dramatic drop regarding questions about confidence in a better future for their children. In March 2021, 91% of women and 84% of men expressed optimism about their children's future living standards improving, with a drop to only 55% of women and 56% of men expressing such optimism in 2022.

Mental health and independence

In Kenya and Ethiopia, women living in refugee camps were more likely than men to have probable or possible depression, according to the Warwick–Edinburgh (7-item) Mental Wellbeing Scale. Men were, however, more likely than women to show signs of depression in both camp and city in Afghanistan, and in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. In Jordan, the gender differences in mental health were very small, and in Nairobi, Kenya, men were doing better than women, but with smaller differences than in the camp.

Finally, there were notable gender differences in whether respondents felt a sense of independence or not. Survey responses indicated that women less frequently felt independent and able to make their own decisions, when compared to men, especially in Afghanistan and Jordan.

Conclusion

This report has presented a gendered analysis of scores across five dimensions of wellbeing from refugees and IDPs surveyed in camps and urban areas of Jordan, Kenya, Ethiopia and Afghanistan, and triangulated these scores with data from qualitative interviews. It is hard to draw firm conclusions across such a large dataset and such diverse contexts. However, in general, men fared better than women in a majority of the domains and in most locations. But this was not always the case, and the differences in scores between men and women were not always particularly great. Overall gender disparity was most notable in camps, where women tend to do worse than men. There was a broader variety of scores in urban areas, where women in some locations and domains were doing better than men. Further research is needed to explore how gender impacts on wellbeing and the potential advantages of urban life for women and men as compared with the challenges of living in a camp.

In both camp and city settings women are often managing the basic needs of their families, while balancing the social norms of their home countries with new responsibilities created by displacement. These challenges are reflected in wellbeing scores. In Kenya, women on average scored lower than men in all wellbeing domains and in all locations. In Afghanistan, women's scores were lower than men's in the camp in four of the five wellbeing domains. Whereas in Jordan, women were worse off than men in both camps and urban locations in three of the five domains. Ethiopia was an outlier, as women in Addis Ababa scored better than men in all domains, possibly as a result of the impacts of the Tigray conflict and the relatively large number of women receiving remittances from husbands and other family overseas. In the other locations, men scored higher than women in four out of five dimensions, but with smaller differences compared to the other countries.

While this is not the main aim of the report, the authors are able to draw a number of lessons that could inform more gender-sensitive policy and programming for displaced people in camps and urban areas. While displaced women experience additional vulnerabilities related to their status, lack of legal documentation and stigma, the urban-specific recommendations here would also benefit other low-income women in the local population.

Many refugee-hosting countries — including the ones in this study — have encampment policies, which limit refugees' ability to live legally in cities. In camps, refugees are dependent for basic survival on a global community that cannot uphold its commitments: the promise of safety, shelter, food, healthcare and education is not always realised. The PDUW study has highlighted the difficult reality for refugees living in camps, and the additional challenges for women. Over decades, the humanitarian community has developed best practices to ensure the safety and wellbeing of women, but the PDUW survey results expose the failed implementation of many of these standards. Women and girls often feel more unsafe in camps, have poorer health outcomes than men, and unreliable access to adequate and nutritious food.

To address these concerns, measures should be put in place to ensure women's specific needs are informing the design of refugee support in camps. This could be done by working with refugee women's own organisations. For example, to ensure public spaces are safe for women, supporting the creation of 'safe spaces', or culturally appropriate recreational areas for women and girls, and addressing women's specific needs for maternal and reproductive healthcare.

Many refugees in the study believed that life would be better for them and their families outside a camp and in a town or city. But without rights to free movement and permission to work, leaving the camp can be a significant challenge. In addition, while urban areas do hold potential for both displaced women and men to thrive, the PDUW study highlighted challenges faced by displaced people in accessing work or generating an income through self-employment, especially women. Refugees are often prevented from taking up work in the formal economy, and although informal work can provide opportunities, these types of livelihood strategies may pose a greater risk of violence or exploitation for women than men. This was notably the case for refugees interviewed in Addis Ababa and Nairobi who were working as street hawkers. Risks faced by displaced women are similar to those experienced by other low-income women who lack legal protections working in the informal economy, but they may be additionally vulnerable because of their status as refugees or IDPs.

Gender-sensitive programming is required to ensure that displaced women can make the most of opportunities presented by urban areas, including to support themselves and their families. For example, in addition to risks of violence and extortion, they lag behind in access to financial services, and their income-earning opportunities are hindered by responsibilities for childcare and domestic labour. Public spaces and public transport may also be unsafe for women and girls, further compromising their social and psychosocial wellbeing, and they often feel more isolated and less able to engage with local institutions. These risks and burdens, their lack of access to affordable childcare and their generally lower economic wellbeing also impact on displaced women's opportunities to socialise and take part in leisure activities. Targeted policies and support are thus required, that respond to women's caring responsibilities and their livelihood strategies. In circumstances where cultural norms prevent women from working outside the home, and/or taking up jobs in the formal sector, investments in home-based employment can provide opportunities for women to meet their basic needs and those of their families.

Looking ahead, governments and international agencies should make a concerted effort to engage with displaced people's organisations in general, and to support social spaces and opportunities for networking and organising for displaced women in particular. This will help to identify their specific challenges and in designing appropriate solutions across a range of issues — from representation to safe spaces and livelihood support — all of which can serve to enhance protection.

Annex 1. Protracted Displacement in an Urban World

Out of camp or out of sight? Protracted Displacement in an Urban World (PDUW) is a comparative mixed methods research project focusing on the wellbeing and livelihoods of displaced people in camps and urban areas in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Kenya and Jordan. The 3.5-year project is funded by the UK Research and Innovation Global Challenges Research Fund, the IKEA Foundation, the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation and the Bernard van Leer Foundation.

The PDUW study aims to build an evidence base for national and local governments, humanitarian agencies and donors on the opportunities and challenges of hosting displaced people in camps versus urban areas. It also aims to assess current responses to urban protracted displacement, raise awareness of unmet needs and examine the economic contributions of refugees and IDPs. Finally, the project aims to support municipal authorities, displaced people, NGOs, organisations of the urban poor, and other local actors to use participatory planning to co-produce innovative and inclusive solutions to forced displacement in cities.

Our research has sought to deepen understanding of refugees' experiences of life in the camp and the city through the exploration of two thematic areas: wellbeing and displacement economies. The project is comparative in nature — we have primarily sought to compare displaced people's wellbeing and livelihoods between the camp and the urban area in each country, although we are also able to make some cross-country comparisons and will publish these findings in an overview paper and a series of thematic journal articles and working papers.

To facilitate the comparison, we have focused on one nationality of refugee per country. In Ethiopia, our original aim was to compare Tigrinya-speaking Eritrean refugees in Addis Ababa with those in a camp in the Tigray region. After the outbreak of war in 2020 — initially in the Tigray region — the research focus shifted to Eritrean refugees in the Afar region. However, we were not able to identify significant numbers of Afari-speaking refugees in Addis Ababa, and there are marked cultural differences between Afari (who are traditionally semi-nomadic pastoralists) and Tigrinya people who have moved from camps to the capital. We therefore added an additional urban site — Semera Logia, the regional capital in the Afar region, with significant populations of Afar Eritrean refugees. In Afghanistan, we administered a follow-up survey after the Taliban takeover in 2021, to enable comparison of livelihoods, wellbeing and mobility patterns before and after this significant change. Findings will be presented in the Afghanistan Country Working Paper and other project outputs to consider how the place where displaced people find themselves — a camp or a city — has impacted on their wellbeing and ability to make a living.

A key aim of this research project has been to promote interaction between urban refugees/IDPs, residents of low-income informal settlements, municipal authorities and other local actors. To this end, PDUW has supported participatory forums on urban displacement in Addis Ababa, Amman, Jalalabad and Nairobi, in which city stakeholders, including urban refugees and IDPs, have been involved in regular conversations about service delivery, protection challenges and the policy environment, informed by presentations from PDUW's quantitative and qualitative datasets. The findings from these participatory processes throughout the project have been presented in a series of City Notes and policy briefs.

Project methods

The project has taken a mixed-methods approach and generated significant new qualitative and quantitative datasets for each country. Following concept-testing focus groups in the project's inception phase (February–December 2020), a survey was designed and delivered to camp and urban displaced people and urban hosts (50/50 men and women) in: Nairobi and Dadaab camp in Kenya (May–July 2021); Addis Ababa, Aysaita camp and Semera Logia, in Ethiopia (March–April and October 2021); Amman and Zaatari camp in Jordan (February–March 2022); and Jalalabad and Barikab settlement in Afghanistan (February 2021 and August 2022). Following preliminary analysis of the survey results from each country, a total of 450 qualitative interviews were held across all camp and urban locations. These were complemented by key informant interviews with government, UN and NGO representatives in each country. Findings in this report draw on the project's full range of data collection methods. For the purpose of this report, the analysis focuses on the displaced population, but graphs from the survey and metric data will also display findings from the hosts, in order to provide a point of comparison.

Quantitative data

The PDUW survey was translated into local languages but was largely identical in each country, with some minor amendments to questions on legal status to ensure accurate reflection of the policy environment. It covered basic demographic information, migration trajectories and future plans. The livelihood component gathered information around income, assets, individual and household livelihoods, decent job standards, and human, social, physical, natural and financial capital. The wellbeing component covered: physical health and access to healthcare, WASH and shelter; debt and economic comfort; community representation and access to justice; access to social spaces and ability to socialise; hope and aspirations, and the extent to which respondents feel at home and supported in their communities.

The survey applied a randomised, purposeful sampling to ensure the same number of female and male respondents. The sample included a smaller reference group of hosts from each urban location, as well as displaced people from each camp and city. To ensure randomisation, sampled areas were divided into geographical clusters on a map, based on a satellite image. Some of these clusters were then selected for data collection. A random walk pattern, based on the random starting point, was then established in collaboration with the field coordinator, and a random adult respondent was selected in each household.

PDUW QUANTITATIVE SURVEY SAMPLE

Afghanistan

- Barikab Settlement: 362 displaced (225 reached in round two)
- Jalalabad: 371 displaced and 156 hosts (241 displaced and 79 hosts reached in round two)

Ethiopia

- Aysaita Camp: 366 displaced
- Semera Logia: 372 displaced
- Addis Ababa: 365 displaced and 153 hosts

Kenya

- Dadaab Camp: 382 displaced
- Nairobi: 315 displaced and 156 hosts

Jordan

- Zaatari Camp: 398 displaced
- Amman: 368 displaced and 217 hosts

To facilitate the comparison between the camp and urban locations, a selection of indicators from the survey have been used to create three metrics. The indexes also demonstrate how life in displacement differs for men and women in each location.

1. **The Refugee Wellbeing Metric**, covering five wellbeing dimensions (bodily, economic, political, social, and psychosocial wellbeing). This permits a comparison of wellbeing between different cohorts, for example camp/urban, old/young, men/women, educated/non-educated, those who had spent a long time in the country compared with those who had not. As far as the research team can ascertain, the wellbeing metric is the first of its kind to be specifically designed for displaced people. It provides a holistic picture of wellbeing, beyond a typically narrow focus on basic needs.
2. **The Livelihoods Assets Index**, is a work-readiness metric designed to ascertain who shows the highest potential for labour market integration. The index builds on the concept of sustainable livelihoods (DFID 1999), based on age, physical and mental health of respondents, education, legal status, housing quality, adequacy of income, financial inclusion, security, and social integration.

3. **The Livelihoods Outcomes Index**, looks at decent work and labour conditions for those who do have a source of income, in order to study who, among those with income from work, had the best working conditions. The index builds on the concept of 'decent' work, advocated by the ILO as productive work for women and men in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity (ILO 2023a). The index includes components on working hours, job security, work satisfaction, fair pay, tax status, working conditions and social protection.

The metrics are a weighted sum of target indicators, where the weights correspond to a rotation into the first principal component of all the observations of the indicators in the training sample. The principal components of a dataset where each record (row) corresponds to an observation (respondent) and each column corresponds to a variable (indicator) within each observation. There are exactly as many principal components as there are variables, and the original dataset can always be reconstructed from its principal components. However, unlike the original variable set, the principal components explain (rapidly) decreasing proportions of the total information content (variance) of the original dataset.

Qualitative data

In each location, qualitative interviews were also conducted within each of the projects' two main workstreams: refugee/IDP wellbeing and refugee/ IDP enterprise, using purposive sampling. On wellbeing, 25 semi-structured interviews with displaced people (roughly equal between men and women) were conducted in each location (camp and urban) exploring themes from the survey in more depth. On enterprise, 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted with refugee- and host-run enterprises in each location (camp and urban) exploring business creation, decision-making, networks, achievements, and challenges. Additionally, key informant interviews were conducted in all four countries to follow up on emerging themes from the survey and semi-structured interviews. All data were collected during 2021–2022.

Project outputs

The PDUW project will produce a range of written outputs, all of which will be made available on the project website: www.protracteddisplacement.org These include:

- Country working papers, to summarise findings on livelihoods and wellbeing from each country.
- City notes, to summarise the process of running participatory forums in each country.
- Policy briefings, to summarise findings from each country, and draw out cross-country learnings from the participatory planning processes in each city.
- Academic articles, to provide further thematic analysis of key data, including the Autumn 2024 special issue of IIED's journal *Environment and Urbanization*.
- Qualitative and quantitative datasets will be made available to researchers via the UK's Reshare Data Archive.

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Refugee camps remain the default response to mass displacement, despite concerns about their negative impact. Increasing numbers of refugees are bypassing camps to live in urban areas, but this is not without its challenges. This paper provides a gendered analysis of wellbeing and livelihoods outcomes between refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) in camps and urban areas in four countries: Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Jordan and Kenya. The paper highlights gender-specific challenges that women face in refugee camps, particularly around healthcare and physical safety. The research is based on the findings of the four-year Protracted Displacement in an Urban World (PDUW) project.

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