IRAN

Food Security and Livelihoods Vulnerability Analysis of Afghan and Iraqi Kurd Refugee Households Encamped in Iran

CONDUCTED IN DECEMBER 2003

Iran

WFP Iran
WFP Afghanistan
WFP-VAM Rome

June 2004
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The joint team comprising of WFP Iran, WFP VAM Afghanistan, and WFP VAM Unit Rome that developed, conducted, analysed and reported the findings of this assessment wish to thank all of the refugees who so willingly participated in the interviews, providing valuable information on their families, lives, and experiences in order for the humanitarian community to gain a deeper understanding of life in a refugee camp.

The team also wishes to acknowledge the support received from the WFP Iran and WFP Afghanistan Country Directors for their commitment to this joint activity which allowed national staff the chance to work together and to visit another country office for the development and implementation of this assessment. In addition, without the hospitality, management, support, and commitment of the staff in both country offices it would have been impossible to manage and complete this activity.

The UNHCR office in Iran provided generous logistical assistance, support and participation in the data collection, as well as provision of vital information on the situation in the camps during the planning stages.

In Iran, the camp managers, BAFIA Tehran and the Provincial Bafia authorities provided valuable information and insights into the camps, and overall support to the enumerator teams during the data collection activities.

Finally, this assessment could not have been possible were it not for the hard work and dedication of all the Iranian surveyors who conducted focus group and household interviews in the eight refugee camps.

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1. Background

As a result of over two decades of conflict in neighbouring Afghanistan, and civil strife in Iraq, approximately 2.56 million refugees are currently living in Iran, of which 2.35 million are Afghan, 203,000 are Iraqis, and 5,500 from other countries\(^1\). Of these refugee populations, 80,000 live in 28 officially recognized refugee camps\(^2\), and the remainder live at-large throughout urban and rural Iran.

The Bureau for Alien and Foreign Affairs (BAFIA) has control over and responsibility for the refugees. In 1987 WFP and UNHCR began assisting Afghan refugees, and a year later this assistance was extended to Iraqi refugees. WFP assistance to these refugees is in the form of food based interventions, whilst UNHCR provides funding and assistance to BAFIA for activities covering refugee camp management, schools, health facilities and, in some camps, implementation of income-generating activities for vulnerable refugees.

Current WFP assistance to refugees is based on the Protracted Relief and Recovery Operation (PRRO) 10213.0, approved for implementation from 1 January 2003 until 31 December 2004. Under this PRRO, general food rations are currently being provided to 70,000 encamped refugees in the 28 recognized camps, with an additional oil ration to girls enrolled in primary schools and their teachers. For refugees living outside of the camps, there is a general ration to orphans, and a Food for Education incentive of oil and wheat flour to girls and teachers in primary schools and LMO classes.

In early 2002, a WFP/UNHCR Joint Food Assessment Mission (JFAM) was conducted in the Iran camps. Amongst other things, the mission noted that due to differences between various refugees in the different camps, the standard vulnerability criteria used by the WFP Iran country office for targeting may not be equally effective in all camps and thus recommended that a household vulnerability survey be conducted to ascertain whether the food aid ration sizes and targeting criteria should be revised.

For more than a year, attempts were made to conduct a survey but they were unsuccessful due to the many events taking place in the region and problems in identifying a suitable consultant.

In May 2003, a report\(^3\) was prepared based on a comprehensive literature review supported by in depth discussions with a multitude of Ministerial officials, UN Agencies, NGO’s and supplemented with data collection from limited field visits. This report formed the basis of the December 2003 household vulnerability survey which was carried out by WFP-VAM Afghanistan and WFP Iran with support from VAM-HQ.

1.1 Legal status of refugees

- Prior to 1979, refugees entering Iran were registered and issued with ‘white cards’ giving them the right to work, travel, and benefit from education, health care, subsidized goods and government tax exemptions.
- In the 1980s, “green/blue cards” were issued to refugee’s still entitling them to live, work, and benefit from government subsidies, though their rights were reduced.
- Today, approximately one million refugees are white and blue/green card holders, with legal residence permits.
- The issuing of refugee cards was stopped in 1992 and in 2001 BAFIA registered all foreigners, both those with white and blue/green cards, as well as any refugees that had entered Iran since 1992. This registration did not provide those foreigners without pre-1992 cards with official refugee status, and thus the majority of refugees who arrived in Iran since 1992 are considered illegal, with no right to asylum or work. There are approximately 1.3 million registered refugees in this category.

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\(^1\) Population figures provided by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to UNHCR, 2001.
\(^2\) WFP Iran Country Office. Note: there is a 29th camp, inhabited by Iraqi Arab refugees. However, it is not officially recognized and thus is not assisted by either UNHCR nor WFP.
\(^3\) The Food Security situation of refugees living in Iran; OXFAM Food and Nutrition consultant to WFP Iran; Mary Atkinson; May 2003.
• There are an additional estimated 200,000 refugees that either entered Iran after the 2001 registration, or that were in the country prior to this but did not want to be registered, that are also considered illegal.

• All refugees in camps are registered, though none are legally allowed to work in Iran without a work permit, including those with residence permits. Work permits are rarely granted, and when issued usually restrict the holder to manual labour.

1.2 Refugee camps in Iran

The focus of this study is on the approximately 80,000 encamped refugees living in the 28 officially recognized camps. Of these camps, 7 are inhabited by Afghans, 9 by Iraqi Arabs, and 12 by Iraqi Kurds. The camps are managed by BAFIA, with some financial support from UNHCR and food aid support from WFP.

• Afghan encamped refugee population: 33,300 refugees. Afghan camps were established between 1983 and 1990 (one camp established 1998). These camps are mostly situated in the eastern provinces of Iran.

• Iraqi Arab encamped refugee population: 39,100 refugees. Iraqi Arab camps were established during the 1991/1992 Gulf War, though three were established earlier between 1972 and 1980. These camps are situated in the western provinces of Iran, bordering Iraq. Note: Prior to the commencement of data collection activities, spontaneous repatriation of these refugees had begun and they were therefore not included in the study.

• Iraqi Kurd encamped refugee population: 7,500 refugees. All camps were established in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s (one camp established 1977). These camps are also situated in the west of Iran, bordering their Iraqi homeland.

1.3 Encamped refugee livelihoods

• Basic health, water and sanitation facilities, education, housing, and electricity are provided to refugees in the camps.

• Refugees are required to pay for electricity and, in some camps, water levies are charged.

• The JFAM in 2002 found that overall living conditions in many of the camps appeared to be acceptable.

• WFP provides 80% of minimum food requirements which is supplemented through purchases

• Household vulnerability to food insecurity is likely influenced by the registration status in the camp (whether they are newly arrived residents or not), and whether they are skilled, unskilled, disabled or unemployed.

• Refugees in some camps are allowed to keep small numbers of livestock – a cow or a sheep/goat for milk or poultry and in some cases, small parcels of land are available for agricultural production.

• In some camps, NGOs have provided small micro-credit projects and support to residents.

• Labour opportunities are influenced by season, education, and the skills of the refugee.

• Transportation to surrounding areas to enable refugees to look for work is available in the camps to varying degrees and costs, depending on the vicinity of the labour market.

• Rising unemployment in Iran has had an adverse effect on all people looking for work, and the recent drought has negatively impacted the agricultural labour sector.

1.4 WFP food assistance and targeting criteria

All encamped refugees who arrived prior to 2000 receive a food ration as outlined in the table below4: Refugees entering the camps since 2000 were targeted for food assistance only if they were from socially vulnerable groups (widows, orphans, female-headed households, disabled or over 60 years old). Of the approximately 80,000 refugees living in camps, WFP is currently assisting about 70,000 people. The balance of about 10,000 people arrived after 2000 and did not meet the targeting criteria as stated above.

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4 The Food Security situation of refugees living in Iran; OXFAM Food and Nutrition consultant to WFP Iran; Mary Atkinson; May 2003.
### 1.5 Situation update

UNHCR has opened up voluntary repatriation centres (VRCs) throughout the country to assist those wishing to return home. A phase-out of UNHCR assistance to the camps is planned to begin in mid-2004 whereby some of its activities and financial support to BAFIA will be reduced. However, this phase-out strategy is highly dependent on the situations in both Afghanistan and Iraq.

In October 2003, it was reported that many Iraqi Arab refugees had spontaneously repatriated to Iraq. Although exact figures are still not available, it was reported that over two-thirds of the Iraqi Arab refugees in the camps have already returned. The reason for this spontaneous return was not clear at the time of the assessment.
2. Objectives and methodology

The primary output of the assessment is a food security and livelihood vulnerability analysis of encamped Afghan and Iraqi refugees in Iran.

2.1 Objectives

The objectives of the assessment were to:

1. Assess levels of food insecurity among various groups of camp based refugees, including a gender and a livelihoods component which describes the overall economic situation of the various groups.
2. Identify the most vulnerable camp refugee groups, and revise targeting criteria accordingly.

2.2 Methodology

Based upon the recommendations of the 2002 JFAM, it was decided to design the survey so as to collect both qualitative and quantitative information at community and household level. Maternal and child health and nutrition data were not collected directly but rather were to be assessed using records from the health centres located in each camp. The design of the assessment methodology, data analysis, and final reporting was done by the WFP Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping (VAM) units of Rome and Afghanistan, together with inputs from the Programme and Logistics units of WFP Iran. Data collection was conducted jointly by WFP Iran and Afghanistan.

2.3 Sampling framework

A list of camps was provided by WFP Iran with each camp classified as being near wage labour opportunities or not. Then four camps were selected for for each ethnic group – two with wage labour opportunities and two without for a total of four from each group. For each camp selected, the number of households to be interviewed was determined according to camp population. A total of 530 household interviews were planned and 527 were conducted. The survey teams used interval sampling to select households for interviews, based upon their physical distribution within a grid.

2.4 Data collection tools

Semi-structured focus group interviews were conducted for men and women separately to better understand opportunities and constraints to the health, education, and livelihood strategies employed by the refugees. A household questionnaire was used to collect information on household demography, effects of fighting in the country of origin, housing, water and sanitation, heating, cooking fuel and lighting, household and animal assets, sources of income, household expenditures, food consumption and receipt of food aid.

2.5 Implementation

The data collection was organized and carried out by staff members of the WFP VAM Afghanistan unit, WFP Iran Programme and Logistics using 24 hired enumerators, and was facilitated by UNHCR Iran. Three days of training took place for the enumerators in Tehran and consisted of an in-depth review of the household questionnaire, interview and data collection techniques, and how to conduct focus group discussions.

Enumerators were divided into three teams of two focus group discussion facilitators (one male and one female) and eight household interview enumerators. Each team had a team leader whose responsibilities were to coordinate activities within the camps and cross check and verify data. Data collection took one place between the 4th to the 11th December. In total, 16 focus group discussions and 527 household interviews were conducted in the 8 sampled camps.
3. Community level findings

Focus group discussions were held with men and women in each camp, to collect data on livelihood strategies, risks and vulnerabilities, health, and education. In total, 16 focus group interviews were conducted - 8 with men and 8 with women. The following section is a summary of findings.

3.1 Livelihood strategies

The focus group discussions found that little to no changes or improvements in refugee livelihood strategies have occurred in the past five years. For the most part, refugees are unskilled daily wage labourers with limited opportunities and dependent on agricultural seasons. Some, however, have small businesses (shoemakers, electricians), are shopkeepers in the camps, or are petty traders between the camps and the urban centres.

Refugees have no work permits, and are at risk to fines or arrest for working illegally outside of the camps. They usually have to take the lowest paid jobs, and have no legal recourse if they are not paid. They also feel that they are discriminated against due to unjustified prejudices and perception of refugees, which makes it even more difficult to find daily wage work.

Unemployment for Iranians is also high, increasing the competition for work between the local communities and the refugees. The recent drought has particularly affected the ability for refugees to find work in the agricultural sector. It has also been reported that the drought has bankrupted many Iranian farmers – reducing labour opportunities further, or resulting in refugees not being paid for the work they have already done if production costs were higher than the returns farmers received for their produce in the markets.

3.1.1 Livelihood strategies for Iraqi Kurd refugees

The following are summaries of the main income generating activities of the Iraqi Kurd refugees and the effectiveness of the activity:

- **Unskilled wage labour** – For men, agricultural labour in rural areas, or construction, brick making or portering in urban areas. Women in Varmahang, Kangavar, and Ziveh also work in the agricultural lands surrounding the camps. These jobs provide enough money to cover most of the basic non-food requirements but don’t allow refugees to rise above subsistence levels. It was reported that salaries have not increased over the years, whilst the prices of commodities have. Thus, respondents perceived an overall deterioration in purchasing power through this activity. Some of the earnings are used to pay transportation costs to the work place, particularly if the work is in urban areas. Agricultural wage labour is seasonal.

- **Petty trade** – Was found only in Varmahang camp. This activity was done all year round, though earnings were stated to be barely enough to meet minimum basic requirements. This was due to the high transportation costs to urban centres and low profit margins on the sale of goods.

- **Shop keeping** – Not much change in the past five years, although a few respondents who had been relying only on wage labour in the past had managed to save enough and invest their money to become shopkeepers. This is an effective way to earn income but requires significant cash outlay for stocks and is highly dependent on the purchasing power of the other refugees. Since earning power of other refugees is seasonal, many purchase on credit so the shopkeepers are left without much cash at the end of the month to pay for their own stocks. All shopkeepers have to pay additional costs for their electricity, and in Ziveh, they have said that they also have to pay the rent on their shop to the camp, even though they have built these shops themselves.

- **Animal husbandry** – Mostly found in Kangavar, and included shepherding or raising poultry or dairy cattle, and there has been very little change over the years. Income is low but supplements money earned from wage labour activities. Is also highly seasonal but allows families to diversify their diets.
• **Monthly salaried work** – Seasonal work where refugees are hired by local farmers to drive tractors, work in cow sheds or as guards or shepherds. Most often the refugee had previously worked for the employer as a daily wage labourer. This offers some job security with better pay which allows better planning and management of the household budget.

• **Handicrafts** – Women in Varmahang reported that they make traditional cloth shoes that they try and sell in the market. However, this does not generate much income, and the demand is very low.

• **Collection and sales of wild herbs and plants** – This is only found in Varmahang camp and is conducted by women and children. It is highly seasonal and is used to supplement income from other activities.

**Constraints and opportunities for Iraqi Kurd men**

The men felt that the following changes would allow the refugees to improve their livelihood strategies.

• **Work permits** and Government legislation would facilitate the employment of refugees. This will allow them to diversify their livelihoods, and they could look for other income opportunities such as drivers or legal traders. Work permits would also provide them with legal recourse if they are not paid by the employer.

• In Kangavar, refugees said that skills training or courses could help them look for work in factories.

• Buses from the camps to transport refugees to the labour market would significantly reduce transport costs, as would permits allowing them to overnight near their areas of work if employed.

• Aid and assistance for micro-credit schemes and projects - either as money, resources, or facilities – would allow refugees to become more self reliant through the promotion of small trades and skills. Shopkeepers felt that their rent could be lowered, subsidized, or removed altogether.

• **Improved media portrayal** to alleviate discrimination and prejudice against refugees, as they feel they are seen by Iranians as historical enemies (from the Iran / Iraq war).

**Constraints and opportunities for Iraqi Kurd women**

Iraqi Kurd women can access daily wage work outside of the camp. However, they feel at risk as they are working amongst men which they do not always know. In Ziveh, women said that this can also negatively affect marriage prospects if they are working amongst male strangers. In Kangavar, women who work in the fields have no place to relieve themselves and are regularly plagued by urinary tract infections. Married women can seek treatment for this, though unmarried girls cannot due to potentially invasive treatment which will affect their marriage prospects later on – thus, many women are living under the fear of future infertility. Women have also said that children have to be left at home unsupervised whilst they work – thus, they are constantly anxious which affects their work and ultimately their salaries.

Overall, the women in the focus groups reported that they have given up any interest in trying to invest or improve their livelihoods in the camp – all stated that they want to return to Iraq and use / invest their skills there.

**3.1.2 Livelihood strategies for Afghan refugees**

The following are summaries of the main income generating activities of the Afghan refugees and the effectiveness of the activity:

• **Unskilled wage labour** – For men, seasonal agricultural labour in the surrounding farmlands, and in urban areas construction, brick making or portering can be found. For women and children, shelling pistachio nuts or stringing prayer beads (*Torbat-e-jam*). These jobs provide barely enough money to cover most of the basic non-food requirements but don’t allow refugees to save or rise above subsistence levels. During the winter, there is a greater reliance on trying to find work in the urban centres. There is no guarantee of finding work, so labourers will be spend money on
transportation to the labour markets yet may not find employment for the day. This reduces the overall amount of money that a daily wage worker can earn in a month.

- **Petty trade** – No change in opportunities during the past five years. The work is not bound by seasonal constraints and the earnings are just enough to meet minimum basic requirements. Transportation to urban centres is also expensive.

- **Shop keeping** – Not much change in the past five years, although a few respondents who had been relying only on wage labour in the past had managed to save enough and invest their money to become shopkeepers. Outlays to purchase stocks are high, and effectiveness of this livelihood types is dependent on the purchasing power of the other refugees which is already limited.

- **Animal husbandry** – Includes shepherding or raising poultry or dairy cattle, and there has been very little change over the years. Income is low but supplements money earned from wage labour activities, and some in-kind payments allow families to diversify their diets, though this is seasonal. In Saveh it was reported that although the income is not high, at least the labourer is hired for a specific period of time allowing the family to budget their income a month at a time.

- **Handicrafts** – Only reported in Saveh and Bardsir, where women are weaving carpets and kilims. However, materials are expensive, and the market for these goods is limited so overall the carpets or kilims will be kept and used by the household.

**Constraints and opportunities for Afghan men**

The men felt that the following changes would allow the refugees to improve their livelihood strategies.

- **Work permits** would facilitate the employment of refugees, and could allow them to find work for fixed periods of time. This would also allow them to take out insurance or workmen’s compensations if they were injured on the job. In Saveh, refugees felt that they could find work in the industrial sector (factories) if they had work permits. The establishment of an employment agency, or company that assists labourers in finding work would greatly assist the refugees.

- **Skills training courses** would allow refugees to look for better paying jobs than just unskilled daily wage labour.

- **Small parcels of land** made available to the refugees would allow for some small animal husbandry or kitchen garden activities to improve their incomes and food sources.

- **Buses** from the camps to the labour market would reduce transport costs, and provide a buffer against daily transport losses if the labourer does not find work. The improvement of the roads from the camps to the urban centres would also reduce time and transport costs for labourers.

- **Micro-credit schemes and projects** provided by UN Agencies would allow refugees to use their skills such as cobblers, blacksmiths, or shop keeping and earn an income through these activities.

- **Competition for work with Iranians is high given the lack of labour opportunities that exist for everyone. Refugees feel that they are discriminated against due to prejudices against refugees and being portrayed as thieves and murderers. Thus, improved media portrayal of the refugees would help to alleviate some of these perceptions, giving them a better chance to find employment.**

**Constraints and opportunities for Afghan women**

Afghan women are restricted to whatever income generating activity can be done in the home – they are unable to leave the camp in search of work. In the surveyed camps women had the skills to make handicrafts, but lack of resources and market outlets prevented them from doing so. It was felt that the provision of micro-credit schemes and assistance to find markets for their handicrafts would allow them to increase their income generating opportunities. Only in Torbat-e-jam were women able to do work and earn a daily wage – they did this by shelling pistachio’s or stringing prayer beads, which are brought to their homes by traders.

In general, Afghan women were unable to identify any possible improvements to their livelihoods, given their already limited opportunities and more importantly the cultural constraint that they face.
3.2 Risks and vulnerabilities

All camps identified their inability to find sufficient labour for income, particularly in the winter months, as the greatest risk that they face. The second greatest risk they face are either not receiving their food rations on time, or not at all. To compensate, people will reduce their meals and diversity in their diets. They will spend any savings they have, or take loans and credit to cover food and fuel expenses. In Varmahang, people try to catch wild birds or use hunting dogs to catch rabbits to supplement their diets. The third greatest risk identified was related to health – either through the reduction or stopping of health subsidies to the refugees, or simply not having sufficient money to pay for medicines if a family member becomes ill. The most common response to dealing with the situation was to reduce meals and other non-food items (fuel, soaps, transport) to pay for medicines.

3.2.1 Other risk types for Iraqi Kurd refugees

Natural risks
- In Kangavar, drought resulted in labourers having to change their livelihood reliance on daily wage agricultural work to non-farm activities in urban areas. Due to the increase in competition for employment, many families faced huge loss of income as they were unable to find sufficient other non-farm related daily wage labour.
- Roofs leak during heavy rains, damaging household assets and causing dampness in the houses. People try to repair the roofs themselves with limited resources and success, and constant dampness in the houses leads to skin diseases. This results in increased expenditures on medicines.

Social risks
- In Varmahang and Kangavar, influxes of refugees into the camps from a different ethnic, religious, and political parties resulted in many families having to leave their houses and having to spend meagre savings to relocate.
- Burglaries in the camp (reported in Kangavar) means that an able-bodied family member needs to remain in the house at all times leading to reduced income. Those that have been burgled lose savings in having to replace stolen goods.
- Prejudices against Iraqi refugees leads to difficulties for people finding employment within the Iranian community.

Economic risks
- In Varmahang and Kangavar, reduction or stopping of electricity and fuel subsidies results in reduction of food purchases in order to pay increased fuel expenses, leading to negative impacts on health and nutrition, particularly in the cold winter months.

Life/health risks
- In Dizli, housing is poor, and there is a risk of houses or roofs caving in. Families try to patch holes in the wall themselves (some are large enough for children to crawl through) with paper, though houses still leak, are damp, and have high numbers of insects breeding in them. This leads to health problems, negatively affecting work, income, increases in expenditures, and an overall miserable living condition.
- In Kangavar, lack of or distance to education facilities increases the cost to send children to school, which many families cannot afford. This means that children are not sent to school, or have to drop out when the family falls on hard times. Respondents identified this as a long-term livelihood risk, as an uneducated or illiterate member in the family is unlikely to find better paying employment.
- Access to sufficient potable water is a problem particularly in Kangavar, as it has to be collected from a tanker. When the tanker does not arrive, or if a family member cannot be allocated to collect the water, then people resort to drinking unpotable water from the camp pipes often leading to outbreaks of diarrhoea and other health problems.

3.2.2 Other risk types for Afghan refugees

Natural risks
- Heavy rains present a risk of flooding to those families living in tents in Bardsir. These families usually try to dig waterways around their tents to divert water flow but with varying degrees of success. Recurrent flooding damages household items while dampness increases risk of illness.
Inclement weather also causes roads to become impassable during certain times of the year, limiting access to schools, health care and labour markets. Income is reduced while transportation costs are increased.

Extreme temperatures – in Dalaki, extremely high temperatures in the summer impacts on health, and food stocks are spoiled whilst in Bardsir the refugees experience extremely cold winters, particularly for those living in tents.

Social risks
- Inability for students, particularly girls, to pursue secondary and higher education is resulting in their not being able to find better paid jobs. This continues the family’s inability to increase their income earning potential both in the present and in the future.
- Prejudices against Afghan refugee’s impacts on their ability to find labour, whilst students find it difficult to attend Iranian schools as they feel taunted and ridiculed by other students.

Economic risks
- Inability to find daily wage labour after having spent money on transportation is a risk faced by most families.
- Deteriorating road conditions between the camps and the town increases transport costs and time/ability to reach urban areas in search of labour, particularly during the winter.

Life/health risks
- In some camps, housing quality or crowding is a problem. For those living in tents, there are fears of fire, flood and high winds. In both houses and tents, water leaks inside can lead to damage of household items plus overall dampness which is linked to poor health and skin diseases.
- High costs of electricity and shortage of kerosene lead to problems in heating and cooking. Often families allocate a large share of overall expenditure for electricity, reducing expenditure on health and education.
- Disruption of food aid is problematic for many households who are dependent on rations for their daily food. When this happens, the refugees either increase their purchase of food if they have the financial means, though more often they simply reduce the amount of food eaten each day.
- Medical subsidies were reportedly stopped for some refugees and thus only critical diseases are treated. Irregular access to potable water has also been a problem so people collect water from unclean sources, resulting in outbreaks of diarrhoea, especially in children. There have also been reports of some refugees having poor access to pit latrines resulting in hygiene problems in the living areas of the camp. In the winter, it is very cold and many people don’t bathe which results in skin problems for many.

3.3 Education
Following is a summary of findings of the status of education in the Iraqi Kurd and Afghan camps:

3.3.1 Education of Iraqi Kurd refugees
There is a primary school for both boys and girls in all the camps, though only Dizli and Kangavar have secondary schools – students from the other two camps have to go to the neighboring towns for secondary schooling. Primary school is free, though families in some camps have to buy books. Parents pay fees for to send children to secondary schools, and books have to be purchased by all secondary students. In Ziveh, respondents were satisfied with the level of education being given by the teachers, though in other camps it was reported that parents were unhappy with the level of education, and felt that the Iranian teachers sent to the camps did not take care of the children. It was commonly reported that the classrooms are cold in the winter as there is insufficient or no fuel to keep them warm. In Dizli, it was reported that the classrooms are crowded, whilst in Varmahang it was reported that there is no glass in the windows, and that there are insufficient tables and chairs so the students have to sit on the floor.
High schools are found in the towns neighboring the camps, though school fees and transportation costs are high and in Dizli, parents have to pay boarding fees at the school. In Kangavar, some girls are attending computer skills courses, whilst in Varmahang it was reported that 25 students are attending University.

No adult literacy or vocational training was available in any of the camps. In Ziveh, it was reported that the vocational skills training that used to be given has now been discontinued, whilst in Kangavar, some women are being trained how to make flowers from dough to sell in the markets.

**Constraints to education for Iraqi Kurds**

- Books, stationary, and school fees are expensive.
- Transport costs can be high for those students attending classes outside of the camps.
- Some families cannot afford to send their children to school and require them to work in order to contribute to the household income, particularly girls.
- There are insufficient teaching materials and classroom items, such as tables, chairs, and blackboards. Classrooms are also cold in the winter making it difficult for students to sit and concentrate.
- Where there are few students in the camps, a number of grades are combined and taught simultaneously thus making it difficult for the students.
- Teacher salaries are low, so some respondents felt that teachers do not take too much care of the students as they have no incentive to do so. There is no monitoring or evaluating of teachers by the camp authorities or the Ministry of education to ensure that the education given to the children is of a high standard.
- It is felt that camp authorities do not listen or take into consideration the wishes and suggestions for improvements for the camp schools
- Education is given in Farsi and not in Arabic.

**Opportunities for improvement to education of Iraqi Kurds**

- The Government, UN Agencies, and NGO’s to provide financial assistance to cover school fee’s, transportation costs, and improve classrooms and teaching materials. This will reduce financial pressure on families sending children to school and reduce the need for school drop-outs in order to work, particularly girls.
- Both refugees and the neighboring communities to contribute / donate fuel to the schools in order to keep the classrooms warm, particularly during the winter. Running water and electricity should be provided to those schools that do not have it, and refugees should not be made to pay for this.
- School buses or taxis should be provided to students attending school in the towns, particularly for girls. Alternatively, primary schools that are only used in the mornings can be used as secondary schools in the afternoon to reduce transport costs to the towns. Similarly, girls and boys can be taught at separate times – i.e. one group in the morning and one in the afternoon, so that they are divided, particularly in the secondary schools
- New teachers that can provide better quality of education should be hired and monitored by the camp authorities or Ministry of Education, to ensure high standards. Preferably these teachers would be Iraqi’s, so they can teach the students in their mother tongue. Alternatively, many refugees felt it would be better to return to Iraq so their children could continue their studies in Arabic.

**3.3.2 Education of Afghan refugees**

There were primary schools in all the camps visited. This schooling is free, but books and stationary have to be purchased by the refugees, which is expensive. The classrooms are mixed with boys and girls, and in Saveh parents reported that the classrooms are overcrowded due to the influx of new refugees into the camps. Only in Torbat-e-jam did respondents say they were satisfied with the level of education provided. In the other camps, the focus groups reported dissatisfaction with the schooling, stating that teachers were inexperienced, did not care for the students, and on occasion even beat the children in the classes. Parents felt that this was due to the low salaries given to the teachers, which attracts only those that either need the work, or that are not overly-qualified and experienced.
Both a secondary and high school was found in Torbat-e-jam, and refugees were satisfied with the level of education provided. In Bardsir, there is a secondary school for boys in the camp, but not for girls and they will have to travel to the near-by town to attend both secondary and high school. Parents are unhappy about this as they feel their daughters are not safe travelling between the camp and the schools, transportation is expensive, and the girls are ridiculed by other students for being refugees. Thus, many girls are taken out of the schools and are not completing their studies. In Saveh and Dalaki, students need to travel to the neighboring towns for secondary and high schools. In Dalaki, parents do not allow their daughters to go outside the camp to attend school for fear of their safety. All transportation, books, and stationary costs have to be covered by the refugees, which is expensive.

In Torbat-e-jam there are pre-university classes for the students. Although in the last year a reported 35 students passed the University entrance exams, none of them have been able to attend University as the costs are too high, and education subsidies to the students have been cut. Respondents in Dalaki and Bardsir stated that they simply can not afford to send their children to University.

Adult literacy classes for both men and women were found in Bardsir camp. In Torbat-e-jam, adult literacy classes have been stopped for over a year due to an insufficient number of people attending. No literacy classes are given in Saveh and Dalaki camps.

Constraints to education for Afghans

- Books, stationary, and school fees are expensive. Refugees cannot afford these costs since the camp cut the education subsidies.
- Transportation costs are high, particularly in Saveh where the road conditions are bad. There are no camp buses to take the students to school, so parents are unwilling to send their daughters on public transport systems for fear of their safety.
- Classrooms are ill-equipped, and cold in the winter and hot in the summer. It is uncomfortable for the students, and they cannot concentrate.
- Teachers do not take care of the students, as salaries are low. Poor road conditions in reaching the camps means that teachers do not always come every day, particularly in winter.
- It is felt that camp authorities do not take into consideration suggestions to improve the schools in the camp. New refugees coming into the camp results in overcrowding in the classrooms.
- Education is given in Farsi and not in Dari or Pashtu. Qualified Afghan teachers are not allowed to teach the students in their mother tongue.

Opportunities for improvements to education of Afghans

- The Government, UN Agencies, and NGO’s to provide financial assistance to cover school fee’s, books and stationary, and improve the classrooms. Camp buses to safely transport students, particularly girls, to the towns for secondary and high school are needed.
- Classes in the camps should be split, with boys attending in the morning and girls in the afternoon. This will be more culturally acceptable, and will reduce overcrowding in the classrooms in the camps.
- Camp authorities should take note of the increase of refugees in the camp and the subsequent effect of overcrowding in the classrooms, and lack of books and stationary available to the students as a result.
- The Ministry of Education and camp authorities should screen, monitor and evaluate the teachers sent to the camps in order to improve the standard of education.
- Camp shura’s, or delegations, should be formed to petition the Government to advocate on behalf of the refugees in order to stop harassment and prejudices against refugee students in Iranian schools.
- Refugees should be allowed to build a library, and books can be donated to the camps by neighboring communities, Agencies and NGO’s.
- Afghan teachers should be allowed to teach the students in the camp in their own languages.
3.4 Health
Following is a summary of findings of the status of health services in the Iraqi Kurd and Afghan camps:

3.4.1 Health of Iraqi Kurd refugees
There are primary health care centres or small clinics in each camp, usually staffed by nurses or midwives. Doctors tend to visit the camp once a week, usually spending between three hours to a full day in the camp. Doctors are usually men, making it difficult for women to seek treatment for more sensitive issues. These health care facilities are only available during the day, and refugees cannot receive medical assistance if they fall ill at night. This primary health care is free to the refugees, though they will be expected to pay for consultations or treatments if sought in medical facilities outside of the camp. All respondents reported that a pharmacy exists in all camps, though these are not adequately stocked with medicines and refugees have to pay for some types of medicines. These pharmacies are only open during the day. No laboratories were found in any of the camps, and people have to travel to the towns to reach the closest hospitals or clinics for more serious diagnoses. This is expensive, and previous subsidies offered to the refugees seem to have been discontinued or difficult to access. Ambulances were found in most camps, though there were no drivers after hours as refugees are not legally allowed to drive, and the Iranian ambulance drivers do not overnight in the camps.

Constraints to health for Iraqi Kurds
• Health facilities in the camp are only available during the day, and there are no ambulance drivers to take people to the hospitals if needed during the night. The number of doctors, or the time that they spend in the camps is insufficient.
• Women find it difficult to visit with male doctors and there are no specialists in the camp to deal with specific medical problems.
• Although primary health care is free to refugees, medical care is expensive for the refugees if they need treatment that cannot be provided by the facilities available in the camps.
• Pharmacies are not well stocked, and there are insufficient budgets for the camp to improve the types and availability of drugs needed.
• In one camp, it was stated that preference is given to Iranians seeking treatment from the doctor inside the camp, because refugees do not pay for services whilst the Iranian patients do. Thus, they felt that they were given lower priority by the doctors.
• Fuel and water shortages lead to poor sanitary and hygienic conditions, particularly in the public bathrooms which results in poor health and diseases. Refugees do not know who to refer to if they have complaints on the medical services being provided.

Opportunities for improvement to health for Iraqi Kurds
• The Ministry of Health, Agencies and NGO’s should support the improvement of the health facilities in the camps.
• There should be a 24 hour health service available to the refugees and a full time doctor during the day for the entire week.
• All health services and medicines should be free to the refugees.
• Doctors in the camp should give preference to refugees over Iranians even if the refugees are not paying for the consultation or treatment.
• The pharmacy should be better stocked.
• There should be an ambulance driver available 24 hours for the camps.
• Iraqi physicians and nurses living in the camp should be allowed to practice medicine.
• A specialist doctor should be available to deal with adults, especially women.
• There should be working bathrooms throughout the camps, with sufficient hot water to promote hygiene.

3.4.2 Health of Afghan refugees
There are health centres, or posts, in all the surveyed Afghan camps visited that provide primary health care and family planning services. These posts are generally serviced by one doctor who will visit the camp either on a daily basis for a few hours a day, or for longer consulting hours but not every day of the week – the doctors are male general practitioners, making it uncomfortable for women seeking treatment. Nurses and community health workers also assist in the health posts, and in some camps midwives are available. The services provided in the health posts are generally free, though payments
have to be made for more serious consultations. There are no laboratories in the camps that allow for more serious diagnosis.

All camps have a drug store or outlet, though respondents in all the camps have reported that the quantity, quality, and diversity of drugs are insufficient. Refugees will pay for the drugs they receive from the camp drugstore. Some felt that there is an under-dosing of medicines to ensure that drugs are available for others in the camp (i.e. give 5 pills instead of 10).

Although ambulances are available, Afghans are not allowed to drive so the ambulances are not operated at night once the Iranian drivers leave the camps at the end of their day shifts. Refugees were concerned that they cannot find help if they fall ill at night, and there were reports that some people have died as they could not find medical assistance after hours.

**Constraints to health for Afghans**

- Insufficient budgets for health care in the camps means that doctor salaries are low, so doctors and ambulance drivers will not work longer hours or else more inexperienced doctors take these positions in the camp. Medical care in the camps is not available in the evenings in case of emergencies, and there are no ambulance drivers to take patients to the town hospitals at night. Doctors also must visit the areas surrounding the camp, and so their focus is not only on the refugees.
- Medical care and treatment is expensive. Camp pharmacies are poorly stocked, and refugees find it difficult to purchase the necessary medicines outside of the camp.
- Government legislation does not recognize Afghan driver’s licenses, so only Iranians can drive the ambulances during the day.
- Refugees do not know who to refer to other than camp authorities if they have complaints on the medical service being provided.

**Opportunities for improvements to health for Afghans**

- To either increase the number of doctors or the number of consulting hours in the health posts, and to ensure that refugees can access medical care at night if needed. Pharmacies should be better stocked, and the health subsidies provided to refugees in the past should be re-instated.
- There should be better health access for women, particularly for pregnant women.
- Refugees should be allowed to drive, or at least special permission should be given to some of them so that they can drive the camp ambulances during the night if needed.
- Doctors should be paid more so they will provide better health care by being able to work longer hours or more days, and doctors should be screened, monitored and evaluated by the Ministry of Health, UN Agencies, and the camp authorities. Budgets should be provided by the Government and UN Agencies, while refugees can also contribute small amounts through the payment of a health service tax or levy.

**3.5 Other information**

**Food aid** - in all camps, respondents expressed concerns on the quality of food aid received, namely:
- Rice – contains larvae and insects. People try to barter and sell it to purchase better quality rice or wheat.
- Wheat flour – a doctor interviewed in Dizli expressed concern that the wheat flour was not fortified, and that refugees suffer from micro-nutrient deficiencies.
- Pulses – in the Iraqi Kurd camps, respondents expressed that either beans or lentils are culturally preferred over peas.
- Sugar – respondents expressed a cultural preference for sugar cubes or lumps rather than granulated sugar.

**Health and nutrition** - The camp doctor in Dizli also reported that children are stunted (90% are short and underweight, though this could not be verified by the enumerating team) and parents cannot afford food supplements for the children. Pregnant women do not receive varied or extra rations, and that there are no minerals and vitamins in the food aid rations (not fortified). This causes anxiety and depression, mostly amongst women.
The nutrition data were provided by the government and were collected by a variety of medical universities. Indicators included percentage of children underweight (below 3rd percentile for growth), percentage receiving iron and multi-vitamin supplementation and the percentage of children < 2 years of age being breastfed. However, the data did not indicate the age or age ranges of children measured nor the number of children measured and coverage in each camp setting so it is difficult to interpret the individual camp findings. In general, there is a higher prevalence of malnutrition in Afghani children in the camps, as high as 28% in Dalaki and 37% in Torbat-e-jam but these figures need to be interpreted with care as they are clinical data rather than from a sampled survey. The worst nutritional situation for young children in Iraqi Kurd camps was 20% malnutrition found in Ziveh.

In most camps, refugees expressed a desire for some form of sporting facilities to pass the time and ward of depression. Similarly, women stated the need for playing areas for the children, and a nursery to leave their children when they are out working or collecting water.
4. Household characteristics

A total of 527 household interviews were completed in the refugee camps: 139 in four Kurdish camps – Ziveh (50), Dizli (20), Kangavar (38) and Varmahang (31); and 388 in four Afghani camps – Saveh (80), Dalaki (50), Bardsir (130), and Torbat-e-jam (128). The sample size and coverage were based upon camp population sizes and the amount of time available for data collection.

4.1 Household Demography

Household headship – Four percent of the sampled households in the Kurdish camps were headed by women, ranging from 10% in Dizli to zero in Ziveh. In the Afghani camps, approximately 6% of the households were headed by women, with a high of 8% in Dalaki camp and a low of 6% in the three others. The average age of the head of household was about 43 years with little variation between camps. However, in Saveh, a 14 year old boy was named as the head of household although his mother was alive and living in that dwelling. There were also some elderly male heads of household in the Afghani camps. Most heads of household were married – 96% in Kurdish camps and 92% in Afghani camps with a low of 86% in Dalaki where 10% of the household heads were widowed. In Dizli camp 10% of the household heads were also widowed.

Language - In Kurdish camps, 97% of the households indicated that Kurdish was the mother tongue. Slightly more than 2% named Arabic as the main language. Pashto and Dari-Hazara were the most common mother tongues (30% for each) of the households in the Afghani camps, followed by Farsi (21%) and Dari-Tajik (17%). However, almost all of the household interviews were conducted in the Farsi language during the assessment, for both Kurdish and Afghani camps.

Household size and composition – The median household size is 7 persons in the Kurdish camps and 6 persons in the Afghani camps. More than 50% of the households in Ziveh have 8 or more members with the average being 36% for the Kurdish camp sample. Only 29% of the households in the Afghani camps had 8 or more members with a low of 21% in Torbat-e-jam camp. The gender distribution within households was 50% female in all Afghani camps. In Ziveh camp, only 47% of household members were female while in Kangavar, 56% of the household members were female. The chart shows the average percentage of dependents (< 14 years or 60 or older) in the sample households as well as the average percentage of children less than five years of age.

The Afghani camp households had a significantly (p < 0.001) higher percentage of dependents than the Kurdish camp households, indicating fewer potential income earners in that population. In addition, approximately 20% of the household members in Saveh and Dalaki camps were children less than 5 years of age which could indicate a fairly high fertility rate in those camps, especially when compared to the 5% found in Dizli camp.

Literacy and education of household head – Significantly more (p < 0.01) household heads in the Kurdish camps were literate (56%) when compared to the Afghani camps (41%). Literacy ranged from highs of 75% and 71% in Dizli and Varmahang camps to a low of 14% in Dalaki camp. However, in Torbat-e-jam camp (Afghani), the literacy of household head was 66 percent. Literacy of the spouse was also higher in the Kurdish camps (35%) when compared to the Afghani camps (27%). Spouse literacy was highest in Varmahang (55%) and Torbat-e-jam (52%) camps and very low in Saveh (11%) and Dalaki (4%) camps.
The survey also asked the total years of education for both the household head and spouse. In the analysis, this variable was divided into three categories: no schooling at all, 1 to 5 years of education, and 6 or more years. The results are presented, by camp, in the following graphs.

The total years of schooling for heads of household in Kurdish camps is much greater than in Afghani camps, with nearly 40% of them completing at least 6 years. The household heads with the highest levels of education were found in Dizli and Varmahang camps. The least educated were in Dalaki and Bardsir camps (Afghan).

As expected, the levels of formal education are much lower in the spouse (presumably a woman) with 66% of Kurdish and 72% of Afghani spouses having never attended school. More than 90% of the spouses from the Dalaki sample had never attended school. For the Kurdish camps, the spouses/women in Dizli and Varmahang were the best educated with 25% and 39% having completed at least six years of formal education. In the Afghani camps, there were no spouses in the Saveh and Dalaki samples who had gone beyond five years of schooling. The best educated Afghani spouses were found in Torbat-e-jam camp with 51% having attended school for at least one year – 10% for 6 or more years.

4.2 Household Circumstances

Duration of stay in camps - Most of the refugee camps in the sample are very old with some residents claiming to have spent the past 30 years as refugees in those locations. Consequently, the average number of years spent living in the camps was quite high – about 13 years in total. Residents in Kurdish camps had lived there an average of 15 years which is significantly longer \( p < 0.001 \) than the 11 year average for Afghans. However, only 91% of the Kurdish households interviewed had spent the past 5 years living in those camps - significantly lower \( p < 0.05 \) than the 96% of Afghani households. Approximately 4% of the Kurdish households had moved in from another refugee camp and another 3% had moved in from an urban area in Iran.
Residents of Dizli and Bardsir had lived in their camps the longest – 16 years on average while those in Torbat-e-jam and Saveh had resided in those camps for an average of 9 and 10 years respectively.

Reasons not to return to homeland - When asked about problems that kept the refugee households from returning to their place of origin, the most frequent response was insecurity – 60% of the Kurdish households and 82% of the Afghani households, a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.001$). The second most common response was that they had no land in their place of origin – about 37% for the sample. More than 30% of the households also said that they could not find work or earn enough money in their homeland. About one-quarter of the refugee said they didn’t have enough financial resources to be able to return while 10% reported that their land at home was occupied by others. Finally, 7% said that they had nothing to return to in their homelands.

Disabilities – During the interview the households were asked if a member had any of the following disabilities: amputee, blindness, mental illness, deafness/mute, lamed-polio, lame-injury, or chronic illness such as TB. One quarter of the refugee households had at least one disabled member – 29% of Kurdish and 24% of Afghani households. Forty percent of households in Ziveh and 33% in Torbat-e-jam had disabled members as compared to only 4% in Dalaki. The most common disability was chronic illness which, during the survey, was not clearly defined. However, more than 25% of the households in Ziveh and 19% in Torbat-e-jam had a member suffering from a chronic illness. In Varmahang, 13% of the sampled households had a member who was lame due to injury. Of concern is the fact that 8% of the households in Ziveh and Kangavar had a member suffering from mental illness while 10% of the households in Dizli and 8% in Kangavar had a member who was an amputee.

4.3 Housing and household facilities

The number of years a family had lived in their current dwelling varied greatly between the camps from highs (median) of 13 years in Kangavar and 10 years Bardsir and Dalaki camps to lows of 3 years in Torbat-e-jam and 4 years in Ziveh and Saveh camps. Since these camps are all quite old, the newer dwellings may indicate recent construction by long-term residents as well as for newer arrivals.

Housing size and crowding – The number of rooms in the dwellings varied greatly from camp to camp with Kurdish families having significantly more ($p < 0.001$) rooms per dwelling than the Afghani families. The median number in Varmahang dwellings was 6 rooms while in Dalaki and Bardsir camps, most dwellings consisted of only one room. The other camps averaged about 2-3 rooms per dwelling. Based on the number of rooms in the dwelling and the reported number of people who usually sleep in the dwelling an indicator of crowding was calculated for the household – people/room. Crowding was significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) in Afghan dwellings (3.5 people/room) than in the Kurdish camps (2.7 people/room). The least crowded dwellings were in Varmahang (2 people/room) while the most were in Dalaki (5/room) and Bardsir (4.5/room).

Housing quality – There were significant differences ($p < 0.001$) in the quality of housing between the refugee groups with the Kurdish camps being better off than the Afghans. Almost all of the dwellings in Kurdish camps had outside walls made of concrete except in Ziveh where about half the dwellings were made of mud bricks. Almost all Kurdish dwellings had floors covered with machine made carpets. Quality of housing in the Afghani sample varied from camp to camp. Saveh dwellings were predominantly made of mud bricks and about 25% of the floors covered with handmade carpets or kilims while the
remainder were covered with machine made carpets. Dwellings in Dalaki were a mixture of concrete or mud brick with most floors covered in machine made carpets – a few had handmade carpets. About one-third of the sampled households in Bardsir camp lived in tents while the rest lived in dwellings made of concrete or mud bricks. About 75% of the floors in tents were covered with machine made carpets while half the floors in the mud brick structures were covered with blankets, plastic or straw mats. The rest of the households used machine made carpets. In Torbat-e-jam, most structures were made of concrete with the floors covered in carpets – 80% machine made and the rest handmade carpets.

**Water and sanitation** – Most of the households in the Kurdish camps got their drinking water piped in to their dwellings or yard. In Afghani camps, about one-third used water from taps in their homes, another third used a public tap and the final third got water from a tanker. More than 60% of the Kurdish households used a pit latrine with another 22% using a latrine linked to a sewer but with no flush, while 14% regularly used a flush latrine. About half the Afghani households used a public latrine while 35% used a traditional pit latrine and only 8% had a flush latrine. For bathing, more than 80% of the Afghani households had to use a public facility, which was significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) than the 8% of Kurdish households. The remainder in both groups used private facilities for bathing.

**Lighting, heating and cooking fuel** – All of the Kurdish households in the sample used electric lighting as compared to 92% of the Afghani households ($p < 0.001$). The remainder got their lighting from kerosene lamps. Significantly more ($p < 0.001$) Kurdish households used kerosene for heating (99%) than the Afghani households (83%), where more than 15% relied on firewood or burning nut shells for heat. About half of the Afghani households used electricity or gas for cooking while the other half used kerosene. This was significantly different ($p < 0.001$) from the Kurdish households where about 70% use electricity or gas and 30% used kerosene.

### 4.4 Household and animal assets; access to credit

During the interview, the respondents were asked if any member of the household owned any of a list of about 20 household assets, ranging from a car to a quilt. In addition, they were asked about livestock ownership as well as access to credit.

#### Household assets

- On average, Kurdish households owned more assets than the Afghanis – about 7 assets per household as compared to five ($p < 0.001$). Households in Dizli and Kangavar were the most ‘asset rich’ while those in Bardsir owned the least number of assets – on average only 4 of the 20 assessed.

   Nearly one-quarter of the Kurdish households owned 8 or more assets while only 6% would be classified as ‘asset poor’ with only 1-3 household assets. Only 9% of the Afghani households could be considered ‘asset rich’ while nearly one-quarter are ‘asset poor’. About half of the Afghani households had 4-5 assets.

   The most commonly owned assets are shown in the chart below, with quilts and mattresses being owned by nearly all households. Significant differences were found in carpet, television, radio, sewing machine, VCR/DVD/VCD and carpentry kit ownership, with more Kurdish families owning these items as compared to the Afghanis. Slightly more Afghans owned a primus stove. Although ownership was low (5%), significantly more Afghans owned a carpet.
loom – only 1% of Kurdish households were engaged in making carpets. This camp setting is unusual in that a small number of Kurdish refugee families owned mobile phones, cars and satellite dishes.

Animal assets – Only 4% of the Afghani households owned any livestock which was significantly less (p < 0.001) than the Kurdish (37%). Animal ownership amongst Afghani households was only 2% each for goats and sheep. Eleven percent owned poultry (average 2 birds) which was significantly less (p < 0.001) than the Kurdish households. Nearly 40% of Kurds owned poultry, averaging 5 birds per owner. Five percent owned goats, 2% owned sheep and a few households even owned cattle.

Vegetable gardens – Overall, only 6% of the households in the sample had a family vegetable plot/garden. Significantly more (p < 0.001) households in Kurdish camps had gardens (14%) when compared to the Afghani camps (3%). By camp, 20% of the households in Dizli and 18% in Kangavar had vegetable gardens while there were none found in any of the Bardsir households.

Credit and savings – More than half the households in the Kurdish camps and about 45% in Afghani camps said they had access to credit. Of these households, about 30% could access credit from friends or relatives, 20% from a local lender and about 3% from charities or NGOs. There was little difference between the camp groups. Sixty percent of the households in Saveh and Dalaki camps had no access to credit while credit was most readily accessed by households in Ziveh and Varmahang.

Very few households reported that they had cash savings – only 2% overall with a few households in each Afghani camp having cash savings. Of the Kurdish camps, only in Varmahang did households have cash savings (5%).
4.5 Sources of income

Since it is difficult for many of the refugees to find regular employment yet nearly all households earn cash income from time to time throughout the year, it was important to assess current employment as well as the main income activities engaged in by household members throughout the year.

**Current employment** – At the time of the survey, more than 60% of the household heads were not working – significantly more \( (p < 0.01) \) in Afghani camps (67%) than Kurdish camps (54%). Variation in employment was very high across camps with 75% of the household heads currently employed in Dizli, while only 20% in Bardisir and Torbat-e-jam. Of those not currently working, 9% of the Kurdish household heads and 38% of the Afghani heads had worked in past 7 days – a statistically significant difference \( (p < 0.001) \). Most of these occasional workers had been engaged in unskilled wage labour and were paid in cash.

**Income activities** – Approximately 85% of all households relied on unskilled wage labour for annual income - almost three-quarters named it as their household’s main income activity. In Kurdish camps, 18% of the households engage in petty trade for income, followed by skilled work (10%), salaried work (6%), handicrafts (4%) and small business (4%). In Afghani camps, 8% of the households are engaged in skilled work, 6% in petty trade, 4% in handicrafts and 3% in begging and borrowing. In all, 83% of Afghani households have only one source of income throughout the year, as compared to 70% of the Kurdish households. Another 17% of Afghans rely on two income activities while less than 1% of the households named three or four sources of income. However, in Kurdish camps, 26% of the households were engaged in 2 income generating activities and 4% had higher income diversification.

4.6 Household expenditures

During the interviews, the household head was asked to provide estimates of recent expenditures for 9 food categories and 11 itemized non-food categories. This information was used to calculate the percentage of total household expenditure in the previous month for the various categories. Due to the recent celebration of Eid-al-Fitr some of the household expenditures in the month prior to the survey may be slightly higher than normal. However, the recall period for food expenditure was only for the previous week which was after the religious celebrations.

**Total and per capita expenditures** – For each household, the total monthly expenditure was calculated for the 20 categories in order to obtain a relative indication of each household’s participation in a cash economy. The figures obtained are only estimates and should not be regarded as absolute amounts. However, these amounts are useful for making relative comparisons between households, camps and groups.

The average total expenditure for Kurdish households was 1.2 million rials per month. This was significantly higher \( (p < 0.001) \) than the 657,000 rials per month expenditure in the Afghani households. The highest average absolute expenditure was found in Ziveh, with 1.6 million per month while the lowest was found in Torbat-e-jam at less than 500,000 rials per month. Consequently, the highest per capita expenditure per month was 205,000 rials per month ($24.7) in Ziveh while the households in Bardisir and Torbat-e-jam spent around 100,000 rials per month - $12 and $11.4 respectively. On average, the per capita expenditures were significantly higher \( (p < 0.05) \) in Kurdish camps (183,000 rials/$22.0) than the Afghani camps (110,700 rials/$13.3).
Expenditure categories – By far the greatest share of household expenditure was for food – approximately 42% for Kurdish households and 45% for Afghani households. Next was expenditure for utilities (electricity and fuel/heating) which was significantly higher \((p < 0.01)\) in the Afghani camps (14%) when compared to the Kurdish camps (11%). This was followed by medical (10-11% for each), clothing (9% total) and transport (7%). Share of household expenditure for clothing was significantly higher \((p < 0.001)\) in Kurdish camps (14%) than in Afghani households (7%).

In the Kurdish camps, the highest food expenditure category was for meat (8%), followed by rice (7%), oil (6%), potatoes (5%), with 4% each for sugar and tea. Six percent of total expenditure was for debt repayment.

In Afghani camps, the highest food expenditure category was sugar (9%), followed by vegetable oil (8%), rice and potatoes (7% each), and wheat/bread (5%). It is interesting to note that, with the exception of potatoes, these are all items found in the food basket.

Share of expenditure on food – As already mentioned, the average share of household expenditure for food was higher in Afghani camps than the Kurdish camps. In specific camps, the highest median share of expenditure for food was found in Dalaki (55%),
followed by Saveh (52%) and Dizli (51%). Lowest share of household expenditure for food (most food secure) was found in Varmahang (32%) and Kangavar (35%).

4.7 Food consumption and source of food

**Meal frequency** - More than 90% of households reported that both the children and adults had eaten three meals in the previous day. However when comparing the camp types, significantly more ($p < 0.001$) adults in Kurdish households (99%) had eaten three meals in the previous day as compared to the Afghani households (88%). There was also a difference in meal frequency of children with 98% of children in Kurdish households having three meals in the previous day which was significantly higher ($p < 0.01$) than Afghani children (91%).

**Food frequency** - In the household interviews, interviewees were asked about frequency of consumption of particular foods by the household in the past week. In addition, they were asked to name the two main sources for each food consumed. This section presents the results of the food frequency analysis by food group, including the main sources of the foods. The first food items presented are the items present in the general food ration and school feeding incentive.

**Food aid items** - The following items are found in the general food ration for the refugees so are presented together, by commodity.

**Rice** - The chart shows that nearly half of the Kurdish households had eaten rice every day in the week prior to the survey, as compared to less than 10% of the Afghani households. The majority of Afghani households were eating rice only 2 or 3 days in the previous week. The main sources of rice for Kurdish households were through purchase (90%) and food aid (84%), while only 53% of the Afghani households purchased their rice. However, nearly 80% had eaten rice they received through food rations.

**Beans** - Frequency of bean consumption was quite different between the groups with about 35% of the Afghan households not eating beans in the previous week even though they are included in the general ration. The majority of the Kurdish households are eating beans 2-3 days a week. About 90% of the Kurdish households purchased beans for consumption as compared to only 65% of the Afghani households. In addition, 68% of the Kurdish households acquired beans for consumption in the food ration, as compared to only 59% of the Afghani households.

**Wheat/Bread** - Almost all households in the study reported that they had consumed wheat/bread every day in the past week – 96% in the Kurdish camps and 98% in the Afghani camps. Two percent of the Kurdish households did not eat wheat/bread at all in the previous week. The sources of wheat/bread vary between groups with 70% of the
Kurdish households purchasing wheat or bread as compared to 79% of the Afghani households. However, 85% of the Kurdish households also received the wheat they consumed as a food ration as compared to only 61% of the Afghani households, indicating that perhaps the wheat ration distributed is not sufficient for household food needs for either group, but more so in Afghani households.

**Sugar** - Even though sugar is provided as a commodity in the general food ration, nearly 30% of Afghani households had not consumed sugar or sugar products in the previous week. About 90% of the Kurds and half the Afghans had eaten sugar every day in the previous week. Of the sugar consumed only about 74% of Kurds and 64% of Afghans received it as food aid. Ninety-six percent of Kurdish consumers and 66% of the Afghans purchased sugar for consumption.

**Vegetable oil** - Oil was consumed daily by 84-89% of households in both types of camps. Despite being given as food aid in the general ration as well as a girls’ incentive for school feeding, there were still more than 3% of households who had not consumed oils or fats in the previous week. Nearly 90% of the Kurdish households had purchased the oil they consumed as compared to 72% of the Afghani households. Only 68% of the Afghani households reported receiving the oil they consumed as food aid which was much lower than the 83% of Kurdish households.

**Other food groups** - These foods represent other types frequently consumed by the refugees but that are not included in the general food ration.

**Pasta** - Pasta was consumed much less often than rice with around 35% of the households in both groups not eating it in the past week. In all Afghani households consumed pasta slightly more often than Kurdish households. For both groups, the main source of pasta was through purchase (98-100%) with only a few households in the Afghani camps receiving it as a gift.

**Potatoes** - Consumption of potatoes varies within and between camp communities, yet it appears that the Afghani households consume them more frequently than Kurdish households, with more than 10% of Afghani households having eaten potatoes every day in the previous week. Nearly all households purchased the potatoes they consumed with a very few receiving them as a gift.
Fish (fresh or canned) - Fish is eaten at least once a week by 22% of the Kurdish households but only 9% of the Afghani households. The most often fish was consumed was 3 days in the previous week. All of the households who consumed fish had purchased it from the market.

Red meat - Regular consumption of red meat is rare in both groups of households with about 75% of Afghani households not eating any in the past week. More than 60% of Kurdish households had eaten red meat at least once in the previous week. In both camp types there is a small but significant group of households eating meat daily.

Poultry - Poultry is consumed more frequently than red meat but still not very often for either camp group. More than 60% of the Afghani households do not eat poultry even once in a week. About 65% of the Kurdish households had eaten poultry at least once in the previous week. For both types of camps, 97% of the households had purchased their poultry while 3% had received it as a gift.

Eggs - In 25% of the Kurdish households, eggs were consumed daily. This is not surprising since nearly 40% of the households owned poultry. Eggs were never consumed in a quarter of the Afghani households but were consumed daily in about 10% of the households. Most consumed eggs 1-3 days per week. However, 99% of the Afghani consumers purchased eggs as compared to 92% of the Kurds. More than 10% of the eggs consumed by Kurds were produced and 3% were received as gifts.

Milk - Milk was never consumed by about half the households in both groups. For those who consumed milk, Afghani households averaged fewer days per week when compared to the Kurdish households. However, more than 10% of the Kurdish households consumed milk 7 days in the previous week. Sources of the milk varied with all Kurdish consumers purchasing at some time during the week but with 11% of those also consuming milk from their own animals. Very few Afghani households own milk producing animals so 97% of the consuming households purchased milk and 4% of them received milk as a gift – most likely from the Iranian national program to provide milk and snacks to school children.
**Vegetables** - Vegetables are not consumed very often among Afghani refugees with nearly half having never eaten them in the previous week. In contrast, more than 80% of the Kurdish refugees had eaten vegetables at least one day in the previous week. About 14% of the Kurdish households and only 3% of the Afghani households reported having a home garden and thus 8% of the Kurdish households consumed vegetables from their own production as compared to less than 1% of the Afghans. All Afghani and 98% of the Kurdish vegetable consuming households purchased vegetables.

**Fruits** - Frequency of fruit consumption amongst the refugees was very irregular. More than half the Afghanis had not eaten fruit in the previous week as compared to less than 30% of the Kurds. However, about 10% of the Kurds had eaten fruit 1, 2 or 3 days in the previous week. Lastly, a group of about 15% of the Kurdish households had eaten fruit every day in the past week. Nearly all of the fruit consumed was purchased with about 1% from trading and 1% received as a gift.

### 4.8 Food aid

In the sample, only 83% of the Kurdish refugees and 78% of the Afghan refugees had a ration book. However, 89% of the Kurd and 82% of the Afghan households had received some form of food aid in the past month. This information is summarized in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Have ration book</th>
<th>Received food aid last month</th>
<th>If yes, which program?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General ration</td>
<td>Girls’ oil incentive</td>
<td>National</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>archive</td>
<td>incentive</td>
<td>school feeding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziveh</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dizleh</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangavar</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varmahang</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdish</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>89%*</td>
<td>86%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saveh</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalaki</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardsir</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torbat-e-jam</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghani</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ration books** - Nearly all the households in Saveh and Dalaki camps had ration books, followed by Bardsir (95%) and Kangavar (92%). Only 41% of the households interviewed in Torbat-e-jam had ration books. For many camps, the percentage of households with ration books was nearly equal the percentage receiving food aid in the past month. Three-quarters of the households in Varmahang had ration books but all had received some form of food aid in the past month, with 94% receiving a general ration. In Torbat-e-jam, 41% of the households had a ration book but 52% had received food aid. However, when investigating the source of the food aid, 44% received a general ration and 10% received food from the Girls’ oil incentive program.

**Beneficiary status and program** - Significantly more (p < 0.05) households in the Kurdish camp sample had received a general ration (86%) when compared to the Afghani households (79%). In addition, in 3 of the 4 Kurdish camps in the sample, more than half
the households were benefiting from a Girls’ oil incentive program. In all, significantly more (p < 0.001) households in Kurdish camps (39%) had children participating in Girls’ oil incentive programs. Only 17% of the households in the Afghani camp sample were Girls’ oil incentive beneficiaries with most found in Bardsir camp. There were no Girls’ oil incentive beneficiary households in Saveh and Dalaki camps. Very few households in either sample group appeared to have children benefiting from the Government’s school milk and snack program, although it is not regularly targeted to these refugee camp schools.

Rations received - The beneficiary households were asked to estimate the amount of wheat flour/bread, rice, vegetable oil, pulses/beans and sugar they had received in the previous month. These estimates were converted to an amount per capita and the median amounts by commodity and camp are presented in a series of charts.

Wheat ration - For wheat, most households had received a little more than 8 kilograms per person in the past month as indicated in the graph. However, the median per capita ration received in Torbat-e-jam Camp (Afghani) was only 5.6 kilograms per person per month. This is much lower than any of the other camps.

Rice ration - The median per capita amount of rice received in the past month was exactly 3 kilograms for all camps except Torbat-e-jam. Again, the median reported amount received was lower than all of the others, at 2.7 kilograms per person.

Vegetable oil ration - The median amount of vegetable oil (per capita) received by the refugees in the past month was 0.6 kilograms in six of the camps. However, in Varmahang, the median amount received was 0.57 kilograms which is only slightly less than the others. However, in Torbat-e-jam, the median amount received was 0.53 kilograms per person.
**Pulse ration** - The median amount of pulses received per capita was around 0.9 kilograms for the sample, which was also the median amount for 5 of the 8 camps in the survey. However, the median per capita amounts for Varmahang, Saveh and Torbat-e-jam were lower, at around 0.75 kilograms per person.

**Sugar ration** - The median per capita ration of sugar received by the sample refugees was 0.45 kilograms. This was the case for four of the camps as illustrated in the graph. Beneficiaries in Ziveh and Saveh received a slightly lower amount (0.44 kilograms per person), while in Torbat-e-jam and Varmahang the medians were 0.43 and 0.42 kilograms per capita respectively.
5. Household food consumption typologies

Using data on the dietary diversity, defined as the number of different foods consumed during the week prior to the survey, and the frequency by which these food are consumed, a sample of 388 households from four Afghan refugee camps and of 139 households from four Iraqi Kurd camps were analysed in order to identify homogeneous groups of households based on their food consumption.

The analysis used information on the frequency of consumption (0 to 7 days) for thirteen food items: bread/wheat, rice, pasta, potatoes, pulses, vegetable oil, poultry meat, eggs, milk, vegetables, fruits and sugar.

These two data sets were analyzed using multivariate statistical techniques to create clusters of households with distinct food consumption patterns. A third variable, sources of the foods consumed (e.g. purchased, food aid, production, etc) were then introduced in the attempt to distinguish between households accessing food mainly from the market or from food aid.

5.1 Food consumption classification

The data on food diversity and food frequency were analyzed for the two refugee groups separately but using the same process and techniques.

The household food consumption classification followed a set of criteria based on the consumption of food items belonging to the main seven food groups: cereals; legumes and oilseeds; tuber and roots; vegetable and fruits; animal products; oils and fats; milk and milk products. The criteria for qualifying the food consumption are as follow:

- **Very poor food consumption** - The household consumes less than four different food items out of the seven main food groups each day.
- **Poor food consumption** - The household consumes daily at least four different food items, plus an additional food item 4-5 times per week.
- **Fairly good food consumption** - The household daily consumes at least four food items and at least two additional food items, 4-5 days per week.
- **Good food consumption** - The household daily consumes at least five food items and one additional food item 4-5 days per week.
- **Very good food consumption** - The household consumes at least seven different food items every day.

Based on these criteria, four distinct groups of households were identified, for both Afghan and Iraqi Kurds, with very different food consumption patterns.

5.2 Afghan refugees

Nine percent of the households are characterized by **very poor food consumption**. Households in this group have a poorly diversified diet, consisting of rice, bread/wheat flour and oil that mostly obtained from the food aid ration. Potatoes and sugar are consumed one to three times a week and they rarely consume any other food items.
The largest group of households in the sample (38%) are characterized by **poor food consumption**. They have a slightly better access to food as many consume potatoes more frequently with some also eating vegetables while a few consume fruits. Pulses, eggs and milk are hardly ever consumed – only sometimes by a few households. Sugar is consumed on a daily basis only by very few households, while the rest consume sugar only 2-3 times per week.

Twenty-five percent of the sampled households have **fairly good food consumption.** They are characterized by a more diversified diet though the different foods are consumed with varying frequency. They tend to eat rice, pasta and potatoes regularly but not every day. Bread is consumed every day. Moreover, they eat pulses, chicken and milk 2-3 times per week and eggs even more frequently. Fruits and vegetables are consumed a couple of times per week.

A group of 28% of households has **good food consumption.** They have a more diverse dietary intake pattern than the other groups. Some of them hardly consume any rice and pasta, though they eat wheat or bread everyday. Potatoes, pulses, meat, eggs, vegetables, fruit and sugar are consumed two to six days a week. Some of them eat pulses, vegetables and sugar every day. What distinguishes this group of households from the others is that one third of them obtain rice, wheat, pulses, oil and sugar only from food aid, another third access food through a combination of food aid and purchasing, while the remaining third relies heavily on the purchase of staple food items.
5.3 Kurdish refugees

Four percent of the households in the Kurdish sample are characterized by **poor food consumption**. Their diet is poorly diversified, consisting mainly of regular consumption of rice, bread, oil and sugar which they receive as food aid. Some households occasionally consume vegetables and fruits.

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<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
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<td>Rice</td>
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<td>Bread</td>
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<td>Potato</td>
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<td>Pulses</td>
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<td>Sugar</td>
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Thirty-two percent of the sampled households have **fairly good food consumption**. They appear to be able to allocate a higher share of household expenditures for rice, potatoes, tea and other foods. Consequently, their food consumption is slightly better than the previous group of households though pulses potatoes, eggs and vegetables are consumed only a few times a week. However, rice, bread, oil and sugar are the only commodities regularly eaten.

Another group of 32% of households is characterized by **good food consumption**. Their consumption patterns are better than those of the previous two groups as they regularly consume pulses, potatoes and eggs along with the staple commodities. Moreover, these households also eat fruits and vegetables a few times a week and both red meat and chicken once a week. In some households, eggs and vegetables are also available from own production.

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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
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<td>Sugar</td>
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Finally an equal group of 32%\(^5\) is characterized by **very good food consumption**. Their food access is the best among all households and consists of regular consumption of all food items included in the list though with different frequencies. Almost all households have regular access to the staple commodities and they also buy non-staples with the exception of eggs and vegetables, which are sometimes produced.

\(^5\) The equal number of households included in Group 1, 2 and 3 is a result of the analysis and not intentionally created.
6. Household food expenditure and use of food aid

Almost all households in the survey indicated that they regularly purchase the non-staple foods, though at varying levels. In addition, many of them also purchase the food items received as food assistance. Staple and non-staple food expenditures were thus analyzed and compared with the market value of the food-aid basket received.

The first step of this analysis was to calculate the market value of the food-aid basket. This was done for each household by multiplying the amount of each commodity received, during the last month, by its average market price. The second step was to calculate the total food expenditure for staples and for non-staples that each household incurred during the last month, using the expenditure data collected during the survey.

The ratio between expenditure for staple food and market value of the staple foods received as food aid was calculated as a measure indicating the household’s need and/or ability to acquire staple foods. When this indicator is less than 1, the value of the household expenditure for staples is lower than the value of the food-aid basket. When it is equal to 1, the value of the household purchase is as much as the value of the food basket, and when it is greater than 1, the value of the household expenditure for staples is higher (twice or more) than the value of the food basket.

Similarly, the ratio between non-staple food expenditure and market value of the staple foods received is a measure of the household’s access to other food needs and provides indication of the resources available to diversify their food access.

However, neither indicator takes into account the use of food aid received. Some households might in fact sell or exchange the whole basket to access different foods or different quantities of staples and non-staples. Thus the analysis takes into account the main sources of the staple and non-staple foods consumed by each household. The food expenditure-based household classification was then cross-tabulated with the previous household food consumption classification.

It must be noted that about 20% of the Afghani and 9% of the Iraqi Kurd refugees living in the camps do not receive food aid so these households were analyzed separately with the findings also presented separately.

6.1 Afghan refugees receiving food aid

Food aid and purchases are the two main ways food is accessed by the refugees. However, several households indicated that much of their staple items are purchased, despite the fact they receive a food-aid ration.

Use of the food aid

Of those regularly receiving the ration, only 23% indicated that food aid was their main source for the five staple foods. Conversely, 7% indicated they made use of only one commodity (generally rice), whereas the rest had various combinations in the use of the staples received as food aid, but with sugar from the food aid basket being the staple the least frequently used. However, during the assessment the Afghan refugees regularly reported a preference for sugar cubes rather than the type distributed as food assistance.

This provides evidence that, for many refugees, part of the food aid is regularly sold or exchanged for "preferred" commodities. However, for some households, ration sales are the only way to meet other basic needs. Nearly three-quarters of households who relied on purchase as the main source for one or two staples have poor and very poor food consumption. Conversely, most of the households that make use of only one commodity from the food-aid basket (probably selling the rest) have relatively good levels of food consumption.

Food expenditure patterns

Eighty percent of the households have low expenditures for non-staple foods (below the market value of the ration). Given the market prices, such low expenditure levels reveal a rather limited purchasing power for non-staples. Moreover, more than half of these households (66%) have also very low levels of expenditures for staple commodities and
consequently the proportion of households with satisfactory levels of food consumption is very low - only 20 percent.

Conversely, as soon as the expenditure for staple commodities increases, the percentage of households with satisfactory food consumption increases, despite the low levels of expenditures for non-staple foods. About 20% of households have expenditures for non-staples equal to or higher than the market value of the food-aid basket. The majority of these households, (70%) are also characterized by high expenditures for staples and have satisfactory food consumption.

6.2 Afghan refugees not receiving food aid

Food expenditure patterns
Most of the households not receiving food aid are long-lasting refugees living in the Torbat-e-jam camp. Only less than 15% of those not receiving food were registered in the camps after 2000, it is therefore unclear why they are not assisted.

Their lack of access to food is of great concern as 50% of them have been classified having poor and very poor food consumption and the overall access to food for the rest of the group remains rather limited.

6.3 Iraqi Kurd refugees receiving food aid

Use of the food aid
Food aid and purchases are also the main sources of food access (staples included) for the Iraqi Kurd refugees. Forty-nine percent of those regularly receiving the ration consume all the commodities from the basket. About 18% of the households do not use the vegetable oil, whereas 10% do not use sugar from the ration. Those consuming only the rice from food aid are 1% while only 2% use only the vegetable oil.

When compared to the Afghani households, it is evident that fewer Iraqi Kurd refugee households need to sell part of their ration to obtain the necessary resources to meet other food and non-food basic needs.

Food expenditure patterns
Nearly 70% of the households have low expenditures for non-staple commodities with half also having low expenditures for staples. Although characterized by low purchasing power, most Iraqi Kurd refugee households have managed to achieve quite satisfactory food consumption. The analysis had identified only a very small group (4%) of households with poor access to food – all in the low expenditure group.

Of the 32% refugee households with higher expenditures for non-staple commodities (equal or above the market value of the food-aid basket) only 20% have low expenditures for staple foods. It is thus clear that Iraqi Kurd refugees have overall a better purchasing power and less need to sell or exchange part of the food ration received to meet other needs.

6.4 Iraqi Kurd refugees not receiving food aid

Half of the households that do not receive food aid have arrived at the camp after 2000, while the second half is made of long-lasting refugees for whom it is unclear why they do not receive food aid. Their access to food is however of no concern. Their current food consumption was assessed to be satisfactory.
7. Afghani refugee households by food security typology

7.1 Household demographics

The chart on the left shows that the percentage of dependents in a household is highest in the households with very poor food consumption and decreases as food consumption improves. In addition, the levels of literacy for both the head and head’s spouse are by far the lowest in those household with very poor food consumption. The trend for those with better consumption is not so clear.

Large households (8 or more members) are found more often in the best and worst food consumption groups. Based upon the first graph, the composition of the households is different with more dependents (< 15 and over 60 years plus disabled members) found in the very poor consumption groups. Nearly half of the households with very poor food consumption have a household member with a disability. This is nearly twice as high as any of the other groups.

Twelve percent of the very poor consumption households have a blind member or one who is an amputee. There are very few households in the poor and fairly good households who have members with a specified disability. Mentally ill and lame persons were more often found in households with very poor food consumption.
7.2 Housing conditions

More than twice as many households in the very poor food consumption group are living in structures with a temporary floor when compared to the other groups. In addition, households in this group are also more likely to live in a tent than in the other groups. Only a few households in the good food consumption group live in structures with temporary floor or in a tent.

Nearly all households in the very poor food consumption group use public bathing facilities although dependence on these public facilities is quite high in all groups. More than 70% of households with very poor food consumption are cooking with kerosene. About half of the households in the other groups are cooking with electricity or gas, a sign of relative affluence.

7.3 Asset ownership

Asset ownership is strongly related to food consumption in the Afghan refugee households. Only 3% of the very poor food consumption households own 8 or more assets as compared to 15% in the good food consumption group. Overall, asset ownership was much higher in the best food consumption group but varied less among the other three groups.
Ownership of carpets or kilims was much lower in the very poor food consumption group but varied little between the other groups. Productive assets such as sewing machines and carpentry kits are also less likely to be found in the very poor food consumption group. On the other hand, radio ownership is much higher in the good food consumption group when compared to the others.

### 7.4 Income and employment

The percentage of household heads currently working at the time of the survey was more than half in the fairly good food consumption group but lowest in the very poor food consumption group. Unskilled wage labour was the most common income activity in each group. However, 15% of the households in the very poor consumption group relied on handicrafts as the primary income source and nearly one-quarter of those households reported women to be the main income earner.

### 7.5 Expenditure

Per capita monthly expenditure was lowest in the very poor food consumption group, at about $11 USD. It was highest in the good food consumption group at just under $18/capita per month. Overall, variance was not so great among the three lower groups. Per capita monthly expenditure on food was 33% in the lowest group and then increased with improved food consumption, indicating that the poorest relied more heavily on food rations and less on purchases.
When looking at percentage expenditure by particular food commodities, it is clear that the increased expenditure on food by the better off groups is on meat or fish as well as rice. Food expenditure on vegetable oil did not vary much while that for potatoes was highest in the poor food consumption group, indicating that perhaps it is the ‘poor man’s’ preferred carbohydrate.
8. Iraqi Kurd refugee households by food security typology

8.1 Household demographics

This chart shows that the percentage of dependents in a household is generally constant among the four food consumption groups. The levels of literacy for the head and head's spouse follow a counter-intuitive pattern with the highest percentage of literate heads found in the households with "Poor food consumption" and also with spouse literacy being the highest among households with "Very Poor" and "Poor" food consumption.

Households with 8 or more members were found more often in the "Poor" and "Fairly good" food consumption groups. Less than one-third of the households characterized by "Good" food consumption are that large. The highest percentage of disabled members was found among in households with "Poor" and "Very Poor" food consumption.

Disabilities are present among the different food consumption groups and do not seem to have a direct relationship with their access to food. However, households with "Very poor" food consumption have the highest prevalence of members with chronic disabilities.
8.2 Housing condition

Housing conditions are quite homogeneous among the different food consumption groups. Houses are generally made of concrete in more than 80% of the cases. Using public bathing facilities is not very common. The highest percentage was found among households with “Very poor” food consumption. Moreover, the use tends to decrease with the improvement of the household access to food. The percentage of households using kerosene as cooking fuel is around 30%. It should be noted that the large majority of households with “Fairly good” food consumption use firewood.

8.3 Asset ownership

Asset ownership seems to be strongly related to food consumption level among Kurd refugee households. None of the households with “Very poor” food consumption own 8 or more assets. Most of the households in this group own 6-7 assets. A few households in the “Poor” and “Fairly Good” consumption groups are asset poor. However, the percentage of households that own 8 or more assets increases with improved food access where one third of the “Good” food consumption households are asset rich.
Ownership of carpets or kilims was very common among households in every food consumption group even if the majority of people own machine made carpets rather than handmade ones. Carpentry kits and radios seem to be highly related with food access, being more commonly found in “Good” food consumption households.

8.4 Income and employment

The highest percentage of household heads working at the time of the survey was found among those households with very poor food consumption. It is not clear how to interpret this information as the employment of the household head declines as household food security improves. It could be a factor explaining a greater need for employment opportunities in the camps or else the “Very poor” food consumption households are more desperate. Unskilled wage labour is the most common income activity in each group but for 18% of the sampled households petty trade is the primary source of income.

8.5 Expenditure

Per capita monthly expenditure was found to be the lowest among households with “Poor” food consumption (about 21 USD). Households in the “Good” food consumption group had the highest per capita expenditure of all - nearly $40 per month. More than half of the total expenditure was allocated for food in the “Very poor” food consumption group. This was the highest of all the groups.
Analyzing the expenditure shares by single food commodity, rice consumption is quite constant confirming this food to be the staple. Expenditure for potatoes is higher in the two worse off groups, whereas expenditure for meat or fish is generally low except for the households with “Good” food consumption.
9. Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1 Food consumption

- Overall, the food consumption among the Afghani households is barely adequate as nearly half of the households survive on the minimum (or less) food requirements and only 28% of the sample can be considered to have a good access to food.

- The food consumption situation among the Iraqi Kurd refugee households is relatively good as the vast majority regularly access the basic food requirements and only a small percentage had poor food consumption.

- It is critical to understand why so many Afghani households are not able to meet their minimum food requirements despite the fact they receive food assistance.

- Similarly, it is also important to analyze the role of food aid among the Iraqi Kurdish refugees and to explain whether they would continue to enjoy relatively good food consumption in the absence of WFP food assistance.

- Improving the quality of the food aid commodities distributed to the refugees should be considered. This would include better quality rice, fortified wheat flour, and more culturally acceptable pulses and sugar.

9.2 Role of food aid for Afghani refugees

- The analyses of both the household food consumption and food expenditure showed that food aid is a very important component for 75% of the Afghani refugee households.

- The remaining 25% would most probably be able to meet their food requirements in the absence of food aid, but this would require some further verification.

- Overall, 40% of the refugees receiving food aid are not able to accumulate the necessary resources to ensure satisfactory food consumption levels for their households. For these households it is necessary to review the assistance received and identify how to improve their poor food security.

- Moreover, about half of the refugee households not receiving food aid do not have satisfactory food consumption levels. For these households it would probably be necessary to review the beneficiary lists and the criteria for beneficiary selection.

- Considering that food aid is such an important input for the majority of the Afghani refugees:
  1. It is not recommended to proceed with a phase down assistance through direct household targeting.
  2. It is recommended that the ration be increased to 100% for these households.
  3. Non-registered households are targeted for assistance.

9.3 Role of food aid for Iraqi Kurdish refugees

- The analysis of the household food consumption and food expenditure showed that food aid plays an important role for 72% of the Iraqi Kurd refugee households.

- Food aid is likely a critical component to maintain the relatively good levels of food consumption for about 60% of the Iraqi Kurd refugee households - those with limited purchasing power for both types of commodities.

- For the other 40%, food assistance is probably not essential as many of these households have proved to be self-reliant in terms of access to food with food aid playing a minimum role in household food security.

- Given the above, if the refugees do not repatriate spontaneously in the short term, it would be best to:
  1. Continue with food assistance in all camps.
  2. Target non-registered households.
9.4 Other

- UNHCR should re-assess their phase-out strategy planned for mid-2004. It was found that in all camps health, education, and water/sanitation – key areas in which UNHCR is providing financial assistance to BAFIA – are in need of improvements. Stopping the current financial assistance in these areas may have serious short to long-term negative impacts on the lives and livelihoods of the refugees.

- Consideration should be taken to conduct anthropometric surveys in the camps for both children less than five years and their mothers in order to have a better understanding of the differences in malnutrition prevalence between the camps. Reported data from clinical visits is not sufficient.