ROUTLEDGE HUMANITARIAN STUDIES

ADOLESCENTS IN HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

DISPLACEMENT, GENDER AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

Edited by
NICOLA JONES, KATE PINCOCK AND BASSAM ABU HAMAD

ROUTLEDGE

This book is a much-needed evidence-based contribution to the important topic of how adolescents experience diverse humanitarian crises. Its attention to the rights and the multiple challenges facing adolescents, including the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, makes it a timely piece of work in the overall regional effort to achieve the global SDG agenda 'leave no one behind'.

– Luay Shabaneh, Regional Director, UNFPA Arab States Region

This book exposes a critical gap in research and programming for adolescents in humanitarian settings – a population with unique vulnerabilities and opportunities but one that falls through the cracks in humanitarian response. Drawing from a rich set of quantitative and qualitative research across many contexts, it fills important evidence gaps about the challenges refugee adolescents face and implications for how to respond – both to improve outcomes for young people and to reduce potential harm. I hope to see this on the shelves of both researchers and practitioners.

– Jeannie Annan, Chief Research & Innovation Officer,
The International Rescue Committee

A much-needed contribution of original field research that shines a light on the lives, struggles and hopes of young people living amidst violence and deprivation. Essential reading for everyone concerned with ensuring these generations not only survive but thrive.

– Dyan Mazurana, Research Professor, Fletcher School,
Tufts University USA

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ADOLESCENTS IN HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

Adolescents in Humanitarian Crisis investigates the experiences of adolescents displaced by humanitarian crisis.

The world is currently seeing unprecedented levels of mass displacement, and almost half of the world's 70 million displaced people are children and adolescents under the age of 18. Displacement for adolescents comes with huge disruption to their education and employment prospects, as well as increased risks of poor psychosocial outcomes and sexual and gender-based violence for girls. Considering these intersectional vulnerabilities throughout, this book explores the experiences of adolescents from refugee, internally displaced persons and stateless communities in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Rwanda. Drawing on innovative mixed-methods research, the book investigates adolescent capabilities, including education, health and nutrition, freedom from violence and bodily integrity, psychosocial wellbeing, voice and agency, and economic empowerment.

Centring the diverse voices and experiences of young people and focusing on how policy and programming can be meaningfully improved, this book will be a vital guide for humanitarian students and researchers, and for practitioners seeking to build effective, evidence-based policy.

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ADOLESCENTS IN HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

Displacement, Gender and Social Inequalities

Edited by Nicola Jones, Kate Pincock and Bassam Abu Hamad

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FOREWORD

Adolescents in Humanitarian Crises: Displacement, Gender, and Social Inequalities provides a critical analysis of the lives of adolescents who are internally displaced or refugees as a result of war and conflict in their countries. Built on a robust mixed-methods research design, the chapters in this book share stories from Congolese, Ethiopian, Palestinian, Rohingya and Syrian adolescents living in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Rwanda. Children and adolescents under 18 years of age constitute approximately 50 per cent of all displaced persons (refugees or internally displaced) globally, yet research that explores their experiences from a gendered and age lens is limited.

The research to document these narratives is part of the 'Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE)' project.[1] Each of the chapters of this book apply the GAGE conceptual framework by exploring the 3 Cs: (1) capabilities of adolescents along one or more of the six axes – education, health and nutrition, freedom from violence and bodily integrity, psychosocial wellbeing, voice and agency and economic empowerment; (2) change strategies; and (3) context. These Cs are superimposed on underlying concepts of the ecological approach, generationing and intersectionality. The triangulation of the framework with the concepts makes for a rich description of lived experiences of adolescents in country contexts: for example, exposing the limited educational opportunities (capability and potential change strategy) of married female Syrians (intersectionality and generationing) in Lebanon (context), which are affected by social norms and state policies (ecological approach).

Through the chapters of this book, we are vividly transported into the daily lives of adolescent girls and boys in multiple humanitarian settings. For example, in Chapter 3, we hear from Ethiopian adolescents about the ever-enduring trauma of witnessing the horrors of war. As one male adolescent states: 'I was in great shock. I did not want to eat or drink. . . no one can think of hunger unless there is peace.'

This trauma is further cemented in the narrative of young females from the Gaza Strip (Chapter 8), who have lived under Israeli occupation and frequent military aggressions for their whole lives: 'Two things worry me: the night and the war. I worry about everyone in my family, I don't want them to leave the house' and 'I don't think there will be a future for us. . . . I want to commit suicide.' We then travel to Lebanon in Chapter 4 and are witness to the harsh realities of married adolescent female Syrian refugees: 'We take the responsibility at a very young age . . . while we are still children. . . . How can a 16-year-old girl deal with a child?' The journey continues in Chapter 6, as we 'see and feel' the stigmatisation on unmarried adolescent mothers of Congolese adolescents displaced to Rwanda, and the hope, agency and resolve of these young girls: 'I am not planning on going back to school [now]. . . . When his time [her son] to start school comes, I will go back to school also.'

In the stories, we see particularities in each context, but we also see commonalities. Global, regional and local configurations of patriarchy and capitalism cascade throughout the ecologic levels and are on full display in the narratives of these young people – limiting capabilities, creating contexts of harm and minimising the effectiveness of conventional change strategies.

In each of these country contexts, the dangers of the siloed approach, so typical of humanitarian programming and aid, are fully evident. Where the education sector does not 'talk' to the employment sector, creating situations where economically struggling families cannot see value in education. Where all sectors seem to ignore and punish adolescents for conforming to social norms that impose limitations on their agency, e.g. when adolescents are late to school as a result of requirement of household chores. Where coercive and violent school environments result in sexual and reproductive consequences of child marriage, but health sectors do not reach out to education sectors. And where country policies – influenced by global politics and aid – differentiate services for one refugee group over another, exacerbating inequities and fuelling tensions. This siloed approach is also evident in the humanitarian 'system' rarely coordinating with the development 'system'. Throughout all this, we 'see' adolescents living their lives, not compartmentalised, rather intersecting, with the onus of navigating the siloes on the shoulders of young people who are already challenged in so many ways.

The chapters in this book expose the difficult lives of adolescents living in humanitarian contexts. They shine light on the unique vulnerabilities created by humanitarian settings generally, and the specific vulnerabilities because of intersecting identities in varied contexts: female, married, with a disability, nationality, ethnicity and religion. Though often focused on the painful lived experiences of adolescents in these contexts, an understanding of the range of realities in any context is necessary. Thus, we must keep acknowledging parents, teachers, health system workers who are working tirelessly to provide trauma-informed, dignified and supportive care across these settings, and refrain from painting a population with any one brush. As succinctly stated by Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, there is 'danger (in any) single story'.

The chapters also provide insight into adolescent agency and dreams. The strategies for supporting adolescents in humanitarian settings shared in each chapter are evidence-based and critical to 'leaving no one behind'. Yet, as we hear the voices of adolescents in this book, we understand that even more is needed.

What is clear from the work in this book is that the SDG's 'leave no one behind' mantra, though important, is minimalist as a paradigm. Indeed, if we are to commit to enhancing capabilities through contextual change strategies crafted by young people, to enable a world where adolescent agency and dreams are achievable, then we need to shift paradigms from 'leaving no one behind' to 'creating environments that *maximize opportunity*'. This shift in thinking will result in policies and programmes that see the sky as the limit, rather than be constrained by the challenges of the current worldview towards refugees and internally displaced peoples (IDPs). 'Leaving no one behind' results in actions that provide 'opportunity' for schooling for refugee youth. Maximising opportunity works to ensure quality education based on a unique understanding of the needs of adolescents. Maximising opportunities requires addressing root causes – the contextual, social and political determinants of health. It also centres anti-othering and anti-oppression mindsets, skillsets and action across the globe. Yet, the voices of young people in this book underscore that 'othering' is ecological, intersectional and generational. Is maximising opportunities possible? It must be our imperative.

As part of this imperative, we not only work within humanitarian setting to change the paradigm. Our commitment to addressing root causes means advocating for a world where humanitarian situations are prevented and do not occur. The stories of adolescents in this book strengthen the resolve. Our work should not emphasise 'building resilience', rather preventing situations that require 'resilience'. Indeed, the word 'resilience' should likely be struck from the rhetoric in humanitarian settings. As stated by Sara Mourad: 'Resilience celebrates survival at the expense of justice. It is the rhetorical and symbolic symptom of the normalization of injustice.'[2]

Much of my research and practice in the space of adolescent and youth wellbeing has been working in partnership with colleagues and communities in the Arab world. I have been honoured and humbled to work in partnership with youth that are refugees and/or living in contexts of chronic and structural uncertainty, conflict and war. Despite these conditions, I have been witness to the agency, power, potential – and capabilities – of youth to uplift and advance equitable just communities, to craft the world we all want. Glimpses of that agency, power and potential are on display throughout the chapters. Our responsibility is to facilitate the conditions that allow them to do so, and in doing so, influence the narratives in this book.

In the meantime, *Adolescents in Humanitarian Crisis: Displacement, Gender, and Social Inequalities* is a must-read – a read that engages all seven of our senses – to remind us of our critical collective work to dismantle the political determinants of adolescent wellbeing.

– Rima Afifi, Professor and Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Community and Behavioral Health, University of Iowa

Notes

1 GAGE Consortium. (2021) Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE). Available at: www.gage.odi.org/about-us/
2 Sara Mourad. (2020) Aftershocks. Available at: www.rustedradishes.com/aftershock/

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGD	Age, Gender and Diversity
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CBPS	Cox's Bazaar Panel Survey
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
CSW	Commercial Sex Work
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAGE	Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GCR	Global Compact on Refugees
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDI	In-Depth Interview
IDMP	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITS	Informal Tented Settlement
IRB	Institutional Review Board
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
ISCG	Inter-Sector Coordination Group
JRP	Jordan Response Plan
KII	Key Informant Interview
LMICs	Lower- and Middle-Income Countries
LNOB	Leave No One Behind
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals

MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
MIDIMAR	Rwandan Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs
MINEMA	Rwandan Ministry of Emergency Management
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIHR	National Institute for Health Research
PCBS	Palestine Central Bureau of Statistics
PLC	Palestinian Legislative Council
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

1

LEAVING NO ONE BEHIND

Exploring the experiences of adolescents in humanitarian settings

Nicola Jones, Kate Pincock and Bassam Abu Hamad

Since arriving in Jordan in 2012 as a refugee from Daraa, Syria at the age of 12, Jana's life has not been easy. She lives in Azraq, a sprawling refugee camp situated in the middle of an inhospitable desert approximately 100 kilometres from Jordan's capital city, Amman.

Jana's family were unsure how to register her at school when they first arrived and they suffered from financial difficulties, so it was only after a year that she was able to resume her education as a Grade 6 student. She also experienced a lot of harassment in the first camp, Zaatari, where they stayed. 'There used to be people who opened the tent and entered it while we were in it . . . I mean young men.' However, she has since moved to Azraq camp with her family where her brother was detained for violating the Jordanian labour laws and has found the situation to be better. 'Here, on the contrary nobody dares to do the same. In terms of safety and security, Azraq camp is better.'

However, from an education standpoint, the move was not positive and Jana grew increasingly frustrated with the poor quality of teaching. Accordingly, when her sister's new husband introduced her to his Jordanian friend, she saw an opportunity to try and change her life and leave the confines of the camp, and so, at the age of 15, Jana decided to get married. Her parents did not approve of the marriage, but Jana was determined that it was the right decision and it would help improve her circumstances.

> I told them that I wanted to marry him because our life was not as I wanted it to be. We did not have the money to live a proper life. So I thought that if I got married my situation will improve.

Unfortunately, married life was not as Jana had imagined. 'I did not know what would happen after marriage. I did not know that I will be holding such a responsibility.' She felt that she 'lived as if I was a foreigner in that house'. Six months after the marriage Jana decided to get a divorce, but shortly after she had returned to her parents' home, she found out she was pregnant.

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Jana is now living with her family in the camp with her son, and every month she requests a permit to go out of the camp to visit her ex-husband to let him see his son. She loves her son very much but lives in constant fear that her ex-husband and his family will take him away from her: 'the only thing I fear is to lose my son.' Jana would like to go back to school and restart her education but feels it is impossible in the short term due to childcare responsibilities. 'It is not over for me yet, but the problem is my son. I cannot leave him.'

Jana is one of more than 70 million people globally who have been displaced by persecution, violence, conflict and human rights violations – an unprecedented number in the history of the world. Of these 70 million individuals, 41 million are internally displaced, and nearly 26 million are refugees; the remainder are asylum claimants (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2018). This means that 1 in every 108 people in the world is now displaced. And of these vast numbers of displaced people, almost half – an astonishing 31 million – are children and adolescents under the age of 18. Of this total, 13 million are recognised refugees and 17 million have been internally displaced within their countries' borders. A further 1 million are asylum seekers (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 2017).

As Jana's story shows, displacement causes enormous disruption to young people's development trajectories in multiple ways. It compromises their access to education, as schooling is difficult to set up quickly in camp settings (UNHCR, 2018), and schools in host communities are often unable to cope with an influx of new students (Wanjiru, 2018; Jones et al., 2019b). Where there are few opportunities for household income generation by parents, many displaced adolescents in the global South enter work, often under dangerous or exploitative conditions (Evans et al., 2013; Gercama et al., 2018; Guglielmi et al., 2019; Jones et al., 2019b). Jana's experiences also emphasise the way that gender shapes the experience of adolescence in diverse humanitarian contexts. In pursuit of financial stability and protection, girls may marry at an earlier age than they might have otherwise, but many girls will have little say as to when or to whom (De Jong et al., 2017; Jones et al., 2019b). Trauma – whether experienced during forced migration and/or in camps and settlements – exacerbates the emotional upheaval that adolescents are already experiencing as a result of bodily changes, placing young people at risk of poor mental health for years to come (Jabbar and Zaza, 2014; Hassan et al., 2016; Khan et al., 2018; Wanjiru, 2018).

Jana's story also emphasises the agency of adolescents in the face of these challenges. Far from being passive victims of trauma, violence and exploitation, adolescents find ways to navigate the structural constraints that are generated or amplified by displacement. As Jana's experience illustrates, these challenges not only affect adolescents as individuals but also reshape their relationships with their families, their peers and their communities. Attending to adolescents' capabilities does not mean downplaying or depoliticising the injustices of displacement, for which literatures on both refugee and young people's agency have rightly been critiqued (Evans et al., 2013; Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018). Rather, this book seeks

to directly connect and contextualise adolescents' experiences in relation to the broader social and political processes that shape their opportunities and choices.

This book arrives at a timely juncture for such a venture. The Sustainable Development Agenda 2030 to 'Leave No One Behind' emphasizes the need to ensure that the structural barriers that prevent the most marginalised people from participating in and benefiting from development investments, with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) specifically outlining key indicators relating to youth, gender and more recently displacement. Alongside this, growing attention to the protracted nature of humanitarian crises and the attendant challenges for adolescents has led to increasing interest to the development of collective, long-term solutions to mass displacement. In 2018 alone, 13.6 million people were newly displaced, but the numbers of people classed as being in protracted displacement – when a population of more than 25,000 people has spent more than five consecutive years in exile – also increased, from 66 per cent of refugees in 2017 to 78 per cent in 2018 (UN DESA, 2017). Change is urgently needed.

Addressing knowledge gaps

This volume addresses a number of key knowledge gaps with regard to young people's experiences of displacement. In this section we map out these central thematic domains, before turning to a discussion of the book's research methodology and an overview of each chapter.

Age and gender

With some noted exceptions, the majority of research at the intersection of young people and forced migration overlooks the particular experiences of adolescents in contexts of displacement in favour of a focus on children or older youths (Ball and Moselle, 2016). Yet focusing on adolescence is important because during this life stage, individuals undergo major biological and cognitive changes that affect their social position as adults (Patton et al., 2012; Viner et al., 2015). These social transitions can lead to unequal opportunities and outcomes. Whilst these will vary across contexts, it can generally be observed that the life-worlds of girls often become even smaller due to restrictive norms and expectations for adult women (Watson, 2015). Adolescence (10–19 years) is also increasingly seen as a key window for fostering positive development trajectories for all young people (Sheehan et al., 2017). In humanitarian settings, structural concerns such as poverty and insecurity present major challenges for ensuring these positive trajectories. Given the enormous numbers of people who are displaced, it is essential to develop a better understanding of how young people encounter displacement and what works to improve their outcomes during this critical life phase.

In contexts of displacement, we know that certain risks are amplified for adolescent girls (UNESCO, 2019). Sexual and gender-based violence is prevalent in humanitarian contexts but is usually under-reported, and formal institutions have limited capacity to prevent rape and harassment in such settings (Hynes and Cordozo, 2000; Hossain et al., 2014; Odwe et al., 2018). Agencies may also misunderstand the

risks perceived by girls themselves (Williams et al., 2018). Driven by concerns about the safety of girls and their protection needs, families often limit girls' mobility, and their participation in social events may be even further discouraged (De Jong et al., 2017; Jones et al., 2019c). Efforts to keep girls safe can negatively affect their bodily integrity and psychosocial wellbeing, with an increase in child marriage – and thus early motherhood – seen across contexts of displacement, typically driven by a lack of alternative options for socioeconomic security, and poor provision of sexual and reproductive health services and information (Guglielmi et al., 2019; Jones et al., 2019c). These efforts to protect girls often inadvertently end up curtailing girls' agency and capabilities.

Displaced adolescent boys face challenges of a different kind. While girls are more likely to be confined to the home, boys may be expected to work in unsafe jobs to support their families (Evans et al., 2013), leading them to miss out on education. A lack of quality schooling can be a factor in this, as can violent schooling environments – with boys at greater risk of violence from teachers and peers than girls (Jones et al., 2019a). These experiences result in poor psychosocial outcomes for many adolescent boys (Jabbar and Zaza, 2014; Hassan et al., 2016). Unemployment and disenfranchisement – which are major issues for adolescent boys and young men in contexts of displacement because they disrupt transitions to masculine adulthood – are also linked to their recruitment into violent nationalist and other political movements (Mikhael and Norman, 2018). Conflict-affected populations are also known to be at risk for substance abuse (Ezard, 2012), yet most interventions focus on adults despite increasing recognition that adolescent boys may be particularly vulnerable to drug and alcohol use (Greene and Kane, 2020).

Despite widespread recognition of the importance of age and gender for international development, research has also not engaged substantively with the gendered dimensions of adolescents' experiences within humanitarian settings. Where gender is acknowledged as a factor shaping the experiences of young displaced people, research has tended to focus on young men and boys, traditionally treated as possible ex-combatants and as potential future threats to security (Hart, 2008) and thus a source of concern. When young women are considered, it is generally in relation to their vulnerability (particularly to sexual violence) rather than a focus on their capabilities (Boyden and de Berry, 2004). Positioning displaced young women simply as 'at risk' and young men as 'a risk to others' as a starting point for programming not only obscures the structural determinants of vulnerabilities but also undermines young people's capacity for agency (Evans et al., 2013). Moving beyond reductive framings of gender and youth by challenging the assumptions that underpin them is a key contribution of this book, with all chapters directly engaging with young people's own perspectives and experiences.

Education and opportunity

Research at the intersection of humanitarianism and adolescence has a strong focus on education. SDG 4 seeks to ensure 'inclusive and equitable quality education and

promote lifelong learning opportunities for all', and education was a key concern of the 2019 Global Refugee Forum, which brought together UN member states to discuss progress on efforts to include refugees in national education systems (2019c). Education is perceived to be protective of young people's further involvement in conflict (Smith, 2014) and seen as vital for improving their opportunities later in life (UNHCR, 2019b). Yet despite gradual improvements, statistics indicate the scale of the challenge of educating refugees; at secondary school level only 24 per cent of refugees are in education, compared to 84 per cent of non-refugees (UNHCR, 2019a). Very little data is available about internally displaced youth and educational access. We know that barriers to adolescent refugees' inclusion in schools include language and cultural differences, stigma, legal obstacles, 'hidden' costs such as uniform and examination fees and the need to work to support families taking priority (UNICEF, 2017).

Whilst integrating adolescent refugees into national education systems is an important step, we must also recognise that formal education in and of itself is not a panacea to poverty and conflict; restrictions on rights to work and discrimination still preclude access to decent work, even for refugees with qualifications (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018). Student-centred learning which deliberately harnesses aspirations in the context of an unknowable future can, however, support adolescents in developing the flexibility and 'cognitive mobility' to cope with long-term uncertainty (Dryden-Peterson, 2017). From the perspective of gender justice, preserving the identities of girls as 'learners' through continued education can also help to protect them from child marriage and entry into work (Zwier-Marongedza, 2020). Human rights education (HRE) which integrates human rights into both content and delivery approaches also shows promise in promoting young refugees' participation and advocacy in their communities (Devonald et al., 2020). Although the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has called for the development of alternative learning methods and curricula that reflect the needs of young people in hosting countries (UNICEF, 2019), evidence gaps remain as to the impact and effectiveness of non-formal approaches for overcoming the challenges associated with the protracted, indeterminate exile that four out of five young displacees face. Several chapters, including those on Syrian refugees in Jordan and on Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, contribute to knowledge on these dynamics.

Internal displacement

Equally underexplored are the complexities and challenges to young people presented by the varied nature of displacement, and we include here a chapter on IDP experiences in Ethiopia, a country with one of the highest numbers of new internally displaced persons (IDPs), that engages with these concerns. By considering not just refugees but also internally displaced persons, this book also contributes to the literature on internal displacement – a field in which there has been almost no engagement with the gendered experiences of adolescents. While 'refugee' is a legal category and refugees are protected under the 1951 Refugee Convention, 'IDP' is a

descriptive category only; this means that the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement are not legally binding. This lack of legal recognition for IDPs can constrain the response of international organisations, creating a gap in terms of which organisation(s) takes responsibility for assisting women and youth (Macklin, 2008). Internally displaced adolescents are not catered for in the same ways as refugees (Austin et al., 2008), for whom education, skills training and health care are funded by the international community.

Peace and sustainability

Agenda 2030 has been applauded for presenting a framework that recognises the role of conflict resolution and sustainability in work at the humanitarian-development nexus. Climate change and peace form the basis of SDGs 13 (taking urgent action on climate change) and 16 (peace, justice and strong institutions), though across the whole Agenda, sustainability and peace are seen as the foundation on which equitable development can build (Howe, 2019). From a UN (2015) perspective, 'there can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development'. The 'new way of working' within the UN system, which emphasises collaboration and partnership between humanitarian and development actors, also calls for interventions which where possible can contribute to these outcomes (UNOCHA, 2017). Several authors identify these connections in their contributed chapters. Climate change – and more specifically environmental injustice – has long been a significant driver of internal displacement in Ethiopia (Nygren and Wayessa, 2018). The impact of climate change on resources such as fertile land and water is also likely to increasingly present challenges for actualising refugee 'self-reliance' in contexts characterised by inequality (Ilcan et al., 2015). This underlines the link between peace and sustainability; as seen in Jordan (Combaz, 2019), tensions over resources may lead to further conflict with local communities. Young people's participation in peacebuilding is increasingly seen as essential for the successful rebuilding of community and society in post-conflict settings (UNMGCY, 2019). Understanding adolescents' own perspectives on conflict and displacement is key to the development of interventions that support roles they may play in peacebuilding (Bellino, 2017; Berents, 2018). Peace processes are underway in some of the countries explored in this book, including Ethiopia. Yet other contexts remain in protracted conflict, with little sight of resolution on the horizon, underlining the importance of also attending, as several chapters do, to what interventions are needed by young people to support the lives they are making for themselves in contexts of displacement (Agbiboa, 2015).

Policy and programming

It is imperative to understand more about adolescents in different contexts of displacement in order to maximise the impact of recent sea changes in international

development and humanitarian aid policy. The Global Compact on Refugees seeks to bridge the aid-development nexus, moving beyond the immediate priorities of humanitarian assistance and finding ways to promote long-term solutions to displacement; however, as with the 1951 Refugee Convention, the Global Compact does not include internally displaced persons. In 2018, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) also reiterated its commitment to mainstreaming age, gender and diversity through an updated policy, which explicitly addresses the inclusion, participation and empowerment of women and girls, and of children and youth more broadly. In light of this, the Global Compact indicator framework calls for data to be disaggregated by sex, age and diversity, but it recognises that this is not always available from all sources of monitoring, presenting challenges for ensuring that adolescents are included in the benefits that the Global Compact seeks to deliver (UNHCR, 2019b). The 2019 Global Refugee Forum – a key milestone in implementing the Global Compact – saw stakeholders, including states and international organisations, make pledges to implement better protection measures for women and girls, and for children and youth.

These moves reflect an appetite at policy level for ensuring that development-informed approaches to managing displacement do not further entrench inequalities based on age and gender. This is a key objective of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals and the 'leave no one behind' agenda, which has drawn increasing attention to those who tend to be marginalised within existing development interventions. Yet as it stands, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development has various shortcomings as a benchmark for designing policies and interventions that support displaced young people. It does not, for example, identify refugees and IDPs as specific populations requiring attention, despite the particular risks they face. Nor does it recognise the specific needs of stateless people, despite UNHCR acknowledging that they are among the most vulnerable people – politically, economically and socially. Given the numbers of displaced people globally and the particular marginalisation faced by young people who are displaced, it is essential that stakeholders consider how the SDGs can meet the needs of populations on the move, and particularly the most marginalised individuals/groups within those populations.

UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) do not have an official mandate to report on SDG targets, but they have recognised ten indicators within six goals and targets as being especially relevant to refugee populations. This is an important starting point for more discussion about how to bring development and humanitarian agendas together to leave no one behind. Yet one of the major obstacles for effective programming is the lack of gender- and age-disaggregated data, which makes it difficult to know what is happening to women and girls who are displaced – and what is needed to support their capabilities. Given the challenges and risks documented within the existing literature around adolescent refugee girls' access to safe work (O'Neil et al., 2016) and to education (UNESCO, 2019), and their vulnerability to age-based violence, a gender- and age-specific lens for the planning, implementing and monitoring of the SDGs is essential to ensure that no one is left behind.

Aims of the book

This book has three main aims. First, as emphasised earlier, it underlines the need to pay more attention to adolescents in contexts of displacement. The insights that contributors provide into the experiences of adolescents in such contexts not only shed light on the particular challenges facing refugee and displaced young people but also highlight their resilience and capabilities. In so doing, the book seeks to contribute to significant gaps in knowledge around adolescents' capabilities in six key areas: education; health and nutrition; freedom from violence and bodily integrity; psychosocial wellbeing; voice and agency; and economic empowerment. The relationship of these capabilities to broader global objectives, such as the Global Compact on Refugees and the SDGs, is emphasised.

The second aim is to identify themes that cut across divergent humanitarian contexts, whilst keeping sight of contextual nuances. A key innovation of this book is that it presents findings from displacement settings that are geographically and temporally diverse. The Middle East, Asia and Africa are all contexts in which there are very different refugee populations, with crises varying from acute to protracted, across countries. In Bangladesh, the Rohingya refugee population continues to grow, with over a million refugees fleeing from Myanmar since 2017. Ethiopia, which has long hosted refugees from East Africa and Somalia, has, since 2017, accommodated a huge upsurge in IDPs, with more than 3 million people displaced in the region due to political violence and climate change. In Rwanda, Congolese refugees make up the majority of camp residents, with some living in displacement for more than 20 years due to the ongoing nature of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Jordan and Lebanon both host significant numbers of displaced Syrians as a result of the civil war in the country since 2011; Jordan also hosts more than 2 million stateless, long-term displaced Palestinians who have been in exile for generations. This makes for an interesting diversity of cases from which to learn about and contextualise adolescents' experiences.

Third, the book also identifies implications for programming with refugee and internally displaced adolescents. In contexts of displacement, international agencies such as UNHCR, IOM and UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) provide vital assistance, protection and basic services. The Global Compact on Refugees reflects increasing recognition that solutions to protracted displacement require longer-term thinking that goes beyond meeting immediate needs. This book makes an important contribution to that thinking, exploring what works to empower adolescents now, and in the future, as they transition into early adulthood. In practice, however, relationships between state governments are complex, and local and global politics often shape and even restrict responses to refugee needs and access to services. This is especially pertinent in the case of IDPs, for whom there are no international agencies mandated to provide assistance; governments are therefore the first line in providing assistance, despite any potential political tensions over internal displacement.

In contexts such as Palestine, where displaced adolescents are often the children of adults who were initially displaced many years before, it is essential to address the longitudinal political and economic consequences for adolescents (Chatty, 2010). In Jordan, a new Compact was initiated in 2016 to enable Syrian refugees to access labour markets, though this has brought mixed results for young people's economic empowerment (Lenner and Turner, 2018) and has also faced some reversals as broader economic malaise in the country has increased. Contexts such as the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh, where immediate demands for humanitarian assistance take precedence, present their own challenges for meeting UNHCR's mandate to mainstream Age, Gender and Diversity into its programming. This is because it is particularly difficult to disentangle the various causes and consequences of adolescents' marginalisation in such rapidly evolving contexts. Yet at the same time, risks to adolescent girls, in particular, are magnified under such conditions (McLean and Modi, 2016). And in Rwanda, ongoing humanitarian challenges for Congolese refugees continue to fly under the radar, with a lack of political will and funding potentially hindering the effective implementation of Age, Gender and Diversity policies.

Currently there is a general dearth of programming specifically for adolescents, and limited work that addresses both the challenges they face and their aspirations in contexts of displacement. However, our empirical findings do identify several areas of promising practice, the implications of which we return to in the concluding chapter of this book. The research on which the chapters in this book are based draws on a conceptual framework informed by a capabilities framework, which explores the conditions and resources necessary for young people to improve their lives (Sen, 2004; Nussbaum, 2011). In doing so, the contributors explore 'what works' when it comes to policy and programming for adolescents to support their capabilities, generating important implications for those working with young people in contexts of displacement. Examples of promising interventions highlighted in the book include the non-formal education and safe spaces of Makani initiative in Jordan, which has helped to expand access to learning, peer networks and referrals to protection and basic services for young people in refugee and host communities across Jordan; innovative non-formal educational pathways for married Rohingya girls in Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh; and investments that have led to gains in health and education for adolescents in Gaza.

Conceptual framework

The '3 Cs'

Through this book, we advance the need to understand the experiences and outcomes of displaced adolescents by attending to three interconnected aspects of their lives. Known as the '3 Cs', these aspects are: adolescents' capabilities, the change strategies that exist, and the contexts in which adolescents are situated (GAGE

consortium, 2019). All of these have a significant effect on adolescents' trajectories in contexts of forced migration and displacement, and many aspects are deeply gendered. This framework also attends to the role of structure and agency in shaping adolescent trajectories. An approach that accounts for these three dimensions – and the ways in which they intersect – is essential for tackling the challenge of developing effective interventions with displaced adolescents.

The first 'C', *capabilities*, refers to the challenges that need to be overcome across six dimensions of adolescent wellbeing. Capabilities are one's capacity to achieve valued ways of 'doing and being' (Sen, 2004; Nussbaum, 2011). Within the research from which the chapters of this book draw, six 'capability domains' are identified, which make important contributions to adolescents' capacity to live a good life. These are: health and nutrition, education and learning, voice and agency, economic empowerment, bodily integrity and freedom from violence, and psychosocial wellbeing. Adolescence has an important impact on the development of capabilities across these domains due to both the intense physical changes that happen during puberty and the social roles afforded to boys and girls in their family and community (Patton et al., 2012; Steinberg, 2015; Viner et al., 2015). For girls, adolescence is typically a time when their options are reduced and their capabilities are restricted, necessitating a gendered lens for policy-makers and practitioners. In contexts of displacement, being able to expand one's capabilities may be further disrupted or complicated; for example, a lack of quality schooling in a camp – or fears over the safety of the journey to school – may constrain girls' capabilities in relation to education and learning.

The second 'C', *change strategies*, refers to the policy and programming needed to improve outcomes in these domains. A growing body of evidence suggests the need for change strategies that involve actors at various levels, including families, schools, communities and service providers, coming together to find ways to support adolescents – and girls in particular, given the particular constraints they face – in achieving capabilities. In contexts of displacement, identifying effective change strategies is particularly complex, given the rapidly changing nature of many refugee situations and the stakeholders involved. Effective change strategies identified by previous research with relevance for refugee, IDP and stateless populations include: empowering adolescent girls to build on their strengths and develop voice and agency within safe spaces, engaging with boys and men to exercise positive masculinities, supporting families to support their daughters, promoting social norms change, and strengthening the services and systems that adolescents access or need (GAGE consortium, 2019).

The third 'C' highlights the effects of *context* – at the local, national and international levels – on these strategies. An interplay of diverse contextual factors shapes adolescent girls' vulnerabilities and opportunities (Viner et al., 2015. While cultural, religious and social dynamics play an important role here, it is essential not to overlook how these dynamics interact with displacement, and associated factors such as conflict and humanitarian assistance. Families and communities are disrupted and often torn apart during displacement, and the political and social contexts they find

themselves having to navigate may amplify or undermine existing discriminatory gender norms. Understanding these effects, and integrating this understanding into change strategies, is essential. The rapid implementation that often characterises humanitarian efforts can mean that actors overlook the ways in which local context might counteract or hamper attempts to deal with sensitive issues such as gender-based violence, undermining the impact of programming with young displaced women (McLean and Modi, 2016; Sommer et al., 2018).

Theoretical frameworks

Our attention to the role of context, capabilities and change strategies in shaping adolescents' experiences and outcomes is influenced by several key strands of thought with particular significance for adolescents in humanitarian settings. The first is the ecological approach, which emphasises the role of social location in adolescents' choices and options. The second is the notion of generationing, which attends to the socially constructed nature of age itself. The third is intersectionality – a theory that has gained enormous traction in enabling us to recognise how structural marginalisation prevents some adolescents from thriving, even when choices are ostensibly available. Taken together, these paradigms help to illuminate the importance of balancing structure and agency in analysing adolescents' trajectories in humanitarian settings. These approaches also have complementary implications for how capabilities, change strategies and context are understood.

The central tenet of the ecological approach is that young people develop in a social *context*; parents, peers, teachers and a range of other actors are part of this social fabric, as are economic, political and social forces and structures (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Kostelny (2006) suggests that an ecological approach can also help in understanding how best to support adolescents in terms of *change strategies* in post-conflict settings; psychosocial support to displaced children, for example, is best provided through holistic, culturally grounded, family- and community-based methods. In terms of *capabilities*, an ecological approach recognises that the social milieu and networks within which children are located will shape their voice, agency, bodily integrity, opportunities for work and education, access to health care and overall wellbeing. This includes collective capabilities, which refer to the activities necessary to help groups of people to work together towards shared goals of empowerment and capability expansion. At a structural and institutional level, there must be opportunities for collective agency to be exercised, enabling collective capabilities to be 'scaled up' in order to trigger broader transformation (Ibrahim, 2006). In humanitarian contexts, this means situating the experiences of individual adolescents in relation to the structural nature of marginalisation and disempowerment, especially when identifying change strategies, to ensure that these attend to the political and socioeconomic dynamics that constrain opportunities for displaced populations.

Next is the application of 'generationing' to contexts of displacement. In asserting the importance of adolescence as a life stage, we acknowledge that it constitutes

a socially constructed category that varies across contexts. Attention to 'generations' re-situates age not just as a chronological fact but as a socially constructed *context* for young people's lives. It challenges the adult-centrism of much of existing development research, which often disregards the complex intergenerational dynamics in which young people engage with programming, instead treating them reductively as project beneficiaries (Huijsmans, 2016). This is despite the significant body of research in global childhood studies more broadly that draws attention to children and young people's agency within broader processes of development and change (Katz, 2004; Ansell, 2005; Tisdall and Punch, 2012). Huijsmans et al. (2014) point to the ways that development transforms the opportunity structures that shape young lives, including these intergenerational dynamics. In contexts of protracted displacement, a 'generationing' approach can provide insights into patterns of social reproduction which shape displaced adolescents' identities and relationship to the world around them. It is essential to note that in attending to these dynamics, we do not seek to unequivocally position older generations as bearers of problematic traditions and cultural norms. Where social reproduction is explored, it is with recognition that families and communities are all subject to the structural violence of displacement and that, as in any other context, they are often seeking to protect and support adolescents the best they can in the face of enormous challenges. Drawing on a 'generationing' approach, we attend to the impact of displacement on young people's place in the world and consequences for their *capabilities*. Looking at their collective capabilities means not just attending to the empowerment of individual girls to exercise agency but looking too at the networks of relationships that may rechannel power in ways that recalibrate patterns of gendered and aged inequality (Ansell, 2014). In thinking of *change strategies*, a 'generationing' approach is key to identifying both moments of disjuncture between older and younger cohorts, and opportunities that displacement may potentially bring to disrupt the reproduction of norms and shift adolescents' trajectories in new directions.

The third important paradigm shaping the framework of this book is intersectionality. As White (1996) so aptly showed, young people are not a homogenous group; various power dynamics characterise their interactions and shape their representation, participation and inclusion. An intersectional approach rejects the idea that a single category such as 'gender' or 'age' should be central to analysis, instead emphasising the ways in which inequalities that include gender and age – but also disability, socioeconomic status, rurality, citizenship and migration status – interact with and co-constitute each other to affect the *capabilities* of different adolescents (Hankivsky et al., 2012). Originating with black feminist scholars, intersectionality emphasises the ways in which different aspects of social identity converge to produce particular experiences of marginalisation (Hooks, 1981; Crenshaw, 1989). These structures and processes are dynamic, meaning that *contexts* shift across time and place (Crawshaw and Smith, 2009). An intersectional lens also draws attention to the fluidity with which displaced people may relate to categories in the first place (Hyndman, 2010; Ludwig, 2016). An intersectional approach to *change strategies* recognises that power and privilege differentials will mean that certain

adolescents are likely to be 'left behind' if programming does not directly address the structural drivers of inequality. Adolescents' collective capabilities can be built by strengthening their individual knowledge and awareness of social justice issues and instigating social change to benefit those who are most marginalised (Kabeer and Sulaiman, 2015).

Methods

The chapters of this book all draw on findings from research undertaken as part of the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) longitudinal programme (2015–2024). GAGE is a mixed-methods, multi-country research programme that aims to understand the lives of adolescents in six low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), exploring 'what works' when it comes to policy and programming. The book focuses on findings from ongoing research in six contexts of displacement: Rwanda, Ethiopia, Jordan, Lebanon, Bangladesh and Palestine. In order to capture the multidimensionality that is embedded within the conceptual framework, and to engage with a broad range of actors over a number of years, the data presented here were generated using a variety of innovative methods, often in combination, which comprise the GAGE methodological toolkit. These include: quantitative surveys with younger (10–12 years) and older (15–17 years) adolescents and their caregivers, qualitative interviews with individuals and groups, and participatory research with especially vulnerable adolescents. Table 1.1 provides an overview of the sample in each research context.

Ethics

Driven by a commitment to equity and justice, all GAGE research is undertaken in line with principles of avoiding any harm, protecting the rights of adolescents, ensuring participation is voluntary and based on fully informed consent, and ensuring confidentiality. Participation was approved by caregivers for adolescents under the age of 18, and consent was given to participate in each research activity. Operationalising these principles means working in accordance with the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child. However, the complexity and volatility of humanitarian contexts, and the vulnerabilities that they may create or reinforce for adolescents, means that particular care must be taken to uphold these principles in research in these settings (Berman et al., 2016).

Existing research indicates the value and importance of adolescents' participation in research which seeks to identify ways to improve conditions for young people (Cayemittes et al., 2014). Yet it is essential to recognise how relations of power might put adolescents at risk when they do participate. This requires a proper understanding of how the context itself may affect adolescents' capacity to participate in research both meaningfully and safely. Planning and consultation with local research partners and teams working in these contexts led to the design of a methodological toolkit which sought to mitigate any infringement of

TABLE 1.1 Overview of fieldwork locations, focal populations, research tools and samples by chapter

Authors	*Countries*	*Fieldwork location*	*Focal population*	*Tools used to generate data*	*Qualitative sample*	*Quantitative sample*
Guglielmi et al.	Bangladesh	Refugee camps across Cox's Bazar district in Ukhia upazila and Teknaf upazila (sub-administrative units)	Rohingya displaced	– Focus groups (adolescents, caregivers and community members) – Key informant interviews (community leaders) – Cox's Bazar Panel Survey (quantitative data) (adolescents)	12 FGDs with caregivers 12 FGDs with community members 74 IDIs with adolescents 9 KIIs with community leaders	1,065 adolescents (including 131 adolescents with disabilities).
Jones et al.	Ethiopia	Fedis *woreda* (district) in East Hararghe and Dire Dawa City Administration and Batu town in Oromia region	Internally displaced Ethiopians from Oromia and Somali regions	– Individual interviews (adolescents) – Focus groups (adolescents) – Key informant interviews (sector offices)	20 IDIs with IDP adolescents 13 FGDs with IDP adolescents 45 KIIs with sector office personnel	n/a
Youssef	Lebanon	Informal tented settlement near Baalbek city, Baalbek region	Syrian refugees	– Focus groups (adolescents) – Participatory photography (adolescents) – Participatory peer interviews by adolescents with parents and grandparents	15 married Syrian adolescent girls (10 FGDs, 3 photography activities, 3 peer interviews)	n/a

Authors	*Countries*	*Fieldwork location*	*Focal population*	*Tools used to generate data*	*Qualitative sample*	*Quantitative sample*
Małachowska et al.	Jordan	Host communities, refugee camps (Azraq and Zaatari) and informal tented settlements across Irbid, Mafraq, Zarqa and Amman governates	Syrian refugees	– Focus groups (adolescents and caregivers) – Individual interviews (adolescents and caregivers) – Key informant interviews (service providers) – Quantitative GAGE baseline survey	250 IDIs with adolescents 144 IDIs with caregivers 75 FGDs with adolescents, caregivers, community members 44 KIIs	4,000 adolescents and caregivers (including 3,000 Syrians; 200 early married adolescents; 400 adolescents with disabilities).
Isimbi et al.	Rwanda	Gihembe, Kiziba and Nyabiheke refugee camps	Great Lakes (primarily Congolese) refugees	– Life history interviews (adolescents) – In-depth interviews (adolescents and caregivers) – Focus groups discussions (adolescents and caregivers) – Key informant interviews (opinion leaders and service providers)	12 LHIs with adolescent mothers 132 IDIs with adolescents 68 IDIs with caregivers 2 FGDs with adolescents (1 with boys, 1 with girls) 2 FGDs with caregivers (1 with men, 1 with women) 20 KIIs with opinion leaders and service providers	n/a

(*Continued*)

TABLE 1.1 (Continued)

Authors	*Countries*	*Fieldwork location*	*Focal population*	*Tools used to generate data*	*Qualitative sample*	*Quantitative sample*
Sajdi et al.	Jordan	Jerash camp	Stateless Palestinians	– Focus groups (adolescents) – Individual interviews (adolescents)	6 focus group discussions (FGDs) with adolescents, including 10 adolescents with disabilities and 8 married/engaged girls 38 individual interviews (IDIs)	n/a
Abu Hamad	Gaza	Jabalia camp, Shajaia and Khanyounis	Refugees and non-refugees	– Service mapping (QuickTapSurvey) (adolescents and service providers) – Focus group discussions (adolescents and caregivers) –Vignettes to explore social norms (adolescents) – Social network mapping (adolescents) – Object-based interviews (adolescents)	12 FGDs with adolescents, peers and families 35 IDIs with adolescents, peers and families 35 adolescents involved in participatory research	Beneficiaries survey with 107 adolescents. Service mapping with 70 service providers. 3,632 Gazan HHs were surveyed in the PCBS violence survey 2019, including interviewing children 0–10 and adolescents 11–17.*

Authors	*Countries*	*Fieldwork location*	*Focal population*	*Tools used to generate data*	*Qualitative sample*	*Quantitative sample*
Abu Hamad				– Participatory research including peer interviews and visual methods (photography and videography) (adolescents) – Key informant interviews (staff at Makani centres) – Palestine Central Bureau of Statistics (quantitative data) (adolescents)		3,495 Gazan HHs were interviewed in the PCBS/ MICS survey 2014.† 1,920 HHs interviewed in the PCBS violence survey 2011, including interviewing children and adolescents.‡

*Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). (2019) *Preliminary results of the violence survey in Palestinian society 2019*. Ramallah: PCBS.

†Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). (2015) *Palestinian multiple indicator cluster survey 2014: final report*. Ramallah: PCBS.

‡Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). (2011) *Main findings of violence survey in the Palestinian society*. Ramallah: PCBS. Available at: www.pcbs.gov.ps/Portals/_pcbs/PressRelease/el3onf2011_E.pdf

the commitments made by GAGE to equity and justice. All qualitative research received ethics approval from the Overseas Development Institute Research Ethics Committee, and all quantitative research received IRB approval from George Washington University. Furthermore, researchers in each country adhered to national ethics guidelines and secured approval from relevant national ethics boards. They also identified local government, non-government and UN partners to whom they could refer young people in need of child protection or mental health support, and they kept a detailed referral tracker.

Qualitative and participatory methods

Qualitative and participatory methods feature in all seven of the contributing chapters in this book. Our approach is influenced by the anthropology of childhood, and in particular what has come to be known as 'childhood studies' (Prout and James, 1990; Qvortrup et al., 1994). This is important to note because humanitarianism and anthropology often theorize and codify childhood in different ways, with a humanitarian legal perspective taking a universalising approach to notions of childhood and adulthood and an anthropological perspective emphasising the social construction of childhood in relation to context (Rosen, 2007). Borrowing from this latter lens, we focus on the social, political and economic forces which structure the lives of young people in humanitarian settings, including interventions to assist them. For example, the power dynamics which can lead well-intentioned development efforts with young people to manifest in 'solutions' that may be inappropriate undermine their agency and obscure solutions that may be more practical and realistic than those envisaged (Reynolds et al., 2006).

Participatory methods can provide a means to both investigate and address structural and relational marginalisation, and thus they form a cornerstone of the research with adolescents in humanitarian contexts presented here. By addressing power relations between researchers and participants, participatory research can enable representation and inclusion of groups whose voices and perspectives tend to be 'left behind' by research and practice around displacement and conflict. Participatory tools broaden opportunities for and modes of expression. Examples of these kinds of flexible participatory tools include 'My Favourite Things', in which young people are asked to think of an object that is important to them and, through this, reflect on and explore its significance in their lives. This tool can be adapted to the capacities of the adolescent and allows narratives to centre on what matters to them, making it flexible for use with adolescents with disabilities, as well as adolescents of different ages.

Recognising the importance of connection, family and peer relationships in displacement, other participatory tools have explored adolescents' social resources. These include the 'Friendship Circle', where adolescents come together with their peers and discuss the nature of their friendship together; and 'Community Mapping' and 'Social Network Hexagons' that are drawn by adolescents to explore with whom they interact and in what ways these interactions affect them. Participatory

research has also been used in contexts of displacement to understand how adolescents' lives have changed over previous years, through the 'Most Significant Change' timeline. A 'Dragon's Den' exercise saw young people lead teams to come up with solutions to problems they had identified.

Innovative digital and virtual participatory tools were also used, engaging adolescents' perspectives and opinions in ways that were both thought-provoking and enjoyable. The 'QuickTapSurvey', a tablet-based tool, was used to investigate adolescents' experiences of key services and programmes. The 'Madam President' tool uses video excepts as a starting point to explore what happens when a female president comes to power. The PhotoVoice method was also used as a way for young people to document and reflect on their lived daily realities, with young people encouraged to take photographs of items that were significant to them. Through the 'SHOWeD' technique, they were then asked to describe what they had photographed, what was really happening in the picture, its relationship to their lives, its reason for existing and what could be done about it.

In recognition that adolescents' agency and capabilities are bound up in intergenerational relationships (Tisdall and Punch, 2012), across the country contexts, extensive in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were undertaken with adolescents, parents and grandparents. Key informant interviews were also conducted with community stakeholders, and various actors within government and community organisations. With adolescents, vignettes were used in groups to broach topics which participants might find uncomfortable to discuss in relation to their personal experiences. Small group discussions were also used to facilitate more focused (rather than exploratory) reflections. For discussing more sensitive topics with individual adolescents, the 'Body Mapping' exercise, in which adolescents draw a picture of a young person's body and reflect on what different parts symbolise, can facilitate discussions on emotional and psychosocial wellbeing, relationships, puberty, health and disability, and gender-based violence.

It is important from an ethical perspective that young people's involvement in research determine findings and can see the result of their contributions and that their communities participate in the research – especially when these communities have been affected by conflict (Berman et al., 2016). Accordingly, adolescents involved in the research actively contributed to sharing and presenting findings with their wider communities in various creative ways. Meetings were also held that included reflections from adults and community leaders about their experiences when they themselves were adolescents, using tools such as timeline exercises, a quiz for 'role models' and 'World Café' sessions.

Quantitative methods

GAGE uses three core quantitative instruments, with common as well as country-specific questions and modules, with adolescents, parents and adults. Interviews were conducted with the primary caregiver of adolescents about their household and assets, amongst other topics. For the parents of younger adolescents (aged 10–12)

these interviews are more expansive, including questions of parenting, attitudes and norms, mental health, financial status, exposure to violence and fertility. Surveys undertaken directly with adolescents were tailored to their age and local context and explored education, time allocation, paid work, health and nutrition, mental health, mobility, voice and agency, social inclusion, programme support, financial inclusion, economic empowerment, technology, marriage and relationships, sexual and reproductive health, and violence. In undertaking research with both adolescents and caregivers, it was possible to look at both parental influence on adolescent trajectories and the intergenerational transmission of, for example, mental health, violence and social norms. Including a quantitative element to the research has been key to developing large-scale datasets on which robust analysis can be taken and triangulated with findings from qualitative and participatory work.

We include three mixed-methods chapters in this book, each of which take different approaches to integrating qualitative and quantitative data (Abu Hamad and Guglielmi et al). The chapter by Abu Hamad presents a secondary analysis of data from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, focusing on surveys from 2011, 2015 and 2019 on adolescents' experiences of violence. These data are used to contextualise detailed qualitative and participatory GAGE research findings with adolescents in Gaza. The chapter by Guglielmi et al. presents findings from a quantitative survey nested within the 2019 Cox's Bazaar Panel Survey, which they analyse to identify the impact of access to educational tuition or materials on educational outcomes for Rohingya adolescents and to complement insights from qualitative data on barriers to education and learning. The chapter by Małachowska et al. draws on findings on educational outcomes, aspirations and access from the GAGE baseline survey undertaken in four governates of Jordan in order to corroborate the qualitative data presented.

Overview of chapters

The empirical chapters of this book follow a chronological order, starting with the most recent humanitarian crisis (Rohingya) refugees in Bangladesh and ending with the most protracted (Gaza). In the conclusion, we reflect on the relationship between the length of emergencies, how international funding and attention shifts over time, and the challenges facing adolescents as situations change. Prior to this concluding chapter, we include in Chapter 9 a discussion of research with adolescents in humanitarian contexts as to their experiences during the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The first empirical chapter of this book by Guglielmi et al. turns to the experiences of young Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, which in 2020 was the fastest growing refugee population in the world. Close to three years into mass displacement, a long-term solution for the stateless and displaced Rohingya population is lacking; but policy actors dispute necessary conditions for repatriation in Myanmar or potential relocation within Bangladesh, and adolescent Rohingya refugees are sidelined and at risk of becoming a lost generation without access to widespread

formal – or non-formal – education, limited vocational training opportunities and an absence of livelihoods. The authors explore the various cultural and structural constraints, including legal status, age and gender, which limit educational and economic opportunities for adolescents in Cox's Bazar and propose opportunities for interventions which can help to improve their outcomes.

The next chapter by Jones et al. addresses the challenges presented by internal displacement, focusing on Ethiopia, where more people were newly displaced in late 2017 and 2018 than anywhere else globally during the same period. The chapter explores the economic and psychosocial vulnerabilities of internally displaced adolescents in Ethiopia, focusing on gender, age and geographical similarities and differences in experiences. The authors draw attention to gaps in the 'development-humanitarian-peace nexus' that increasingly dominates thinking on the types of episodic and protracted displacement seen in LMICs such as Ethiopia, showing that a lack of formal support by government actors creates economic vulnerability for adolescents, which is exacerbated by the stigma of being an IDP. Beyond initial humanitarian responses, greater access to social protection and assistance for IDPs is vital to prevent further social fragmentation between IDPs and host communities.

The third empirical chapter of this book by Youssef looks at the psychosocial wellbeing of Syrian refugee girls in Lebanon, a country which hosts the largest number of refugees per capita in the world, amidst a protracted political and economic crisis. Drawing on data from research with married Syrian refugee girls, the author explores the role of conflict, marginality and gender in shaping their psychosocial wellbeing. Loss of educational opportunities and the economic precarity presented by displacement to Lebanon drive both girls' entry into the labour market and their resignation to the possibility of being pressured into marriage. Whilst both unmarried and married girls report anxiety and stress due to discrimination and the burden of helping to care for their families, the author shows that married girls indicate high levels of psychosocial distress, compounded by their experiences of social isolation.

The fourth empirical chapter by Małachowska et al. engages with the educational participation and outcomes of Syrian adolescents in Jordan. Although the Government of Jordan has opened its school system to include Syrian children and adolescents – and donors and NGOs have invested heavily in scaling up non-formal learning pathways – enrolment rates remain low, especially for secondary and tertiary education. Learning outcomes for those adolescents who are in school are also unsatisfactory, especially for boys. This chapter explores the intersecting barriers to quality education facing boys and girls in three settings in Jordan: host communities, informal tented settlements and refugee camps. The authors challenge existing representations of girls and boys as passive by centring the perspectives and experiences of Syrian adolescents living in Jordan to explore how they seek to navigate and overcome these gendered and socio-demographic vulnerabilities and ask what is needed to improve educational outcomes.

The fifth empirical chapter by Isimbi et al. turns to refugee camps in Rwanda, analysing the way that social norms intersect with age, gender and refugee status to

affect the wellbeing of Congolese adolescent girls. Despite laws in Rwanda which state that sex with a minor is a criminal offence, restrictive gender norms within Congolese refugee communities mean that vulnerable girls are then stigmatised and blamed for pregnancy, even when it is a result of sexual violence. The authors show that stigma is compounded by a lack of age- and gender-sensitive sexual and reproductive health services for girls in refugee camps and a lack of knowledge about laws that protect victims of sexual violence in Rwanda, including refugees. This negatively affects adolescent girls' psychosocial wellbeing, and both their access to and aspirations around education, despite their hopes for a better future.

The sixth empirical chapter by Sajdi et al. engages with the experiences of stateless Palestinian adolescents living in Jerash camp in Jordan, which was established in 1968 for refugees from the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Over 50 years later, the camp is one of the poorest in Jordan due to livelihood opportunities being restricted for those without Jordanian nationality who live there. Seeking to understand high rates of attrition from formal education, this chapter centres the perspectives of stateless adolescents as they navigate schooling within an economically restrictive and highly gendered social context. Violence against Palestinian boys in schools is a key driver of their early exit from education and entry into the labour market; in contrast, for adolescent girls, mobility is increasingly restricted as they get older, with marriage seen as a form of protection from violence. Taken together, the authors show how these dynamics result in lowered aspirations amongst refugee adolescents.

The last empirical chapter by Abu Hamad focuses on the heightened risk of adolescents facing Palestinian adolescents who continue to live in politically turbulent Gaza. Whilst existing literature on violence in Palestine focuses on political violence, the impact of violence on adolescents – especially girls – is largely overlooked. This chapter thus focuses on the role of gender norms in shaping experiences of violence, contributing to better understanding of how to protect bodily integrity in conflict-affected areas. The author finds that other than treating adolescents for physical injuries and providing psychosocial first aid during episodes of conflict, there is limited formal support available to adolescents who have experienced violence; moreover, a culture of silence normalises violence.

A penultimate chapter closes the empirical contributions of the book and underlines the arguments set forward in other chapters as to the urgent need for attention to adolescents within interventions at the humanitarian-development-peace nexus. This chapter presents emerging evidence of the impact of Covid-19 on young people across several contexts explored in the book. We show that the pandemic and subsequent government responses have dramatically impacted adolescents in humanitarian contexts, constraining their access to education, health care, nutrition and recreational opportunities, in addition to increasing stress level and accentuating violence. Being a refugee, internally displaced or stateless exacerbates adolescents' social exclusion, poverty and vulnerability under Covid-19. Indeed, the experiences of displaced adolescents under Covid-19 demonstrate the depth and breadth of existing inequalities in social protection, access to health

care, psychosocial services and education, emphasizing the need for work at the humanitarian-development-peace nexus to prioritise age- and gender-responsive research, policies and programming. Drawing on these findings, in our concluding chapter we present a number of recommendations for priority actions to address these vulnerabilities and promote adolescent resilience and wellbeing.

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2

'WE ARE NOT ALLOWED'

Barriers to Rohingya refugees' educational and economic opportunities

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Introduction

Young people are critical to the success of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Sheehan et al., 2017; Ki-moon, 2016) and the promise of the Global Compact on Refugees. Adolescence (the age between 10 and 19 years) is a time of dynamic growth of an individual's cognitive, physical, social and emotional capabilities. However, a lack of coordinated attention to the world's 1.8 billion adolescents and youth could jeopardise global progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In particular, investing in education and economic empowerment of adolescents has the promise of not only improving future outcomes for adolescents and their families but also supporting broader poverty reduction and development milestones (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 2018; Kleinert and Horton, 2016; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2016; United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 2010).

Wedged between statelessness and a lack of official refugee status, displaced Rohingya girls and boys are particularly vulnerable to being left out of SDG targets for education and economic empowerment. From August 2017, the largest wave of Rohingya crossed the border into Bangladesh,[1] fleeing crimes that the UN Special Rapporteur has claimed 'bear the hallmarks of genocide' (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 2018). Approximately 825,000 Rohingya refugees[2] now live in 32 makeshift camps[3] in the Ukhia and Teknaf *upazilas* (sub-administrative units) of Cox's Bazar district – one of Bangladesh's poorest regions (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2020; Milton et al., 2017) – and remain entirely reliant on humanitarian assistance. Adolescents comprise almost a quarter (23 per cent) of the Rohingya in Bangladesh,[4] and the multidimensional vulnerabilities they face make this a large-scale complex crisis with no easy answers. Three years on, there remains

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no long-term solution for stateless Rohingya refugees, and adolescents are being denied both formal schooling and employment opportunities.

This chapter draws on mixed-methods baseline data collected in 2019 as part of the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) programme to understand how Rohingya adolescents access education and economic opportunities. Drawing on quantitative and qualitative data from younger (10–14) and older (15–18) cohorts, our research captures the voices of Rohingya adolescents, including the structural and socio-cultural constraints they face.

Context

The Rohingya are among the most persecuted populations in the world and have faced displacement from Myanmar over several generations. The most recent influx into Bangladesh dwarfed previous outflows, with 711,364 Rohingya escaping systematic discrimination and human rights violations in Myanmar (Human Rights Council, 2018; Inter Sector Coordination Group (ISCG), 2017). Two of Cox's Bazar's *upazilas*, Ukhia and Teknaf, now have populations comprised of 76 per cent and 29 per cent refugees respectively (ACAPS, 2018). Cox's Bazar is among the lowest-performing of Bangladesh's districts for educational access, retention and performance, and its school completion rate is 26 per cent lower than the national rate (Education Cannot Wait, 2018). Notwithstanding significant improvements in recent decades, most residents in Cox's Bazar remain illiterate (Lemma et al., 2018). Alongside education deficits, 33 per cent of people in the district live below the poverty line, and 17 per cent live below the extreme poverty line (ibid.). The 2020 Joint Response Plan for the Rohingya reports that 1.3 million people – comprising both refugees and host community residents – are now in need of humanitarian assistance (ISCG et al., 2020).

Although the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) mandates the sacrosanct right to education (UN General Assembly, 1989) and the Global Compact on Refugees calls for the progressive inclusion of refugees into host community schools and employment sectors (UNHCR, 2018), Rohingya adolescents have been denied these basic rights, partially due to their precarious legal status. Bangladesh is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention nor its 1967 Protocol, nor the 1954 and 1961 Statelessness Conventions (UNHCR, 2011), and it does not consider the Rohingya as refugees, placing them in a 'legal and humanitarian limbo' (Bhatia et al., 2018). Moreover, the limited capacity and political will of local districts to absorb the Rohingya into national education systems and employment have limited the scope for refugee inclusion in existing host community structures.

The implications of an absence of an internationally binding refugee policy in Bangladesh can be seen clearly in education, where Rohingya children can only access non-formal education in learning centres predominately run by United Nations agencies or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Magee et al., 2020; Reidy, 2020). Having set up functional infrastructure to accommodate educational

provision, aid agencies encountered a series of political hurdles (Dryden-Peterson, 2017). In the camps, schools are called 'temporary learning centres', teachers are called 'volunteers' and the language of instruction is Burmese or English – all to stress the informality and temporary nature of the education on offer (ibid.). In fact, tripartite agreements between humanitarian actors, the Government of Bangladesh and the Government of Myanmar have culminated in an agenda geared towards voluntary repatriation of the Rohingya to Myanmar (ISCG et al., 2020; UNHCR, 2019) as the only durable solution.[5]

For older adolescents (15 years or older), learning centre education is not available and alternative training opportunities are scarce.[6] The 2020 Joint Response Plan for the Rohingya crisis warns that 'an alarming 83 percent of the [Rohingya] adolescents and youth aged 15–24 years old don't have access to any educational or skills development activities' (ISCG et al., 2020: 70). Although not following any set curriculum (Olney et al., 2019), NGOs have set up classes and home-based learning for adolescents to provide skills training such as sewing, tailoring and cleaning, which can help them find a means for income in the camps, although uptake remains low. Ultimately, non-formal learning centre education and skills-based training are meant to equip Rohingya adolescents with life skills, positive health messaging and work opportunities with NGOs operating in the camps, but they are not intended to provide transferable skills for work outside, thus reinforcing the reality that the Rohingya essentially cannot leave their settlements (Bakali and Wasty, 2020). Research within the camps suggests that better integration of these fragmented informal education networks within NGO and government initiatives can fuel better outcomes and be more responsive to Rohingya needs (Olney et al., 2019).

The 2020 Joint Response Plan for the Rohingya crisis addresses the learning and training crisis, aiming to '[e]xpand and strengthen immediate access to equitable learning opportunities, in a safe and protective environment, for affected Rohingya refugee and host community girls and boys aged 3–24 years old' (ISCG et al., 2020: 70). The recent decision to allow younger adolescents in the camps in Grades 6–9 to access the formal Myanmar curriculum (although only a pilot initially) brings a welcome change to education refugee policy in Bangladesh.[7]

However, opening up formal education is only the first barrier to break down. In previous Rohingya refugee waves – after being denied education for five years – the Bangladesh government opened up access to formal education, granting use of its curriculum for primary students through UN support (Stavropoulou et al., 2017) and provided adolescent and adult learning courses. However, figures from 2002 show that enrolment for adolescents remained low (27 per cent for girls, 24 per cent for boys) (Médecins Sans Frontières-Holland (MSF) (2002), suggesting that significant hurdles remained, especially for students who had been excluded from education for some time. In addition to educational constraints, a lack of legislation designed to protect refugee livelihoods and grant them the right to work severely curtails their employment prospects (Akhter and Kusakabe, 2014; Zetter and Ruaudel, 2016).

Significant data gaps – particularly a lack of age- and gender-disaggregated data – exacerbate the challenges facing the Rohingya population. Due to their

longstanding history of exclusion, the Rohingya are not included in national household surveys (Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI), 2014). There is a lack of evidence on intersecting dimensions, including structural and cultural constraints that hamper Rohingya adolescents' development. Moreover, there is insufficient understanding of what works to support adolescents living through a confined, protracted crisis. Those responding to the crisis need to understand the specific vulnerabilities facing Rohingya adolescents as well as their aspirations.

Conceptual framing

We take a capabilities approach as developed by Sen (1984, 2004), focusing on education and economic capabilities as critical arenas of development for adolescents, both in terms of their capacity to engage critically with their communities and in terms of future trajectories of employment, earnings and broader wellbeing. Higher educational attainment has been shown to be associated with higher income trajectories in both high- and low-income settings (Willis, 1986; Ashenfelter et al., 1999; Behrman et al., 2017). Further, educational access and economic empowerment have positive implications not only for the current generation but for future generations too, through intergenerational transmission (Aguero and Ramachandran, 2020).

Rohingya adolescents face both structural and cultural constraints to accessing education and economic opportunities that prevent them developing these capability sets. Structurally, the Bangladesh government's refusal to recognise the Rohingya as refugees and the lack of integration into local communities restricts access to education and economic markets. Moreover, cultural constraints faced by Rohingya adolescents affect girls and boys differently and need to be fully understood if adolescents are to receive adequate support to utilise their full set of competences. Due to conservative religious norms, Rohingya girls experience severe mobility restrictions from the onset of puberty (Bakali and Wasty, 2020; Olney et al., 2019; Ripoll, 2017), which result in lower educational access than boys (Bakali and Wasty, 2020; Cox's Bazar Education Sector, 2018, 2019). The religious tradition of *purdah* ('curtain' or 'veil') documented in various townships in Myanmar and maintained by displaced Rohingya dictates that upon reaching puberty, girls must stay within their family home until they marry (staying indoors often remains a feature of their married life too) (Ripoll, 2017; Oxfam International, 2018; Tay et al., 2018; Wake et al., 2019). Different gendered norms impact older adolescent boys, who are expected to earn income for their household (Akhter and Kusakabe, 2014), fuelling the progressive downscaling of their education.

Methodology

Data collection and sample

The findings reported here are based on mixed-methods data collected in Rohingya camps in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, as part of the GAGE longitudinal study.

Quantitative data is nested within the Cox's Bazar Panel Survey (CBPS), which used a representative sample of 2,493 Rohingya refugee households, collected between April and August 2019.[8,9] Data collection took place across 32 of the 34 Rohingya camps.[10] The GAGE representative sample comprises all 924 households within the CBPS sample with at least one adolescent aged 10–12 or 15–17 at the time of a household census.[11] This study also includes GAGE data from an additional purposeful sample of 131 adolescents who were either married or were living with a disability from a subset of the camp locations, which was collected in September and October 2019.[12] Although the purposeful sample also primarily targeted adolescents aged 10–12 and 15–17, some adolescents aged 13–14 and 18 were included based on purposeful sampling criteria. Overall, the GAGE sample includes 1,055 Rohingya adolescents living in refugee camps in Cox's Bazar. An overview of the quantitative sample is provided in Table 2.1 (panel A).

We also collected qualitative data from 73 adolescent girls and boys (purposely selected from the quantitative sample) in both age cohorts. The findings reported also stem from qualitative data gathered from interviews with 12 parents of Rohingya adolescents (6 mothers and 6 fathers) as well as 12 focus group discussions (FGDs) with girls and boys separately, and 6 FGDs with female and male community members separately, to better understand community perceptions and norms surrounding adolescence. Finally, we conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with 9 key informants providing insights into field operations and ground presence vis-à-vis the Rohingya response. An overview of the qualitative fieldwork is provided in Table 2.1 (panel B).

Verbal consent and assent was obtained for all caregivers and adolescent respondents respectively.[13] The GAGE research programme was approved by the George Washington University Committee on Human Research, Institutional Review Board (071721), the ODI Research Ethics Committee (02438) and the Human Subjects Committee for Innovations for Poverty Action IRB-USA (14742).

TABLE 2.1 Fieldwork in Rohingya camps, and research sample

	Female	*Male*	*Total*
Panel A: Quantitative fieldwork			
Number of research sites			32
Adolescent interviews younger cohort (10–14)	309	331	640
Adolescent interviews older cohort (15–18)	253	162	415
Total	**562**	**493**	**1,055**
Panel B: Qualitative fieldwork			
Adolescent interviews younger cohort (10–12)	16	18	34
Adolescent interviews older cohort (15–18)	26	13	39
Parent interviews	6	6	12
Focus group discussions	9	9	18
Key informant interviews	5	4	9
Total	**62**	**50**	**112**

Research sites

Baseline fieldwork took place between April and October 2019 in 32 camps across Cox's Bazar district (25 in Ukhia and 7 in Teknaf). Qualitative fieldwork took place across three camps selected after a mapping exercise on humanitarian presence and

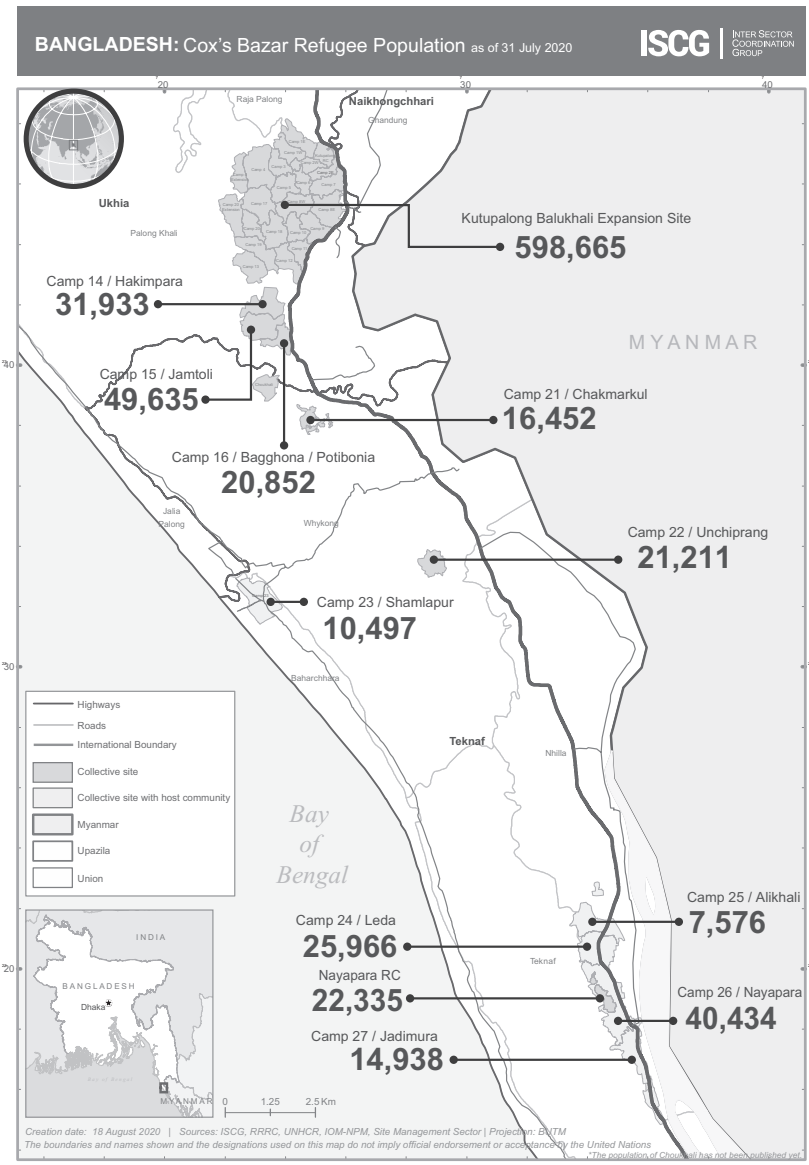

FIGURE 2.1 Map of Rohingya camps and population sizes.

Source: ISCG, RRRC, UNHCR, IOM-NPM, Site Management Sector (2020)

population size. Drawing on ISCG metadata, we were able to map individual camp vulnerability by calculating the number of humanitarian partners implementing services, population size and the number of adolescent beneficiaries reached in each camp. We then selected a 'most vulnerable' site for adolescents (where there was a low ratio of beneficiaries being targeted), a 'middle-serviced' site and a 'best-serviced' site. To protect the privacy of study participants, the camp names will be anonymised in this and all other publications. Figure 2.1 shows the geographic distribution of the Rohingya camps in Cox's Bazar.

Analysis

To analyse the quantitative data, we construct a set of measures[14] to capture the breadth of experience of Rohingya adolescents in relation to education and economic empowerment. We explore differences in means by gender and age, adjusting for sampling weights to make sure the estimates are representative of all adolescents living in the research locations. We also utilize regression analysis to test whether gender and age differences persist after controlling for household characteristics that may drive education and economic outcomes.[15] Qualitative interview and FGD transcripts were initially translated from Chittagonian into Bangla and subsequently into English. Qualitative data were then coded following the GAGE codebook (Jones et al., 2018).

Findings

Education

Our results highlight the gender and age disparities that exist in Rohingya adolescents' educational trajectories. The quantitative findings presented in this section are based on mean comparisons between older and younger cohorts, boys and girls, as well as pairwise comparison between younger girls, older girls, younger boys and older boys.

Educational enrolment

Educational provision for Rohingya adolescents in camps is largely non-formal.[16] On average, 49 per cent of adolescents in our sample are enrolled in non-formal schooling (panel A, column 2), including NGO-run programmes (70 per cent), Hafezi learning (which focuses on memorising the Qur'an in informal Islamic teaching spaces called *maktabs* and *madrasas* (14 per cent), private tutoring (12 per cent) and home-schooling or other forms of non-formal education (4 per cent). Table 2.2 (see Annex) presents summary statistics of our measures of educational access and attainment.

There is wide variation in enrolment by age and gender. Younger adolescents are 53 percentage points more likely to be enrolled in non-formal education than

older adolescents (68 per cent compared to 15 per cent, panel A, columns 7 and 8). Qualitative data points to cultural norms as one reason why educational progression for older adolescents is limited, for both girls and boys – albeit for different reasons, as an international NGO staff member explained: '[The Rohingya community] do not recognise adolescents as children. In terms of boys they engage them in child labour and in terms of girls they face child marriage.' Across age cohorts, boys are 20 percentage points more likely to be enrolled in non-formal school than girls (58 per cent compared to 38 per cent, Table 2.2, columns 5 and 6) and gender disparity persists within age cohorts. Younger cohort boys are 16 percentage points more likely to be enrolled in school than younger girls (76 per cent compared to 60 per cent, panel B, columns 3 and 1). Among older cohort adolescents, boys are 26 percentage points more likely to be enrolled in non-formal schooling than girls (28 per cent compared to 2 per cent, panel B, columns 4 and 2 respectively).

Table 2.3 (see Annex) presents results of regression analysis estimating differences by age and gender, controlling for household characteristics that may drive enrolment. After controlling for these factors, regression estimates confirm that younger cohort boys are 48.4 percentage points more likely to be enrolled than older boys, and older girls are 24.3 percentage points less likely to be enrolled in non-formal schooling than older boys.

Among the younger cohort, enrolment in non-formal education is predominantly in NGO programmes (89 per cent of enrolled girls, 66 per cent of enrolled boys). Enrolment in Hafezi also comprises a large share of younger boys' enrolment in non-formal education (22 per cent among enrolled boys) and is the primary driver of higher enrolment of younger boys in non-formal education. Rohingya boys enrolled in Hafezi education attend classes every day, and while there is no set curriculum, the teaching style is very strict and focused. This contrasts with temporary learning centres, where the perception is that pupils do as they please and come and go as they wish. Islamic teachers, or *Hujurs*, are viewed as authoritarian figures that offer both support as well as firm (at times violent) instruction. A 15-year-old boy from camp A explained: 'If [students] study well, they don't batter them; otherwise they batter. They batter with a stick.'

For older boys, non-formal education predominantly consists of private tutoring (62 per cent) on traditional subjects, with some boys reporting enrolment in NGO programming (18 per cent) and Hafezi (17 per cent) learning. A *majhi* (Rohingya community leader) key informant explained that while Hafezi centres and *maktabs* are free in some camps, a 50 Bangladeshi taka (BDT) per month fee is collected from each household in other camps, regardless of whether children and adolescents attend classes. In addition, most Hafezi centres receive funding from Islamic organisations.

Very few older girls report enrolment in non-formal education ($n = 8$), and those who are enrolled engage in NGO programming, private tutoring and dropout education. Qualitative data underscored the severe mobility restrictions girls face upon reaching the age of 12, typically coinciding with the onset of puberty, which leads them to drop out of education.[17] A 16-year-old girl in camp A emphasised: 'Yes,

I wished to study [but my] parents didn't allow me to go out. . . . I was forced to be inside the home permanently.' Similarly, a participant in a young girls' FGD from camp B noted: 'My body will change in future. I have concern about it. I don't like it. Girls can't study at that time.'

Qualitative data suggests that the main driver of mobility restrictions on older girls is the religious norm, *purdah*, mandating that girls maintain family honour and decency by staying indoors. Respondents mentioned that family honour remains intact when girls are not seen by others – particularly men and boys – thus requiring them to remain homebound. An 11-year-old girl in camp C explained:

> It's forbidden in our religion for older girls to go out. We aren't allowed to go anywhere. We are not allowed to go out of [our] home. People would see us! People would defame us, saying 'The girl is grown up and she goes out!' That's why we aren't allowed.

Adolescent girls' invisibility is thought to correlate with successful marriage prospects, which Rohingya families work hard to preserve even at the cost of education. A 16-year-old girl from camp A explained:

> [M]y father said, 'Our girl is grown up now. She doesn't need to go to school' and I stopped going. I wished to study [more] but my parents didn't allow me to go out. . . . Being confined at home means being grown up. We are confined at home . . . and then we are to be married off. I was married off very early at the age of 14.

Hujurs running Hafezi learning, and other religious leaders are believed to reinforce *purdah* and restrict the enrolment of older girls in education. An 18-year-old boy stated:

> As adolescent girls age, they are prohibited from attending Hafezi classes. The girls who turn 12 years old [are] not allowed to go study. . . . [O]ur Hujur and Imam become upset [because] they are in the adolescent stage. They tell her . . . that if [her] parents are educated they can read at home [or they can] bring a teacher to the home. Girls can read to a male teacher wearing a veil [but] they are not allowed to go out from home [and] they are not allowed to go to holy place because they are profane. If they go, adults will want to talk. How will she get married if she is seen with an unknown person? Our religious teachers say 'you are a daughter of a Muslim, won't you sin if [an] unknown person sees you? Your age is as same as a married girl!'

Qualitative data highlights that educational enrolment is also restricted for some adolescents with disabilities. Accessibility constraints in camps pose insurmountable hurdles for some adolescents who are unable to travel to school due to their physical and other impairments and are equally unable to afford private instruction. As an 18-year-old boy in Camp B explained, '[Tutors] don't come to my home.

Who will come to my house to teach me? I don't have money. So, how can anyone teach me?' A recent vulnerability assessment (ACAPS, 2019) found that Rohingya individuals with physical and visual impairments face increased barriers in accessing services in the camps, primarily due to the hilly and uneven terrain. For adolescents with disabilities who either live in close proximity to learning centres or can rely on family chaperones to escort them, enrolment may increase, as explained by the mother of a ten-year-old girl living with a hearing disability in Camp B: 'She goes to Madrasa very early in the morning. After coming from madrasa she goes to school. The school is nearby and her brothers, relatives and the neighbours also go there. She comes and goes with them.'

Educational attainment

Educational attainment overall is low relative to age. While the youngest adolescents in our sample should have attained at least 6 years of education, average attainment is 3.7 years (Table 2.2).[18] Previous literature reports that approximately half of the Rohingya children living in Cox's Bazar had not participated in any form of learning prior to arriving in Bangladesh (Education Cannot Wait, 2018) due to compounding factors including exclusion, while other estimates posit that over 80 per cent of the Rohingya are illiterate across age groups (Gallano, 2018). Our data matches this latter finding, with only 20 per cent of household heads in our sample being able to read. Further, the adjusted regression in column 2 of Table 2.3 shows that there is no statistically significant difference in years of education between older and younger adolescents, although there are between three and eight years of age difference between adolescents in the two cohorts. On average, boys have attained 1.5 more years of education than girls, and this gender difference increases as adolescents age (difference is one year in younger cohort and two years in older cohort). Older girls have attained the fewest years of education – 1.9 years fewer than older boys (Table 2.3, column 2).

For adolescent boys, the costs of education as they age were mentioned as a reason for dropping out. A 17-year-old in camp C explained:

> I used to study before [but] now I don't go to school because I can't bear the educational expenses. They take a lot of money, which I can't afford. [If the cost were paid] yes of course I would continue studying.

Preventing school dropout due to educational expenses is mitigated by incentivising schoolgoing, and our quantitative data shows that one-third of adolescents (mostly among the younger cohort) receive some education tuition or learning materials (Table 2.2, panel A, columns 7 and 8 and Table 2.3, column 4). Fifty per cent of younger adolescents receive some education benefits, while only 4 per cent of the older cohort do. Aside from tuition, learning materials provided vary, but include 'Eraser, school bag, pencil, cutter, books, notebooks . . . and snacks', explained a 12-year-old girl from camp A.

We utilize regression analysis to explore the role of education benefits tuition or educational materials on participation in non-formal schooling. These results (Table 2.3, column 5) show that receiving education benefits is associated with a 36.6 percentage point increase in the likelihood of being enrolled in non-formal education programming, after controlling for age, gender and household characteristics. This indicates that providing educational support can foster enrolment.

Educational aspirations

Despite low educational attainment and access, the quantitative survey data suggests that Rohingya adolescents aspire to complete school through Grade 11 on average, with gender disparities in aspirations mirroring realities in attainment. Table 2.2 shows that girls aspire to two fewer years of education than boys (10.3 years vs. 12.2 years), with this disparity again persisting across age cohorts. It also persists after adjusting for household characteristics, with older girls having the lowest aspirations (2.3 years lower than older boys).

However, our qualitative data shows that many adolescents have also become resigned to their circumstances – discriminated against by displacement policy, poverty and/or norms limiting their educational access. A 16-year-old girl from camp C explained: 'We didn't have any chance to go to school there [in host communities]. We don't go out. What will I do?' The lack of educational options has profound repercussions for some older Rohingya adolescents, who lament the resulting loss of role models, as a 15-year-old boy from camp A reported: 'I don't have any aspiration because I couldn't study. If I studied, I would want to be like someone. But I didn't study. Whom do I want to be like?'

Qualitative data finds adolescents – boys primarily – aspiring to study in order to gain decent employment, including becoming doctors, teachers or Islamic theologians, as well as to support themselves and their families. A 17-year-old boy in camp A expressed this sentiment strongly:

> I want to learn English. I can go to any place if I am educated. No one can stop my movement then. I will be respected by many people and I will get a job. If you study you can manage your own food, otherwise you have to depend on others.

Other adolescent boys and girls expressed their educational aspirations as linked to the intrinsic value of learning and bettering oneself. A 17-year-old boy in camp B highlighted this feeling: 'If any country takes any step for educating us, I [would] go abroad'; as did a 15-year-old girl in camp C: 'I have to study to talk beautifully like her [an NGO survey worker]. I have to treat others like the way she treated me. We have to show sympathy while we are talking to others and we have to study.'

Economic empowerment

Our findings highlight that both structural and cultural constraints shape Rohingya adolescents' ability to pursue economic aspirations and to become economically empowered.

Access to employment

In terms of access to employment, Table 2.4 shows that 15 per cent of adolescents in our sample were engaged in paid work in the past 12 months (see Annex: Table 2.4, panel A, column 2). Work is concentrated among older boys, who are nearly 50 percentage points more likely to be working than any other group, and this holds true after adjusting for household characteristics (see Table 2.4, panel B, and Table 2.5, column 1). This is confirmed by an alternate set of questions that were asked only to the older cohort about employment in the past 12 months and past 7 days (see Table 2.4). Boys were 50 percentage points more likely to have been employed in the past 12 months than girls and 28 percentage points more likely to have been working in the past 7 days. Among those who were working, 46 per cent were their household's sole breadwinner (defined as being the only person working in the household).

Older adolescents were asked if they have been employed in the past 12 months and in the past 7 days (see Table 2.4, panel B, columns 3 and 4). While only 11 per cent of older girls had been employed in the 12 months preceding the survey, 61 per cent of older boys had been. Likewise, 6 per cent of older girls were employed in the 7 days preceding the survey compared to 34 per cent of older boys. These gender differences persist after controlling for key observables around household wealth (see Annex: Table 2.5, columns 1–3).

Older boys who were employed mostly did non-agricultural, unskilled manual labour. The most common jobs for older boys were reported as non-agricultural day labour (41 per cent) and groundwork (12 per cent) (digging and moving earth, possibly linked to structural site management). Older girls who worked were often tailors/seamstresses (58 per cent), as highlighted by a 16-year-old married girl in camp A:

> I sew dresses of others and I am paid. If I sew a set of three pieces, I am paid 100 taka for that. [But] I don't sew every day! During the time before Eid I earn much and in other times I earn less.

The second most common type of employment for older girls is as NGO volunteers (18 per cent).[19]

There is a perception among some adolescent boys that NGOs prioritise girls for employment in camps, as an 18-year-old boy from camp B commented: '[NGOs] want to give more jobs to the girls among the refugees. The girls get jobs in child-friendly spaces, even though their education qualification is low.' However, our

qualitative data underscores that there are not enough culturally appropriate job opportunities for older girls. While some girls would be eager to work to combat poverty and hunger, a 17-year-old girl in camp A explained that this option is not without consequences:

> I can't eat properly. . . . If I can go out, I could do a job. I could sell several things at market. I can sell vegetables. I can sell sauces. But now I can't sell it. People will say a lot of things. 'That girl is going out of home', they will make fun of me.

Others seem committed to maintaining cultural norms, as an 18-year-old girl in camp B noted: 'But we work at home. Why should we work outside? . . . Brothers work, fathers earn money. Why would I go for work?'

Securing work in the camps does not appear to be achievable for all adolescents, however, with some mentioning competition for camp jobs, patchy availability across locations or needing to fulfil criteria they cannot meet. A 17-year-old married girl in camp A said she wanted to work, but '[I have to] submit a CV and many other things . . . to be a volunteer. How can I prepare that? No one helps me.' Others mentioned that direct connections with camp authorities facilitate the likelihood of getting a job, as a 17-year-old boy in camp A explained: 'I have to pay a bribe to get a job [but] I can't afford that. The authorities take the money. If we will give the money, we will get the job easily.' Quantitative findings mirror this, with most adults reporting getting a job through: a *majhi* or community leader (36 per cent); friends, neighbours or prior acquaintances (32 per cent); or being contacted by the employer (19 per cent). Networks seem to be critical in obtaining jobs – less than 5 per cent of adults reported getting a job through direct application.

While the Rohingya are not legally allowed to work in Bangladesh or to travel outside of camps, there is evidence that they do both (Kudrat-E-Khuda, 2020; Asylum Access, 2019; Reuters, 2018). However, it is not known how many adolescents work outside camps. A few adolescents mentioned going outside of camps to work, as a 17-year-old boy in camp C said: 'I work in a workshop in Teknaf. In a boat workshop. I am good at repairs.' In the quantitative data, reported commute times indicate that most adolescents engaged in paid labour do so predominantly inside the camps. Older working adolescents report a median commute time of ten minutes and over 75 per cent report walking to their jobs. Moreover, 62 per cent report working for NGOs, who typically conduct activities within camp grounds.

Very few adolescents in our sample (about 2 per cent) reported benefiting from any skills building or employment programme. Interestingly, programming targets girls primarily, even after adjusting for household characteristics (see Table 2.5, columns 4 and 5), although they are not engaging as much in paid labour. As a 15-year-old girl in camp A explained:

> I go sew at 8 am and I am back home at 12 [noon] – they don't pay us, we are learning from them, that's why they don't pay us. We can earn money

> by teach[ing] others. I can earn money by sewing clothes if I have a sewing machine in my house. Other than that, I don't go anywhere. I always stay at home.

Employment aspirations

Our survey data reveals that when adolescents were asked about what type of job they aspire to, just over half (52 per cent) chose a professional career; 17 per cent said they aspired to work in skilled labour, while under 5 per cent said they aspired to work in unskilled labour. As adolescents age, they are less likely to aspire to professional careers, although it remains the most common aspiration: 38 per cent of older adolescents aspire to professional careers compared to 60 per cent of younger adolescents. The four most common career aspirations in our sample were teacher (33 per cent), tailor or seamstress (14 per cent), doctor (10 per cent) and religious officiant/leader (8 per cent). While boys and girls both aspire to be teachers, the other three occupations are largely gender-specific. Most girls aspire to be a teacher (29 per cent) or a tailor/seamstress (28 per cent). Boys aspire to be a teacher (35 per cent), religious officiant/leader (15 per cent) or a doctor (10 per cent).

Our qualitative data highlights that, for most adolescents, employment aspirations are focused primarily on earning money, and engaging in paid work appears to be a stand-alone aspiration. Securing an income is perceived as a way to purchase basic things for themselves and their families. Mitigating food insecurity and the ability to procure a greater variety and amount of food featured in qualitative interviews as correlated with employment aspirations and earning prospects. A 15-year-old girl in camp C explained:

> With money I can buy something to eat, suppose [I could] open a shop for my mother, we can get some money and eat something from outside. This would be one kind of happiness.

That sentiment was echoed by a 15-year-old boy from camp A, who stated: '[I want to earn a lot of money] so that I can eat properly'. The ability to cover health expenses was also mentioned in qualitative interviews, with a 15-year-old girl from camp A noting: 'I would spend my money for my father's treatment', as was the ability to purchase new clothes for themselves and their siblings. Our qualitative data underscores that adolescents aspire towards a degree of monetary self-reliance, as they continue to rely on humanitarian assistance to cover basic needs rather than purchasing them.

The prospect of earning money through employment is associated with peace of mind, particularly for older boys, who face strong expectations to provide for their families. A 19-year-old boy in camp B stated, 'I would feel peace when I have money,' and an 18-year-old boy in camp A noted, 'My dream is in the future that I can earn money, I can maintain my family well, I can lead my life well. No one can abuse me.' Failing to meet these economic aspirations has led many adolescents

to resort to negative coping mechanisms; selling items obtained through humanitarian organisations was frequently mentioned. An 18-year-old girl in camp A, for example, noted: 'We get some money by selling things that we got from NGOs'.

Conclusion and recommendations

Our research highlights the inadequacy of educational opportunities for Rohingya adolescents, the disconnect between the opportunities that are available and their aspirations and the significant challenges they face in ensuring a secure transition into adulthood. Most adolescents (especially older girls and boys) go through this critical developmental phase without a clear learning path, educational accreditation or skills progression, which not only has contemporaneous negative impacts but will likely negatively impact future generations (Willis, 1986; Ashenfelter et al., 1999; Behrman et al., 2017; Aguero and Ramachandran, 2020).

Disaggregating the data by age, gender, marital status and disability highlights that adolescents face different educational and economic constraints and opportunities at different stages of adolescence and on account of deeply entrenched gender norms. Our findings expand the knowledge base on the particular experiences of diverse individuals who, as adolescents, are often grouped together in studies with either children or adults.

Solutions for Rohingya adolescents in Cox's Bazar are more complex than providing educational opportunities in the camps. The historical and political context within which Rohingya adolescents' current and future lives are situated requires a bold and coordinated vision. Considering that agreements for safe and voluntary repatriation have yet to be secured and integration into the host country is not a viable option, policies and programmes should focus on guaranteeing a safe transition to adulthood for all Rohingya adolescents in the camps. As such, programming needs to prioritise sufficient decent work opportunities in camps so as to circumvent the need for bribery to obtain jobs, as is currently the case. The humanitarian operation in this protracted context might complement the focus on repatriation with an agenda geared towards refugee self-sufficiency in the interim. As they await their fate, supporting Rohingya adolescents to acquire gender-appropriate skills needed to work and earn a decent income in the camps will set the foundations for a pathway towards self-reliance and a future that is more in line with their aspirations.

To facilitate such an agenda, an analysis of skills-to-work transitions for adolescent girls and boys needs to be conducted in the design phase of skills-based interventions. Our research points to the positive role of educational support (such as providing tuition and materials) in expanding participation in educational programmes, suggesting that the expansion of analogous support within camps could increase access to skills programmes that operate there. Extending educational benefits to older boys so that they may learn new skills instead of fulfilling the cultural norm to earn an income for their families could also be piloted and assessed. Equally, it would be critical to investigate the role of educational benefits that are

conditional on girls remaining in school and their impact on mobility restrictions and seclusion – and risks of child marriage. Moreover, urgent attention should be paid to the provision of mobile learning and chaperones to escort girls to training services, so that interventions reach adolescent girls undergoing puberty who are subject to the most severe mobility restrictions. Finally, a package of gender-transformative interventions around gendered social norms, targeting families and community leaders, should promote the importance of girls' education.

The transitory nature of education and employment provision in Cox's Bazar risks jeopardising the wellbeing of Rohingya adolescents in the short term but also the achievement of longer-term global goals and commitments enshrined in the Global Compact and the 2030 Agenda. Only when they can be assured of opportunities to access meaningful and inclusive learning trajectories and decent work opportunities will Rohingya adolescents be seen as potential contributors, rather than as a crisis to be tackled.

Notes

1 A total of 711,364 Rohingya fled Myanmar starting in August 2017 (UNHCR, 2020), 500,000 of whom arrived in the initial month alone (ISCG, 2017).
2 The Bangladesh government refers to the Rohingya as 'forcibly displaced Myanmar nationals', while the United Nations system refers to them as *refugees* (ISCG et al., 2020). In this chapter, this population is referred to as 'refugees'.
3 The Rohingya who arrived in 2017 joined other unregistered Rohingya who arrived in earlier waves of displacement. In addition, 35,000 registered Rohingya refugees from migration waves pre-2016 live in two registered refugee camps in the same area. We do not report findings on registered Rohingya in refugee camps.
4 Authors' own calculation based on the Joint Response Plan (2020) figures reporting that 23 per cent of Rohingya are in the 5–11 age bracket, 14 per cent are in the 12–17 age bracket and 41 per cent are in the 18–29 age bracket, and the assumption of equal distribution in each age band.
5 Integration into the host country and resettlement into a third country are options that have yet to gain coordinated buy-in from the multitude of partners that would require their implementation. As policy and programming actors pivotal to the Rohingya response appeal to meet humanitarian funding targets, which have escalated in response to needs since 2017 (OCHA, 2020) and donor fatigue sets in (Yuan Sun and Huang, 2019), ground realities show that adolescent Rohingya refugees are being sidelined and that they are at risk of becoming a lost generation (UNICEF, 2019; Ainul et al., 2018; Education Cannot Wait, 2018).
6 Children aged 4–14 receive non-formal learning via a tailor-made Learning Competency Framework curriculum developed by UNICEF and partners, delivered in more than 3,000 learning centres across the refugee camps (UNICEF, 2020).
7 While the piloting of a Myanmar curriculum in camps was scheduled for the spring of 2020, its rollout has been indefinitely paused due to the Covid-19 pandemic and respective containment efforts.
8 The Cox's Bazar Panel Survey (CBPS) is a partnership between the Yale MacMillan Center Program on Refugees, Forced Displacement, and Humanitarian Responses, GAGE and the World Bank's Poverty and Equity Global Practice. Within the partnership, the Yale MacMillan team has a special interest in migration and employment history, the World Bank team has a special interest in consumption patterns and food security and the GAGE team has a special interest in issues affecting adolescents (see World Bank, 2019 and CBPS, 2019).

9 The CBPS sample comprises a representative sample of 5,020 households across both camp (2,493 households) and host locations (2,527 households), within which 2,047 households had at least one adolescent who was included in the GAGE representative sample (924 camp adolescents and 1,124 host adolescents). See https://refugee.macmillan.yale.edu/research-outputs/coxs-bazar-panel-survey for additional information on the CBPS sample.

10 The sample excludes refugees living in Kutupalong Registered Camp and Nayapara Registered Camp who migrated prior to the 2017 migration waves. The vast majority (93 per cent) of the GAGE survey sample arrived in Bangladesh during 2017 or later.

11 It is possible that some of the adolescents may have had birthdays between the household census in January and February 2019 and the household survey that took place from March to July 2019, and were therefore 13 or 18 at the time of survey.

12 The purposeful sample adolescents come from camps 1E, A, 4, 9 and 12.

13 Surveys and interview questions were translated into Bangla and then delivered in the Chittagonian local dialect, which is mutually intelligible with the Rohingya language, and subsequently piloted. Quantitative and qualitative data were collected during face-to-face interviews by enumerators and interviewers who were trained extensively on translations from Bangla to Chittagonian, utilising pre-recorded translations for particularly difficult questions. For quantitative data collection, 86 per cent of girls and 72 per cent of boys were surveyed by enumerators of the same gender. For qualitative data collection, all adolescent girls and older boys were interviewed by researchers of the same gender as the adolescent, and the same is true for younger boys (except for five who were interviewed by female researchers). All enumerators and qualitative researchers were trained on working with young people (including child protection policies and ethical protocols) and on the GAGE research design and conceptual framework.

14 Our measures of educational enrolment and attainment include an indicator for being enrolled in non-formal school, highest grade attained and highest grade aspired to if there were no constraints. Non-formal education includes dropout education, home-school, private tutoring, evening studies, summer and adult education programmes and NGO-run programmes. Highest grade attained measures the number of years of education the adolescent completed in formal, government-sanctioned schooling; if the adolescent has never been enrolled in education, they are assigned a value of zero. Measures of economic empowerment include an indicator for whether the adolescent has done anything to get money or things for the household in the past 12 months. For older adolescents, we have two additional measures: indicators for working for remuneration in the past 7 days or in the past 12 months. Work for remuneration includes daily labour, working for wages or in-kind and self-employment activities, including agriculture. We also construct three indicators for the adolescent benefitting from a programme that provides: (1) education tuition or materials, (2) economic skills building and (3) employment. We examine all measures as outcomes, as well as analyse whether access to education tuition or materials impact education outcomes as a predictor.

15 For quantitative analysis, we present summary statistics of all outcomes and test for differences between four age and gender cohorts: younger cohort boys and girls (10–14 years) and older cohort boys and girls (15–18 years). We utilise regression analysis to understand whether age and gender differences persist after controlling for an asset index, literacy of household head, gender of household head, household size, month of survey interview and an indicator for being in the purposeful sample. The asset index, literacy of household head and gender of household head are proxies for household socioeconomic status and support for adolescent education, which has been found to be an important driver of educational achievement and aspirations (Black et al., 2005; White, 1982; Dalton et al., 2014; Genicot and Ray, 2017); moreover, adolescents in better-off households may be less likely to be engaged in paid work. Number of household members is included to adjust for the fact that larger families may have more assets, which we use to construct the asset index, as well as to control for larger households possibly choosing to allocate

resources differently. We include sampling weights in calculating all means and in regression analysis so that our estimates are representative of the study area, as well as cluster standard errors by the sampling block within the camp.

16 In the quantitative data 4 per cent of adolescents report being enrolled in formal education.

17 Wider CBPS data has revealed that among secondary school-age Rohingya adolescents, '41 percent of boys cite that they don't have enough money, but for 51 percent of girls the main reason for not attending school is social restrictions' (World Bank, 2019: 7).

18 Fifty per cent of the sample reported highest grade attained in Myanmar, with the other 50 per cent reporting highest grade attained in Bangladesh.

19 Rohingya refugee volunteers are engaged in many roles, for differing amounts of time, with a diverse range of stipends. For the latest guidance on volunteer jobs and incentives, see: Office of the Refugee Relief Repatriation Commissioner in Cox's Bazar (RRRC) and ISCG (2018).

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ANNEX

TABLE 2.2 Summary statistics of measures of educational access and attainment

	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*		*(7)*	*(8)*	
Panel A. Overall, by Gender, and by Age										
	Sample size	Mean	Min	Max	Females	Males	Sig Dif?	Younger	Older	Sig Dif?
=1 if enrolled in non-formal school	1040	49%	0	1	38%	58%	X	68%	15%	X
CR highest grade attended (scale 0–15)	980	3.66	0	14	2.91	4.39	X	3.63	3.74	
CR aspiration for highest grade (scale 0–15)	1055	11.3	0	15	10.3	12.2	X	11.6	10.8	X
=1 if received education benefits	1053	33%	0	1	31%	35%		50%	4%	X
Panel B. By Gender and Age										
	Younger Females	Older Females	Younger Males	Older Males	Significant Difference?					
					Younger Female–Younger Male	Older Female–Older Male		Younger Female–Older Female	Younger Male–Older Male	
=1 if enrolled in non-formal school	60%	2%	76%	28%	X	X		X	X	
CR highest grade attended (scale 0–15)	3.019	2.715	4.193	4.757	X	X				
CR aspiration for highest grade (scale 0–15)	10.699	9.598	12.37	11.905	X	X		X		
=1 if received education benefits	48%	3%	52%	5%				X	X	

Note: X indicates $p < 0.05$, O indicates $p < 0.10$ in a test of differences.

TABLE 2.3 Results of regression analysis for education, by age and gender

	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*
	=1 if enrolled non-formal school	Highest grade	Education aspirations	=1 if receive education benefits	=1 if enrolled non-formal school	Education aspirations
Younger	0.484***	-0.473	0.468	0.480***	0.306***	0.348
	(0.051)	(0.445)	(0.327)	(0.039)	(0.058)	(0.343)
Female	−0.243***	−1.896***	−2.229***	0.001	−0.246***	−2.206***
	(0.045)	(0.468)	(0.456)	(0.027)	(0.045)	(0.458)
Younger*Female	0.097	0.739	0.565	−0.043	0.120**	0.479
	(0.064)	(0.599)	(0.545)	(0.057)	(0.058)	(0.560)
=1 if received education benefits					0.366***	0.268
					(0.039)	(0.240)
=1 if HH head literate	0.051	0.607*	0.377	0.006	0.049	0.392*
	(0.048)	(0.316)	(0.238)	(0.039)	(0.044)	(0.237)
=1 if HH head female	0.021	−0.391	−0.364	0.014	0.025	−0.433
	(0.036)	(0.318)	(0.310)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.296)
Wealth index	0.003	0.152**	0.006	−0.002	0.003	0.004
	(0.008)	(0.068)	(0.051)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.052)
HH size	0.009	−0.034	0.014	0.006	0.006	0.018
	(0.006)	(0.054)	(0.051)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.051)
Purposeful sample	−0.057	3.589***	0.597	−0.067	−0.026	0.518
	(0.074)	(0.666)	(0.533)	(0.070)	(0.066)	(0.542)
Obs.	1015	961	1029	1026	1012	1026

Note: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE 2.4 Summary statistics, overall economic empowerment

	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*		*(7)*	*(8)*	
Panel A. Overall, by Gender, and by Age										
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Females	Males	Sig Dif?	Younger	Older	Sig Dif?
=1 if paid work	1049	15%	0	1	3%	26%	X	6%	30%	X
=1 if employed in the past 12 months	405	36%	0	1	11%	61%	X		36%	
=1 if employed in the past 7 days	405	20%	0	1	6%	34%	X		20%	
=1 if benefited from economic skills building	1052	1%	0	1	1%	0%	X	0%	1%	O
=1 if benefited from a youth employment programme	1052	2%	0	1	4%	0%	X	1%	4%	O
Panel B. By Gender and Age										
	Younger Females	Older Females	Younger Males	Older Males	Significant Difference?					
					Younger Female–Younger Male	Older Female–Older Male		Younger Female–Older Female	Younger Male–Older Male	
=1 if paid work	2%	6%	9%	55%	X	X		.	X	
=1 if employed in the past 12 months		11%		61%		X				
=1 if employed in the past 7 days		6%		34%		X				
=1 if benefited from economic skills building	0%	3%	0%	0%	O					
=1 if benefited from a youth employment program	2%	8%	0%	0%	X	X		O		

Note: X indicates $p < 0.05$, O indicates $p < 0.10$ in a test of differences.

TABLE 2.5 Economic empowerment regressions

	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*
	=1 if paid work	=1 if employed 12 months	=1 if employed 7 days	=1 if economic skills program	=1 if employ Program
Younger	−0.464***			0.001	0.001
	(0.056)			(0.001)	(0.006)
Female	−0.500***	−0.547***	−0.314***	0.027*	0.071**
	(0.059)	(0.050)	(0.057)	(0.014)	(0.029)
Younger*female	0.431***			−0.023	−0.052*
	(0.062)			(0.014)	(0.031)
=1 if HH head literate	−0.027	−0.003	0.016	−0.005	0.017
	(0.033)	(0.070)	(0.082)	(0.005)	(0.018)
=1 if HH head female	0.011	−0.081	−0.037	−0.002	−0.004
	(0.032)	(0.062)	(0.057)	(0.004)	(0.013)
Wealth index	−0.009	−0.016	−0.017	0.000	−0.002
	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.001)	(0.002)
HH size	0.004	0.002	0.003	−0.002*	−0.004
	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Purposeful sample	−0.043	−0.063	−0.065	−0.012	−0.072**
	(0.057)	(0.119)	(0.115)	(0.009)	(0.035)
Obs.	1024	381	381	1026	1026

Note: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A1 Outcomes: Base regressions

	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*
	=1 if enrolled non-formal school	Highest grade	Education aspirations	=1 if received education benefits	=1 if paid Work	=1 if employed 12 months	=1 if employed 7 days	=1 if econ skills programme	=1 if employ programme
Young	0.482***	−0.564	0.465	0.470***	−0.461***			−0.000	−0.001
	(0.051)	(0.465)	(0.317)	(0.039)	(0.056)			(0.000)	(0.005)
Female	−0.252***	−2.040***	−2.305***	−0.016	−0.495***	−0.509***	−0.287***	0.027*	0.071***
	(0.046)	(0.474)	(0.441)	(0.023)	(0.059)	(0.052)	(0.057)	(0.014)	(0.027)
Young*Female	0.096	0.865	0.633	−0.025	0.427***			−0.023	−0.050*
	(0.065)	(0.609)	(0.536)	(0.055)	(0.062)			(0.014)	(0.029)
Purposeful Sample	−0.047**	−0.716	−0.945***	−0.032*	−0.067***	−0.155***	−0.076***	−0.002	−0.028
	(0.022)	(0.487)	(0.252)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.033)	(0.023)	(0.012)	(0.019)
Constant	0.276***	4.758***	11.906***	0.047**	0.550***	0.616***	0.345***	0.000	0.004
	(0.045)	(0.365)	(0.265)	(0.018)	(0.053)	(0.049)	(0.051)	(0.000)	(0.004)
Obs.	1040	980	1055	1052	1049	386	386	1052	1052

3

'WE ARE NOT ACCEPTED HERE'

Intersecting vulnerabilities of internally displaced adolescents in Ethiopia

Nicola Jones, Kate Pincock and Workneh Yadete

Introduction

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development pledge to 'leave no one behind' offers a key opportunity to build on existing efforts to address internal displacement. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) defines internal displacement as the involuntary flight of people from their places of habitual residence, within the borders of their own countries, 'as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters' (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 1998). The 2030 Agenda specifies internally displaced persons (IDPs) as a vulnerable group that must be empowered through efforts to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (de Barre et al., 2018). In 2019, UNICEF estimated that 19 million children and adolescents were displaced within their own country – the highest number ever recorded (UNICEF, 2020).

Displacement disrupts transitions to adulthood in multiple ways. Adolescence is a key life stage that brings unique physiological, emotional and social changes which see young people becoming more involved in their communities and making decisions about their futures (Punch, 2002; Del Franco, 2012). Yet displacement breaks down adolescents' social networks and communities; it restricts their opportunities for education, work and agency; and it increases their exposure to violence and subsequent poor psychosocial outcomes (Guerrero and Tinkler, 2010). However, unlike refugees, there are few actors mandated to support IDPs beyond the initial emergency response (Lanz, 2008; Landau, 2014). IDPs also tend to be marginalised within national development strategies, which are ill-suited to coping with mobile and temporary populations and their particular vulnerabilities (Habte and Kweon, 2018). Policy responses that do engage with IDPs tend to either overlook

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the gendered vulnerabilities of young people or simplify them, treating adolescent boys as potential threats and girls as passive victims of sexualised violence (Clark-Kazak, 2009; Cazabat, 2019).

The 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda and the Global Compact on Refugees have called for humanitarian efforts to better connect with national development actors, creating a 'humanitarian-development nexus' that includes displaced people in development planning (Turk, 2018). Yet internally displaced adolescents are at risk of 'falling through the cracks' of this nexus because of a lack of meaningful state and international attention to the specific challenges of internal displacement within these frameworks (Evans et al., 2013), including an absence of any indicators on IDPs in the 2030 Agenda (Nahmias and Krynsky Baal, 2019). Reflecting the 2030 Agenda's urgent call to 'leave no one behind', this chapter seeks to address these knowledge gaps, exploring intersecting disadvantages faced by internally displaced adolescents in Ethiopia in Dire Dawa City Administration (Somali IDPs) and in East Hararghe and East Shewa zones (Oromo IDPs). Focusing on economic and psychosocial vulnerabilities, we highlight variations in experience based on IDP age, gender and geographical location. At a structural level, these vulnerabilities are amplified by governance failures, underlining the need for sustained and coordinated support for IDPs beyond the initial emergency phase.

Background

Internal displacement in Ethiopia

Mass internal displacement due to flooding, fires, drought and conflict has been a recurrent risk in Ethiopia for several decades (de Brauw and Mueller, 2012). In recent years, climate variability in the Horn of Africa has been described as a direct catalyst for violence, with resource scarcity as a result of droughts and flooding magnifying tensions that already exist as a result of structural inequalities and government instability (Afifi et al., 2012). In the second half of 2017, hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians were driven from their homes by border disputes between the Oromia and Somali regions, which share a border of 870 miles. By the end of 2018, 2.9 million people had fled their homes. At the same time, rapid political change was occurring in the country, reflecting calls for greater democratic freedoms and an end to the ethnic-based governance structure that was perceived to have marginalised many ethnic groups politically and economically. In early 2018, the newly created Ministry of Peace (replacing the Ministry of Federal Affairs, which had been criticised for inadequate support to displaced people) began to play a key role in supporting IDPs, helping an eventual 1.8 million return to their home communities (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2019).

However, continued displacements due to upsurges in conflict along border regions and disasters such as flooding have tested the new ministry's capacity. Ongoing internal displacement has not only fractured families and communities

but also increased exposure to violence (during displacement and afterwards, with significant impacts on people's physical and mental health and wellbeing) and driven widespread hardship and poverty due to the lack of economic opportunities for IDPs (Yigzaw and Abitew, 2019). For many IDPs, returning to their homes and recommencing normal life is impossible; their homes and businesses were destroyed, there is little or no support for rebuilding, and ongoing insecurity has led to high rates of secondary displacement (OCHA, 2019a). There is no alignment between federal and regional policy and budget allocations and responsibilities; for example, when conflict broke out in late 2017 between Oromo and Somali communities along regional borders, the Oromia regional government had to intervene owing to the slow response of the federal government to stem the violence.

Displaced Oromos and Somalis sought refuge in camps and host communities around the border areas. Oromia has some of the highest rates of IDPs in the country; according to the IOM, East Hararghe zone alone was hosting nearly 150,000 IDPs across 165 sites (IOM, 2019), mostly Oromos who had fled Somali region. When violence first broke out along the border in late 2017, many families who fled were unable to find safe places to stay, but as their numbers increased throughout 2018, the government and international humanitarian community were forced to respond, establishing shelters for families on the move (Sida, 2019). In Dire Dawa city, a large IDP camp was established at Millennium Park, mostly home to Somalis who fled the fighting in Oromia. Overcrowded shelters with limited food, health, nutrition, sanitation, education and protection services have exacerbated the vulnerability of IDPs in camps (Sida, 2019), yet those outside camps are also vulnerable, with lack of assistance and ongoing insecurity causing secondary displacement (IDMC, 2018, 2020).

Challenges for humanitarian assistance in ensuring an inclusive IDP response

While the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and other humanitarian organisations have looked at the impact of internal conflict on food aid, education, health and nutrition in Ethiopia, none have considered how displacement has affected adolescents specifically (OCHA, 2019a, 2019b). Existing evidence from previous crises, as well as work with IDPs in other contexts, points to the significant economic and psychosocial impacts of forced displacement (Siriwardhana and Stewart, 2013), especially for already-vulnerable populations such as young people and women (Araya et al., 2007; Betancourt and Khan, 2008). Yet IDPs in general, and young IDPs specifically, remain a low priority for international humanitarian assistance in comparison to other forcibly displaced populations (Buscher and Makinson, 2006). In part this is because the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement assert that states are responsible for addressing the rights of internally displaced persons (OCHA, 1998; Cotroneo, 2018) – a stance which assumes that governments are able to protect IDPs (Brookings-LSE, 2014).

The Ethiopian government is developing strategies to address internal displacement. In February 2020 it ratified the 2009 African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of IDPs in Africa (the Kampala Convention) and has worked with partners (including the UN) to develop its 2019 Humanitarian Response Plan. Yet policies continue to overlook the specific vulnerabilities of younger people, despite wide acknowledgement that during conflict, women and children tend to bear the brunt of violence. For example, the 2019 Humanitarian Response Plan makes only one mention of 'children and adolescents' – specifically, the vulnerability of out-of-school children to child labour and trafficking (Government of Ethiopia, 2019: 83). In terms of interventions, the Plan refers to adolescent girls and boys as 'engaging in risky behaviours and negative coping mechanisms' (ibid.:17) and in need of interventions which tackle this. However, proposed response strategies focus on girls (usually grouped in with 'women'). These include: sexual and reproductive health (SRH) interventions targeting the needs of children and adolescents as well as people with disabilities, women and people living with HIV and tuberculosis (ibid.:45); recognising the particular protection needs of adolescent girls (ibid.:55); dignity kits and awareness raising among adolescent girls (ibid.:56); and psychosocial support for adolescent girls through women-friendly spaces (ibid.:57).

Similarly, the UN OCHA, outlining funding priorities for the response to mass internal displacement in Ethiopia, defines several urgent issues in which girls are the primary focus, although adolescent girls are addressed within gendered strategies for women. OCHA identifies the need for psychosocial support for children but specifies that 'women and adolescent girls will be given psychosocial support in women-friendly spaces' (OCHA, 2019b: 4); it goes on to talk about engaging caregivers in promoting child wellbeing, implying that the women and girls in this context will be mothers of traumatised children who may also need support. Women and adolescent girls are also to be trained in awareness and mitigation of gender-based violence (GBV), with services expanded to support victims (2019b: 5). There is, however, little attention to how gendered needs vary across and within age groups and life stages (Evans et al., 2013).

There is a growing evidence base that the vulnerabilities of adolescents in Ethiopia are shaped not only by gender norms but by other differences too, including geographical location (Jones et al., 2020) and household food security (Jebena et al., 2016). GAGE quantitative research in Ethiopia has found that children in rural areas are more likely to have experienced violence than those in urban contexts (67 per cent vs. 59 per cent) because of community support for norms that permit violence against young people (Murphy et al., 2020). Jebena et al. (2016) employ a structural equation model to identify strong links between poverty, food security and poor mental health amongst Ethiopian adolescents. Given that household incomes and community networks are both altered by internal displacement, these quantitative findings underline the need for context-specific approaches to promoting economic opportunities and psychosocial wellbeing which take into account the ways these may be fractured by displacement.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees's (UNHCR) reference to 'children and adolescents' in its Age, Gender and Diversity (AGD) policy suggests recognition of the different developmental and social circumstances of young people. Yet there is a lack of consistency in how definitions are applied within policy literature and a lack of nuance in discussions (Clark-Kazak, 2009). This is exacerbated by a dearth of age-disaggregated data; the AGD policy states that children and adolescents should be supported to participate 'in all matters affecting them in accordance with their age, gender, maturity and capacity' (UNHCR, 2018: 18) but does not require that data be disaggregated beyond 'adults' and 'children', rendering it difficult to identify what support might be needed for different cohorts.

The United Nations' Global Compact on Refugees (2018) seeks to bridge the aid-development nexus to find ways to promote long-term solutions to displacement; yet it does not include targets for promoting self-reliance for displaced people and supporting peacebuilding in communities of origin so that IDPs can return safely. The need to address climate change as part of strategies to reconcile conflicts over resources in the region is also overlooked. The 2030 Agenda, and the call to leave no one behind specifically, addresses groups that are structurally marginalised and draws attention to the vulnerability of IDPs and the need for their empowerment (UN, 2015). Yet while the Agenda document was recently updated to add an indicator on displacement, it will be based on UNHCR data and thus only includes refugees (Nahmias and Krynsky Baal, 2019). There will be no data on how IDPs are faring in comparison to other displaced population groups, which presents a major obstacle to ensuring that states include IDPs in development planning and policies.

Conceptual framing

Ensuring that there is adequate data on internal displacement, age and gender is an important component of assessing needs and designing appropriate interventions to 'leave no one behind'. This research unpacks the specific age- and gender-related vulnerabilities of adolescents in two areas that have received little attention: the economic and psychosocial effects of internal displacement. In analysing how these dimensions are connected and what support adolescents need, we draw on two complementary conceptual frameworks: an intersectional approach, and the '3 Cs' – capabilities, contexts and change strategies – employed by the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) longitudinal research programme (GAGE consortium, 2019).

GAGE's focus on capabilities draws on Amartya Sen's work (1984, 2004) and reflects commitments to a holistic understanding of young people's rights and the need for investment across all areas of their lives (as enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child). Sen's capabilities approach (2004) proposes that in order to achieve and do things that they value, individuals need assets such as knowledge, skills, bodily autonomy, health and voice. When considering at-risk young people, this means addressing how a lack of assets – for example, access to schooling or health care – prevents them from achieving their capabilities, while

focusing interventions on these areas of capability deprivation. Being displaced, being of a certain age and being a particular gender or ethnicity can make young people particularly vulnerable to capability deprivations. Drawing on the work of Crenshaw (1989) on intersectionality, we suggest that these 'intersections' of personal identity are critical to how internally displaced adolescents (especially girls) experience vulnerability. Approaches that engage with vectors of inequality such as gender, displacement, rural-urban divides and age as distinct rather than related issues will fail to address both the specifics of these experiences and the systemic nature of inequalities in reproducing and reinforcing each other (Collins, 1990; Nash, 2017).

Building on this recognition within intersectionality that vulnerability is a product of unjust social systems, the GAGE conceptual framework emphasises the role of context in shaping the vulnerabilities experienced by internally displaced adolescents. Context includes not only the relationships in which young people are embedded at the household or family level; it also encompasses social norms around gender and age enacted at the community level, and the role of state and global actors, whose power to define issues and allocate resources shapes young people's economic and political opportunities.

Intersectionality theory also emphasises the role of historical context in situating groups differently along axes of power (Yuval-Davis, 2006). In the case of Ethiopia, longstanding ethnic and political tensions (including conflicts over ever-decreasing water and land) continue to shape young people's experiences of displacement. In this research, some IDPs were staying in communities still immersed in conflict, and others were in camps. These locations may also create different vulnerabilities, given that encampment both draws attention to IDPs and simultaneously makes them as different in negative ways, due to the diminished quality of life that residents have in such places (Kreichauf, 2018). As well as creating a sense of resentment and hostility from those outside these spaces who do not have to live in them, being marked as different may also exacerbate young people's sense of ostracism from society.

Finally, the GAGE conceptual framework attends to change strategies – the policies and programming needed to support young people to develop their full capabilities, which must account for the contextual realities of adolescents' lives and the intersecting vulnerabilities they generate. These broad contextual dynamics provide the backdrop to young people's experiences of and vulnerabilities to displacement, as explored in this chapter. The focus on change strategies also underlines the importance of connecting our findings to recommendations for action to address the vulnerabilities facing adolescents in Ethiopia.

Methodology

Our findings are based on research conducted in late 2017/early 2018 and late 2019 in East Hararghe's Fedis *woreda* (district), on the border with Somali region, and Dire Dawa City Administration and Batu town, in Oromia region's East Shewa zone. The participants were internally displaced adolescents in East Hararghe

FIGURE 3.1 Map of Ethiopia indicating fieldwork localities.

(Oromos displaced from Somalia) and Dire Dawa (Somalis displaced from Oromia region, and Oromos displaced from Somali region). Figure 3.1 illustrates the locations of these field sites.

Research was undertaken in two areas with high concentrations of IDPs; however, at baseline, as GAGE was not anticipating to focus on IDPs, data was being generated as the crisis unfolded, with qualitative tools adapted to capture the emerging experiences of young people. In the second round of data collection (2019), we used the same tools to explore significant change in displaced young people's lives since the first round. This data was complemented by focus group discussions and key informant interviews to explore both the broader community dynamics, and district and regional policy and political dynamics.

Sampling was purposeful, with community leaders and facilitators requesting to introduce researchers to IDPs in their communities. Fieldwork was undertaken by local researchers who spoke the same language as respondents, and the same team undertook both rounds of data collection. Ethical challenges included the need to anonymise findings due to security concerns and (in Dire Dawa) finding safe locations for in-person interviews due to ongoing political tensions/insecurity during the second round of data collection.

IDPs in Dire Dawa city included two major groups: 3,192 Oromos who were displaced from Somali region in 2017/2018 and settled at two sites on the outskirts of the city administration, and 483 Somalis who were displaced from Oromia zones bordering with Somali region and settled in the city youth centre.[1] Table 3.1 shows the mid-line interview sample of internally displaced adolescents and key informants. Though official reports indicated that IDP centres received basic services such

TABLE 3.1 Mid-line interview samples with internally displaced adolescents and key informants

Site	*Gender*	*Individual interviews – IDP*		*Focus group discussions (FGDs) – IDP*		*Key informant interviews (KII)/with sector offices**	
		No. of interviews	*No. of participants*	*No. of interviews*	*No. of participants*	*No. of interviews*	*No. of participants*
Dire Dawa City	Female	3	3	3	17		
	Male	3	3	1	6		
	Total	**6**	**6**	**4**	**23**	**3**	**5**
Batu town	Female	3	3	2	12		
	Male	4	4	2	16		
	Total	**7**	**7**	**4**	**28**	**9**	**21**
Fedis district	Female	4	4	3	20		
	Male	3	3	2	12		
	Total	**7**	**7**	**5**	**32**	**7**	**19**
Overall total		**20**	**20**	**13**	**83**	**19**	**45**

*We do not include the gender of key informant interviewees for anonymity purposes.

as shelter, food, water, hygiene and sanitation, and health care (IOM, 2017), our researchers observed that by late 2019 most of these services had stopped and IDPs lacked access to health care and education, water and sanitation, and social protection. There were also conflicts among different clans within the centres as well as disputes with host communities.

In Batu town in East Shewa zone of Oromia region, the IDPs were mainly displaced from the Shilile zone of Somali region in 2018. The Oromia regional government settled these IDPs in Batu in 2018 in accordance with the government's policy to settle many IDPs in large urban areas within Oromia region, based on a quota system. The IDPs in Batu have been living in two big IDP centres in Kebele 02 of the city administration. Though the government provided them with food, free health services in local hospital and education services in government schools, the displaced population strongly complained that the support has been inadequate and that they have been excluded from social, political and economic opportunities. This has led to repeated conflicts with the city administration officials, as well as with the communities living around the IDP centres. This has led to migration of many IDP young people to the Middle East through illegal means often in very risky circumstances.

In East Hararghe zone, there were 85,292 Oromos displaced from Somali region (late 2017/early 2018), with 72,861 settled in IDP centres in different *woredas* (or districts across East Hararghe zone). Fedis *woreda* (where we conducted qualitative research), a remote rural district, hosted an estimated 7,421 people displaced from Somali region (IOM, 2017), and there were large numbers of locally displaced people within the *woreda* due to ongoing border tensions. The total number of IDPs in East Hararghe reached 310,000 in mid-2019 (OCHA, 2019b). A significant proportion of IDPs returned to their place of origin but often lacked land or livelihoods as they had lived and worked in Somali region or elsewhere for long periods of time, and thus they were often heavily reliant on family members or neighbours, many of whom were already facing precarious livelihoods. It is important to note that East Hararghe suffers from poor infrastructure and very limited employment opportunities outside of the *khat* (a stimulant plant that is widely consumed in parts of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa) economy, and hence large numbers of the rural population had moved in previous years to other regions in search of better livelihood opportunities. Post-conflict, those who are still living in rural communities in East Hararghe are dependent on the support from the government, which has been provided in a haphazard way, rendering IDPs highly vulnerable. Since the support is predominantly food items, the IDPs have lacked money to cover costs for medical, transport, clothing, additional food items and other non-food necessities. Moreover, many of them remain living in tents which exposes them to extreme temperatures during the day and night, and additional challenges during the rainy season.

Findings

As of mid-2019, Ethiopia's Ministry of Peace, with support from humanitarian organizations, had successfully relocated 1.8 million of about 3.2 million displaced

persons (IOM, 2019). Despite this considerable achievement, our findings paint a more sobering picture of very high levels of vulnerability among internally displaced adolescents and their families, in rural and urban host communities and in IDP camps. Here, we focus on the patterning of economic and psychosocial vulnerabilities among internally displaced adolescents.

Economic vulnerabilities

Many of the internally displaced Oromos had migrated to Somali region due to poverty and limited economic opportunities in their home communities (including lack of land and other productive assets). In the case of IDPs from Somali and Oromo regions, due to the extreme violence encountered during the initial conflict, many had been forced to flee without savings or assets. When they arrived in camps or host communities they were already highly vulnerable, and two years on, many remained homeless, living in tents or make-shift shelters. Arriving in already highly impoverished communities with limited economic opportunities exacerbated the challenges facing IDPs. As an adult in a focus group discussion (FGD) for fathers in Fedis district explained:

> After we arrived here, we did not get basic needs. The local community is also poor and unable to support us. My father lives here without having resources, when I came with additional problems, the challenges were compounded. Hence the government needs to help us. . . . Those who are displaced lost all their belongings. . . . People migrated from this locality since they did not have anything at the time they migrated. . . . Those who have nothing, they are living just as they were before. When the displaced people consume what they get from the government, their relatives end up having to sell their assets so as to purchase basic consumer goods. In doing so, both of them are losing their resources and becoming poor.

Internally displaced adolescents across the research sites underscored the challenge of food insecurity. One 19-year-old girl from Batu explained that IDPs had also been reluctant to speak out initially because they were grateful for having been rescued from the brutal ethnic violence:

> Our people took us out of that bad situation. That was the reason we were patient. We tell ourselves that we didn't come here for the food or belongings we get. We were afraid to talk about food. We were patient. We did that for the sake of our people and God.

Mothers in an FGD in Fedis district underscored the desperate situation that many IDP households find themselves in, especially because prior to displacement, they were already relying on their adolescent children's labour to meet basic needs. As one 35-year-old woman explained:

> Our people were working as a housemaid like cooking, washing clothes, etc. Others who have their own home were engaged in small trade of vegetables. Girls were engaged as a housemaid and earned up to 2000 birr per month. Boys were engaged in washing cars, as a shoe polisher. Such children did not need anything from their parents. However, after they came here, they do not work and we are also unable to provide them with basic needs. It is only God who knows about the sufferings that I faced.

Limited employment opportunities

Adolescents in rural areas noted that some had been compelled to engage in paid work within the host community to support their families, often on exploitative terms. One 16-year-old boy noted:

> Local adolescents work on their families' farms out of choice, whereas we are becoming their servants just for the sake of earning some money. Most of us don't have our farmland; even if we do, we don't have oxen to plough the land. That is why we have become paid labourers and servants of the better-off people. We have scant opportunity to work and improve our livelihoods.

For many meeting household economic needs was coming at the cost of school attendance. One 17-year-old boy explained: 'We sacrifice our schooling for income-generating work. We see limited future.'

Older adolescents residing in cities or towns emphasised that while they had been moved to urban centres by the government, ostensibly to facilitate access to employment, finding work had, in practice, proved very challenging, and they had not received any support in the process. As an 18-year-old internally displaced girl living in Batu noted:

> [After we were displaced] we returned to our birthplace empty-handed. Our family bought us clothes and shoes, and then the government brought us here [an urban centre] . . . to this ugly livelihood. Government tells us to become independent and to have an independent life. Government tells us it enables us to work. But we do not have any work. We do not have any money. We sit in line here without having anything.

Older youth participants in an FGD emphasised that they were not given equal citizenship rights after they were displaced. One 22-year-old male noted:

> In this local town, all priorities are given for residents of the town. We requested to get job opportunity . . . but the response was that local residents do not get such opportunity yet. We are guests for the town. This is what negatively affected our morale. . . . When we asked government officials to provide us with job opportunity, they told us to wait for five years.

> Government officials informed us they are unable to support unless they first support the local residents.

Many of the Oromo adolescents who had migrated to Somali region prior to the conflict in search of work had dropped out of school early in their home areas due to household poverty, so they had limited skills and experience with which to secure new livelihood opportunities.

In other cases, internally displaced adults highlighted that the challenges young people were facing post-displacement were a result of a general de-valuation of education. As a participant in an FGD for fathers noted:

> Since father and mother do not know about importance of education, such ignorance transferred to children. Our people are in ignorance and darkness. So government needs to provide strong awareness raising in the community.

A number of respondents explained that they had not attended school in Jijiga after migrating to Somali region, partly due to language barriers and stigma but also because it had not been a priority for their families.

Limited social protection

Our findings highlight that in the initial aftermath of the conflict, emergency social protection support was slow to arrive, so many households outside camp settings were reliant on support from host communities. Once support (primarily food aid) had arrived, it was for a limited duration; many respondents noted that even though their situation had not improved by late 2019, they were no longer receiving support and were living precariously. As a 19-year-old boy living in Batu noted:

> Previously they were supplying us with food rations bi-monthly. Now, it has been four months since the support stopped. . . . They did not give us anything. We do not have any job. . . . We are wearing the clothes we were wearing when we came here [displaced from Somali region]. . . . They gave us 15 kilos of rice, we do not have anything to buy other needs that we have. It has been two years since we came here. We are facing severe challenges. We do not have jobs. We are not attending school. By now we are not using our time, rather, the time is running against us. But we cannot say anything.

In some cases, internally displaced adolescents reported that they were relying on peer support for basic needs. As a 19-year-old boy in Batu explained:

> Those boys who work support them. . . . We request from them money for soap. We eat food with them if they have, if they do not have we leave it. We are living just like this.

Adolescent girls similarly noted close cooperation with displaced peers as their only option for survival. As an 18-year-old girl living in Batu explained:

> Where I live, there are 461 displaced households. There is a woman from Chelenqo and I am dependent on her for my food. When she gives me food, I take it to my friends and eat it together with them. . . . If they too get something, they bring it and share it. We use 15 birr [0.43 USD] for two days. . . . We are now attending school and . . . if my skirt is dirty, I wear the skirt of the others. . . . When we came back from school, we did not have anyone who bought water for us. . . . We did not get water for five days, either for drinking or for cleaning. Then I had to miss school since I did not have any water to clean myself. We had only one jerrican of water. . . . During that time, I cried and decided to quit school. . . . Then my friends came from school and encouraged me not to quit. They advised me that hardship will pass. . . . It has been two months since that moment. However, there is no solution yet.

Other adolescents highlighted that many young people are forced to incur debt, while others have returned to Jijiga in Somali region, despite the risks of ongoing ethnic tensions. A 19-year-old married adolescent girl living in Batu said:

> Sometimes we make do with the money they [family and neighbours] lend us. In the future when there is nothing to eat . . . The situation that we are living in is greatly worrying. . . . Because of the absence of aid, many people are worried about how to repay the loan they took. . . . Some are returning and working in Somali region as before. There are many who returned there because the livelihood here is so worrying and the food rations are on the verge of stopping. . . . I am now working and I can repay my loan. . . . But there are people who do not work. Yet, there are persons who do not start work after they took the loans and so can't repay the money.

Young people also noted the lack of social protection support to cover basic costs such as education for IDPs. For example, in secondary school, young people need to pay additional fees for group tutorials, but the fees are not waived for IDPs, as this 17-year-old boy living in Batu explained:

> Lack of money has hampered my education greatly. Even today, there was a conflict with my group within my class. This is because my group was interested to attend the tutor class and I was the only student unable to pay for that. I requested my group members to pay 5 birr and let the school register me. But impossible. . . . Later I informed them to exclude me and to register other students. . . . I told them I will bring the money. But they refused to register me. . . . But I did not feel any anger towards them.

Similarly, a 13-year-old displaced girl living in an IDP camp in Dire Dawa noted that she and her siblings were out of school as their family could not afford the school uniform:

> When they were taking photos of our parents and were registering family, they told them to buy uniform and send children to school. But our parent[s] said, 'We don't have money to buy uniform'. They told them, we will send our children to school when we have money and are able to do that.

Some boys also explained that lack of money means that displaced students risk being excluded from sports classes as they cannot afford sports shoes, and the school does not have an exemption policy. As a 17-year-old boy explained:

> When we practice sport activities, you may face several challenges. . . . Our sports teacher gave us two months to get sport shoes. Then after, he said to us, 'I do not have the patience to let you participate in sport activities unless you wear sport shoes'. Because of this I beg shoes from other students from other classes for when they do not have sport classes. So I am participating in sport classes with shoes that I beg from others.

Psychosocial vulnerabilities

Our findings underscore the multilevel psychosocial stresses facing adolescent IDPs at the individual, family and community levels, and the dearth of psychosocial support services. Here we discuss each level in turn.

Individual distress

Many adolescents spoke of the deep initial shock they had experienced during the conflict and the effects of witnessing violence. As a 17-year-old boy from Batu explained:

> I was in great shock. I did not want to eat or drink. . . . No one can think about hunger unless there is peace. . . . I have never ever been shocked like at that moment. I never faced such type of a disaster. . . . It was a nightmare during the day.

Another 19-year-old boy from Batu noted:

> We do not want to return there. We suffered a lot at that time, they beheaded people. . . . I counted 340 people, women whose lips were cut off. When I saw all this I was badly affected. . . . Therefore we have no interest to go back there. . . . We are frightened.

Many young people reported that the shock and trauma had manifested itself in physical ailments, as a 12-year-old girl in Dire Dawa explained:

> I became sick and later got cured. It was Allah who cured me. . . . I was sleeping for six months. Even after I came here, I was sick. They took me to the health facility and I was cured. I had a headache and felt ill in my abdomen. My whole physical structure felt like I had been smashed. While I was in Oromia, they were imprisoning the health workers [and so health care was difficult to obtain]. But when we came here, they took me to the health facility. Then I got cured.

Multiple respondents spoke of the injury or death of family members, which gave them ongoing nightmares. A 12-year-old girl living in a camp in Dire Dawa recalled her experience:

> When my father died, deep inside I felt I will kill one of them [the perpetrators] and die there. . . . I didn't sleep. For many nights I couldn't sleep. I still have nightmares. They call me 'Somali' and threaten me with a knife in my dreams. Then I wake up.

A 15-year-old boy in Dire Dawa noted:

> I lost my father and mother. I am living with my grandfather. . . . Our house was burned. They killed my uncle. . . . My elder sister was sick [when we were displaced] and recovered here. My smaller sister who was five years old was also sick and died.

In addition to the psychological trauma of the initial conflict period, displaced adolescents and parents also spoke about the stresses young people are experiencing due to being out of school, and the barriers (not least cost) that prevent them returning to school. As a mother living in a Dire Dawa camp noted:

> When the violence occurred, they left their exercise books in their class to save their life. They are also required to pay money to buy exercise books. They are worried about their low performance. . . . Though I was trying to encourage my children to focus on their education, my husband got sick and couldn't support them and then [they] dropped [out of] school. They are so worried about their education.

Some parents also explained that their children were distressed because of their exclusion from school on account of not having the necessary paperwork to demonstrate their grade level prior to displacement.

Family support

While emotional support from families is a key pillar of adolescent psychosocial wellbeing, many adolescents in our sample reported feeling unable or unwilling to rely on their families, as they knew how the conflict and displacement had affected them too. Older adolescents living in host communities in Batu emphasised that they did not turn to their families for economic or emotional support because they were themselves struggling and not in a position to help. As a 19-year-old boy in Batu explained:

> My family does not know I am suffering here. . . . My father does not know about my situation here. . . . I do not tell him.

Similarly, an 18-year-old girl living in Batu noted:

> My family [who live in a rural village in East Hararghe zone far from Batu] cannot support me. My family are farmers. My family produces on a yearly basis and they do not have excess resources to help me. On top of this, my family is educating other children. It is difficult for us to request the family to send us money. It is difficult and shameful to request my family to send me money.

Others were afraid to return home even to visit, citing transportation costs and the risk that they could lose what limited employment they currently had. As a 17-year-old boy noted:

> They do not come. But they call me several times, it is me who has become silent . . . I will not return from there if I go. . . . I need at least 1,000 birr just to go there and come back here. . . . I stayed here since I have a job. Since those who do not have job do not move back there, why should I go while I have a job? I think over it and decided that since I have a job here. . . . I am thinking of my family. It has been almost three years since we came here.

Community connectedness

A common theme across research sites was the lack of community social cohesion. While young people spoke of support from host communities soon after they arrived, in many cases this appeared to be short-lived. Many adolescents, especially in the second round of research, spoke of social isolation or stigma from host communities. As a 19-year-old girl in Batu noted:

> We don't participate in any activities [with the host community]. . . . We do not use the youth centre. We do not know where it is. No one showed us.

The lack of safe spaces to interact with peers was a particular concern for girls, who face tighter restrictions on their mobility due to gender norms, and also on account of trauma related to sexual and gender-based violence that many girls and young women had experienced during the conflict.

Some adolescents talked about being insulted by others in the community but felt they had little option but to tolerate this discriminatory behaviour, especially because their poverty further undermined their social standing. A participant in a girls' FGD observed:

> We could do nothing except bow down our head and move away. . . . We felt that it is our fate to be exposed to such bad things. . . . We felt that it is our poverty that caused all the discrimination against us.

Several younger adolescents (from Somali region but now living in Dire Dawa) noted they had participated in meetings where they received advice about interacting with the host community (which is ethnically mixed), including not resorting to violent behaviour with Oromo youth. For example, a 12-year-old girl explained:

> They advised us. . . . They called us for a meeting under a tree and advised us not to attack other people. Now we don't do that anymore. . . . They told us not to attack Oromo children. You are poor and cannot protect yourself from them. The Oromo are many in the town, you cannot stop them or protect yourselves from them. We say 'ok' but when we see Oromo around here we used to beat them. They repeatedly advise us to stop it and we did stop now. Now, the Oromo enter the compound and leave. We don't talk to them. But we don't leave them if they provoke us.

A participant in an FGD for mothers in Fedis district explained that bullying of displaced children by host community children at school was commonplace:

> Sometimes children of the locality take school materials of my children. In that case, I ask the teacher to provide them [with] exercise book and pen. Local children beat our girls aged 13 or 14 years. When I appeal to the parents of such children to stop their children, no one prevents their children from beating our children. Some of the people are good while others are bad.

Several younger adolescents also emphasised that teachers were not providing support; not only were they failing to intervene to prevent conflict among students but in some cases they were allegedly encouraging mis-treatment of internally displaced students. A 12-year-old girl living in Dire Dawa described her experience:

> I finished school in the middle of grade 4. Students were calling us 'Somali' and the teacher was also not stopping students when they were insulting us. The students had a meeting and were talking about killing Somali students.

> Then I stopped attending school. Students also throw stones at us. It was the teachers who advised students to beat us and insult us. When we were not going to school, teachers came and asked us to go back to school. But they didn't stop students who were insulting us. The students also chased us out.

Other internally displaced adolescents emphasised that it was not just in schools but also in the wider community where they were at risk of violence from host community members. As a 15-year-old girl explained:

> We are not accepted here. The community does not want to see us. . . . 'We do not need Hararghe people'. One day what did they say? The ration came too late. . . . We did not have anything to eat. Men woke up in the morning and said 'let us go for peaceful demonstration since we do not have anything to eat'. We went to the asphalt for a demonstration. The whole community beat us with sticks. Some of our people were injured and bleeding. Then after, they started to say, 'May the Lord remove people of Hararghe from here'.

In the camp for internally displaced people in Dire Dawa, conflict between rival clans was an additional source of stress for young people. Given the camp's poor conditions and very limited resources, clan rivalries quickly surfaced, and some adolescents reported feeling stressed and unsafe, fearing both the host community and others in the camp.

Support services

Despite having experienced severe trauma, many respondents reported that no formal psychosocial support was provided by the government, NGOs or religious institutions. As one man in an FGD for internally displaced adults in Fedis district explained:

> We and our children were traumatised when we came here. What can we do? We are displaced people. My child became like he was insane. . . . When he remembers, he starts to run. . . . There is no psychosocial support. What can we do? Our life is one of poverty. . . . One of my children left and moved away alone. . . . We [IDPs] are separated from our families. . . . We are dispersed in various areas where we do not know each other. . . . We trust in God but we did not make any other effort to support the children to be free from these problems.

Similarly, an 18-year-old girl living in Batu noted:

> We do not talk to the Women's Affairs office. We do not know them. . . . No one talks to us. We are dependent on [other] displaced families.

In Fedis district, respondents in an FGD noted that compared to relatives in neighbouring districts, they felt poorly supported by the district authorities and only received support after complaining vociferously. A participant in an FGD for mothers emphasised:

> We were stressed very much [when we were displaced] and we have been hoping that the government provides us [with] support. Fedis district is leaving us in a problem. Displaced people in other districts like Babile are getting good support, [and] they are changed. . . . Last time they gave us food support after a delay of three months. They gave us food when we were about to decide to go back to Somali and die there. The district reports that it has no displaced people and that everyone has already been resettled. They only gave us support after we went to the office and complained loudly.

In Batu, internally displaced adolescents reported that even though the food insecurity situation was becoming intolerable, when they complained as a group, they were beaten by police and now feel despair that they have no avenue to air grievances or seek redress. As an 18-year-old girl noted:

> We stopped complaining since we were beaten. No one gives us solution. We stopped it, losing hope. When we request it, we are beaten and come back to our home. One day the rations stopped and we became hungry. When we requested . . . food support, they told us they do not have any. . . . So we were beaten by police, adults together with their children. There is a child who died because he was beaten after that request.

Discussion and implications for policy

Our findings show that internally displaced adolescents in Ethiopia face multiple and intersecting forms of disadvantage. These include age, gender and their experience as citizens outside of communities, lacking a sense of belonging. Yet what can also be noted in analysing these findings are distinctions between geographical residence (for example being in remote rural host communities or urban makeshift camps) which shape available livelihood options and experiences of stigma and discrimination.

In terms of economic vulnerabilities, our findings highlight that internally displaced adolescents face significant age-related disadvantages, including limited access to education (partly due to lack of certificates allowing them to enter the appropriate grade-for-age) and exposure to child labour (among younger adolescents) to support household needs. Older adolescents also face a dearth of decent employment opportunities due to limited education and discrimination by host communities barring them from taking up local job opportunities. For older adolescents living apart from their families, the lack of adolescent-responsive social

protection measures forced them into highly precarious daily struggles to meet basic needs, with many facing chronic food insecurity.

The patterning of this disadvantage was significantly shaped by geography, with young people in remote rural host communities in East Hararghe facing exploitative agricultural work, while their peers in urban host communities and camps faced unemployment and indebtedness. While gender norms typically shape livelihood opportunities for young people in Ethiopia (see Jones, Baird et al., 2019; Jones, Baird, Hicks, Presler-Marshall et al., 2018), the extreme poverty faced by internally displaced adolescents in our sample meant that such differences did not emerge; adolescent girls and boys both took on whatever scarce work was available.

In terms of psychosocial vulnerabilities, our findings also point to marked age- and gender-specific challenges, including serious mental trauma and persistent mental ill health as a result of experiencing and witnessing violence during conflict and displacement. Adolescent boys' accounts of the conflict were shaped by extreme physical violence, while adolescent girls also spoke of sexual and gender-based violence, the effects of which drive their emphasis on finding safe spaces in host communities and camps. In terms of interactions with family, adolescent girls and boys both underscored that they sought to protect their parents from the full extent of their stress and suffering during displacement, mindful that their parents are also coping with high levels of stress. At the community level, while GAGE research with non-displaced adolescents in the same communities found significant differences in young people's exposure to peer violence (with boys at greater risk of bullying and girls at greater risk of sexual violence) (Jones, Presler-Marshall et al., 2019), our research with displaced adolescents (girls and boys) underscored their high exposure to verbal and physical violence from peers, pointing to high levels of community discrimination and stigma towards displaced persons. Finally, all adolescents – irrespective of age, gender or geographical location – emphasised that they had no access to psychosocial support services.

Internally displaced adolescents have a dearth of champions to advocate for interventions to address their vulnerabilities, at both the national and international levels. This places them at significant risk of being 'left behind'. For Ethiopia, ratifying the Kampala Convention was an important starting point in addressing the specific vulnerabilities facing IDPs. Yet there is an urgent need for more sustained support, so that internally displaced adolescents can build meaningful lives and aspire to better futures. When there is limited attention to IDPs in general, young people and their age- and gender-specific needs are especially likely to be overlooked. Though the Ministry of Peace is mandated to oversee the resettlement of those displaced in 2018, it has not been tasked with monitoring and providing assistance in their resettled localities – leading to a lack of knowledge about how young people have been affected. The 2019 Humanitarian Response Plan still pays inadequate attention to the impact of displacement on adolescents and young people, who must cope with displacement during one of the most challenging life stages.

Resettlement in host communities is an important first step, but many IDPs will need social assistance for a prolonged period of time, given their dearth of assets, savings and education. Age- and gender-responsive social protection that provides an integrated package of support alongside complementary services such as catch-up classes and psychosocial support is critical for internally displaced adolescents if they are not to be 'left behind'. These strategies must also acknowledge the different vulnerabilities of and support needed by IDPs, especially between camp and urban settings, given that our findings suggest they have experienced varying degrees and types of discrimination and stigma.

More work is also needed to raise awareness with actors mandated to support young people and IDPs. The SDGs include no indicators on internal displacement, despite recognising IDPs as a particularly marginalised group. More specific monitoring and indicators at all levels would generate better information on how to support internally displaced adolescents. Coordinated action and champions – internationally and nationally – are also vital for advocating for internally displaced adolescents and for holding states and international actors to account. There is a clear need for NGOs to fill some of these gaps and for a Special UN Rapporteur to be dedicated to the impact of internal displacement on children and adolescents. These measures together will enable a better understanding not only of how to target support to the most vulnerable internally displaced adolescents but also of their longer-term development trajectories, as well as enabling actors to identify which forms of support are most critical at which junctures.

Conclusion

National and international agencies responding to internal displacement have begun to mainstream age and gender into their working practices, but there has been little research to date to understand how internal displacement impacts young people in particular or to identify how existing support mechanisms can be strengthened and adapted to address adolescents' needs. This chapter has emphasised the intersecting vulnerabilities of internally displaced adolescents in Ethiopia, focusing on economic and psychosocial vulnerabilities. Poor psychosocial outcomes were linked to economic deprivation, violence and threats to bodily integrity – which manifested in different ways on the basis of age and gender – as well as to strained social cohesion, both within camps and host communities.

While internally displaced adolescents reported a number of negative experiences at the individual and community levels, continued inaction at the national and international levels will continue to exacerbate age and gender vulnerabilities, especially in the context of highly impoverished host communities who are simultaneously vulnerable to recurrent climatic shocks. Addressing these failures requires a deeper understanding of young people's experiences, to which this chapter has sought to contribute. The next step is to hold stakeholders accountable for delivering more sustained and coordinated support for internally displaced adolescents

beyond an initial emergency phase, including age- and gender-responsive social protection programming, to ensure that they are not 'left behind'.

Note

1 Dire Dawa city is renowned for its ethnic pluralism, with formal power sharing between Oromos, Somalis and other ethnic groups. Hence it can provide a possible explanation as to why some Somalis sought refuge here (rather than in Somali region), especially if they had family or relatives in Dire Dawa, and given better employment prospects in a large urban centre rather than the rural areas of Somali region.

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4

'THERE IS NOTHING ELSE TO ASPIRE TO IN OUR LIFE'

Exploring the psychosocial wellbeing of married Syrian refugee girls in Lebanon

Sally Youssef

Introduction

Lebanon has the highest number of refugees relative to population size, hosting around 1.5 million Syrian refugees as well as refugees of other origins, including around 200,000 Palestinian refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2020). Yet Lebanon has not ratified the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees. Under Lebanese law, refugees are considered 'foreigners'; they have no special legal status and no civil, political or economic rights. The effects of protracted displacement under such conditions on the psychosocial wellbeing of adolescent refugees have been addressed in the literature. Refugee adolescents face increased psychological distress due to lack of access to basic needs and services, limited education and work opportunities, and tensions with Lebanese authorities and communities (Hassan et al., 2015; DeJong et al., 2017; Presler-Marshall et al., 2017; Youssef, 2020).

However, much of this literature has overlooked the gendered dimensions of the current ongoing crisis for refugee adolescents' psychosocial wellbeing. In addition to socioeconomic and violence-related stressors related to protracted displacement, Syrian adolescent girls also must navigate cultural restrictions on their freedom, choices and agency. Anxieties about the safety, honour and protection needs of girls are exacerbated by crisis and conflict. These amplified concerns have significant consequences for girls' life trajectories, including restricting their mobility, reducing opportunities for social interaction and increasing their risk of being married as children (UNFPA et al., 2014; DeJong et al., 2017; Anera, 2014; Presler-Marshall et al., 2020). These experiences collectively contribute to poor psychosocial wellbeing for girls (Bartels et al., 2018).

Nonetheless, there has been very little attention to how structural-, communal- and individual-level factors intersect to shape the age- and gender-specific

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challenges facing adolescent refugees and the impact of these on girls' aspirations, ability to make choices and overall wellbeing. This chapter focuses on the convergence of these factors at different levels to explore how gender dynamics and socioeconomic precarity shape the lived realities of married adolescent Syrian refugee girls living in informal tented settlements in Lebanon. The chapter also engages with what these findings mean for services that seek to better support adolescent girls in a context of protracted displacement.

Literature review

Refugees' psychosocial wellbeing in Lebanon

The current sociopolitical environment in Lebanon has a significant impact on psychosocial wellbeing for refugee families and communities. Lebanon's recent history is marked by instability, sectarian and ethnic cleavages and conflicts. The 15-year civil war (1975–1990) was driven by the state's inability to address mounting class, sectarian and regional inequalities. On the one hand, Muslim communities suffered most from poverty and supported the Palestinian militias in Lebanon. On the other hand, Christian communities were guarded and wary of the surge of militarisation among Palestinians and perceived it as a threat to the Lebanese state. The civil war ended with a peace settlement (the Ta'if Accord), which established power sharing between the Muslim and Christian communities. The deployment of the Syrian military during the civil war to control Palestinians (Traboulsi, 2012) and its extended presence in Lebanon until 2005 contributed to increasingly negative attitudes towards Syrians in the country. Since the end of the civil war, Lebanon has been struggling with internal socio-political conflicts, wars with Israel and a continually deteriorating economy. The Syrian conflict, which prompted a massive influx of refugees, has exacerbated existing socioeconomic instabilities in Lebanon.

Syrian refugees in Lebanon are extremely vulnerable and disadvantaged, with 73 per cent living in poverty (UNHCR et al., 2019). Refugees aged 15 and over have to obtain temporary residency permits, but most (especially adolescents) do not hold valid permits as there are challenges in obtaining them. Syrian refugees are allowed to work only in three sectors: agriculture, construction and environment. Consequently, unemployment rates are high and those who do work often face exploitative conditions. Of the 1 million Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR, half live in shelters that are below humanitarian standards, with around 200,000 living in makeshift informal tented settlements (Chaaban et al., 2016; UNHCR et al., 2019). The Lebanese authorities have rejected building formal camps for Syrian refugees for fear that this may lead to permanent settlement in the country, as is the case with the large numbers of Palestinian refugees who have been living in camps in Lebanon since the 1948 Arab–Israeli war.

Lebanese society is divided along political and religious lines, and there is a lack of social cohesion either within the Lebanese community or among different refugee and host communities. This is reinforced by a recent escalation in discriminatory

policies against refugee communities, amid an intensifying economic crisis. The year 2019 witnessed a crackdown on refugees, especially those from Syria. Lebanese authorities have: demolished and dismantled Syrian refugee shelters; conducted frequent army raids on informal tented settlements, arresting many Syrian refugees; increased forced deportations and departure orders; and introduced new obstacles to the renewal of legal residency and work permits (Human Rights Watch, 2019). Furthermore, in July 2019, the Ministry of Labour announced that all foreigners working in the country would need to apply for a work permit. This was followed by a crackdown targeting illegal foreign workers (including refugees) and the businesses employing them. These developments present refugees with significant daily stressors and worsening economic precarity.

While there is scant research on the psychosocial wellbeing of adolescent refugees in Lebanon, the literature highlights the negative impact of lack of rights, services and opportunities on adolescents' psychosocial wellbeing. This literature, which is largely qualitative in nature, shows that adolescent refugees face mounting stresses due to poverty, isolation and discrimination, as well as community violence, and that many boys and girls resort to negative coping mechanisms such as school dropout, child marriage or peer violence (Presler-Marshall et al., 2017; Youssef, 2020). Most Syrian youth in Lebanon suffer from distress (Chaaban and el Khoury, 2016) owing to their dire economic situation, loss of education opportunities, isolation and lack of free movement, as well as experiencing violence at home, in their communities and in wider society (Hassan et al., 2015; DeJong et al., 2017).

Syrian adolescent girls in particular have poor life satisfaction and poor mental and psychological wellbeing. They lack access to psychosocial support networks and services, mainly due to patriarchal gender norms that limit girls' mobility (UNFPA et al., 2014; DeJong et al., 2017; Anera, 2014). Although child marriage has been decreasing among Lebanese girls and Palestinian refugee girls in Lebanon, the practice has been increasing among Syrian girls who remain most vulnerable due to financial hardship, lack of educational opportunities and parental concerns around sexual and gender-based violence. In this context, marriage is often seen as a protective option (Bartels et al., 2018).

The limited quantitative data on Syrian adolescents' psychosocial wellbeing largely focuses on the impact of conflict on youth who remain within Syria; this establishes the impact of trauma and the daily stress of the upheaval to their lives on their mental health and further identifies gender as a vector of vulnerability to poor mental health (Soykoek et al., 2017; Perkins et al., 2018). However, research by Roupetz et al. (2020) with married and unmarried Syrian girls in Lebanon offers some useful nuance of how child marriage intersects with other social identities and experiences to shape psychosocial wellbeing outcomes. While married and unmarried girls both expressed frustration and other negative emotions because of their own experiences of displacement, the authors find that unmarried girls were more likely to report negative feelings than married girls, including sadness (47 per cent vs. 22 per cent). Roupetz et al. (2020) suggest that these findings relate to the difficult experiences of unmarried girls in school, reporting experiences of

maltreatment, bullying and xenophobia. In contrast, while married girls were sad that they could not go to school, they saw marriage as a source of safety and protection. However, the authors noted that the married girls in their study felt they had chosen their marriages (rather than being in an arranged marriage) and generally felt positive about them.

While these findings are important, they do not engage with the issue of service provision, which shapes opportunities and access to support. Lebanon's mental health support services are characterised by weak referral systems and lack of availability and accessibility, especially for vulnerable populations (National Institute for Health Research (NIHR) and American University of Beirut (AUB), 2019). Most services are concentrated in the expensive private sector (Kik and Chammay, 2018). In 2015, Lebanon launched its National Mental Health strategy, which identifies refugee populations as one of the most vulnerable groups requiring attention. However, the strategy does not include an emergency or disaster plan for mental health.

Mental health and psychosocial support for refugees are integrated in programming provided by international and national organisations, and Syrian refugees are largely dependent on services provided by UNHCR (World Health Organization (WHO) and Ministry of Public Health, 2015; Kik and Chammay, 2018). The Lebanese government has not grasped a leadership role or engaged in effective coordination and implementation of programmes and services, leaving non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to fill the gap. Most programmes offer non-specialist support and community/family support, with specialist services particularly thinly spread. Lack of funding is the main challenge. The result is that refugees' basic needs (for food, shelter and health care) and their needs for mental health and psychosocial support services are both unmet.

Furthermore, the mental health needs of refugees in Lebanon have not been assessed thoroughly. Refugees face many challenges in accessing mental health and psychosocial support services, including limited mobility, lack of legal residency permits, lack of information and inability to afford transportation costs. And although most services are free of charge, some organisations require a token fee, which, although low, would still be prohibitive for most refugees. Activities provided under the guise of 'psychosocial support' often lack rigour and assessment as to how they will improve psychosocial wellbeing. Organisations tend to work with refugees they can access easily rather than those who may have the greatest need but may be harder to reach (Kik and Chammay, 2018; El Chammay et al., 2013).

Adolescent-targeted programming and services are particularly lacking (DeJong et al., 2017). Adolescents are often included with 'children and women' as a vulnerable category that requires specific attention; however, their age- and gender-specific needs are rarely addressed. Some studies partially refer to the factors affecting refugee adolescents' wellbeing but overlook the implications for young people's aspirations and choices. This chapter aims to begin to fill this gap by focusing on how factors at different levels converge to shape Syrian refugee girls' lived realities and the implications for their psychosocial wellbeing.

Methods

This chapter draws on longitudinal participatory research with older adolescents (aged 15–19 years) by the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) programme. The sample includes more than 100 adolescent boys and girls from Lebanese communities and Syrian and Palestinian refugee communities. It includes the most vulnerable groups, such as out-of-school adolescents or those at risk of dropping out of school, working adolescents, married adolescents or those at risk of child marriage and adolescents involved or at risk of joining armed forces. The sample includes: Palestinian refugee adolescents living in Ein el-Hilweh camp in Saida city, south of Lebanon, and in Wavel camp, in Baalbek city in the Beqaa valley; Syrian refugee adolescents living in informal tented settlements and collective shelters; and vulnerable Lebanese adolescents from Baalbek city.

The research tools include focus group discussions (FGDs) exploring six capability domains (GAGE consortium, 2019) and interactive activities such as participatory photography and peer-to-peer research. Fieldwork was conducted by researchers from different disciplines and technical backgrounds who have been trained in participatory methods and child protection.

Due to the complexity of the Lebanese context, GAGE researchers pay specific attention in the field to social and political sensitivities, striking a balance between giving each participant their own voice yet adapting discussions to avoid conflicts within groups. While discussions often lead to reflections on personal experiences, capturing such experiences without subjecting the participants to violation of privacy or harms requires strong facilitation skills.

This chapter focuses on the experiences of 15 married Syrian adolescent refugee girls and young mothers living in an informal tented settlement near Baalbek city. Baalbek region is heavily weaponised, and there are frequent armed clashes between Lebanese clans. The research participants originally came from villages in Raqqa governorate in Syria. The communities in these villages relied on agricultural work, so it was customary for girls and women to work in agriculture to support their families. Many girls and their families used to migrate to Lebanon each summer to work in agriculture in Baalbek city but fled to the area permanently during the Syrian conflict. The analysis in this chapter is based on 10 FGDs conducted between July and December 2019 as well as participatory activities (participants undertook three photography activities and conducted interviews with their parents and grandparents – known as 'peer-to-peer interviews' in the GAGE toolkit).

Findings

Syrian adolescent girls experience a range of intersecting challenges related to exposure to war, displacement, loss of education, child labour and child marriage. Pressures arise from the precarious living conditions in the informal tented settlements, the responsibilities that adolescent girls take on from an early age, their

isolation and the discrimination Syrian refugees often face from within the Lebanese community. This section presents our research findings, building on adolescents' personal experiences and reflecting a combination of their experiences in Syria, community dynamics and how these have changed during displacement, and the impacts on attitudes towards education, child marriage and issues around violence. We also situate Syrian refugee girls' experiences within wider Lebanese society and explore the impact of the wider economic and political environment on refugee girls' wellbeing and aspirations.

Life in displacement

Married Syrian girls endure harsh living conditions, with many in makeshift tents that offer little protection against the severe winter conditions of the Baalbek region. Due to economic hardships, they have to work in the fields to contribute to family income, in addition to their domestic and childcare responsibilities. Despite doing paid work, the high living costs in Lebanon make it extremely challenging to afford even basic needs. One girl explained: 'The hourly wage did not change since our mothers' time. . . . When we exchanged the money for Syrian lira, it was sufficient to buy many things . . . but here in Lebanon, we can only afford a few basic things.' The levels of hardship and inability to meet basic needs pushes girls (especially young mothers) to neglect their own needs, as they primarily focus on their children. As one girl explained:

> We never rest until we sleep, we need to take care of everything. . . . Our last concern is ourselves, even if we are tired and psychologically ill. . . . If the economic situation is bad . . . the mother does not take care of herself well. . . . [S]he becomes only concerned about her child's needs.

Although working in the fields is physically demanding and tiring, it is one of the few opportunities for married Syrian girls to get out of their makeshift housing and so offers a way to cope with stresses rather than being confined to their housing and consumed with negative thoughts. One girl explained:

> Working in the fields is the most beautiful thing. . . . [E]ven if it is more tiring and we work under the sun. . . . [I]t is still psychologically comfortable. . . . [I]t comforts the mind . . . and is more comfortable than staying at the house.

However, some girls expressed aspirations (even if subtle) to work in different fields that they consider to have better working conditions. For example, girls in a focus group discussed their perceptions of working in a store:

GIRL 1: *The person who works in the shop and has a salary at the end of each month is a lucky one.*
GIRL 2: *This is a luxury job.*

GIRL 1: *You go to your work clean and return back home clean.*

GIRL 3: *There is no sun in the summer and it would be warm in the winter . . . and if the person [employer] treats you in a good way, so really, this will be an excellent job and you would not care about the working hours and the salary.*

Displacement and child marriage

The Syrian girls explained that back in their home village, girls usually married at age 20, while in Lebanon, girls are getting married as early as 14. The girls believe that the proper age for marriage is after completing secondary education, at age 17 or 18. Nonetheless, in Lebanon, when a girl begins menstruation, it is increasingly seen as a sign that she is of marriageable age: 'When a girl gets the period, she becomes a lady. . . . It means she is about to get married.' The girls link child marriage to displacement, which has put their families under extreme economic pressure and has changed social and cultural views regarding the ideal age for marriage. Girls explained that child marriage started to become the norm within their community gradually after displacement, and when families started to see that more girls were marrying at an early age, they considered it more acceptable for their daughters as well. The girls often referred to having lost their opportunity for education, linking this to child marriage:

> Back in Syria, it was rare for girls to get married at an early age. Girls used to study in school. But, after the war, there were not a lot of schools available for the Syrians. The girls stopped going to school and started working.

One of the girls explained the difference between her life under displacement in Lebanon and her older sisters' lives back in Syria, and how her father's attitude towards child marriage had changed following displacement:

> All my older sisters have university degrees and married only after finishing their education in Syria. . . . When I came here I was still very young and I had to stop my education. . . . My father refused to marry me off at the beginning. . . . Gradually, the girls started to get married at 15 and 16 and it became the norm. . . . So when I became 16 they married me off.

The lack of access to education, coupled with family pressure on girls to marry early, makes girls feel that marriage is the only option they can aspire to, as one girl reported:

> We are not studying and we are not doing anything. . . . Girls start to get married and the other girls become jealous. . . . Our families start convincing us to accept the groom . . . and we start accepting that we should also marry because we feel that there is nothing else to aspire to in our life.

However, some of the girls believed that parental pressure on young girls to marry – often in the form of 'persuasion' – was in fact a subtle form of forced marriage. As one married girl explained:

> When someone asks your hand in marriage, you can refuse to get married . . . but only if your family does not like the groom. If they like him and think he is suitable, the persuasion will start. They talk above your head day and night until you are embarrassed from your parents and agree to the marriage. . . . With this 'persuasion' they are actually forcing us to agree.

The girls perceive that child marriage does not allow them to have any dreams or aspirations, especially as they did not complete their education. One described how an educated girl's life might differ from hers:

> Educated girls can go out whenever they want, they take their time to get married. . . . They have better things to do in their lives. . . . There are beautiful things to do in life which we [married girls] cannot do. . . . Educated girls can live their life . . . they can have their own dreams. . . . When the girl gets married, she will change, she will not be herself anymore.

Married life

Girls consider child marriage to be their most challenging experience as they become responsible for their own families (and, in some cases, for their in-laws) at a young age, while daunted by the prospect of child-bearing and parenting while they are still children themselves. One girl explained:

> We take the responsibility at a very young age . . . while we are still children. When you get married, you become a woman who should take care of a husband and children. . . . When you get pregnant, the girl's body gets tired, and her psychological status deteriorates. . . . How can a 16-year-old girl deal with a child? How can she breastfeed him and bring him up?

Married girls face a triple burden of doing paid work in the fields and being solely responsible for their household's domestic and childcare responsibilities. This means they have limited mobility outside the house and very limited leisure time compared to their husbands, with notable impacts on their psychosocial wellbeing. As one married girl noted:

> When we are married we have to work in the fields to help the husband. . . . The husband is out all day, and he hangs out with his friends at night. We spend all day shouting at the children and taking care of the house and cooking. . . . We are psychologically ill.

The girls reported that they do not go on outings with their husband because they cannot afford such leisure activities, and they would be criticised by the community if they did go out with their husband. This is because it is considered shameful for a husband and wife to have leisure activities together other than to visit family members and relatives. It is also considered shameful for the husband to participate in childcare and be visibly interacting with his children in the community, as one young mother explained:

> The man cannot take care of the children; people will criticise him and gossip. Even if he plays with his children in the camp, they will say that this is 'shameful' and 'where is his mother?' Because we mothers are the only ones responsible for the children. . . . The husband can only play with the children inside the house.

The cultural gender roles that define domestic work and childcare as girls' responsibilities are challenging, particularly when girls live in large households that often include their in-laws. Although girls often complained about the gender division of labour at home, they also felt this was a valued part of their culture, even though it is discreetly contested. They commented on gender roles as follows:

> According to our traditions and the customs, the man has more authority. . . . But we do not feel that we are complicated by it. We understand it because it is the culture of the Arabs. . . . We grew up on these traditions and we do not have any problem with them. . . . We are happy with them.

Intra-family dynamics – whereby husbands have more power in the marital relationship, with the support of their mothers who are also part of the household – make it hard for married girls (especially young mothers) who are experiencing marital problems to negotiate or leave their husband, for fear of losing their children. One of the young mothers explained: 'If your husband fights with you, you need to stay silent because of your children. . . . If you leave your husband, he will take your children, so you should be patient not to lose them.' Furthermore, married Syrian girls suffer from lack of privacy in their housing, either due to sharing a tent with in-laws or due to the proximity of other tents. As one girl explained:

> If you want to talk with your husband, you whisper to him so that your neighbour does not listen to you or your in-laws. . . . [Y]ou cannot even laugh at home. . . . It is as if the whole camp lives in a single tent.

Although in-laws can be a source of additional stress for girls, as they have expectations of the girl's role within the household and would often interfere directly in their lives, some girls considered the mother-in-law to be a great support, particularly when they have their first baby: 'The in-laws' criticism can put us under great stress. . . . But sometimes it is better to live with them if the girl is young as

the mother-in-law can teach her and help her.' The support of the mother-in-law was seen to substitute for the absence of the girls' mothers who, in some cases, had remained in Syria.

Intra-family and community dynamics

Married Syrian girls lack communication with their natal families. Girls lack voice and agency within the family prior to marriage, which in turn impacts their ability to make positive life choices, especially around marriage, as parental negotiations with girls tend to take the form of pressurised 'persuasion'. The girls also described a lack of communication with their mothers about sexual and reproductive health (SRH) issues, which are considered taboo. Although girls receive basic information from older sisters or friends, they often enter into marriage with few expectations and little knowledge about marital life, which means that many start their married lives full of fear and anxiety, especially with regard to sexual relations.

Married Syrian girls reported having limited access to mobile phones. They are not allowed to own a phone as it is considered *shameful* for married women to do so (and the few girls who did own a phone before marriage had to give it up once married). This is mainly related to limiting girls' ability to socialise online over fears of harassment they might face. Some girls reported having partial access to their husband's phone. The girls are also not allowed to have their own social media accounts and only passively use their husband's accounts for leisure. Such restrictions were often imposed by their natal family too prior to marriage, reflecting fears about the dangers of socialising with strangers and linking this to potential harm to girls' reputation and honour, which would be reflected in their family's reputation and honour within the community. Nonetheless, having some (albeit limited) access to phones does provide married girls with the opportunity to connect with family and friends, especially those who remain in Syria.

The main sources of emotional support identified by participants were family members, especially the mother, sister or sister in-law, many of whom they contact by phone. Physical interactions are generally limited to family members and neighbours in the camp, especially given that it is challenging to visit relatives or friends outside the camp; however, confiding in them helps the girls when they are struggling emotionally. Older female neighbours were also identified as a source of support and comfort for married girls, especially those who are separated from their mothers.

The married Syrian girls who participated in our research did not directly address issues of intra-family violence, especially intimate partner violence. They often referred to physical violence against wives as less prevalent (now, in Lebanon) compared to their mothers' and grandmothers' lives back in Syria. They associated this decrease in physical violence with changes in community attitudes towards violence against women, which have been influenced by recent increases in girls' education (which the girls generally measured by ability to read and write). They also linked it to the influence of Lebanese society on Syrian men, as the girls

perceive that Lebanese men treat their wives better and are not violent towards them, which is influencing Syrian men to change their behaviour. The girls also described increased family support for girls who are subject to physical violence, as one explained:

> In the past, they considered the man who hits his wife to be 'a real man'. . . . The wife could not ask for her family's protection because they would consider this normal. . . . Nowadays, if the girl is exposed to physical violence, she leaves her husband's house. . . . Her family will support her and talk to the husband and her in-laws.

Even though the girls reported that intimate partner physical violence is not widespread now, compared to previous generations, they described being subject to verbal abuse from their husbands, citing it as the 'biggest challenge' in their marital relationship. One of the girls recounted:

> The husband will treat you badly and shout and say all bad words to you . . . while you cannot talk back because this will make him mad. . . . He is only nice if he wants something from you at night [referring to sex].

The girls refrained from talking about personal experiences with sexual violence, which is taboo.

Overall, the married Syrian girls considered their husband to be their main confidante, even if he was also a source of distress. This stems from a cultural perspective that private marital issues should not be shared with anyone. Some of the girls described communicating marital problems with their husband as a way to decrease their distress, as one explained:

> The husband is the only one who knows all your private issues, so he is the only one you can talk to comfortably. . . . The woman should talk about what is hurting her and annoying her and maybe, over time, the husband will realise this and soften. . . . Even if he ignores you and your feelings, then you will at least be comfortable by getting things out and talking about them.

In addition, some girls concealed their marital problems to avoid exacerbating them, as one girl commented:

> You cannot go to the psychologists. You might tell your sister or your aunt, but not everything. Even your mother, you cannot tell her everything. Sometimes when you visit your mother telling her about your problems with your husband, she gets angry and she shouts that she will kill him. . . . Generally, you should not say everything, not to the mother, brother, psychologist, sister.

This also reflects a cultural perception that once a girl has married, she no longer belongs to her birth family: 'Your husband and his family should help with the problems because you live with them. You become a guest to your family once you marry.'

Intercommunity experiences

The married Syrian girls reported that most of their interactions with wider society are negative, resulting in feelings of humiliation and feeling unwelcome in Lebanese society. Girls in a focus group discussion commented on their relations with the local Lebanese community:

GIRL 1: *There are a few good [Lebanese] people, but most of them are not good.*
GIRL 2: *All of them [the Lebanese] have the same perception . . . they consider us as 'gypsies'.*
GIRL 3: *They think we are barbaric. . . . We feel that we are unwanted.*
GIRL 4: *They consider us people of no value.*

However, these shared negative experiences are serving to strengthen intracommunity relations and conformity, as the local Syrian community inside the camp presents married girls with a haven of belonging where they are respected as part of their community. As one girl explained: 'In the camp, no one belittles the other, we don't feel this because all of us are Syrians like each other. That is why we prefer not to leave the camp. . . . We have value among our people.'

The girls' physical appearance and their traditional dresses (*abaya*, a loose overgarment) make them more visible as 'different' within Lebanese society, where they reported being subject to harassment and negative experiences:

> They know we are Syrians. . . . It is clear from the way we dress. . . . The Lebanese people don't wear this [the *abaya*]. . . . When people see us on our way back from the fields, they laugh at us. . . . They tell us in our face, 'you are gypsies'. . . . They make fun of us in our face.

The girls also reported negative experiences based on differences between their dialect and the local Lebanese community's dialect, which can result in feelings of humiliation, as one girl explained: 'People laugh at us everywhere. . . . They don't understand the way we talk [the accent] and they laugh. . . . [T]hey mock us. . . . We feel embarrassed by this.'

The girls consider public spaces to be unsafe, but they often refer to feelings of being uncomfortable, or to verbal harassment or discrimination, rather than fears of physical violence. They reported encountering negative attitudes in the local market and while using public transport, for example:

> When we use the bus, we feel that people are looking at us. . . . They look at us with a strange look and we feel really awkward. . . . They perceive us as

> a different species. . . . We can't explain these situations . . . because honestly, these situations hurt us.

Over the past 30 years, Lebanon has undergone a transition from an agricultural to a service-based economy, such that doing agricultural work is now associated with being of a lower social status. This amplifies the stigma of being a refugee. The winter season is hardest for the married Syrian girls as they experience more negative attitudes owing to having mud on their feet and clothes. They have even been banned from entering healthcare facilities, pharmacies and supermarkets, and from travelling on public buses during the winter because their shoes are muddy. One girl described her experience as follows:

> In the winter our feet are full of mud from the camp. . . . [Lebanese] people would not allow us to enter places. . . . They look at us with disgust. . . . They think we are dirty, but why can't they understand that it is not our fault?! We live in the camp and it is muddy, what can we do? . . . It is not that we like it! We hate the mud too!

The girls report that they have 'adapted' to such negative attitudes among wider society. While such adaptation can be a form of protecting themselves from the emotional and psychological harm that these experiences bring, it also results in unresolved feelings of rejection, withdrawal and increased isolation, which reveals a detachment from society as a whole and diminishes opportunities for positive interactions with Lebanese society. Moreover, these negative experiences contribute to married girls' isolation at home, as they tend to avoid leaving the camp in order to minimise any negative experiences they might face in the wider community. One girl stated:

> Because of this [the negative experiences], the house is the most beautiful thing. In the camp, there are the people who can understand us, while we don't find this outside the camp. . . . In the camp, there are no people who mock you and there are people who appreciate you. . . . Usually, we experience an emotional breakdown when we go out of the home.

Although the Syrian girls consider the camp to be a safe haven relative to outside the camp, they also reported facing violence from within their own community. However, they tend to consider that this has less of a negative impact on them, downplaying its effects on their wellbeing. For example, one girl explained:

> Generally, we were never exposed to any harm [physical violence] in the camp. . . . It is always verbal. . . . We may feel affected by this, but we do not take into consideration. . . . When this happens, we just remain silent and we go back to our tent. . . because it is better than making the problem bigger. . . . We avoid confrontations and we do not react.

Moreover, as already mentioned, Baalbek city (where the girls live) is a heavily weaponised area, and there are frequent armed clashes between local clans. The

married Syrian girls in our research also referred to fears that this violence would spread within the Lebanese community, which adds to their distress and further pushes them into isolation inside the camp. As one of the girls described: 'They keep fighting each other here [in Baalbek], it is frightening! . . . It is scary to get out when they fight, they start shooting at each other.'

As well as encountering negative experiences from the wider Lebanese community, the girls also cited being subject to verbal and physical violence from some Lebanese employers. One described how she was treated by landowners and watchmen in the fields: 'Some of the landowners and the watchmen shout and talk to us in a bad way. . . . They also hit us with a stick to make us work harder, especially the small children. . . as if we are animals.'

The threat from Lebanese authorities

The married Syrian girls in our research agreed that the Lebanese authorities rarely stop girls and women at checkpoints. Yet they still consider checkpoints unsafe for them, especially when travelling with their husbands. Although Syrian men and boys are more likely to be harassed or detained (Brun, 2017), the married girls were very afraid of Lebanese authorities and especially the army, due to negative experiences at checkpoints or army raids on their camp targeting men who have no valid residency permit. The girls describe how these raids impacted them:

> One day, they surrounded us in the camp at 6.00 am. . . as if we made something or a crime. . . . [T]hey took all the men who didn't have official papers and who had expired papers.

The Lebanese government's recent crackdown on Syrian refugees (as noted earlier) (Human Rights Watch, 2019) has increased fears among married Syrian girls: 'They are more serious with us regarding the papers now. . . . We are living in continuous fear.'

Nevertheless, the girls still perceive that their movement outside the camp, as individuals, is easier compared to men and could see that this would be a great source of stress for men, who are the main target of the authorities. However, the married girls cannot travel alone any real distance without their husbands, as to do so would be culturally unacceptable. To travel short distances within the city to the local market or services, the girls should be accompanied by an older woman (usually the mother-in-law), which in effect limits their movement (other than to go to the fields to work, which are usually close to their informal tented settlement). As one of the girls explained: 'I can't go out alone. . . . My husband comes with me, but really, we stay stressed and worried at the checkpoint.' Another girl explained how this restricted movement impacts their social life and increases her fears for her husband:

> It is not safe for us, we feel stressed and worried at the checkpoint until we pass it, this is even if they would not stop us. . . . We only go to close [nearby] places now. . . . We stopped visiting our relatives who live far from us.

Discussion

During the transitional years of adolescence, adolescents' psychosocial wellbeing is a vital element of their personal growth, which our findings reveal is directly affected by how they are situated within their family, community, wider society vis-à-vis the state. For refugee adolescents, different factors – starting with their experience of conflict and displacement, and their subsequent experiences in their refuge country – intersect to affect their overall wellbeing and shape their future aspirations and choices. This chapter has focused on the experiences of married Syrian girls living in Lebanon as refugees, while not dismissing the impact of their experiences in their home country and during the conflict, which led to their displacement.

Socioeconomic vulnerability emerges as a common stressor for Syrian refugee girls. Given its implications for the ability to meet basic needs such as access to food, education, housing and health care, socioeconomic vulnerability remains one of the main stresses Syrian girls and their families face each day, and it largely shapes their opportunities and experiences. Our findings indicate that married Syrian girls' experiences are determined by their gender, place of origin in Syria and the traditions attached to it, as well as their type of settlement within the Lebanese community. Syrian refugees living in informal tented settlements are perceived to be of lower social standing by the Lebanese than those living in collective shelters or shared apartments. They are looked down upon as 'gypsies', perceived as 'not clean' and as having infectious diseases. This is closely related to their living conditions and situation.

For the married Syrian girls who participated in our research, displacement has drastically changed their life, principally through the loss of education opportunities and enormous challenges they face due to living in the tented settlements in Lebanon. Although they used to migrate seasonally with their families to work in the Lebanese fields prior to the Syrian conflict, they still had access to free education in Syria and future career opportunities. This was evidenced by some of the girls who described the trajectory of older sisters or relatives who were able to continue their education, find work and marry at an older age. Being displaced by the war to permanently reside in Lebanon has put the girls and their families under even greater pressure and exacerbated their vulnerability, as their minimal wages and the high cost of living in Lebanon leave them unable to meet basic needs. This, coupled with lack of access to education, has pushed the girls permanently out of school and into child labour and child marriage.

The burdens of displacement on Syrian refugee families have led to a change in cultural practices and attitudes towards child marriage. Within the girls' community, child marriage has now become the norm, although not necessarily driven by economic factors, but rather by the need to protect the family's reputation and honour. Lacking any opportunities for the future and being persuaded to marry early by their family (reflecting newfound acceptance of the practice among their community), girls' future educational and career aspirations diminish and their opportunities – which they call 'luck' – revolve around marriage and having a family.

This pushes the girls into accepting their reality, but it does not eliminate the deep desire to envision a different life. Statements such as 'They have better things to do in their lives' or 'they can have their own dreams', to describe educated single girls, reflect a deep sense of lost opportunities and life prospects. The girls mostly related their child marriage to the loss of educational opportunities that were available to them in Syria.

The gendered division of labour in the family and community overburdens married girls with domestic and childcare responsibilities, which they often undertake without any support, in addition to doing paid work in the fields. These burdens result in physical and emotional strain related to pregnancy and the inability to 'rest' and 'self-care'. Child marriage not only exerts intense psychological distress on young girls due to the multiple responsibilities they bear while they are still themselves children, it also results in a sense of loss of selfhood, as the following statement reflects: 'When the girl gets married, she will change; she will not be herself.' This is often manifested in the rhetoric of self-sacrifice that is echoed in married Syrian girls' statements about their worries and aspirations for their own children rather than themselves.

The girls' individual marital experiences vary. However, their relationship is typically one in which the husband has all authority, and husbands in general either play no part in parenting or play a negative role, such as inciting children to disobey and even hit their mothers. As noted earlier, husbands do not provide support in parenting and childcare due to cultural gender norms that consider such actions 'shameful' for men. While a range of factors combine to limit girls' mobility (only leaving the camp for work), the community still places strong limits on opportunities for married girls to have space and time for leisure, even for a simple walk. And even though married Syrian refugee girls face different restrictions and additional burdens from their family and community that leave them physically and mentally exhausted, they still have a strong sense of belonging to their community as it represents safety, especially given the negative experiences girls often face in wider Lebanese society.

Syrian girls living in informal tented settlements experience discrimination in their frequent interactions with the Lebanese community and authorities, on roads, at markets and service facilities and in the workplace, reflecting weak social cohesion between the Lebanese host community and Syrian refugees and discriminatory attitudes towards refugees, who are often described as 'dirty'. The girls' career aspirations were to work in a closed place (not in the fields) away from the harsh winter conditions but also somewhere that would be considered 'clean' (they felt this was important, even if they were to be exploited at work in terms of salary or working hours). This reflects how negative attitudes and discrimination shape married Syrian girls' aspirations.

Nonetheless, married Syrian girls' negative experiences are more stressful when they encounter Lebanese authorities, especially at checkpoints, which have intensified recently with the government crackdown on Syrian refugees. Although men are more susceptible to harassment and arrest, the married Syrian girls in our

research would generally avoid travelling to far away places without their husbands for cultural reasons. While the girls had not experienced harassment directly at checkpoints, their husbands had, while accompanied by their wives. This creates heightened fears among married girls, making them want to avoid the checkpoints, which further limits their mobility as checkpoints are sited almost at every main road. This, in turn, further limits their social contact with family and relatives living outside their camp.

These negative experiences with the Lebanese authorities and community render the wider society unsafe for married Syrian girls, who feel that the only safe place for them is their own home and community. This, in effect, results in 'self-imposed' isolation, which is forced on the girls by their experiences. The emotional toll this puts on the girl is considerable, as the following statement reflects: 'We experience an emotional breakdown when we go out of the home.' The girls' shared negative experiences beyond the camp have served to reinforce intra-community cultural conformity, as the girls displayed acceptance of the prevailing gendered cultural norms despite the limitations and stresses these restrictions involve. Married girls' isolation, as well as their strong attachment to their culture and community identity as a way of self-protection, amid feelings of rejection and alienation from the wider Lebanese society, weakens their opportunities to challenge and negotiate the restrictions placed on them. Conforming with these norms has also resulted in girls suppressing and nullifying the impact of violence they experience from within their own family and community and its effects on their psychosocial wellbeing.

Conclusion and recommendations

Our findings demonstrate that the psychosocial wellbeing of married adolescent Syrian girls is closely related to how they are situated at different levels, from the family and community to wider society and the state. The intersection of these challenges at different levels, and in policy and programming, has a direct impact on adolescents' aspirations, choices, opportunities and future prospects. Their precarious living environment means they often perceive no positive future beyond marital life and lack support from social networks, as well as resources and opportunities. These aspects combine to prevent refugee adolescent girls from developing their full capabilities and aspiring to a better, more fulfilling life. Gendered cultural norms and practices further impede their healthy growth and development. The socio-political and economic instabilities of Syrian refugee families in Lebanon and the complex socio-political histories of different groups of refugees play a fundamental role in shaping adolescents' worlds, and hence their aspirations and opportunities.

Lebanon now stands at a critical juncture; the country's complex political history and ongoing economic and socio-political instability, coupled with the impact of regional conflicts on an already fragile state, render the refugee situation in Lebanon unlikely to be resolved by state-led intervention. In light of this, the weight of responsibility falls to UN agencies, NGOs and donors to implement

programming that takes into consideration the wider context as well as the specific needs and capacities of diverse refugee communities. Moreover, programming needs to respond to adolescents' age- and gender-specific needs. Given the weakening social cohesion amid the country's ongoing socioeconomic crisis, it is necessary to push for policies that would at least temporarily include refugees. We acknowledge that working in a socially and politically complex environment such as Lebanon, and facing shortages of funding, presents unique challenges for UN agencies, civil society actors and donors. While the Global Compact on Refugees recognises the context-specific capacities, resources and interests of host countries, this needs to extend to recognising the political economy dimensions of complex conflict-affected contexts such as Lebanon. The policy and tools for such recognition fall beyond the scope of this work.

Acknowledging these limitations, the emerging crisis in Lebanon requires a comprehensive approach that tackles the different challenges facing adolescent refugees at different levels and provides them with more sustainable opportunities. Unless there is action now, adolescent refugees – and particularly Syrian adolescents in Lebanon – risk becoming a lost generation. Understanding the different factors at play in adolescent refugees' lives requires greater attention to enabling their participation in taking decisions about their lives. Programming and services must build avenues of communication with and promote active participation of refugee adolescents (especially adolescent girls) who are isolated and alienated within their own communities as well as among Lebanese host communities. Successful inclusion of adolescent refugees and strengthened social cohesion requires investment in service delivery personnel on the ground working within the organisations and services that cater for refugees. Reports of negative experiences at the service and programme levels contribute to feelings of dissatisfaction and distrust among adolescents, in the only external space where refugees are supposed to find some protection and a sense of understanding and acceptance.

As our findings reveal, given the deteriorating socioeconomic situation in Lebanon and weakening social cohesion, refugee adolescents face even greater strains on their psychosocial wellbeing. There is an urgent need to expand and enhance access to mental health and other psychosocial support services and programming for adolescent refugees, especially married girls, who enjoy little support at the family and community levels and bear mounting responsibilities from a young age.

Mainstreaming psychosocial wellbeing in programming is essential; however, there remains a lack of knowledge of specialist services among refugees, as well as issues on affordability and accessibility. Expanding programmes and services that have clear evidence-based tools and measurable targets is necessary to improve adolescents' psychosocial wellbeing. Interventions should take into account refugee adolescents' limited mobility, the impact of cultural traditions and gendered norms around privacy, and broader cultural norms. This applies to social cohesion programming as well. While social cohesion is often mainstreamed in programming that includes participants from both Lebanese host and refugee communities, adolescent refugees' lived experiences reveal that there is very little social cohesion

in practice, which leads to persistent feelings of discrimination and alienation. Social cohesion should be one of the main issues tackled directly and through targeted programming, given its potential to positively impact different aspects of adolescent Syrian refugees' lives.

Expanding interventions to address refugees' immediate survival needs is essential as a foundation for other effective interventions to address psychosocial wellbeing, especially among adolescent refugees. Concomitantly, as well as interventions to alleviate social inequalities, family-based participatory programmes are much needed to address family dynamics and strengthen the communities that provide adolescents with their sense of security and protection. Adolescents have thus far not been a priority in refugee interventions, and greater efforts are needed to support them to develop their full capabilities and to improve their psychological wellbeing.

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5

'THEY TELL ME THAT I CAN WRITE AND READ, SO NO NEED FOR SCHOOL'

Challenges in realising international commitments to refugee education in Jordan

Agnieszka Małachowska, Nicola Jones and Sarah Al Heiwidi

Introduction

With 25.9 million refugees around the world – more than half of them children and 7.1 million of school age (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2019a) – a key concern and challenge for host nations is providing education for refugees. In 2015, as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, United Nations (UN) members pledged to ensure 'inclusive and equitable quality education' and 'lifelong learning opportunities for all' (UNHCR, 2017b; United Nations General Assembly, 2015). The following year, in the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, governments pledged to share responsibility for the world's refugees and to improve access to education for refugee children (United Nations General Assembly, 2016). Despite these declarations and commitments, there has been little change in practice for more than half of the world's 7.1 million refugee children who are still out of school (UNHCR, 2018).

The ongoing conflict in Syria, which started in 2011, has taken a heavy toll on young people's lives and their developmental trajectories. Education and learning have been particularly constrained. In Jordan, home to more than 650,000 Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 2019b), the government has opened up schools to Syrian children and adolescents, and donors and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have invested heavily in scaling up formal and informal learning pathways. Yet enrolment rates remain low, especially for secondary and tertiary education. According to the Jordan 2017–2018 population and family health survey, while enrolment at basic primary level is almost universal, the net attendance ratio at secondary level is only 30 per cent for Syrians (31 per cent of girls vs. 29 per cent of boys), compared to 74 per cent for Jordanians (78 per cent of girls vs. 71 per cent of boys) (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019).

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Barriers to education differ by gender: while boys often leave school due to poor quality of education, harsh corporal punishment by teachers and pressures to contribute to household income, girls drop out due to restrictive gender norms related to family honour, fears of sexual harassment on the way to school and the lack of value placed on girls' education in general. For adolescent girls who are married (or soon to be married), access to education is even more restricted. Moreover, learning outcomes for adolescents who are in school are unsatisfactory, especially for boys, and the school environment is not conducive to developing abilities that would go beyond core knowledge to provide twenty-first-century competencies and skills. Despite Jordan's efforts to increase overall enrolment since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, the results – in terms of increasing access for older adolescents, and particularly girls – are unsatisfactory. The development trajectories of out-of-school adolescents are hindered across multiple dimensions, from voice and agency to economic empowerment, with longer-term consequences into adulthood and throughout the life course.

Unless efforts to reach those most left behind (including refugees) are intensified, Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 will not be met (this is underscored by the SDG+5 progress review), and particularly Target 4.7, which commits countries to ensuring that learners acquire knowledge and skills in areas such as sustainable development, human rights, gender equality and global citizenship (United Nations, 2020). Access to safe, quality and inclusive education in contexts of displacement is key to promoting adolescent wellbeing now and also to ensuring that refugee adolescents have opportunities to live fulfilled lives as adults.

This chapter focuses on the most vulnerable Syrian refugee adolescents living in Jordan, including girls married as children, working adolescents and those living in remote areas. Using a capabilities framing of the right to education, we examine barriers and gendered differences in access to education for refugee adolescents living in three distinct settings: host communities, informal tented settlements (ITSs) and refugee camps. Drawing on mixed-methods data collected in 2018 and 2019, we explore the interplay of geography, gender norms, individual and family aspirations, and community and system-level factors in shaping access to formal and non-formal education and learning, and the acquisition of academic and non-academic core competencies.

Syrian refugee context in Jordan

In 2012, ahead of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development commitments and soon after the start of the Syrian conflict, the Jordanian government decided to extend formal education to Syrian refugee children in host communities and refugee camps. The Ministry of Education divided Syrian refugee children into three categories: Syrians in camps, Syrian students in regular schools alongside Jordanian students and Syrian students in afternoon classes (second shifts). However, while the government is formally committed to ensuring that 'all male and female Syrian refugee students enrol in kindergarten, primary and secondary education', enrolment

rates at all levels remain low, but especially for secondary and tertiary education (Ministry of Education, 2018). In partnerships with international donors, the Jordanian government has prioritised rebuilding and renovating education infrastructure, rather than funding interventions targeting out-of-school adolescents (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

With no political solution to the Syrian conflict in sight, the challenges are manifold (UNICEF, 2019a; UNESCO, 2016). Barriers preventing Syrian adolescents from accessing education are widely cited in the literature and summarised in the following. First, the lack of registration documentation required to enrol was a major challenge, especially in the first years of the conflict, when many families were unable to obtain 'service cards' entitling them to access basic services, including public schools.[1] Though efforts have been made to improve access and waive these requirements, many families were not aware of the changes and also reported that lack of identification documents remained a barrier to their children enrolling (Younes and Morrice, 2019). Second, many families fled Syria without bringing school and birth certification for their children, which created additional barriers (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Another barrier was caused by the Ministry's regulation barring school enrolment for children who are three or more years older than their grade (ibid.). Moreover, double-shift schools face many problems, such as overcrowding, lower standards and decreased resourcing for the afternoon shift (predominantly Syrian students), and violence in and around schools, which leads to dropouts. The low value placed on education among Syrian children and their families is another barrier (Culbertson at al., 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2016). Poverty among Syrian families and limited prospects of decent employment are further challenges, preventing them from being able to afford school-related costs, such as transport or study materials. It also pushes many families to rely on money earned by children (especially boys) through work, exacerbating the risks (for girls) of child marriage (UNHCR, 2017a; Culbertson at al., 2016; Abu Hamad et al., 2017). Long distances to schools (particularly for refugees living in remote ITS areas) and concerns about safety on the way to school, combined with very limited public transport options and families not being able to pay for private transport, further limit access to schooling (Abu Hamad et al., 2017).

Ensuring that children and adolescents attend school is only part of the challenge. Basic learning outcomes in Jordan, as measured by the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) test, are (despite a slight improvement in recent years) among the lowest of PISA countries – especially for boys (OECD, 2019). Although assessments by the Ministry of Education show that the quality of teaching is slowly improving, challenges remain, particularly in learning outcomes in formal education. For children in Grades 1–3, the Early Grade Reading and Mathematics Project (RAMP) assessment shows slow improvement in basic reading comprehension levels (up from 43 per cent in 2017 to 55 per cent in 2018), but progress for outcomes for basic mathematics skills is much slower (up from 28 per cent in 2017 to 30 per cent in 2018), with Syrian children performing worse than their Jordanian peers (RAMP, 2018; No Lost Generations (NLG), 2019).

Providing education for refugee children whose schooling has been disrupted is a continuous challenge, and Jordan's Ministry of Education, with its partners, offers various pathways, formal and non-formal, to increase inclusive and equitable access to quality learning for all children and adolescents (Ministry of Education, 2018; NLG, 2018; UNICEF, 2017b). Evidence suggests that Jordan's curriculum relies on traditional methods of learning by memorising textbooks, rather than enabling students to develop analytical and critical thinking skills. It does not sufficiently develop the communication and group working skills needed for students to be successful in the modern world and to enable refugees to become self-sufficient individuals when they reach adulthood (Ministry of Education, 2018; UNICEF, 2017a).

Various efforts are being taken to address these deficits. UNICEF's Hajati cash assistance scheme, an unconditional cash transfer targeting 10,000 families (regardless of nationality but primarily reaching Syrians), promotes education for the most vulnerable children in Jordan, with each eligible child receiving 20 Jordanian dinar (JOD) (£22) a month during the school term (UNICEF, 2018b). Non-governmental actors are also providing non-formal education, bridging service gaps, to support vulnerable children (including refugee adolescents), often coupled with complementary services such as psychosocial support and life skills (Culbertson at al., 2016). A key example is UNICEF Jordan's Makani ('My place') non-formal education programme, launched in 2015. With non-governmental and community-based partners, UNICEF runs Makani centres across Jordan that provide alternative education alongside life skills training, child protection and psychosocial support, for all vulnerable children and adolescents, regardless of nationality (UNICEF, 2015). The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Life Skills and Citizenship Education (LSCE) initiative (also launched in 2015) aims to create an enabling environment for better learning in Jordan, and it contributed to the Ministry of Education's adoption of a student-centred approach and introducing activities to develop life skills among public school students (UNICEF, 2018a; Ministry of Education, 2018; UNICEF, 2017a). The Ministry's Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2018–2022 is linked with Jordan's National Agenda for Human Resource Development and SDG 4. It emphasises modifying the curriculum to include lessons on 'cooperation, teamwork, communication skills, negotiation skills, emotional skills (teaching sympathy and empathy), decision-making skills, critical thinking and problem-solving skills, dealing with others, self-management and anger management'. In 2017, the Nashatati ('My activities') programme was launched in schools, in collaboration with UNICEF and Generations for Peace, to cultivate life skills and social cohesion, involving the most vulnerable children (including Syrian refugees) in after-school activities (UNICEF, 2019b).

Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework of the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) research programme, for which the data that informs this chapter was

collected, draws on the work of Amartya Sen (1984, 2004) and Martha Nussbaum (1997). GAGE identifies six adolescent capability domains: education and learning; health, nutrition and sexual and reproductive health; bodily integrity and freedom from violence; psychosocial wellbeing; voice and agency; and economic empowerment. While this chapter focuses on learning barriers and opportunities for Syrian refugee adolescents in Jordan, our framework is designed to capture the effects of the absence of education or truncated education pathways on other aspects of adolescents' lives, emphasising the need for a holistic approach to education investments. A capabilities approach allows us to examine access to education and learning opportunities as a key step for children and adolescents to develop their full potential and become active agents in choosing their futures. Boni and Gasper (2012) emphasise that a capabilities framing of the right to education goes beyond a focus on retention, graduation and employment rates, highlighting the importance of participation, empowerment and equitable opportunities for students from diverse backgrounds. In this regard, Hart and Brando (2018: 302) also call for a focus on the extent to which educational institutions support learners' capabilities to aspire and in turn 'how effective social and environmental conditions are in supporting the conversion of aspirations into capabilities'. Importantly this can include, as Nussbaum (2004) has underscored, the extent to which efforts are made to tackle the gendered inequities that shape adolescent girls' opportunities to both access education and apply it in their life choices.

With increasing attention to learner-centred approaches to education, there is growing consensus among education scholars that while basic literacy and numeracy are essential skills, children and youth should also have opportunities to develop competencies that will shape their personalities, expand their horizons and prepare them for the transition to adulthood (Chalkiadaki, 2018; Bergin, 2017). Analysts emphasise the importance of education as a platform for new forms of learning to face global challenges or acquire skills needed for the twenty-first century (Scott, 2015). Chalkiadaki's (2018) systematic review consolidated the competencies from varied typologies of twenty-first-century skills into four categories: (1) personal skills (including self-development creativity, problem-solving and critical thinking, and presence in the globalised environment), (2) social skills (understood as communication and collaboration, cultural awareness and global awareness), (3) information and knowledge (self-learning and information management) and (4) digital literacy.

While some competencies are more relevant in highly resourced and digitally well-connected contexts, many cited competencies are also applicable in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), including in refugee contexts (Joynes et al., 2019; Kennedy et al., 2014), such as communication, social skills and cognitive skills. As such, strategies of integrating life skills into the curriculum or extracurricular activities and teaching practices, and promoting multiple pathways to learning in formal, non-formal and informal settings, were mentioned during the Brussels Conference in 2017 as key to ensuring that education for all refugee

children builds skills that will allow them to engage in further learning and work and to contribute to rebuilding their communities and countries (No Lost Generation (NLG), 2018).

Accordingly, this chapter explores adolescents' access to opportunities to acquire academic and non-academic core competencies for the twenty-first century that are also relevant to their situation in a context of displacement. We explore the extent to which formal and non-formal education services support adolescents' aspirations and how their broader social and environmental contexts – including age and gender inequities – facilitate or hinder their ability to acquire these competencies and fulfil their aspirations.

Methods

This chapter draws on mixed-methods research undertaken by GAGE to explore adolescents' access to learning services and investigate the barriers they face and support they receive to acquire the skills and knowledge needed to realise their full potential in adult life. Specific research instruments were developed to capture vulnerabilities of married girls and young mothers (Jones et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2019a; Jones et al., 2019b). As part of the quantitative survey, GAGE implemented a version of the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) test of basic numeracy and literacy.[2] We complemented this with Raven's Coloured Progressive Matrices, which provide a measure of abstract reasoning (measuring observational skills, problem-solving and overall ability to learn). We also used measures of school enrolment (in both formal and non-formal schools), attendance, educational transitions, achievement, educational aspirations and attitudes towards education, including caregivers' support.

Our findings are based on the GAGE baseline quantitative survey and two rounds of qualitative data collection (2018 and 2019). Our sampling frame utilised UNICEF Jordan and UNHCR lists of adolescents in the two GAGE cohorts (10–12 years and 15–17) and was based on household vulnerability, with the sample equally divided by gender and Makani participation. GAGE baseline data was collected between mid-2018 and early 2019 and comprised a quantitative survey[3] of more than 4,000 adolescents and their caregivers (including more than 3,000 Syrians), and a subsample of 200 early-married adolescents and 400 adolescents with disabilities. The qualitative baseline comprised 394 in-depth individual interviews (IDIs) with vulnerable adolescents and their caregivers; 75 focus group discussions (FGDs) with adolescents, parents and community leaders; and 44 key informant interviews (KIIs) with service providers (formal and non-formal) (see Table 5.1).

Adolescents in GAGE Jordan's sample included vulnerable Syrian refugees in three settings: host communities, informal tented settlements (ITSs) and either Azraq or Zaatari refugee camp, across four governorates: Irbid, Mafraq, Zarqa and Amman (see Figure 5.1).

TABLE 5.1 Baseline qualitative sample in Jordan

Jordan baseline qualitative sample		*Individual interviews*	*Focus group discussions*
	Total	**150**	**23**
Girls	Younger	65	7
	Older	85	16
	Total	**100**	**23**
Boys	Younger	54	7
	Older	46	16
Total adolescents		**250**	**46**
Caregivers	Female caregivers	65	10
	Male caregivers	35	10
Key informants	Community and national level	44	9
Total caregivers and key informants		**144**	**29**
By vulnerabilities	Incl. adolescents with disabilities	60	-
	Incl. married girls	30	-
	Incl. Syrian adolescents	177	36
By location	In camp	125	18
	In host communities	80	38
	In informal tented settlements	45	18

Findings

In line with our capabilities conceptual framing, we now discuss our findings, focusing on four areas: opportunities for Syrian refugees in Jordan to acquire academic and non-academic competencies (including the personal, social, digital and critical reasoning competencies needed for twenty-first-century life), their opportunities to exercise voice and agency within the learning environment, their educational aspirations and the extent to which socioeconomic and environmental factors enable them to realise these aspirations.

Opportunities to achieve academic competencies

Our findings show that in line with the broader literature, Syrian refugees in Jordan have poor learning outcomes overall, and there is a significant gap between outcomes for Jordanian and Syrian adolescents. Across age groups and genders, only 45 per cent of Syrian adolescents in our sample were able to read a simple story, compared with 55 per cent of vulnerable Jordanians. For math, only 37 per cent of Syrian adolescents were able to perform double-digit subtraction with borrowing, compared to 52 per cent of Jordanians. These outcomes demonstrate that even for adolescents who attended basic primary school, the quality of education offered to Syrian girls and boys does not equip them with basic numeracy and literacy skills; this, in turn, leads adolescents and caregivers to attach little importance to schooling. As the mother of a 14-year-old Syrian boy living in a host community noted:

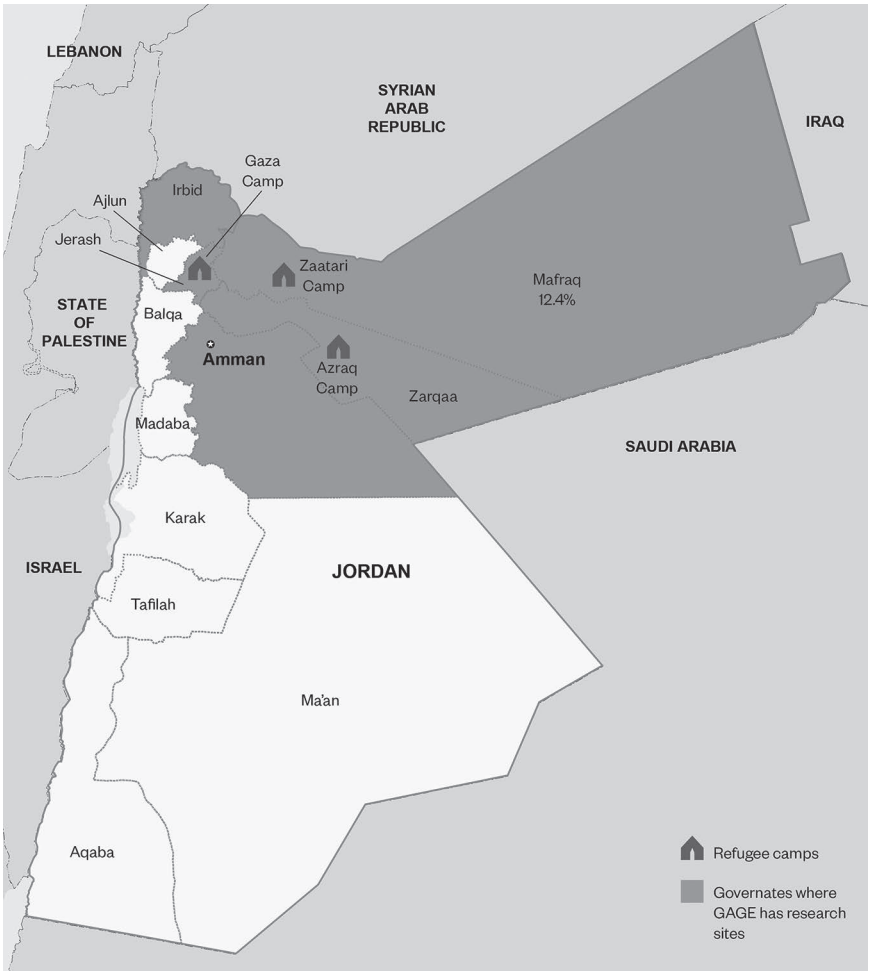

FIGURE 5.1 Map of GAGE research sites in Jordan.

Source: Based on the UNHCR Jordan situational map of Jordan as of 2018 and modified to show GAGE research sites.

> Our children are in governmental schools and they do not get any benefit from attending. They have no social skills. I have a son who is in ninth grade, but he does not read and write well.

Our qualitative research also emphasised that adolescents often receive a pass for the next grade without fulfilling learning objectives for the year. A 17-year-old boy from Azraq Camp said:

> I'm at a good standard, but they don't ask us to learn things. And they don't give us mid-term exams, just the final exam. We used to have exams eight

> times in Syria – every month, mid-terms and finals. Yes, I will pass easily, and be ineffective in my future. . . . I may become a doctor who can't read properly. . . . I may become a teacher who doesn't know Arabic grammar.

In Azraq and Zaatari camps, there seem to be differences in the curriculum and teaching approach between schools for boys and girls, with girls having a more comprehensive programme and teachers being more dedicated to their learning. As a father in Zaatari Camp observed:

> My son is in tenth grade, and my brother's daughter is also in tenth grade, at the same type of school. When I compared the two, I found that my brother's daughter has three or four lessons extra compared to my son. Girls are in school before them, and there are some extra books for them.

Opportunities to develop core non-academic competencies necessary for twenty-first-century life

Personal development skills

Our findings show that overall, vulnerable adolescents in Jordan have limited opportunities to learn personal development skills (such as communication and negotiation) that would help them achieve their full potential. Schools have a narrow focus on academic learning outcomes, and the quality of teaching and pedagogical methods are often lacking, especially in afternoon shifts. The home environment also rarely supports Syrian adolescents to build personal skills, and the hierarchical culture does not support voice and agency for children and adolescents. This is noticeable when looking at the experiences of Syrian adolescent refugees who have had an opportunity to participate in extracurricular activities and alternative learning pathways that allow them to socialise with people outside their families and their peers. Syrian adolescents who participated in UNICEF's Makani programme emphasised how this had helped their personal growth and compared it to formal schooling:

> The first aim [in school] is to teach us the books, while Makani centre is different. They allow us to express our opinions and they give us a space for these skills more than the schools. They aim to build the person's personality, then education. . . . The teachers in school basically don't give us the space to talk. . . . They aim to enter the class, explain the lesson and then they go out of the class.
>
> *(Older girl participating in Makani Social Innovation Lab, host community)*

Our qualitative findings emphasise that many adolescents, especially girls, lack self-confidence and have very few opportunities to build their self-worth. This is especially difficult given conservative social norms built on expectations of girls as being

timid and silent. Girls highlighted that having an opportunity to cooperate with others and do group activities helps them develop their self-esteem, as a 16-year-old Syrian girl from Irbid explained:

> The life skills course is about the human soul, one's personality, what can one do. It is about the human itself, their life, what they can do. I benefited from this life skills course as I became more confident in myself. . . . I learnt to trust myself, think correctly, and not to rush in speaking.

Our findings also show that adolescents appreciated opportunities to learn more about different scientific disciplines and, in some cases, to propose solutions to small problems in their communities, building their initiative and sense of agency.

Social skills

Girls and boys both reported that they value Makani centres for providing a space where they feel safe and respected, enabling them to learn and connect with peers – something that many girls would not otherwise be able to do. Life skills sessions are appreciated by children of all ages and genders. Girls, in particular, said they feel respected during classes and that they are allowed to discover their talents, connect with friends and develop communication skills. As an older Syrian girl from a host community explained:

> They educated us about the dialogue methods and how to talk. As an example: I should know how to talk with a person who is in front of me, whoever they are. Treating a young person is different than the way you treat an old person. At Makani, they educated us how to deal with younger and older persons.

Many girls also mentioned that Makani helped them to discuss topics that are not easy to raise with mothers and other family members and to negotiate on issues that are important to adolescents.

Digital literacy skills

Adolescents' digital literacy varied, with some demonstrating fairly advanced skills, while others had very basic proficiency, even in using social media. Our findings further highlight that access to the virtual environment and acquisition of digital skills differs by age, gender and location, strongly linked to the family's socioeconomic situation. Girls reported fewer opportunities than boys to use the internet freely, partly due to less access to digital devices overall and partly due to social norms that restrict their use of such devices (for example, boys can go to internet cafes but girls are not allowed to, so boys gain more digital skills). Computers are rarely available at home or in schools, though many adolescents expressed a desire

to learn and expand their computer skills, recognising it as a vital competency in the modern world. A 16-year-old boy living in Zaatari Camp also emphasised the importance of combining computer skills with learning English, as there is limited software available in Arabic:

> If we want to use any programme, we should know English. So, if we don't know, we can ask the teacher [Makani facilitator]. In the past, I felt surprised when I saw the computer and I was not able to turn it on. . . . Now, I can use it normally. In school, we have a computer book, but there is no computer.

Where adolescents do have internet access, they usually rely on smartphones and use it for entertainment (watching a series or playing games), but also to communicate with peers and family. Some boys mentioned the digital environment as an important source of information and knowledge.

Critical thinking and reasoning skills

Critical thinking and reasoning skills are key twenty-first-century competencies, but our findings suggest that Syrian adolescents have few opportunities to develop these skills. It is unusual for them to be asked questions – either at home or in school – that would foster reflection and invite them to consider different perspectives in order to solve problems in their lives or plan their futures. This was evident during our interviews, when adolescents demonstrated limited ability to reflect critically on what they were asked; some admitted that the conversation with the researcher was the first time someone invited them to reflect on an issue and share their opinion. Developing these competencies is an important part of the Makani curriculum, as a life skills facilitator from Azraq Camp explained:

> Life skills sessions aim to modify thinking, so that it goes in a positive direction. Critical thinking, problem-solving are integrated in lectures and sessions so as to give intellectual autonomy, which is directed towards intellectual independence. . . stimulate the child and give them the basis for logical thinking, understanding existing possibilities, and guiding thoughts.

Several adolescents who participated in Makani mentioned that they learnt how to prioritise their needs and plans, and how valuable this opportunity was. A 16-year-old Syrian girl from Irbid commented:

> We learned from the community innovation programme that we can work on a small skill to be able to solve problems using this newly learnt skill. We should depend on ourselves and correct our mistakes. I also learnt to solve any problem – whatever it is – by using the simplest solutions. I think this will be very useful in my future life.

Opportunities to exercise voice and agency in the learning process

A key dimension of a capabilities framing of the right to education relates to opportunities for young people to exercise voice and agency in the learning process. Our findings underscore that – for all students but especially refugees – Jordan's formal school system is neither empowering nor participatory. Many adolescents reported teacher discrimination, indifference and even violence.

Discrimination in the school system

In host communities, 43 per cent of Syrian adolescents thought that under the double-shift school system, they are treated unequally with Jordanians. Tensions between Syrian and Jordanian students are high and not conductive to learning, as a 12-year-old boy living in Mafraq noted:

> In sharing the school there is more attention for Jordanians. This happens for some classes and in some subjects. . . . There is some discrimination and harassment between students.

Conflicts between students often turn violent, and students can experience harassment on the way to school or on school grounds, especially during the break between shifts, as a 13-year-old Syrian boy in a host community described:

> Every day there were problems. . . . Jordanians were returning home at 11am, and we were going to school at 12 noon. . . . The Jordanians were grabbing a Syrian boy, asking him for money, and then they were fighting with each other.

Limited teacher commitment

Many adolescents noted that discrimination was also reflected in low teacher commitment to support Syrian students in acquiring basic competencies, which was leading to disillusionment with school. Some complained that standards for Syrians in double-shift schools are low, and so students are discouraged from attending, as they feel it is pointless. An 11-year-old boy from Mafraq explained:

> Our teacher gave us some questions, then he slept. We were cheating, and some opened the books to look for the answers. . . . Sometimes the teacher takes the exam sheets home and he answers instead of us. . . . He told us to write using the pencil, so that when he finds something wrong, he can erase it. . . . Later, the principal wonders how Syrians pass the exams. . . . There was a guy who cannot read or write, and he got 85%.

These findings most likely reflect the fact that many teachers assigned to the double-shift classes were either new graduates or brought out of retirement to cover the influx of new refugee students. They may have received little (if any) training on how best to support refugee students; they also complained of more limited resources and access to equipment compared to teachers doing the morning shifts (with mainly Jordanian students) (see Jones, Baird, Małachowska, Kilburn et al., 2019).

Peer and teacher violence

Our findings also show that violence in school is widespread and usually experienced more by boys. Violence includes peer bullying and harassment, but it is also often perpetrated by teachers: more than half (56 per cent) of Syrian boys experienced some form of violence in school compared to 22 per cent of girls, with many boys describing brutal teacher discipline methods. As a 19-year-old girl living in an ITS recounted (her younger sibling's experience):

> The principal once beat up a very young child. He was not even in the first grade, but in pre-school. He was beaten because he cried when his father left him. I mean, it is his first time to go to school! The principal did that in front of everyone. My brother has been scared ever since. He is only in the third grade and the teacher once told him and his classmates that if they do not memorise the lesson by the next day, he would make their faces bleed. Now, when my brother sleeps, he sees that teacher in his nightmares.

Violence is not, however, exclusive to Syrian students, with 64 per cent of Jordanian boys and 33 per cent of girls also experiencing violence in school. Our qualitative findings point to corporal punishment being one of the main reasons for boys dropping out or losing interest in schooling, as a 16-year-old boy from Zaatari Camp explained:

> He [the teacher] used to hit my head against the wall and beat me. . . . He also used to beat me with a stick. When he started to hit me, I stopped going to school.

Somewhat surprisingly, most adolescents, despite high levels of violence, reported feeling safe in school (93 per cent of boys and 95 per cent of girls), which suggests that corporal punishment and verbal abuse have become normalised.

Opportunities to develop the capacity to aspire through education

The capacity to aspire through education is increasingly recognised as a critical component of educational achievements and broader wellbeing. Our research

found that educational aspirations among the Syrian adolescents in our sample are generally high, but lower than their Jordanian counterparts – 79 per cent of Syrian boys and 82 per cent of girls aspire to complete at least secondary education, compared to 91 per cent and 93 per cent for Jordanian adolescent boys and girls respectively. Moreover, there are significant differences between locations, with adolescents in ITSs demonstrating lower aspirations to complete at least secondary education than those in camps and host communities (60 per cent in ITS, 80 per cent in camps and 86 per cent in host communities). Notably, even older married girls demonstrated high educational aspirations, with 70 per cent wanting to complete at least some secondary education compared to 86 per cent of never-married girls.

Our qualitative research emphasised that out-of-school adolescents, also in the most disadvantaged communities, wish they could continue their education. An older out-of-school girl in an ITS explained:

> All of us want to go back to school. We want to convince our parents to send us to school. This is our ambition.

Yet this strong desire to return to education is not reflected in reality, as adolescents have limited opportunities for achieving their aspirations. Overall, 71 per cent of Syrian adolescents in our sample are enrolled in formal school (compared to 89 per cent for Jordanians), and 16 per cent attend non-formal education classes; adolescents in ITSs are least likely to attend any type of schooling (44 per cent enrolled in school and 15 per cent in alternative education programmes). However, in line with existent evidence, enrolment rates are much higher among younger Syrian adolescents compared to their older peers, and older girls often have opportunities for learning curtailed once they have gained basic literacy and numeracy skills:

> They tell me that I can write and read, so no need for school.
>
> *(17-year-old out-of-school girl, living in an ITS near Amman)*

Early-married girls in our sample are largely excluded from education, with only 9 per cent enrolled in school and 5 per cent having access to non-formal classes. Many factors influence these variations in access to education, discussed in the following.

Social and environmental conditions needed to translate educational aspirations into freedoms

Even if refugee adolescents have the capacity to aspire, a capabilities framing of the right to education emphasises the importance of investments to create a broader social and economic environment conducive to realising those rights. Our findings underscore that for many Syrian refugees in Jordan (and arguably especially for girls), these conditions are not being met. Here, we discuss the key barriers that

hinder the fulfilment of adolescent aspirations for higher education and related employment.

Limited parental commitment to education

Although parents' educational aspirations for their adolescent children are generally very high (95 per cent of Syrian caregivers aspire for their child to complete at least secondary education), this is rarely translated into practical support. It is also strongly influenced by gender norms, with girls expected to do more household chores than boys. Our survey findings show that on average, girls spend more than an hour a day cleaning, cooking and doing other duties, often at the cost of studying time, while boys spend just 15 minutes, giving them more time for study and play. This burden is higher for adolescents in ITSs and causes frustration for some girls, as an 11-year-old from Irbid explained:

> When I wash dishes, I asked him [her brother] for help, he refused and shouted at me. I do it because I am the only girl in the house. He is playing on the phone only.

Gender norms play a key role in allocation of household duties and prioritising household responsibilities at the expense of education – 35 per cent of Syrian adolescents in our sample believe that girls are only allowed to go to school if they are not needed at home, but in ITSs this rose to 61 per cent. A 12-year-old girl living in an ITS explains the burdens put on her:

> I stay at home because my father's sick and he can't take care of them [her siblings] by himself and my mother works in the fields. He only lets me go to school during winter. . . because when it rains, my mother stays at home and watches my siblings, then I'm able to go to school.

Married girls who have been withdrawn from school have to do household chores full-time. A 17-year-old married girl from Azraq Camp noted:

> I lived at my husband's family house and I was responsible for house duties there: cleaning, cooking and anything else.

Economic constraints

In line with the broader literature, economic hardships among Syrian refugee families were found to be a major factor in adolescents dropping out of school. While girls usually stay at home to do housework, adolescent boys tend to do low-paid jobs, sometimes working long hours and in exploitative conditions. In

female-headed households and where caregivers were constrained by illness, boys often became the breadwinner, as a 12-year-old boy from an ITS in Irbid noted:

> We need money and we are 1,900 JOD (£2,050) in debt to my father's cousin. . . . My father has problems with his back and he couldn't work any longer, so he borrowed the money for our expenses. After that, we all needed to start working.

Our survey found that, among the older cohort, 66 per cent of boys and 12 per cent of girls had done some form of paid work in the year prior to the interview, and adolescents in ITSs (boys and girls, younger and older) are more likely to work. As a 17-year-old boy in an ITS, with a hearing impairment, explained:

> I work on a farm, but it is not enough for family expenses. My brother and I work and sometimes my younger brother helps too.

Adolescents who engage in child labour either drop out of school or struggle to combine the two, as a 13-year-old girl living in a host community reported (she spends three days a week working, and the rest of the time she tries to focus on schooling):

> I like school and I like to go and study. Though I have a lot of work pressure, sometimes I leave work and go to school. It depends – sometimes I say my school is more important and sometimes I say the work is more important.

Combining work and learning is even harder for adolescents who work seasonally, as they can spend months out of school; re-enrolment is dependent on the school principal agreeing to take them back and on their parents' motivation. For some adolescents, long absence results in expulsion, in which case they rarely seek catch-up education due to distance and low priority assigned to children's education – by parents and adolescents alike. Economic pressures force adolescents to prioritise low-skilled work at the expense of education, which, in turn, deprives them of opportunities to develop and acquire skills and qualifications needed to obtain better employment in future. At the same, with limitations on work permits for Syrians in Jordan, many households have difficulties finding employment, which demotivates youth even further and prevents young people making an effort to continue their studies, as a 17-year-old girl living in Azraq Camp, who dropped out of school after ninth grade, noted:

> In Syria, ninth grade certificate is nothing. Here, (in Jordan), even if one has a certificate from a university, he might be employed, but it is not guaranteed to be in a good position. Like, you might find a teacher who is employed in the sanitation centre.

Limited voice and agency

Our findings also highlight the limited voice and agency that adolescents, particularly girls, are able to exercise. Overall, adolescents have limited decision-making power within the family, so they cannot influence decisions about their lives, including education. When asked about their perceptions of having some say in household decisions, adolescents demonstrated a medium level of influence on decision-making (a mean of 5 on an index scored 0–8). However, there were important gender differences: girls have less say than boys, and while decision-making power increases with age for girls and boys alike, the increase is not as significant for older girls. This is not surprising when we compare attitudes towards decision-making – 78 per cent of Syrian girls and 88 per cent of boys think that most people in their community expect men to have the final say in family decisions.

These perceptions are reflected in adolescents' realities, as a 14-year-old girl from Zaatari Camp explained:

> There are some things women just can't do. For example, if a girl wants to drink a glass of water, or if her eyes get ill, she should ask her father or her husband's brother. [They] decide for her, and say 'this is it, you can't wear it, you can't go, can't put henna' – everything is forbidden. Manicure is forbidden, everything is forbidden for her.

The family is a place where adolescents could learn to voice their opinions and express their views, but they report that their opinions are often not valued. Married girls who aspire to continue their education do not have the skills needed to convince their families, and their wishes are not taken into account. As a 17-year-old married girl in Azraq camp noted:

> I was attending school but now I'm not. . . . I would like to complete my education, but my husband refuses. Last thing he said, choose whether it is me or the school! . . . Then I insisted and there were a lot of problems.

Restricted mobility is also a challenge, especially for girls. Only 66 per cent of Syrian girls leave their homes every day (compared to 87 per cent of boys). Moreover, their mobility decreases with age, so older girls have very limited opportunities to socialise with peers, restricted access to education and no opportunities to participate in community life. While girls' mobility is restricted in all locations, this was found to be especially the case in ITSs, where control over girls' movement and interactions with others is even more strict, as this 15-year-old girl described:

> Young men can go out (of the settlement) freely and deal with a lot of people and learn to talk to other people. It is different for girls – they can't go out of the house and they do not know how to deal with people. Parents are afraid for girls, but at the same time parents should encourage their girls to deal with others.

Restrictions on girls' mobility are strongly embedded in gender norms linked to upholding family honour. A social worker working with Syrians in ITSs explained:

> There are more spaces available for the males. . . because of the traditional thinking and the parents' attitudes, which is very strong in the community. These issues are also connected with honour and shame for the family; there is no shame for boys if they do what they want. There is even protection for the boy, while in the case of a girl, her reputation is affected; these are the social norms here.

Family restrictions on girls' mobility are one of the main barriers to accessing education and other services, particularly in camps, as a Makani facilitator in Zaatari camp reported:

> All the age groups come here, but families prevent their girls to come here after a specific age. These girls are the adolescents who are at puberty stage. Usually they stop coming when they turn 14. I follow up and ask why she didn't come, and typically she answers that her father didn't allow her to come or the boys harass her.

Girls' behaviours, especially as they get older, are strictly monitored by parents and other family members, and there is a strong social pressure to prevent girls from doing anything that would endanger family honour – for example, interacting with boys; having access to, and using, digital devices; or wearing inappropriate clothing. These social pressures are enforced and also internalised. It is also common to shift responsibility for undesirable behaviours from boys to girls, even if something is beyond a girl's control, as an older Syrian girl in an ITS near Amman noted:

> When a girl goes out to go to school, boys keep harassing her. . . . It is because of this issue that we are forced to leave school. . . . And so the parents, and other people will say bad things about her. So we must not go to school and not go to the places that we want to go to, because of this.

Restrictions in accessing the internet and social media are strongly skewed towards girls and further limit girls' ability to learn and interact with peers. Our survey found that only 26 per cent of older girls (compared to 47 per cent of older boys) own a phone, and 41 per cent had ever used the internet (compared to 54 per cent of boys).

Norms about age at marriage

Child marriage is common among Syrian refugees and is often the reason for girls leaving school. Girls either drop out in anticipation of being married or at the time of marriage. Of our sample, 62 per cent of Syrian boys and 70 per cent of girls admitted that in their community girls are expected to get married before the

legal age (18 years), and among girls who are married, only 9 per cent were able to continue their education. Our qualitative findings show that the reasons for child marriage are often determined by tradition and social norms, which combine with economic hardship, social pressures, no viable alternative pathways for girls, lack of conviction of the importance of education, as well as a desire to control girls. As a teacher from Amman explained:

> Syrian girls marry early and I often hear girls talking about their sisters getting married at 16 years. . . . I noticed that one of my students stopped coming to school. It turned out her father doesn't accept a girl going to school beyond sixth grade. . . . The culture here. . . the poverty, early marriage, the low education level of parents – this reflects on the girls.

The decision to pull girls out of school in preparation for marriage is not always taken unilaterally by parents; many adolescent girls also aspire to marry, given the social prestige associated with marriage and so are willing to leave school if it adds to their desirability for marriage, even if the girl's parents oppose it. As the mother of a married girl in Azraq Camp commented:

> My other daughter was attending ninth grade when a man asked to marry her and she got engaged in the middle of the school year. So she dropped out. I tried hard to make her stay at school; I wanted her to finish her education. I asked her to forget about marriage. . . . I told her that I will take off her ring and keep it aside. . . She refused.

Conclusions

Notwithstanding international and national commitments to ensuring quality education for all young people, including those affected by displacement, our findings highlight that a decade after the onset of the Syrian refugee crisis, many Syrian adolescents living in Jordan in camps and host communities alike face significant and multidimensional barriers to realising their full education and learning capabilities. These findings are particularly sobering in terms of global debates around 'leaving no generation behind', given that the regulations around refugees' access to schooling in Jordan are relatively favourable (when compared to contexts like Bangladesh, for example, where the Rohingya are barred from the national education system) (Guglielmi et al., 2020).

The quality of teaching and the broader school environment – not least teacher attitudes and institutionalised violence – also prevent many refugee students attaining core academic competencies. Moreover, the formal curriculum does not support students to develop the non-academic competencies (including personal development, social skills, digital skills, and critical thinking and reasoning skills) needed for twenty-first-century life. There are exceptions – most notably UNICEF Jordan's Makani non-formal education initiative (albeit uptake of such programmes by older refugee adolescents is relatively limited).

These service deficits aside, our data shows that many refugee adolescents still aspire to attain at least some secondary education and that this is echoed in parental aspirations for their adolescent children. However, our findings highlight intersecting challenges in the broader enabling environment in translating these educational aspirations into reality – especially for girls and for adolescents in ITSs. Challenges include: limited practical support from parents, expectations that adolescent girls will support domestic tasks and boys contribute to fragile household incomes through involvement in child work, adolescents' limited voice and agency in household decision-making, and discriminatory conservative gender norms that constrain girls' mobility, and put them at risk of child marriage at the cost of their education.

The policy implications of these findings point to an urgent need to mainstream a capabilities framing of the right to education. This would entail moving beyond a narrow focus on enrolment and retention, to expand investments within the formal education system to deliver non-academic competencies (harnessing promising practices from non-formal programmes for refugee adolescents) at scale. Given the traumatic disruption of their childhood and the immense challenges of forging a future within the context of displacement, acquiring twenty-first-century skills is especially important for refugee populations and must be seen as an integral part of the right to education, rather than as optional. A capabilities framing, with its emphasis on supporting young people to meaningfully avail themselves of educational opportunities, also necessitates improving training of teachers in positive disciplinary approaches and in non-discriminatory pedagogy for refugee populations. It also underscores the importance of investing in community outreach and awareness raising on gender equity; tackling discriminatory attitudes and practices towards girls that undermine their right to education; and investing in social protection for the most vulnerable refugee households to address the economic barriers to sending their children to school.

Notes

1 Service cards are very difficult to obtain for many Syrian families who left the camps without being sponsored by Jordanian citizens.
2 The reading portion of the ASER tests whether the respondent can read (in Arabic) at the following levels: story, paragraph, word, letter or nothing. The math portion of the ASER tests whether the respondent can do subtraction, addition, recognize double-digit numbers, recognize single digit numbers or do nothing.
3 Survey instruments for adolescents and caregivers are publicly available and can be found here: www.gage.odi.org/publication/jordan-baseline-survey-2017-18/

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6

'I NO LONGER HAVE A HOPE OF STUDYING'

Gender norms, education and wellbeing of refugee girls in Rwanda

Roberte Isimbi, Marie Merci Mwali, Ernest Ngabo and Ernestina Coast

Introduction

Children and adolescents constitute the majority of refugees globally, and they have specific needs and vulnerabilities relative to the broader refugee population. Adolescence (10–19 years) represents a critical transition period – physically, psychologically and cognitively – in the second decade of life. We know relatively little about the lives of adolescent refugees, however, and how the intersections of age, gender and refugee status are influenced by social norms. Social norms are the informal rules or shared expectations in society, which carry incentives for compliance and penalties for transgression. Social norms shape understanding, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours in every context and include both descriptive norms (what people believe that other people in their context do) and injunctive norms (what people believe others should do) (Bicchieri, 2016). Gender norms – a shared understanding of how girls, boys, women and men should behave – are part of social norms (Crawford and Ostrom, 1995; Munoz-Boudet et al., 2013; Pulerwitz et al., 2019). For example, gender norms shape the information, support and services that adolescents have access to, their health status, the beliefs they hold and their (lack of) choice about when they have sex and with whom, including their ability to negotiate safer sex (Sommer and Mmari, 2015; Jones et al., 2016; Harper et al., 2017; Knopf et al., 2017; Berhane et al., 2019; Jones et al., 2019).

Focusing on adolescent Congolese refugees living in camps in Rwanda, this chapter uses a framework (GAGE consortium, 2019) that explicitly links a socio-ecological model that locates adolescents within their context, and incorporates adolescents' multidimensional capabilities. Socio-ecological approaches to understanding camp-based settings are rare (Williams et al., 2018), and demand acknowledgement that camps are highly specific spaces – economically, politically, socio-culturally – with power structures within and between camp residents and

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authorities. Camps are 'exceptional spaces' (Turner, 2016). This chapter focuses on how gender norms affect the well-being of, and opportunities open to, adolescent girls – including those who became mothers as adolescents – living in Rwanda's refugee camps. It focuses on two key capability domains: education and learning, and psychosocial well-being.

Refugees in Rwanda

Congolese refugees have been hosted in Rwanda since 1996, with a second wave arriving post-2011 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), n.d.). It is estimated that there are 75,000 Congolese refugees in Rwanda. Refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have fled persistent insecurity and ethnic conflict, and those in Rwanda mainly originate from the eastern provinces of North and South Kivu (International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI), 2011). This displacement has been protracted because of persistent and deep insecurity in the Kivu provinces and the presence of armed – at times, internationalised – groups in these areas. Congolese refugees in Rwanda express deep desires to return home, but fear the ongoing political and military insecurity (ibid.). The protracted displacement means that many refugees were born in Rwanda, and many experience childhood and adolescence in a camp-based setting; about half of the Congolese refugees in Rwanda are under 18 years of age.

The Rwandan Ministry of Emergency Management (MINEMA) and UNHCR are responsible for refugees' wellbeing. Most Congolese refugees in Rwanda live in high-density camps; all camps have health centres and some also have primary and/or secondary schools, although some refugees attend schools outside the camps. Rwanda's policy approach to hosting refugees is focused on a camp-based model; it is estimated that in addition to the 75,000 camp-based refugees, there are around 1,100 urban-based Congolese refugees in the country. There is increasing concentration of Rwanda's refugee population in camps – rather than urban areas – because of it being increasingly difficult for refugees to live in urban areas because of Rwanda's policy approach (MINEMA, 2019; UNHCR, 2019).

Refugees are included in Rwanda's broad definition of vulnerable groups. The 2005 Social Protection Policy covers orphaned children, prisoners' families, youth (aged 16–25), destitute people, refugees and returnees, and historically marginalised groups such as the Batwa (Kamurase et al., 2012). Article 18 of the 2014 Law Relating to Refugees stipulates that 'any person having obtained refugee status in Rwanda shall enjoy the rights and liberties provided for by international instruments on refugees ratified by Rwanda'. As a result, refugees are not mentioned explicitly in Rwandan national policy and legal instruments covering gender, children's rights, and education. The cross-sectoral National Integrated Child Rights Policy complies with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and is aligned with international agendas such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Agenda 2030's call to leave no one behind. That principle underpins the SDGs and Agenda 2030, to be achieved by the 'unifying roadmap'

(Boerma et al., 2020) of the United Nations' Every Woman Every Child (EWEC) global strategy (United Nations Secretary-General, 2015). The leave no one behind agenda is underpinned by a normative assumption of more inclusive development. However, this normative assumption requires us to identify who is being left behind and how to intervene to help them catch up – which, in turn, demands disaggregated data to illuminate inequities (Boerma et al., 2020; Requejo et al., 2020; Dawson, 2018). Responding to the SDGs' agenda, Rwanda has strengthened its emphasis on vulnerable populations in order to leave no one behind; however, we know little about how gender norms operate in refugee camps and host communities, and with what consequences for refugee adolescents.

The Global Compact on Refugees (2018) is a framework focused on sustainable solutions to refugee situations with four key objectives: (1) ease the pressure on host countries, (2) enhance refugee self-reliance, (3) expand access to third-country solutions and (4) support conditions in origin countries for safe and dignified return. Whilst the Compact incorporates the need for longer-term responses, the emphasis on refugee self-reliance requires an enabling policy context that takes account of refugee heterogeneity. For example, if policies mean that some refugees – such as adolescent mothers – are excluded from opportunities to support their (and their children's) livelihoods, then the objective of self-reliance becomes far less achievable. The Compact frames refugees in a positive way – seeing refugees as an opportunity rather than a challenge for host countries; it also echoes the core commitment of the 2030 Agenda and the World Humanitarian Summit to leave no one behind. The Compact also highlights adolescents' vulnerabilities – and, to a much greater extent, girls' vulnerabilities. Its framing with respect to gender is highly focused around sexual and gender-based violence, and sexual exploitation and abuse; broader sexual and reproductive rights and health do not appear in the final version of the Compact (although they did appear in the earlier New York declaration) (Hennebry and Petrozziello, 2019).

Rwanda signed up to UNHCR's Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) in 2018, following four pledges the country made in 2016, shortly after the Framework's original launch. These pledges are: (1) to promote refugees' inclusion through a joint livelihoods strategy with UNHCR, (2) to provide all refugees with national identity (ID) cards and convention travel documents, (3) to give all urban refugees access to buy national health insurance and (4) to integrate 35,000 secondary school-age and 18,000 primary school-age refugee children into the national education system (Crawford et al., 2019).

These four pledges are reflected in Rwanda's Strategic Plan for Refugee Inclusion (2019–2024). Commitments to the CRRF have led to the issuing of ID cards to refugees – considered a major step in reducing the barriers to becoming 'self reliant members of Rwandan society who contribute to the economic development of their host districts' (Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs (MIDIMAR) and UNHCR, 2016). However, the camp-based model of refugee hosting has been identified as being potentially at odds with the Global Compact's positive framing of refugees because it reinforces structural barriers (economic,

geographic and educational) to opportunities for refugees (Crawford et al., 2019). Many Congolese refugees feel that Rwandan nationals treat them as outsiders and exclude them from socioeconomic participation and opportunities (IRRI, 2011). Rwanda's camp-based model reinforces barriers to economic inclusion with consequences that will differ for refugee sub-populations, including female adolescents who are mothers.

Underfunding has severely affected UNHCR operations in Rwanda, even though it continues to host increasing numbers of refugees. A review of funding for the CRRF in Rwanda suggests that 'there does not appear to be an unusual amount of energy being expended by government, donors or aid agencies to advocate for, or raise, additional development resources', and it notes that the funding situation is 'typical' of relatively stable settings with long-term displacement, which have 'perennial shortfalls' (Crawford et al., 2019).

Analysis of laws and policies on refugees in Rwanda reveals silences about how age and gender intersect to determine adolescents' opportunities and wellbeing. Articles 18 and 20 of the Law Relating to Refugees (2014) identify the rights of refugees provided for by international instruments and the rights to marriage, respectively, but do not mention age- or gender-specific needs or vulnerabilities. The Rwanda-UNHCR Livelihoods Strategy (2016–2020) is similarly silent, except for reference to unconditional cash for women to buy menstrual hygiene materials.

Adolescent refugees in Rwanda: gender dimensions

Historically, the significant body of literature on the vulnerability of forced migrants has attended to gendered rather than aged experiences. Extant research on refugees in Rwanda can be grouped into three broad foci. The first considers broader issues of durable solutions (voluntary repatriation, local integration, resettlement) for refugees (Easton-Calabria and Lindsay, 2013; Frydenlund, 2015) or adult women, with a specific focus on health (Pavlish, 2004, 2005). The second considers gendered differences in experiences of becoming and being a refugee in Rwanda (Pavlish and Ho, 2009; Ho and Pavlish, 2011; Bilgili et al., 2017). The final group has a predominantly biomedical focus on mental health of refugees, including adolescents (Mels et al., 2009, 2010), and intersections with violence against women (Sipsma et al., 2015; Wako et al., 2015) and against adolescent girls (Iyakaremye and Mukagatare, 2016; Meyer et al., 2017; Bermudez et al., 2018). For example, a study of the problems reported by Congolese adult refugees in a Rwandan camp showed that worrying about their adolescent daughters was a major parental concern (Pavlish, 2007). Another study found that girls alone in the house and in the camp at night face the risk of gender-based violence and abuse, and survivors do not use or are unaware of existing support or justice services (World Food Programme (WFP) and UNHCR, 2014). Interviews with refugee camp workers have drawn attention to the specific needs – including psychosocial needs – of some refugee sub-groups, particularly girls and women (Crawford et al., 2019).

Compared to adult refugees, there is much less evidence on the impacts of adolescent refugees' broader experiences and lives in Rwanda (Alloush et al., 2017; Loschmann et al., 2019), with two notable exceptions. Williams et al.'s (2018) work explores the risks of gender-based violence and sexual exploitation for camp-based adolescent girls in Rwanda. Focus group discussions (FGDs) held with adolescent boys and girls and their parents and caregivers highlighted how the camp setting generated new forms of vulnerability – economic and sexual – that were highly gendered. The authors highlight the need for an intersectional approach to understanding adolescents' vulnerabilities, situated within a socio-ecological understanding of the camp setting. Ruzibiza's (2020) work draws attention to the stigma experienced by Burundian adolescent refugees who are either pregnant or have started childbearing in a refugee camp setting in Rwanda. Drawing on ethnographic evidence from unmarried adolescents aged 13–19 years, Ruzibiza shows how despite an enabling policy environment that supports pregnant adolescents to remain in education, the stigma of early and non-marital pregnancy and childbearing leads to high levels of school dropout.

With the exception of Ruzibiza's work on Burundian refugees, there is very little evidence relating specifically to the experiences of refugee adolescent mothers in Rwanda, and the broader gendered experiences of refugee adolescents with reference to education and psychosocial wellbeing. Evidence tends to be in the grey literature and is more descriptive and focused on intervention evaluation (often with weak research designs). In addition, this evidence tends to ignore the intersections of gender, age, refugee status and motherhood and instead uses broader aggregated groupings of child/adult or male/female. An assessment conducted in four camps found that refugees resort to negative coping strategies to deal with poverty or food shortages, including underfeeding, theft/robbery, high-risk casual labour and transactional sex (WFP and UNHCR, 2014). There are schools providing nine years of basic education in camps, although school dropout is attributed to a combination of limited parental interest in child education and overcrowded classrooms (especially for older students having to retake failed classes with younger students). Girls face specific problems stemming from a lack of separate toilets with access to water and that afford privacy. A school feeding programme for refugee students is reported to have reduced dropout and increased attendance and completion, particularly for girls; however, in some refugee camps, families had to pay a monthly 'voluntary' contribution to community workers involved in school feeding (WFP and UNHCR, 2014). Apart from men and women, adolescent girls and boys are also involved in food management through their elected representatives (WFP, 2018). A study in Kiziba camp mentions the existence of clubs and committees for adolescent refugees (UNHCR, 2014.

The limited evidence points to the need for an approach to situating and understanding the experiences, capabilities and needs of refugees that takes into account not only gender and age but also parenthood. By focusing on refugee female adolescents who are mothers, we consider how individual capabilities and contexts

(family/household, social norms, structural barriers) shape individual outcomes. For example, one study showed that refugee girls are at high risk of school drop-out due to pregnancy, with linkages to social pressures to engage in transactional sex with men in exchange for money or goods. Refugee adolescents who seek employment as domestic workers in Kigali may become pregnant, with a range of outcomes: some may be rejected and chased out of the house by their families, while others return to work to Kigali post-birth and send money to their mother, who looks after their baby in the refugee camp (Pavlish, 2007).

There is limited quantitative data on adolescent refugees in Rwanda, but that which is available also underlines the challenges they face. In a UNHCR study, 27 per cent of adolescents in Kiziba camp reported high anxiety symptoms, 72 per cent witnessed shouting and yelling at home, 18 per cent had seen physical violence at home and 20 per cent reported feeling unsafe in their home (UNHCR, 2014). Meyer et al.'s (2017) latent class analysis of adolescents' exposure to violence and psychosocial outcomes in refugee camps in Uganda and Rwanda finds that Congolese adolescents in Kibiza camp in Rwanda have significantly higher exposure to violence than refugees in Uganda, which they attribute to the protracted nature of their displacement. It is important here to emphasize the need to read these findings on violence in relation to the specific conglomeration of traumatic experiences, uncertain futures and daily economic challenges facing refugee communities in Rwanda, which creates an environment of extreme stress that adolescent girls must navigate. These findings do, however, indicate the need for support that reflects differential patterning of mental health concerns in particular contexts, given these pressures.

Methods

Adaptations of the GAGE methodological toolkit were used, to reflect the focus of our research on refugee populations and two capability areas (education and learning, psychosocial well-being). Tools used included: in-depth interviews (IDIs) with adolescents, IDIs with caregivers, key informant interviews, FGDs and a life history interview developed specifically for adolescent mothers (Table 6.1).

In-depth life history interviews were conducted with adolescent mothers, defined as those who were aged below 25 years and had given birth before age 19. Adolescent mothers were identified for inclusion in the study through purposive snowballing, though this proved extremely difficult due to the stigma attached to adolescent motherhood. For example, girls were hidden by their families and their babies 'claimed' by grandmothers as their own (including cases where adolescent mothers are in paid employment outside the camp). The challenges of recruiting adolescent mothers to this study only serve to underscore how stigma and gendered norms about adolescent childbearing intersect to influence adolescent refugees' lives.

Primary evidence was generated from three Rwandan refugee camps (Table 6.2), purposively selected as long-established camps, meaning that adolescents

TABLE 6.1 Research methods and sample sizes

Research method	*Population*	*n*
In-depth interviews (IDI)	Female adolescents aged 10–12	36
	Caregivers of female adolescents aged 10–12	37
	Male adolescents aged 10–12	31
	Caregivers of male adolescents aged 10–12	31
	Female adolescents aged 13–15	33
	Male adolescents aged 13–15	32
	Adolescent mothers*	12
	Key informants: opinion leaders and service providers	20
Focus group discussion (FGD)	Female adolescents aged 10–15	1 FGD (8 participants)
	Male adolescents aged 10–15	1 FGD (8 participants)
	Adult female caregivers	1 FGD (4 participants)
	Adult male caregivers	1 FGD (4 participants)

*Adolescents who had given birth before age 20.

TABLE 6.2 Study site locations and characteristics

Camp	*Year established*	*Location*		*Population*		*Source of income (other than food assistance)*
		District	*Province*	*Female*	*Male*	
Gihembe	1997	Gicumbi	Northern	7,148	6,156	Non-farm waged work
Nyabiheke	2005	Gatsibo	Eastern	7,959	6,595	Camp-based small businesses (e.g. retail shop)
Kigeme	2012	Nyamagabe	Southern	11,179	9,139	Small businesses (e.g. selling foodstuffs)

participating in the research were either born in Rwanda or had arrived there from DRC at a very young age.

The fieldwork was conducted by a team of young Rwandans, four women and four men, all university educated, and all with extensive training and experience in qualitative research, including refugee-specific training. Prior to data collection (2018) the study received ethical approval from the Rwanda National Ethics Committee. For legal minors (those under 18 years), informed consent was sought from a guardian in addition to assent from the minor. The Ministry of Emergency Management (MINEMA) (formerly MIDIMAR) granted authorisation to access the refugee camps and provided letters of access for the camp authorities.

The analyses here use the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) conceptual framework, which reflects the close connections between '3 Cs':

capabilities, change strategies and contexts (GAGE consortium, 2019).[1] Adolescents are situated at the centre of this socio-ecological framework, which encompasses the deeply gendered processes by which adolescents acquire key capabilities during this life stage and how these capabilities are affected by gender, pregnancy and motherhood before the age of 18. We developed a thematic codebook informed by our conceptual framework, inviting comments from researchers involved in the fieldwork to sense-check codes and add nuance. FGDs and interviews were recorded and transcribed directly into English by research assistants. Coding was done using MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software.

Results

We structure our results by first considering how gendered norms manifest in and have an impact on the lives of refugee adolescent boys and girls focusing on two capabilities: education and learning, and psychosocial wellbeing. These capability domains were selected following a review of secondary evidence, which suggested that adolescent refugees were more likely to experience negative outcomes in these domains than their non-refugee peers. Our analyses show that the gendered nature and implications of adolescent labour – specifically time-consuming care work – was most salient for our respondents, boys and girls, mothers and non-mothers. Next, we consider more fully the implications of these gendered norms for adolescents who have become mothers and the consequences for their lives across the two capability domains.

Gender and care work

Household labour is highly gendered. Work associated with caring (cooking, taking food to the hospital when there is someone sick in the family, fetching water, taking care of younger siblings, sweeping, washing dishes, washing clothes, collecting firewood and plastering the walls) is done by girls; work considered to be physically demanding is assigned to boys. Girls' caring tasks were sometimes assigned to boys, but only if a girl was unavailable, and boys noted that they were rewarded for doing girls' tasks in ways that girls were not:

> I fetched water, washed dishes and swept the house and my mother rewarded me.
>
> *(IDI with adolescent boy, 13–15 years, Gihembe camp)*

Adolescents internalised these gendered divisions of labour, and girls felt that caring tasks were harder for boys to do. The critical difference in the consequences of this division of labour is that girls' caring tasks consume much more of their time than do the tasks allocated to boys; girls' tasks are many and constant. Adolescent girls drew a connection between their tasks and their lesser availability for, and performance in, school work; boys were alert to this implication:

> She cannot find any single time to revise her lessons, her mum is disabled, she is the one to cook, to wash dishes, while her dad has gone to the bar, as a Primary 6 student, she has no time to prepare herself for final exams.
>
> *(Participant in FGD of a vignette, adolescent boys, 10–12 years, Kigeme camp)*

Girls' time-consuming care burden was also reflected in reduced time for leisure, which was identified by both boys and girls as an important aspect of their lives:

> [Male adolescents] do nothing at home except playing football every day or running on the street while girls are doing domestic work.
>
> *(IDI with father of adolescent boy, Nyabiheke camp)*

Adolescent refugee girls' time is much more constrained and occupied compared to their male peers, with implications for education, leisure and playing. One particular outcome linked to education was the way in which time-consuming care work meant that girls were more exposed to the risk of corporal punishment at school if they arrived late. In this way, the capability outcome on education and learning is directly impacted by gendered norms around the household division of labour. Experience of school-based violence perpetrated by teachers was another reported cause of school dropout:

> What made me sad is that my teacher beat me hard. She stepped on me with her long shoes and my nail was removed. As I was hurt, my mother decided to get me out of the school and I spent a whole year without studying.
>
> *(IDI with adolescent girl, 10–12 years, Gihembe camp)*

Adolescent mothers

Non-marital childbearing by adolescent girls is highly stigmatised and has profound consequences for refugee adolescent mothers, throughout their lives and across multiple domains. Our analyses focus on education and learning and psychosocial wellbeing. The impacts of adolescent childbearing on education and learning, and on psychosocial wellbeing, are interlinked. Strongly gendered norms of responsibility and blame for pregnancy outside marriage mean that girls are highly stigmatised for being pregnant; they are sanctioned for the visible evidence of their unacceptable non-marital sexual activity:

> My mother told me to go back to the person who impregnated me. . . . I couldn't stay at home and I couldn't even go back to the man.
>
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 18, Kigeme camp)*

Education and learning

Despite legal and policy frameworks in Rwanda that are supportive of pregnant girls remaining in school, and returning to school post-birth, the reality for the

adolescents we interviewed is that both these options were either impossible or very difficult and dependent on familial support:

> I stopped going to school when I knew I was pregnant. I was not expelled. Instead I am the one who dropped out because I didn't want people to know that I was pregnant.
>
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 17, Nyabiheke camp)*

For others, becoming pregnant was the stimulus for seeking non-camp-based work, in order to provide for their baby:

> I decided to drop out of school when I knew I was pregnant and went to work at Kigali to look for a job to be able to prepare for the child because I knew that no one would help me, and the [man] responsible had denied the pregnancy.
>
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 17, Nyabiheke camp)*

For one respondent, her relative poverty within the refugee camp was a source of profound stigma, which – reflecting the very limited economic opportunities available to her in a camp setting – led to her leaving the camp to find work:

> I lacked shoes, my clothes were old, and I saw that I have no other option, I had started being embarrassed in front of other children and I decided to go. No one was aware, I did not tell anyone that I am leaving; and I went, arriving there, I immediately found a job, and it is in this job (domestic work) where I got pregnant.
>
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 18, Kigeme camp)*

Adolescent mothers who had left the camp to seek economic opportunities – often for domestic work in urban areas (one of very few jobs they were skilled to do) – reported being exposed to work-based sexual harassment:

> I dropped school and went to look for a job to be able to buy everything I needed like shirts and other clothes. Arriving there (urban area), you could find men who were asking me for sex, I could refuse and leave that home to look for another place to work. I could be asked for sex in all homes I could arrive in. I got stressed where I first worked, and left. After getting work, life became worse, they treated me anyhow.
>
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 17, Gihembe camp)*

All of the adolescent mothers we interviewed who had left the camp for economic opportunities had returned due to the pregnancy; our research design does not include adolescents who did not subsequently return to the camp – either when still pregnant or as a mother. The demands of childcare for adolescent mothers effectively curtailed any options of returning to education – unless alternative care could be found. While in some cases grandmothers might have been able to provide this care, it was not necessarily available:

> I am not planning to go back to school. It is not in my plans. If I go back, who will I be leaving my child with? My mother cannot accept to care for him for me to go back to school. Maybe when he [the baby] grows up and starts going to school as well. . . . Maybe then, we can go to school together but now, I have left school because I am raising him. When his time to start school comes, I will go back to school also.
>
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 18, Kigeme camp)*

Adolescent mothers aspire to return to school but see little opportunity to even raise this as an option, let alone achieve it. For many, becoming a mother permanently alters their future aspirations and impacts their psychosocial wellbeing, despite their young age:

> Mum talks to me but she doesn't raise a conversation of going back to school. She is not happy with me, and my brother undermines me. When night comes, I feel sad, when it is towards 7 pm. Sometimes when I see them coming back in a bad mood, I become more careful and eating when you are in a doubting mood is also hard; so, I sleep without food and feed my child. So, I feel like the night should not be coming.
>
> *(Life history interview with adolescent female who gave birth at age 18, Kigeme camp)*

Parents of adolescent mothers were identified as critical – mainly in terms of support for childcare, shelter and food – for their daughter's future trajectory. Where families did support an adolescent mother, then returning to school or earning an income became more of a possibility; where this support was withdrawn – often as a sanction for non-marital sex, pregnancy and childbearing – adolescent mothers rarely had any option but to fend for themselves. The stigma of non-marital childbearing for adolescents was multiple: from the family, at school, from the wider community and even the health services they needed to attend for their pregnancy, delivery and early childhood care. Adolescent mothers were critically aware of the need to provide for their child but also of how their curtailed education impacted their future economic opportunities:

> Because of the responsibility of raising my child, it is not easy for me, my child needs to eat and dress. I no longer have a hope of studying. Instead,

> I think of how to care for his needs. . . . I wish I get a chance of doing a vocational course like mechanics to easily get a job and cater for my child's needs.
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 16, Kigeme camp)*

Adolescent mothers expressed sadness about their lost educational opportunities and were highly focused on the material needs of their child:

> I used to be intelligent but today I feel like the cleverness has faded. Even if I go back to school I will keep thinking about my child, thinking of how to get a good shoe for my child, a good trouser, I always desire dressing my child smartly as I want to be smart too.
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 16, Kigeme camp)*

Psychosocial wellbeing

Adolescent mothers experience stressors to their psychosocial wellbeing, including rejection by their families, which they reported left them feeling depressed. If the pregnancy or baby was also rejected or denied by its father, this further strained the girl's psychosocial wellbeing. Adolescent childbearing means that once-close maternal support is withdrawn because the girl has transgressed social norms around non-marital sexual activity and pregnancy. For one interviewee, she was able to gain support from an older sister when her mother withdrew her emotional and practical support:

> She [mother] always told me that she had always told me to stay away from that neighbour [father of my child]. She would always remind me of it. When I came back, my older sister was the one to accept me; she alone would go with me to the health centre because I was shy to show up in public.
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 16, Gihembe camp)*

Adolescent mothers, rejected by their families and marginalised by their communities, reported excluding themselves from everyday life because of feelings of unworthiness. This is reflected in the language used by some adolescents to refer to themselves once they became mothers, including 'excrement' and 'not intelligent'. Respondents identified that pregnancy and motherhood brought additional burdens, including their reduced ability to provide food for themselves:

> Ever since she [baby]was born, life keeps deteriorating because she requires a lot I don't have.
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 16, Kigeme camp)*

The camp-based situation of the adolescents we interviewed meant that some services were available, and occasionally, intervention by service providers appeared to influence the way pregnant girls were treated by their families:

> Before Plan International came, I was staying here with my big sister who has two children. Plan came and taught my family members to not give me hard work to do since I was pregnant. Plan still came to visit me and found that I had no mattress, they told mum to go and pick the mattress, the towel and the clothes for the baby. And I was very happy for that, thinking on how I was going to sleep without a mattress was a problem to me even though I was sleeping without before.
>
> *(Life history interview with adolescent girl who gave birth at age 14, Nyabiheke camp)*

The highly stigmatised experiences reported by adolescent mothers were at odds with how some service providers perceived the issue:

> A girl from 15 years to 18 years is considered ready enough for marriage. They take it in their culture, girls of 16 or 17 years old are taken for marriage. For them, seeing an adolescent girl pregnant is common and considered normal. . . . Impregnating a girl of 15 years to 20 years is not seen as a problem.
>
> *(Key informant interview with service provider, Nyabiheke camp)*

This key informant presented Congolese refugees (*they*) as different to Rwandans; assumptions about gendered norms of the Congolese community are perceived to be at odds with and distinct from the Rwandan legal context (where the minimum legal age of marriage is 21 years). This 'othering' of Congolese refugees also meant that camp service providers appeared to blame refugee communities for not seeking legal justice in cases where girls experienced sexual violence:

> Rape cases exist but the reported ones are very few because of the silence and simplification culture in the camp. The refugees know there is a law in Rwanda that punishes those crimes and, instead of reporting, they reconcile. Their mindset is that rape is a common problem and [there is] no need to report. . . . When a girl of 15–20 years gets pregnant, they think there is no problem. They take it as their culture accepts it. Also, when it happens and the father of the baby agrees to support the girl, they take it as a too simple problem to be reported.
>
> *(Key informant interview with service provider, Nyabiheke camp)*

In Rwanda the stigma of adolescent pre-marital childbearing is not restricted to Congolese refugees; non-marital pregnancy and childbearing by Rwandan adolescents is similarly stigmatised and associated with school dropout (Coast et al., forthcoming).

Discussion

Our research findings are significant because they highlight the extreme vulnerability of some adolescent refugee girls and the lifelong implications of their

experiences. Refugee adolescent mothers in particular are exceptionally vulnerable because of the stigma associated with non-marital pregnancy and childbearing. Our evidence underscores that within a population that is broadly defined as vulnerable (refugees), there are distinct categories of vulnerability that heighten the risk of being left behind. Adolescent refugee mothers are one such distinct group, and this finding reinforces the need for an approach to their needs that is grounded in the specific context of Rwanda's refugee camps. Despite Rwanda's commitment to the Global Compact on Refugees, adolescent refugee mothers are being left behind. They are invisible in official data – and their statistical invisibility only serves to leave them (and most probably their children) even further behind. The camp-based model of refugee hosting that the CRRF provides means that refugee adolescents are distant (geographically, socially, economically) from opportunities for self-reliance.

Our evidence demonstrates the need for very particular attention to be paid to the outcomes for refugee adolescent mothers; a combination of stigma and lack of dedicated services means that a pregnant and unmarried refugee girl is likely to experience significant negative impacts across her life course. These include – but are not limited to – poor psychosocial outcomes, higher poverty levels and lower education. There are also implications for her child or children (though this was not explored by our study). A recent Rwandan policy change on the provision of contraception to adolescents means that adolescent refugees being able to access effective contraceptive services could significantly reduce the number of unwanted and/or unplanned pregnancies. However, there are also established Rwandan policies and institutions that could be better used for and by refugees. For example, in 2015, the government established the technical and vocational education and training (TVET) policy; refugee adolescent mothers could potentially benefit from TVET for both educational and economic opportunities.

Our evidence and analyses highlight substantial disconnects between the legal, policy and cultural contexts. Under the Rwandan policy and legal framework, engaging in sexual activity with an adolescent under the age of 18 is a criminal offence (even if the sex is consensual between two adolescents). There are multiple consequences of this, including high rates of unsafe abortion (Basinga et al., 2012; Rulisa et al., 2015), lone motherhood and absent fatherhood (Coast et al., forthcoming). Even though many of the adolescent refugees we interviewed were born in Rwanda or spent most of their life in Rwanda, the cultural context of the DRC is one of child marriage. In DRC, the legal age of marriage is 18 years; however, in 2014, 13.8 per cent of Congolese women aged 25–49 years were married by age 15 (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning/Rwanda, Ministry of Health/Rwanda, and ICF International, 2015). The dissonance between Congolese norms around marriage and adolescent childbearing and the Rwandan legal and policy setting is stark, and adolescent childbearing by Congolese refugees in Rwanda brings this dissonance into sharp focus. Adolescent refugees – many of whom were born in Rwanda – experience a critical conjunction: the child marriage and childbearing norms of their own parents versus a

Rwandan social policy and legal system that does not (to a large extent) recognise or support adolescent childbearing, and makes marriage before age 21 illegal. This might, to some extent, explain the highly stigmatised nature of adolescent childbearing among the refugee population in Rwanda, reflected in the difficulties we experienced in recruiting adolescent mothers for this research.

The Comprehensive Sexuality Education curriculum developed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has recently been integrated into the Rwandan primary and secondary education curriculum, moving from knowledge-based to competence-based curriculum. This curriculum includes aspects on sexuality and how to avoid sexually transmitted illnesses as well as unwanted pregnancies by using condoms and other contraceptive methods. The adoption of this new curriculum has been accompanied by the establishment of 'youth corners' – a place for adolescents to access contraceptives confidentially in all health centres, including in refugee camps. Whilst at the time of our research, these youth corners had not been established in the camps, these spaces offer the opportunity for adolescent girls' sexual agency to be supported.

Taken together, these multiple intersecting contexts – legal, educational and cultural – pose a paradox. The education and service contexts mean that adolescent refugees are supposed to be educated about sexuality, and provided with contraceptive services, yet any sexual activity under the age of 18 is criminalised. When combined with the stigma of adolescent motherhood, adolescent refugee girls are highly vulnerable to the risks (physical and mental health risks, as well as economic and educational risks) and consequences of unplanned pregnancy. Our evidence shows that adolescent mothers do not exist in a capabilities deficit; they also show agency, in their maintenance of aspirations for a better future and active search for livelihood opportunities beyond the camp. However, this agency is constrained by a context that does not support their future aspirations for themselves and their children; the camp-based nature of Rwanda's CRRF serves to increase the structural barriers to livelihood self-reliance. This means that these ambitions of alternative livelihood opportunities may end in a return to a camp, and having to cope with the stigma of non-marital motherhood within their communities. More work is needed to explore how to deliver the support that is necessary for adolescent girls to reach their goals, whilst keeping in mind these structural constraints. Improving access to expanded TVET opportunities under current policy initiatives by the government, for example, would put emphasis on the need for better institutional support for the most vulnerable – rather than placing the blame for being 'left behind' upon girls and their communities.

Conclusion

Gendered norms have a profound impact on the lives of adolescent refugee girls who become mothers; evidence and analyses that ignore how gender, age, refugee status and motherhood intersect only serve to further stigmatise and render invisible this highly vulnerable group. A systematic review of sexual and reproductive

health knowledge, experiences and access to services among refugee, migrant and displaced girls and young women in Africa reiterated the dearth of evidence relating to these populations and strengthened calls for evidence that is disaggregated – at the very least – by age and sex (Ivanova et al., 2018). Our qualitative evidence shows that age and sex disaggregation alone is unlikely to achieve the aims of the leave no one behind agenda; refugee adolescent mothers continue to be left behind in their future trajectories, in camps and by laws and policies.

There are significant challenges, including the underfunding of UNHCR combined with growing demand for services for refugees. This resource-constrained context requires significant efforts to prevent adolescent refugees (and their children) being left behind. The Global Compact on Refugees acknowledges that refugees have more than immediate needs; adolescent refugees, and their children, need long-term solutions to dismantle the structural barriers to self-reliance. Prioritising integration as a durable solution for Congolese refugees in Rwanda is essential in the context of chronic volatility and ongoing political failures to maintain peace that continue to beleaguer the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Refugee adolescent mothers in Rwanda need social protection because of the impact of pregnancy on their family support networks. Despite a policy environment that ostensibly provides for pregnant adolescents to remain in school, stigma remains a significant barrier within Rwandan and Congolese communities alike. At the community level, investing in communications and messaging to support and include pregnant adolescents and adolescent mothers – rather than exclude them – could yield broad benefits for adolescent parents and their children by challenging this stigma. Educational opportunities (including vocational training) that accommodate their childcare needs could also start to dismantle this critical barrier to self-reliance. Moves by the Rwandan government to expand comprehensive sexuality education and broader efforts under the Global Compact to integrate Congolese adolescents into the Rwandan school system offer a route to support the agency of girls in navigating the social norms and economic challenges that constrain their capabilities during displacement.

Notes

1 GAGE consortium (2019) Gender and adolescence. *Why understanding adolescent capabilities, change strategies and contexts matters*. Second Edition. London: Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence. https://www.gage.odi.org/publication/gage-conceptual-framework-second-edition/

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7

'WHY SHOULD I STAY IN THE CLASSROOM?'

Drivers of school dropout among stateless Palestinian adolescents in Jordan

Jude Sajdi, Aida A. Essaid, Hala Abu Taleb and Majed Abu Azzam

Introduction

Jordan's Jerash refugee camp, also known as Gaza camp, was established in 1968 as an 'emergency camp' for Palestinian refugees who fled the Gaza Strip as a result of the 1967 Arab–Israeli war. In an area of 0.75 square kilometres (sq km), the camp is home to more than 29,000 stateless Palestinian refugees (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), 2019). Similar to other Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, Jerash camp is not closed or gated but is in an urban setting. While Palestinian refugee camps are connected to municipal services and refugees pay local taxes, they remain excluded from municipal development plans (Al Husseini and Bocco, 2009). Jerash camp is the poorest among the ten official camps for Palestinians in Jordan, with surveys in 2013 finding that 52.7 per cent of residents earn an income below the national poverty line and 88 per cent are not covered by health insurance (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013). Camp conditions are reported as 'stifling over crowdedness, a reeking sewage system, and substandard housing conditions' (Palestinian Return Centre, 2018: 20).

According to the 'leave no one behind' agenda and the intersectionality framework developed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Palestinian adolescents in Jerash camp are among the furthest behind due to intersecting factors including geography, socioeconomic status, discrimination and fragility (UNDP, 2018). Palestinian adolescents are caught in one of the most protracted crises in the world, 'a historic event which affected parents or grandparents, but is maintained as fact in the present through cultural identity, a fractured sense of belonging and a lack of full citizenship rights in Jordan' (Van Blerk and Shand, 2017: 16–17). Adolescents in Jerash camp are the third generation of stateless refugees in Jordan to live in poverty with no end in sight. Their statelessness fundamentally shapes the opportunities and choices available to them, and, in turn, the lack

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of opportunities further entrenches their inter-generational disadvantage. With limited access to university-level education and jobs, there is little to no incentive for stateless Palestinian adolescents to complete their secondary education and pursue university. Funding cuts threatening educational provision and the shifting focus of policy and programming to Syrian refugees have led Palestinian refugee adolescents to become the 'forgotten'. Evidence shows that access and completion of quality education contributes to the reduction of inter-generational poverty and inequality.

Drawing on findings from Gender and Adolescence (GAGE) baseline research in Jordan in 2018, this chapter explores the experiences of younger (10–12 years) and older (15–17 years) Palestinian refugees in Jerash camp, focusing on the key drivers of school dropout and how these intersect with capability domains, including voice and agency, bodily integrity and freedom from violence, and psychosocial wellbeing. The chapter argues that the Jordanian government and the international community must do more to improve access to and quality of education for refugee adolescents and increase the returns on investment in education, so that stateless Palestinian adolescents are not left even further behind.

Context

Legal status of Palestinian refugees in Jerash camp

International law defines a stateless person as someone 'who is not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its law' (United Nations, 1954). According to this definition, nationality becomes a type of legal bond through which rights and responsibilities are established between an individual and the state. Therefore, when an individual lacks nationality, this results in lack of protection by the state (Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion, 2014). Stateless people are generally denied their human rights and prevented from participating fully in society (UNHCR, 2014).

According to the Institute on Stateless and Inclusion (2014), UNHCR estimates that there are more than 10 million stateless persons globally; however, due to gaps in data collection by governments and civil society, the full breakdown of this statistic is unavailable. Many stateless people are also either not 'seen' or not counted as stateless, as UNHCR excludes persons who are both stateless and refugees from this statistic to avoid double counting. Stateless Palestinian refugees are one example. Due to their complex situation, there are different categories of Palestinian refugees: those who are under the mandate of United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) (residing in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank or Gaza Strip), those who are under the mandate of UNHCR (currently in a country that is not within UNRWA's operation) and those who are potentially under UNHCR's Statelessness protection mandate (who do not qualify under UNRWA or UNHCR's refugee mandate).

In Jordan, Palestinian refugees who possessed Palestinian nationality before 15 May 1948 obtained Jordanian nationality, as Article 3(2) of the Nationality Law

states that a Jordanian national is 'any person who, not being Jewish, possessed Palestinian nationality before 15 May 1948 and was a regular resident in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan between 20 December 1949 and 16 February 1954' (Government of Jordan, 1954). In the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, many Palestinians from Gaza sought refuge in Jordan; these refugees were not granted Jordanian nationality. Until today, they, their children and grandchildren remain stateless (Palestinian Return Centre, 2018).

Due to lack of citizenship, stateless Palestinian refugees in Jerash camp have very limited employment opportunities. They are restricted from working in several professions including law, engineering, pharmaceuticals, medicine, banking, tourism and journalism (Palestinian Return Centre, 2018). Most men in the camp do casual, low-paid work in the vocational or industrial sectors, lacking social security and safety requirements (ibid.). As a result, stateless Palestinian refugees are 'three times as likely to be amongst the very poorest and most destitute, living on less than 1.25 USD a day' (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013: 8).

Statelessness compounds the reasons that many Palestinian refugees drop out of school by the age of 15, with only 55 per cent progressing to secondary education (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013). A lack of citizenship means that many adolescent boys and girls also do not make it university-level education, for two main reasons: the fees payable by non-nationals are unaffordable for most families and most university-level jobs are inaccessible to refugees (Palestinian Return Centre, 2018). Other factors also impact access to education: school violence often drives boys out of school and into the labour market, while restricted mobility and child marriage drive girls out of school (Jones et al., 2019).

The role of UNRWA

In the aftermath of 1948, UNRWA was created with the mandate of providing direct relief and works programmes for Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank or Gaza Strip – in collaboration with governments. In the mid-1950s it began shifting from emergency assistance to more comprehensive support for social development, focusing on education, which became its largest programme. It is funded by voluntary contributions by UN member states. While initially set up as a temporary agency, its mandate has been renewed every three years for over 70 years (Bocco, 2010).

Since its establishment, UNRWA has benefited almost 4.7 million registered refugees, and until today it runs large operations including schools, vocational centres, primary healthcare facilities, women's centres, community rehabilitation centres and microfinance departments. Often labelled the 'blue state', the agency developed a quasi-state function 'constituting a parallel public service provider (to alleviate financial burden on host countries) and a "non-territorial administration" without coercive power' (Bocco, 2010: 234). In Jordan, UNRWA provides assistance, protection, health and education services to Palestinian refugees (both nationals and stateless). In Jerash camp, there is one healthcare centre providing primary healthcare

services. There are four UNRWA schools running on double shifts, and one running a single shift (UNRWA, 2019).

Policy shifts

In 2018, the United States of America (USA) decided to end all funding to UNRWA, resulting in cuts of $300 million per year (UNRWA, 2018). As UNRWA's largest donor – the USA funds almost 30 per cent of the agency's operations, amounting to $364 million in 2017 (BBC, 2018) – the funding cut was projected to threaten essential services, including education for 525,000 students, primary healthcare for 3 million people and food assistance for 1.7 million (UNRWA, 2018). Among those impacted are stateless Palestinians in Jerash camp who solely rely on UNRWA for all of these services. As a result, in 2020, UNRWA called for $1.4 billion to fund essential services and assistance to Palestinian refugees in the Middle East. It noted that Palestinian refugees 'continue to face a range of daunting human development and protection challenges' and that funding was vital for essential services and to contribute to 'the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the 2030 Agenda' (UNRWA, 2020). In response, 42 countries and organisations stepped forward to help UNRWA cover the budget deficit (Rezeg, 2019).

Alongside funding cuts, there has been very limited policy attention and programing for stateless Palestinians in Jordan over the past decade. This is largely because the international community, Jordanian government and civil society have shifted their attention to the Syrian crisis (another large-scale and protracted crisis) and the needs of many thousands of Syrian refugees who fled to Jordan. As of May 2020, there were 656,756 registered Syrian refugees in Jordan, of whom 81 per cent live in host communities and the remainder in three official camps (UNHCR, 2020). One example of policy efforts directed to Syrian refugees only is the Jordan Compact, signed in 2016 between Jordan and the European Union (EU). The Compact is an agreement whereby in return for grants and loans, Jordan commits to improving access to education and legal employment for Syrian refugees. The Compact offered a first significant effort to extend labour market access to refugees by opening up certain sectors and issuing work permits to eligible refugees (Gough and Huang, 2019). The international community and the EU have keenly supported the Compact because making the option of staying in Jordan attractive to Syrian refugees not only keeps the return to Syria an option but also offers an alternative to refugees continuing their migration to Europe (Lenner and Turner, 2019). Another example is the Jordan Response Plan (JRP) of 2015, which was an attempt to consolidate programming, funding mechanisms and operating systems. The JRP 2016–2018 and 2017–2019 frameworks were developed subsequently and in full partnership with donors, UN agencies and international organisations, outlining the unmet needs of Syrian refugees in Jordan (Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis/UN, 2016).

The international community has taken other steps to support Syrian refugees to stay in Jordan. The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP), for example,

is a framework to address the fundamental humanitarian and development needs of Syrian refugees in the region while at the same time trying to avoid further migration. Despite this, underfunding has also been reported, as UN agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are only receiving a portion of the funding they need for their operations (World Health Organization (WHO), 2020). As more recent critiques of the Jordan Compact have shown, the international community and donors have prioritised the economic wellbeing of Syrian refugees in Jordan while ignoring not only Palestinian refugees in the country but also all other non-Syrian refugees – including Iraqis, Sudanese and Yeminis. This lack of funding and advocacy by the international community and humanitarian agencies has further exacerbated the economic exclusion of non-Syrian refugees in Jordan (Betts and Collier, 2017; Lenner and Turner, 2019).

Furthermore, the political future of all Palestinian refugees was affected in January 2020, when the Trump administration released its Peace to Prosperity Plan (US Government, 2020), also known as the Deal of the Century. It stated that there shall be no right of return by Palestinian refugees into Israel and proposed three options for Palestinian refugees seeking a permanent place of residence: (1) being absorbed into the proposed state of Palestine, which constitutes the West Bank and Gaza; (2) being integrated into current host countries; or (3) being accepted into member countries of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. Following this proposition, UNRWA warned that the stability and protection of Palestinian refugees would be threatened by the Plan, especially as it comes at a time of financial instability and funding cuts (Schlein, 2020). The legal and economic status of Palestinian refugees in Jordan has been further complicated as their statelessness was always justified by their 'right to return', which – according to the 'Deal of the Century' – is no longer an option. This is yet to be determined though, as many political actors have rejected the Plan, including King Abdullah of Jordan, who even before it was launched had stated that he would 'never accept the settlement of [Palestinian] refugees in Jordan. . . and turning his kingdom into an alternative homeland for the Palestinians' (Al Sharif, 2020).

Palestinian adolescents in Jordan: research and data gaps

While a significant body of research is available on the experiences of Syrian refugees in Jordan, there are gaps in recent research available on Palestinian adolescent refugees, especially those living in Jerash camp, and the impact of stateless on their current experiences and future aspirations.

Education

UNRWA schools offer classes for Grades 1–10. Students who complete Grade 10 have to move to a public or private school to continue their education (Al-Aloul and Morris, 2010). For many refugees in Jordan, transition to secondary school is restricted due to gender norms that prioritise marriage for girls and earning family

income for boys. While there has been substantial investment in education by the Jordanian government, donors and NGOs, progress has not been uniform across different groups of refugees, and what progress has been made is at risk due to funding cuts (Jones et al., 2019).

Factors driving dropout rates among stateless adolescents in Jerash camp include restrictions on the types of work available to refugees as a result of lack of citizenship, which affects how adolescents plan their future. For many, staying in education beyond Grade 10 was not a worthwhile option, because of their inability to pursue jobs that require university-level education (Van Blerk and Shand, 2017). Other factors affecting Palestinian youth's access to secondary and university-level education include the limited availability of scholarship opportunities and the high level of competition over university spaces within the Gaza Palestinian quota – placing immense pressure on them and creating a sense of frustration (Al-hattab and Elnoaimi, 2019).

Research finds that Palestinian refugee girls are more likely to be married as children than their Jordanian peers (Presler-Marshall et al., 2017). A 2014 study by UNICEF found that 17.6 per cent of marriages to Palestinian refugees involved girls under the age of 18 (UNICEF, 2014). Tiltnes and Zhang (2013) found that Palestinian girls aged 15–19 living inside camps were twice as likely to be already married than their peers living outside camps. Poverty is reported to be one of the key drivers of child marriage among Palestinians (Presler-Marshall et al., 2017; Presler-Marshall, 2018). As for Palestinian adolescent boys, according to Jones et al. (2019), they are twice as likely to experience violence at school than girls, and this is a key factor driving boys out of school. As well as corporal punishment, peer violence is found to be severe in Jerash camp (ibid.).

An important innovation to promote non-formal education in Jerash camp is the Makani centre. Makani, meaning 'My Space' in Arabic, are child- and adolescent-friendly centres in which young people can access informal education and child protection among other services (Al-hattab and Elnoaimi, 2019). Makani centres have been successful in creating alternatives to formal schooling; they are also one of the few learning spaces that many Palestinian parents feel comfortable with their daughters attending. However, the capacity of each centre is limited, and there is just one Makani centre in Jerash camp.

As previously stated, since the onset of the Syrian crisis, the international community has shifted its attention from Palestinian to Syrian refugees, resulting in an imbalance in services provided to different groups of refugees. In 2011, the Jordanian government created a double-shift system in public schools to give registered Syrian refugee children free access. Since then, both the government and international community have made considerable efforts to increase access to education for Syrian refugee children (reflecting one of the main priorities of the Jordan Compact). Although Palestinian adolescents face similar challenges to Syrians in terms of access to and retention in education, Palestinian adolescents are at a greater disadvantage. Lack of investment in education and subsequent employment prospects for Palestinian adolescents has resulted in 'a collapsing pipeline of youth from

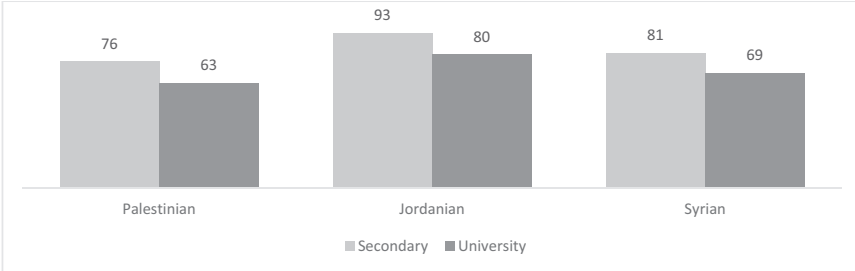

FIGURE 7.1 Percentage of adolescents who aspire to a level of education, by nationality.

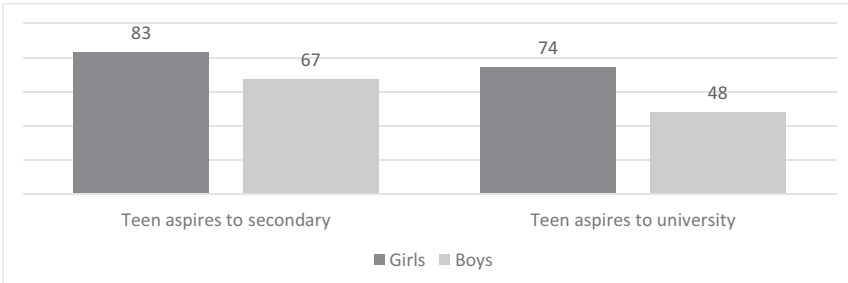

FIGURE 7.2 Percentage of Palestinian participants who aspire to a level of education, by sex and age.

the primary to the secondary, vocation and tertiary levels' (El-Ghali et al., 2019). It should be noted that even among the Jordanian host community – for example, in a middle-class suburban community such as Ain al-Basha – there was resentment towards the educational opportunities provided to Syrian refugees (specifically, support towards university fees) (Grawert, 2019).

Jones et al. (2019) find that Palestinian adolescents' educational aspirations lag behind those of both their Jordanian and Syrian peers (see Figure 7.1). Only 76 per cent of Palestinian adolescents in the study sample wished to attend secondary school, compared to 93 per cent of Jordanians and 81 per cent of Syrians. Furthermore, only 63 per cent of Palestinian adolescents wished to attend university, compared to 80 per cent of Jordanians and 69 per cent of Syrians.

Looking specifically at Palestinian boys and girls, Jones et al. (2019) also find that just over four-fifths of Palestinian girls would like to attend secondary school and approximately three-quarters would like to attend university. Palestinian boys, however, lag far behind not just Palestinian girls but also Syrian boys (ibid.). Only two-thirds of Palestinian boys want to attend secondary school and less than half want to attend university. While girls sometimes had high – if unrealistic –

aspirations for even university education, boys were less focused on schooling and more focused on potential employment. Older boys were very conscious of the fact that there is little point in dreaming, given the restrictions that shape the daily lives of stateless Palestinian refugees.

Conceptual framing

The conceptual framing for this chapter draws on the GAGE '3Cs': (1) adolescents' *capabilities*, exploring the individual and collective wellbeing of adolescents; (2) *change strategies*, investigating different strategies to maximise the impact of programmes targeting adolescents; and (3) *contexts*, exploring how adolescents' lives and experiences are shaped by context at the local, national and international levels (GAGE consortium, 2019).

Adolescents' capabilities are largely impacted by their local and national contexts as well as the opportunities available to them. There is a large body of evidence that shows the direct link between improving access/quality of education and reducing inter-generational poverty and inequality. Education contributes to many positive developments for young people: it equips them with knowledge and skills that increase their productivity and, in turn, makes them less vulnerable to risks; it makes them more resilient and prepares them to cope with risks they may encounter as they transition into adulthood; and it protects them from exploitation in the labour market (UNESCO, 2017). The context of Palestinian adolescent refugees living in Jerash camp is, however, unique. Research shows that statelessness creates overwhelming roadblocks for young people as they transition from childhood to adolescence and then to adulthood. One of the most commonly cited obstacles is the lack of jobs to match their potential, as a result of limited access to educational opportunities (UNHCR, 2014).

Methodology

This chapter draws findings from a larger mixed-method longitudinal study involving quantitative research with 4,000 adolescents and caregivers and qualitative research with 220 adolescents, caregivers and key informants in Amman, Mafraq, Jerash (Gaza camp), Irbid, Azraq and Zaatari camps. The research targeted the most vulnerable groups, including refugees, married girls and adolescents with disabilities. This chapter is based on qualitative analysis of 38 in-depth interviews (IDIs) and 6 focus group discussions (FGDs) conducted with younger (10–12 years) and older (15–17 years) Palestinian refugee adolescents in Jerash camp (including 10 adolescents with disabilities and 6 married/engaged girls). Data collection was undertaken by local researchers (men and women) in late 2018. Consent was sought from participants, and interviews and focus groups were conducted in Arabic, transcribed verbatim and translated to English. English transcripts were coded and analysed using MAXQDA software.

Findings

Education and learning

The research found substantial variation between the experiences of younger and older adolescent girls in relation to school and educational aspirations. Younger girls are more likely to be in school and are particularly appreciative of UNICEF's Makani and Qur'an learning centres. They have high aspirations that include going to university and pursuing a profession. Older girls, on the other hand, are less likely to be in school either due to poor academic performance or restrictive social norms that limit girls' mobility and gear them towards marriage by the age of 15 or 16.

Several older girls spoke about the limited agency that many of their peers have in relation to education or marriage. Such decisions are mostly made by fathers and, in some cases, brothers or extended family. In response to a vignette about a 15-year-old girl whose brothers want her to drop out of school, most participants felt that the girl's fate rests in her brothers' hands, as an older adolescent stated: 'I think it depends on her brothers. They might prevent her from completing her education. They might even prevent her from leaving the house.'

Of the six married/engaged girls who were interviewed, five were out of school at the time of the interview, and one engaged girl said she would have to drop out as soon as she got married. Most girls reported leaving school at around seventh grade (and two even earlier, at fifth and sixth grades), even before getting married. Reasons for dropping out of school included: a lack of interest in studying: 'I was not focusing on my study and I was not interested in it' (married adolescent girl, 18, IDI); overall poor quality of education and lack of supportive environment: 'the quality of education was so bad and my teachers were bad and then if I would like to continue my education, I could not enter the university because of the financial issues' (married adolescent girl, 16, IDI); and conservative social norms: 'in our family, the last grade is the seventh grade. . . . [T]hey did the same thing with me and my sister' (married adolescent girl, 18, IDI). Dropping out of school is not uncommon for older girls in Jerash camp, as one girl stated: 'I lost interest and I saw other girls doing it, so I did it because I was jealous.'

Two married girls expressed their regret at having left school early and compared their situation with their peers who are still in school; however, for them, going back to school is not a practical option, especially since they would be placed in lower grades with younger students: 'I feel guilty, when I dropped out of school, I took on more responsibilities. . . . When looking at my friends. . . they are studying. . . they are better' (married adolescent girl, 16, IDI). And a 15-year-old married girl (IDI) explained: 'I feel that it's not fair for a young girl to get married and have children, instead of continuing her education.'

While conservative social norms impact girls' ability to stay in school, school violence and child labour were found to be key drivers of school dropout for boys. Younger boys were more likely to be in school than older boys. Some older boys spoke about their poor learning experiences in school: 'The teacher does not help

me understand the lessons, so why should I stay in the classroom? We leave school to hang out' (older adolescent boy, FGD). Others spoke about violence experienced by many boys (older and younger) at school:

> Out of nowhere, he [teacher] starts hitting me, tells me to open both of my hands and hits me hard with a hose. . . . My dad came with me to school when that happened and asked the teacher why he did that, the teacher told him that it's for my own good.
>
> *(Younger boy, 12, IDI)*

> They do not treat us well and they hit us using the stick.
>
> *(Older boy, FGD)*

> You happen to be walking in the school yard holding a sandwich and a juice box, a student snatches your juice box and another snatches your sandwich.
>
> *(Older boy, FGD)*

In response to a vignette about an adolescent boy who has to drop out of school to support his family, many respondents agreed that this is a reality that many adolescent boys at the camp are faced with, as one older boy asked: 'Will one stay in school while his family dies of hunger?' Younger boys were also aware of their family's poverty and the camp's generally poor living conditions, which was a major source of concern for them.

As for adolescents with disabilities, the severity of their disability impacted their experiences in school. As schools in Jerash camp tend to be overcrowded, many teachers do not have the resources, means or experience to cater for adolescents with disabilities in their classrooms. Parents of adolescents with disabilities expressed how their children are neglected in school and how their peers are not taught to respect people with disabilities. As a result, adolescents with disabilities are often bullied and so do not learn much at school:

> At school they do not care about her and put her at the back of the class. . . I went and spoke to the teacher, but she said that there was a large number of students in class and the time does not allow me to take care of everyone and her condition is difficult.
>
> *(Mother of a younger girl with a hearing impairment, IDI)*

> There is no interest in the disabled in UNRWA schools. He is now in the tenth grade and does not know how to read from the book.
>
> *(Mother of an older boy with a hearing impairment, IDI)*

Younger and older adolescent girls and boys with disabilities spoke about their different experiences with informal learning centres; some said they learn more from these centres because the teachers help them on an individual basis and added

that they learn about a variety of issues that are not taught in school, as one older girl with a physical disability stated: 'I learned things I didn't know before. . . like violence and how to deal with it. . . what to do if I'm robbed, or beaten. . . how to deal with relationships.'

Both the factors that are driving adolescents out of school and the consequences of being out of school directly impact and are interlinked with other capability domains. As discussed earlier, gaps exist in our understanding of the experiences of adolescent boys and girls living in Jerash camp, especially in the three capability domains: voice and agency, bodily integrity and freedom from violence, and psychosocial wellbeing.

Voice and agency

Younger and older girls were both found to have limited mobility and agency even for issues other than school and marriage, and especially dress code. In addition to conservative social norms, parents limit girls' mobility as a way of protecting them from verbal and sexual harassment in the narrow streets of Jerash camp. According to younger girls, their parents make many decisions for them, including about friends and wearing the veil in the future. Older girls spoke about harassment faced by girls in the streets and in front of the school. One girl spoke about her decision to wear the *khimar* (face veil) because it made her feel safer and more comfortable as she walked down the street.

Adolescent boys enjoy much greater freedom of mobility than girls. Older boys are allowed to roam freely inside the camp and even outside it. Several older boys have access to mobile phones – with two boys stating that they bought the phones with money they had saved. Adolescent girls stated that boys are allowed to have phones while they are not and highlighted the gender differences in how parents treat their children. One older adolescent girl stated:

> Some parents say that it is okay for a boy to go out freely just because he is a male. But girls are not allowed to do the same because of their reputation. Girls are not allowed to act freely while the boys are allowed to do whatever they want. . . . They are given the maximum level of freedom possible.

Similar to older girls, married girls have very limited mobility and agency. Most need to gain their husband's permission in order to leave the house and/or visit family or friends. With no or limited access to technology, these girls have very limited access to social networks and support systems. They also cannot attend centres offering extracurricular activities. One older girl stated how she vents her frustrations at this: 'I hold my pillow and scream in it while crying, not screaming, only crying. I never let anyone hear me, I keep everything in my heart.' Another girl spoke about her love for nature, but her inability to go out and see it in person, seeing it only on television, but citing it as a coping mechanism: 'I feel relieved. I would forget about everything and feel at peace.'

While some girls are consulted by their parents about marriage decisions, others have very little say in when or whom they will marry. As a 16-year-old engaged girl explained:

> Until now I'm disagreeing about the proposal and don't want to get married. My parents don't acknowledge that I have an opinion and that I disagree with their opinion. They don't listen to me.

Girls spoke about the different traditions or social norms prevalent at the camp, including arranged marriages and marriages within families. One stated that young brides are desirable because 'they [older grooms] want to marry young girls, so that they could raise them however they like'. Some girls said that young brides are often uninformed about what a marriage entails, as one stated: 'it is a norm here that we don't tell anything to the girl before the night of the wedding party'. Another girl spoke about her experience of getting married at the age of 14 and how it was difficult for her to know what she was getting into:

> When I got married it was difficult for any girl at my age to know anything about alcohol and drugs. I did not know about them. He used to drink and use drugs in front of me and I did not figure out what was he doing.
>
> *(Older married girl, 16, IDI)*

As UNRWA schools inside the camp only run up to tenth grade, transitioning to other public schools outside the camp to complete Grades 11 and 12 becomes challenging to many adolescent girls given their limited agency in making decisions and restrictions on mobility.

Bodily integrity and freedom from violence

Younger boys spoke about school violence and experiencing corporal punishment if they misbehave, as one boy noted: 'they do not hit you unless you do something wrong. . . sometimes when you do something wrong they hit you on the hand.' Older and younger boys also experience bullying at school, with some feeling unsupported by teachers when it occurs:

> I'll be sitting on my own and they'll start calling me 'satellite' because of the shape of my ears. Every time I tell the teacher, he tells me to wait. After that, when I react, they kick me out of the class. Especially my English teacher, when I ask him to get an eraser to rewrite my answers, he asks me not to move. Then when he comes to correct our answers, he asks me why I didn't rewrite the right answers and I tell him that I asked for his permission to and he refused. . . . He gets the sticks and hits me as hard as he can.
>
> *(Younger boy, 12, IDI)*

Adolescent boys also reported experiencing or witnessing violence in the camp, including fights that sometimes escalate and even involve shooting.

For girls (younger and older), dropping out of school for marriage can threaten their bodily integrity. Two of the girls interviewed during the research (who had married between the ages of 14 and 17) spoke extensively about the abuse they experienced from their husbands.

The parents of young boys and girls with disabilities also spoke about the violence experienced by their children at school, though this seemed more apparent for boys:

> He used to come home crying, then I hit him to tell me what happened with him. They beat him and mock him in the school because he has a 'weak personality' and because of his disabilities.
>
> *(Mother of young adolescent boy with disability, IDI)*

> I saw once a teacher hitting a student, and the child can't hear, he doesn't understand that the child can't hear. If he understood, he wouldn't do it, there is no sympathy. . . . And once there was a teacher in his car, he gives a warning to a child to go on the side, but the child can't hear, he [the teacher] became angry, and I know the child well, but he shouted at him and tried to hit him, then I stopped him and told him what's wrong, this boy can't hear!
>
> *(Father of an older adolescent girl with a hearing impairment, IDI)*

Psychosocial wellbeing

Younger girls have close ties with their family, including parents, siblings, cousins and aunts. They also have connections with friends whom they play with at school. Many like to draw, read and play with their toys.

Older girls, on the other hand, have very limited psychosocial support. With limited mobility and restricted access to mobile phones and social media platforms, several girls reported feeling unable to talk about their experiences or feelings of distress. This seemed to be compounded for out-of-school girls, as one girl explained: 'They [out-of-school girls] are deprived from going out, having pocket money or having a phone. Our life is very boring. There is nothing to do. If you did not come, I would have gone to sleep after I finished working.' The same girl expressed her desire to leave the camp and her fear of getting married: 'I keep praying that no one comes to marry me.'

Younger boys have different experiences when it comes to social networks and access to support. While some are close to their parents, siblings and cousins and have many friends to play with in the neighbourhood and at school, others reported not being close to many of their peers or experiencing bullying by others.

While older boys had the highest degree of mobility in and around the camp, many were distressed about living conditions there and the poverty they experience daily. One adolescent boy mentioned a charity that helps families living in poverty:

'They give us money and this would help us in case the father is sick, for example. We may buy him medicine with this money.' Feelings of distress related to poverty are compounded when many adolescent boys have very limited prospects of continuing education and finding decent employment.

As mentioned earlier, due to very limited mobility and access to technology, married girls have limited access to social networks and psychosocial support. One explained that while she is close to her parents, she does not talk to them about her worries; instead, she said, 'I spend time on the roof looking to the sky and talking to God.' The main source of concern expressed by married or engaged girls was marriage, its consequences and the responsibilities that come with it. As one divorced girl said, 'All girls are scared of marriage', and another engaged girl asked, 'How are we going to get married soon, to have a child, how will I feed him, what if he shouts at me? I'm worried about a lot of things.' Their limited agency and mobility also means that married girls have little or no access to informal education centres.

As for the psychosocial wellbeing of adolescents with disabilities, this seems to vary according to disability and gender. Some younger girls cannot access Makani centres, for example, due to their location and inaccessibility. Girls' physical activity is also restricted due to their gender, as one younger adolescent said: 'they will allow me to continue [playing basketball] for two years only; this year and the next year.'

Older girls' mobility and activities are even more restricted and also highly controlled by their parents. Parents worry greatly about their older daughters and feel they are always in danger. Older girls drop out of school either because of disability or because parents are worried about their safety and, in many cases, think that the child does not benefit from school anyway: 'The girl is another world altogether. Kept in a state of constant concern in all respects. . . Even if she were with me, I keep worrying' (Father of an older girl with a disability, IDI).

Only two adolescents with disabilities were able to overcome challenges faced by their peers with and without disabilities and achieve success in education (see Box 7.1). For the remaining adolescents with disabilities who were interviewed, living in tight and restricted spaces impacts their ability to access the support they need, and it was clear that poverty was perpetuating their disadvantage. As a result, they are heavily reliant on their parents for all kinds of support.

BOX 7. 1 OUTLIERS

Interviews with two adolescents with disabilities highlighted the different ways they navigate the complex challenges they face.

One older boy with a visual disability had graduated from a school for the blind and finished his *Tawjihi* [high school] exams successfully and is planning to go to university to study English Literature. In school, he was introduced to Jujitsu; he fell in love with it and trained hard after school and started

competing professionally. He says, '[The sport] has strengthened my personality and my spirit. It gives me motivation, always. I gained the respect of others.' He had also participated in championships and won medals. He was not able to collect money to participate in a tournament in Japan, but he overcame many challenges and also worked with a friend to train 30 other visually impaired children on his own initiative.

The other interviewee is an older girl with a physical disability affecting her hand. She is in school and would like to be a fashion designer in future. She is given freedom to express her opinions and her wishes are considered important by her family. She enjoys several activities, including playing with her cat, doing sports, cooking with friends and crafting with recycled materials. She said, 'After the recycling and arts class, I became attentive to anything that can be recycled. . . . I learned its benefit, these things can be helpful and can reduce waste. When I do recycling, I feel accomplished.' She also does voluntary work, including cleaning the streets during Eid with her friends, and loves the feeling of belonging to the group. She advocates for other people with disabilities and feels that all people with disabilities should be better supported in their communities and should have access to education, as they are often isolated, but should be able to feel hopeful and equal. She acknowledges gender discrimination and criticises it: 'A boy's life is always different, they can be late (past sunset), but girls are not allowed to be out. They play in clubs, they go out to cafes, but girls very rarely go. . . . Plenty of freedom for boys, Yes, plenty. The society is biased.'

Discussion

The data analysed here shows that adolescent refugees living in Jerash camp are at high risk of dropping out of school, particularly at secondary level – with older adolescents at greater risk. The reasons vary: boys are driven out by peer and corporal violence and the need to earn money to support their families, while girls tend to drop out as a result of conservative social norms (which encourage child marriage), lack of a supportive learning environment and protection concerns. These factors that push boys into child labour and girls into child marriage affect their ability to develop their full capabilities for voice and agency, bodily integrity and psychosocial wellbeing.

As discussed earlier, the overall status of stateless Palestinian refugees within the Jordanian context strongly shapes how parents and adolescents see their future and how they value education. Restrictions on working in university-level professions, coupled with the high cost of 'foreign fees' charged by universities, makes university education not only unattainable for Palestinian refugee adolescents but often undesirable as well. As a result, they remain trapped in a cycle of inter-generational poverty and inequality. While camp residents have endured poverty for several

decades, the recent economic challenges have worsened the situation, forcing Palestinian adolescents and their families to make decisions based primarily on financial need. Unfortunately, the return on investment on education is not sufficient to motivate them to consider continuation of education a priority.

The GAGE conceptual framework shows that adolescents' overall wellbeing is greatly impacted by their context, capabilities and the change strategies available to them. It shows that quality education can be a key factor in empowering young people – by equipping them with knowledge and skills that increase their productivity, preparing them to cope with risks and making them more resilient and protecting them from exploitation in the labour market. However, quality education without any real prospects of decent and fair employment may not result in actual positive change. Statelessness, and its impact on access to employment, is one of the major roadblocks facing adolescents in Jerash camp. Furthermore, while access to quality education is linked to the reduction of poverty and inequality, the research shows that it is directly linked to other capability domains such as voice and agency, bodily integrity and freedom from violence, and psychosocial wellbeing. Married girls and adolescents with disabilities face compounded risks. The interviews show that the agency, bodily integrity and psychosocial wellbeing of married girls are at very high risk, and many are vulnerable to intimate partner violence with no access to support. Adolescents with disabilities in Jerash camp are also marginalised and isolated, mainly due to inaccessibility and discrimination.

Changes in the political context surrounding Palestinian refugees in Jordan in general, and stateless Palestinian refugees in Jerash camp in particular, have augmented their vulnerability and pushed them even further behind. This underlines the need for more attention to be paid within initiatives such as the Global Compact for Refugees, which emphasizes the need for durable solutions to global mass displacement, as to the issue of statelessness and its implications for future generations. While the Agenda for Sustainable Development (2030 Agenda) recognises the importance of meeting the needs of refugees and internally displaced people, it also does not explicitly refer to stateless persons. Nonetheless, UNHCR states that as the overarching aim of the 2030 Agenda is to leave no one behind, it is important that this applies to those who are experiencing disadvantage for not being recognised as citizens of any country (UNHCR, 2017).

However, because Palestinian refugees are not considered a threat in terms of leaving Jordan and migrating elsewhere, the international community has not prioritised their economic inclusion with the Jordanian government, as has been seen in the scale of funding for initiatives targeting Syrian refugees. Indeed, as attention has shifted to the Syrian crisis and displaced Syrian refugees all around the world, stateless Palestinian refugees in Jordan are being left further behind, as funding cuts to UNRWA threaten the most essential services. In fact, when foreign aid is given to the Jordanian government by the international community to ease the restrictions on Syrians joining the labour force, non-Syrian refugees are excluded from negotiation topics.

While all non-Syrian refugees in Jordan have been excluded from the recent agendas of the international community in their negotiations with the Jordanian government, others (such as Iraqi refugees) were more recently deemed a priority; whereas stateless Palestinian refugees have been sidelined for many years, and their needs largely overlooked. Furthermore, and unlike other refugee nationalities who receive support from several UN agencies, Palestinians receive support from one UN agency only. And as noted, with UNRWA facing increasing financial pressures due to drastic funding cuts, its services for adolescents (including education, health and protection) are under threat. Unless this situation changes, adolescent girls and boys are likely to remain trapped – boys in a cycle of prolonged adolescence (as mentioned in previous research), unable to find decent employment, get married or start a family; and girls in a cycle of limited agency and increased vulnerability to gender-based violence as they get pushed into early and, in many cases, harmful marriages.

Conclusion and recommendations

The combination of stateless Palestinian adolescents' legal status (which is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future), their lack of prioritisation by the international community (and hence lack of foreign assistance for Palestinian refugees in Jordan) and drastic cuts to their only source of support and education (UNRWA) means that the future for Palestinian refugee adolescents in Jerash camp risks worsening in terms of educational and economic opportunities. In order to ensure that stateless Palestinian adolescents are not left even further behind, our findings suggest that a number of actions must therefore be prioritised by the Jordanian government, international community and the United Nations.

First, funding to UNRWA programming must be scaled up to ensure that vital services (including education, healthcare and social protection) are provided to adolescents and their families. Also, since many Palestinian refugees work in UNRWA agencies, threats to such services will further impact the livelihoods of many refugee families.

Second, funding by the international community and donors as well as any policy reform must apply to all refugees equally. Just as the Jordanian government ensured that Jordanians will not be left behind by adopting a policy that all foreign funding to Syrian refugees must allocate a minimum of 30 per cent towards vulnerable Jordanians, a refugee act or policy should be enacted to ensure that all aid supports all refugees and not just one group or nationality of refugees living in Jordan.

Third, the Jordanian government needs to open up university-level employment opportunities to stateless Palestinian refugees as well as to increase the number of scholarships available for them to ensure that these young people do not remain in a state of prolonged poverty and disadvantage. Only then will secondary and university education become more attainable and desirable.

Fourth, investment must be made in improving the learning environment in UNRWA and public schools. This includes training teachers on safe and acceptable teaching and disciplinary methods to reduce violence and bullying, which are key factors driving boys out of school. A safer and better learning environment will contribute to higher learning outcomes as well.

Fifth, and in relation to adolescents with disabilities, the Higher Council for the Rights of Persons with Disability must advocate for implementation of the Disability Law of 2017 to ensure that adolescents with disabilities, including young Palestinian refugees with disabilities, are not left even further behind.

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8

NO ONE SHOULD ACCEPT A MISERABLE LIFE LIKE THAT!'

Exploring the drivers of and entrypoints for reducing violence against adolescent refugees in Gaza

Bassam Abu Hamad

Introduction

While violence affects all communities around the world, certain contexts and categories of people are at greater risk than others (World Health Organization (WHO), 2002). The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) defines violence as 'all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse' (UNICEF, 2017). Adolescence is a unique developmental life stage during which young people – especially in conflict-affected areas – are at heightened risk of violence and victimisation. In congruence with the UNICEF definition of violence, the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) research programme includes bodily integrity as one of six key capability domains, focusing on adolescents' freedom from violence and protection from gender-based violence (GBV), including child marriage, harmful traditional practices and other forms of coercion (GAGE consortium, 2019). Violence can harm adolescents in the short and long term and can result in injury, death, psychosocial harm, maldevelopment and deprivation across the life course (WHO, 2013). In conflict-affected contexts, in particular, adolescent boys and girls are at greater risk of exposure to various forms of violence, including conflict-related violence, domestic violence, physical and psychological violence, and sexual violence (Samuels et al., 2018).

While none of the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) targets or indicators explicitly addressed violence, their successors, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), do incorporate targets on violence (Butchart, 2020). There are at least four SDG targets[1] related to violence and seven SDGs with targets that address risk factors for violence.[2] However, despite the international commitment to achieving the SDGs by 2030, the prevailing political and economic context in Palestine is not conducive to realising these global commitments.

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Driven by the politics of the Israeli occupation and concerns about its implications for the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the available literature on violence in Palestine mainly focuses on political violence and on men and older male adolescents; girls are largely 'invisible' (Thabet et al., 2004) and almost absent from policy frameworks. In Gaza, adolescents, especially girls, are typically subsumed into the categories of children or youth, and their challenges and needs are lumped together with those of their families, siblings or mothers. Adolescents (particularly girls) are largely perceived as passive recipients of aid and rarely included in research or programming, most of which adopts a top-down approach (Tefferi, 2010), which further increases their marginalisation. This chapter addresses the challenges and opportunities facing Palestinian adolescent stateless refugees in preserving their bodily integrity in Gaza, a context characterised by long-term political turbulence, strict conservative norms, economic collapse and over-reliance on short-term humanitarian aid (Samuels et al., 2018).

While the Global Compact on Refugees (UNHCR, 2019) does not explicitly tackle violence, it could contribute to the violence prevention agenda, such as initiatives around safe return for displaced persons, peacebuilding, and relief and welfare programmes for refugees. The SDGs also provide a potentially powerful violence prevention agenda by addressing risk factors for violence such as social protection and poverty reduction, ending discrimination against girls and women, promoting early childhood development, and reinforcing the rule of law and justice for all. Although international commitments to ending violence are gaining traction, there is still a limited understanding of how best to achieve this in practice in stateless, protracted conflict-affected contexts like Gaza, in which adolescents face multifaceted challenges that constrain their development trajectories.

This chapter explores types and risk factors of violence among different groups of adolescents (girls, boys, younger, older) at different levels (individual, household, community) and the availability of services (including service providers' attitudes and behaviours towards adolescents). Additionally, we discuss how humanitarian programmes can be adapted to address the longer-term impacts of displacement that go beyond urgent basic needs. We aim to contribute to the debate about how formal and informal support can be more effective in preventing or ending violence, including providing insights into the role of development actors in protecting adolescents' bodily integrity.

Context

Gaza is a narrow strip of land (45 kilometres long) between Israel, Egypt and the Mediterranean Sea, home to around 2 million people, making it one of the world's most densely populated areas (see Table 8.1). Once a thriving centre of culture, economy, education and tourism, over the past 75 years, Gaza has witnessed a cycle of military incursions by Israel and violent uprisings (intifadas) by Palestinians. The never-ending battle for statehood, exacerbated by the Israeli blockade, and the struggle for subsistence are thus the main preoccupations of Gaza's inhabitants, 66

per cent of whom are refugees (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), 2018). Most were forcibly displaced from their original villages and cities following the Arab–Israeli conflict of 1948. The State of Palestine is regarded as a Non-member Observer State at the United Nations (UN).

Expropriation of land has created a condition of dispossession that has further compromised Palestinians' abilities to withstand the deliberate de-development strategy pursued by Israel, through punitive economic and military policies. Israel still has overall sovereignty of Gaza, controlling its borders, economy, movement of goods and people, electricity, communications and security – the key aspects of Palestinians' lives. In Gaza, nearly 42 per cent of refugees live in one of eight camps operated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) (PCBS, 2018). A combination of national, social, legal, economic and political factors explain the persistence of the refugee camps after more than seven decades.

Since 1948, the Palestinian people have experienced many clashes with Israel, including three recent consecutive wars on Gaza (2008/2009, 2012 and 2014) and multiple confrontations between Israeli forces and Palestinian fighters. These conflicts have all contributed to loss of life, land and livelihoods, driving further displacement. This has weakened social networks, increased incidence of psychological and emotional difficulties, and exacerbated poor housing and sanitation. It has also led to high poverty levels (more than 60 per cent of Gazans are poor or extremely poor) and high unemployment rates (around 70 per cent among youth and women). According to the World Bank, the war in 2014 alone resulted in the destruction of 160,000 homes, displacing more than 500,000 Gazan residents (World Bank, 2015). The UN has predicted that Gaza may be uninhabitable by 2020. It has described the situation as a 'protracted human dignity crisis' and considers it as a 'collective punishment' in clear violation of international humanitarian law (UN, 2017).

Adolescents in Gaza are regularly confronted with violent experiences as a result of the ongoing conflict, including physical injury and even death, but no specific data on this discrete age category is available. A report from the Ministry of Health (2020) indicates that over the past six years, more than 700 children and 500 women were killed and around 17,000 were injured or left permanently disabled.

Internecine violence between Hamas and Fatah in 2006 and 2007, and the subsequent takeover of Gaza by Hamas, has resulted in imposing the blockade and international sanctions on Gaza since 2007 till now, which have further contributed to vulnerabilities of the population. Hamas's dominant Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC), the legislature of the Palestinian inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, has been unable to meet officially since 2007. This has affected policy and law-making processes. Palestine's legal framework is not only outdated but also highly unequal from an age and gender perspective. Of 140 laws issued by Presidential Decree (because of the paralysis of the PLC) between 2007 and 2015, only 2 per cent were related to women's rights. None had a clear impact in addressing violence and discrimination against women and girls (Human Rights Council, 2017).

Table 8.1 shows the key demographic characteristics of Gaza.

TABLE 8.1 Key demographic characteristics of Gaza

Variable	*Value*	*Variable*	*Value*
Total population	2 million	Population density	5,500 per sq km
Average household size	5.7	Total fertility rate per woman	4 children
Adolescent proportion	22%	Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita	$1,000
Adolescent fertility rate	66 per 1,000	Women's participation in workforce	19
Population density in camps	50,000	Adult literacy rate	96.4%
Proportion of population who are refugees	66%	Youth bulge	30%
Poverty rate	60%	Relying on food assistance	80%
Unemployment rate	50%	Receiving social assistance from Ministry of Social Development	75,000
Food insecurity	55%	Receiving assistance from UNRWA	22,000
Females' median age of marriage	19 years	Desire to migrate among youth	37%
Proportion of population with a disability	8%	Municipality water suitable for drinking	3%

Sources: PCBS, 2015; PCBS, 2019a; UNICEF, 2014a; World Bank, 2019.

Literature review

Although the right of all girls and boys to protection from all forms of violence has been enshrined in international human rights treaties, particularly the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), violence perpetrated against children remains widespread, especially in conflict-affected areas (UNICEF, 2017). Abuse has serious physical, mental, social and economic consequences in the short and long term (UNICEF, 2014b), which can result in maldevelopment and deprivation across the life course, making adolescents who experience violence more likely to be left behind. A meta-analysis study in 2016 estimated that more than three-quarters of the world's children had experienced moderate or severe physical, sexual and/or emotional abuse during the past year (UNICEF, 2017). There is a dearth of evidence about domestic violence and violence originating from cultural norms among older adolescents (15–19 years), especially in relation to gendered practices, as older adolescents are not usually included in Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) (UNICEF, 2014b). Therefore, the evidence based on prevalence, risk factors, experiences of older adolescents (particularly girls) and those living in conflict-affected areas remains very limited (UNICEF, 2018).

With regard to types of violence, UNICEF estimates that globally, 60 per cent of children (up to 14 years) have experienced regular physical punishment by caregivers (UNICEF, 2014b), 70 per cent have experienced psychological aggression in the past month and 10 per cent of girls have experienced sexual violence. Despite under-reporting, evidence suggests that nearly one-third (29 per cent) of females have experienced physical and/or sexual violence perpetrated by their partner (WHO, 2013). Evidence shows that between 20 per cent and 50 per cent of girls and boys experienced different kinds of violence in and around schools in the past year (UNESCO, 2017).

Violence in conflict-affected contexts

In contexts characterised by protracted conflict and displacement, adolescent boys and girls are more vulnerable to abuse, exploitation, violence and harmful practices such as child marriage (Women's Refugee Commission, 2016). They face distinct and overlapping risks and vulnerabilities, though they are largely not prioritised for support. Research about violence other than political and sexual violence associated with armed conflict is limited. However, a GAGE survey with adolescents in Jordan (predominantly refugees) shows that 49 per cent had experienced violence at home (Jones et al., 2019). The same source indicates that nearly 58 per cent of adolescent boys (compared to 25 per cent of girls) reported having experienced corporal punishment at school, and there are also high levels of peer violence (46 per cent for boys, 38 per cent for girls). Adolescents in conflict and stateless situations may also be directly exposed to political or other violence, even witnessing their parents being abused and/or abducted (Samuels et al., 2018).

In 2011, a PCBS violence survey indicated that 95 per cent of households in Gaza reported ever being directly exposed to political violence from the Israeli occupation and 64 per cent of households were exposed to economic violence (PCBS, 2011); data on adolescents' experiences of violence is not available. In 2014, during the acute stage of Israeli military operations, 28 per cent of the population were internally displaced, staying in UNRWA schools designated as emergency shelters (Samuels et al., 2018). At these centres, girls, in particular, were exposed to different kinds of violence, in addition to overcrowding, lack of privacy, inadequate sanitation and hygiene, insufficient access to water and lack of electricity, as well as further bombardments by Israel.

Violence takes different forms in Gaza

The PCBS's most recent survey on violence (2019b) shows that more than one-third of married women had experienced violence by their husband in the past year, and the prevalence of violence against non-married youth by household members was even higher. There is no data specifically about adolescents' experiences, but the PCBS MICS study (2015) reveals that Gazan parents almost universally use corporal punishment against their children. Although boys more commonly experience

physical abuse, girls either experience or witness physical and psychological aggression that creates expectations about their own prospects as adult women. The use of corporal discipline was more common among the poorest quintile, camp residents, parents with lower education and male respondents (PCBS, 2015). As they become older, adolescents' exposure to violence decreases, though still more than half (56 per cent) of adolescents aged 12–17 had experienced violence from caregivers in the past year (PCBS, 2019b). The same survey shows that nearly half of boys aged 12–17 and 17 per cent of girls the same age reported experiencing some form of violence at school.

Conceptual framing

Exploring the lived experiences of vulnerable, stateless adolescents and telling their untold stories is vital if the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development's call to leave no one behind is to be realised (UNDP, 2018). This chapter focuses on bodily integrity and the age- and gender-related vulnerabilities of adolescents in the context of a political turbulence. It recognises the need to avoid depoliticising adolescent agency and better connect the contextualised knowledge and personal experiences of younger people to broader processes of social (in)justice or inequalities' (Cahill and Hart, 2006; Ansell, 2009).

This research, part of the GAGE longitudinal study, uses the '3 Cs' conceptual framework – capabilities, contexts and change strategies – to explore what works to support adolescents in developing their capabilities across six key domains, of which bodily integrity and freedom from violence is one (GAGE consortium, 2019). GAGE's focus on capabilities draws on Amartya Sen's work (1984, 2004) and reflects commitments to a holistic understanding of young people's rights and the need for investment across all areas of their lives, as enshrined in the UNCRC. Sen's capabilities approach proposes that in order to achieve and do things that they value, individuals need assets such as knowledge, skills, bodily autonomy and voice, among others (Sen, 2004).

By focusing on under-researched and stateless vulnerable Palestinian adolescents, who face multiple and interlinked vulnerabilities, the research contributes to a better understanding of how to protect this at-risk group from violence, which manifests in multiple ways as a result of structural injustice that cascades down from the occupier to the community institutions and families. Being a stateless refugee, displaced, living in a war-like context for much of their young life, can make young people particularly vulnerable to violence and related deprivations, which also intersect with and reinforce other vulnerabilities such as psychosocial and health risks throughout the life course (UNICEF, 2018; GAGE consortium, 2019).

GAGE's approach uses an ecological model to understand adolescents' vulnerabilities, taking account of the culturally and socially constructed micro- and macro-level factors that interact to shape adolescents' experiences. The conceptual framework emphasises the role of context in shaping the opportunities for and threats to young people to scale up their capabilities. In line with an anthropological

approach, context includes not only the individual-level factors and relationships in which young people are embedded at the household or family level but also the community-level factors that help shape social norms around gender and age, and the larger political and economic environmental factors that underpin drivers and responses to violence.

We use an ecological frame to conceptualise violence, exploring risks at the macro, meso and micro levels facing Palestinian stateless adolescent refugees in preserving their bodily integrity. Macro-level risk factors include long-term statelessness, displacement, political turbulence, ongoing conflict, economic collapse, de-development and militarisation. Meso-level factors include strict conservative social norms, cultural norms around parenting practices, age and gender hierarchies, lack of age- and gender-sensitive legislation, outdated legal frameworks, lack of social protection services, discriminatory laws and an inaccessible justice system. Micro-level risk factors include household poverty, harsh parenting practices, household stress and conflict and the generalised acceptability of violence and discrimination (UNICEF, 2016).

Finally, the GAGE conceptual framework attends to change strategies – the policies and programming needed to support adolescents' bodily integrity, which must account for the contextual realities of their lives and the prevailing risk factors. This underlines the importance of connecting the experiences and voices of adolescents to concrete recommendations about what actions can be taken to address the intersecting vulnerabilities highlighted.

Methodology

This chapter draws on participatory mixed-methods research conducted in Gaza in 2017. We carried out a service-mapping exercise with 70 service providers (based on key informant interviews) and 107 adolescents (using an interactive, tablet-based QuickTapSurvey™ module), complemented by qualitative research with adolescents, their peers and families. This included 12 focus group discussions (FGDs) using vignettes, object-based interviews and social network mapping, as well as 35 in-depth interviews (IDIs) (see Jones et al., 2017). We also drew on findings from our 2016 participatory action research project in Khanyounis, Gaza, involving 35 adolescents aged 15–19, who undertook research that included peer interviews, participatory photography and videography. We conducted secondary analysis of the relevant national datasets, especially data collected by PCBS.

We used purposive sampling to ensure a good mix of participants from different socioeconomic backgrounds, including in-school and school dropouts, adolescent mothers, adolescents directly affected by the conflict, orphans, child brides, those engaging in child labour, divorced or separated adolescents and adolescents with disabilities. Research was conducted in three diverse localities: Jabalia refugee camp, Shajaia and Khanyounis.

Data analysis

After translation, all interview transcripts were thematically coded and analysed. To facilitate the coding process, in-depth debriefings were held to discuss emerging findings and key themes. Subsequently, the transcripts were coded using MAXQDA 12 software; findings were first aggregated by instrument, then collectively across all instruments.

Key findings and analysis

Magnitude of violence and its risk factors

Our findings indicate that Gaza is a hostile environment for adolescents in general, and particularly for girls. Adolescents face compounded and interlinked vulnerabilities that trigger their exposure to different types of violence. Adolescents' exposure to violence in Gaza is very much driven by the long-term political turbulence, the protracted Israeli occupation and blockade, military attacks, lack of physical safety, lack of safe places or shelters, displacement, destruction of livelihood assets and Palestinian political divisions. A 14-year-old girl in Jabalia camp, whose father died in 2014 (during the war), said during an in-depth interview:

> Two things worry me: the night and the war. I worry about everyone in my family, I don't want them to leave the house. I like to sleep before everyone, I hate staying at night alone.

Our findings show that adolescents are overwhelmed by their exposure to violent experiences. Fear of further outbreaks of fighting or war were reported as key threats, especially among those who had witnessed earlier periods of consecutive hostilities. One younger girl in an FGD in Jabalia camp described her fears:

> Since the last conflict in Gaza, I scream when I hear bombing. I feel frightened to go to the toilet alone. Also, if my family members leave me alone, I start screaming.

A 15-year-old girl with a disability from Shajaia, who evacuated her house with her family during the war, ranked war as her biggest fear: 'When war occurs, no one knows what will happen.' Older adolescent boys were less explicit in expressing their fears but mentioned insecurity as a threat to all citizens. Adolescents who suffered physical injuries during previous wars could not name any other worry, indicating the psychological as well as physical scars they bear. A 19-year-old girl with a disability, in Jabalia camp, said:

> My hand was hit in the last conflict when I was playing with the other kids and the Israelis bombed our neighbour's house. A big stone fell on my hand

> and it was broken. I have never received any psychological support after what happened.

During the acute stage of military operations, many adolescents and their families (28 per cent of the entire population in the 2014 operation) were internally displaced, staying in UNRWA schools designated as emergency shelters. At these centres, girls in particular were exposed to different kinds of violence, compounding other problems such as overcrowding, lack of privacy, inadequate sanitation and hygiene, insufficient access to water and lack of electricity (see Box 8.1).

BOX 8.1 VIOLENCE EXPERIENCED BY GIRLS IN TEMPORARY SHELTERS

In a focus group discussion, older girls from Shajaia who lost their homes due to the Israeli bombardment in 2014 described their experiences during and after the war:

> We spent a whole year in the UNRWA school. . . . It was a tough time and was hard to go to the bathroom freely, the place was very crowded, very dirty, and a total lack of privacy. Our families prevented us from going alone to the bathroom at night because the school was full of men. They were afraid that any of us would be raped, which already happened in one of the shelters. . . . Three male relatives accompanied us for protection.
>
> Once I had my period at night when everyone was asleep. [There was] no one to come with me to the toilet so I had to ask my sister to hold a blanket to give me some privacy to put in a pad till the morning.
>
> We faced a lot of difficulties every time we need to have a bath in the shelter. We did not use the bathroom. We bathed in the same room we used to sleep in after we asked all the families who shared the room to leave. Sometimes there were two or four families sharing the same room and all of them had to get out if any of us needed a bath.

Source: Participant in focus group discussion with older girls, Shajaia.

Our findings confirm that adolescents have not been protected from the effects of the ongoing conflict, and their parents have focused on ensuring their survival, ignoring other needs. Another consequence of the political violence is that many adolescents have assumed new (adult) responsibilities, in cases where the family breadwinner has died suddenly. In 2014, a new category of household emerged in Gaza – child-headed households (Abu Hamad et al., 2015).

During the FGDs and IDIs, when adolescents were asked about being directly exposed to violence, all reported experiencing different types of violence within their household, neighbourhood, school and community. Most mentioned physical, verbal and political violence perpetrated by fathers, uncles, teachers and by Israeli forces; they also mentioned fights between siblings. In a focus group discussion, a 15-year-old boy said: 'Our house is full of hate; it is extremely difficult.' The protracted nature of the conflict, with no end in sight, led adolescents to feel frustrated and anxious about their current and future situation, with one girl in an FGD in Jabalia camp commenting: 'I don't think there will be a future for us. I am desperate about the whole life. I want to commit suicide – it's better than this life.'

It is important to note that interpersonal violence is mediated by poverty, unemployment and economic hardship resulting from Israeli de-development policies – which can manifest in adolescents' exposure to domestic violence. Fathers sometimes push their children to work in dangerous jobs and push girls to marry as children (Pereznieto et al., 2014; Abu Hamad et al., 2014). A 17-year-old girl in Shajaia summed up adolescents' life experience in Gaza by stating:

> Our situation is tough and making life very challenging for everyone in the Gaza Strip, no one cares about our basic livelihood needs.

Exacerbated by the blockade and ongoing conflict, studies show that conservative discriminatory norms create additional problems for girls, including child marriage, restrictions on their movement, overprotection, pressures linked to 'family honour' and sexual harassment (Samuels et al., 2017). Whilst these measures are undertaken by families with the aim of keeping girls safe in the volatile environment described by young people previously, they are often experienced as restrictive and frustrating by girls who wish to be able to participate in their communities and exercise agency over their mobility. Moreover, strict age hierarchies leave little room for younger generations to participate in family decisions (PCBS, 2016). Some girls reported having to stay at home in preparation for marriage or for other reasons decided by their fathers. As one older girl from Jabalia said: 'They sacrifice their daughters' mental health only because they worry about people gossiping.' Sexual harassment worries girls even if they have not experienced it directly. Stories they hear influence them in different ways (Abu Hamad et al., 2017).

Our findings also suggest that violence in Gaza is gendered. Boys are more exposed to physical violence from the ongoing conflict as well as at household, school and community levels, and at greater risk of child labour, while girls (especially older girls) are more exposed to psychological violence due to severe restrictions on their movement and socialising, for fears that include girls' jeopardising family honour, but are also linked to concerns about their safety given insecurity in the wider community.

Which adolescents are at greater risk of violence?

Some groups of adolescents are at greater risk of violence, including those from poor families, adolescents who lost a family member (especially the breadwinner) and/or their homes and livelihood resources as a result of the conflict, those living in areas with strict conservative norms and those in marginalised or border areas. Other groups include adolescents with disabilities (especially older girls), adolescents with limited education, boys who dropped out of school and are working and girls who dropped out of school and are homebound. Those at greatest risk include orphaned children, early-married adolescents and adolescent mothers, divorced adolescents and adolescents living in extended families.

Domestic violence

During our qualitative research, many of the adolescents we interviewed in Gaza reflected on the strong influence their parents have on their lives. Whilst many adolescents felt that their parents were supportive, others expressed that they were subject to restrictive measures. Almost all reported experiencing verbal and physical violence by a household member, particularly fathers. One girl expressed her confusion at the dissonance between her father's concerns to protect her and his use of corporal discipline:

> I cannot understand my father, while he always says that I am his dear and I am 'redline' [untouchable] so no one can hurt me, he himself beats me.

Others reported maltreatment of and by siblings, as a younger girl in Shajaia noted:

> My younger sibling treats me badly. My mother hits him.

Adolescent girls expressed being affected by witnessing violence against their mothers. During an IDI, one participant said:

> I watch my father beating my mother. I feel helpless and worthless.

Boys believe they are more often subjected to violence than girls, with one noting, 'Girls are dearer to parents.' While girls are more likely to experience verbal than physical violence, a 12-year-old girl in Shajaia said: 'Verbal violence and discrimination also result in psychological stress'. Adolescents' exposure to domestic violence is further complicated by their exposure to violence in public places, as explained in the subsequent section about violence at school. A 16-year-old boy who dropped out of school said:

> I decided to stop schooling, I was frequently beaten whenever I make wrong answers. One day I was fed up and decided to stop. A few days later, my father

> got to know about it and beat me badly to return to school. I was beaten anyway so I ignored him.

Older girls who had permanently dropped out of school suffered more than their peers in school, as one commented:

> Those at schools are much better. We are more deprived, isolated and do a lot of housekeeping.

Box 8.2 illustrates the vulnerabilities facing girls who have dropped out of school.

BOX 8.2 MULTILAYERED VIOLENCE

'I am Wafa, an 18-year-old girl, from Khanyounis. I live with my extended family in a very large house with only two rooms!'

The house is overcrowded and unhealthy. Forced to leave school after eighth grade to look after her younger siblings, Wafa spends her days trapped inside, 'looking through windows with a lot of anger, sorrow and sadness inside me'. When her family decided she would leave school to care for her divorced sister's four-year-old son, Wafa understood that she was being asked to sacrifice her future. Wafa's life – at least until the past few weeks – has been 'miserable' as it has revolved around nothing other than the 'work in the household'. She is 'tired all the time', as she is juggling a large workload on little sleep. She is frustrated that her brothers do nothing other than 'sitting in the house', but when she complains and refuses to prepare the *Narjela* [hookah/hubbly-bubbly], her brother 'hits her hard with his belt'. As she is not allowed outside without permission, there is little way for her to escape.

Wafa has mixed feelings about her mother. On the one hand, she is very proud of her, as she works hard to keep her family fed and clothed even in the absence of support from her husband. On the other hand, Wafa 'doesn't want to be like her'. She feels that no one should accept so 'miserable a life'.

Source: Interview with 18-year-old female dropout, Khanyounis.

Domestic violence is multifaceted and may include depriving adolescents of their right to access medical care, especially among poorer families, who face difficult decisions over how to spend tight household budgets. A 12 year old girl with a disability in Shajaia explained:

> My parents would argue sometimes about the medicine cost and my dad would kick my mother outside the house. Sometimes he would say that he does not care what happens to me, saying 'may she die'!

Because gendered norms see girls' virginity as central to family honour, girls' and young women's access to non-maternity-related care is largely precluded (The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy (MIFTAH) et al., 2015). Parents often do not allow unmarried girls to visit a gynaecologist because they are concerned that any invasive procedure might lead to loss of the hymen. One older girl in an FGD in Shajaia said:

> Fathers will prevent girls from visiting a doctor no matter how severe the condition because they believe there is a chance that her virginity will be ruined, and as a result she will not get married.

Adolescents reported that the male head of household typically makes decisions that affect their lives. Indeed, intergenerational conflict was obvious between adolescents and their parents, who seldom consider their adolescent children's unique needs and perspectives. Many boys mentioned that they rebel against fathers' authority and leave their homes because of clashes with parents, but girls tend to react more passively, internalising their problems. Adolescent girls (in a decision-making table exercise with 16–19-year-olds in Khanyounis) indicated that their mothers often decide how they spend their time: 'When I don't finish my homework, my mom shouts "stand up and get to [house] work".'

Instead of being supported to transition safely through adolescence, puberty adds further restrictions on girls' lives. Adolescents who participated in the research felt that their families restrict their daughters' movements at the onset of puberty, stopping them playing outside the house, preventing them going outside alone especially after sunset, reducing contact with male cousins and insisting they wear the hijab.

Violence at school

Our findings show that although girls enjoy going to school, conservative norms and worries around family honour worry them. As a 19-year-old girl from Jabalia camp indicated:

> When I used to go to school, my dad would stand on the street and prohibit us from walking with friends. Our school was far, so he would make my brother walk us to school.

Another threat reported by adolescent girls were boys and men on the streets (vendors, taxi drivers) that 'annoy and harass girls' when they are on their way to school. This appeared to happen more often to older girls. Even being looked at by a man

can cause parents to withdraw their daughter from school, as one older girl in an FGD in Jabalia camp explained:

> I talked to my school counsellor about the problems I faced by boys who used to throw messages [that] were written on papers and some students called me 'lover girl'. When I told my mother about those boys, she got angry and prevented me from going back to school. Then I got married directly after I dropped out.

Some teachers were reported to have resorted to punitive disciplinary measures. Almost all adolescents mentioned experiencing violence (physical and verbal) in schools and threats to have their grades lowered (see Box 8.3). Moreover, girls pointed out that teachers do not show any understanding of their needs during menstruation and sometimes do things to hurt them psychologically. For example, participants from Shajaia mentioned that they are rarely excused from exams during menstruation and are not allowed to rest or leave school to go home if they are experiencing menstrual pains, except in rare cases.

Others mentioned violence perpetrated by students as a critical concern, as illustrated by one younger girl from Shajaia:

> My classmates treat me badly. There was that one time when a classmate pushed me against the wall, and I told her 'May Allah forgive you'.

Participants with disabilities also indicated that violence and bullying in school caused them to drop out. Their responses also indicate that the school environment is not adolescent-friendly, complaining of overcrowding and inadequate and dirty toilets, as one girl in an FGD in Shajaia commented: 'the smell is intolerable.' This was particularly challenging for girls during their menstrual cycle. In many schools, sport classes for girls are cancelled and replaced either with regular classes or by cleaning the classrooms and toilets! One girl in an FGD for older girls in Shajaia explained:

> During sport class, we do not play or practice. Instead, we are handed sweepers to clean the place.

Violence from healthcare providers

Our findings confirm that schools are not the only places that are unwelcoming for adolescents. There are limited health services available, and existing services are often not adolescent-friendly, with many adolescents reporting exposure to violence when seeking services. In an FGD with older girls in Jabalia, an 18-year-old noted:

> I went to the hospital where I spent three days crying without any good healthcare. The rooms were unclean and blood all over. The curtains were dirty too. The smell was very awful too.

BOX 8.3 VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

Adolescents reported mixed experiences about their treatment by teachers and staff at school. While some noted that they had supportive and caring teachers, others underscored that they have been subjected to physical, psychosocial and verbal violence by teachers, administrative staff and students. Physical violence by teachers and the school director was common, as these quotes from in-depth interviews (IDI) or focus group discussions (FGD) show:

> One day a teacher came suddenly and started to hit a student without a reason.
>
> *(Boy, FGD with older adolescents, Shajaia)*

> The headteacher grabbed my ear and slammed me twice on my ear. My ear kept hurting for two weeks.
>
> *(IDI with 16-year-old boy, Jabalia camp)*

> The teacher made us carry around a banner with 'I am donkey' on it.
>
> *(FGD with older girls, Jabalia camp)*

> A counsellor always has a stick to beat us with.
>
> *(FGD with older adolescent boys, Shajaia)*

> If a student is absent from the school for family reasons, the school administration would punish her by asking her to stand up under the sun in the schoolyard for one or even four classes without eating or drinking water.
>
> *(FGD with older adolescent girls, Jabalia camp)*

Many adolescents had also been threatened with having their grades lowered.

Some mentioned retaliating against teacher violence:

> One day the teacher asked my older brother to read something on the board but my brother couldn't. The teacher hit him hard on his hands, head and legs. My two older brothers came to school and broke the chairs on top of all the teachers because one of them hit my brother. It is true that my brother couldn't read, but that does not give the teacher the right to hit him like a sheep. He could've struck him once or twice and that's it, but to beat him on his head, hands and legs, no, it's not right.
>
> *(IDI with 12-year-old boy, Shajaia)*

Adolescents were critical of health staff who were often insensitive to their needs. One younger girl in an FGD in Jabalia camp said:

> I was so afraid when I went to the dentist in a clinic. The dentist shouted at me and said 'if you don't want to be cured, go home!' Then I went home without checking my teeth.

One participant in an FGD with younger boys in Shajaia explained:

> We don't like hospitals because the staff there do not like to help, they yell at us, and tend to ignore us.

Married and pregnant adolescent girls also reported some negative encounters with healthcare providers during childbirth, including experiencing a lack of privacy during treatment and being made to feel very unsafe, emphasizing a dearth of adolescent-friendly services.

Discussion

Due to the prevailing protracted humanitarian context, violence in Gaza remains widespread, endemic, institutionalised and normalised, yet there are few support services for children and adolescents who have experienced violence (PCBS, 2011, 2019b). Our findings confirm that adolescents experience violence everywhere – at home, in their neighbourhood, in schools and healthcare institutions, on the streets and other places. Perpetrators are wide-ranging and include Israeli forces, parents, intimate partners, members of the extended family, teachers, healthcare workers and peers. From a wider anthropological perspective, risk factors at the macro, meso and micro levels intersect and predispose adolescents to different types of violence at different places.

Because domestic violence against children and women is culturally regarded as a private family matter, less than 2 per cent of abused women and young people seek legal support (PCBS, 2019b). This percentage has not changed over the past decade, raising important questions about the effectiveness of strategies implemented to control violence. Although less evident in the quotes above, findings from our larger study indicate that family members, despite demanding girls' submissiveness, also act as sources of support (Samuels et al., 2018). In one of the research tools (the social support quadrant exercise), mothers, sisters, aunts, uncles (and, less frequently, brothers and fathers) were mentioned as the people who provide support for adolescents experiencing violence. Other categories (including school counsellors, service providers, police and legal counsellors) were regarded as less supportive. Unpacking the situations in which this support is provided may help to suggest strategies to control violence.

During our service mapping exercise, none of the facilities visited reported working exclusively or solely with adolescents to control violence; they tended to

focus on younger children or youth. Also, less attention has been paid to domestic or school-based violence. Where programmes did exist, they tended to be neither age- nor gender-sensitive and failed to address adolescent girls' needs for protection. Moreover, most organisations focus on awareness-raising for youth and providing legal support for married women, while very few address the root causes of violence, given the intractability of the continued Israeli occupation. Our mapping exercise shows that most interventions to control violence are short term, donor-driven, not well-coordinated, not sustainable and do not tackle violence in a comprehensive way. Few non-governmental organisations (NGOs) provide specialised violence-related support. Other challenges hampering proactive targeting include lack of data and rigorous surveillance about violence and services for those who have experienced violence (UNDP, 2018).

The Ministry of Women's Affairs had adopted a cross-sectoral National Strategy to Combat Violence Against Women 2011–2019 (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011), but like most strategies in Palestine, it has not been translated into practical polices on the ground. Because of political and economic uncertainty, lack of Palestinian sovereignty and control over resources, strategies are usually not budgeted and mostly rely on unreliable short-term donor aid. Because violence has been part of people's everyday experiences in Gaza for so long, it has become a norm transmitted across generations. The literature indicates that when violence is pervasive and sustained, social norms change (Al-Krenawi, 2012) and violence becomes 'normal' in the community. The ongoing conflict with Israel also increases militarisation of Palestinian youth and men and increases adoption of inappropriate masculinities in the community as a way to claim power, equating violence with voice and agency (Hart, 2010). Indeed, in such contexts, violence is used as a conflict resolution mechanism by the perpetrators (Jewkes, 2002).

The social constructed norms around gender equality and the acceptability of violence and discrimination have played an important role in increasing violence in Gaza. Parents, who are extremely distressed by depletion of their economic and emotional resources and the ongoing insecurity, use violence as an outlet, with children (particularly girls) often the target (Müller and Tranchant, 2017). In Gaza, child–parent relations are regarded as a private, family issue that should remain within the household. Cultural norms dictate that children accept and tolerate all parents' behaviours even if they do not agree with them.

On the positive side, the School Mediation Programme implemented by the Gaza Community Mental Health Programme is an example of good practice to combat violence. However, this initiative still requires scaling up and further enhancement by complementary services, especially referral pathways as appropriate to specialised centres. Aisha Association implements a comprehensive programme targeting victims of GBV and is another example of good practices, though it mainly targets married women. It provides training, awareness, legal and family counselling, and vocational training and supports individuals to set up microcredit projects – in a package that usually lasts for one year for each survivor. The Democracy and Conflict Resolution Centre coordinates two-child protection networks established by the Ministry of Social Development in coordination with relevant sectors. The

Centre targets children with severe vulnerabilities such as those engaged in criminal acts, child labour, street children and adolescents who practice begging, but it is unlikely to deal with domestic violence except in extreme cases.

Conclusion and policy implications

Conclusions

This chapter highlighted the different forms of violence perpetrated against adolescent boys and girls in Gaza, resulting from the interplay of risk factors at the macro, meso and micro levels of political context, community and the individual/household. Unlike other studies of political violence that usually focus on males and adults, this research focused on age and gender-specific challenges facing adolescents to protect their bodily integrity. The chapter has analysed the structural, social and contextual root causes of violence and shown the ways that these are interconnected. Families' experiences of insecurity and anxieties over their daughters' safety in particular lead them to take restrictive, punitive and often physical approaches towards their adolescent children, with these measures socially sanctioned by norms about family honour and respectability. Violence amongst peers and in schools is also largely overlooked, despite having a clear impact on adolescent wellbeing.

This chapter has also shown where there are currently gaps in support for adolescents. Palestine has acceded to some of the key human rights conventions related to women and children, and the SDGs (with the obligation to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and children, including violence), but these commitments are yet to be realised. The SDGs constitute a potentially powerful violence prevention agenda (Butchart, 2020), but implementation of activities to achieve the SDGs, in politically and economically uncertain contexts such as Palestine, remains very challenging. The situation is further complicated by over-reliance on humanitarian aid, with most programmes politicised (Raciti, 2006), short term and not necessarily aligned with national strategies, instead focusing on meeting urgent survival needs (Samuels et al., 2018). Also, the principles of the Global Compact on Refugees, which could contribute indirectly to a reduction of violence, have had no impact on violence in Palestine. The nature of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, the chronicity of the statelessness situation and the exceptional[3] approach used by the international community in tackling Palestinian refugees' issues, make the realization of the international commitments challenging in the Palestinian situation. Solutions to address violence against adolescents, such as those described here, must take into account the way that the political situation in Palestine shapes the lives of adolescents, their families and their communities and prioritise sustainable approaches that promote adolescent agency and capabilities.

Policy implications

Overall, our findings underscore the complex and interlinked challenges facing adolescents in Gaza to protect themselves from violence and the critical role of

political unrest, statelessness, structural and context-specific gendered norms and practices in exposing adolescents (and especially girls) to violence. To contribute to the leave no one behind agenda, there is a need to intensify efforts to address and end violence, both in the community in general and towards children in particular. It is essential to launch a national multisectoral strategy to reduce violence against children and translate this strategy into practical programmes with assigned responsibilities and budget. Palestine's outdated legal framework should be revised to be more age- and gender-equitable.

Violence is unlikely to decrease in Gaza unless policy-makers and actors address its intersecting risk factors in a comprehensive way that considers micro, meso and broader environmental factors, including demanding political resolution of the Palestinian case which will lead to peace, equity, social justice, economic growth and livelihoods, employment, education and women's empowerment. At the more local level, social protection programming, which has largely addressed economic shocks and poverty but ignored challenges related to gender and age, should be scaled up to address children's needs through strengthening child protection and complementary services. A missed opportunity in controlling violence in Gaza is liaising with the existing cadre of social workers who, through the social assistance programme, visit the houses of 75,000 vulnerable beneficiaries. These social workers could play a key role in raising awareness, identifying individuals experiencing violence and abuse and providing support or referring cases of domestic abuse. It is also important to invest in enhancing data collection and monitoring systems. More efforts are needed to ensure harmonisation, coherence and complementarity between social protection actors and between development and humanitarian programmes.

Social norms play a key role in driving violence against children, so it is vital to work towards gradual and progressive social change that promotes more egalitarian age and gender norms. Peer-to-peer approaches that support adolescents and parents to develop positive conflict resolution skills can provide a means to address intra-household violence, although are perhaps difficult to implement at scale. Positive parenting practices provided within existing early childhood development programmes targeting caregivers of preschool children can, however, be scaled up to target parents of older children and adolescents. Caregivers should receive training and awareness on non-violent discipline practices, to replace the prevailing punitive forms of discipline and make them less socially accepted. Involving boys and men in these efforts, and promoting positive masculinities, is also essential.

In schools, there is a need to strengthen protection services, with more investment in child- and adolescent-friendly places and services. School mediation programmes could be scaled up to encourage more involvement by parents, teachers and counsellors, and encourage caregivers and service providers to use non-punitive discipline practices. The Ministry of Education and UNRWA should reinforce regulations that prohibit punishment at schools and also monitor teachers' practices more rigorously. Service providers – particularly teachers and health personnel –

need specific training on adolescents' needs. Adolescents themselves must also be supported to participate in accountability processes, for example by setting up advisory groups of young people who liaise with staff members who will listen to and advocate for them. School counsellors could also play a significant role in combating violence, not only in schools but also in other public places and in the home.

Our analysis confirms that other than treating their physical injuries, adolescents who have experienced violence have limited support available. Using different communication channels, particularly social and mass media, it is essential to increase awareness among adolescents about their rights and the available support services, as well as extending these services to meet people's needs. Online forums for reporting violence and seeking assistance could also be helpful, provided that there is adequate safeguarding, including measures to ensure confidentiality, to help protect young people who access support in this way.

Notes

1 SDG target 5.2: Eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls; SDG target 5.3: Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation; SDG target 16.1: Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere; and SDG target 16.2: End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against children.

2 SDG 1: End poverty; SDG 3: Good health; SDG 4: Quality education; SDG 5: Gender equity; SDG 10: Reduced inequalities; SDG 11: Sustainable cities and communities; SDG 16: Peace and justice.

3 UNHCR has a mandate to provide international protection and search for durable solutions for refugees worldwide, but in the case of Palestinian refugees these protections only apply if other agencies – primarily UNRWA – are unable to do so, and for complex political and economic reasons the commitment to a permanent solution has yet to be demonstrated.

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9

'IT'S THE FEAR THAT IS KILLING US, NOT THE ACTUAL DISEASE!'

Covid-19: An unfolding crisis for adolescents in humanitarian settings

Bassam Abu Hamad, Nicola Jones and Kate Pincock

Introduction

The world has faced many serious health and economic crises over the past 30 years, which have undermined human development, but overall, development gains have continued at the global level. Covid-19 is different. With its intersecting impacts on health, education, economies, incomes, social norms and routine daily living, it may change that development trend (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2020). As of February 2021, Covid-19 had killed over 2.3 million people and infected more than 106 million (Johns Hopkins University, 2021). The pandemic presents an enormous challenge but possibly also a window of opportunity for reaching the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). While it may have disrupted original plans to achieve the SDGs, it highlights the importance of accelerating progress on achieving all of the SDGs as they are collectively vital for combating the pandemic and addressing its multifaceted consequences (ibid.). The SDGs are a road map for addressing inequalities and promoting people's wellbeing, with the rallying call to leave no one behind. Although the coronavirus affects all social groups, structural factors within societies result in the uneven distribution of infections and effects of the public health response (UNDP, 2020) with refugees, displaced and economically disadvantaged people more harshly affected.

Adolescents are least likely to be infected with Covid-19 or to die from it (Parshley, 2020). However, they have typically been pictured in the mainstream media as 'part of the problem' – as a vector of the disease (King, 2020) and as reluctant to adopt preventive measures (Kobie, 2020). Yet there are many age- and gender-specific negative impacts – both of the virus and response measures – that remain largely untold, and which require further attention in line with the leave no

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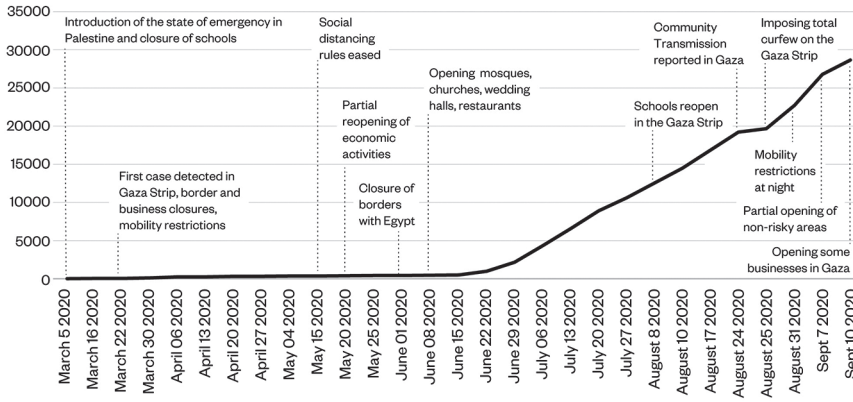
one behind agenda. This chapter reflects on the emerging experiences of adolescent boys and girls in humanitarian contexts in relation to the Covid-19 pandemic, to disclose many untold stories. This is especially important given that, as in other emergency situations and crises, the focus (whether of families or service providers) usually shifts to life-saving interventions at the expense of other important social issues, including gender and age dynamics. Responses to crises in general tend to ignore the dynamics around citizenship and displacement that exacerbate the marginalisation and vulnerabilities of refugees and displaced people.

What further complicates adolescent boys' and girls' lives is that unlike other pandemics, the response to Covid-19 has had a catastrophic impact on households and on national economies. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicts that the global economy will shrink by 3 per cent in 2020 (IMF, 2020). The lockdown approach exacerbates inequalities, with people living on hourly or daily wages for jobs that cannot be done online and remotely suffering an immediate drop in their income (Gavi, 2020). The same source indicates that the number of people who are acutely hungry is set to double. Oxfam estimates that the crisis could push half a billion people back into poverty (Oxfam, 2020). The International Labour Organization (ILO) reports that more than one in six young people have lost their jobs since the pandemic began and those that are still at work have seen their hours reduced (ILO, 2020).

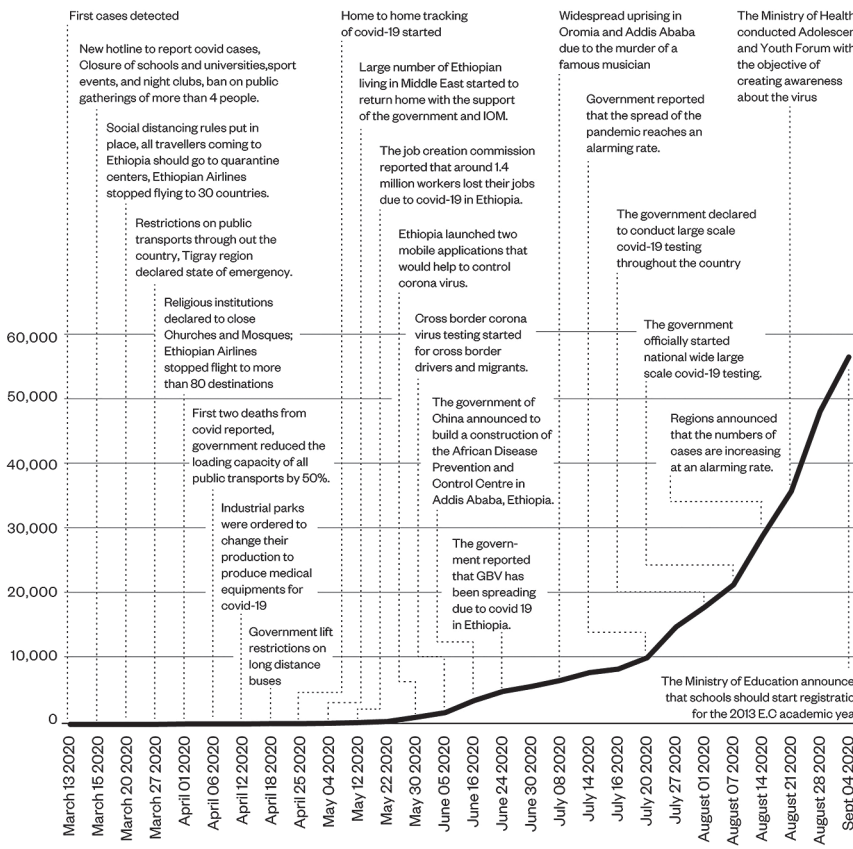
During previous pandemics such as HIV and Ebola, and economic shocks such as the 2007/8 global financial crisis, children and adolescents faced multiple, interconnected and gender-specific risks (Espey et al., 2010; Kobie, 2020). These included reduced access to education and livelihoods at a stage in the life course that is pivotal in terms of physical, cognitive and socio-emotional development (GAGE consortium, 2019). In humanitarian contexts, girls further suffer from compounded vulnerabilities due to displacement, economic hardship, deterioration of psychosocial wellbeing, domestic and community violence (including sexual violence), decreased access to education, inadequate socialisation and recreational opportunities, discrimination and discriminatory gender norms and practices (such as child marriage and gender-based violence), which are often intensified during a crisis. They are also affected by inadequate access to livelihoods, poor housing and living conditions, food insecurity, and lack of access to water and sanitary facilities (Samuels et al., 2017; Abu Hamad et al., 2017b).

The impact of the pandemic on young people's lives is, in turn, underpinned by pre-existing contextual and structural factors. The countries covered in the book chapters are, on the one hand, very diverse contexts, but they are all also regarded as fragile countries (Fund for Peace, 2019). They each face significant structural, political and socio-economic challenges, not least political unrest, mass uprisings, ongoing conflict and major recent and chronic displacement. For these reasons, they all fall within the most vulnerable third of the Fund for Peace's Fragile State Index (Fund for Peace, 2019). Interestingly, however, the responses to Covid-19 by the governments in each country have varied greatly, ranging from the slow,



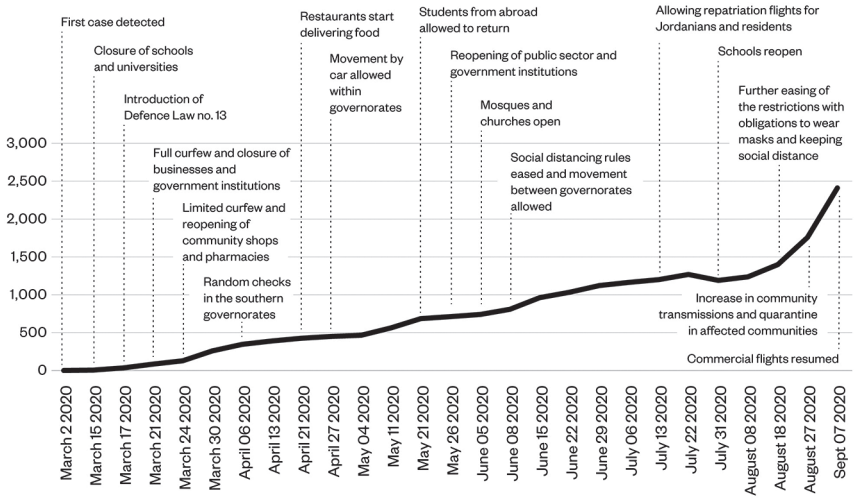
Source: World Health Organization, https://covid19.who.int/region/emro/country/jo; Data last updated: 2020/7/16

FIGURE 9.1 Evolution of the pandemic and policy responses in Palestine.



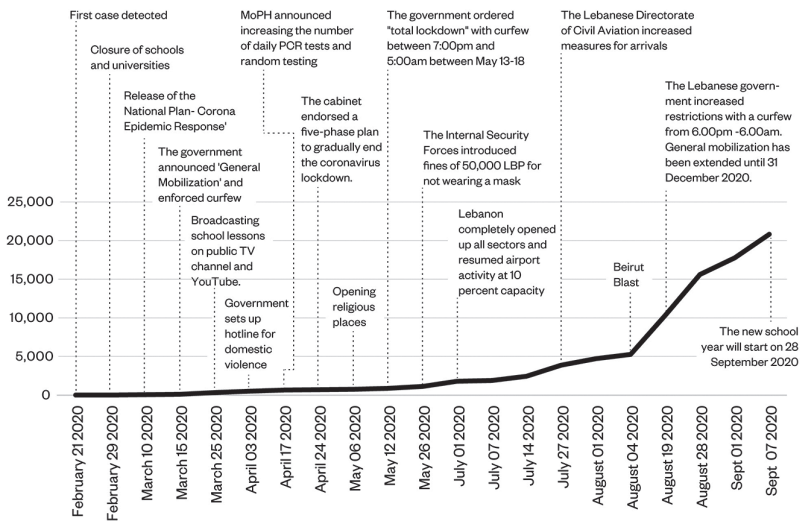
Source: World Health Organization, https://covid19.who.int/region/afro/country/et;

FIGURE 9.2 Evolution of the pandemic and policy responses in Ethiopia.



Source: World Health Organization, https://covid19.who.int/region/emro/country/jo; Data last updated: 2020/9/09

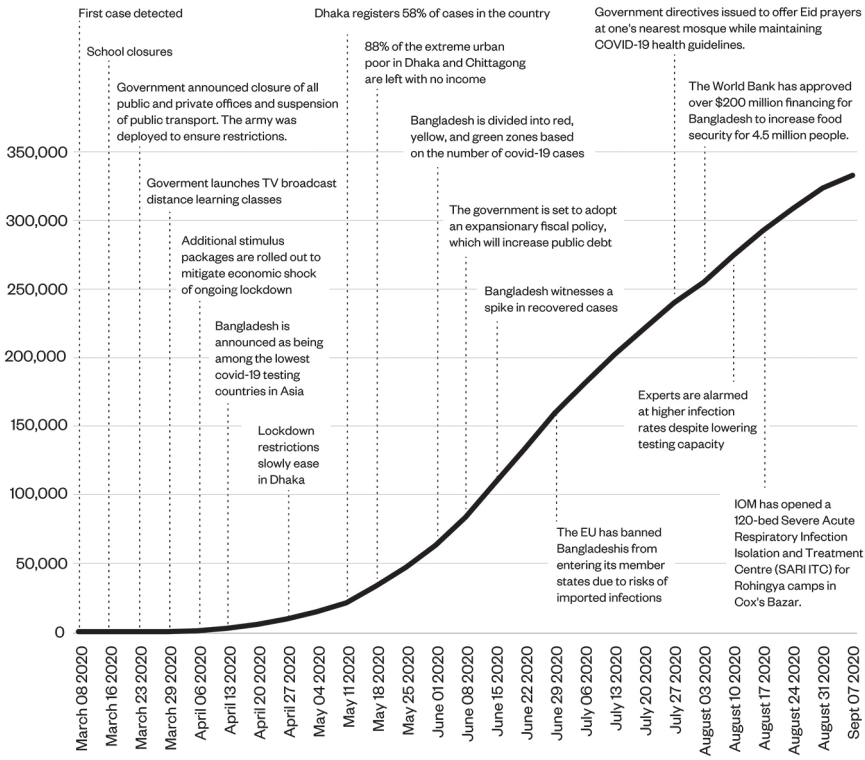
FIGURE 9.3 Evolution of the pandemic and policy responses in Jordan.



Source: Ministry of Public Health (MoPH). Monitoring of COVID-19 Infection in Lebanon. Retrieved from https://www.moph.gov.lb/en/Pages/2/24870/novel-coronavirus

FIGURE 9.4 Evolution of the pandemic and policy responses in Lebanon.

reactive, fragmented approach of the Bangladesh government through to highly organised lockdowns and contact tracing in Gaza and Jordan (Jones et al., 2020). To set the scene in the countries covered by the book chapters, we present figures here to show the evolution of the pandemic by the number of confirmed cases and the policy responses over time.



Source: World Health Organization, https://covid19.who.int/region/searo/country/bd

FIGURE 9.5 Evolution of the pandemic and policy responses in Bangladesh.

Methodology

Despite significant challenges in conducting research during the pandemic, GAGE was proactive and uniquely positioned with its pre-existing sample of young people in humanitarian contexts to explore the impacts of Covid-19. This chapter draws on virtual qualitative research with 224 refugee and internally displaced adolescent girls and boys involved in GAGE's longitudinal study on gender and adolescence in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) and 79 key informants, in order to explore the gendered impacts of the pandemic on marginalised adolescents.

Through in-depth interviews (IDIs), small focus group discussions (FGDs), participatory photography and audio diaries, GAGE aims to capture the insights of adolescent refugees and internally displaced persons and their experiences under lockdown (for more details see Małachowska et al., 2020). Interviews were conducted by local researchers by phone or WhatsApp, in the respondent's local language. These were then tape-recorded, transcribed and translated, and coded thematically, drawing on debriefing sessions with the research teams.

Key findings

In the context of the devastating loss of life, the disruption to normal life and the damage to national economies caused by the pandemic, the lockdowns and social distancing measures, young people have experienced far-reaching changes at a pivotal state in the life course but have not been prioritised in the response. State responses to Covid-19 – which have often included closure of public institutions, schools, recreational places, religious institutions and curtailment of movement – have rarely considered adolescents' specific needs. Lockdowns and restrictions on movement have had an unprecedented impact on young people, particularly refugee and displaced adolescents in fragile contexts, who were already highly vulnerable and marginalised prior to the pandemic and have limited access to alternative livelihood options.[1]

Education and learning

Education is a basic human right and a significant factor in the development of young people, their communities, and countries. Across the five countries, government responses to COVID-19 have negatively impacted progress in achieving SDG 4, 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all', which has increased the vulnerability of young children and pushed many of them to leave school. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) estimates that about 1.25 billion students globally are affected by lockdowns (UNESCO, 2020), with 86 per cent of primary school children from developing countries not being educated due to the pandemic.

Our research confirms that for young people from different humanitarian contexts, closure of schools and other educational institutions has been a major challenge, especially given that even prior to the pandemic, access to schools and quality education was limited and there were many structural, financial and cultural barriers (rooted in conservative gender norms) that resulted in higher dropout rates and truncated educational futures for girls and boys. The closure of schools has been particularly worrying for many adolescents, especially refugee and displaced adolescents, as education represents a window for self-development and can help them to overcome multilayered economic and social barriers (Justino, 2014; Abu Hamad et al., 2017a). Many participants in our research expressed strong anxieties about their education and future aspirations linked to the challenges associated with Covid-19, which has shifted family priorities such that education has been deprioritised in the light of pressing economic challenges now facing millions of families.

In almost all the countries concerned, school closure happened abruptly, with little notice, so neither schools nor students were prepared for what lockdown would mean. In some contexts, like Gaza, Ethiopia and Bangladesh, it was not clear how education would even be delivered during lockdown. It is true that in all five

countries, the government has sought to provide some form of online learning during lockdown. However, most adolescents – and especially the young refugees in our sample – had great difficulty accessing online learning due to their limited access to devices, internet connectivity and electricity, while teachers were not well-trained in delivering online education. The pandemic has clearly re-emphasised the 'digital divide' and the right to internet access, particularly for adolescents who are economically disadvantaged, for girls, for displaced and refugee adolescents and for those living in remote areas. Moreover, among adolescents with disabilities who had been enrolled in special education before the pandemic, there were particular concerns about school closures, as for many, schools represent the only spaces accessible to them where they can learn, meet, socialise and interact with their peers. Their sense of social isolation has been further complicated by the fact that online education services have not been adapted to the needs of adolescents with disabilities, exacerbating their anxiety.

Physical health and nutrition

Good health and nutrition is not only central to human wellbeing, it is also important to economic progress and productivity over time. The Covid-19 pandemic represents an unprecedented global threat to health and underscores the urgent need to accelerate progress on achieving SDG 3, 'ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages' (UNDP, 2020). Although the number of reported Covid-19 cases and deaths in the countries studied here is lower than the hotspots in Northern countries, the lockdown policies aimed at controlling the spread of the disease have dramatically impacted adolescents' health in these countries in many ways.

However, GAGE research studies (Jones et al., 2019a; Abu Hamad et al., 2017b) show that even prior to the pandemic, adolescents' access to age- and gender-sensitive health services in these countries was very limited, particularly for refugee and displaced adolescent girls and boys; services that are provided are typically maternal health interventions for married girls who are pregnant. With the shifting focus from regular services to Covid-19-related services, adolescents' access to healthcare has further diminished. In some cases (as in Lebanon and Jordan, for example), refugees and displaced people are not covered by state/governmental health insurance and have to pay 'foreigners' fees' to access care. Our research confirms that adolescents have faced increasing difficulty in accessing non-Covid-19 health services, with many health centres closed (e.g. in Gaza), doctors not attending clinics (e.g. in Bangladesh) or sending patients away.

The pandemic has also accentuated inequalities in the provision of health services, particularly in contexts where provisioning was already limited, especially for refugee and displaced families, people with disabilities and rural populations. While better-off families in Jordan, Lebanon and Gaza reported turning to expensive private healthcare centres, poorer families do not have this option. In Ethiopia, study participants mentioned that people had started to avoid public health facilities,

resorting to traditional practices such as home deliveries, with reported increases in maternal mortality. Some participants from different contexts reported using the internet to find information on how to manage their health.

Psychosocial and mental health

Although adolescence is a time of heightened psychosocial vulnerability, with half of all mental illnesses beginning by age 14, adolescent psychosocial issues are rarely prioritised, especially during crises (Samuels et al., 2018) and for groups such as displaced or refugee adolescents, who facing compounded multidimensional vulnerabilities. Within the SDGs, mental health is incorporated into health; however, many of the goals and targets are mental health-related, especially target 3.4: 'Reduce by one-third premature mortality from non-communicable diseases (NCDs) through prevention and treatment, and promote mental health and wellbeing.' Adolescents in our study, particularly refugees and displaced young people who are extremely disadvantaged economically, repeatedly underscored the psychosocial toll that the pandemic and resulting lockdowns are taking on them. Displacement and ongoing conflict were additional stressors. In these contexts, adolescents reported high levels of psychosocial distress due to the combination of lockdown measures intersecting with chronic poverty, age and gender hierarchies, constraining cultural norms and heightened tensions within the family, which are accentuated by displacement and statelessness.

In general, mental health services in these focal countries are limited, fragmented, unaffordable and rarely tailored to young people (see Abu Hamad et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2019a; Jones et al., 2019b; Mohammad et al., 2019). Access by vulnerable populations, even during normal times, has been limited, and Covid-19 has only made the situation worse especially for refugees and displaced young people living in camps. Our research confirms that provision of mental health services was inadequate in almost all contexts even before Covid-19, and mostly not accessible in this unprecedented context. Although mental health services may remain accessible to people who can afford to pay for such services, vulnerable adolescents and their families are denied access to these specialist, high-quality private services (Jones et al., 2019a; Samuels et al., 2017). The pandemic response in some contexts included launching telephone hotlines to provide psychosocial support, but these were provided relatively late on and there has been low uptake among marginalised groups. Adolescents, especially refugee girls, were left under-served with no support and appear to have internalised the psychosocial issues facing them. While most adolescent girls turn to their families to discuss problems and to express their emotions, some use social media as a source of comfort and engage with online self-help groups, when they have access to the internet. Also, as a result of stress and isolation, some adolescent boys reported turning to negative coping strategies, such as substance abuse and smoking.

Our findings across contexts highlight that adolescents with disabilities – especially girls – were particularly isolated and distressed during lockdown, with most

organisational and government responses failing to pay attention to their specific needs. Married girls reported higher levels of stress due to increased marital tensions brought on by increased financial pressures on families, with many husbands (breadwinners) out of work and at home all the time. Particular efforts are needed to reach these young people to provide much-needed access to psychosocial and mental health programmes.

Bodily integrity and freedom from violence

Violence can harm adolescents in the short and long term and result in serious health, psychosocial and developmental consequences across the life course (WHO et al., 2013). In the pre-Covid-19 era, adolescents – especially those in conflict-affected areas – were already at heightened risk of violence (Samuels et al., 2018). The SDGs incorporate a number of targets on violence (Butchart, 2020);[2] however, slow progress in achieving these targets has been further constrained by the pandemic. The level of violence perpetrated against young people, especially girls and young women, has increased significantly in association with the pandemic response (Azcona et al., 2020).

Epistemologically, while we are aware that due to privacy concerns around virtual interviews during the data collection there is under-reporting of intra-household violence, several girls in our sample from different contexts noted that family tensions had become heightened due to the multilayered stresses they are facing and that sometimes this spilled over into physical violence, especially among economically disadvantaged refugees/displaced young people and married girls.

Girls reported increased domestic violence due to unemployed men taking out their frustrations on female family members. Boys also reported increased tensions at home and heightened conflicts within their communities, especially when men do not go to work and instead stay in the streets, especially in crowded areas like camps and informal tented settlements (ITSs). While the presence of police in streets and neighbourhoods to reinforce lockdowns has increased the level of security for adolescents, there were cases of abuse of power, including beatings of adolescents in refugee camps and ITSs. In these places, more stringent lockdown measures were forcefully imposed.

Voice and agency

For many girls who already had very limited mobility outside the home, the lockdown has resulted in further restrictions on their movement and loss of the very few activities they were allowed to do before Covid-19. It has also brought a much heavier share of household chores, which has led to additional psychological strain (with boys and adult males not taking any share of this workload). Girls' anxieties have been further fuelled by intra-household tensions, poverty and lack of resources. While boys can go outside more freely, girls are obliged to stay at home to serve males and meet their never-ending demands and are therefore more exposed to

family fighting and lack of agency. For many girls in our study, internet and mobile were the only avenues available to vent their frustrations and interact with the external world. However, this choice is not a valid option for the poorest refugee girls, for adolescents in rural communities and those belonging to very conservative families. Lack of resources and age and gender hierarchical social norms often restrict girls' access to mobile phones and the internet, with married girls often under even stricter surveillance by husbands and in-laws. Interestingly, in Gaza, there was a noticeable change in the social roles associated with gender brought on by the pandemic; some boys reported doing household chores and having greater appreciation for women and girls' role within the household.

Our findings highlight that school closures have also had important gendered effects on adolescents' interactions with peers. While many adolescent boys are still managing to meet with peers in the neighbourhood, girls' movement (which was often severely limited even before the pandemic) is restricted more heavily now and even more scrutinised by adult males during lockdown. For many girls, especially in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, school was not just a place to learn but also provided a legitimate reason to leave the home, exercise voice and agency, and interact with peers without interrogation or supervision of male adults (Abu Hamad et al., 2017a). Many girls have now lost that opportunity.

The pandemic, and its negative consequences for education, economies and livelihoods, and social norms, has triggered a reversion to deep-rooted cultural practices such as child marriage. Our findings highlight that in contexts where child marriage was already prevalent prior to Covid-19 (such as in Ethiopia and among Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon), adolescent girls are at heightened risk of child marriage where lockdown, poverty, displacement, family honour and school closures have coincided with traditional norms. Married girls reported heightened tensions within the home, and some reported experiencing severe physical violence at the hands of husbands, brothers or fathers.

Economic empowerment

Our findings on adolescents' economic empowerment are congruent with the international literature, which highlights that the pandemic's devastating impacts on the global and domestic economies are likely to be even more severe in fragile contexts (IMF, 2020). Many of the participants in our research, especially refugee or displaced adolescents, belong to families who have been struggling with daily survival for many years, experiencing high levels of unemployment and food insecurity. Refugees in countries that have not signed up to international accords guaranteeing refugee rights are not allowed to work legally in decent or permanent jobs and are typically limited to casual, insecure and poorly paid day labour (where such work is available). Lockdowns have exacerbated economic inequalities, further disadvantaging people whose work cannot be done online and remotely, whose incomes have suffered an immediate drop, usually with no safety net they can access.

Our research indicates that adolescents and their families are becoming poorer, with many reporting food insecurity, inability to afford rent or having to move to cheaper, poor-quality housing. Even before the pandemic, food security levels were compromised in the study contexts (Jones et al., 2019a; WFP, 2019). Lockdowns have hit the majority of households hard, and adolescents' nutrition has been affected, with many adolescents in vulnerable communities reporting fewer meals and more food shortages at home, prompting concerns about longer-term health impacts. For adolescents living alone – for example, adolescent migrants – the economic pressures resulting from Covid-19 are especially acute. For adolescents living in refugee camps (as in Gaza, Lebanon and Jordan), in overcrowded housing and with limited access to resources, hygiene and social distancing measures have been challenging to implement. Due to contraction of employment opportunities, many adolescents (especially those engaged in child labour) are being expected to work long hours, in risky jobs, or have lost their jobs already. Because of the precarious economic situation, some adolescents are compelled to work but are not being offered protective clothing, and they are working in environments where social distancing guidance is not enforced, putting themselves at greater risk of infection. Also, as a result of school closures, some boys and girls said they were now working unpaid in their family business (often agricultural labour) and were unlikely to return to school.

Many adolescents reported that their family had no access to much-needed social protection, and for the few whose families were receiving social protection support prior to the pandemic, there has been little evidence of support being scaled up. Indeed, some mentioned that because of Covid-19 and its impacts, the informal support they used to receive from extended family members or charities was no longer being provided. Some also mentioned that assistance is not distributed fairly, citing a lack of transparency in targeting and distribution. However, families who received food vouchers and cash support emphasised that this was vital in meeting their basic needs, but many adolescents reported that their families were in a dire situation, despite receiving support.

Conclusions and implications for the Covid-19 response

To conclude, the vulnerabilities mapped out pre-Covid-19 through GAGE research are still very evident and have, in most cases, been exacerbated due to the pandemic, with severe consequences for refugee and displaced adolescents, and with new forms of vulnerabilities emerging, which risk pushing them further behind. For refugee and internally displaced families, already highly precarious living situations have been rendered even more challenging as a result of the pandemic, but social protection responses have been slow to scale up to provide a meaningful safety net. In particular, rural refugee adolescents, adolescents with disabilities and married girls are significantly disadvantaged compared to their counterparts during lockdowns in terms of access to services, support, essential livelihoods and digital connectivity. Current downturns in funding due to plummeting levels of gross

national product (GNP) and strains on meeting the 0.7 per cent donor aid commitments will compound these vulnerabilities even further.

GAGE is unique in following and monitoring the life of vulnerable and marginalised adolescents in real time during the pandemic. This pandemic is different and represents a unique global challenge, with many uncertainties not only around the nature of the virus and its transmission but, most importantly, its impacts on different aspects of life in the short, medium and longer term. Still, most government responses are reactive, with debatable impact, and there remain many unanswered questions about how to mitigate the effects of the pandemic on the most vulnerable groups in society, of which adolescent refugees are one. Therefore, it is important to invest in longitudinal studies like this – which have enabled us to provide real-time evidence as the pandemic evolves benefiting from pre-existing study samples and relationships – whereas much of what we are seeing in the public arena is hypothetical and not based on empirical data.

We conclude with some reflections on priority actions for the national and international Covid-19 response to ensure that adolescents in humanitarian contexts will not be further left behind in the context of the pandemic.

To promote progress to achieve the SDG 4 targets on quality education for all, barriers limiting vulnerable adolescents' access to education should be urgently addressed, particularly for refugee and displaced children and adolescents, over the short and longer term. There should be further investments in the education sector, opening new schools that are accessible to refugee and displaced families and launching proactive outreach programmes to re-enrol vulnerable adolescents who have already dropped out or are at risk of dropping out. Government responses could also be strengthened by investing in alternative methods of education when schools are closed, addressing the needs of the most disadvantaged groups (including refugees, displaced adolescents, adolescents with disabilities and economically disadvantaged adolescents living in remote areas). Improving access to online education by expanding access to low-cost devices and providing mentoring either in person (socially distanced) or online, through schools and social media platforms is a priority in this regard. This should, in turn, be complemented with training for school management and teachers and investments so that schools can secure the resources they need to deliver online and hybrid forms of education.

In line with SDG 3 and the leave no one behind agenda, it is also vital that adolescent health is not overlooked, neither in normal times nor in crises; adolescent health should be routinely incorporated in the public health response plan. It is essential that government responses to Covid-19 should address adolescents' health vulnerabilities, particularly the specific health needs of refugee and displaced adolescents (who are typically not covered by formal health services) and adolescent girls (particularly married girls, including access to essential health services and sexual and reproductive health information) in crisis contexts. It is also important to proactively target adolescents in remote areas, those living in ITSs and camps, through mobile health teams and through e-health, web-based and hotline counselling approaches.

In terms of commitments to mental health, it is essential that government responses should be comprehensive and move beyond a focus on life-saving measures to provide proactive psychosocial support that addresses young people's anxieties and worries, to avoid longer-term mental illnesses that can have dramatic lifelong consequences. Mental health and psychosocial support should be an essential component of each country's Covid-19 response plan. It is important not only to invest in psychosocial first aid but also to proactively monitor progress of interventions and target the most vulnerable adolescents through specialist mental health services that can be delivered both in-person and online (in contexts where digital connectivity is better). Hotline and online services could be more effectively employed to support and serve adolescents, particularly in providing counselling and psychosocial support to overcome the stigma attached to seeking mental health services. In addition, involving adolescents as community animators in the response plan and engaging them in awareness, dissemination of appropriate messages and providing peer-to-peer support would benefit both the individuals involved and their peers.

In keeping with the commitments to social protection in SDG 1, it is critical that programmes in humanitarian contexts are informed by an understanding of adolescents' age and gender-specific needs, especially those at greater risk, including young people with disabilities. Interventions should be scaled up during emergencies and better linked with complementary services, including water, sanitation and hygiene services (not least in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic), positive parenting practices, positive coping mechanisms and longer-term strategies to address gender inequality and changing social norms. Adolescent girls' vulnerabilities – including heightened exposure to physical, sexual and gender-based violence, child marriage, and limited voice and agency – should be proactively monitored and addressed. Outreach programmes and web-based forums for reporting abuses and providing support for adolescents could be utilised to ensure that no vulnerable adolescent is left behind in the midst of a crisis.

Finally, if the gains that have been made towards gender equality are not to be reversed by the pandemic, adolescent girls' voices and experiences must be considered when developing policy and programming responses in crisis settings. Responses should both address immediate, life-saving needs and promote longer-term resilience of marginalised groups, paying specific attention to gender- and age-specific needs of the most vulnerable groups. It is vital to engage adolescents and young people in emergency and recovery responses through partnerships, earmarked funding and taking up leadership positions, ensuring that adolescent girls from diverse backgrounds and social groups are equitably represented and supported in these roles.

Notes

1 For more detailed information about adolescent experiences with Covid-19 in the countries covered in this book, please go to the GAGE website (www.gage.odi.org/

publications), which provides policy briefs about the status of adolescents and the effects of Covid-19 on adolescents across six key capability domains.

2 SDG Target 5.2: eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls. SDG Target 5.3: eliminate all harmful practices such as child, early, and forced marriage and female genital mutilation. SDG Target 16.1: significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere. SDG Target 16.2: end abuse, trafficking and all forms of exploitation against children.

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10

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Towards an agenda for policy, practice and research

Nicola Jones, Kate Pincock and Bassam Abu Hamad

Around the world, the unprecedented levels of mass displacement that have characterised recent decades show no sign of abating. In recognition of the increasingly protracted nature of crises and their complexity, alongside growing humanitarian funding deficits, a 'humanitarian-development nexus' has emerged within global governance. Arising from various policy initiatives, including the World Humanitarian Summit's Grand Bargain (2016) and the Global Compact on Refugees (2017), this nexus highlights the need to devise collective, long-term solutions to the challenges of displacement. The emerging agreements and their associated policy instruments, such as the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, have been explicitly linked to the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda's call to leave no one behind. This emphasises the importance of ensuring that the most marginalised groups of people – including refugees and internally displaced people – are prioritised within development efforts.

At the same time, and linked to the leave no one behind agenda, we have witnessed an upsurge in interest in adolescents and international development (Patton et al., 2012). This is partly driven by an increasing recognition that low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) are facing a 'youth bulge' in which the current younger generation is significantly larger than the older generation – and that investing in and harnessing young people's collective potential is therefore vital. During adolescence, young people undergo far-reaching cognitive, biological and, importantly, social changes; their experiences at this crucial juncture have significant implications not only for the adult lives they lead but also for the societies to which they will contribute. In many contexts, however, restrictive gender norms prevent girls especially, but also boys, from developing the agency, capabilities and outcomes that will enable them to participate on equal terms and as empowered citizens.

Yet in contexts of displacement, attention to adolescents' needs remains largely dominated by the crisis response of humanitarianism. A humanitarian response

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focuses on the risks facing adolescents and their protection needs – particularly for girls. This risks an overemphasis on adolescents' vulnerabilities, rather than their capabilities. This is not to suggest that the challenges facing adolescents are not immense; as seen across the contexts explored in this book, displacement generates enormous structural vulnerabilities for adolescents, their families and their communities, often for multiple generations. But in bridging humanitarianism and development, there is a need to look towards the longer term and adopt a more holistic approach which recognises the agency of adolescents in navigating these challenges. What kinds of multidimensional support do adolescent girls and boys need to overcome the trauma of displacement, and to build better lives and become engaged and active global citizens?

Theoretical contributions

We opened this book with the story of Jana: a young Syrian refugee whose agency and determination in the context of indeterminate precarity were clear. Drawing on a conceptual framework that emphasises adolescents' capabilities, our findings in this volume shed light not only on the challenges that adolescents face but also – equally importantly – on their agency and resilience, even in the most difficult circumstances. Taken together, these chapters show the utility of the intersectional lens outlined in the introductory chapter of this book for understanding how refugee, internally displaced and stateless adolescent girls and boys experience the nuances of the humanitarian-development nexus in different contexts. Intersectionality emphasises the fluidity and relationality of different identities, and how they overlap, in generating differentiated experiences of marginality and oppression (Hankivsky et al., 2012). Identities like 'refugee' or 'internally displaced person' may be the most visible categories for humanitarian and development assistance, yet there is a risk that seeing displaced people primarily through this lens overlooks the heterogenous experiences of individuals within these categories (Pittaway and Bartolomei, 2010). As shown by authors across divergent country contexts, the experiences of displaced adolescents are shaped by their age, their gender, whether they have a disability, their geographical location, their marital status and their nationality. Relatedly, these identities will also affect young displacees' access to services, particularly services that are adapted to their specific needs, illustrating the need for enabling environments.

The book's conceptual framework also proposed that ecological and 'generational' approaches be used as lenses through which to understand young people's agency. An ecological approach emphasises the importance of the social context of young people's lives for shaping their opportunities. This includes not only families and peers but the structural and institutional contexts in which they transition through adolescence (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The nuanced discussions by contributors on the six country settings explored in this book underline the role of political, economic, social, cultural and legal dynamics in shaping adolescents' lived experiences. Adolescents' status and context – whether they are internally displaced

in Ethiopia, stateless Palestinians in Jordan or registered refugees (as seen in the other chapter contexts) – have consequences for the actors involved in addressing their needs and the extent to which the humanitarian-development nexus can be adequately bridged to ensure that no adolescent is left behind. The conceptual framework at the heart of this book emphasises the need for 'change strategies' that engage and empower displaced adolescents.

The other lens – the notion of 'generationing', which focuses on the relational dynamics that shape young people's participation in processes of change (Huijsmans, 2016) – can be used to understand how cultural and social norms and related restrictions on girls and boys, and younger and older adolescents, are negotiated and evolve over time as they come up against other social forces. As seen through the contributions to this book, the role, status and perceptions of youth and gender within communities are reshaped by factors such as (for example) the insecurity that characterises humanitarian contexts and the opportunities available for livelihoods and schooling. With four out of five refugees now living in protracted displacement, we are witnessing growing numbers of young people who will have spent their whole life as refugees (UNHCR, 2019). Across the chapters in this volume, we see that the particular stage in adolescence and relationships with family and peers have a significant impact on young people's experiences in displacement.

Addressing the nexus: peace, climate change, humanitarianism and development

The Sustainable Development Goals' Agenda 2030 emphasises the overlap and continuity of all goals in relation to addressing the structural causes of marginalisation. In practice, attention to the intersection of the now widely accepted 'humanitarian-development nexus' overlaps with other pressing challenges for coordinated policy action; as introduced earlier, two of these with pertinence for adolescents are the issues of climate change and of peacebuilding. Yet given the increasing intersections of humanitarianism, peacebuilding, climate change and development work, it is striking that we still know so little about the experiences of displaced and conflict-affected adolescents in relation to these dynamics. The chapters of this book highlight some of the challenges for bridging these issues in ways that address the specific vulnerabilities of adolescents. Understanding how adolescents encounter different modalities of interventions across various settings, and identifying where gaps remain, allows us to draw out recommendations for policy and programmatic change at the nexus to ensure that progress will leave no one behind.

As explored in the chapter by Guglielmi et al., the mass displacement of Rohingya people into Bangladesh initially attracted humanitarian funding under the Joint Response Plan (JRP) for the Rohingya humanitarian crisis, in order to stabilise the situation and respond to immediate needs. Yet duration of displacement affects what support systems can be accessed by displaced adolescents; three years on, there are still no clear long-term solutions to the Rohingya situation, with various policy actors still in dispute over possible options around repatriation or

integration. Environmental threats such as land degradation, deforestation and water pollution, on top of ongoing climate change induced coastal erosion and flooding in hosting areas which are already affecting the local agricultural economy will continue to exacerbate tensions between refugees and Bangladeshi nationals if more sustainable solutions are not sought. In the absence of a clear strategy, a blanket humanitarian assistance policy continues to focus on meeting immediate needs. Guglielmi et al. show that this leaves Rohingya adolescents in limbo, unable to access education or skills training; meanwhile gender inequalities remain unaddressed and poverty continues to deepen. Transitioning towards a rights-based, long-term, development-informed approach is key to addressing and preventing further marginalisation.

Other contributions show that a development-informed approach is not a panacea. Isimbi et al. show that for Congolese refugees in Rwanda, over 30 years of displacement have transformed a crisis into a status quo. Rwandan refugee policy follows a 'self-reliance' strategy in accordance with the Global Compact on Refugees and is a rollout country for the Compact's Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, which seeks to integrate refugees into the economy. But as Isimbi et al. show, refugee communities face various barriers to economic inclusion, not least being hosted in poor and isolated areas and lacking social capital. This is known to lead to higher rates of poverty – driving adolescent girls to engage in gendered and sexualised survival strategies (Williams et al., 2018; Ruzibiza, 2020). Recognising adolescents' agency in seeking out opportunities beyond the camp, despite the risks they face, Isimbi et al.'s work explores the possibilities of local laws for supporting and protecting adolescent girls and challenging harmful norms, and of creating pathways to training and employment that reflect the realities of girls' lives. These are aspects of integration that are often overlooked in the current emphasis on the economic dimensions of protracted displacement within global policy.

Reflecting on the ways that the humanitarian-development-peace nexus has so far played out in the Middle East, Małachowska et al. and Youssef's contributions allow contrasts to be drawn between the situation for Palestinian and Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon, respectively. Jordan has initiated efforts to integrate refugees economically through the Jordan Compact for Refugees, which came about in response to the protracted crisis of Syrian displacement from 2011 onwards. With little hope of a peace agreement, the Jordan Compact has primarily focused on extending labour market access to Syrian refugees. Yet critiques have emphasised that it should better reflect refugees' needs, priorities and survival strategies (Barbelet et al., 2018; Lenner and Turner, 2019), and, indeed, in the context of growing economic malaise in Jordan, a number of the labour market commitments made have since been rolled back. As Małachowska et al. show, this focus on formal access rather than the quality of services provided is also reflected in the education sector. Syrian refugees have been given access to education through the establishment of several hundred double-shift schools, but the curriculum and pedagogical approach are not geared to instilling the twenty-first-century skills needed for meaningful labour market participation.

In Lebanon, an ongoing economic and political crisis continues to present challenges for bridging the 'nexus' in a country that hosts more refugees per capita than any other in the world. While the government has accepted the 1.5 million Syrian refugees who have arrived since 2011 (UNHCR, 2020), Lebanon has never ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and considers refugees to be foreigners, with no specific rights relating to their status. The protection mandate of UNHCR in Lebanon is restricted by this lack of cooperation – a tension that is exacerbated by the uncertain political climate (Janmyr, 2018). Youssef shows the gendered and age-related impact of this situation on Syrian refugee girls, who like many Syrian refugees live in low-quality informal tented settlements and face myriad barriers to work and educational opportunities. Economic disadvantage, Youssef suggests, intersects with existing social inequalities to produce outcomes such as educational exclusion and child marriage, which isolate girls and exacerbate mental health challenges. The Global Compact on Refugees calls for more integration of services that benefit both refugees and host communities; yet the situation in Lebanon as captured in that chapter engenders broader questions about the political economy of the humanitarian-development nexus. Across the MENA region, rising temperatures and increasing projections of drought will have consequences for water and food security that will also impact refugee integration, underlining the need for a climate lens on these challenges.

For Palestinians, long-term statelessness complicates experiences of displacement. The contributions of both Abu Hamad and Sajdi et al. allow a consideration of the implications of statelessness from two different perspectives in two country contexts. Abu Hamad's chapter illustrates the continued exposure to violence of Palestinian adolescents living in Gaza, where protracted conflict and tensions around occupation present a major challenge for the implementation of long-term development interventions that promote adolescents' capabilities. International humanitarian law, which applies to conflict settings, emphasises protecting communities from violence; yet without this obligation being fulfilled by the international community, as Abu Hamad shows, the Sustainable Development Goals' target of ending all forms of violence against children is unlikely to be fulfilled in Gaza. Existing social protection and humanitarian interventions seek to engage with prevailing social and cultural norms around violence, but the interconnectedness of these norms with the structural violence of statelessness is seemingly intractable, calling attention to the need for peacebuilding concerns not to be overlooked within developmental initiatives.

Sajdi et al.'s contribution explores the impact of statelessness on educational access and outcomes for Palestinian adolescents in Jordan. Palestinian refugees have a history dating back to 1948 in Jordan, when the country granted arrivals full Jordanian citizenship; but refugees arriving from Gaza from 1967 onwards were given temporary passports, and subsequent waves of Palestinian refugees have met with increasingly restrictive policies (Lenner, 2016). And while Jordan's Compact on Refugees is celebrated as an example of how the humanitarian-development nexus can be bridged, the current approach of the Jordanian government to managing

stateless Palestinian refugees – which is strongly mediated by fears about domestic and international security (Mansour-Ille et al., 2018) – is often overlooked in discussions of the nexus. Sajdi et al. suggest that a lack of citizenship rights limits refugees' prospects and opportunities and that this is compounded by deep-seated conservative gender norms which discourage adolescents from continuing in school. Yet despite this context of structural violence, many young people continue to aspire to a better future and seek ways of fulfilling their ambitions.

In the chapter on Ethiopia, where Jones et al. show that internally displaced adolescents must navigate fractured social contexts and very limited livelihood or schooling options, we can see that ultimate responsibility to address these challenges lies with the government in terms of ensuring that appropriate social protection and assistance is delivered. However, the dearth of coordination of services for internally displaced persons across the humanitarian-development spectrum (as noted by Jones et al.) is particularly striking when one considers that Ethiopia is a 'rollout' country for the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework – with the aim that funding for humanitarian aid and development assistance is integrated to create a more comprehensive approach that addresses the needs of refugee and host communities collectively. The Framework makes no mention of IDPs, despite the relevance of objectives such as safe return to points of origin, economic opportunities and social protection support for the most vulnerable within hosting areas. These are recognised as being key to ensuring that IDPs, like refugees, are not left behind within development trajectories. Given that IDPs outnumber refugees around the world at a rate of two to one, their oversight presents a serious challenge to efforts to 'leave no one behind'. On the one hand, there are some positive signs of efforts to resolve governance conflicts that have played a large part in mass displacement in previous years and there is a newly established Ministry of Peace charged with supporting IDPs and resettlement. On the other hand, however, it is essential that these interventions also engage more centrally with access to resources such as land and water, which have driven tensions for decades and which climate change has brought into sharper focus.

Implications for policies and programming

Each of the chapters of this book have identified recommendations for policies and programming that leave no young person behind in the specific contexts they address. Together they also underscore the importance of addressing four key themes that cut across all contexts: investing in age- and gender-responsive social protection, improving access to quality and relevant education, supporting access to skills building and livelihoods opportunities, and investing in age- and gender-sensitive violence prevention and response services. Each of these themes speak to the structural and systemic barriers to young people's realisation of their full capabilities in displacement. In highlighting these themes, we should nevertheless emphasize that there is no one-size-fits-all approach that will be effective. In this we refer not only to the need for solutions which account for the specific socioeconomic, political

and cultural constraints of adolescents' capabilities, evidenced across these chapters, but also to the importance of context-tailored approaches as to how to effectively coordinate and sequence interventions, involving which actors and with which human and financial resourcing. These considerations will by necessity be distinct in situations of protracted displacement compared to more recent humanitarian crises, and these will differ again from internal displacement.

Investing in age- and gender-responsive social protection

Investing in age- and gender-responsive social protection for adolescents in humanitarian contexts is essential. The evidence presented across all chapters of this book highlights that gender and age play a significant role in shaping the vulnerabilities and risks facing displaced populations. At the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit, in line with the SDGs' commitment to expand coverage of social protection to all, humanitarian and development actors recognised the need to 'increase social protection programmes and strengthen national and local systems and coping mechanisms in order to build resilience in fragile contexts' (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), 2016). A growing body of evidence points to the positive impact of social protection mechanisms such as cash transfers, food assistance and school feeding on young people's participation in education (de Hoop et al., 2019), their nutrition and health outcomes (Bailey and Hedlund, 2012), and tensions and violence within households (Hidrobo et al., 2012; Hamad et al., 2017) – all of which are key for young people's wellbeing.

Properly targeted social protection packages can also promote other positive outcomes, such as social cohesion between refugees and host communities (Doocy and Tappis, 2016; Valli et al., 2019), especially when twinned with complementary services such as psychosocial support and non-formal education. Yet existing research has neither explored directly the impact of these strategies on adolescents nor engaged with the long-term effects of social protection on reducing gender- and age-related inequalities. For work at the humanitarian-development-peace nexus to therefore effectively address inequalities and avoid further marginalising those who are most at risk, intersections of age, gender and other vulnerabilities based on social identity (e.g. disability or marital status) must be considered and integrated into sustainably funded social protection packages for displaced populations at scale and adequately monitored. In protracted situations, the emphasis within the Global Compact on Refugees on integrating refugees into national social protection services provides a way of overcoming the short-termism of humanitarian programming that is so detrimental to the capacity of families to rebuild their lives in displacement. Yet continued restrictions on access and discrimination against refugees in many hosting countries, as shown in some of these chapters, underline the importance of collaboration between humanitarian agencies and national programmes to ensure that no one is left behind.

One of the caveats of social protection programmes is that programmes typically do not address the root causes of young people's vulnerabilities, instead focusing

on the consequences and symptoms associated with these vulnerabilities, such as providing economic support or first aid interventions. Traditionally, in conflict-affected context, short-term, donors-driven vertical interventions are usually implemented that focus on one particular aspect of the vulnerabilities which usually fail to address the multidimensional and intersecting needs of adolescents. To address this bias, there is a need for longer-term, sustainable horizontal programmes that consider the interlinked challenges adolescents face and address these in a comprehensive multidisciplinary and multisectoral approach at both the policy and programming levels. It is also critical to adopt a proactive targeting approach to support adolescents exposed to social inequalities who need protection and not to rely on conventional approaches that tend to serve those who self-refer to these programmes.

Improving access to quality and relevant education

The structural challenges facing adolescents in accessing quality and relevant education are also evident across the contexts explored in this book. Since the World Humanitarian Summit, there has been increasing attention to the imperative to include education in both crisis responses and under conditions of protracted displacement. As shown by Sajdi et al. and Guglielmi et al., during displacement, educational opportunities become fragmented both in the long and short term. Not only does this risk adolescents being left behind at critical junctures such as examinations and secondary transitions (Zubairi and Rose, 2016; Wanjiru, 2018) but being unable to go to school can also mean that young people experience further social exclusion and disengagement from their peers (Czamanski-Cohen, 2010). Where displaced adolescents are supported in accessing schooling, however, they may face language barriers, poor-quality schooling and find themselves stigmatised and discriminated against due to their identity as refugees or IDPs (Dryden-Peterson, 2015).

Inclusive education policies must address these challenges. A commonly noticed practice in humanitarian contexts is that educational programmes at schools usually focus solely on teaching curricula and ignore other aspects. Yet as Małachowska et al. show, education should not be limited to academic curricula and confined to classrooms but rather focus on quality and relevance. Indeed, research suggests that life skills training, communication and negotiation skills, and learning about human rights have a long-term spill-over effect on adolescents' psychosocial and economic wellbeing (Simac et al., 2019). In addition, catch-up and non-formal education opportunities are not only limited in coverage but also not proactive in targeting adolescents who already left education. However, many adolescents who are not enrolled in education in humanitarian contexts remain unaware of available programmes, and thus there is a pressing need to expand access through proactive targeting, scaling up of successful initiatives and investments in family awareness about the opportunity costs of education.

Promoting access to livelihoods and life skills training

A major focus of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework emerging from global dialogue about sustainable solutions to mass displacement was refugee livelihoods. Initiatives to promote the integration of displaced populations into host country economies have been met with wide criticism for failing to address the structural barriers to economic inclusion, including constraints on the right to work or move freely (Ilcan and Rygiel, 2015; Omata, 2017). Current en-masse approaches to self-reliance also 'gloss over' the individual vulnerabilities and capacities of refugees, which will, of course, be shaped by their age, gender and background (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018). The chapters by Abu Hamad, Guglielmi et al., Jones et al. and Youssef underline the gendered impact of structural violence on young people's opportunities for work. It is essential that livelihood opportunities and life skills training for adolescents in humanitarian settings reflect the contextual realities of their lives and status in host communities and countries. Most livelihood support programmes on humanitarian context focus on the economic vulnerability of the household and aim to mitigate the consequences of poverty but rarely consider developing adolescents' capabilities. Indeed, in these contexts, adolescents are usually annexed to their parents. Moreover, the availability of livelihood and life skills training programmes does not guarantee its use. Marketing, advertising or increasing awareness about the available programme is essential to promote utilization of these programmes. To overcome the limited enrolment in vocational training facilities, it is important for programmers to understand and tackle cultural perceptions around the lower status of vocational education.

Interventions must also assist adolescents to develop transferable skills that can stay with them for life. Indeed, while educational inclusion matters, so too does equipping young people with the knowledge they need to successfully navigate their social, economic and political environments. Ensuring that displaced adolescents are informed about their rights, and are supported to exercise voice and agency, can promote democratic political participation. Evidence from Małachowska et al. as to the success of UNICEF's Makani programme in Jordan, which promotes these twenty-first-century skills to empower young people, provides a potential blueprint.

Ensuring access to age- and gender-based violence prevention and response services

Of major concern are the ongoing rights violations that adolescents experience due to a lack of adequate services, reporting and accountability mechanisms. It is widely accepted that women and girls are particularly vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence in contexts of displacement, and human rights laws outline their right to specific protections (Donnelly and Muthiah, 2019). However, both child protection and sexual and reproductive health services that are accessible

and appropriate for adolescents are often absent in humanitarian contexts. Moreover, violence prevention programmes tend to be framed within a narrow focus on political and severe forms of physical violence during conflict, with much more limited attention given to gender- and age-related aggressions attributed to cultural, economic and social hierarchies and norms that are too often compounded in contexts of displacement. Stemming also from short-term programme design, little is usually done in humanitarian contexts to address the risk factors of violence, including investments in positive parenting practices, advocating for peacebuilding and promoting gender equity and social justice.

In this volume Abu Hamad, Youssef et al. and Jones et al. each draw attention to both the structural and interpersonal violence that stateless, refugee and internally displaced adolescents experience on a regular basis. Abu Hamad advocates the need to both strengthen reporting mechanisms and in-school protection services, and raise awareness among communities about adolescents' rights. Jones et al. flag the need for complementary and connected services to not only be age- and gender-responsive but to account for the different support needs of camp-based and urban adolescents. Isimbi et al. emphasise the need to challenge norms and stigma around sexual violence through local laws while also addressing poverty among refugee populations, which is intricately connected to gender-based violence.

Directions for future research

The empirical contributions in this book underline that bridging the humanitarian-development-peace nexus is a complex undertaking. There are, however, some shared challenges. Different categories of displaced people such as refugees, internally displaced persons and stateless displaced people have access to differential status and conditionalities under international humanitarian and national laws, and their experiences are further complicated by social identities such as gender, age and disability. Diverse actors are involved in delivering aid and assistance. Understanding how these variations shape the experiences of displaced adolescents offers a window into what is necessary for the humanitarian-development nexus to evolve and better align with the SDGs and the 2030 Agenda to leave no one behind. Refugees were originally absent in the 2030 Agenda, though at the five-year revision point, the empowerment of refugees and internally displaced persons was recognised as key to development and the promise to leave no one behind (through the introduction of a new indicator under target 16.3).[1] There was also recognition that transforming the marginalisation and poverty of displaced people entails attention to structural inequality.

Directives for programming to address the needs of adolescents within specific country contexts in line with the 2030 Agenda are explored by authors in each chapter, but several cross-cutting themes challenge their enactment in practice. The first is the dearth of comprehensive, disaggregated data on crisis-affected populations. Disaggregated data by sex and age can help operational agencies to

identify and respond to vulnerable groups, deliver effective and efficient assistance, and save both lives and livelihoods (Mazurana et al., 2013). Data such as this can also assist in the pursuit of an intersectional approach (described earlier) by drawing attention to multiple points of oppression that may manifest in different contexts. UNHCR's Age, Gender and Diversity policy (UNHCR, 2018) has seen the organisation commit to generating and using age- and gender-disaggregated data on refugee populations. Yet not only is disaggregated data still in a fledging state in many refugee contexts but this guidance does not specify the extent to which data should be disaggregated on young people under the age of 18, despite the divergent needs of younger and older adolescents. Furthermore, UNHCR is not the lead actor in all contexts; in cases of internal displacement, which heavily outnumber refugee situations (by double), knowledge about the diversity of displaced populations may rely on government data, which may use different definitions.

A further challenge is the lack of investment in longitudinal research, despite recognition of the protracted and dynamic nature of humanitarian crises and their aftermath. Four in five young refugees are now in protracted exile. Future research agendas must seek to understand how the experiences and support requirements of young people change as they age and as displacement situations evolve. One of the strengths of the research presented in this book is its longitudinal approach, which has enabled researchers from the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) programme to observe these changes over time. A longitudinal approach also allows space for relationships to develop between researchers and participants over time in a more organic way, building trust and allowing deeper insights into adolescents' lives. Relationships can also be built with family members, enabling exploration of how norms are transmitted and change across generations (Huijsmans, 2016). Observing how young people's vulnerabilities and opportunities change in relation to the broader contexts of their lives allows us to point to what types of programming pay dividends in expanding their capabilities at different points in time. It also helps us identify what may be needed across different cohorts of adolescents and youth to ensure that the commitments of the Global Compact and the SDGs to leave no one behind are inclusive of and enhance the agency of all persons affected by displacement.

Note

1 Indicator 10.7.2 (UN DESA, 2020) refers to migrant populations, calling for the facilitation of 'orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies' and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) includes 'Government measures to deliver comprehensive responses to refugees and other forcibly displaced persons' as one of six proxy measures for this indicator (UN DESA and IOM, 2019). UNHCR and other humanitarian actors successfully lobbied for the inclusion of an indicator that explicitly references refugees in 2019. It was formally accepted as part of the 2020 Comprehensive Review under Target 10.7.4 – 'Proportion of the population who are refugees, by country of origin' (Nahmias and Krynsky Baal, 2019).

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