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Refugees' gendered experiences of education in Europe since 2015: A scoping review

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Abstract

This scoping review aims to explore the role of gender in refugees' educational access, experiences, and outcomes in Europe since 2015. Gender can act as a significant barrier to education, and gender stereotypes and bias can affect learning opportunities and outcomes. As a response, a scoping review was conducted to explore the role of gender in refugees' educational access, experiences, and outcomes in Europe since 2015. This review follows a systematic process of reviewing and synthesising texts compiled in the Hub for Education for Refugees in Europe (HERE) Knowledge Base to fill the gaps in knowledge about gender-related post-migration experiences of refugees and displaced individuals who have arrived in Europe. The review includes studies that focus on educational services for refugees in Europe and uses a meta-ethnographic synthesis approach to data analysis and synthesis. Using a socio-ecological framework, it was found that at the individual level, access and progression were shaped by previous educational attainment, health issues, survival tactics and future aspirations; at the micro-level, by relationships with family, educators and peers; at the meso-level, by public perceptions of refugee learners and home-school interactions; and at the macro-level, by administrative barriers, the asylum system, socio-economic factors and the tailored opportunities and community support available. The majority of the studies referred to the experiences of women and girls.

KEYWORDS
Europe, forced migrant education, gender, refugee education, scoping review

Context and implications

Rationale for this study

The role of gender in the context of refugee education in Europe is often overlooked. However, an intersectional understanding of gender can inform more targeted and effective policies and interventions which address the unique needs and experiences of girls and boys, women and men, and individuals who experience intersecting forms of marginalisation.

Why the new findings matter

By reviewing the 31 resources, we were still able to ascertain gendered trends in the research and identify gaps—thus offering a departure point for more specific future research.

Implications for policy and practice

In this literature from Europe since 2015, most gendered challenges have not arisen from failures in educational policy or practice necessarily. Rather, the majority are either individual or micro-level issues—such as poor health, low previous educational attainment or tensions in everyday relationships—or the gendered impacts of asylum and welfare policies. This suggests that institutional policies are not sufficiently addressing girls' and women's specific needs, and require an intersectional and holistic approach.

INTRODUCTION

Europe is currently seeing the highest number of refugees since the Second World War (UNHCR, 2022). However, the role of gender[i] in shaping their experiences after arrival—particularly in terms of education—is often overlooked. Gender can act as a significant barrier to accessing learning, with girls and women facing unique challenges such as cultural norms and early marriage. Gender can also affect the nature of their educational experiences and outcomes, with gender stereotypes and bias potentially affecting learning opportunities. An understanding of gender in the context of refugee education is therefore needed to inform more targeted and effective policies and interventions that address the unique needs and experiences of individuals who experience intersecting forms of marginalisation. As a response, we conducted a scoping review to explore the impact of gender in refugees' educational access, experiences, and outcomes in Europe since 2015. The aim was to address gaps in knowledge and focus on the right to inclusive and equitable quality education without gender-related discrimination.

Rationale and objectives

The issue of refugees' educational access, experiences and outcomes has gained increasing attention from policymakers, researchers and the public in recent years (Aleghfeli & Hunt, 2022; McIntyre & Abrams, 2020). However, the role of gender in this context is often overlooked. Understanding how gender intersects with refugees' educational experiences is critical for several reasons. Across contexts, gender can act as a significant barrier to accessing education, with girls and women often facing unique challenges such as cultural norms, safety concerns and early marriage (Akua-Sakyiwah, 2015; Burke et al., 2023; Hunt, 2021). If they do enrol, gender can also shape the nature of refugees' educational experiences and outcomes, with stereotypes and bias potentially affecting learning opportunities and outcomes (Bajwa et al., 2018; El Jack, 2010). With that in mind, an intersectional understanding of gender in the context of refugee education can inform more targeted and effective policies and interventions that address the unique needs and experiences of girls and boys, women and men, and individuals who experience intersecting forms of marginalisation.

This scoping review is the result of an ongoing, systematic process of searching for, reviewing and compiling texts in the Hub for Education for Refugees in Europe (HERE) Knowledge Base. The scoping review attempts to answer the question: 'What have we learnt from empirical studies about the role of gender in refugees' educational access, experiences and outcomes in Europe since 2015?' Ultimately, the scoping review aims to provide a detailed picture of the knowledge available on the gender-related, post-migration experiences of refugees and forcibly displaced individuals who have arrived in Europe since 2015, with a focus on their right to inclusive and equitable quality education without gender-related discrimination (United Nations General Assembly, 1951, 1967, 1979). Such intersectional perspectives are vital for uncovering barriers to education rooted in factors such as 'patriarchal gender relations' in both the refugees' 'host' and home countries – which can lead to the construction of a 'racialized and gendered refugee subject, who is either seen as passive and needy, or dangerous and needs to be securitized' (Bajwa et al., 2018, p. 120). To avoid such conceptualisations, this article pays special attention to knowledge on not only barriers, but also supports: in terms of refugees' individual resources and the assistance they seek out and utilise via the relationships and structures around them.

Literature review: Gendered differences in refugees' educational access and experiences around the world

Across the global literature, it was found that 'gendered' experiences of education in fact most often referred to the experiences of refugee women and girls. Much of this research also focused on women and girls in Majority World[ii] contexts—particularly in sub-Saharan Africa—and, even more often, girls and women who had migrated from Majority World regions to higher-income contexts in the Minority World (particularly North America and Australia). Many of these studies focused on barriers to formal education, and especially at the secondary and tertiary levels.

This scholarship suggests that refugee girls' and women's issues with educational access in 'host' countries—despite there being more opportunities—can be a result of social, economic and cultural factors related to both their pre- and post-migration conditions (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010). This includes being excluded from places of learning in their home country, due to cultural norms and family concerns and responsibilities. For example, Carvalho (2022) found that in Ethiopia, safety concerns and domestic duties in the home were more likely to limit refugee girls' participation in secondary school than that of boys and 'host' community girls. Among Sudanese youth, while Rana et al. (2011, p. 2082) report that

boys were indeed 'exposed to multiple risk factors', obstacles to getting an education were even bigger for girls—especially due to 'cultural role expectations' in Sudanese society. As such, both families and schools can play 'a significant role in reproducing gender values, identities, relationships and stereotypes' which perpetually limit girls' and women's education (El Jack, 2010, p. 22).

After migrating, girls and women very often have more educational possibilities, and—importantly—more chance of taking up these opportunities, given subsequent changes to gender and family roles (El Jack, 2010; Ibesh et al., 2021). However, for some, in a context of 'such severe dislocation, social and cultural gender roles can provide rare instances of stability, which may in some cases be preferable to challenging this long-established status quo' (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010, p. 158).

Aside from these family-related and cultural dynamics, as Ibesh et al. (2021) note, other issues can come into play: such as financial and linguistic barriers. In terms of financial barriers, in a situation of limited resources, boys' education may be prioritised—regardless of whether the family is in a camp or not (El Jack, 2010). In terms of language barriers, girls and women may be particularly affected. This is because in home countries such as Somalia, Akua-Sakyiwah (2015) reports, the patriarchal society—which restricts girls' access to education—causes illiteracy in both English and Somali. If girls and women then migrate to an Anglophone country, this makes it particularly difficult to participate (fully) in formal education. Learning the language then requires time and while doing so, the language barrier limits their self-sufficiency.

This is not to say, however, that patriarchal structures only limit education in the *home* country. Rather, according to Bajwa et al. (2018, p. 120), they can go hand-in-hand with racism in the new context to:

> create gendered and racialized representations of refugee women, which lead to isolation and 'othering' in the host society, devaluing them and their labour. Such representations silence and erase refugees, diminish their self-confidence and sense of self-worth, likely making them feel insecure in accessing post-secondary education or achieving life goals.

Burke et al. (2023), similarly, found that gendered and racialised experiences in resettlement contexts around the world can also impact women's access to education at the tertiary level. For Bajwa et al., a sense of belonging and empowerment should be promoted among refugee women to increase self-esteem, self-worth, resilience and the exercising of agency, to enable them to navigate such racism and discrimination. Education can play a crucial role in doing so, by offering a safe space for support, healthy relationships and the fostering of a sense of belonging; while educators' attention to refugee women's lives, feelings and needs can prove essential to their decisions to continue their post-secondary education. Indeed, this can maximise their participation—along with co-designing non-formal educational offers (Ibesh et al., 2021). Such gender-sensitive, holistic practices recognise that refugees have differing gendered needs following flight, and that girls and women may be at particular risk of marginalisation due to limited previous education, gender expectations and language barriers (Burke et al., 2023; El Jack, 2010).

Other supports, according to El Jack, include recognising the importance of education for girls and women and its role in establishing a better future. One key actor who can catalyse the take-up of this idea is the teacher: and especially when they engage in 'transnational' training which helps them to shift their practices and interrupt gender norms (Dahya et al., 2019). Such actions and actors can support the agency and motivation that refugee girls and women themselves demonstrate—as despite their pre- and post-migration barriers, education remains highly valued, and particularly for its ability to help gain

employment, an income and above all independence in the new context (El Jack, 2010; Hatoss & Huijser, 2010).

With this global picture in mind, and given our project's focus on Europe, the question thus arose: how do these gendered dynamics play out in the European context, and specifically since the 'peak' of the 'refugee crisis' in 2015? The following scoping review aimed to investigate this by exploring the available literature, to identify regional similarities and differences.

Conceptual framework

The review follows a socio-ecological conceptual framework that locates the individual at the centre of multiple nested, interacting social levels. It is structured around an adapted version of Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory, which envisions learning and development as occurring within such an ecosystem. Taking additional elements from other relevant models (e.g., Aleghfeli & Hunt, 2022; Silove, 1999; Wong & Schweitzer, 2017), it is adjusted here to (a) make it relevant to people who are of refugee background, and (b) to also make it relevant to those beyond childhood and adolescence (see Figure 1). The socio-ecological framework is used here primarily to organise the meta-ethnographic findings of the review, rather than as a means of analysing developmental outcomes, as in Bronfenbrenner's original work. The use of such a framework has become commonplace in reviews in the field of refugee and education studies—for example, in exploring the mental health of refugee children and adolescents (Aleghfeli, 2021; Farahani et al., 2021; Scharpf et al., 2021). This review uses the following specific socio-ecological framework (illustrated in Figure 1) to analyse the gendered factors influencing refugees' educational access, experiences and outcomes:

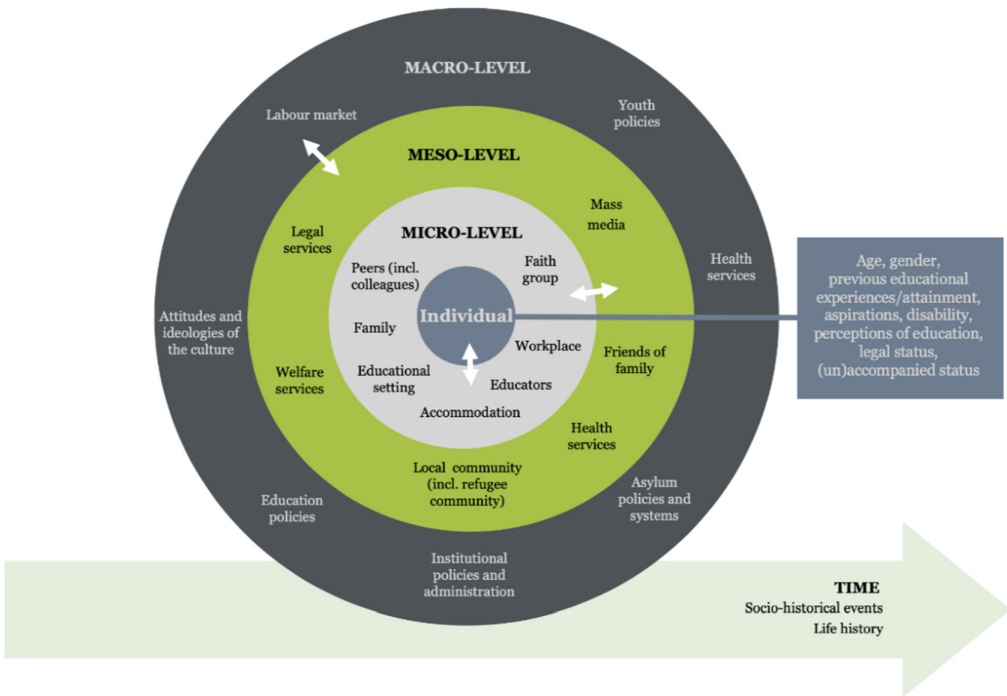

FIGURE 1 Socio-ecological framework for the review.

- *Individual level*. This level includes individual factors such as age, health, and sex (here changed to gender), as in Bronfenbrenner's model; while also adding disability, legal status, (un)accompanied status, aspirations, perceptions of education and previous educational attainment and experiences.
- *Micro-level*. This level encompasses the local environment and the everyday people and places an individual interacts with. In Bronfenbrenner's model this meant, namely, one's family, school, peers, neighbourhood, church group and health services. Here, workplace and work colleagues have been added, while school has been changed to 'educational setting'; neighbourhood to 'accommodation'; and church group to 'faith group'.
- *Meso-level*. This level covers aspects of Bronfenbrenner's exosystem, including neighbours (adapted here to local community,[iii] including the wider refugee community), legal services, social welfare services (here including refugee support services), mass media and friends of family.
- *Macro-level*. This level encompasses Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem—which refers to the attitudes and ideologies of the culture—but also adds educational, youth and institutional policies and administration; asylum systems and policies; and the labour market.
- *Time*. As in Bronfenbrenner's 'chronosystem', this paper also pays attention to socio-historical events and life histories, and their relevance for refugees' educational outcomes and experiences. Time here is incorporated into each level of the analysis: for example, in identifying individuals' pre-migration aspirations, time spent in the new country and its asylum system and previous educational attainment.
- *Interaction*. It is also recognised that, as in Bronfenbrenner's model, all levels interact. For example, changes to asylum policies can impact the family's employment status, which in turn has consequences for an individual child.

METHODS

This scoping review follows the methodology outlined by Arksey and O'Malley (2005) and Peters et al. (2020), as well as the guidelines set by PRISMA-ScR (Tricco et al., 2018). Unlike systematic reviews, scoping reviews aim to map the existing literature on a particular topic or to answer broad research questions that are necessary for gaining a comprehensive understanding of a particular field. Scoping reviews are useful for providing an overview of the available evidence, identifying key concepts and highlighting research gaps—in this case, on gender and refugee education. In this way, they are useful for informing future research directions, policy-making and decision-making processes, by identifying areas that require further investigation. This particular review draws on data taken from relevant resources in the HERE Knowledge Base. This Knowledge Base is an ongoing and systematic data-searching and curational effort for the sharing and mobilisation of knowledge on education *about* and *for* refugees and forced migrants who have arrived in Europe. The scoping review methodology for the study involved database searches; the screening of titles, abstracts and author keywords; data extraction; and meta-ethnographic synthesis (for the full protocol, see Aleghfeli et al., 2023).

Information sources

The following electronic bibliographic databases and websites were searched to identify journal articles, books, book chapters, conference papers, master-level dissertations, doctorate-level dissertations and policy reports published between 2015 and 2022 for the HERE Knowledge Base: EBSCOhost, Elsevier SCOPUS, ProQuest and Web of Science. Figure 2

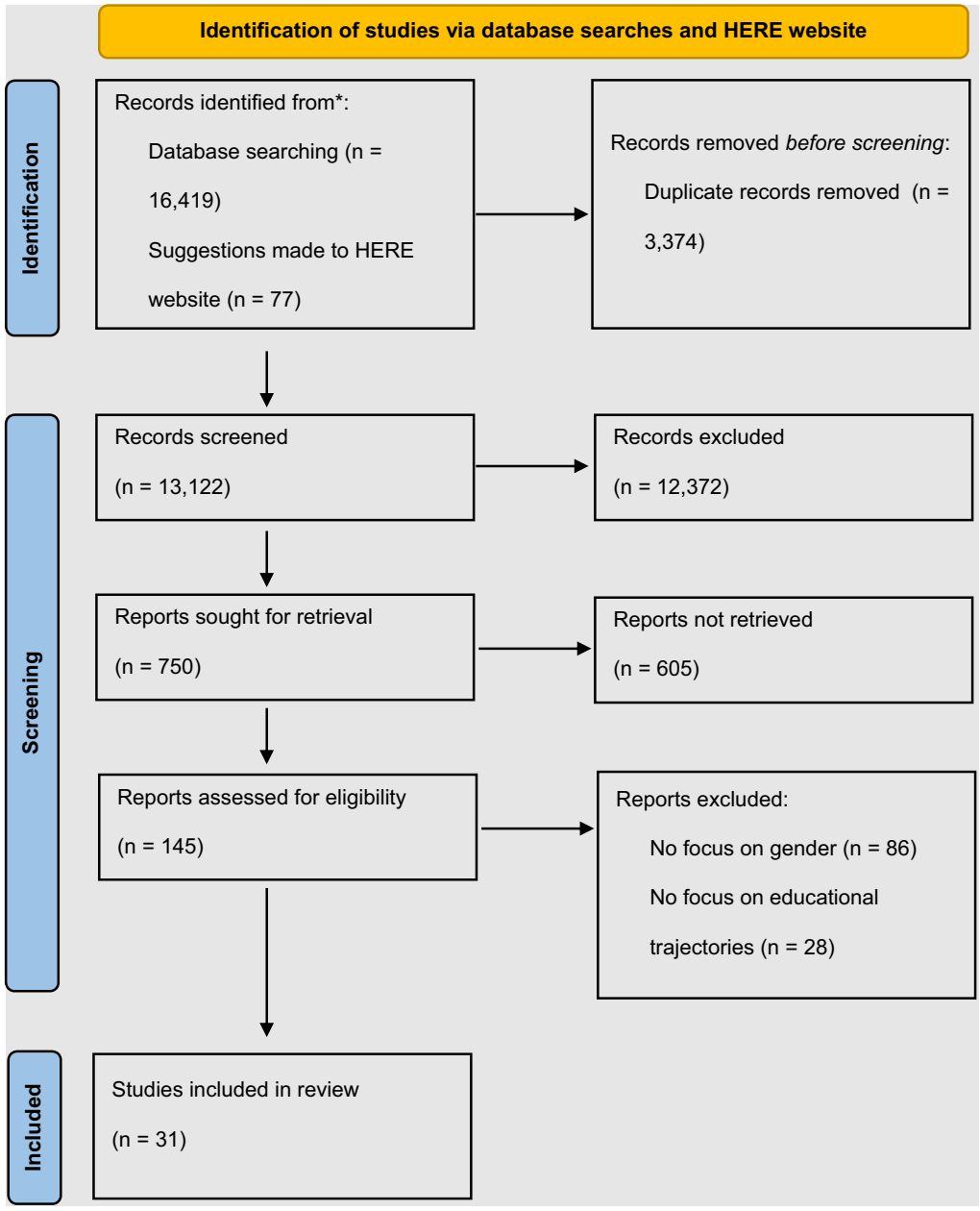

FIGURE 2 PRISMA flow diagram for the scoping review.

displays the flow diagram for the study selection process, which follows the PRISMA-ScR guidelines (Tricco et al., 2018). Selection of these databases was made after consultation with a steering group of senior academics and NGOs working on refugee education in Europe.

Inclusion criteria

Included studies must be: (a) journal articles, books, book chapters, conference papers, master-level dissertations, doctorate-level dissertations or policy reports; (b) occurring in

educational settings (formal, informal and non-formal); (c) written in English or any other language, provided that an adequate translation was provided; (d) set in at least one European country, as defined by the European Union (2023); (e) referring to the educational trajectories of refugee and forced migrant arrivals to Europe since 2011; (f) published from the year 2015 to 2022, so as to contextualise the review around more recent patterns of migration into Europe (UNHCR, 2022); and (g) focusing on gender-specific educational trajectories.

Search strategy

After an initial piloting stage in which several search term combinations were trialled, the following terms and Boolean operator combinations were selected and used to search databases for relevant resources: ("Refugee*" OR "Asylum-seek*" OR "Asylum seek*" OR "Forced migrant*" OR "Displaced person*" OR "Displaced people*" OR "Unaccompanied" OR "Stateless*" OR "Undocumented*") AND ("Educat*" OR "Learn*" OR "Teach*" OR "School*" OR "Student*" OR "Pupil*" OR "Classroom*" OR "Universit*" OR "College*") AND ("[COUNTRY]"). The same search term combination was used across all databases for consistency. Moreover, to ensure literature saturation, members of the HERE Network and visitors to the HERE website were (and continue to be) invited to suggest resources which, providing they meet the inclusion criteria, are included in the Knowledge Base.

Study selection

The initial search strategy for the wider HERE Knowledge Base returned 16,419 publications. These were deduplicated, reducing the number to 13,122 studies. After title, abstract and author keyword screening, 750 studies were identified and included in the HERE Knowledge Base—145 of which were systematically tagged with the code 'gender' if they referred to gender in their abstract or keywords. Of these 145, only 31 were found to provide empirical findings on the gender-specific educational trajectories of girls, boys, women, men and other gender-diverse children and adults. These 31 were included in this scoping review. The PRISMA-ScR flow diagram (Tricco et al., 2018) in Figure 2 illustrates the study selection process.

Data extraction

Data extraction from these 31 studies was conducted using a standardised form based on the PRISMA-ScR guidelines (Tricco et al., 2018). This form covered information on the study design, characteristics of the study population, types of educational services or interventions referenced in the study and a summary of the key findings. Two internal reviewers identified this specific data in the included studies and copied it into the standardised forms. The data extraction form was used to extract the following data items: (1) study information (title, author(s), study type, study URL, country, aim, methods, access type); (2) participant information (sample data/source, age, nationality, legal status, context, recruitment); (3) types of educational services (education level, education type); and (4) study summary (findings, limitations).

Analysis and synthesis of evidence

Following data extraction, the review pursued meta-ethnographic synthesis, characterised by line-of-argument synthesis and third-order interpretation (Noblit & Hare, 1988).

First, the data went through a line-of-argument synthesis, with the purpose of making an inference of gendered challenges and supports in refugee education. Second, third-order interpretations were inferred from the extracted data: being themes based on the researchers' interpretation of the reported analysis in each of the studies (i.e., second-order interpretation) of the gendered experiences of refugees (i.e., first-order interpretation).

It should be noted that some resources were not about gendered experiences specifically, but rather the sample was defined by their gender identities (e.g., girls, women, boys, men). This paper discusses the factors documented in these resources which can be considered 'gendered' (i.e., associated with or attributable to individuals' gender): including challenges such as sexual and gender-based violence and cultural norms relating to men's and women's educational trajectories.

RESULTS

Across the 31 resources, 6 include findings from Germany, 5 from Greece, 5 from Türkiye,[iv] 5 from Sweden, 3 from Austria, 2 from the United Kingdom, 2 from Ireland and the remainder from France, Finland, Iceland, the Netherlands, Italy and European OECD countries more broadly (either alone or in comparison with other contexts). All were published between 2017 and 2022. The vast majority referred to women and girls, rather than men and boys, and none discussed non-binary or gender-diverse experiences. One study on the experience of being a 'female refugee university student' in Türkiye (Erçetin & Kubilay, 2019) did not report any specifically gendered challenges or supports, meaning that there was no relevant data from this resource to include below. The following narrative findings are the result of a synthesis of pertinent data from all other included resources.

Individual-level challenges and supports

Previous educational attainment and future aspirations

Gendered challenges with accessing and progressing through education in Europe can begin before refugees have set foot on the continent. This is because pre-migration factors such as previous educational attainment can come into play, for both women and men. Liebig and Tronstad (2018) claim, for example, that a large percentage of the refugees and asylum seekers who have recently arrived in Europe have come from contexts where gender inequality is high and women's employment rates are low. It can be inferred that women may not have had access to basic education. One study in this review (Lange & Pfeiffer, 2018, p. iv) found that the educational backgrounds of young asylum-seeking men in Germany also varied widely: stating that their educational attainment and parental education levels could be either rather low or rather high in comparison to 'same-aged persons in their countries of origin'. These factors often set a foundation for future academic engagement, as Brown Gershenberg (2019, 2020) found among asylum-seeking women in France. In fact, these elements of human capital—namely, an individual's and their parents' education levels—were found, overall, to be a better indicator of short-term integration outcomes than previous work experience (Lange & Pfeiffer, 2018). In addition, lower levels of previous educational attainment were also found to cause refugee women 'difficulties such as communication problems, health challenges, failure to form social contacts, and not adjusting to life standards in Turkey, as well as economic challenges' (Çankaya et al., 2020, p. 467).

Conversely, there was evidence in the reviewed studies that refugee women who had graduated from high school or university had lower levels of feelings of hopelessness or pessimism, and higher levels of perceived social support, and they were more likely to make their own decisions, plan their lives and have higher self-esteem (Çankaya et al., 2020). Having such goals and aspirations, which are often influenced by cultural and/or religious understandings of the importance of teaching and learning, were found to be a key motivation, with the potential to shift and act upon these aspirations being one factor encouraging educational access and progression among girls and women in particular. Indeed, many refugee women in the reviewed studies reported wishing to take advantage of new opportunities and begin educational programmes for the first time in their lives. This was the case in Rezaian et al.'s (2020) study, which found that even though young refugee women were less likely to have completed schooling than their male counterparts, they were dedicated to seeking out and participating in the non-formal opportunities available while they waited in limbo. Hunt's (2021) findings echo this desire among young women in Greece to pursue a formal academic trajectory they have been denied previously in their home country, either due to conflict or cultural or family norms.

Fincham (2020) found an equally and incredibly high interest in pursuing higher education among both young Syrian refugee men and women in Türkiye (as well as Jordan and Lebanon), but for different, gendered reasons. Young men had more economic goals, which Fincham attributes to being 'socially constructed as the primary breadwinners for their families in Syrian society' (p. 340), meaning that they wanted to pursue university study to gain employment opportunities and mobility, alongside higher social status, to put them in what they believed was a 'good position' for marriage. Young women, for their part—due to not being 'culturally responsible for providing for their families'—wanted to undertake higher studies for reasons such as 'intrinsic satisfaction' (p. 341). However, while young men noted the benefits of having an educated wife, and particularly in her abilities to raise children well, young women risked being considered 'too educated' and a potential challenge to her husband's authority, and so not a suitable partner for marriage. On the other hand, young women also strategically used education to delay marriage (or rather their parents' pressure to marry). When discussing aspirations for university, it is important to consider such social and cultural factors, and especially when students come from communities in which marriage is both expected and confers a status of respect.

Survival tactics and navigational strategies

Also at the individual level, refugee girls and women were found to employ survival and navigational tactics, enabling them to locate services which granted them access to the education and employment they were aiming for. Goals and aspirations—which may be based in cultural and/or religious understandings of the importance of education—were found to motivate girls and women to find 'ways to claim and experience new subjectivities' such as becoming learners (Rezaian et al., 2020, p. 167). This was the case, according to Rezaian et al., even in the 'temporary' environment of a makeshift refugee camp. There, refugee women created their own non-formal education spaces and, in doing so, reclaimed male-dominated areas of the camp. Such navigational tactics to overcome barriers were also identified among young refugee women in Greece by Hunt (2021, p. 16):

> they made efforts to fit in with and educate their peers; they requested and shaped learning offers to fit their needs; they engaged in 'appropriate', alternative learning opportunities which mitigated their family's protection concerns

and/or better suited their situation; and they drew upon the support of advocates and allies to build strong, encouraging relationships and continue learning.

Asylum-seeking women living in another temporary setting—namely, Direct Provision in Ireland—were also found to assess their skills and plan those they needed to 'transition' into Irish life from the accommodation centre, including in areas such as education and income generation (O'Callaghan et al., 2021). In resettlement contexts such as Sweden, too, refugee women highlighted the importance of studying Swedish to find work or undertake university-level studies, and expressed a keen determination to do so (Mangrio et al., 2019). Hunt (2022) also notes how education was implicated in refugee mothers' navigation of their 'unsettlement': describing how they engaged in or resisted different forms of education, for either themselves or their children, as a way to manage temporal, cultural and social (dis) continuity.

These cases demonstrate how refugee women and girls both aspire to and find ways to engage with education in their new environment, while being strategic about how and where to participate. This was also found to be true of some refugee girls in Sweden, who chose to attend 'homogeneous' schools with many other students of a similar migratory and/or ethnic background, as they wished to be with peers 'with whom they felt affinity and sameness and with whom they shared common experiences' (Bergnehr et al., 2020, p. 536).

These tactics were not only observed among women and girls, however. Ingvars (2021) found similar uses of education as a navigational tool among men attending a solidarity centre in Athens; but as well as serving the purpose of enabling access to decent work and 'active citizenship', it also offered a pathway towards 'modern masculinity'. While stuck in the 'liminal' condition of having unsettled asylum cases, without refugee status or citizenship, these men had less access to opportunities such as higher education. However, they proactively chose 'unconventional routes to advance themselves' (p. 148) via solidarity initiatives such as free language lessons. More than this, they also taught their own classes, inserted their languages and knowledge into lessons, shared their expertise with newcomer refugees and volunteers and emphasised 'the diversity of their home communities': in proactive, reciprocal acts across 'ethnicities, ages, genders, and sexual orientations' (p. 158). In this way, Ingvars argues, they both found an alternative educational trajectory and renegotiated their masculinity.

Health-related factors

Despite this motivation and negotiation of their conditions, physical and mental health issues can still dictate refugees' educational access, experiences, outcomes and trajectories. This arose, particularly, in the studies with adult women. Stevenson (2018), for example, lists refugee women's ill health as a challenge for their higher education in the United Kingdom. Similarly, refugee women's 'physical and mental complaints' were also found to impact their resettlement process in Sweden (Mangrio et al., 2019, p. 5). In European OECD countries, Liebig and Tronstad (2018) report that refugee women have poorer health than refugee men overall, while also having lower education and employment outcomes, with refugee men already less advantaged than other groups of migrants. Psychological health issues can then get worse the longer refugee women spend in the new country: with evidence from Türkiye that their feelings of hopelessness increase, while their perceived social support decreases (Çankaya et al., 2020). This, Çankaya et al. argue, is due to issues such as 'homesickness, deprivation of previous friendships and relatives left behind, cultural differences, language barriers, and anxiety about the future' (p. 467). All of these factors can impact how newcomers think about, plan for and work towards their futures, including in education.

Micro-level challenges and supports

Family-related factors

Family responsibilities, such as childcare and domestic tasks, coupled with the feelings of isolation stemming from not having relatives close by, can hamper refugee women's abilities to participate in education. Numerous studies in the sample discussed the family-related challenges faced by women. Hunt (2021), for example, documents how in Greece, additional responsibilities such as childcare, domestic tasks and being the head of a household (often due to the loss or absence of a male family member) can hamper refugee women's ability to participate in education. Similarly, childcare was a barrier for refugee women taking part in a language programme in Germany (Gereke & Nijhawan, 2019). The phenomenon of feeling isolated was reported by refugee women in Iceland, due to being far from family in their home countries, and even though they felt safe and had established some social relationships with other refugees and Icelanders (Kristjánsdóttir & Skaptadóttir, 2019). Similarly, refugee women resettling in Sweden 'suffered from being separated from their loved ones and from the pressures of wanting to achieve something of value in the host country' (Mangrio et al., 2019, p. 4). This, the authors found, caused 'different kinds of emotional reactions, such as loneliness'. If not resolved, these feelings of isolation and loneliness could potentially exacerbate the psychosocial issues from which many displaced women are said to be suffering.

Another family-related issue relates to expectations and pressures. For example, Hunt (2021) found that for unaccompanied young women in Greece, family expectations from abroad—whether at home or in 'destination' countries such as Germany—could shape their decision-making or make them feel conflicted about the educational path they were pursuing. The uncertainty of prolonged displacement in countries such as Greece, Hunt notes, also led to financial, social and other forms of precarity which caused or aggravated tensions in family relationships, whether the family was together or transnational. Similarly, Fincham (2020, p. 342) found that the educational aspirations of young Syrian refugee women in Türkiye (as well as Jordan and Lebanon) were shaped by 'complex and often contradictory social and economic factors'—such as their parents encouraging them to marry early to 'transfer the responsibility of their upkeep … to their husbands' when it was difficult to find acceptable work. In Türkiye, Diamond and Oberg (2019) also noted the difficulty of carrying out educational interventions for trauma-affected children for family-related reasons. They noted that the primary causes of attrition from their programmes were gendered and linked to issues around perceived challenges to masculinity: such as domestic and/or sexual violence and spouses denying access.

However, the studies also provided evidence of family-related supports. Hunt (2021, 2022), for example, notes how refugee parents, and especially mothers, can pave the way for their daughters to participate in education: by arguing the case at home and accompanying them for the few first sessions to 'validate' the space. Indeed, in Türkiye, Fincham (2020) cites young Syrian refugee women who describe how the war in Syria transformed social relations, changing how women and their families perceived (especially higher) education, and making parents more willing to permit their daughters to further their studies. Alongside this parental support, Bergnehr et al. (2020) also found that for young Syrian and Iraqi refugee women in Sweden, relatives of a similar age were the most trusted and valued friends they could have. Having supportive relatives of a similar age who also attend school can be a powerful influencing factor for continuing their education.

Peer-related factors

This takes us to a discussion of peers and their gendered influence on refugees' education, both inside and outside of learning settings. Tensions with peers often occur through Islamophobic, gender- and race-based discrimination enacted by fellow school or university students against refugee girls of Islamic backgrounds, for example. Hummelstedt et al. (2021), for example, found that school-age pupils in Finland limited the agency and standing of refugee peers by categorising them according to race, nationality and gender, and that teachers struggled to address it. Other issues relate to the socially constructed nature of non-formal educational spaces. Rezaian et al. (2020, p. 167), for example, describe how educational offers in a temporary camp in Greece were typically male dominated, which limited women's mobility and directly impacted 'women's participation in education in broader terms'. As such, they were said to keep to their own spaces or create their own learning communities—just as Bradley et al. (2020) also found among refugee women pursuing teacher professional development in Sweden, and Gereke and Nijhawan (2019) found among women taking a language course in Germany. Elsewhere in Sweden, Bergnehr et al. (2020, p. 537) also found that Syrian and Iraqi refugee girls were more likely to choose to attend schools and make friends with other migrants, rather than Swedish youth, because they were 'easier to hang out with' due to having 'common ground and similar experiences' that did not require explanations of their family's traditions or culture. However, even these 'intra-ethnic friends' could still be considered 'fake' and deceitful, and many girls mentioned only trusting a few close relatives with their thoughts and emotions, rather than friends at school.

Having friends at school, whether from the same migratory or ethnic background or not, has been said to provide 'a sense of safety and contentedness' for refugee girls (Bergnehr et al., 2020, p. 536). Indeed, the same was found to be true of adult refugee women in Türkiye: when they had a higher level of perceived social support, they were less likely to feel hopeless (Çankaya et al., 2020).

Educator-related factors

According to the reviewed studies, educators' attitudes and perceptions towards refugee learners could be both discriminatory and gendered. Carlman et al. (2020), for example, found that leaders of sports clubs in Sweden differentiated refugee boys from girls, while also making intra-group distinctions; with boys' differences based on 'perceived bodily and mental variations due to their geographical background' (p. 48) and girls' based on having 'lesser possibilities to participate in sports' in their home countries due to cultural norms and beliefs (p. 36). They described refugee boys as having more potential than refugee girls overall, while still presenting the former as weaker than Swedish boys. In a very similar case from Germany, Bartsch and Rulofs (2020, p. 11) also found that 'gendered and racialized perceptions seem to be inscribed in teachers' mindsets' among physical education (PE) teachers who, in their study, ranged in age from 27–58 years old and taught at various types and levels of public schools. These 'mindsets' translated into four patterns of perceptions of refugee-background students: namely 'victimization and vulnerabilization, notions of threat and impulsivity, claims for assimilation and normalization, and demands for discipline' (p. 11). Girls and young women were more likely to be perceived as fragile victims, worthy of protection and in need of freeing from their cultural and religious norms—the 'structures that are marked as deficient' (p. 11)—with PE considered a 'promising' way to introduce them to the 'Western world'. Boys and young men, for their part, were seen as a 'threat … wild, rampant, and aggressive … unreasonable, and temperamental' (p. 11) and in need of discipline.

The male teachers especially, in this case, were found to place themselves in a powerful position, and displayed hegemonic masculine traits.

University students volunteering as teachers on one language programme in Germany, for their part, were predominantly young women themselves. This, according to Gereke and Nijhawan (2019), led to insecurity about cultural misconceptions during lessons and the nature of the teacher-student relationship, as well as much time lost to discussions of gender issues.

Meanwhile, while not educators themselves, the actions of employees working on an integration programme in Denmark, which had educational elements, were also found to be shaped by personal attitudes (Kohl, 2021). For example, asylum-seeking women were told 'that they need to confirm to a norm of gender equality to become citizens' while the state failed to provide 'the structural support they need to do so' (p. 1380). This stems from what Kohl purports to be gender bias at the individual level and an example of complex power dynamics, as male employees interacted differently with asylum-seeking women than their female colleagues.

Although none of the other resources had an explicit focus on educator attitudes, Damaschke-Deitrick et al. (2019) refer to the fact that the academic and non-academic services that could be utilised to support refugee women to enter German universities do not appear to garner long-term support from professors. As such, Damaschke-Deitrick et al. argue that awareness and engagement is necessary among not only refugee communities, but also teaching staff. This need for awareness-raising was also noted in Hummelstedt et al.'s (2021) study in Finland, in which it was said that teachers lack an understanding of processes of othering when they occur among pupils. Therefore, while not suggestive of their own attitudes, this means that teachers are unable to instigate critical discussions in the moment which problematise the categories pupils use, meaning that certain attitudes are perpetuated. Staying on the theme of awareness, it was also found that teachers in Ireland demonstrated a lack of awareness of living conditions in accommodation centres (namely, Direct Provision), in assuming that children in such centres had support from parents and other practicalities to complete their homework (Martin et al., 2018). Staff in learning centres may also lack the qualifications needed to identify victims of human trafficking or possible sexual or family violence (Camelo, 2019).

This is not to say that educators and other staff only present problems, however. Rather, Hunt (2021, 2022) notes the importance of strong relationships with educators, and how female teachers in particular can become important role models for refugee girls and young women, even if this can potentially create tensions with their families' culturally based roles and expectations.

Meso-level challenges and supports

Public perceptions of refugee learners

Perceptions of refugee learners outside the educational setting were also found to be both discriminatory and gendered, pressuring both learners and their educators. Damaschke-Deitrick et al. (2019), for example, note that support for refugee women's transitions to university in Germany is lacking not only among professors, but also among the local community. In Austria, in a more focused investigation into local community attitudes, Bešić et al. (2020) found that refugee girls with disabilities were perceived as challenging to include in primary schools, whether they had a physical disability or behavioural disorder. The authors concluded that 'it is justified to assume that refugee girls with disabilities experience intersectional discrimination' (p. 473). Their results also speak to a general negative attitude

towards all girls with behavioural disorders, and the similarly negative way in which refugee girls are perceived. Part of this, the authors note, is tied to the perceived lack of language abilities of refugee girls (a factor tied to their refugee status), which their local community respondents believed would negatively impact a class. Asensio-Pastor's (2021) study suggests that the press plays a key role in shaping such negative views of refugee women, and the need for future educators to be trained in recognising strategies used by the press to construct feelings of hate or fear.

Home–school interactions

The studies reviewed also discussed interactions between the home and school, and specifically between mothers and teachers. In Martin et al.'s (2018) study, for example, refugee mothers in Ireland considered education important for their children's integration, and on the whole had positive interactions with their teachers. However, these exchanges were also found to be 'directed by the teachers and revolved around ensuring that school rules, norms and practices were adhered to' (p. 468). Teachers would also seek personal information about children directly from staff at their temporary accommodation centre (in Ireland, called Direct Provision), or assume that they had parental or other practical support with homework—showing a lack of consideration for privacy and limited understanding of their living situation. This is partly due to the fact that the responsibility for interactions is placed on teachers and families, with only an ad hoc approach from schools to refugee children's inclusion. Furthermore, refugee mothers felt isolated from other parents, with little done to improve their participation in school life and decision-making or recognise the social and cultural capital they could contribute.

In Türkiye, Karsli-Calamak (2018) found that staff at primary schools would recommend non-formal educational routes for Syrian refugee girls, despite mothers showing little interest in these options and instead asking about all-girl schools. In this way, the author found that exclusionary and inclusionary acts, and marginalisation and privilege, were inherent in daily discourse. Furthermore, they observed subtle actions such as male teachers being concerned about mothers wanting to talk with them because they assumed conservative gender-based practices, when in their research, they in fact found that mothers 'seemed to occupy positions and actively engaged in conversations, sometimes in assertive manners, with teachers and the school principal' (p. 54). Indeed, they were found to negotiate conditions for their children and transform what was available to best fulfil their needs. As such, they 'show acts of agency and seek resources' (p. 54).

Macro-level challenges and supports

Educational administration

Administrative barriers were also deemed to present gendered challenges, and to keep refugee women and girls out of educational institutions, and particularly universities. Unangst (2020) found that in a subset of 16 German universities, refugee women were under-represented in both pathway and degree programmes. Unangst attributed this in part to the fact that 'specific mechanisms supporting this population are sparse' (p. 213). Student information and services were found to be 'disjointed' (p. 198) and 'programming specifically serving this minoritised group' was lacking (p. 214). This was despite considerable investment by federal, state and institutional actors in creating and delivering refugee support

programmes. Other researchers in Germany attribute this under-representation to the fact that while pre-existing structures to support refugee women are often in place in Germany, they have not cultivated 'long-term interest and support from local communities … administrators, professors, and local students' (Damaschke-Deitrick et al., 2019, p. 185). (However, the authors also note that individuals faced fewer gender-specific issues in German universities than in their other case study sites of Kyrgyzstan and Egypt.) In more explicit terms, Brown Gershenberg (2019, 2020) reports that strong notions of gender discrimination and resistance keep refugee women out of universities in France, and especially perceptions of their psychological instability.

Asylum and welfare system

Looking beyond educational institutions, factors related to the asylum system often exacerbate the 'temporariness' of refugees' residential status, which was found to impact refugee women's educational access and experiences. In Greece, Rezaian et al. (2020, p. 167) found that the impermanence of refugee camp life affected gender-specific spatial arrangements and the power dynamics at play, which, in a positive example, gave women 'the opportunity to contest power and seek bottom-up rearrangements through educational initiatives'. Conversely, in Denmark, Kohl (2021, p. 1381) describes how encampment and the 'exclusionary processes taking place in the asylum system' resulted in 'subtle and complex forms of power' which impacted refugee women's experiences and outcomes in an 'integration' programme. In Ireland, it was also found that 'asylum-seeking parents are subject to social and economic exclusion, while simultaneously being expected to behave as ideal citizens and adopt normative values of Irish society' (Martin et al., 2018, p. 468). The entire system of Direct Provision, according to Martin et al., undermined asylum-seeking mothers' capacity 'to provide a safe and stable "home" environment for their children' (p. 468).

Across the resources, the design of various integration programmes was considered ill-conceived for the refugee and asylum-seeking population. In one programme in Iceland, for example, refugee women were placed in rural areas away from others who might provide linguistic and social support (Kristjánsdóttir & Skaptadóttir, 2019). In this way, despite having rights to services and financial assistance, the women still lacked the tools to communicate and participate in their new society. Beyond educational, financial and social support, Camelo (2019) also found that refugee girls and women in Germany who were survivors of sexual and gender-based violence were missing out on much-needed treatment and assistance.

Socio-economic factors

Structural challenges, such as employment insecurity and financial insecurity, also limit refugee women's abilities to think about and construct their futures. In the United Kingdom, refugee women's abilities to think about and construct their futures are said to be limited by barriers such as unemployment and poverty (Stevenson, 2018). This causes their aspirations to shift, with gendered trends. However, Liebig and Tronstad (2018, p. 4) claim that in European OECD countries, inclusive education approaches can counteract gendered issues in home countries. They state that there is little correlation between 'gender differences in participation and employment in the origin and in the host country', which suggests that 'integration issues can be addressed by host-country employment and education policy

instruments'. However, in practice—as noted above—this may vary from country to country, from institution to institution, and indeed from individual to individual.

For example, Diamond and Oberg (2019, p. 5) found that 'structural issues within Turkey exacerbate the impact of trauma and domestic and sexual violence in the Syrian refugee population'. This is due to language barriers and a lack of (very expensive) residence permits, which prevent access to psychological support services otherwise theoretically free in public hospitals. Worse than this, if they attempt to access it, they risk deportation back to Syria or a camp; and the corruption in private organisations means that only particular groups are permitted access to their services. Even if they are granted access, Diamond and Oberg found, confidentiality is not guaranteed.

Tailored opportunities and community support

Tailored educational programming, community support and other opportunities assisted refugee girls and women in their individual efforts to overcome barriers and access education. In the case of Greece, Hunt (2021) and Kitsiou et al. (2021) have noted the importance of women-only non-formal learning offers and simultaneous childcare. These initiatives tackle the social aspects that often influence refugee girls' and women's participation in education and recognise that women may find the most support in their own communities, whether that means the refugee or (international) learner community (Damaschke-Deitrick et al., 2019). Indeed, when they felt a part of the latter, Damaschke-Deitrick et al. suggested that it helped to cultivate a 'student' identity, which improved their sense of belonging and motivation to continue. In terms of their home life, Hunt (2021) also found that when young refugee women in Greece had family support for their education, it was a strongly motivating factor which promoted their access and progress.

Other key supports for women were both *having* opportunities for education and training and having *appropriate* opportunities. In terms of having opportunities, Brown Gershenberg, (2019, p. 4) notes how having access to higher education in France could open up 'new pathways of opportunity' for refugee and asylum-seeking women, after having their education restricted in their home countries due to gender roles. Similarly, Damaschke-Deitrick et al. (2019, p. 185) were told by Syrian, Iranian and Iraqi women that having access to university in Germany motivated them to continue along a higher education trajectory; while also enabling them to 'escape not only from war, but also marriage, home life, and underemployment' when given scholarships or other state support. For those refugee women who had opportunities for (re-)training to continue their careers, this led to feelings of familiarity, comfort, belonging and empowerment, despite being in an unfamiliar environment, and redirected 'the focus from traumatic experiences to a constructive activity' (Bradley et al., 2020, p. 13). This enhanced their motivation to continue their professional development. Similarly, Rezaian et al. (2020) note that training teachers from the refugee community can encourage more girls who may be hesitant to enter learning settings in the new environment; particularly when these teachers can provide single-gender options, and thus circumvent the barrier of mixed-gender settings.

In terms of having *appropriate* opportunities, Hunt (2022) reminds us that young refugees, who are encouraged to attend public schools in Greece, may be mothers. In this case, they may require additional support in the form of childcare, for example, to enable them to participate. Furthermore, girls and women may be more likely to attend non-formal educational settings if they are 'welcoming and "valid" spaces'—that is, considered safe and reputable, and offering activities they and/or their spouses consider a productive way to spend time.

Social and practical supports that also encourage attendance include communal spaces that foster interactions, and knowledgeable staff who can provide advice (Hunt, 2022). Gereke and Nijhawan (2019), too, found that specially-created 'safe spaces', in which girls' and women's concerns are taken seriously and care and assistance are provided, away from other male-dominated classrooms, significantly increased their participation in a language programme in Germany.

When education is provided, and especially in a student's mother tongue (or another they speak well), education can have a protective role. For example, when young refugee men from Syria were asked what they would be doing if they were not studying at university, they responded that they would likely be working 'illegally in unregulated employment contexts in the informal sector or be tempted to return to Syria', or would attempt the dangerous journey to Europe by boat to search for work 'to perform their socially constructed gendered role as "economic provider for the family"' (Fincham, 2020, p. 342). In this case, the opportunity for university study in their country of asylum was cited as one of two main factors preventing them from doing so, along with consideration for the family members they would leave behind.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of findings

Of the resources reviewed, the majority reported on research concerning women and girls and the numerous gendered challenges they face, while also noting the ways in which they create and seek out multi-level (gendered) supports. However, overall, it seems that these agentic and supportive actions—performed by themselves and institutions—are not sufficient to counteract their multiple, interacting issues. Overall, as a result of their challenges, refugee women in European OECD countries have been found to have lower education outcomes compared to refugee men (Liebig & Tronstad, 2018). Beyond education, other resources found that women's overall 'integration' was more limited, and that they felt marginalised and excluded (Kristjánsdóttir & Skaptadóttir, 2019). In the case of Germany, for example, even when women were able to access and pursue an education at a higher level, Damaschke-Deitrick et al. (2019, p. 185) found that this did not 'significantly facilitate integration into the host society [in Germany] … as research often suggests'. Their educational achievements, the authors found, did not necessarily translate into employment after graduation, which was partly due to a lack of connections to professional networks that could have been facilitated by universities. Similarly, Stevenson (2018) found that being at a structural disadvantage, refugee women in the UK had limited possibilities open to them, and many were working in lower-skilled and lower-waged employment than they had been in their home countries. This demonstrates, Stevenson claims, the fact that refugee women's trajectories through education and work may be far from linear; as well as the potential of their difficult pasts to disrupt their futures.

For refugee boys and men, it was found that they are often at a disadvantage compared to 'locals', even if they fare better than refugee girls and women. Boys may be treated or perceived differently by teachers, for example, who may have biases and assumptions about them being more aggressive or in need of discipline. However, for older youth and men, it was found that non-formal contexts could provide opportunities to renegotiate their agency and masculinity within the confines of their restrictive conditions.

A number of interesting findings arose which contribute to our understanding of the gendered experiences of refugees in Europe since 2015. Using our socio-ecological framework,

they indicate at which level(s) the key barriers lie, and the gendered impacts of flight and 'welcome' processes, while also providing evidence of how these levels interrelate. For example, it can be said that educators' attitudes towards refugee girls and boys are shaped by cultural and ideological norms at the macro-level, as well as at the micro-level, everyday social landscape of their institution. Tensions for refugees at the individual and family levels are, for their part, shaped by asylum policies—such as when families are not able to reunite or are left without information on the whereabouts of relatives abroad. For individuals, their agency may be demonstrated through collective actions—such as situating oneself within networks of support—or by taking advantage of how the welfare system favours 'vulnerable' cases to gain access to resources. The central importance of 'time' and individual histories in the conceptual framework for this review also helped us to recognise the importance of pre-arrival conditions (such as girls' access to education in the home country, and their migratory experiences) and the impacts of varied levels of previous educational attainment. All of these examples demonstrate the importance of exploring the relationships between individuals and various aspects of their social and temporal context, rather than isolating their supposed 'deficits', as has been the case in some previous refugee education research (Aleghfeli & Hunt, 2022). This is an important consideration for those undertaking further enquiry in this field.

Beyond relationships with other actors and one's context, the findings also highlight how at the individual level, racialised and gendered experiences can overlap to compound refugees' difficulties, as Burke et al. (2023) also found. As such, the reviewed studies also demonstrate that in future research, it is equally necessary to pay attention to subtleties and nuances based in stereotypes—such as when educators suggest 'less challenging' routes for refugee girls (Karsli-Calamak, 2018)—as it is the bigger-picture challenges of asylum, welfare and education policies. All of these challenges must be addressed if refugee women and girls (in particular) are to fully experience the benefits of education. Liebig and Tronstad (2018, p. 4), for example, report that gaining even basic skills, including primary education and/or host country language proficiency, affords refugee women across European OECD countries 'a high return in terms of improving labour market outcomes' and 'intergenerational pay-off for their children'. Beyond the individual, Damaschke-Deitrick et al. (2019) note the wider benefits of educational access and attainment for both the home and host society. Regarding the home country, these benefits include women's motivation to return and contribute to rebuilding efforts. For the host society, they include women realising their potential (despite limited job opportunities) and consequently becoming educational role models for girls at risk of drop-out, and especially at the secondary level. Therefore, if the challenges cited above persist, not only do individual refugee girls and women miss out on human and financial capital, among other gains, but their home and 'host' societies miss out as well.

Study limitations

While drawing these conclusions, certain limitations of the current review must be acknowledged. For one, the resources were very diverse—given the nature of the topic and research question—and cover a wide range of ages and research foci (e.g., from adult women's perspectives on their pre-migration aspirations to educators' views on boys' and girls' sporting capabilities). Furthermore, some of the resources were not specifically about gendered outcomes or challenges, and only two took an explicitly comparative approach to boys' and girls' experiences. Rather, the majority of the texts concentrated solely on a participant group of girls, women, boys or men, and noted

findings on how their gender had shaped their educational experiences as part of a broader investigation. However, by reviewing the 31 resources, we were still able to ascertain gendered trends in the research and identify gaps, thus offering a departure point for more specific future research.

Implications for policy and practice

One key finding of this review is that in this literature from Europe since 2015, most gendered challenges have not arisen from failures in *educational* policy or practice necessarily. Rather, the majority are either individual or micro-level issues—such as poor health, low previous educational attainment or tensions in everyday relationships—or the gendered impacts of asylum and welfare policies. This suggests that institutional policies are not sufficiently addressing girls' and women's specific needs, and require an intersectional and holistic approach. Educational policy and practice could be developed to counteract challenges both inside and outside of learning settings, and especially for women and girls (see also Bešić et al., 2020). Inside institutions, to address discrimination from peers, teachers should receive training on how 'othering' operates in the classroom, to foster discussions and tackle these issues as they appear. This speaks to a need to involve local communities and individuals in 'integration' efforts, rather than placing the burden solely on refugees (see also Damaschke-Deitrick et al., 2019). As Damaschke-Deitrick et al. point out, local community engagement and awareness is equally important for supporting the refugee community's transitions into education.

The studies also note the importance of supports such as simultaneous childcare and being understanding of family obligations (Damaschke-Deitrick et al., 2019; Hunt, 2021); making support programmes long term and adapted to diverse needs (Kristjánsdóttir & Skaptadóttir, 2019); and raising staff awareness of refugees' gendered challenges (Kohl, 2021), such as by training them to identify possible instances of sexual or domestic violence or human trafficking (Camelo, 2019). This is suggested not only for courses specifically for refugees, but for universities and schools more broadly, covering a wide range of ages. Beyond educational settings, there is a need for a holistic approach to refugees' educational access which extends into the local community, to recognise wider needs such as treatment and support for survivors of violence (Camelo, 2019). While providing such assistance, and indeed when designing and running any 'integrational', educational or other programmes, gendered needs should be taken into account, while also recognising all refugees' agency and aspirations.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data supporting this scoping review have been made openly available on the HERE website (https://hubhere.org).

ETHICS STATEMENT

Ethical approval was not required for this review.

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ENDNOTES

[i] This paper follows Cohen and Karim (2022, p. 419) in understanding gender as "the socially constructed ideas and narratives of what it means to be a man or a woman and individuals' conformity to those ideas". In contrast, "sex refers to the biological or physiological features that make an individual a man or a woman".

[ii] The terms 'Majority World' and 'Minority World' were coined by Alam (2008) as alternatives to those with negative connotations, such as 'First/Third World' or 'Developed/Developing World'.

[iii] Here, we use the term 'local community' rather than 'host community', as the term 'host' implies that refugees are only temporary 'guests', despite the fact that displacement is increasingly protracted.

[iv] While this paper uses the newly official name of Türkiye, most of the studies in the review were published before this change—hence why instances of the previous name, Turkey, can be found in direct quotations and study titles.

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