‘IF WE DON’T WORK, WE DON’T EAT’
Syrian Women Face Mounting Food Insecurity a Decade into the Conflict
March 2021
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ten years ago, the lives of many Syrians changed profoundly as anti-government demonstrations escalated into violent conflict between forces allied to the Government of Syria and armed opposition groups. The resulting humanitarian crisis is one of the worst of our time – 6.7 million Syrians remain internally displaced; an estimated 13 million people are in need and 12.4 million live with food insecurity.

In recent months, the situation has deteriorated even further as the COVID-19 pandemic, mass displacements, natural disaster, economic collapse and ongoing hostilities have combined to create a situation wherein households are finding it increasingly difficult to meet their basic needs, including for food.

Average food prices in Syria increased by 236% in 2020 – and food prices are more than 29 times higher than the five-year pre-crisis average, causing many families to resort to negative coping strategies. This includes eating fewer and/or smaller meals to get by.

Furthermore, due to the loss or reduced capacity of male heads of household to death, injury, disappearance or emigration in search of work, many Syrian women are now the sole or primary breadwinners for their families, bearing the full burden of providing for their families with limited livelihood opportunities. About 22% of Syrian households are now headed by women; this is up from only 4% prior to the conflict. Even in households where the male head of household is working in some capacity, dire economic circumstances have pushed women to find some source of income to help with household expenses. In both cases, women are thrust into the ‘provider’ role in a way that most had not previously experienced.
KEY FINDINGS

Interviews with 48 women living as internally displaced persons (IDPs), residents, hosts and returnees in camps and villages in Al-Hasakah and Deir ez-Zor governorates in north-east Syria and Aleppo and Idlib governorates in the north west, provided valuable insights into some of the challenges facing Syrian women today. Some of the key findings from this research include:

- **Across the board, women reflected on the stark contrast between their lives before the crisis and today.** Many residents, returnees, IDPs and hosts alike reported feelings of instability, fear of recurring violence and/or displacement, and concerns about being able to meet their families’ basic needs.

- **Many women interviewed had taken on the role of sole or primary breadwinner for their households, and for most, this was a role that they had not performed prior to the crisis.** Women reported having to take on the provider role due to a lack of job opportunities for men; death, loss or incapacity of a male head of household; rising costs of living; and low wages. In addition to providing for their households, most of the women interviewed were also shouldering caregiving responsibilities for children, parents, disabled spouses or other family members.

- **Many young women also reported having to find work to contribute to their household’s expenses.** Some articulated a shift in social norms and expectations that supported young women’s work, rather than relegating them to marriage and other traditional roles. While some young women were attending school, many reported having their studies interrupted due to displacement and/or insecurity, while others had to stop school in order to work.

- **Most women and youth who worked had taken on daily or seasonal jobs, such as crop harvesting; others were carrying out familiar jobs such as sewing, cooking and cleaning for other households.** A few relied on livestock assets for income. Nearly all expressed the desire for a more stable income, but identified lack of training, education, certification and resources as barriers to securing reliable employment.

- **The effects of COVID-19 upon livelihoods varied regionally, due to differences in the extent of pandemic-related restrictions and lockdown measures.** In the north east, where measures to restrict the spread of the disease were more strict, women reported direct negative economic effects due to work interruptions and their inability to access markets to sell products. Indirect negative effects were also reported, as travel bans and market disruptions had driven up the price of goods. Women in the north west were more neutral on their views of the economic impact of COVID-19. For many, the pandemic had not interrupted work, as it was already unstable and unreliable. For a few women, the pandemic created temporary job opportunities in the production of masks.

- **Overwhelmingly, the women interviewed identified food insecurity as an urgent, pressing issue for their households.** Citing the rapidly increasing costs of food and other goods, the vast majority reported using at least one coping strategy to offset food insecurity. The most commonly reported coping strategies were borrowing food or money, skipping meals, relying on less nutritious staple foods, and reducing other household expenses to allocate money towards food.

- **Poor food quality and nutrition were major concerns, particularly for pregnant and lactating women (PLW) and mothers with young children.** Noting a drastic reduction in the variety of available and accessible foods over time, women often expressed their dissatisfaction with the quality and diversity of their households’ diets. Due to both the high price and limited availability of some foods such as meat, fruit and vegetables, many households are reliant on staples such as bulgur, lentils, rice and potatoes, supplementing with cheap, lower-quality vegetables when available. Some women linked anaemia among their household members to poor diet; likewise, a few mothers attributed their children’s poor health or growth faltering due to poor diet.

- **Women’s attitudes about the future were mixed with optimism, pessimism and uncertainty.** However, most conveyed a belief that the direction their lives would take hinged upon whether or not they were able to work and provide for their families.
CREATING LASTING CHANGE FOR SYRIAN WOMEN

Over the past 75 years, the CARE package has transformed from a physical box containing food parcels for World War II survivors in Europe to its current form as a range of programmes focused on long-term solutions to poverty, through empowering women and girls. For instance, a modern CARE package could include cash and voucher assistance to help refugees purchase food and household essentials; CARE’s Village Savings and Loans Associations that allow women to harness the power of group savings; Farmer Field and Business Schools that enable women smallholder farmers to gain and share knowledge on nutrition-sensitive agricultural methods; or a Social Analysis and Action process that guides communities through exercises to identify and challenge harmful gender norms and create more equitable ones.

The CARE package has evolved to deliver long-lasting, transformative change – the kind of change that Syrian women and their families need right now. Over the past decade of the conflict, humanitarian response has largely centred on short-term, immediate relief. However, in light of persisting crises and rapidly deteriorating circumstances, it has become clear that donors and the humanitarian community could create larger-scale, more sustainable impacts by shifting their approach to support Syrian women’s self-sufficiency, growth and security. This could be by:

1. Funding rapid, large-scale investments in livelihoods support to foster sustainable livelihoods and independence for Syrian households, to lessen aid dependency.
2. Directing funds specifically to support women in accessing livelihoods, through gender-responsive interventions that address vulnerabilities, while harnessing their own capacities.
3. Scaling up humanitarian interventions to reduce micronutrient, nutrition and food consumption gaps and reduce reliance on negative, unsustainable coping mechanisms, especially among young women, pregnant and lactating mothers, and children under five years of age.
4. Promoting nutrition-sensitive food production and processing activities and value chains to maximise the nutritional impact of food security and livelihoods activities.
5. Establishing secondary support systems, including childcare, transportation and health care, to relieve some of the burden of women taking on dual roles of caregiver and provider.
6. Negotiating and/or resolving bureaucratic barriers and misperceptions that prevent procurement of goods from local producers, so that aid funds can strengthen local value chains, including for cereal, dairy and livestock.
7. Prioritising early disbursement of UN-managed funds – particularly for livelihoods projects and food security initiatives – for quick disbursement to implementing partners, and the pre-positioning of goods, in order to ensure the continuity of aid.
Bahija* struggles to meet the needs of her family

With the deteriorating economic situation and lack of job opportunities in northern Syria, Bahija cannot find work to sustain herself and her family and has no choice, but to go door-to-door to ask families in the area for help. At the age of 65, she still has to find a way to put food on the table for her family of seven.

Bahija is the sole breadwinner of her family. After she lost both her husband and son to the war in Syria, there was no one left to help. She needs medicine that she cannot afford to buy. To support her family, she delivers merchandise to people’s homes, sells homemade meals, and works in any seasonal job she can find.

“I have seven children and I am raising them by myself. I work in agriculture, I prepare meals at home for families, I deliver things to people’s homes, and I do other jobs so that my family can survive,” she says. “We do not have a man or someone to support us; we only have God. My husband died six years ago and my son died in an airstrike a year later.”

Bahija received a $150 voucher through CARE’s Cash and Voucher Assistance program, implemented by Violet, one of CARE’s Syrian partner organization in northwestern Syria. Through this assistance, she was able to buy medicine and secure food for her family for a while.

The Cash and Voucher program is part of the emergency response that CARE carries out through its Syrian partners to enable people, who have been directly affected by conflict and displacement in northern Syria, to meet their basic needs.

*Names have been changed to protect identities
INTRODUCTION

In March 2011, violence erupted in Syria as protests against the government escalated, culminating in calls for President Bashar al-Assad to step down. By July 2012, conflict had erupted between Syrian government-led forces and armed opposition groups, creating a humanitarian crisis marked by mass displacement, destruction of infrastructure, loss of livelihoods, separation of families and food insecurity. At the end of 2020, 6.7 million Syrians remained internally displaced and an estimated 11 million people were in need. Furthermore, the number of food-insecure Syrians has nearly doubled from 6.3 million in 2015 to 12.4 million today and, based on dietary diversity and meal frequency, 54.9% of Syrians have insufficient food consumption.

Almost 40% of internally displaced families have been displaced more than three times.

Since late 2019, Syria has witnessed multiple shocks, including extensive military operations in the north-eastern region of the country; mass displacements due to escalating hostilities in the north west; flooding in refugee camps; and an economic crisis complicated by international trade sanctions, the devalorising Syrian pound, and a dramatic increase in the price of commodities. For example, the price of staple foods such as rice and wheat flour has increased by about 240% since December 2019. Similarly, the price of diesel fuel has increased by 117% since June 2020.

From December 2019 to March 2020, nearly 1 million people were displaced in north-west Syria, the largest wave of displacement to date in the crisis. Women and children made up 80% of those displaced. This was in addition to the 2.7 million people who were already displaced.

Much of Syria’s critical infrastructure – such as schools, housing, water systems and health facilities – has yet to be restored and more than 90% of the population lives below the poverty line. This vulnerability is only compounded by the rising costs of food and goods. According to the World Food Programme (WFP), average food prices in Syria increased by 236% in 2020. Food prices are now more than 29 times higher than the five-year pre-crisis average, leaving many families struggling to cope with hunger and food insecurity on a daily basis.

The situation is especially critical for Syrian women. Already living in a constant state of insecurity and uncertainty, many have now taken on the responsibility of providing for their families in the absence or incapacity of male heads of household. However, history shows that such circumstances do not have to end in catastrophe. In fact, women’s work can stabilise economies, protect their households from economic shocks and stresses, and lay the foundation for a shift towards more equitable gender norms.

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9 Ibid.


12 Ibid.


For example, while men were fighting overseas during World War II, many American women – who had not traditionally worked outside of the home – had to take up ‘men’s work’ to keep the economy afloat and produce the goods and materials needed to support the war effort. An estimated 6.7 million women entered the workforce, an increase of almost 50%. While the direct effects of women entering the labour force during World War II are arguable – as many women exited the workforce immediately after the war – there were lasting, indirect consequences. Women’s ability to work outside the home and provide for their families and communities had been established. This contributed to a gradual shift in women’s expectations for themselves, as well as gender and social norms that would influence the shape of the American workforce and fuel women’s and civil rights movements for years to come.

Now entering the tenth year of the conflict, many Syrian households are facing the worst conditions they have experienced since the conflict began, as continuing shocks and stresses such as repeated displacement, increased conflict events and loss of livelihoods threaten to deplete household resilience. Women are under increasing pressure to effectively ensure the survival of their households. While short-term, immediate assistance is necessary to respond to escalating hostilities and new emergencies, persistent and cyclical crises and rapidly deteriorating circumstances indicate that relying solely on this approach is inadequate and can create aid dependence. A dual approach, which includes a shift towards sustainable, large-scale change, is required to support self-sufficiency, growth and security among Syrian women and their families.

THE RESEARCH

This research sought to better understand Syrian women’s experiences during the past decade, with a focus on how their lives have changed, the livelihoods strategies they have employed, and their experiences with food insecurity. To this end, the research team conducted in-depth interviews with 48 women living in camps and villages in Al-Hasakah and Deir ez-Zor governorates in north-east Syria (NES) and Aleppo and Idlib governorates in the north-west (NWS). Participants and study sites were selected in order to capture the spectrum of women’s experiences as internally displaced people (IDPs), returnees, residents or hosts in crisis-affected communities. Participants selected for interview equally represented female heads of household (FHH); youth aged 14-25 years; and pregnant and lactating women (PLW)/mothers of children under five years of age. Women with disabilities were also included in the sample. These groups were selected for their unique perspectives on the dynamics and effects of the crisis over time, as well as their heightened vulnerability to food insecurity. Women and girls are disproportionately impacted by food insecurity due to systemic gender inequalities that impede their ability to produce, access, afford and consume food.

As such, globally:

- 60% of people experiencing chronic hunger are women and girls;
- women are more likely to experience moderate or severe food insecurity than men; and
- female-headed households are at highest risk of experiencing food crises.

19 ‘A resident’ refers to a person who was not displaced from their current residence. A ‘returnee’ refers to a person who was temporarily displaced from their original home or community but has since returned.

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Burning branches to stay warm is Nour’s last hope this winter

Under heavy bombardment in her village, Nour*, 39, fled with her family to a camp in the western countryside of Idlib. Yet, she could not cope with the harsh living conditions in the camp and had to return home, despite the danger and lack of basic necessities.

“It was very difficult and we could not live away from our home. There is no water or electricity here, but what is important is that we are home,” she says.

Nour is a widow and lives with her children and younger brothers under desperate conditions, without a source of income. In the winter, she goes to the fields to look for wood that she can use for heating.

“Every day, I go out with my children to look for tree branches that we could burn to stay warm. I want to buy a gas cylinder, but I cannot afford it, so I use the wood fire to cook and feed my children.”

Recently, Nour benefitted from CARE’s Cash and Voucher Assistance program, in partnership with one of CARE’s Syrian partner organizations, Violet, in northwestern Syria. The $150 voucher helped her buy some of her family’s basic needs and care for her children and brothers.

“We are afraid that there will be renewed bombing. Life here is tough. I went to buy medicine for my son yesterday, then remembered that I did not have any money. I used the money I received to pay the rent, fill the water tank, and buy some food and needed items for my children,” Nour says.

*Names have been changed to protect identities
Interviews were conducted by CARE field staff over the course of three weeks, from December 2020 to January 2021. Although the findings of this study cannot be considered representative of all Syrian women, they may help guide programmes that respond to the livelihood and food security needs of some of the most vulnerable people, while at the same time seeking to decrease aid dependency.

**WOMEN’S CHANGING LIVES AND EVOLVING ROLES**

The lives of many women in Syria today are profoundly different from their lives ten years ago. Prior to the onset of the conflict, Syrian women were largely relegated to traditional roles, such as caregiving and household chores. Some women worked at home, supporting their families’ agriculture or livestock activities. Fewer were employed in the formal labour market; prior to the conflict only about 22% of women were in the labour force compared to 80% of men. However, due to the loss or reduced capacity of many male heads of household to death, injury, disappearance or emigration in search of work, many Syrian women in crisis-affected areas are now the sole or primary breadwinners for their families.

Approximately 22% of Syrian households are now headed by women, a substantial increase from only 4% prior to the conflict. Even in families where the male head of household is working in some capacity, soaring food prices, low wages and a shortage of work opportunities for men have pushed women to find some source of income to help with household expenses. As a result, many women have been thrust into the ‘provider’ role in a way that most had not previously experienced.

‘I was a housewife who was only responsible for raising my children and taking care of my household. Now, my role has changed a lot and I am responsible for four children and all of them have a visual impairment. I am now the mother and father to them, and I am now working on developing myself and undergoing several trainings in computer, community health and data collection in order to get a good job opportunity and a stable income for my family.’

*(FHH, 28, IDP, Aleppo)*

‘My role is essential... previously, my husband was the one who worked, but he lost his job and I have to work. The women here in this camp must do whatever work is available to her to live, which is often seasonal agricultural work. In the past, it was not necessary for women to work because most of the men of our village own land that they cultivate, so women took care of the household, children and husband.’

*(Mother of young children, 23, IDP, Idlib)*

This shift in dynamics is especially abrupt and burdensome in female-headed households, where widows and otherwise single women bear the full weight of providing for their families.

‘My role in the past was limited to doing housework and raising children because my husband refused my work, even within the home, as he considered the responsibility of the woman is to raise children and take care of her household affairs. Now, my role has changed a lot after my husband's death and after returning from displacement. Now I work as a seamstress to provide an income for my family, as well as doing some maintenance work for household appliances, in addition to caring for children and helping them with their lessons.’

*(FHH, 33, returnee, Aleppo)*

Similarly, some female youth who would previously have been expected to take on traditional roles in the household or get married, are seeing a shift in expectations from their families, such that they are allowed and expected to work to contribute to their households.

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‘Previously, my role was limited to doing housework and not allowing us to complete our education or go outside the home and work. But now my family has begun to accept the idea of working for girls, and when I find an opportunity, even if it is temporary, I go out to work and share the [household] expenses with my brother.’

(Youth, 20, returnee, Aleppo)

It is important to acknowledge that in most cases, women are still expected to maintain their caregiving and household work, as well as their income-generating work. In other words, their new responsibility as provider is in addition to – not in place of – their traditional role. Maintaining these dual roles can put incredible stress and pressure on women.

‘A woman must find a job that is proper for her and doesn’t affect her performance as wife and mother. Despite the evolution in society, there is still a negative perception of a woman who is working and doesn’t take care of her family and her children.’

(PLW, 32, host, Al-Hasakah)

‘I take care of my sick and elderly mother, in addition to my responsibility to raise sheep and take care of them, as they are my source of livelihood, do household work, secure food and prepare it. One of my daily fears is the inability to provide bread, diesel, some foodstuffs and, most importantly, medicine, due to the lack of money sometimes.’

(FHH, 44, host, Al-Hasakah)

These shifting dynamics and newfound reliance on women to economically support their households necessitate increased livelihoods support and capacity building for women.

The benefits of economically empowering women extend far beyond financial well-being. Women who are economically empowered are also more likely to be empowered in their households and communities, and more able to participate in decision-making. This reduces women’s risk of exploitation, marginalisation and vulnerability, and leads to long-term changes in social norms and economic structures that benefit entire communities.26

‘Being financially independent has influenced my participation in decision-making; I predict if I will stop working, there may be some opinion differences between my husband and me. According to our social traditions and norms “the man is [the] controlling factor in decision-making in case the wife is not a worker and doesn’t participate in the income” and my husband may impose his opinion over mine.’

(PLW, 32, host, Al-Hasakah)

LIMITED LIVELIHOODS STRATEGIES

As most women have not previously worked outside of the home in Syria, they have yet to build the skills required to participate in reasonably profitable, reliable livelihoods activities. Instead, they take on familiar, less lucrative jobs such as sewing, cooking and cleaning. Others work at daily and/or seasonal agriculture jobs like harvesting olives, cumin or other crops; still others rely on livestock assets to make a living. In most cases, the income generated from women’s labour is not sufficient to meet the needs of their households.

The median cost of the survival minimum expenditure basket (SMEB)\(^\text{27}\) ranges from 254,111 Syrian pounds (SYP) (USD 92) in northeast Syria to SYP 282,716 (USD 105) in the northwest. On average, this is 2.5 times higher than the median SMEB costs in January 2020.\(^\text{28, 29}\)


\(^{27}\) The ‘survival minimum expenditure basket’ refers to a culturally adjusted basket of food, hygiene, fuel and other items required to support the minimum needs of a household of six for a month.


\(^{29}\) Ibid.
For women who are uneducated and/or illiterate, work opportunities are even more limited, and many are forced to rely solely on humanitarian aid to meet their families’ needs. Even for those who are able to find steady work with a fixed income, the country’s crumbling economy and increased cost of living have rendered their salaries insufficient.

‘I am working as teacher with the government, in addition to daily working with CARE as a trainer. My fixed main income is less than 17.5 USD per month, so it is not sufficient to cover the main requirements for the family, especially with the situation of high prices.’

(PLW, 32, host, Al-Hasakah)

While the COVID-19 pandemic has had a deleterious impact at the macroeconomic level in Syria, women report mixed effects on household economics. For some women, the pandemic created temporary job opportunities in the production of masks. In the north east, pandemic-related curfews and lockdown measures disrupted transportation, market access and work more so than in the north west. As such, more women in the north east described COVID-19 as having had negative economic impacts on their households.

‘Corona had a great impact on my husband’s work because of the ban, so he could no longer go to work, which led to a reduction in his working days, and consequently a decrease in our income because he works on a daily basis. This had a great effect on us, especially due to the raising prices and the huge changes in food prices.’

(Mother of young children, 20, IDP, Al-Hasakah)

‘Livestock is my main source of my income. I sell dairy and sometimes I sell and buy some sheep for trade and interest. The COVID-19 pandemic had a negative impact on my work and income, because the car that transported the dairy was no longer able to move between regions much due to curfew. Also, due to the lack of job opportunities during the period of the COVID-19 pandemic, people started buying basic food such as bread, rice, bulgur, tea and sugar, so milk and its derivatives and lamb meat became secondary matters, and thus the amount of purchase decreased and this affected my income negatively.’

(FHH, 26, resident, Al-Hasakah)

Some women who have the benefit of stable employment and a steady income still feel the indirect effects of the pandemic on their household finances, through its effect on the price of goods.

‘I am currently employed as an English language teacher in the school and I have a fixed monthly salary that I get from the Syrian government every month, but it is very small compared to the foreign exchange with the USD on which the prices of different products depend. COVID-19 disease did not affect my work, as my salary is fixed if I go to work or not, but the effect was in the high prices in the market as a result of the ban and quarantine, which makes our salary absolutely worthless over time.’

(FHH, 47, resident, Al-Hasakah)

Interviewees in the north west were less likely to identify COVID-related economic shocks. For some, the pandemic did not do much to diminish already-scant work opportunities; others were compelled to shoulder the risks of working during the pandemic to keep their households afloat.

‘Corona did not affect my family’s income. I work as a daily worker and people here think about securing a livelihood without concern for sickness or even death.’

(Mother of young children, 23, IDP, Idlib)
A widowed mother becomes the sole supporter of her seven children

After her husband died in the Syrian conflict, Salima*, 33, suddenly became the sole breadwinner of her family. As a widowed mother, she was unable to find a job to secure daily sustenance for herself and her seven children. She started working in seasonal jobs in northern Aleppo, harvesting olives in the summer, to secure the basic needs of her children.

“Every year, I wait for the olive harvest season to begin, so I can work and support my children. My husband died three years ago and, ever since then, I work in agricultural lands and care for my children all by myself,” Salima says.

Through CARE’s Cash and Voucher Assistance program and in partnership with Violet, CARE’s Syrian partner organization, Salima received a $150 voucher to help her meet the basic needs of her family.

“With the voucher, I bought firewood for the winter, medicine, food and other essential items for my children,” she says.

The Cash and Voucher program is part of the emergency response that CARE carries out through its Syrian partners to enable people, who have been directly affected by conflict and displacement in northern Syria, to meet their basic needs.

*Names have been changed to protect identities
SEEKING STABILITY

Citing the unreliable nature of daily and seasonal work, women stated that they desired more stable employment; however, lack of education, training and certification are the most commonly identified barriers to reliable work.

‘I work with my mother and sister – we work as seasonal agricultural workers. I do not have any fixed income. I would like to be employed, but I am not educated and I do not have any certicate that entitles me to any job. But I hope to learn a profession and open a small business for me and my mother.’

(Youth, 20, IDP, Idlib)

‘My main source of income is from raising livestock and selling livestock products such as milk, wool and yoghurt, and sometimes I sell sheep or lambs and I earn that money. I would like to work so that I have a monthly salary through which I can secure a living and do not need anyone. I have tried more than once to search for work, but I faced some obstacles that prevented me from getting a job, including not having a university degree or even a high school diploma.’

(FHH, 44, host, Al-Hasakah)

Some women also struggle to find work and lack a support system that would help them balance their caregiving responsibilities.

‘I work in selling children’s clothes and some women’s supplies and clothes in the camp, therefore there is no fixed income for us to rely on in our daily life. I definitely want to be employed, so I have a stable source of income. But caring for my disabled husband is my responsibility, I certainly cannot work outside the home for a long time or stay away from my husband, so this is the first reason that prevented me from working outside the camp. The other reason is that I am not educated, and I do not have any educational certificates or experience certificates, so there is no suitable job I can do with my skills and thus this also restricts me.’

(FHH, 45, IDP, Al-Hasakah)

Economic stress and poverty have implications for women and girls beyond the inability to buy food and other goods. Women and girls in poor and crisis-affected households are also at increased risk of experiencing gender-based violence (GBV) and exploitation; the risk is even higher for female heads of households.31 Lack of resources to meet their family’s basic needs may lead some women to resort to survival sex or make them more vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Additionally, male unemployment, combined with shifting gender roles, social norms accepting of GBV and years of crisis-induced stress, may lower the threshold at which men commit violence against women and girls.32 Furthermore, women and girls who are forced to travel outside of their communities to find work or to aid distribution sites are also at increased risk of violence. Indeed, many women interviewed said they would advise other women not to travel far and not to travel after dark due to safety concerns.

‘I would advise her to stay in the camp because it is safe and there is no robbery, kidnapping or anything, but I do not advise her to go out far from the camp, especially if she does not go out with her husband or brothers, especially at night.’

(Youth, 20, IDP, Idlib)

Furthermore, without sufficient resources, families are unable to ensure safe and adequate shelter or access to critical needs such as health services and education; this can diminish a household’s ability to cope with other shocks and stresses.

A NEW CHALLENGE

Food prices in Syria are the highest recorded since WFP began tracking in 2013. Prior to the conflict, the five year (2006–2010) national average price of the WFP reference food basket was SYP 3,700; today’s food basket costs SYP 111,676. The price of staple food and items such as rice and oil has increased by over 200% in just the last year and households are no longer able to afford other food items like meat and fruit.

Rising food costs, coinciding with the economic downturn and the COVID-19 pandemic, have combined to create a rapidly deteriorating food security situation for many Syrian households. Currently, 12.4 million people in Syria are facing food insecurity, with an additional 2.2 million at risk of food insecurity. Lack of resources, increasing food prices, and disruptions to supply chains and markets due to COVID-19 have created a situation where most households find it virtually impossible to obtain the amount and types of food required to meet the nutritional needs of all members.

Figure 1. Average national price of select staple items, 2018–2021 (SYP)

Food price data are collected from multiple markets across governorates and updated weekly by WFP VAM (Vulnerability and Mapping). For these calculations, monthly price data for the select items were averaged for each year. Data can be accessed at: https://data.humdata.org/dataset/wfp-food-prices-for-syrian-arab-republic. Data referenced for this study were last updated 14 February 2021.

24 The reference food basket is a group of essential food commodities tailored to the local context and designed to meet the nutritional requirements of the average family in a given country. In Syria, the food basket comprises a set of dry goods that provides 2,060 kcal a day for a family of five for a month. The basket includes 37 kilograms (kg) of bread, 19 kg of rice, 19 kg of lentils, 5 kg of sugar and 7 litres of vegetable oil. WFP (December 2020). ‘Syria Country Office Market Price Watch Bulletin, Issue 73.’ https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/WFP-0000122982.pdf
26 Ibid.
27 Food price data are collected from multiple markets across governorates and updated weekly by WFP VAM (Vulnerability and Mapping). For these calculations, monthly price data for the select items were averaged for each year. Data can be accessed at: https://data.humdata.org/dataset/wfp-food-prices-for-syrian-arab-republic. Data referenced for this study were last updated 14 February 2021.
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Figure 2. Average national price of selected fruits and vegetables, 2018–2021 (SYP)

Figure 3. Average national price of selected food, fish and egg items, 2018–2021 (SYP)
Displaced in Aleppo, Hana* Hopes to Take Her Children Back Home

In a small town in the northern countryside of Aleppo in Northwest Syria, Hana* lives with her three children, far away from their home, relatives and community in Homs.

Hana is a widow who lost her husband during the war in Syria, eight years ago. She was displaced multiple times after her husband’s death, moving with her children from one place to the other. One day, she was arrested and remained imprisoned for four years, away from her children.

“After my husband died, when I was in Homs, I was severely psychologically distressed. I could not bear anything, not even my children. We were displaced several times and it was very difficult for me and my children. I have no support now; my husband was everything in my life and when I lost him, I lost everything,” Hana says.

After getting being released, Hana ended up in Northwest Syria, away from her family and children. She stayed with an old woman, who was very kind to her, for three months. She explains, “When I came here, I did not know anyone. I was alone, until I managed to get my children to join me. I had nothing but the clothes I was wearing.”

People in town heard about Hana’s story and wanted to help her, so she could live with her children. “We were in a very difficult situation, but people in town helped us when they found out that I was solely responsible for my three children and have no support. I rented a small house for our family and the neighbors provided us with basic items to equip it.”

Like Hana’s family, thousands of displaced and vulnerable families in Northwest Syria are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance. The Syrian conflict has been ongoing for ten years and over 80% of Syrians
currently live in poverty. In the Northwest, nearly one million people were displaced between December 2019 and March 2020, with four in five being women and children. This was in addition to the 2.7 million who were already displaced, many of whom had been displaced multiple times. Some of the greatest needs are in food insecurity, related to the protracted crisis and economic downturn. CARE leads an Emergency and Regular Food Assistance program in Idlib and Aleppo Governorates to improve the food security situation of the most vulnerable people.

Hana receives $55 in Cash-for-Food Assistance, as part of the project that CARE implements through its Syrian partner organization, IYD.

“My life changed after receiving the assistance; I do not have to ask anyone to help secure food for my children anymore. I can buy basic food for my family, such as rice, sugar, oil, ghee, bread and vegetables. This helped relieve me of a great burden. Our only source of subsistence is this aid. Without it, I cannot buy food, pay the rent, or secure other basic needs. I wish I could buy other things for my children, like new clothes for Eid, but I cannot. Sometimes, we receive some gifts and clothes from the neighbors that make my children happy,” she says.

“During the war, what scared me the most was to lose a member of my family or to be injured. After my husband died, I became more concerned for my children than anything. I do not fear for my life or my safety. All I care about is the safety of my children – they are my life.”

The COVID-19 pandemic came to worsen the situation in Northwest Syria, where needs have grown and people struggle to secure the most basic of needs. Hana is afraid because she cannot find ways to protect her children.

“I heard about the coronavirus and that it has spread in Syria and in Turkey, which is right at our doorstep. I became afraid of sending my children to school and I am very careful about their hygiene and washing their hands. I am afraid of letting them play outside. When I go to receive cash assistance, I keep my children at home. At the distribution point, staff are committed to preventive measures, such as wearing a mask and sterilizing their hands. I try to take the necessary precautions to keep my children safe from illness.”

Hana hopes that she can one day take her children back to Homs. She says, “With my children around, I feel that there is still hope in the future. I forget all my troubles and fears when I see their faces. I look forward to returning to my hometown and taking my children back to our home, when the war is over. I hope that will happen one day. I believe that the future will be better.”
In the face of food insecurity, many households resort to coping strategies, such as:

- reducing the variety of foods purchased;
- skipping meals;
- reducing portion sizes;
- purchasing cheaper, lower-quality foods;
- borrowing food or money;
- selling household assets; and/or
- reducing other household expenses (e.g., medicine, education fees, clothing, appliances, mobile phones, etc.)

According to recent data from WFP, 47.2% of Syrian households are employing more frequent and/or extreme negative food-based coping strategies, such as relying on less expensive food, limiting portion sizes and skipping meals.

'We suffer from difficult periods, so we have to reduce the amount of food: we cook one dish daily or give priority to children to eat before adults. The most cooked meal is pasta, although most of us don’t like it, but it’s cheaper than other foods. The increasing prices have changed the situation completely.'

(Youth, 20, resident, Al-Hasakah)

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'All expenses, including food and clothing, have been reduced. A large part of the household furniture was sold to secure the cost of the food. Dietary diversity has been greatly reduced, and the number of meals has become two meals a day. Until last year, prices were much lower than now.'

(FHH, 28, IDP, Aleppo)

Some households, especially the most vulnerable, may rely primarily on food aid.

'We depend mainly on food aids and aids from organisations. We don’t buy food materials a lot. If there is only bread in my house, I will not borrow money because I cannot pay the debts later. Most of the time we eat one dish and very rarely I cook two dishes. Children are not satisfied with this food in terms of the variety. We tend to cook cereals, especially rice.'

(FHH, 34, resident, Deir ez-Zor)

While economic coping strategies, such as selling household assets and borrowing money, can drive households deeper into poverty, coping strategies around consumptions patterns – for example, reducing dietary diversity and skipping meals – can result in negative health and nutrition outcomes. Women and girls often bear the greatest burden in terms of harmful coping strategies. They are more likely than their male counterparts to limit how much and how often they eat in times of scarcity and are more vulnerable to high-risk coping strategies, such as early marriage for girls or transactional sex for money. Pregnant and lactating women, youth and children are particularly vulnerable to the physiological consequences of food insecurity and malnutrition.

'My children are growing tolerably but my little boy is malnourished. One of the organisations came to the camp and measured him, and they told me that he was malnourished and had a developmental delay. They prescribed him milk and some vitamins, but I don’t have the money to buy them.'

(Mother of young children, 24, IDP, Idlib)

40 Food price data are collected from multiple markets across governorates and updated by WFP VAM. For these calculations, monthly price data for the select items were averaged for each year. Data can be accessed at: https://data.humdata.org/dataset/wfp-food-prices-for-syrian-arab-republic. Data referenced for this study were last updated 14 February 2021 and include food price information for January 2021.


‘We do not feel healthy and energy and are not very satisfied with the quality and quantity of food. Most of the family members suffer from anaemia due to lack of food.’

(Youth, 19, returnee, Aleppo)

**In Syria, one out of eight children are stunted** and **one out of every three PLW is anaemic.**

Yet, while negative coping strategies are common, some women have found other ways to mitigate food insecurity, including bartering or preparing for food shortages.

‘During the summer, we store vegetables that are cheap in order to consume them in winter, when they are expensive.’

(Youth, 16, IDP, Idlib)

‘I get some food through bartering. I give dairy to the store owner and in return, he gives me the basic materials such as bread, vegetables, rice, oil and tea.’

(FHH, 26, resident, Al-Hasakah)

The women interviewed for this research often reflected on the stark contrast between the current quality and diversity of foods versus food in recent and pre-crisis years.

‘Ten years ago, our food was nutritious. We ate meat, fish, vegetables of all kinds and fruits of all kinds. Today, I have not eaten fruit for about two years. I would like to buy meat, because I forgot its taste for not eating it for a long time. I also wish to buy oranges, apples and all kinds of fruits.’

(Youth, 20, IDP, Idlib)

‘Because our income is limited, our food is not varied and in a small quantity, so most of our food is rice. My children tell me that they want to eat chicken and vegetables and they are not satisfied with this food, so I tell them that when the money is available, I will bring them whatever they want. Before the crisis, the situation was better than now; there was a variety of food and we did not decrease the quantity and number of meals. But during the crisis, circumstances changed. I want to buy fruits and chicken, but high prices and not having enough money prevents me from buying them.’

(Mother of young children, 35, host, Al-Hasakah)

‘Dietary diversity has been greatly reduced, and the number of meals has become two meals a day. Until last year, prices were much lower than now and food diversification was more. Currently, we rely on legumes and cannot afford meat or fruits.’

(FHH, 28, IDP, Aleppo)

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LOOKING TOWARDS THE FUTURE

Since the beginning of the conflict in Syria, women have experienced ongoing threats to their health, safety and security. Now, rising food insecurity, the pandemic and an economic crisis have thrown even more women into the role of provider, adding to the already-immense stress and uncertainty they face day-to-day. Despite the challenges they face, some women express optimism about the future, while others find it hard to hold onto hope.

However, the vast majority of women interviewed believed that the future well-being of their families depended on whether or not they were able to work and obtain sustainable income.

‘I am now a widow and I have a concern that someone may take my children from me or I will be force-married to someone that I don’t love. I have lost a lot of wishes and hopes, but now I hope to find a job through which I can secure some money for the future of my children. And I have a hope to return to our home and rebuild our house and stay there for our whole life. I wish I could see those days and be able to achieve what I want.’

(FHH, 22, IDP, Al-Hasakah)

‘I hope it will be better, but if work is not available, the situation will be much worse because of the high price of everything and the lack of suitable job opportunities. I hope that we will return to our village and my children [will] learn, and I hope to meet my family.’

(Mother of young children, 24, IDP, Idlib)

‘I think the coming years will be better because I have plans to expand my projects and the wealth of livestock, especially after receiving help from CARE, which is quite good help. If we have more sheep that means have more production of milk, thus increasing income and living a decent life.’

(PLW, 24, resident, Al-Hasakah)

These interviews provide a valuable insight into some of the common challenges facing Syrian women today, along with their own perspectives on what they need to overcome obstacles and ensure a better future for their families. Some of the key takeaways from this research include:

- **Across the board, women reflected on the glaring contrast between their lives before the crisis and today.** Many residents, returnees, IDPs and hosts alike reported feelings of instability, fear of recurring violence and/or displacement, and concerns about being able to meet their families’ basic needs.

- **Many women interviewed had taken on the role of sole or primary breadwinner for their households and, for most, this was a role that they had not performed prior to the crisis.** Women reported having to take on the provider role due to a lack of job opportunities for men; death, loss or incapacity of a male head of household; rising costs of living; and low wages. In addition to providing for their households, most of the women interviewed were also shouldering caregiving responsibilities for children, parents, disabled spouses or other family members.

- **Many young women also reported having to find work to contribute to their household’s expenses.** Some articulated a shift in social norms and expectations that supported young women’s work, rather than relegating them to marriage and other traditional roles. While some young women were attending school, many reported having their studies interrupted due to displacement and/or insecurity, while others had to stop school in order to work.

- **Most women and youth who worked had taken on daily or seasonal jobs, such as crop harvesting; others were carrying out familiar jobs such as sewing, cooking and cleaning for other households.** A few were relying on livestock assets for income. Nearly all expressed the desire for a more stable income, but identified lack of training, education, certification and resources as barriers to securing reliable employment.
• The effects of COVID-19 on livelihoods varied regionally, due to differences in the extent of pandemic-related restrictions and lockdown measures. In the north east, where curfews and movement restrictions were more common, livelihoods had been negatively impacted due to work interruptions and their inability to access markets to sell products; indirectly, these measures had driven up the price of goods. Women in the north west were more neutral on their views of the economic impact of COVID-19. For many, the pandemic had not interrupted work, as it was already unstable and unreliable. For a few women, the pandemic created temporary job opportunities in the production of masks.

• Overwhelmingly, women identified food insecurity as an urgent, pressing issue for their households. Citing the rapidly increasing costs of food and other goods, the vast majority reported using at least one coping strategy to offset food insecurity. The most commonly reported coping strategies were borrowing food or money, skipping meals, relying on less nutritious staple foods, and reducing other household expenses to allocate money towards food.

• Poor food quality and nutrition were major concerns, particularly for PLW and mothers with young children. Noting a drastic reduction in the variety of available and accessible foods over time, women often expressed their dissatisfaction with the quality and diversity of their households’ diets. Due to both the high price and limited availability of some foods such as meat, fruit and vegetables, many households were reliant on staples such as bulgur, lentils, rice and potatoes, supplementing with cheap, lower-quality vegetables when available. Some women linked anaemia among their household members to poor diet; likewise, a few mothers attributed their children’s poor health or growth faltering due to poor diet.

• Women’s attitudes about the future were mixed with optimism, pessimism and uncertainty. However, most conveyed a belief that the direction their lives would take hinged upon whether or not they were able to work and provide for their families.

Ten years into this crisis, Syrian women continue to display tremendous strength and resilience. Though the role of breadwinner is new and unexpected for many, women have quickly adapted, are confident in their ability to lead and provide for their families, and are eager to do so. What they need now are support and resources to help them overcome the barriers to their personal and financial development and success.
A female agricultural leader: How Zainab supports other Syrian women in producing ‘freekeh’

52-year-old Zainab is a mother and a grandmother living in northern Aleppo. Her husband cannot work, due to his old age and chronic illnesses that he suffers from. She is the sole breadwinner of her family and is responsible for caring and providing for six of her orphaned grandchildren, who lost their parents to the war in Syria.

Zainab has great experience in agriculture, especially wheat. She has grown and manufactured freekeh, a green grain made from young durum wheat that is roasted or smoked to create its flavor, for more than 30 years. She owns a two-hectare piece of land that she cultivates and relies on its produce to secure a living.

Her long experience has enabled her to take a leadership role in her community, where she trains and helps women who work in the fields to make freekeh. However, Zainab and the women she works with face great difficulties in smoking freekeh manually. The process consumes a lot of time and effort, without the availability of modern burning machines.

Recently, one of CARE’s Syrian partner organizations, Shafak, in northwestern Syria, provided Zainab with a machine for smoking freekeh and a machine to seal bags to support her small business. She formed a group of women to benefit from the new machines and to work together in all stages of production, including harvesting, drying, smoking and packaging. Under the supervision of Zainab, women rotate the machines among all the members of the group to enable them to smoke the freekeh and sell it at competitive prices in the market.

As a result, the women are producing sifted and clean freekeh, with homogeneous smoking levels. They have saved on both time and money for wages, since they work together and no longer need to smoke the freekeh manually. Zainab has also become experienced in using the machines and the local community is impressed with the cleanliness of the product and the smoking quality.

From the profit she made from selling freekeh, Zainab was able to buy goats that she is raising and benefits from their milk for her young grandchildren. Next season, she plans to offer her support in smoking freekeh to anyone who needs it. She also wants to buy more goats to make cheese and sell it.
Based on these critical insights from a diverse group of Syrian women, CARE proposes the following recommendations to donors, as well as humanitarian and development agencies:

1. **Fund rapid, large-scale investments in livelihoods support** to foster sustainable livelihoods and independence for Syrian households, to lessen aid dependency.

2. **Direct funds specifically to support women in accessing livelihoods** through gender-responsive interventions that address vulnerabilities, while harnessing their own capacities.

3. **Scale up humanitarian interventions to reduce micronutrient, nutrition and food consumption gaps** and reduce reliance on negative, unsustainable coping mechanisms, especially among young women, pregnant and lactating mothers, and children under five years of age.

4. **Promote nutrition-sensitive food production and processing activities and value chains**, to maximise the nutritional impact of food security and livelihoods activities.

5. **Establish secondary support systems**, including childcare, transportation and health care, to relieve some of the burden of women taking on dual roles of caregiver and provider.

6. **Negotiate and/or resolve bureaucratic barriers and misperceptions** that prevent procurement of goods from local producers, so that aid funds can strengthen local value chains, including for cereal, dairy and livestock.

7. **Prioritise early disbursement of UN-managed funds** – particularly for livelihoods projects and food security initiatives – for quick disbursement to implementing partners and the pre-positioning of goods, in order to ensure the continuity of aid.
Founded in 1945, CARE is a leading humanitarian organization fighting global poverty. CARE has more than seven decades of experience helping people prepare for disasters, providing lifesaving assistance when a crisis hits, and helping communities recover after the emergency has passed. CARE places special focus on women and children, who are often disproportionately affected by disasters. To learn more, visit www.care-international.org.

Photos:
Cover: Zainab cares and provides for her six orphaned grandchildren. She trains and helps women who work in the fields to make freekeh, a green grain made from young durum wheat. Through CARE’s women economic empowerment program, Zainab received new machines that would take the production of freekeh, for her and the women in her community, to the next level.
p2. Flooding at an IDP camp in north-west Syria, January 2021.
p4, 16, 17. Hana is a widow and relies on aid to feed her three children. She dreams of the day she could take her family back to their hometown of Homs.
p5. After Bahija lost both her husband and son to the war in Syria, there was no one left to help. At the age of 65, she still has to work to provide for her family. She delivers merchandise to people’s homes, sells homemade meals, and works in any seasonal job she can find. CARE assisted Bahija with a $150 voucher, which enabled her to buy medicine and secure food for her family for a while.
p6. A young boy walks through an IDP camp that houses about 350 families from villages and towns in Hama and Idlib.
p7. CARE team members interview a woman in north-east Syria, during the data collection phase of the ‘If We Don’t Work, We Don’t Eat’ Report.
p8, 23. Nour is a widow, living with her children and younger brothers under desperate conditions, without a source of income. In the winter, she goes to the fields to look for wood that she can use for heating. Through CARE’s Cash and Voucher Assistance program, Nour was supported with a $150 voucher, which helped her buy some of her family’s basic needs and provide for her children and brothers.
p12. As a widowed mother, Salima suddenly became the sole breadwinner of her family. She started working in seasonal jobs in northern Aleppo, harvesting olives in the summer, to secure the basic needs of her children. Salima received a $150 voucher from CARE to help her meet the basic needs of her family, including buying firewood in the winter, medicine and food.
p13, 22. Zainab working in the field to produce freekeh, a green grain made from young durum wheat. She uses the smoking machine she received through CARE’s support to take the production of freekeh to the next level.
p19. 52-year-old Zainab uses the new machine she received through CARE’s support to smoke freekeh, a green grain made from young durum wheat.