

Background Paper

Secondary Education for Youth Affected by Humanitarian
Emergencies and Protracted Crises

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Secondary Education in Africa:

**PREPARING YOUTH
FOR THE FUTURE
OF WORK**

This paper was prepared for the Mastercard Foundation report, *Secondary Education in Africa: Preparing Youth for the Future of Work*. The opinions, findings, and conclusions stated herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Mastercard Foundation.

BACKGROUND PAPER

Secondary Education for Youth Affected by Humanitarian Emergencies and Protracted Crises

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Completion Rate: Percentage of a cohort of children or young people aged 3-5 years above the intended age for the last grade of each level of education who have completed that grade. The intended age for the last grade of each level of education is the age at which pupils would enter the grade if they had started school at the official primary entrance age, studied full-time, and progressed without repeating or skipping a grade (UNESCO, n.d. (a)).

Complex Emergencies: We draw on the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs' (OCHA) definition as “a multifaceted humanitarian crisis in a country, region or society where there is a total or considerable breakdown of authority resulting from internal or external conflict and which requires a multi-sectoral, international response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of any single agency and/or the ongoing UN country programme” (IFRC, n.d.).

Conflict-Affected Country (CAC): We use the definition from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP)¹, which requires the use of armed force between at least two parties—of which one is the government of a state—and results in at least 25 battle-related deaths per year of conflict (Pettersson & Eck, 2018). In this report, we do not distinguish between interstate and intrastate conflict. For ease of reading, we do not pluralize CAC to CACs.

Disaster-Affected Country: Countries that have experienced the effects of widespread climate change, public health epidemics, and disasters. We use the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) to consider whether and how the countries in our dataset have experienced these types of crises.

Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER): The number of students enrolled in a given level of education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the official school-age population corresponding to that level of education (UNESCO, n.d.(a)). For ease of reading, we do not pluralize GER to GERs.

Lower Secondary Education (LSE): Programs at International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) level 2, or ‘lower secondary’ education, are typically designed to build upon the fundamental teaching and learning processes which begin at ISCED level 1. These programs typically aim to lay the foundation for lifelong learning and human development on which education systems may systematically expand further educational opportunities. Programs at this level are usually organized around a more subject-oriented curriculum, introducing theoretical concepts across a broad range of subjects (ISCED, 2011, p.33). In general, lower secondary education ranges from years 7 to 9 of schooling and is sometimes referred to as junior secondary education/school.

Marginalized Group: There is no one definition for what constitutes a ‘marginalized’ group. In this report we consider a ‘marginalized’ group to be a group systematically discriminated against

¹ See: Gleditsch, Wallensteen, Eriksson, Sollenberg & Strand (2002); Pettersson & Eck (2018).

or with little access to mainstream social, political, economic, or cultural life within their countries of origin as a result of their race, ethnicity, or religion (per Cook, n.d.).

Natural Disaster: Natural disasters are the consequences of events triggered by natural hazards that overwhelm local response capacity and seriously affect the social and economic development of a region. Natural disasters are traditionally seen as situations creating challenges and problems mainly of a humanitarian nature (INEE n.d.(b)). Of note, the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) advises there is “no such thing as ‘natural’ disasters, only natural hazards” and that disasters are a result of these hazards (INEE n.d. (c)).

Natural Hazard: A “potentially damaging physical event, phenomenon, or human activity that may cause loss of life or injury, property damage, social and economic disruption, or environmental degradation” which has a natural origin (INEE n.d.(d)).

Net Enrollment Rate (NER): The number of students enrolled in a given level of education, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that age group (UNESCO, n.d.(a)). For ease of reading, we do not pluralize NER to NERs.

Non-Conflict Affected Country (non-CAC): By non-CAC, we mean countries in our dataset that have not experienced conflict according to the definition provided above.

Protracted Refugee Situation: We use the United Nation’s High Commission for Refugees’ (UNHCR) definition, which requires “refugee populations of 25,000 persons or more who have been in exile for five or more years in developing countries” (UNHCR, 2004, p.2).

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA): The geographical focus of our study is sub-Saharan Africa, which refers to those countries within the African continent that are partially or completely below the Saharan desert. Unless otherwise stated, our analysis and discussion focus on CAC within this region.

Transition Rate: Number of students admitted to the first grade of a higher level of education in a given year, expressed as a percentage of the number of students enrolled in the final grade of the lower level of education in the previous year (UNESCO, n.d. (a)). In this study, we consider transition rates from primary level to lower secondary education and from lower secondary education to upper secondary education.

Upper Secondary Education (USE): Programs at ISCED level 3, or upper secondary education, are typically designed to complete secondary education in preparation for tertiary education or provide skills relevant to employment, or both (ISCED, 2011, p.38). In general, upper secondary education ranges from years 10 to 12 of schooling and is sometimes referred to as senior secondary education/school.

ACRONYM LIST

AEP	Accelerated Education Program
CAC	Conflict-Affected Country or Countries
CAR	Central African Republic
CARA	Control of Alien Refugees Act [Uganda]
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfers
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DHS	Demographic Health Surveys
DRA	[Kenyan Government] Department of Refugee Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EiE	Education in Emergencies
EMIS	Education Management Information Systems
ESP	Education Sector Plans
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GEM	Global Education Monitoring Report
GER	Gross Enrollment Ratio
GEMR-WIDE	Global Education Monitoring Report-World Inequality Database on Education
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
HDI	Human Development Index
ICT	Information Communication Technologies
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INEE	Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IPRS	Integrated Population Registration System
IRC	International Rescue Committee
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KCSE	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
LSE	Lower Secondary Education
MCF	Mastercard Foundation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports, Uganda
MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Kenya
NER	Net Enrollment Rate
NCT	Non-Conditional Cash Transfers
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PIN	Personal Identification Number
PPP	Public-Private Partnerships
RCT	Randomized Controlled Trials
RET	Refugee Education Trust
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SEA	Secondary Education Access

SES	Socio-Economic Status
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
SV	Sexual Violence
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNISDR	United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
USE	Upper Secondary Education
YEP	Youth Employment Pack

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Children and youth in conflict-affected countries (CAC) are 50 percent less likely to complete secondary school compared to those in non-conflict affected countries (non-CAC) around the world.

Increasing access to secondary education has particular benefits in CAC. Secondary education is the main bridge into the labor market for most youth. At an individual level, this can break cycles of poverty; other benefits may include helping to build peace.

Conflict and humanitarian crisis, rather than stability, define the operational environments of many education systems in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Policy-makers need information on the barriers that prevent children and youth from enrolling in or attending secondary school, and recommendations on how to address these barriers.

This report draws on quantitative and qualitative methods to first examine trends in access to secondary education in CAC, then review policies and practices that can address barriers to access. We use case study methods in Kenya and Uganda to compare and contrast two different approaches to managing refugee education.

While enrollments are increasing overall, there is an important gap in secondary enrollment between CAC and non-CAC. There is wide variation in Net Enrollment Rates (NER) and Gross Enrollment Rates (GER) not only between CAC and non-CAC, but also among countries in each category. Upper Secondary Enrollment (USE) is lower than Lower Secondary Enrollment (LSE). While transition rates from primary to secondary school are high in both CAC and non-CAC, rates of completion of primary school are much lower in CAC, meaning fewer students in CAC make it to the point of transition.

Certain groups are especially marginalized in accessing secondary education in CAC in SSA. Girls have lower access and completion rates compared to boys, which is especially true in CAC. Ethnic marginalization, poverty, and level of urbanicity also correlate with lower completion rates for CAC. Data on refugees' access to secondary education is limited.

Education sector plans (ESP) illustrate the extent to which governments in CAC and those facing protracted refugee situations are explicitly addressing issues of access to secondary education. Gender/girls' education is mentioned in every education sector plan of the 42 we examined. Refugees are the least mentioned group in plans, but countries with protracted refugee situations are more likely to have provisions for their education. Ethnic minorities and marginalized groups are rarely mentioned in education sector plans. The importance of conflict/emergency preparedness for many countries in SSA is reflected in education sector plans. It is also important for policy-makers to consider linkages between education policies and policies in other sectors.

Policies and scalable interventions to increase enrollment and retention in secondary education in CAC in SSA include: financially prioritizing secondary education and restructuring education services for improved cost-efficiency, reducing the household level financial burden of secondary education, carefully considering well-regulated public-private partnerships for

education provision, and enhancing the protective capacity of schools through interventions focused on school safety and child- and youth-centered instructional practices.

Policies and scalable interventions to address gender-related vulnerabilities and barriers include: enacting domestic legislation and policies on gender equality, developing gender-sensitive education plans and policies, considering the impact of school location and accessibility for student attendance, developing gender sensitive curricula, and training teachers on gender sensitive pedagogies and classroom practices.

Policies and scalable interventions to increase refugee access to secondary education in SSA include: promoting refugees' meaningful inclusion within host state education systems including through language classes for students and teachers, considering how Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) can enrich classroom practices and foster academic support, ensuring transparent teacher hiring practices among host state and refugee populations and flexible in-service teacher training opportunities, and expanding Technical and Vocational Education (TVET) opportunities.

The cases of Kenya and Uganda offer comparative insights that may inform policy responses for refugees across SSA. Whereas Kenya favors the encampment and separation of refugees from nationals, including through education, Uganda has pursued a policy of refugee inclusion and allows refugees to access its public primary and secondary schools. We consider the policy environment and state of secondary education for refugees in each case. Neither the Kenyan or Ugandan approach offers a clear solution to the lack of access to secondary education for refugees in CAC.

We make a set of recommendations for policy-makers. Based on our data analysis, we recommend expanding access to both lower and upper secondary education. Based on a careful review of the literature, we recommend specific strategies to reduce the economic burden of secondary education, increase its cost effectiveness, enhance the protective environment of secondary schools in order to increase access in CAC, address gender-based inequalities, and improve access to secondary education among refugees and other displaced persons.

We recommend that donors, governments, practitioners and scholars work together to meaningfully support and develop research focused on secondary education in CAC in SSA. Specific areas of further research include: policies to increase access to secondary level of education in CAC specifically, education in cases where multiple emergencies intersect, issues of quality to complement questions of access, links between education and the workplace, education amidst diverse experiences of forced migration, and research in less-studied CAC contexts.

1. INTRODUCTION

The last twenty years have seen a rise in commitment to increase access to secondary education in the Global South. Global commitments, articulated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and, more recently, in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), notably SDG 4, reflect a growing focus on the importance of expanding access to secondary education. Advances towards achieving universal primary education also raise the demand for secondary education. This is especially true of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), where secondary school enrollment and attendance have traditionally been very low.

However, access to education for children and youth in Conflict-Affected Countries (CAC) lags far behind global and national averages (Nicolai et al., 2015), especially at the secondary level. Compared to children in non-CAC around the world, children in CAC are 30 percent less likely to complete primary school and 50 percent less likely to complete secondary school (Education Cannot Wait, 2017). Situations of complex or chronic emergency may manifest in transnational refugee crises or protracted displacement, and/or be compounded by natural disasters or epidemics.²

Increasing access to secondary education is especially important in CAC. Secondary education is the main bridge into the labor market for most youth. At an individual level, this can break cycles of poverty. At the national level, strong secondary education sectors can help countries compete in regional and global labor markets, contributing to positive and equitable development for all (Mastercard Foundation, 2017; World Bank, 2008). Benefits to expanding access to secondary education in CAC extend beyond employment and development. For example, inequitable access to education may contribute to underlying conflict (King, 2014). Conversely, access to good quality secondary education is thought to help mitigate youth frustrations and contribute to positive societal development through the promotion of inclusion and shared values (UNESCO, n.d.(b)), increasing the costs of participating in violence (Humphreys & Weinstein, 2008), and/or signaling a government's commitment to the population (Thyne, 2006).

The intersection of access to secondary education and conflict is a particular challenge in SSA. Fourteen countries in SSA were affected by emergencies and 62 million people in the region were reported to require humanitarian assistance in 2017 (OCHA, 2017). Conflict and humanitarian crisis, rather than stability, therefore define the operational environments of many education systems in the region. To address these challenges, policy-makers need information on the barriers that prevent children and youth from enrolling or attending secondary school and recommendations on how to address these barriers.

²OCHA (2004) defines a complex emergency as “a multifaceted humanitarian crisis in a country, region or society where there is a total or considerable breakdown of authority resulting from internal or external conflict and which requires a multi-sectoral, international response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of any single agency and/or the ongoing UN country program. Such emergencies have, in particular, a devastating effect on children and women, and call for a complex range of responses.” A chronic emergency is defined as “a long-term situation of risk and injury to a large proportion of the population that may exist even in the absence of shocks, for example, persistently high levels of acute malnutrition, persistent epidemics, or protracted armed conflict” (OCHA, 2011).

The focus on access to education in this report does not diminish the need to concurrently address issues surrounding quality. Indeed, “schooling ain’t learning” (Pritchett, 2013) and what happens within classrooms is crucially important to making access meaningful. Access and quality are often seen as a trade-off, wherein increases in access lead to decreases in quality and vice-versa. Recent research highlights that the relationship need not be “either/or” and that both issues can and should be addressed simultaneously by policy-makers (Kabay, 2019). Issues of quality are also very important for employment. By attending school, youth invest significantly in their futures with the expectation that this investment will ultimately lead to better employment. If students’ education inadequately prepares them for these opportunities, or if employment opportunities are missing post-schooling, the limits of access to education become especially salient. This risks further alienating youth, a particular concern in CAC (King, 2018). We focus principally on access as a first contribution to strengthening our understanding of secondary education for youth affected by humanitarian emergencies and protracted crises.

In concentrating on access to education in CAC in SSA, we also shine a spotlight on forced migration. At last count, 68.5 million persons worldwide have been forcibly displaced. Of these, approximately 37 percent are refugees who have crossed an international border, whereas 58 percent are internally displaced (UNHCR, n.d.(c)).³ While there are important differences between refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in terms of their legal status, forced migrants share many of the same vulnerabilities and education-related barriers. However, as the current global refugee crisis has highlighted, the case of refugees is arguably the most complicated to address, owing to the complexities invoked by crossing national borders. This is especially true at the level of policy. Although frameworks and institutions of global governance exist to legitimize refugees’ right to education and manage refugee situations, it remains the responsibility and prerogative of the nation-state and its institutions to practically implement these rights (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). More than 75 percent of refugee adolescents of secondary school age are out-of-school (UNESCO, 2016). Refugees were also a particular interest as defined by the Mastercard Foundation (MCF). For these reasons, we focus on access to education for refugees, but recognize the importance of further research on different experiences of forced migration.

With an aim of advancing policy-making and research on secondary education for youth affected by humanitarian emergencies and protracted crises, this background paper describes the current status of access to secondary education for children and youth in CAC in SSA and outlines promising policies and interventions to increase access.

The report is structured as follows:

Section two describes the methods used to produce this report.

Section three provides an overview of the current trends in generalized access to secondary education in CAC and examines trends in sub-groups related to gender, socio-

³ The remaining 3.1 million displaced persons are asylum seekers.

economic status (SES), level of urbanicity, and ethnic marginalization. This section also analyzes education sector plans for SSA to identify the overall goals and priorities identified in SSA countries, and CAC in particular, in relation to increasing access to secondary education.

Section four builds on the findings emerging from section three to identify general barriers to access to secondary education in CAC, then considers the specific barriers faced by girls and refugees. We also review evidence on commonly-employed policies and interventions to address key barriers, focusing on those that hold promise for scalability.

Section five presents contrasting case studies of refugee secondary education in Kenya and Uganda. After describing the approaches used in the two countries, we critically analyze their potential to address barriers to secondary education for this important subgroup of conflict-affected children and youth.

Section six concludes the report by outlining recommendations for further engagement. In keeping with MCF's strategic priorities, recommendations are tailored to policy-makers.

2. METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on secondary research. It draws on quantitative and qualitative methods to examine trends in access to secondary education in CAC and review policies and practices that can address barriers to access. Per MCF and Dubai Cares' priorities, we focus primarily on CAC post-2010.

Descriptive quantitative analysis: Section three compares overall trends in access to secondary education in CAC to non-CAC since 2010. For overall trends, we used the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS)-UNESCO (2018) database that collects country-level statistics on 32 education indicators for SDG 4 across 200 countries. We compare net enrollment rate (NER), gross enrollment ratio (GER), and completion rates for lower and upper secondary education, as well as transition rates between primary and lower secondary and lower secondary to upper secondary in CAC and non-CAC countries. We also use the Global Education Monitoring Report-World Inequality Database on Education (GEMR-WIDE) (2016) dataset that disaggregates much of the data in UIS-UNESCO in order to look at educational inequality within countries. We report results by gender, socio-economic status, level of urbanicity, and for marginalized ethnic groups. Unless otherwise indicated, in the analysis we focus solely on comparisons between CAC and non-CAC in SSA.

Narrative content analysis: In section three, we also analyze recent education sector plans from SSA in order to identify and compare rates of inclusion of key challenges and groups in CAC, exemplified in the inclusion of terms such as gender, ethnicity and refugees.

Literature review: Section four examines peer-reviewed qualitative and quantitative studies, working papers, policy reports, and education sector plans for evidence on policies and practices that hold promise to expand access to secondary education. The particular issues on which we concentrate are directly drawn from trends arising in section three. In this section, we prioritized studies that come from CAC in SSA and focus on secondary education. However, we found that much compelling evidence focuses on policies and interventions at the level of primary education level. Where applicable, we cite this evidence, as well as studies from other conflict-affected regions.

Case studies: Section five uses case study methods to compare and contrast two different approaches to managing refugee education in Kenya and Uganda. We review overarching policies towards refugees and examine trends in access using data on student enrollment supplied by the Windle Trust, which provides secondary education for refugees in both countries. The case study method allows us to situate access to secondary education for refugees in their broader context and consider the relative merits and limitations associated with each policy environment.

Limitations: There are systematic difficulties in obtaining reliable data from developing countries (Jerven, 2013) and, often more so, developing CAC. This is no less true of educational data, which is often especially limited on marginalized groups such as girls and ethnic minorities in these contexts. Though many of the countries under study have significant refugee populations, it is difficult to obtain data specifically related to their educational access. Further, given data limitations surrounding access to data on IDPs and returnees, this paper focuses exclusively on secondary education for documented refugees either in camps or integrated into urban settings. To the extent possible, we address these limitations in our analysis. We also present additional details on the limitations in the Technical Appendix.

We do not distinguish between countries affected by interstate conflict and intrastate conflict. Indeed, these two types of conflict are not mutually exclusive and are often interrelated. Further, other kinds of conflict, such as genocide and ‘non-state’ conflicts, are not easily categorized (Cramer, 2006). Nonetheless, we do not intend to homogenize the idea of conflict or the experience of it, whether acute or protracted. We recognize that countries experience conflict differently and that people within them experience conflict differently. The experiences of a young woman in flight from an acute conflict will likely differ from those of a young man born and raised in a refugee camp, or from a teen orphaned during a genocide 15 years ago.

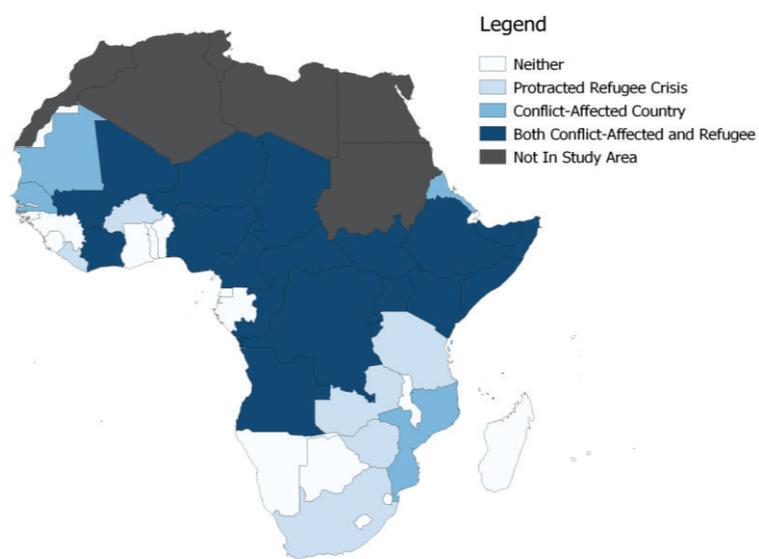
In the quantitative analysis section, we compare access to education between CAC and non-CAC in SSA. In thinking forward to explaining education trends and making recommendations for policy-makers, one might be concerned that factors other than conflict, such as SES, drive the differences we observe between CAC and non-CAC in regards to education. These concerns are valid, but moreover complicated with low SES often correlated with conflict onset and SES further lowered through the experience of conflict. We acknowledge that there are likely to be a number of important differences in contexts that are CAC and refugee hosting countries, compared to those that are neither. For example, in general, CAC are lower ranked on the Human Development Index (HDI, that also includes a measures of education) than non-CAC,

with CAC making up nine of the bottom 10 countries on the HDI for 2018. However, these generalizations about socio-economic context in CAC vs. non-CAC also mask important differences. For instance, some CAC have comparatively high HDI today, such as Rwanda. Similarly, some states considered non-CAC have lower rankings on the HDI, such as Liberia. Similar variation occurs when looking at GDP – for example, Benin and Togo have comparatively low GDP per capita and are neither CAC nor refugee hosting, whereas CAC Nigeria has a comparatively higher GDP per capita rank, above most non-CAC in our dataset. As such, we see value in illuminating trends between CAC and non-CAC. We acknowledge this limitation, though, and also note that by reporting averages within each grouping, we mask some of the important variation within each category of country, as discussed below. For example, presenting an average means that lower enrollments and investments in the Central African Republic may mask the higher enrollments and growth rates in Rwanda. We further discuss this challenge in our descriptive quantitative data analysis.

Finally, the research to inform this brief did not include primary research involving youth voices—those most affected by education policy in these contexts. This is an important limitation. While there is a growing body of literature beginning to incorporate youth voices into their analyses (see: Bellino & Dryden-Peterson, 2018 in Kenya; King, 2018 in Kenya; Quaynor, 2015 in Liberia; Sommers, 2011 in Rwanda; and Uvin, 2009 in Burundi), meaningful incorporation of these voices was beyond the scope of this report.

3. TRENDS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION ACCESS IN CAC IN SSA (POST-2010)

This section looks at the trends in access to secondary education in SSA post-2010, with a focus on CAC⁴ and countries facing protracted refugee situations. Figure 1 maps the countries included in each category.⁵ The inclusion criteria yields 21 CAC and 23 countries that host protracted refugee populations. Of a total 46 countries in SSA, nearly half have experienced conflict and/or protracted refugee situations since 2010, illustrating the extent of the challenge posed



⁴Throughout this report, we draw on the Uppsala Conflict Data Program’s (UCDP) definition of conflict-affected countries, which requires the use of armed force between at least two parties, of which one is the government of a state, and results in at least 25 battle-related deaths per year of conflict (Pettersson & Eck, 2018). Given the dynamic nature of conflict, it may be that according to other definitions a country is emerging from conflict, rather than conflict-affected.

⁵ See technical appendix 3.0 for country identification procedures.

by conflict and the overlap of multiple forms of emergency.

Of these countries, 17 appear in both categories: hosting both protracted refugee situations and experiencing conflict. The vast majority of countries in our dataset have also experienced disasters of some form, including drought, flood, and epidemics, according to UNISDR, and thus can be considered countries experiencing complex emergencies (OCHA, 2017).

3.1 Overall Trends in Secondary Education Access (2010-2018), CAC and Complex Emergencies⁶

While enrollments are increasing overall, there is a noticeable gap in secondary enrollment between CAC and non-CAC (both NER and GER). CAC (darker lines in Figures 2 and 3) have, in general, lower rates of enrollment compared to non-CAC (lighter lines in Figures 2 and 3). The upward trends in both NER and GER show promise for growth in conflict-affected countries. In fact, Table 1 shows that the post-2010 annual growth rate in enrollment was higher for CAC at the lower secondary level (NER and GER) and upper secondary level (GER) compared to non-CAC. The achievement leaves much to be done, however, since CAC started with lower NER and GER compared to non-CAC and the difference between the CAC and non-CAC remains large in 2017 at the lower secondary level.⁷

Box 3.1: The Whole Picture: The importance of looking at multiple indicators to understand enrollment and access

Net Enrollment Rates (NER) and Gross Enrollment Ratios (GER) are complementary indicators and together provide a more robust picture of the overall state of an education system than either one alone. The cases of Burundi and Rwanda illustrate the importance of considering multiple indicators when assessing access. While both countries have similar lower secondary completion rates (26 percent and 27 percent, respectively), they have markedly different NER and GER at the upper secondary level. For example, while Burundi has the highest GER at the upper secondary level among all CAC in 2017 at 42 percent, the NER is only seven percent. This indicates a high over-age population in the upper secondary system— a potential product of high rates of repetition or late starters. In contrast, while Rwanda has a GER near the average among CAC for upper secondary school in 2017 (29 percent), it has the highest NER at 23 percent. The relatively similar NER and GER in Rwanda suggest lower repetition rates and/or fewer late starters at the upper secondary level. While the UIS-UNESCO 2018 data does not report repetition rates for upper secondary in either country, the most recent lower secondary repetition rates are indicative: in Burundi, 13 percent (2015) of students repeated the last year of lower secondary, in contrast to Rwanda where only one percent (2016) of students repeated at least one year of lower secondary (UIS-UNESCO, 2018). Though beyond the scope of this background paper, the importance of considering complementary access indicators also highlights the need to look not only at access to education, but also at quality of education that affects repetition rates, among many other things.

⁶ See technical appendix 3.1.1 for methods used to determine overall trends in NER and GER. Technical Appendix 3.1.2 provides more information regarding the completion and transition rates.

⁷From a statistical perspective, the difference between lower secondary NER in CAC and non-CAC is statistically significantly different every year until 2016, when, although there remains a gap, the difference is no longer statistically significant at the common threshold of $\alpha = 0.05$.

There is wide variation in NER and GER not only between CAC and non-CAC, but also among countries in each category. Table 2 shows the lowest and highest values on these measures for CAC and non-CAC. As the table shows, in 2017, non-CAC Mauritius has the highest NER and GER.⁸ However, the lowest NER and GER is much more variable. For example, Tanzania, a non-CAC, has the lowest enrollments for upper secondary altogether,⁹ and while Cote d'Ivoire has the highest NER and GER for lower secondary education in CAC, Rwanda and Burundi have the highest NER and GER for upper secondary, respectfully.

Table 1: Annual Growth Rate of NER and GER for Conflict-Affected and Non-CAC in SSA (Source: UIS-UNESCO, 2018).

		CAC	Non-CAC
NER	Lower Secondary	1.3%	0.2%
	Upper Secondary	1.3%	2.9%
GER	Lower Secondary	1.1%	0.6%
	Upper Secondary	1.6%	0.6%

Table 2: Lowest and Highest GER/NER for Lower and Upper Secondary Education in CAC and non-CAC in 2017 (Source: UIS-UNESCO, 2018).

		NER (%)		GER (%)	
		Lower Secondary	Upper Secondary	Lower Secondary	Upper Secondary
Lowest	CAC	Mozambique (17%)	Niger (6%)	Central African Republic (23%)	Central African Republic (10%)
	Non-CAC	Madagascar (25%)	Tanzania (3%)	Tanzania (34%)	Tanzania (6%)
Highest	CAC	Cote d'Ivoire (39%)	Rwanda (23%)	Cote d'Ivoire (63%)	Burundi (42%)
	Non-CAC	Mauritius (88%)	Mauritius (69%)	Mauritius (112%)	Mauritius (84%)
Average	CAC	27%	12%	44%	26%
	Non-CAC	46%	14%	72%	41%
	Difference	19%	2%	28%	15%

⁸From 2010-2016, Seychelles held the highest spot, however no 2017 data in UIS-UNESCO for the Seychelles is currently reported.

⁹Tanzania is a particularly glaring exception in our dataset – a non-CAC, although with a significant refugee population in the western part of the country. However, though it has high primary education enrollments, its secondary enrollments are the lowest in our dataset.

Figure 2: NER for lower and upper secondary school in conflict vs. non-conflict-affected countries from 2010-2017. Source: (UIS-UNESCO, 2018).

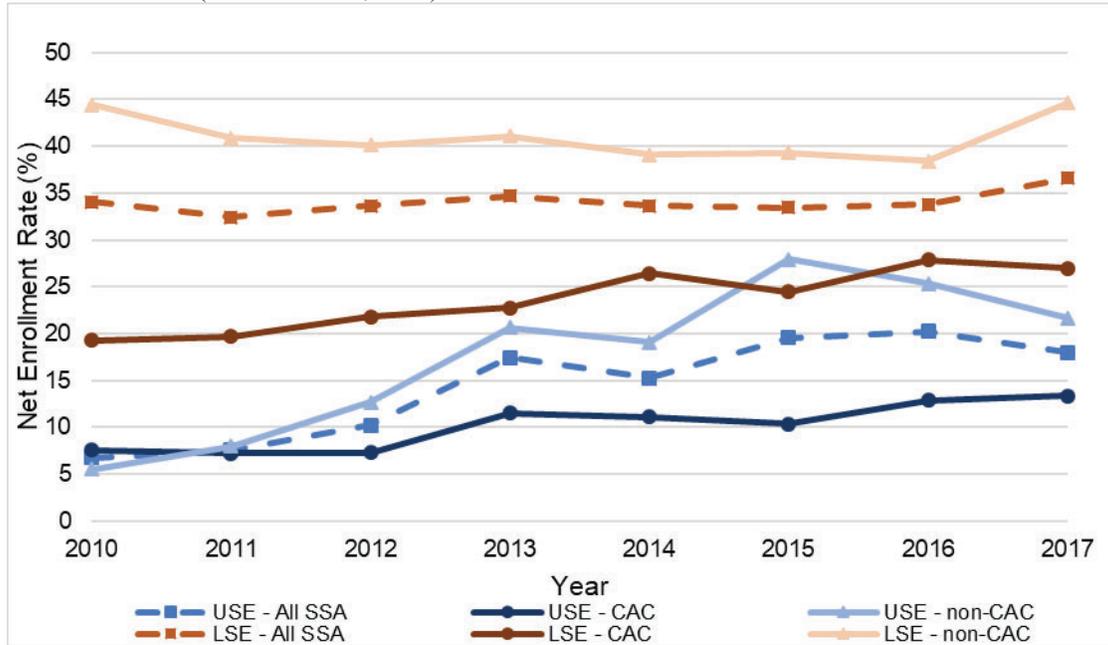
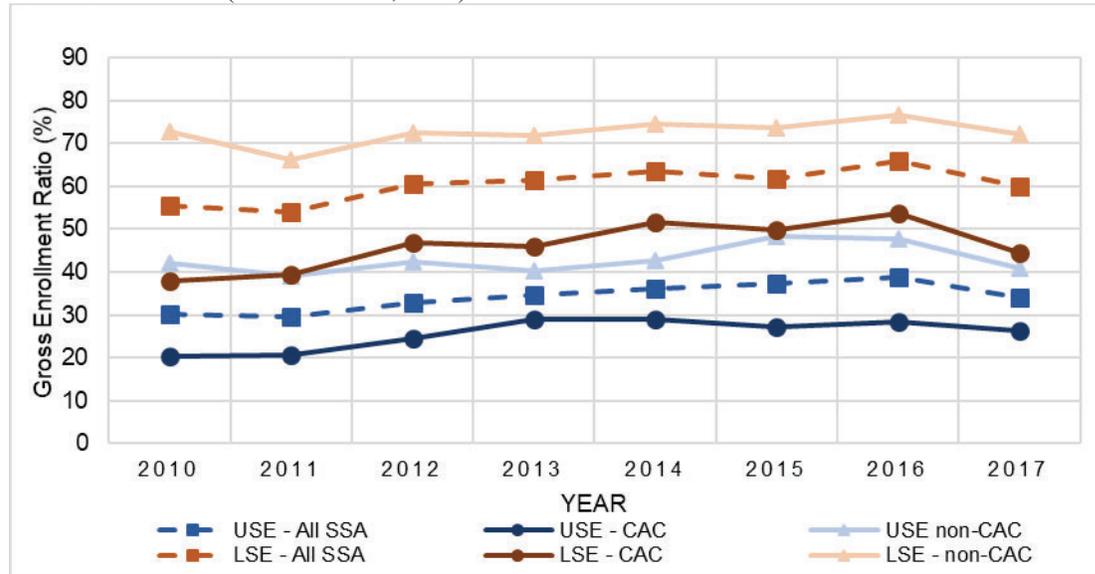


Figure 3: GER for lower and upper secondary school in conflict vs. non-conflict-affected countries from 2010-2017. Source: (UIS-UNESCO, 2018).



Upper Secondary Enrollment (USE) is lower than Lower Secondary Enrollment (LSE). Put otherwise, and shown in both Figures 2 and 3, NER and GER are consistently higher at the lower secondary level compared to the upper secondary level. Table 2 also shows that the differences between CAC and non-CAC are more pronounced at the lower secondary level compared to the upper secondary level, with upper secondary being low across all SSA. Perhaps surprisingly, there is a smaller difference between lower secondary and upper secondary enrollments (NER

and GER) in CAC than in non-CAC, as seen in Table 3. The likely explanation is that since average LSE in CAC is much lower than in non-CAC, there is less scope for decrease to upper secondary.

Transition rates from primary to secondary school are high in both CAC and non-CAC, but rates of completion of primary school are much lower in CAC, meaning fewer students in CAC make it to the point of transition.

On average, transition rates across SSA are reported to be 86 percent from primary to lower secondary education and 76 percent from lower secondary education to upper secondary. Unlike other indicators in this analysis, differences between CAC and non-CAC are not statistically significantly different, as can be seen in Table 4. However, transition rates (that illustrate the percentage of students who continue from the end of one level of education to the beginning of the next) need to be taken in context with completion rates (that tell us the number of students who start a level of schooling that make it to the end of that level). The lower completion rates for CAC at the primary and lower secondary level mean fewer students overall transition to the upper levels of education in CAC. Indeed, for lower secondary education, students in CAC have much lower completion rates. As with NER and GER, the differences in completion rates for CAC and non-CAC at the upper secondary level are small. This is likely due to low enrollments at this level, rather than indicating that CAC have better quality schooling or higher retention rates in upper secondary education.

Table 3: Gap between Lower and Upper Secondary Education for CAC and non-CAC (Source: UIS-UNESCO, 2018).

		CAC	Non-CAC
NER	Lower Secondary	27%	46%
	Upper Secondary	12%	14%
	Gap	15%	22%
GER	Lower Secondary	44%	72%
	Upper Secondary	26%	41%
	Gap	18%	31%

Table 4: Completion and Transition Rates for Primary, LSE and USE in CAC and non-CAC (GEMR-WIDE, 2016).

Indicator	Total (%)	Non-Conflict Affected (%)	Conflict Affected (%)	Difference between Non-CAC and CAC (%)
Primary School Completion	58	63	50	13*
Primary School Completion (15-24 years old)	58	69	50	19**
Transition from Primary to Lower Secondary	86	89	84	5
Completion of Lower Secondary (3-5 years above completion age)	35	41	29	12*
Completion of Lower Secondary (15-24 years old)	31	37	25	11*
Transition from Lower Secondary to Upper Secondary	76	74	78	4
Completion of Upper Secondary (3-5 years above schooling age)	19	21	16	5
Completion of Upper Secondary (20-29 years old)	18	20	15	5

Note: *statistically significant at $\alpha = 0.05$; ** statistically significant at $\alpha = 0.01$

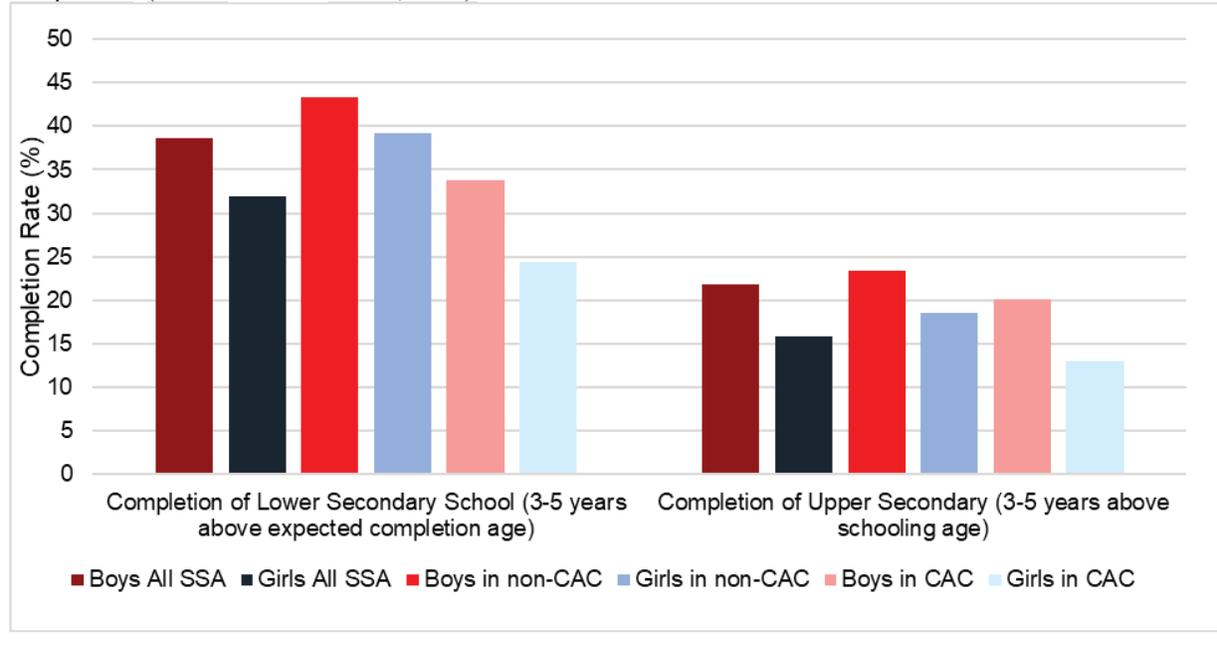
3.2 Secondary Education Access for Marginalized Groups in CAC and Complex Emergencies¹⁰

The overall trend in enrollment is improving for CAC but averages typically hide inequalities—especially those between genders and ethnic, regional, and linguistic groups (Stiglitz, Sen, & Fitoussi, 2010). These inequalities are often compounded by conflict or other emergencies (UNGEI, 2017). Equitable access to education across groups is believed to be important for several reasons. Policy-makers recently argued that equitable education access is necessary for achieving the SDGs and also building sustainable peace (UNESCO, 2016a). In fact, UNESCO’s upcoming 2020 Global Education Monitoring Report will focus exclusively on “inclusion in education” (UNESCO, 2018c). Common markers of marginalization include ethnicity, poverty and SES, and region (notably, the urban/rural divide). This section outlines some of the group-based differences we see when looking at disaggregated rates of access to education, rather than country averages.

Girls have lower access and completion rates compared to boys, and this is especially true in CAC. Girls’ enrollment in both lower and upper secondary education has increased since 2010. However, across all years included in our analysis, girls had consistently lower enrollment and completion rates across both lower and upper secondary education. Girls in CAC also have lower completion rates than girls in non-CAC, suggesting that girls are particularly marginalized in CAC. Illustrated in Figure 4, the GEMR-WIDE dataset shows that, though 39 percent of girls complete lower secondary education in non-CAC, just 24 percent do so in CAC—a difference of 15 percentage points, on average, during the 2010-7 period. By way of examples, completion rates for lower secondary education for girls are highest overall in South Africa and lowest in Niger. In upper secondary education, the difference is less dramatic in CAC vs. non-CAC, at 13 percent and 19 percent, respectively.

¹⁰ See technical appendix 3.2.1 for information regarding methods for determining gender differences; technical appendix 13.2.2 offers a description of methods for ethnic marginalization and education rates, and technical appendix 3.2.3 provides more detail regarding wealth quintiles and urban/rural access.

Figure 4: Differences in completion rates for girls in CAC vs. non-CAC. Rates for boys are shown in red for comparison. (Source: GEMR-WIDE, 2016).



Data on refugees’ access to education is limited. There are no cross-national datasets on refugee education at the secondary level, reflecting the difficulties of data collection discussed as limitations in section 2 above. Furthermore, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is generally responsible for providing education to refugees in camps, but refugees are increasingly integrated into host country life, often for specific access to public goods such as schooling, compounding the challenge of collecting data disaggregated by refugee status.

International organizations publish broad global statistics on refugees and education. Of the 7.4 million refugee children of school age under the mandate of UNHCR, 61 percent were estimated to be enrolled in primary school in 2017 compared to global enrollment rates of 92 percent (UNHCR, 2018b). The gap in access worsens at the secondary level, where only 23 percent of refugee children are enrolled, compared to global enrollment rates of 84 percent. As UNHCR reports: “This means nearly two thirds of refugee children who go to primary school do not make it to secondary school” (UNHCR, 2018b, p.13). Currently, more than 26 percent of the world’s refugees are in SSA, with crises in the Central African Republic (CAR), Nigeria, South Sudan, and, more recently, Burundi, causing ongoing mass displacement within the continent; some conflicts outside of SSA, such as Yemen, also cause displacement into SSA (UNHCR, Africa). SSA also hosts some of the world’s most protracted refugee situations, defined by UNHCR as the displacement of 25,000 people or more who have been in exile for over five years (UNHCR, 2004).

The lack of cross-national datasets on education for refugees means that detailed policy analyses, such as that provided in section four of this report, and single-country case studies, such as those in section five, are especially important for understanding education for refugees. This lack of data on refugee education at the secondary level is especially important given that refugees have important right to work protections as per the 1951 Refugee Convention. Data on secondary

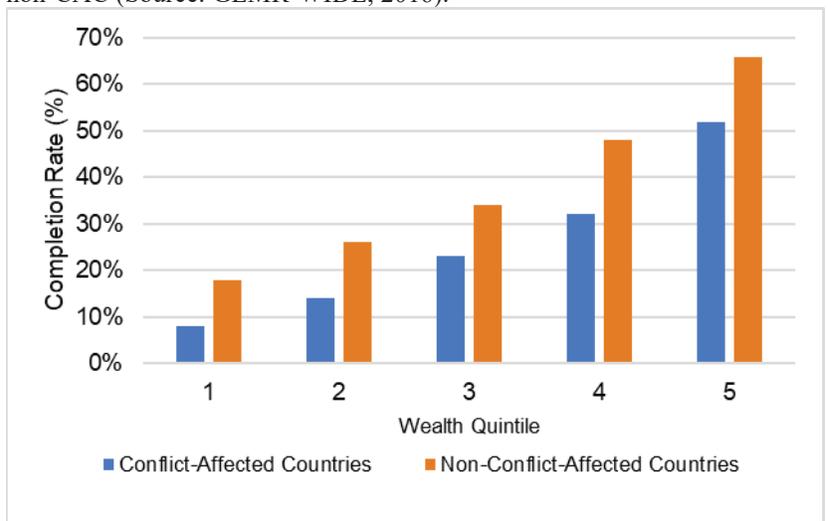
level education, as an important pre-requisite for most employment, is thus essential for promoting socio-economic stability for refugees – both while in the host countries and as they pursue resettlement, repatriation or local integration.

Ethnic marginalization, poverty, and level of urbanicity are correlated with lower completion rates for CAC.

*Ethnic identity may be especially important for understanding education access and completion in CAC.*¹¹ Recent scholarship points to the fact that education is often denied to marginalized ethnic groups in CAC (King, 2014). An analysis of the GEMR-WIDE dataset, which contains ethnic group identification, shows groups that are considered marginalized or discriminated against have lower educational attainment at the secondary level in CAC. For example, in CAC, completion of lower secondary school for groups that are not considered marginalized is, on average, 42 percent, compared to 28 percent for marginalized groups. In contrast, countries that have not experienced conflict from 2010-2017 do not have significant differences in education completion or transition rates at either the lower or upper secondary level for marginalized as compared to non-marginalized groups. Horizontal inequalities in education, or inequalities between groups, also drives conflict (Østby, 2008), meaning that addressing inequalities is important not only for employment opportunities for all, but for the prevention of conflict recurrence as well.

Poverty is related to education completion. While there is comparatively little difference between the bottom two wealth quintiles regarding completion, transition, and enrollment rates, those in higher wealth quintiles have, on average, higher completion rates than the quintiles below them. Figure 5 illustrates the importance of SES to education using completion of lower secondary education rates for each income quintile. In each quintile, the CAC completion rate is more comparable to the quintile below it for non-CAC; that is, youth in the upper income quintile for CAC have only four percent higher completion rates than those in the fourth income quintile in non-CAC. Youth in CAC in the fourth income quintile have slightly lower (two percent) completion rates than those in the third quintile for non-CAC. For comparison, differences, on average, between CAC and non-CAC at each income quintile are approximately 10-15 percent.

Figure 5: Lower secondary completion by wealth quintile for CAC and non-CAC (Source: GEMR-WIDE, 2016).



¹¹ See technical appendix 3.2.3 for a discussion of ethnic marginalization

Youth in rural communities have very low secondary completion rates. Across SSA, lower and upper secondary completion rates in urban areas are higher than rural completion rates. Youth in urban areas are more than twice as likely to finish lower secondary school, and more than three times as likely to finish upper secondary school than those living in rural areas. In this case there is, however, no statistically significant difference between youth in CAC and non-CAC. Table 5 demonstrates this effect in detail. Level of urbanicity accounts for most of the difference in completion rates, rather than conflict. In fact, there is only a two percent difference in upper secondary completion for CAC vs. non-CAC for urban youth.

Important intersections between gender, poverty, ethnic marginalization and level of urbanicity affect access to secondary education. The above analysis points to the fact that girls have significantly lower completion rates at lower and upper secondary levels, as do those in lower-income brackets, ethnically marginalized youth, and rural youth. Furthermore, it is important to consider that these categories often interact with each other such that multiple-marginalization has an even greater effect. For example, while girls in CAC overall have lower enrollment and completion rates, the ‘gender effect’ is compounded in rural regions or in lower SES quintiles.

Table 5: Urban/Rural Completion Rates for Upper Secondary School in Conflict-Affected and non-CAC (Source: GEMR-WIDE, 2016).

	<i>Total (%)</i>	<i>Non-CAC (%)</i>	<i>CAC (%)</i>	<i>Difference between Non-Conflict and CAC (%)</i>
Lower Secondary				
Urban	50%	55%	45%	10%
Rural	22%	26%	17%	9%
<i>Difference (Urban - Rural)</i>	28%	25%	28%	
Upper Secondary				
Urban	30%	31%	29%	2%
Rural	9%	10%	8%	2%
<i>Difference (Urban - Rural)</i>	21%	21%	21%	

3.3 Education Sector Plans: Government Priorities for Increasing Secondary Education Access¹²

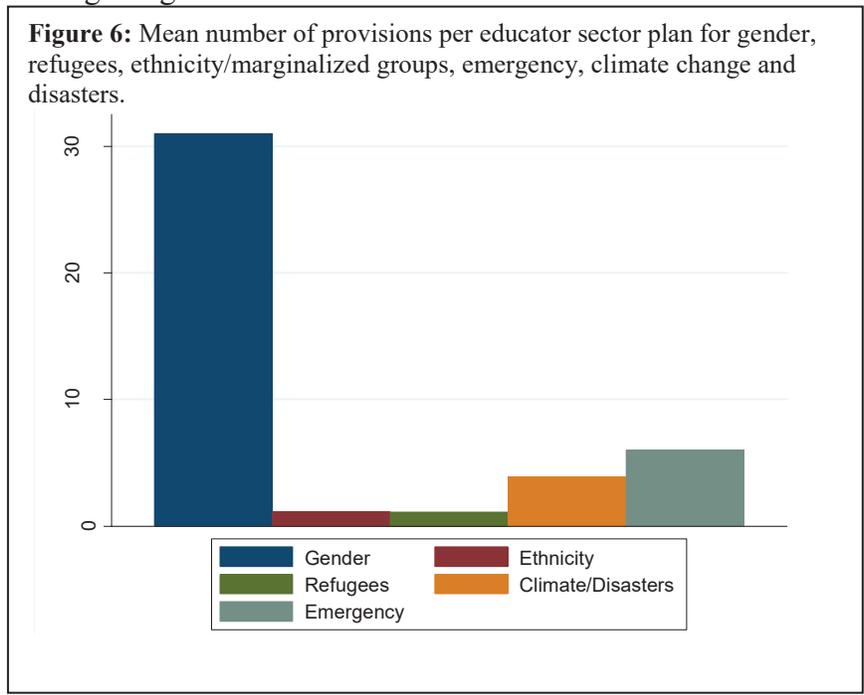
Many challenges facing governments in CAC emerge in our cross-national analysis of access to secondary education. Reflecting on these challenges, we conducted a content analysis of the 42 available and most recent education sector plans covering the post-2010 time frame of this report.¹³ This analysis shows the extent to which governments in CAC and those facing

¹² See technical appendix 3.3 for methods used for the coding of education sector plans and the different search terms used.

¹³ Of these only one (Malawi, 2008) was published outside the post-2010 timeframe, though it covers 2008-2017.

protracted refugee situations are explicitly addressing the issues of access outlined above in their planning. For example, are governments in CAC drawing a focus to increasing girls’ access, refugee education, and reaching marginalized groups? Acknowledging the complexities of working in conflict-affected and/or protracted refugee contexts, as well as the difficulties these situations place on responding to natural disasters, we also considered if and how these documents make explicit reference to responses to emergencies, conflicts, and natural disasters (including drought and disease). We reason that policies and directives are more likely to succeed when they are designed and implemented as part of an integrated approach to education, as found in an education sector plan (UNESCO, 2011, p.74). However, it is important to note that these documents are often not the only documents pertaining to education policy and planning, and as such gender policies or plans for refugee education may be more concretely laid out elsewhere.

Figure 6 shows the mean number of times that the education sector plans mention gender, refugees, ethnicity/marginalized groups, emergency, climate change, and disasters. There is important variation across each area of interest in this analysis – not only when comparing countries that are conflict-affected or refugee-affected to those that are not, but also among CAC. For example, while the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) education sector plan mentions conflict and emergency-based education 55 times, the Burundian plan mentions emergencies and conflict just once. This oversight in the Burundian education sector plan is especially interesting given that the Burundian *peace agreement* is unique in mentioning education 24 times, and even has specific sections pertaining to addressing the inequalities in its education system that were a cause of the conflict (Dunlop & King, unpublished manuscript). This difference in inclusion of conflict in their education sectors plans is despite both countries experiencing sustained and violent conflict through their recent history. Similarly, the Central African Republic does not mention refugees or IDP education at all, whereas South Sudan mentions refugee education as a concern and priority eight times, though both of these countries have historically and are currently experiencing refugee situations.



Gender/Girls' Education is mentioned in every education sector plan in our dataset.

All education sector plans reference the need to increase access to girls' education, including at the secondary level. Though varying in number of references (max: 149; min: 1; average: 31; standard deviation: 30.6), the volume of references to gender and increasing girls' access to education is indicative of the volume of policy focused on girls' education in international development. The plans vary in detail depending on length. Some plans include detailed descriptions of the state of education for girls in the country, as well as concrete solutions. Others provide detailed reasons for lower enrollment ratios for girls including gender-based violence, discrimination, and pregnancy, such as Sierra Leone's (see box), issues we take up in the next section.

“At higher levels, the issue of early and sometimes forced marriages, sexual harassment by male teachers and/or male students, early pregnancies etc., affected the retention of girls at JSS [junior secondary school] and SSS [senior secondary school] levels, contributing to gender disparities.” (Sierra Leone, 2018, p.26)

Refugees are the least-mentioned group in plans in general, but countries with protracted refugee situations are more likely to have provisions for their education.

Only 13 education sector plans contain provisions for refugees in any way (see box for examples), though none directly reference secondary education. Perhaps unsurprisingly, countries experiencing protracted refugee situations are more likely to include 'refugee' education provisions in some capacity and, indeed, 65 percent of refugee-hosting countries include provisions. Notable exceptions include Tanzania and the Central African Republic, which both have high refugee populations but do not mention them in their education sector plans. The plans themselves are often vague regarding refugee education—most contain only one or two clauses. Notably, Kenya's Education Sector Plan (2013), which contains eight references to refugee education, includes the most specifics such as providing peace education and plans to provide bursaries for refugees (2013, p.103). The lack of concrete plans for managing refugee education at this level merits further exploration; further, a deeper analysis, as provided in the next section and subsequent case studies, can point to ways that countries have been addressing the issue of refugee education beyond the education sector plan.

“Provision of education to refugees and host communities: - Develop and implement response programs for provision of quality education to refugees and the host communities.” (Uganda, 2017, p.20); “[increase] access to education for displaced persons and refugees through free education” (Republic of Congo, 2015, p.92).

“[Goals include]: combatting discrimination related to gender, social background, or ethnicity at all levels of the education system” (Democratic Republic of Congo, 2016, p.85).

Ethnic minorities and marginalized groups are rarely mentioned in Education Sector Plans.¹⁴

The highest number of mentions is 13 in Botswana, a country that has seen little conflict and is not considered a protracted refugee hosting country as

per the definition of UNHCR. More typically, ethnicity is only mentioned once or twice in an education sector plan, with just 18 available documents mentioning educational access for marginalized groups at all. When ethnic/marginalized groups are mentioned, it is often with obscure references to education equality, without naming specific targets or groups (see box, for example). ESPs further that governments will 'combat discrimination' in school, or claim they

¹⁴ Here, we specifically coded for mentions of ethnicity, marginalized groups, and minorities.

are ‘providing equitable access to minorities/marginalized groups’. While some countries choose to adopt ‘non-recognition’ regimes in the aftermath of conflict wherein ethnicity is minimized or banned, even countries that have adopted so-called ‘recognition’ regimes, and group-differentiated rights such as the ethnic quotas embedded in Burundi’s constitutions (King & Samii, unpublished manuscript), do not often mention specific ethnic/marginalized groups in the education sector plan. As with refugees, it is possible that other policy and planning documents may further elaborate detailed government plans to tackle increasing access to education, including at the secondary level.

The importance of conflict/emergency preparedness for many countries in SSA is reflected in education sector plans. Given the high levels of conflict in SSA, it is perhaps not surprising that many countries have provisions in their education sector plans regarding the importance of both responding to conflict/emergencies and preparing for such events. Countries that are conflict-affected are 82 percent more likely to include such provisions than non-CAC. Among CAC, only Mozambique and Nigeria’s plans do not contain these types of provisions. Interestingly, and unlike the case of refugees and other marginalized groups, plans are often fairly detailed regarding the need for education in emergencies and conflict settings. Some documents, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo’s (2016) plan, contain detailed sections outlining the government’s plan. The DRC even includes plans to introduce programming to reduce conflict, including the development of peace education programs and the promotion of peace through education. Still others note the effects of conflict on the education system itself. For example, Chad’s *Plan sectoriel de l’éducation 2013-2015* (2013) notes that conflict decreases access to education overall (p.97). Other plans name specific programs and plans for education in emergency situations, such as the distribution of the “minimum standards for education and emergencies” to all regional education offices as well as the development and distribution of a standard Education in Emergencies (EiE) program to schools at risk of emergencies (Ethiopia, 2016).¹⁵ These examples highlight the diverse ways through which countries identify needs to be addressed in emergency situations.

“Whether the emergency is caused by human or natural forces, the impact on the education system can be detrimental” (South Sudan, Education Sector Plan, 2012-2017, p.29).

It is also important for policy-makers to consider linkages between education policies and policies in other sectors. For example, Jones’ (2011) ethnographic case study shows how Uganda’s National Strategy for Girls’ Education was not well coordinated and reflected in other education programs and policies. As a result, Jones argues that it lacked the necessary resources and political backing to be effectively implemented. Furthermore, well coordinated educational planning and policies—as it relates to increased secondary access for girls, marginalized groups or refugees—have the potential to link access to education with broader issues such as employment and greater political participation for such groups.

¹⁵ INEE Minimum Standards have been contextualized in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Somalia and South Sudan (INEE, contextualizing the minimum standards). We found little evidence however, of how these standards were being monitored and implemented in the countries concerned.

Box 3.2 – Effects of Disease: The 2014 Ebola Crisis and Secondary Education Access in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea

Disease outbreaks can have a noticeable effect on the education system and secondary education access in areas where resources are already strained. For example, the 2014 Ebola Outbreak in West Africa had an important and deleterious effect on educational access in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea. In Liberia, schools were closed in July 2014 under the assumption that schools are sites of potential transmission; schools reopened seven months later as the epidemic eased (Santos & Novelli, 2017). Approximately 10,000 schools were similarly closed in Sierra Leone and Guinea, leaving more than 2 million children out of school (GPE, 2014). These school closures resulted in most children having their school years disrupted. When schools did re-open in early 2015, the governments shortened the school year and accelerated learning in classrooms to attempt to compensate for lost time (Powers, 2016).

Each country already had low enrollment rates for lower and upper secondary, according to UIS-UNESCO (2018). Prior to the Ebola outbreak, NER for lower secondary was only 8.64 percent in Liberia (2014) and 35.47 percent in Sierra Leone (2013). When schools re-opened thereafter in 2015, NER at lower secondary had dropped in both places to 6.67 percent and 32.49 percent respectively. The same trend is evident in upper secondary where NER was just 18.05 percent for Sierra Leone (2013) and only 7.59 percent in Liberia (2014) prior to the outbreak. In 2015, after the Ebola crisis, those numbers fell to 14.44 percent and 5.76 percent, respectively. Notably, Sierra Leone and Liberia are also both recovering from civil wars, ending in 2002 and 2003, which have contributed to low enrollment rates in education overall (Novelli & Higgins, 2017). Liberia has additional challenges as a refugee host from neighboring Cote d'Ivoire (UNHCR, 2015), which was also affected by the Ebola outbreak; although, notably, some Ivorian refugee doctors played a key role in treating Ebola patients (Diaz, 2016). Several sources point to the additional strain the Ebola Crisis placed on education systems in these countries (see: GPE, 2014; World Vision, 2015; ReliefWeb, 2015). Indeed, the Liberian Plan, *Getting the Best Education Sector Plan (2017-2021)* notes that the outbreak “further damaged the health system and had a major impact on education through the closure of schools as an emergency measure” (p.32).

Countries respond differently to disease outbreaks in terms of future planning. The Sierra Leonean *Education Sector Plan (2018-2020)* addresses some of the concerns regarding access, noting that “in this regard, [the government] ensured that all Ebola orphans and Ebola survivors had access to schooling and were not subjected to discrimination or embarrassment. The integration of Ebola orphans and survivors has been so successful that few, if any, know if their school or college has an Ebola orphan or survivor enrolled. No one has yet claimed to be out of school because of Ebola” (p.16). Indeed, the Minister of Education took the Ebola outbreak as an opportunity to strengthen Sierra Leone’s education system as a whole, incorporating lessons learned from the crisis regarding weaknesses within the system and implementing better monitoring and evaluation (p. iv). Further, the education sector plan posits concrete advice and plans for addressing some of the reasons as to why Ebola may have spread so quickly, including provision of safe water holes and reduction of class sizes to counteract the mechanisms through which the disease spreads (p.72). Sierra Leone’s education sector, in this regard, offers not just information regarding the impact of the Ebola crisis, but provides a detailed “Emergency Preparedness and Response” (p.104) section identifying lessons learned from the crisis to help plan ahead. This includes plans for coordination and dissemination between response teams and distribution of the handbook to all educational institutions. In contrast, the Guinean *Programme Sectoriel de l’Education 2015-2017*, although published in 2014 at the height of the Ebola outbreak, does not mention Ebola or measures to combat other potential disease outbreaks through education. While such planning can also happen in other venues and publications, this is perhaps a missed opportunity to address the possibility of children and youth being left out of the education system or not re-integrated back into the school system, and explicitly putting into place systems to educate the population regarding safety in the advent of future outbreaks.

4. CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES TO INCREASE ACCESS TO SECONDARY EDUCATION

The previous section clearly illustrates that since at least 2010 (the timeframe for this study), access to and completion of secondary education is almost always lower in SSA countries that have experienced conflict, as compared to SSA countries that have not experienced conflict during this period. Using the literature review methods described in part two, this section identifies barriers to access to secondary education and points to ways forward by reviewing commonly employed policies and interventions to address these barriers. In keeping with the data-driven impetus for this report, our focus is on the major trends related to enrollment and retention in conflict-affected contexts and the cross-cutting issues related to gender and refugee status identified in the previous section.

4.1 What factors influence enrollment and retention in secondary education in CAC in SSA?

Conflict can *directly* undermine access to secondary education. School infrastructure may be destroyed or rendered inoperable, students may be forcibly conscripted, and insecurity can make reaching places of learning impossible. Recent research from the *Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack* documented more than 20 attacks on students and education personnel globally between January 1, 2013 and December 31, 2017. Attacks included sexual violence, forced recruitment of students, damage, destruction, and military use of school buildings in eleven countries in SSA: Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan (GCPEA, 2018a, p.25).

Conflict also *indirectly* impacts access to secondary education, most notably through economic deprivation. The World Bank's most recent flagship *World Development Report* (2018) finds the most consistent predictor of a child or youth's failure to complete school was poverty. Studies have also identified the strong correlation between poverty and conflict, especially when poverty overlaps with other social group cleavages (Collier, 2003; Østby, 2008; Østby et al., 2009; Stewart, 2000; Stewart et al., 2005). Poverty negatively impacts the supply of and demand for education.

On the supply side, conflict can divert funds from public education towards military spending. In spite of recent initiatives to increase funding for education in conflict-affected contexts, international aid financing for education still falls woefully short of what is provided to other humanitarian and development sectors (Burde, 2014; Education Cannot Wait, 2017; UNESCO, 2011).¹⁶ Finally, conflict tends to undermine state institutions and capacity, which can impede

¹⁶ In recent years, increased funding for education in CAC has been allocated by the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) and the Education Cannot Wait fund. The G7 has also pledged increased funding to education for girls affected by crisis. However, education's share of sector allocable overseas development aid has decreased from 13 percent to 10 percent since 2002. Furthermore, less than 2 percent of humanitarian funding is spent on education (Education Cannot Wait, 2017).

governments' ability expand access to education or even to enforce existing policy and legislation and maintain existing service provision. Humanitarian or development aid often does little to address the governance deficits caused by conflict. Studies on aid effectiveness suggest that much aid funding bypasses governments, while aid disbursements often fall short of aid commitments (UNESCO, 2011). Along with the protracted nature of many conflicts and the fact that much humanitarian aid is short term and unpredictable, this is likely to further compromise governments' ability to plan and implement cost-efficient expansions of secondary education.

On the demand side, evidence from experimental studies across a range of contexts shows that the investment of both parents and students in education is sensitive to the perceived costs and benefits education provides (J-PAL, 2017). Secondary schooling is often more expensive than primary schooling, and conflict can worsen household poverty. During the conflict in Liberia (1980 to 1997) for example, per capita income declined by about 80 per cent (Humphreys & Richards, 2005, p.11). Consequently, households in CAC may face particular burdens and higher opportunity costs for financing secondary education (UNESCO, 2011, p.76). Also related to questions of demand, a growing body of research shows that demand for education may be undermined when educational quality and relevance is poor — or is perceived as such — by parents and/or students (World Bank, 2018).

4.2 What policies and scalable interventions can increase enrollment and retention in secondary education in CAC in SSA?

We review four key efforts that have been used to increase enrollment and retention in secondary education in CAC: financially prioritizing secondary education and improving cost-efficiency, reducing household level financial burden of secondary education, public-private partnerships, and heightening the physical safety and emotionally supportive environment of schools.

Financially prioritizing secondary education and restructuring education services for improved cost-efficiency. In line with the SDGs, many countries in SSA are moving towards making lower secondary education free from direct costs. However, sustained expansion of secondary education requires increased allocation of national resources to education. Lewin (2007) notes countries with high enrollment in secondary education operate such that the ratio of secondary to primary education costs is less than 2:1. However, countries in SSA tend to operate with ratios of secondary to primary costs per student of 3:1 or more at lower secondary level and 6:1 at upper secondary level, signaling major cost inefficiencies.

To effectively expand access to secondary education therefore requires both greater prioritization of secondary education in national budgets and a reduction in the unit costs of providing secondary education. Lewin (2007) suggests that in the SSA context, 6.0 percent of Gross National Product (GNP) should be dedicated to the education sector, and at least 2.5 percent of GNP should be dedicated to lower and upper secondary schooling. Similarly, the International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity, the Education Cannot Wait fund and the Global Partnership for Education recommend increasing domestic budgets for education by expanding tax bases to 5.8 percent of GDP and increasing the share of aid for the education

sector to 15 percent of overseas development aid (Education Cannot Wait, 2017). Policies that may improve the cost-efficiency of secondary education include reducing the number of boarding schools in favor of day schools, considering double shifting¹⁷ to increase the supply of education at least until more permanent options such as new school construction can be implemented, considering partnerships with non-government providers, planning construction expansion in ways that optimize access and procurement efficiency, expanding the supply of trained teachers, better managing the flow of pupils coming from primary education through efforts to reduce repetition and drop-out, and lowering the direct household costs of education (Lewin, 2007). A number of these strategies are discussed in the remainder of this section. Since conflict often results in a proliferation of localized non-formal education programs run by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), governments should also consider creating policy frameworks that regulate and integrate small and localized humanitarian programs into formal education and training systems that are ultimately sustained through more predictable public funding (World Bank, 2018, p.122).

Reducing the household level financial burden of secondary education. Efforts to improve cost effectiveness should not, however, result in the costs of education being passed onto households. As noted above, this may decrease demand for education and worsen the inequalities that fuel conflict. Across conflict and non-conflict affected contexts, abolishing school fees is the best and most sustainable way of reducing the poverty burden that impedes access to education (J-PAL, 2017). When direct costs associated with primary education were eliminated in countries including Burundi, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, and Uganda, enrollment rates immediately increased (UNESCO, 2015). Similar substantive gains can be expected from such policy shifts at the secondary level. A joint UNICEF and World Bank report identifies the following overarching lessons learned from the abolition of school fees in Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, and Mozambique: 1) Strong and vocal leadership is needed for the abolition of fees from the highest levels of the political system, plus consensus across government ministries and sectors; 2) Careful planning (including rigorous assessments) is essential to identify the revenues obtained from school fees, what these revenues fund and how to mobilize alternative and sustainable sources of funding; 3) A strong communications and partnership approach is required so key stakeholders understand the policy process. This in turn implies a feasible timeline for implementation; 4) A phased approach should be adopted to allow more time and support to mobilize resources and make necessary adjustments for successful policy implementation; 5) Fee abolition should be initiated as part of broader reform processes (i.e. ensuring that complementary issues needed for successful implementation are also addressed); 6) Measures should be taken to protect the quality of education; 7) Community stakeholders should be involved when presenting and implementing the policy shift; 8) Particularly acute barriers to access should be identified and addressed in conjunction with this policy shift (notably supporting students affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic; 8) Development partners must be engaged; 9) Capitation grants should be carefully used to replace revenues normally collected through school fees (including private schools in this specific policy shift); 10) Careful monitoring and conducting further research into fee abolition are necessary (World Bank

¹⁷ Double shifting means that schools operate on a two-shift system whereby one group of children and youth attend school in the morning and another group attends school in the afternoon. These two groups of students often also have different teaching and administrative staff.

&UNICEF, 2009). For such changes to be successful, the burden of indirect costs on households—including uniforms, transportation, and examinations—must be considered, which may require temporary targeted measures to support the most vulnerable households.

Cash transfers are a proven way to increase enrollment and attendance in education (Global Education Cluster, 2018).¹⁸ Non-conditional cash transfers (NCTs) provide households with financial resources that are not conditioned on particular behaviors and actions. Conditional cash transfers (CCTs) are premised on providing households with cash only if children enroll in and/or attend school. Evidence regarding the effectiveness of conditional versus non-conditional cash transfers is mixed. Some studies have shown that the use of NCTs in CAC does result in productive investments (Blattman, 2014). Non-conditional cash transfers are also the preferred approach of UNHCR, which argues that conditional cash transfers are “costly, impractical and time-consuming and should be avoided,”(UNHCR, n.d.(b)). On the other hand, although CCTs may impose greater costs owing to the need to enforce and monitor education-related outcomes, there is evidence to suggest they may be more effective than NCTs. A randomized controlled trial (RCT) from Burkina Faso compared the impact of CCTs and NCTs and found that CCTs had a greater impact in improving access for the most marginalized children (defined as those whose parents were less likely to invest in their education) (Akresh et al., 2013). In Malawi, evidence from a peer-reviewed RCT found that CCTs had a greater impact on reducing drop-out rates among adolescent girls as compared to NCTs (Baird et al., 2011). Evidence from conflict-affected Colombia also suggests that conditioning cash-transfers on students’ continued enrollment in the next grade or on high school graduation is the most effective approach to increasing re-enrollment and students’ completion of secondary education (Barrera-Osorio et al., 2011). Taxpayers may also be more likely to support CCTs over NCTs for their explicit link to children’s welfare (Fiszbein & Schady, 2009).

Another option is non-monetary transfers. In a peer-reviewed experimental study, Alderman et al. (2012) examined the impacts of in-school and take-home food rations conditioned on school attendance in conflict-affected Northern Uganda. They found positive effects on enrollment and attendance in primary school for both models of transfer. A similar peer-reviewed experimental study on school feeding in rural Burkina Faso echoed these findings (Kazianga et al., 2012). However, Alderman et al. (2012) found no impact on progression to secondary school; in fact, older primary school children were more likely to remain in primary school to benefit from the intervention. These findings suggest that in cases where transfers are provided at the primary level, it may be necessary to continue these supports at the secondary level so as not to disincentivize student transitions.

Choices of which transfers to use and how to implement them ultimately center on the specific context in a given country (Baird et al., 2013; Burde et al., 2015; J-PAL, 2017). It is also important to note that the effects of NCTs and CCTs on longer-run learning outcomes, such as achievement and cognitive development, are mixed (Patrinos et al., 2009). For this reason,

¹⁸ Cash transfer can also be tailored to specific groups of marginalized children and youth as occurred in South Sudan where the Girls’ Education South Sudan initiative successfully targeted the attendance and enrollment of girls in primary and secondary schools (see a non-peer-reviewed evaluation by Clugston (2018) as well as evidence discussed in (Simon, 2018).

policy-makers should consider transfers as a stop-gap measure to support enrollment and attendance while simultaneously addressing longer-run sustainability concerns related to the supply, quality, and affordability of secondary education described in the previous section.

Carefully considering well-regulated public-private partnerships for education provision.

In recent years, public-private partnerships (PPP) for education in CAC and post-conflict countries have dramatically expanded. PPPs involve private sector collaboration with governments to expand the availability of secondary schools, at no, or very low, cost. Proponents claim the private sector can address gaps in access by increasing the supply of schools in cost-efficient ways and increase learning outcomes. Skeptics argue that PPPs can weaken the role of the state and may lead to policy-making motivated by profit rather than public interest, reintroducing inefficiencies in the process (Heyneman & Stern, 2014; Menashy & Zakharia, 2017; Patrinos et al., 2009; World Bank, 2018). These arguments have particular salience in CAC. On the one hand, private providers may help mitigate the institutional deficits and weaknesses faced by many government institutions. On the other, fragmented provision of education could undermine the legitimacy of the state, which is essential for post-conflict reconstruction (Burde, 2014; World Bank, 2011). We keep these issues in mind as we elaborate on two of the most popular models of PPPs. Although much of the evidence base on PPPs relates to primary education, the lessons it provides may be applied to secondary education, and we call for more research on the secondary level specifically in the recommendations section.

One of the most extensive education PPPs is in Liberia, where the government delegated the management of 93 public primary schools to eight private operators to see whether private administration can expand access to quality learning opportunities in a cost-effective way.¹⁹ Preliminary RCT evidence indicates mixed results (Romero et al., 2017). School level enrollment increased overall in privately managed schools (compared to prior to the intervention), but in schools where enrollment was already high and classes were large, the program led to a significant decline in enrollment. The study's authors attributed these results to the capping of class sizes and elimination of double shifts, but also found that excess pupils and under-performing teachers were redirected to government schools in some cases. Likewise, student learning outcomes and quality of instruction improved in the schools run by private operators, but gains varied widely across providers. Finally, costs exceeded budget estimates, and the privately-run schools operated with more teachers, shedding doubt on the financial sustainability and scalability of the initiative (Romero et al., 2017). Other studies have questioned the accountability and transparency of the Liberian experience, as the Ministry of Education has limited capacity to monitor the schools (Hook, 2017). Similar concerns have been raised in relation to the private provider Bridge Academies in Kenya and Uganda (NORRAG, 2018), and are echoed in recent qualitative evidence that examines private sector provision of education for Syrian refugees (Menashy & Zakharia, 2017).

¹⁹This initiative is the “The Partnership Schools for Liberia (PSL) program”. Under this model teachers remained public servants paid by the government, schools remained free and contractors were prohibited from screening students based on ability or other characteristics (Romero et al., 2017). Results reported reflect findings from the first year of a three-year RCT.

Another popular form of PPPs is the provision of vouchers or subsidies to the poorest households. These schemes work by totally or partially compensating families for the costs of their children's education in private schools. Vouchers and subsidies have also been justified in terms of their impact on parental choice and accountability (Patrinos, 2007). However, the sustainability of subsidies and vouchers and their long-term impact on public education systems is debated (Heyneman & Stern, 2014; Lewin & Sayed, 2005). In their systematic review of evidence on the impact of vouchers to support primary and secondary school access, Morgan et al. (2015) found that vouchers increased private school enrollment among the poorest income groups in Colombia and Pakistan. In Colombia, vouchers were tied to academic performance and resulted in significantly higher eighth grade completion rates (Angrist et al., 2002). Vouchers to cover the costs of school uniforms for upper primary age girls in Kenya also resulted in lower drop-out rates (Duflo et al., 2015). However, in their qualitative study of non-government secondary schooling in Malawi and South Africa, Lewin & Sayed (2005) found that even though vouchers partially covered school fees, high fee levels excluded most families from sending their children to full cost non-government schools, resulting in the rejection or exclusion of the poorest students. In CAC, PPPs may need to be highly regulated so as not to worsen the inequalities that can fuel conflict and undermine the government legitimacy that is crucial to reconstruction and peacebuilding. Such regulation, however, may be beyond existing government capacities (Lewin & Sayed, 2005) especially during and in the immediate aftermath of conflict.²⁰

Enhancing the protective capacity of schools through interventions focused on school safety and child and youth centered instructional practices. A key role of education in CAC is to support the physical and emotional protection of students (Burde, 2014). When students feel safe and supported, they are more likely to attend school and less likely to drop out (Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003). Interventions to improve the physical safety of students and teachers include transportation or accompaniment to and from school, reinforced school infrastructure and boundaries (for example walls and fences), the provision of on-site housing for students, negotiations with armed groups, the provision of school security (including armed guards or armed community defense groups), alternative schedules, distance education (including the use of ICTs to deliver education), and the relocation of students and schools.²¹ Such approaches need to be carefully considered, as they may have the unintended consequences of increasing students' visibility and exposure to attacks or distancing students from important support mechanisms (Groneman, 2010). Surprisingly little evidence exists regarding the impact of these interventions. In Afghanistan, quantitative and qualitative research has found community ownership and participation in education to be positively associated with students' feelings of safety (Burde, 2014; Glad, 2009). Associated policy-level interventions include strengthening parent-teacher associations and school-based management approaches.

²⁰ Although not directly addressing access related outcomes, there is some evidence that public private partnerships that support alternative financing mechanisms and disbursement agreements can help address the problems and funding gaps associated with conventional humanitarian and development funding streams. A PPP implemented in Liberia for example, focused on strengthening national capacities around public financial management, planning and procurement systems (see Schmidt & Taylor, 2010).

²¹ Policy-makers should however, weigh the protection related advantages of on-site housing against the inefficiencies of boarding schools as discussed above.

The protective potential of education is not limited to physical safety. Students' psychosocial well-being is crucial to their overall protection and a foundational rationale for the provision of education in conflict-affected contexts (Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003). Meta-analyses point to the importance of instructional and pedagogical practices to support students' social and emotional well-being (Durlak et al., 2011). This includes a small but growing body of research from CAC. Although many of these studies focus on primary schools, findings are often also relevant to secondary education, hence we report them here. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, a peer-reviewed cluster RCT tested student perceptions of support and well-being resulting from the one-year implementation of a teacher professional development program designed to improve social and pedagogical interactions in primary schools (Torrente et al., 2015). Students reported higher levels of support from their schools and teachers as a result of the program. However, there was a significant negative impact on their perceptions of classroom predictability and cooperation and no significant effects on their reported levels of well-being, perhaps due to partial implementation and/or the relatively short intervention period. A quasi-experimental study that examined the impact of a school program that sought to integrate drama, movement, music and art into primary schools in northern Uganda found statistically significant improvements in students' wellbeing (Ager et al., 2011). These findings are echoed in systematic reviews (see for example Tyrer & Fazel, 2014) and mixed methods research with Palestinian refugees (Abdul-Hamid et al., 2016). This evidence highlights the importance of child and youth-centered pedagogies and multi-faceted curricula. In the following section, we discuss approaches to teacher training that complement the aforementioned objectives.

4.3 What factors contribute to low secondary education access rates for girls in CAC in SSA?

Global statistics show that girls are twice as likely as boys never to begin school. Even in regions where gender parity has been achieved at the primary level, gender disparities in enrollment emerge at the lower secondary school level and become more pronounced in upper secondary school (World Bank, 2018, p.62). Section 3.2 explained that across all years included in our analysis, girls had consistently lower enrollment and completion rates than boys across both lower and upper secondary education. Documented barriers in conflict and non-conflict-affected contexts alike included: child marriage and early pregnancy, gender-based violence (GBV) and sexual violence (SV), a lack of school sanitation facilities, distance from school, sociocultural norms that privilege the education of boys especially in resource-constrained (i.e. poor) households, high burden of domestic work, a lack of female representation in educational leadership, pedagogical practices, and low female work force participation (which reduces perceived gains for secondary education) (Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2006; UNESCO, 2011; UNESCO, 2018a; Heilman & Barker, 2018; Jones, 2011; Unterhalter, 2013; World Bank, 2018). In other words, gender inequalities “are not merely associated with resources, but with attitudes, structures, sociocultural processes, uneven forms of empowerment, capabilities, and outcomes” (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p.566).

The findings in section 4.1 reflect these generalized and pervasive barriers. However, conflict can exacerbate and perpetuate existing gender inequalities and create additional barriers for girls. Fears of insecurity can dissuade parents from sending girls to school, especially since secondary schools tend to be fewer in number and at increased distance from home (Jones, 2011). GBV

comprised of domestic violence, corporal punishment, sexual harassment, abductions, and bullying continues to impede access to education (Abuya et al. 2012; GCPEA, 2018b; Jones, 2011).²² Conflict can exacerbate these multiple forms of gendered violence and the harmful structures and social norms that underpin gender inequality in its many forms (Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2004; Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2003; Heilman & Barker, 2018) with negative impacts for access to education. A peer-reviewed qualitative study by Abuya et al. (2012) found that SV both within schools and on route to school led to girls' reduced interest in education, lower concentration, and poor school performance, all of which were associated with school dropout. Dunne, Humphreys & Leach (2003) identified similar impacts in their literature review of gender related violence. Additionally, gendered violence may expose girls to secondary risks including sexually transmitted infections (STI) and early pregnancy that can, in turn, increase risk of dropout. Girls from the poorest families may be especially at risk owing to the phenomenon of “transactional sex” that is far too pervasive in schools (Abuya et al. 2012, World Bank, 2018).

4.4 What policies and scalable interventions can address these gender-related vulnerabilities and barriers?

We review four policies and scalable interventions that can support the enrollment and retention of girls in secondary education in CAC: domesticizing global policies and legislation related to gender equality, carrying out gender sensitive planning and policy-making processes, addressing barriers related to distance and access to secondary school, and mainstreaming gender sensitive education content into curricula and teacher training programs.²³

Enacting domestic legislation and policies on gender equality. A host of global frameworks commit states to pursuing gender equality in education, even during conflict.²⁴ Most countries included in our study have ratified, without reservations, at least two major Human Rights commitments that pertain to gender equality in education.²⁵ Article 12 of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) also

²²It is important to note, though, that the incidence of SV as a tactic of war is debated, exhibits significant variation and, suffers from prominent misconceptions (Cohen, Hoover Green & Wood, 2013; Human Security Report, 2012)

²³While our focus in the report is on education policies and interventions, it is important to note that policy level interventions such as those discussed in this section are unlikely to yield immediate results. Rather, the transformation of gender discrimination should be recognized as a long process that will likely need to be accompanied by more immediate cross-sectoral efforts to reduce impunity around gender related violence and discrimination.

²⁴At the global level, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education (1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1996), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child all include binding legal commitments (with associated complaints mechanisms) regarding states' obligations to pursue gender equality in education. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted in 2015 also provide for quality education (SDG4) and gender equality (SDG5).

²⁵ The main Human Rights commitments relevant to gender discrimination in education are: the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education (1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1996), the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (Right to Education Initiative, 2018).

commits to eliminating all forms of discrimination against women in education (Right to Education Initiative (REI), 2018, pp.19-20).^{26,27} However, CAC often suffer from weak institutional capacity which can limit their ability to enact and enforce policies. More work is needed to translate existing *de jure* and political commitments into national legislation, policies and directives. For example, Kenya passed the Sexual Offenses Act in 2006 that provides protection from sexual abuse in schools and accountability for perpetrators; however, the Act lacks specific policies to facilitate its implementation and appropriation at the school level (Abuya et al., 2012). Policies and directives are more likely to succeed when they are designed and implemented as part of an integrated cross-sector approach to address gender inequality that also tackles gender inequalities outside of the education sector (UNESCO, 2011, p.74).

Developing gender sensitive education plans and policies. Education sector planning may be an important tool for achieving gender equality (UNESCO, 2011) and our analysis in section 3.3 above illustrates that all education sector plans in our dataset address gender in some way. The potential for planning processes to address gender inequality may be especially high in countries emerging from conflict, owing to the large scale, political, institutional and social opportunities for change that conflict can create (Nicolai, 2009). Plans and policies should be based on reliable gender disaggregated data. This includes quantitative data obtained from Education Management Information Systems (EMIS) (UNESCO, 2018a) and qualitative data that explores students' experiences with policies (Jones, 2011). Gender assessments, gender budgeting, and the involvement of multiple stakeholders in defining needs and establishing priorities should be part of all planning processes (UNESCO, 2018c, p.45). For example, the Ministry of Education and Sports in Uganda sets and reviews gender specific objectives and has developed a comprehensive Gender in Education Strategic Plan. Although we cannot attribute causality, a one-time four-percentage point increase in girls' secondary education completion rates was achieved the year the plan was implemented (Uganda MoES, 2014 cited in UNESCO, 2018d, p.47).

Considering the impact of school location and accessibility for student attendance. An RCT in Afghanistan shows that reducing physical distance between school and home can reduce exposure to insecurity along access routes and close gender gaps in access (Burde & Linden, 2013). Rural school construction in countries including Burkina Faso and Ethiopia has also been associated with increased attendance and reduced gender disparities (UNESCO, 2010). Additional approaches include the provision of school buses, walking escorts, established walking groups, commuting 'checkpoints,' allowing girls to ride bicycles, and flexible school schedules (Jones, 2011, p.394). However, interventions that focus only on physical access are unlikely to alone create the virtuous circles needed for sustainable change in girls' access to secondary education. In a working paper, Mocan and Cannonier (2012) investigated the extent to which a large-scale primary education expansion in post-conflict Sierra Leone increased

²⁶ Countries on our list that do not fall into this category are: Somalia, Sudan, Tonga, Niger, Mauritania, South Sudan and Mozambique (Right to Education Initiative, 2018).

²⁷ The Charter is the only regional commitment pertaining to gender equality in education. Four human rights mechanisms in Africa can adjudicate cases on gender equality in education; "Consequently there is hardly a single right at the international level that cannot be subject to protection in the African system" (Right to Education Initiative, 2018, p.37)

women's empowerment (as measured through the preferences and attitudes of women regarding women's health and violence against women). They found that increased access to primary education did make women less tolerant of practices that conflicted with their well-being, although the concomitant increased access to education for men did not alter their attitudes regarding women's well-being. Although this study focuses on primary level expansion, it suggests that closing gender gaps in primary education will not be enough to address the causes of gender inequalities that pervade access at the secondary level. Instead, addressing gender disparities in education requires interventions that target norm change among males as well as females.

Developing gender sensitive curricula and train teachers on gender sensitive pedagogies and classroom practices. Education content and pedagogical practices are essential for addressing the everyday institutional structures and practices that uphold gender inequalities in education (Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2006). The benefits of targeting not only women and girls, but also men and boys, to promote more equitable gender norms is evidenced in an RCT conducted in Rwanda by Doyle et al. (2018). Compared to the control group, women in the intervention group reported reduced male-on-female violence, less child physical punishment, higher levels of male participation in household tasks and child care, and reduced male dominance in decision-making.

Life skills programs that teach work competencies and gender empowering skills can be integrated into formal curricula to good effect. For example, Ashraf et al. (2018) found that girls who undertook negotiation skills training in Zambia were more able to persuade their parents of the value of continuing their education. An RCT in Uganda examined a vocational training program that taught work relevant skills and competencies while directly addressing the topics of sex, reproduction and marriage. The program was also found to have significant impacts on girls' economic empowerment, control over one's body and aspirations on childbearing and marriage after two years (Bandiera et al., 2017). Conversely, an RCT carried out by Duflo et al. (2015) found that after seven years, the impact of the government's HIV curriculum, which stresses only abstinence until marriage, had no impact on either teen pregnancy or STI rates among boys and girls (although unwed pregnancies were lower among this group as compared to the control group).²⁸

At the level of pedagogical practices, research points to the value of investing in training, monitoring, and ongoing support structures for teachers if gender sensitive curriculum is to be implemented effectively (Cobbett-Ondiek, 2016). A mixed methods cluster RCT in Northern Uganda found, for example, that a teacher training program designed to promote positive gender socialization impacted knowledge and attitudes among teachers but did not result in short term changes to (self-reported) teacher practices (Chinen et al., 2017). Qualitative findings indicated that teachers were held back by deeply-embedded community gender norms. The authors recommend increased community involvement in teacher training efforts, to build a wider basis for support and identify culturally relevant ways of adapting practices at the classroom level. In

²⁸This study focuses on higher grades of primary education. We include it here since findings are also pertinent to secondary education and specifically transitions between primary and secondary education.

the short term, hiring female teaching assistants as a form of protective presence may also reduce gender related violence (Kirk & Winthrop, 2006).

4.5 What factors impede refugees' access to secondary education in SSA?

This section focuses on barriers to secondary education specific to refugees. As we discuss in section 3.2, refugees are over-represented in the number of out of school children and youth globally.

A number of barriers to accessing education exist for refugees. Infrastructure for secondary education is often lacking for refugees (Dryden-Peterson, 2016; UNHCR, 2018b). UNHCR is the agency responsible for providing education to the majority of the world's refugees.²⁹ It works closely with other stakeholders (host state governments, country of origin governments, the refugee community, civil society, the private sector, and other United Nations agencies) to provide access to education for refugees (UNGA, 2016). Generally speaking, UNHCR does not operate schools itself, but instead works with different service providers to coordinate access through existing education structures (notably public education systems) and create new educational structures where existing structures are inadequate or unavailable. Population dispersion and legal barriers also limit the supply of teachers. This is a particular problem for secondary education owing to the increased specialization of content and the concomitant need for trained teachers (Dryden-Peterson, 2011, 2003; Kirk & Winthrop, 2007; UNHCR, 2018b). In keeping with its overarching approach towards refugees' inclusion in host state education systems, UNHCR now advocates that refugees learn the curriculum of their host states.³⁰ This often implies differences in language of instruction between host states and countries of origin, which can also lead to drop-out—especially among older students (Dryden-Peterson, 2003; UNESCO, 2015)—and impede teacher supply since refugee teachers may be unable to teach in a second language (Dryden-Peterson, 2016, 2011). Countries of asylum may also require documentation that refugees do not possess, such as accreditation of previous learning achievements needed for refugees to continue into secondary school.

In a different way, refugees may be dissuaded from attending school in cases where non-formal education is not accredited. Qualitative peer-reviewed research from urban and camp settings in Kenya, has documented the ways in which instructional practices in refugee contexts are constrained by insufficient financial and material resources, restrictive curriculum and language policies, and a lack of teacher training opportunities (Mendenhall et al., 2015; Dryden-Peterson, 2016). These factors may contribute to the poor quality of education which in turn can decrease demand for education. Finally, recall from section 3.2 that vulnerabilities intersect, meaning that barriers refugees face in accessing secondary education are compounded by other risk factors. For instance, access to education is worse for refugees in low-income countries and as Dryden-Peterson (2003) found for Congolese refugees in Uganda, comparatively worse for refugee girls

²⁹UNHCR's mandate excludes almost 5 million Palestinian refugees in the Middle East who instead fall under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).

³⁰UNHCR's strategy further notes: "Where this is not possible, UNHCR will support refugees to access quality, certified education. This decision will be contextual and depends on refugee's location, language of instruction, estimated duration of exile, reception arrangements, and on refugees' desires." (UNHCR, 2012a).

than for refugee boys (see also UNHCR, 2018b).

Refugee education also imposes distinct challenges on policy-makers. Although most refugee situations are protracted, planning for refugees' extended presence in exile can be politically unpopular or infeasible (Dryden-Peterson, 2016; 2017). Planning challenges are further compounded by short-term humanitarian funding, even though longer-term investments are needed to get refugees back into school (Dryden-Peterson, 2017). The demands of "shared responsibility" for refugee education whereby host states, countries of origin, multi-lateral organizations, civil society and refugees work together to achieve access to quality learning opportunities (UNGA, 2016) also require strong and consistent coordination across local and global actors whose roles, resources and assumed level of responsibility for refugees may differ.

4.6 What policies and scalable interventions can increase refugee access to secondary education in SSA?

Whereas refugee situations were previously associated with emergency response, the contemporary realities of intergenerational exile and protracted displacement require the active engagement of education policy-makers and planners. In this section we discuss four approaches that show promise in expanding access to secondary education for refugees: efforts to promote refugees' social inclusion with host state nationals in and through education, the use of ICTs to complement traditional learning methods, the adoption of flexible in-service teacher training models to expand the supply of qualified secondary school teachers in refugee settings, and the expansion of technical and vocational learning opportunities.

Promoting refugees' meaningful inclusion within host state education systems, including through language classes for students and teachers. In 2012, UNHCR adapted its education strategy. Whereas it previously pursued an approach of educating refugee students in separate schools using country of origin curriculum, in 2012 it began to advocate for including refugees in host state schools where they would learn the host state curriculum, often alongside host state nationals (UNHCR, 2012a).³¹ Social inclusion refers to the importance of promoting interpersonal and inter-group interactions between refugees and nationals in ways that empower refugees and allow them to become self-supporting, which in turn is crucial for the long-term stability of refugees and nationals (Dryden-Peterson, 2003, p.30). In theory, inclusion allows refugees to benefit from existing education infrastructure and resources, trained teachers, and the certification of learning outcomes (Dryden-Peterson, 2003, 2011; UNHCR, 2012a), thus mitigating many of the aforementioned barriers to access. In camp settings, inclusion implies separate schools for refugee students that teach host state curriculum in the language of the host states. In urban settings, refugees and nationals tend to learn together in the same schools and classrooms (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Double school shifts are often used to accommodate refugee students in public schools. Although double shifting can reduce the unit costs associated with education (Bray, 2008) and make education facilities available for refugees, it may not

³¹ Although UNHCR initially described its preferred approach as one of refugee integration into host state education systems (see for example UNHCR Education Strategy released in 2012) it now uses the less politicized term "inclusion".

promote the more substantive process of social inclusion of refugee students in host state communities.

Language classes for students and teachers may also reduce barriers to access in cases where refugees learn in a language that is different from that spoken at home or in their country of origin. However, such initiatives are far from comprehensive or standardized in SSA and we found no studies that examine the impact or implementation of such programs in this geographical context, which suggests that this issue requires more attention. Qualitative peer-reviewed evidence from Turkey (Aydin & Kaya, 2017) indicates that in contexts where refugees are integrated into national schools, the implementation of language classes specific to refugees' needs may be more challenging owing to the scattering of refugee populations across many schools. However, informal language-learning is unlikely to be enough for refugee students. Policy-makers should also consider intensive after-school and summer holiday language classes since these modalities can rapidly increase refugees' comprehension. Another peer-reviewed qualitative study of a non-formal education initiative for Syrian refugees in Lebanon points to the importance of investing in refugee teachers to teach foreign languages (Karam, Kibler, & Yoder, 2017). The authors found that Syrian refugee teachers were motivated to teach English and able to respond to refugee students' needs in innovative ways. However, their motivations and self-esteem were undermined by official state and organizational policies that prioritized native English speakers and mandated that all classes be taught in English. Policy flexibility and systematized opportunities for productive dialogues between refugees and nationals (such as through teacher learning circles) may help validate the competencies and skills of refugee teachers while also supporting their language acquisition and associated pedagogical practices.³²

Another approach is that of Accelerated Education Programs (AEPs)³³. The meaning of accelerated education is debated but in CAC, AEPs are generally intended to help student's catch-up to mainstream education following time spent out of school or to transition between different education systems through the use of condensed curricula. However, there is very little evidence of how successful AEPs are for the completion of secondary school, or in improving students' readiness to work. There are also questions regarding the sustainability of AEPs, which are generally not implemented by governments at scale (Burde et al., 2015).

Considering how ICTs can enrich classroom practices and foster academic support.³⁴ There is growing consensus that ICT can support access to education (Burde et al., 2015; Carlson, 2013; Dahya, 2016; UNESCO, 2011). Platforms include mobile-based technology, television, internet, and radio. The ability to reproduce and widely distribute content makes ICTs a potentially cost-efficient approach to quickly scale access to learning content (World Bank, 2016). ICTs may also help mitigate the barriers posed by distance between school and home and unsafe access routes. However, access to technology alone is not enough. Systematic and meta-reviews on ICT use in CAC highlight the importance of using them to complement, rather than

³² For more information on teacher learning circles and other support mechanisms for teachers in crisis context see (INEE, 2016) and related materials.

³³ These are also known as Accelerated Learning Programs (ALPs) (INEE, n.d.(e)(f)).

³⁴ This section focuses on student supports. The following section describes examples of ICT use to support teacher training.

replace, classroom-based pedagogies (Carlson, 2013; Dahya, 2016; Tauson & Stannard, 2018; World Bank, 2016). Blended learning approaches that combine virtual and face-to-face support are often appropriate (Dahya, 2016). Further, research suggests that ICTs should be pedagogically designed, plus responsive and adaptive to the needs and levels of learners (Tauson & Stannard, 2018; UNESCO, 2018b). Finally, ICTs should align to local curriculum and education objectives including social and emotional skills and competencies (Burde et al., 2015; Carlson, 2013; Tauson & Stannard, 2018).

If ICT-supported education is to be successful for addressing refugee student needs, it is crucial to consider infrastructure limitations including those related to reliable electricity provision and internet saturation. For instance, UNHCR-supported “Ideas Box” for Congolese refugees in Burundi is a multifunctional storable infrastructure that offers online content delivered through laptops, tablets e-readers and other curricular materials (board and video games, arts and crafts). It also provides a generator and Internet connection (Dahya, 2016, p.20). Teachers also need adequate training and support to use ICTs. Reflecting this, an independent mixed methods evaluation of the impact of UNHCR’s Community Technology Access program in Kenya found the ICTs provided to schools were severely underutilized because teachers lacked appropriate training (Anderson, 2013, p.24). An RCT examining the two-year impact of the Computers for Education program in Colombia also identified little effect on students’ test scores and other outcomes (Barrera-Osorio & Linden, 2009). This was attributed to teachers’ failure to incorporate the computers into their curriculum.

Finally, ICTs can be leveraged to help refugee students build and maintain supportive academic relationships. This was evidenced in two peer-reviewed mixed methods studies that examined pathways to educational success among Somali refugee high school graduates in Dadaab camp Kenya (Dahya & Dryden-Peterson, 2017; Dryden-Peterson, Dahya, & Adelman, 2017).³⁵ The studies found that peer supports among individuals pursuing secondary and post-secondary education helped to disrupt gender norms that excluded and isolated female students (Dahya & Dryden-Peterson, 2017). This finding that was echoed in Zelezny-Green’s (2014) peer-reviewed qualitative study of non-refugee school girls in Kenya whose use of mobile phones helped mediate their interrupted school attendance. Networks of this kind may be especially useful for older students interested in transitioning from secondary education to higher education opportunities but who do not have access to individuals in their community with first-hand experience. In addition to carefully considering and overseeing the integration of ICT into the existing education system and infrastructure (UNESCO, 2018a; World Bank, 2018, p.23) we therefore recommend that policy-makers and practitioners consider ways to intentionally cultivate academic supports and networks through ICTs (Dryden-Peterson, Dahya, & Adelman, 2017, p.1043).

Ensuring transparent teacher hiring practices among host state and refugee populations and flexible in-service teacher training opportunities. There are divergent views regarding who should teach refugees. Whereas the shift towards promoting refugees’ inclusion in host state systems favors the recruitment of host state nationals, refugee teachers may be better placed to address the needs of refugee students (Richardson et al., 2018). Hiring teachers from among the

³⁵ These studies draw on the same data sets.

refugee population can also help address the acute problems of teacher shortages in refugee settings that are exacerbated at the level of secondary education due to the need for more qualified teachers. However, hiring refugees as teachers may be impeded by legal constraints on refugees' right to work or political tensions regarding scarce jobs. Richardson et al. (2018, p.35) highlight the importance of “systematic process(es) for attracting, recruiting and retaining quality teachers, refugees and nationals, males and females, to teach refugee children.”

Available evidence suggests that flexible in-service training models that blend different modalities and help teachers' transition to formal training opportunities can rapidly expand the supply of teachers while increasing their qualifications to meet the demands of secondary level education. One example is International Rescue Committee's (IRC) “Healing Classrooms” project, implemented with Eritrean refugees in Northern Ethiopia. Qualitative evidence highlighted the positive response of teachers to mentorship, child-centered classroom practices, and parallel formal opportunities to continue and complete their education (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). Peer-reviewed qualitative evidence from Kakuma refugee camp in Northern Kenya also highlighted the importance of specialized training for refugee teachers on foreign language acquisition and managing multilingual classrooms (Mendenhall et al., 2015, p.121). One example is the “Teachers for Teachers” project implemented in Kakuma camp, which uses multi-modal in-service training implemented onsite (using open source materials) and through offsite and virtual peer coaching (including through WhatsApp groups) that connect teachers to local and global mentors (Mendenhall, 2017).

Expanding Technical and Vocational Education (TVET) opportunities. TVET is designed to provide older children and youth with alternative secondary education pathways that increase their employability and options for future livelihoods. TVET opportunities may be categorized as supply side interventions that seek to boost refugees' employability, or demand side interventions that create jobs or connect refugees to employment opportunities (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016). TVET is popular in refugee contexts for its portability and potential adaptability to refugees' often unstable life circumstances (see Dryden-Peterson's 2006 study of Congolese refugees in Uganda).³⁶ In CAC, the creation of jobs—including through TVET programs—is also believed to support national security objectives by reducing the likelihood that individuals (refugees or otherwise) will mobilize for political violence (King, 2018).

Little robust evidence exists, however, regarding the impact of TVET interventions in refugee and conflict-affected contexts. Our findings are therefore largely based on agency-commissioned program evaluations. Kamau & Fox (2013) used qualitative methods to examine livelihoods opportunities for Somali refugees in Kenya's Dadaab camp. They found that close coaching and follow-up with program participants, plus the inclusion of skills related to business and financial management, were important factors for student retention and program completion. Nonetheless, dropout rates for some longer programs were high owing to the need to earn a living or undertake household chores. This suggests the importance of flexible schedules and

³⁶ Increasing access to post-primary education is usually just one aspect of TVET and livelihoods programming which also seeks to contribute to conflict-mitigation and peace-building objectives (see for example King & Monaghan, 2015; Mbaiti, McCasland & Reed, 2011). However, in keeping with the focus of this paper we limit our discussion to evidence related to access outcomes.

apprenticeships that provide students with a stipend. Also in Dadaab, King and Monaghan (2015) used mixed methods to evaluate four-month vocational training courses provided through the Youth Employment Pack (YEP). The program was successful in expanding access to post-primary education for youth in the camp; however, post program employment rates among participants were mixed, especially for female participants. They highlight the need to ensure TVET opportunities are relevant, appropriate and adaptable if outcomes are to be sustainable. A key challenge in this regard is the unknown future of most refugees; job markets and subsequently the skills and competencies valued in countries of origin, host states, and third states may substantially differ. However, since most refugees spend years, if not decades, in host states, TVET options tend to be geared to those markets. In these cases, the relevance of TVET options may be improved through programs and policies that initiate strong ties to private sector markets (World Bank, 2018) and use on-the job rather than center-based implementation models (see Mbiti, McCasland, & Reed, 2011). Further, TVET opportunities should be based on assessments and mappings of the host country labor markets (or, in the case of likely return, countries of origin labor markets). Complementary skills training, such as the provision of language instruction, may also improve the relevance of TVET for refugees whose present and future livelihoods depends on mastering a second language (Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Kamau & Fox, 2013).

Policy-makers also need to create conditions conducive to the success of TVET programs. This includes supporting the formal recognition of TVET opportunities (which are often implemented in ad hoc ways through the non-formal education sector) so as to ensure that certification and accreditation of learning outcomes is recognized and transferable. Another need is supportive cross-sectoral legal frameworks. A policy study of refugee livelihoods in the Gambia (Conway, 2004) and a peer-reviewed study of refugee livelihoods in the Uganda (Kaiser, 2006) both, for example, stress the importance of lifting constraints on refugees' right to work and freedom of movement if training opportunities are to lead to subsequent employment. Finally, recent peer-reviewed mixed methods research among CAC youth in Kenya highlights the importance of moving beyond TVET programs that focus only on youth productivity and narrow economic definitions of employability in order to address youth needs and deter them from participating in violence. TVET programs that focus on youth' social and emotional wellbeing, include mentoring opportunities, and address structural inequalities (such as the legal barriers previously mentioned) may be especially promising in this regard (King, 2018).

5. CASE STUDIES: REFUGEE EDUCATION IN KENYA AND UGANDA

5.1 Overview

As section 3.2 illustrated, we do not know enough about refugees' access to secondary education in SSA cross-nationally. We know from generalized global figures, though, that refugees are consistently left behind in terms of access. Through study of Education Sector plans, we found that refugees are rarely mentioned, though they comprise one of the most marginalized groups. Section 4.5 offered some explanations of the factors and processes that impede refugees' access to secondary education in SSA, and 4.6 considered policies and programming that hold promise for increasing secondary education access for refugees. This section builds upon the first point of section 4.6— "Promoting refugees' social inclusion within host state education systems"—and

explores it in greater detail through the contrasting cases of Kenya and Uganda. Whereas Kenya favors the encampment and separation of refugees from nationals, including through education (although camp-based schools do use the Kenyan education curriculum), Uganda has pursued a policy of refugee inclusion rather than refugee encampment and allows refugees to access its public primary and secondary schools. The following two sections offer background and context on the Kenya and Uganda cases. We then discuss the implications of these different approaches vis-a-vis refugees' access to secondary education.

5.2 Case study: Kenya

Policy environment

Kenya is a state party to a number of international commitments that uphold the rights of refugees. These include the 1951 Refugee Convention (signed in 1966) and Optional Protocol (signed in 1981), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the African Union Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (signed in 1969 and ratified in 1992) and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment which includes provisions against nonrefoulement (signed in 1997). Corresponding national legal frameworks were, however, only enacted in 2006 through the Refugees Act and 2009 through the Refugees Regulations. Today, refugee populations are jointly managed by the Kenyan Government Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA) and UNHCR (Mendenhall, Russell & Buckner, 2017).

The Kenyan government's policies towards refugees have changed significantly over time. Prior to 1991, Kenya hosted around 10,000 refugees, most of who were from Uganda. These refugees generally benefited from freedom of movement, access to employment, and social services (Kagwanja, 2002, p.98). However, the arrival of over 400,000 refugees from Somalia between 1991 and 1992 caused tensions between refugees and nationals that, along with subsequent insecurity in the country, have provoked notable policy shifts towards refugees.

Refugees were forcibly transferred to the newly created camps of Dadaab and Kakuma in the mid-1990s in an effort to confine, control, and manage the growing refugee population (Wright, 2010, p.14). Government policies in the country continue to favor refugee encampment; Dadaab refugee camp, which hosts approximately 208,616 refugees, is one of the five largest refugee camps in the world (ReliefWeb, 2017). The other major refugee camp in Kenya is Kakuma camp, with a population of 186,088 refugees. Kakuma hosts a sizeable South Sudanese population. Picking up an important thread from the end of section 4.5, refugees in Kenya are also prohibited from working outside camps (Milner, 2009). These restrictions, along with the location of the camps in rural and infertile areas, isolate refugees and leave them heavily dependent on aid (Wright, 2010, p.10). The overarching policy environment towards refugees in Kenya is characterized by volatility, especially in response to security incidents in the country which tend to increase stigmatization of the refugee population and increase restrictions placed on them (Mendenhall et al., 2015).

While national policies state that refugees must be documented, registered, and live within the

boundaries of designated camps administered by UNHCR (UNHCR, 2018a), a minority of refugees lives legally in urban settings, primarily Nairobi. These refugees are given permission to live outside of the camps in special circumstances, such as unique protection needs. At recent count, this group numbered 69,996 refugees. According to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST), these refugees are legally allowed to attend Kenyan schools under specified guidelines (MoEST, 2015). UNHCR, in turn, supports the urban refugees in Kenya to attend public schools via facilitation of logistics, transportation, and payment of school, uniform, and/or material fees. In 2016, 5,500 refugee children were enrolled in urban schools (UNHCR, 2016a), although others may be attending schools without legal documentation. A small number of refugee children who excel at primary school are offered scholarships by Windle Trust and granted special permission to attend host boarding secondary schools outside of the camps (Windle Trust, 2016, 2017). In recent years, some urban refugees and asylum seekers have been relocated, sometimes forcefully, to Dadaab or Kakuma (Zetter & Ruadel, 2016).

In addition, two new refugee settlements in Kenya differ from these larger trends. In 2016, to address overcrowding, two settlements were established, Kalobeyi (near Kakuma) and Kambioos (near Dadaab). Kalobeyi, on which more information is currently available, is referred to as an integrated community where “refugees and local residents” can do “business together, live in harmony and access services,” including education, (also health, water and sanitation, and housing) offered by UNHCR through local partners. The Turkana county government allocated 1,500 hectares to this refugee settlement. It is currently hosting 36,000 refugees and hopes to increase this figure to 60,000 in the future as part of its 14-year plan (2016-2030) (UNHCR, 2016c). The Turkana county government committed to improving education for both the host community (a marginalized community within Kenya) and refugees by increasing investment in “quality education, motivating teachers, and pedagogical skills to address the specific needs of the Turkana” host community. Currently, one secondary school has been established and a second one is underway. On-the-job training is recommended to overcome the lack of skills in ways that match labor market needs (Vemuru et al., 2016a; Republic of Kenya, 2018).

Notably, Kenya’s *National Education Sector Plan* (2014) mentions education of refugees eight times— one of the highest numbers of mentions behind only South Sudan. These provisions include continuing special education programs and providing literacy programs so that refugees can sit for the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) and Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) National Examinations or Trade Tests (166, p.55). There is no specific mention of access to secondary education. The plan also notes the exclusion of refugees from the mainstream educational system affects the educational system and the country at large, given that refugee youth are not given a chance to “acquire the requisite knowledge, [and] skills... to enable them to participate effectively in national development” (370, pg. 105). This indicates at least a willingness of the Kenyan government to address the issue of refugee education in the country and to acknowledge that the current solution is not optimal. Bellino and Dryden-Peterson’s study on learners’ in Kakuma Refugee camp found the perceived academic advantages of integrating “up.” The process of refugees accessing higher quality government (host) schools away from the camp were “more individualized and consistent instruction as well as greater access to resources” (2018, p.12). Eventually, the educational inclusion may be a

driver to social integration, which in the long-term would increase opportunities of work for refugees.

Status of secondary education for refugees

Education is a crucial issue for refugees in Kenya: as of 2015, an estimated 57 percent of registered refugees were under the age of 18 (Zubairi & Rose, 2016, p.15-16). It is UNHCR practice in camps to contract various partners to operate schools. Since 2015, Windle Trust administers all secondary school education in both camps in Kenya. Prior to this, there were also schools run by the refugee communities themselves, which UNHCR and other education providers took over. All secondary schools must follow the Kenyan curriculum taught in English and Kiswahili, and MoEST works with UNHCR and the NGOs it selects to implement education in the camps to monitor the curriculum and conduct school inspections (Lutheran World Federation, 2015). Although free primary education is theoretically extended to refugee children, in practice, enrollment has been limited by a lack of space and resources (Zubairi & Rose, 2016, p.16). No provisions exist for free secondary education for refugees, although secondary school is not free for all Kenyans throughout the country either. For the minority who live in urban settings, refugees attend public schools or refugee community-run schools.

Available data suggests secondary school access for refugees in Kenya is low, consistent with global refugee trends. Table 5 provides an overview of the enrollment rates for boys and girls of secondary age (ages 12-17) registered in Kakuma and Dadaab from 2012-2018, with 2012 being the earliest year of data for secondary school enrollment acquired from Windle Trust Kenya Education Management Information Service (EMIS). Windle Trust shared data they collected across all seven secondary schools in Dadaab camp and one in Kambioos resettlement camp that has refugee and host community students. Windle Trust also provided data from all five secondary schools in Kakuma, as well as an additional school near Kakuma in Kalobeyei settlement.³⁷ We drew on this data from Windle Trust since it was more frequent, detailed, and disaggregated, as compared to publicly-available UNHCR data, which is also based on information provided by Windle Trust.

Table 6 shows that, while there has been an overall increase in secondary school enrollment across both camps over the past six years, enrollment rates remain comparatively low. Using school enrollment figures from Windle Trust and refugee population figures from UNHCR, disaggregated by age, we calculate an enrollment rate of 36 percent in Kakuma in 2018 and just 8 percent in Dadaab in 2015. These figures compare to a NER for Kenyan secondary schools of 45 percent (UIS-UNESCO, 2018). There is also a noticeable gap in enrollment between girls and boys, though girls' enrollment in both camps improved between 2012 and 2018. In both camps, the girls' enrollment rate in the most recent year available is less than half that of boys. When we

³⁷The Dadaab Secondary Schools are: Dagahaley, Tawakal, Hagadera, Waberi, Ifo, Towfiq, Nasib, and Kambioos. According to a UNHCR official, two of these secondary schools were closed down in 2018, Nasib (in Ifo II) and Kambioos Secondary. The closures coincided with renewed efforts to repatriate Somali refugees and those who did not return were relocated to Ifo1 and Dagahaley schools (personal communication with Ndirangu). Some refugees alternatively found their way to Kalobeyei, which interfered with original efforts to use this settlement to decongest Kakuma (personal communication with Ndirangu from Mary Mendenhall). The Kakuma Secondary Schools are: Kakuma Refugee; Vision; Somali Bantu; Green Light; Morneau Shepell and Kalobeyei secondary school in Kalobeyei Settlement.

cross-check our primary data and calculations to data available from UNHCR (also shown in the table), the figures are comparable.

What happens after secondary school also merits consideration. According to UNHCR, only approximately 1,500 students graduate each year from across the 14 secondary schools in Dadaab and Kakuma supported by UNHCR and administered by Windle Trust (UNHCR, n.d.(a)). In her study of youth aspirations in Kakuma, Bellino found refugee students who enroll in upper secondary build expectations of becoming “educated persons.” Yet, upon receiving scores on the standardized national examination, a large majority—90 percent (Windle Trust Kenya, 2016, 2017)—are ineligible for the competitive university scholarships. The inspirational messages these youth receive are at odds with the contextual information and skills they need to meet their aspirations (Bellino,2018).

Table 6: Overall Secondary Enrollment in Dadaab and Kakuma Refugee Camps by Gender 2010-2018.

Refugee Camp	Year	Total			Boys			Girls		
		Population ¹	Enrolled ²	Rate ³	Population	Enrolled	Rate	Population	Enrolled	Rate
Dadaab, Windle Trust	2012	60503	3188	5%*	32843	2429	7%*	27660	759	3%*
	2015	59024	4778	8%*	31544	3572	11%*	27480	1206	4%*
	2018	-	9280	-	-	6466	-	-	2804	-
UNHCR, Dadaab GER ⁴	2011	-	2737	10%	-	2,145	14%	-	592	5%
	2018	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kakuma, Windle Trust	2012	16021	1375	9%*	9419	1141	12%*	19936	234	1%*
	2015	33565	3845	11%*	19939	3057	15%*	13266	788	6%*
	2018	29779	10657	36%*	17584	8041	46%*	12195	2616	20%*
UNHCR, Kakuma GER ⁵	2015	33565	4228	13%	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2017	-	-	39%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kenya Overall ⁶				45%						

Note: ¹Population statistics from Dadaab and Kakuma accessed from UNHCR (2012a/b; 2015ab/b; 2018a) for the 12-17 age range; ²Enrollment Numbers provided by Windle Trust, Kenya. ³See technical appendix 5.2 Enrollment rates provided are for “secondary school” rather than for lower and upper secondary school separately, given available data for camps.⁴Source: UNHCR (2011) ⁵Source: ReliefWeb (2017) ⁶Source: UIS-UNESCO, 2018; 2017 is the last available year from the UIS-UNESCO, 2018 data. *Indicates an estimated value based on our calculations.

Many of the barriers discussed in section 4.5 above help explain this low rate of access to secondary education among refugees in Kenya. In a report from 2016, Windle Trust acknowledges limitations with regards to increasing secondary school capacity. They note there is limited space in the camp, a constraint not identified in the broader review of the literature; therefore, it is difficult to expand or establish new schools. As a result, they have implemented the “Two Schools in One,” or double-shift concept discussed as a common intervention in section 4.6, wherein two different cohorts of students attend in the morning and afternoon providing each group of students with 5 hours of academic work per day (Murwanjama & Mureu, 2017). Though perhaps not an ideal solution, the increase in enrollment rate in Kakuma,

which more than tripled from 11 percent in 2015 to 36 percent in 2018, and the increased number of students enrolled in Dadaab, points to positive results on enrollments as a result of double-shifts. The shortage of schools in the camp is exacerbated by a shortage of trained teachers, which has a bearing on the quality of education offered in the camps. Save the Children found that whereas 2,500 trained teachers were needed for Dadaab camp, there were only 1,248 teachers, 700 of whom were trained (Save the Children, 2015). Average teacher pupil ratios for secondary schools are 1:60.

The challenges of access to secondary education also stem from barriers to primary education that result in low primary enrollment rates. For example, in Kakuma camp, one study reports that primary school enrollment rates for 2015 stood at 49 percent, compared to a national average in Kenya of 86 percent (Zubairi & Rose, 2016, p.15-16). The completion rate, or number of students who actually finish primary school, is also low. The number decreases still when one considers of those who complete primary, who continues on to secondary. Zubairi and Rose report that of the 49 percent who begin primary, 10 percent of those continue on to secondary (ibid). According to Windle Trust Kenya EMIS (2016, 2017), the transition rate from primary to secondary school is 50 percent, much lower than the transition rate for CAC in SSA of 84 percent (UIS-UNESCO 2018). Finally, many of the general barriers to secondary education discussed in 4.1, such as poverty and discriminatory gender norms, are relevant in refugee hosting contexts (UNHCR, 2016b).

Outside of the formal education system, there was also a small Accelerated Education Program (AEP) implemented in Dadaab Refugee camp in three sites: Dagahaley, Hagadera and Ifo 1 by Refugee Education Trust (RET) international from 2013 until 2019. This effort is somewhat unique in that most AEPs target primary education. In Dadaab, RET collaborated with MoEST and the Kenya Institute for Curriculum Development (KICD) to design a program that would condense the four-year secondary school curriculum to two and a half years (nine academic months reduced to six academic months) targeted at 16 to 35-year-olds who completed primary, but were not enrolled in secondary, schooling. In some locations in Dadaab, MoEST allowed RET to register as a private exam site and to enroll students who had at least four years between KCPE and the KCSE. This AEP was based on a theory of change—that youth who completed and earned secondary school certification would be able to access better jobs or university education, finally leading to the aspired “durable solutions” for refugees, voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlement (Boisvert, 2017). Consistent with our discussion of AEPs in section 4.6, the program reached a very small number of students. Between 2013 and 2017, the program enrolled 647 students, 22 percent of whom were female. The 2019 cohort had just seven students and the program ended due to lack of funding (personal communication with Ndirangu, February 2019)³⁸. The completion rate (2016) was 67 percent (71 percent for males and 52.7 percent for females); however, only 38 percent in this first cohort passed the KCSE. The low pass rate was attributed to such factors as students’ low primary school achievement records, student’s low attendance rates, and high teacher turnover (Boisvert, 2017).

³⁸ These seven students are reported to have been admitted to mainstream secondary schools.

5.3 Case study: Uganda

Policy environment

Uganda hosts the largest number of refugees in SSA. There are currently 1.4 million registered refugees and asylum seekers in the country, most of whom are from South Sudan (66 percent), the DRC (27 percent), Burundi (3 percent), Somalia (2 percent) and Rwanda (1 percent) (UNHCR, 2019a). Refugees in the country include both protracted refugee populations and new arrivals. Although Uganda has been hosting refugees and asylum seekers since the Second World War, the country is now hosting more refugees than ever before, in large part due to the ongoing conflicts in South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (UNHCR, 2019b). While we focus here on refugees, it is notable that Uganda also has much experience with internal displacement owing to the decades-long conflict in northern Uganda.

Like Kenya, Uganda is a State Party to the 1951 Refugee Convention, its 1967 Optional Protocol (both of which it signed in 1971), the African Union Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Prior to 2006, domestic legislation took the form of the Control of Alien Refugees Act (CARA) (enacted in 1960). However, this legislation fell “far short of human rights standards” (UNHCR, 2012a) and institutional processes and structures to protect refugees were lacking. Under CARA, refugees were isolated in camps and their movement controlled through permit schemes (Refugee Law Project, 2006, p.2).

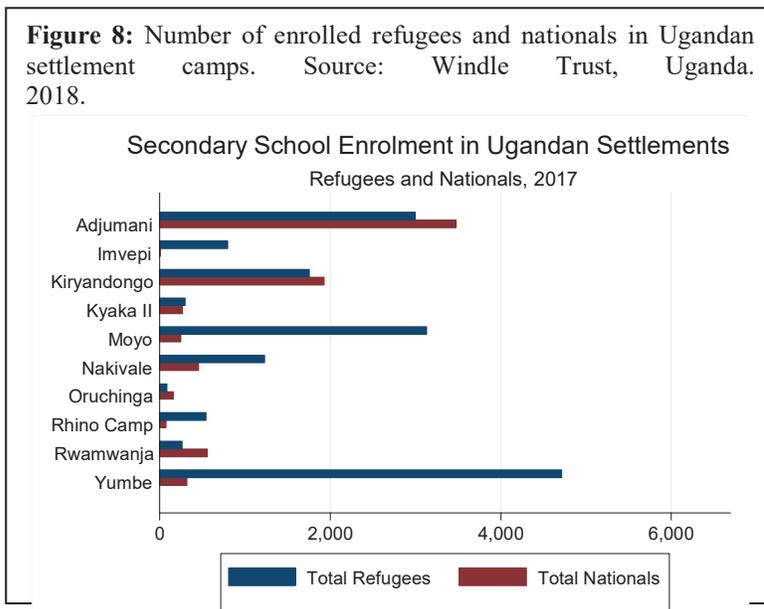
Similar to the Kenyan government, the Ugandan government’s approach to refugees has changed with time, although the changes moved in opposite directions. Beginning in the 1990s, the Government of Uganda shifted away from implementing CARA and worked towards replacing it with a new law that complied with the country’s international obligations. This culminated in the Refugees Act of 2006 and the subsequent Refugee Regulations, passed in 2010. These frameworks support the inclusion of refugees in host communities and crucially allow refugees to access public services on par with Ugandan nationals.

Today, large concentrations of refugees live in the northwest of the country and the capital city Kampala. The Uganda Refugees Act also allows refugees to freely move within the country, live in or outside of the 12 government-organized refugee settlements in the country, own land, and receive identification documentation. The purpose of these inclusion policies is to promote self-reliance among refugees. Reflecting this, refugees arriving in the country typically go through a three-staged process of entry, settlement, and integration. The entry phase involves screening, registration, and the provision of non-food items. During the settlement phase, refugees are allocated land for residential and agricultural use. The final integration phase allows refugees to access public services (UNDP, 2017). This approach is intended to promote “(1) equality, dialogue and mutual support, (2) sustainable livelihoods support and (3) inclusion of refugees in local government management systems” (Zubairi & Rose, 2016, p.18). The Ugandan government does not, however, grant refugees a pathway to citizenship (Vemuru et al., 2016b, p.viii).

The most recent Ugandan *Education and Sports Sector Strategic Plan 2017/18-2019* (2017) references refugee education four times. Unlike the Kenyan *Education Sector Plan*, the Uganda plan specifically references the need to increase secondary education for refugees (xi). It further notes the need to increase the provision of *quality* education to refugees and their host communities [emphasis added] (xii). These specific provisions indicate at least a willingness of the government to provide secondary school education to refugees, in line with the country’s regulations and international commitments.

Status of secondary education for refugees

Building on the success of its Universal Primary Education policy, in 2007 Uganda became the first country in SSA to introduce Universal Secondary Education. For students who meet academic requirements in primary school leaving exams, Universal Secondary Education is guaranteed through the provision of annual government grants to public secondary schools and participating private schools (MoES, 2007). The Refugees Act therefore means that refugees, 60 percent of whom are estimated to be under the age of 18 (Zubairi & Rose, 2016, p.17), can, in theory, access primary *and* secondary education in the country. The United Nations and the World Bank have lauded Uganda’s refugee policies as progressive and generous (UNDP, 2017; World Bank, 2016). The country’s national policy frameworks certainly compare well both within SSA and beyond in terms of education provision.



Given the inclusion policies in Uganda, it is more difficult to locate data for secondary school access for refugees specifically, in comparison to what one finds for Kenya where refugees are separated from the Kenyan population. Across Uganda, there are 34 refugee-hosting sub-counties in 12 districts.³⁹ In total, refugees accounted for 47 percent of the 31,013-17-year-olds in these communities (ibid). Windle Trust, Uganda, provided us with secondary education data for the 2016 and 2018 year for 10 of the 12 refugee settlements in which they work. Figure 8 shows enrollment data disaggregated into refugee and Ugandan national enrollment. Figure 9 shows data disaggregated by gender. Of course, this data is partial and does not cover all settlements or include refugees who have ended up in areas outside these settlements. It does however, illustrate important integration of refugees and Ugandan nationals.

³⁹ Districts: Yumbe, Moyo, Arua, Adjumani, Koboko, Lamwo, Kiryandongo, Kyangwali, Kamwenge, Kyegegwa, Isingiro and Kampala.

Table 7 shows the net and gross enrollment rates for refugees in each of the 12 settlement camps that Windle Trust administers. The overall enrollment for refugees in these settlements is approximately 12 percent. This figure compares to a secondary NER across Uganda of 27 percent (Ministry of Education and Sports, Uganda, 2017). As in Kenya, and as can be seen in Figure 9, there are dramatic differences in enrollment for girls and boys, with girls accounting for just 33 percent of students enrolled in secondary schools (Windle Trust, Uganda, 2017; 2018).⁴⁰ We cross-checked the primary data from Windle Trust with that which was available from UNHCR. The figures are indeed similar, with GER for 2018 reported at around 12 percent. Further, we can see that, as with Kenya, girls have lower enrollment rates than boys. However, whereas Kenya refugee enrollment increased dramatically with the introduction of double shifting in 2018, the same cannot be said for Ugandan refugees, which currently still see rates well below the national average.

Table 7: Secondary Enrollment for Refugees in Ugandan Settlements by Gender, 2018 (Source: Windle Trust, Uganda, 2018).

		Population (14-17 years)	Gross Enrollment	GER	Net Enrollment	NER
Uganda Settlement	Total	157,156	17,257	11%	12,079	8%
	Boys	81,048	11,937	15%	8,185	10%
	Girls	76,108	5,320	7%	3,893	5%
UNHCR, Uganda Refugee*			12,956	12%		
Uganda Overall**				28%		

* Source: UNHCR. (2018). UNHCR Uganda Monthly Update Protection – Education. Available at:

<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/66181.pdf>

** Source: Ministry of Education and Sports, Uganda. 2018. Education Response Plan for Refugees and Host Communities in Uganda. Available at: http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/planipolis/files/ressources/uganda_education-response-plan-for-refugees-and-host-communities-in-uganda.pdf

Progressive policies notwithstanding, refugees remain among the most vulnerable groups in Ugandan society. Refugee settlements are often remote, have poor infrastructure, and are characterized by weak social services and limited market opportunities (World Bank, 2016, p.2). For example, a recent Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) report noted that many of the communities that host refugees still do not have secondary schools, although this is a priority for the coming years (Ministry of Education and Sports, Uganda, 2018, p.15).

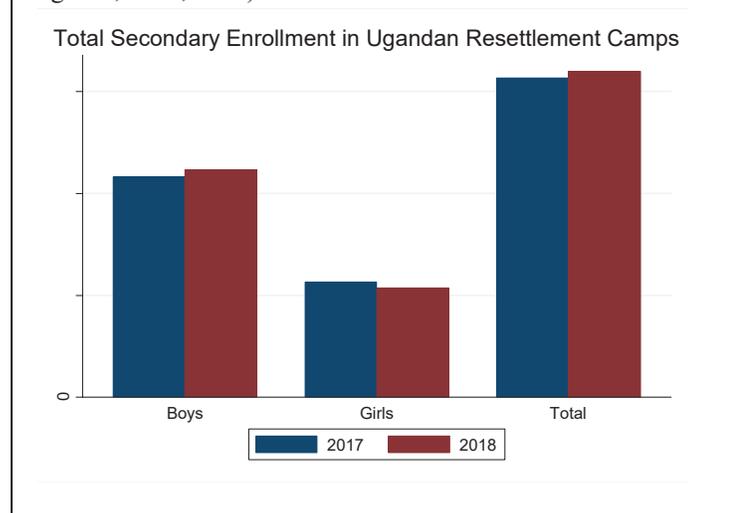
⁴⁰ See technical appendix 5.3.1 for additional information regarding the calculation of approximate enrollment numbers for boys and girls.

The report acknowledges a host of reasons for the gap between policy and implementation that include many of the issues common to developing contexts, as well as some Uganda and refugee specific issues, such as secondary schools adding requirements for entry such as completing the Ugandan primary leavers' exam and charging fees to complete this exam as would be the case for other foreign learners, but should not be the case for refugees. Kupfer's (2016) study of education in Kyangwali refugee settlement, one of the country's 12 organized refugee settlements, for example, identified one community secondary school in

which only 16 percent of secondary aged children in the settlement were enrolled. Further, this school offered O-levels and not the A-levels required for university entrance. This effectively means that students who wanted to pursue tertiary education had to access schools in neighboring Hoima region, which is more than ten kilometers away. Financial barriers to secondary education were also significant in Kupfer's study: only 17 out of 200 refugees in the settlement qualified for full Universal Secondary Education scholarships, meaning that secondary education remained out of reach for many. Unsurprisingly, refugee enrollment in the secondary school fluctuated.

We also see great disparities in secondary school enrollment between refugees and Ugandans overall. Additional barriers to secondary education include language of instruction; instruction is in English, while the majority of Congolese refugees from this settlement camp speak French and over a dozen speak different dialects from Sudan and South Sudan. Speaking, like in Kenya, to the connection between primary and secondary schools, the majority of the refugees do not attain the primary school academic pass mark required for entry into secondary schools (Kupfer, 2016). Further, the Ministry notes that one of the main barriers for access to secondary schools for refugees is lack of documentation of the completion of primary school (Ministry of Education and Sports, Uganda, 2018). It adds one of the principle reasons for the lack of documentation is that in several regions, despite national policies, refugees are treated like other foreigners and charged fees to take the primary exit exams, and in other cases the equivalency of certificates is unclear (Kupfer 2016). Finally, while most teachers are trained, pedagogical practices are considered "traditional" (Kupfer, 2016), leaving more scope for harnessing the protective capacity of schools by promoting child and youth-centered instructional practices, discussed in 4.2 above.

Figure 9: Total Secondary Enrollment of Refugees in Ugandan Resettlement Camps, 2017 and 2018 (Source Windle Trust, Uganda, 2017, 2018).



5.4 Comparative insights

Neither the Kenyan or Ugandan approach offers a clear solution to the lack for access to secondary education for refugees in CAC. However, the contrasting policy environments presented by these two cases do offer useful insights that can inform policy responses for refugees in other countries in the region.

Both Kenya and Uganda have made international commitments to recognize and protect refugees. The education sector plans in both countries reference refugees, and at greater rates than those of other refugee hosting countries, which indicates some willingness to engage with and increase refugee education access. The case of Uganda, however, suggests that explicitly reflecting global commitments and norms through dedicated national education policies and plans may enhance systematic and long-term response to protracted refugee situations, since only in Uganda are global commitments adequately reflected in domestic legislation and policies. Moreover, in Uganda, humanitarian responses follow the “70:30 guiding principle” whereby 30 percent of all humanitarian support goes to the development of the host communities (Save the Children, 2017). UNESCO’s Global Education Monitoring (GEM) report indicates that Kenya has not fully achieved its commitment to including the refugees in its national system other than “sharing the host curriculum, assessment and language of instruction but with some degree of segregation” in camps (2019, p.85). Uganda, on the other hand, has come up with a unique Education Response Plan that addresses education needs in 34 refugee hosting sub-counties in 12 districts; it intends to reach 675,000 refugees and host students per year (Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports, 2018). Although some programming in Kenya aims to also support host communities (see for example King & Monaghan (2015), the approach is less systematic.

Context is another important comparative issue. Policies towards refugees in Kenya appear heavily influenced by the prevailing security and political context. Security concerns tend to stigmatize and marginalize refugees in political discourses and policy-making (see, i.e. Rawlence 2016), resulting in restrictive policy environments. This applies both to the provision of education which is perceived as encouraging refugees to stay in Kenya (UNHCR, 2017, p.13), and the wider policy environment (that includes encampment and the right to work) upon which the long-term success of education policies is largely dependent. Such policies are shortsighted, however, since as Ali & Ocha (2018) found in Kakuma, a lack of educational facilities for host communities equivalent to free facilities offered to refugees such as free education, health, water and sanitation may actually contribute to tensions between refugees and host communities. By contrast, the case of Uganda suggests that supportive and integrative policies may lessen tensions with host communities. In one study, for example, Dryden-Peterson & Hovil (2004) found the presence and participation of refugees and nationals in the same classrooms supported tolerance and social integration (p.34). Nonetheless, some warn against idealizing the “Ugandan model” and argue for a deeper understanding of the historical, social and political context that contribute to Uganda’s current approach and the possibilities for its endurance and success (Hovil 2018).

Indeed, the cases also suggest that a policy of refugee inclusion on its own is insufficient to overcome the many barriers refugees face. Uganda’s policy is so widely lauded that we might have expected secondary school attendance among refugees to be close to the national average. Yet, the rate (from the incomplete data) still lags far behind nationals, as it does in Kenya.

In both cases, more attention is needed to investigate pressing issues of quality that are beyond the scope of this paper. The low pass rate on the KCSE, discussed above, is but one narrow interpretation of quality. Further investigation into a much wider set of quality issues from teachers, to classroom dynamics, to socio-emotional learning support is needed.

Both case studies also reveal the need for reliable and comprehensive data collection. Although the lack of data may reflect the difficult legal status and the realities of displacement which make it hard to track displaced persons, national level data collection efforts could do more to include data that describes refugee enrollment, retention, and transition in and to secondary education. In addition, quantitative studies that examine the impact of specific interventions and policies for refugees and qualitative data that explores reasons for drop out at the secondary level could greatly strengthen policy-making and implementation.

Finally, the two cases additionally illustrate the importance of not looking at secondary education in isolation, but alongside related policy spheres, such as the right to work. While both Kenya and Uganda are party to the UN Refugee Convention, which guarantees the right to work of refugees, both countries present important challenges for refugees' ability to legally work (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016). These facts constrain the utility of an education, at least as it pertains to legal social mobility. In Kenya, the required "Class M" work permits are infrequently issued. In Uganda, the 2006 Refugee Act affirms similar treatment for formally recognized refugees to non-Ugandans in other circumstances, although there is some legal ambiguity that results in confusion amongst refugees, government, and potential employers, as well as important stigmas against hiring refugees. In Uganda, a 2010 Act confirms that refugees must obtain work permits, costing a prohibitive \$1,000 per year (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016). Most refugees enter the informal economy, an important consideration in thinking about the quality and content of secondary education.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on our data analysis we make the following overarching recommendations:

Expand access to both lower *and* upper secondary education. Our data analysis highlights a gap between lower secondary enrollment and upper secondary enrollment (the latter dropping as low as 10 percent NER for CAC). This suggests the importance of focusing not only on efforts to expand access to lower secondary education, but also upper levels of secondary education which are crucial for post-schooling employability. For example, in Burundi, education only makes a difference in youth lives if they reach at least tenth grade (the first year of upper secondary); otherwise, there is little overall impact in a student's life (Uvin, 2009, p.88). Thus, government, multi-laterals and NGOs alike should develop programs that work to increase net and gross enrollment at the upper secondary level in concurrence with policies to increase lower secondary education enrollments. Policies and interventions should consider not only enrollment in secondary education, but the need to improve retention since secondary education completion rates for CAC are significantly lower than non-CAC.

Recall that access to education in conflict-affected contexts may be not only important for employment and development, but also for peace. Lack of education can be conducive to conflict, as can inequitable access between groups (King, 2014; Østby, 2008).

Education sector plans have an important role to play in prioritizing equitable access and addressing the vulnerabilities faced by the most marginalized groups. However, education sector plans in CAC tend to lack this level of detail and nuance. A promising initiative in this regard is work by the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) to promote minimum standards and key features that all education sector plans, including those in CAC should adhere to (GPE, 2015). In SSA countries where INEE Minimum Standards have been contextualized, more could be done to ensure implementation and monitoring of progress.

Consider the relationship between education policies and other sectors. Education plans and policies are part of a wider socio-political system that shapes youth experiences and opportunities. For example, our review of literature on refugee education also points to the need to consider broader legal frameworks that define the status of refugees in a given country. Of particular note, the right to work and freedom of movement have an important impact on refugees' ability to access education and, ultimately, use this education in the labor market.

In terms of specific policies, our study highlights the need to reduce the economic burden of secondary education, increase its cost-effectiveness, and enhance the protective environment in secondary schools in order to increase access to secondary education in CAC. This includes:

- **Increase national expenditure on secondary education and consider ways to restructure educational services that decrease the unit costs of providing secondary education.** Interventions should not, however, pass on the financial burden of secondary education to households. Given that national level restructuring can take time, policy-makers may also want to consider temporary measures to improve equitable access to secondary education through proven interventions, including vouchers and cash transfers, to support the most economically vulnerable families.
- **Retain strong public oversight and direction of secondary education.** In CAC, government capacity is often compromised. In such situations, it may be tempting to outsource the provision of education to alternative providers, especially through public private partnerships (PPPs). This option needs to be carefully considered, both because it can further undermine the legitimacy of the government and because available evidence points to mixed results in terms of its cost-efficiency, sustainability, and accountability to public goals. Highly regulated PPPs may offset some of these weaknesses; however, policy-makers should also account for the fact that effective regulation itself imposes considerable burdens on government institutions and personnel.
- **Prioritize student well-being.** This may include measures to reduce students' exposure to risk while on route to and from school. It may also include specific staffing or infrastructure interventions designed to make schools safer. These efforts should be complemented with a focus on students' psychosocial wellbeing. Child and youth-

centered pedagogical and classroom practices that engage students, foster peer support, and allow for creative means of self-expression can enhance the relevance of education and bolster student persistence and retention.

- **Prioritize initiatives that focus on equitable access to education across different social groups.** Country averages hide structural inequalities, wherein certain groups — girls, rural dwellers, those of lower socio-economic status, marginalized ethnic groups, and refugees—may have lower access to education than others. It will not be possible to achieve “Education for All” without concerted effort to target these groups. Moreover, inequalities such as these are known to contribute to conflict (King, 2014). Efforts to expand access while also reducing inequalities are therefore essential in CAC.
- **Improve access to TVET programs which focus on meaningful school-to-work transitions.** Access without concurrently addressing issues of quality in education as well as post-school work opportunities may have adverse effects on youth, peace and development. Increasing educational opportunities, such as through TVET programs, can allow youth to find meaningful and dignified work post-schooling. This is especially important for refugees as they return to their countries of origin, wherein having meaningful employment will allow them to contribute to development, peace, and reconciliation. This includes providing education to match skills with market opportunities in the location of employment (Monaghan & King, 2015).

To address gender-based inequalities:

- **Implement existing legal frameworks that uphold the right to education for girls.** Gender sensitive plans and policies should be clearly articulated, accorded appropriate resources, and their implementation monitored and adjusted to meet nationally articulated targets and objectives and global commitments.
- **Mitigate the impacts of poverty and long distances to schools.** However, interventions that focus only on physical access are unlikely to reduce the root causes of gender inequalities in access. Instead, interventions that target harmful gender norms perpetuated by males and females are needed.
- **Ensure gender sensitive curriculum and textbook content that targets harmful gender norms among both females and males.** These content-based interventions must be accompanied by ongoing training and support for teachers/ facilitators. Evidence also suggests that content-based interventions are more effective when they explicitly confront difficult or sensitive topics (for example interventions that recognized and addressed the topic of sexual relations among youth).

To improve access to secondary education among refugees and other displaced persons:

- **Promote the social inclusion of refugee students in host country education systems.** Since 2012, UNHCR has advocated for the inclusion of refugees into national systems

and services. For inclusion to be meaningful, however, it should encompass not only the physical inclusion of refugees in host state education systems, but efforts that promote the broader inclusion of refugees in host state societies (social inclusion). A notable gap is the need for language classes for refugee students and teachers so they may better access and participate in host state education systems. Education that directly seeks to impart the skills and competencies needed to work in host state job markets is another area for expansion (TVET). These efforts should be accompanied by broader efforts to support the legal recognition of refugees' credentials and right to work.

- **Consider how ICTs can complement and strengthen secondary education provision.** ICTs are an attractive approach to expanding access owing to the ability to reproduce learning content on a large scale. For ICTs to be effective, they require pedagogically sound designs and careful implementation. Specifically, ICTs should be able to adapt to the needs of students, be compatible with local resources, and align to local curriculum and educational priorities. The introduction of ICTs must also be accompanied by teacher training on ICT use. The value of ICTs is not limited to expanding access to education; ICTs can be used to foster peer relationships and academic networks that support students' retention and educational progression.
- **Expand the supply of trained teachers by hiring teaching staff from national and refugee communities and providing flexible in-service teacher preparation and training.** A lack of trained teachers can considerably limit refugees' access to secondary education. Emerging research suggests that well designed in-service training models that make use of multiple modalities and systems of support, including ICTs, can support the expansion of access to education while simultaneously addressing quality concerns. Such teacher training programs should impart not only standardized content knowledge and pedagogical skills, but also the skills and competencies especially relevant in CAC (for example, psychosocial support).
- **Advocate for the improved legal status of refugees.** Education systems are part of the broader social, cultural, political and economic fabric of society. Accordingly, education policies and practices should be connected to wider social objectives, such as the right to work and freedom of movement. Ensuring that refugees have a recognized legal status is an essential first step. The Uganda Refugees Act offers a model for this. In Kenya, the Integrated Population Registration System (IPRS) will allow refugees and asylum seekers to access the Kenya Revenue Authority Personal Identification Number (PIN), after which they can benefit from government services (UNHCR, 2016d).

We recommend that donors, governments, practitioners, and scholars work together to meaningfully support and develop research focused on secondary education in CAC in SSA.

There is a pressing need for more rigorous research at the level of secondary education. We identified a good number of studies focused on interventions and policies at the primary level. Far fewer studies, however, are conducted in secondary schools. Although many of the findings

we cite may be reasonably presumed to apply at both the primary and secondary level, developmental and psychosocial needs of older children and youth are different.

Research that explores access at the intersections of emergencies would also be very useful. Examining such intersections (for example, how epidemics and natural disasters that occur in CAC or refugee host settings affect access to secondary education) could offer important insights for policy-makers responding to complex emergencies.

Our focus on access to education in CAC is crucial. **Thorough research on issues of education quality in CAC and its intersection with access is of complementary importance and merits further investigation.**

Further investigation of education to work transitions in CAC is important for livelihoods, development, and peace.

Further investigation of a wider range of experiences of forced migration is important. While this report concentrates on forced migrants categorized as refugees and countries facing protracted refugee crises, it must be noted that a considerable number of countries in our dataset are not only facing conflict and refugee crises, but also have significant IDP populations or are facing substantial populations of returnees in need of education and services. That is, the dynamic nature of ‘conflict’ and ‘disaster’ means populations are often in flux and it is important to keep this in mind, both as data on educational access is analyzed and as policies are developed to address the needs of these populations.

Finally, we recommend supporting research in less-studied CAC. We note the geographic focus of existing studies (especially as they pertain to refugee issues) is largely focused on Kenya and Uganda. This risks overlooking the barriers to access faced in other CAC, as well as the potentially innovative responses occurring elsewhere.

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TECHNICAL APPENDIX

Technical Appendix

3. Secondary Education Access in SSA

The first section of this report (3.1) provides an overview of the trends in SSA from 2010 to 2017 and compares trends in CAC to overall access. Next, we conduct a subgroup analysis to look at education for marginalized and vulnerable groups (section 3.2). Third, we conduct a content analysis of the education sector plans for all countries in SSA with a focus on CAC (section 3.3). We analyzed data and generated figures using both Stata (v. 14.2.) and Microsoft Excel, unless otherwise indicated.

3.0.1 *Country Identification*

To identify *conflict-affected countries* we drew on the definition of conflict from the *Uppsala Conflict Data Program* (UCDP)⁴¹, which entails the use of armed force between at least two parties, of which one is the government of a state, and results in at least 25 battle-related deaths per year of conflict. Data for number of battle-related deaths and conflict identification can be found at: <http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/>. In this analysis, if a country experienced conflict at any point from 2010 to 2017, it was included in the “conflict-affected countries” (CAC) category. Most countries that were included as CAC experienced sustained conflict over the seven years we study: the average number of years of conflict per country in the dataset is 3.76, with a standard deviation of 2.45.

We used the *United Nations High Commission for Refugees* (UNHCR) definition of *protracted refugee situations* to identify host countries for long-term refugees. Here, we mean “refugee populations of 25,000 persons or more who have been in exile for five or more years in developing countries” (UNHCR, 2004, p.2). Data regarding refugee populations can be found at: http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview#_ga=2.234381276.37700308.1540561836-2146254767.1537283409

We combined these datasets and restricted our analysis to SSA, given the focus of the paper. The result yields 21 CAC and 23 protracted refugee situations in SSA. There was also significant overlap between the two lists, with 17 countries appearing in both lists. Figure 1 compiles this information using QGIS (v.3.2.1).

3.0.2 *A Note on Educational Datasets*

As with all analyses, and given the limitations of access to reliable data on education in conflict-affected countries, there are strengths and limitations to each of the datasets we used in this analysis.

To determine overall trends in secondary school education over time, we used UIS-UNESCO’s 2018 dataset (available at: <http://data.uis.unesco.org/>). This data provides the most up-to-date

⁴¹ See: Gleditsch, Wallensteen, Eriksson, Sollenberg& Strand (2002); Pettersson& Eck (2018)

aggregate country statistics regarding key education indicators discussed below. This dataset was used primarily to determine the trends in NER and GER. The data is gathered from Demographic Health Surveys (DHS) and Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS). Though this dataset provides the most up-to-date and systematic information regarding national-level information, not every country in our dataset has survey information from each year. As such, there are some limitations in the analysis. That is, different countries are missing surveys for each year, and some countries do not report each metric for each year. Consequently, while we report average rates for each year, the absence of a complete set reduces the reliability of the data. More information about the data collection method for UIS-UNESCO can be found here:

<http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/information-on-household-survey-based-education-statistics-in-the-uis-data-centre-2015-en.pdf>

As per MCF and Dubai Cares requests and the Terms of Reference for our work, we use the GEMR-WIDE dataset on educational inequalities to disaggregate information on country-wide statistics. The GEMR-WIDE (2016) dataset compiles data from the DHS and MICS survey information, similar to UIS-UNESCO. Unlike the UIS-UNESCO dataset, though, the GEMR-WIDE dataset not only disaggregates data by gender, but also by region, SES, level of urbanicity, and ethnicity, region, and religion. This dataset has been used to write subsequent reports for the *Global Education Monitoring Reports*, released by UNESCO. It similarly draws from the DHS and MICS surveys, as described above. However, it does not provide yearly information, and therefore can only provide average information for the DHS/MICS surveys used for each year where surveys are available. The most recent available year from the dataset is 2014 (released in 2016). Thus, while comparable overall, the GEMR-WIDE dataset is slightly out of date and unfortunately more recent data is not available at the time of this writing. We primarily used this dataset for examining completion and transition rates for different groups in section 1.2. We compared the data for each available survey year for GEMR-WIDE to those years for the UIS-UNESCO and the results were comparable, thus, it can be anticipated that the current numbers are slightly higher than those reported in section 3.2, though not by much. More information about the GEMR-WIDE (2016) dataset can be found here: <https://www.education-inequalities.org/about>

3.1 Trends in Secondary Education Access Over Time

We used trends in Net Enrollment Rate (NER) and Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) to look at access in general, with NER and GER being complementary indicators. We found large disparities between the two, indicating high over/under age enrollment in schools (Right to Education, n.d., <http://www.right-to-education.org/monitoring/tool>). We also examined transition and completion rates over time to look at measures of quality and potential issues surrounding drop-out and retention. We look at these metrics for both lower secondary and upper secondary education. Quotes provided in this section are not meant to necessarily be representative of the types of provisions found within each area, but rather are meant to be indicative of the variety of provisions found for each area.

- 3.1.1 NER and GER trends: For each of these indicators, we extracted data from the UIS-UNESCO dataset at the relevant level. We then imported the datasets into Stata and combined accordingly, by year. We next merged the datasets by country onto our country list. In order to determine statistical significance, we conducted simple t-tests comparing CAC to non-CAC. We used the commonly accepted α

=0.05 level of significance if there was a difference between the two groups. We used this data to produce *Figures 3 and 4* and *Tables 1 and 2*.

Difference Calculation in Table 1: $\Delta_{(\text{indicator})} = \text{Indicator}_{(\text{Non-Conflict})} - \text{Indicator}_{(\text{Conflict})}$

Gap Calculation in Table 2: $\Delta_{(\text{indicator})} = \text{Indicator}_{(\text{Upper Secondary})} - \text{Indicator}_{(\text{Lower Secondary})}$

Calculation of Annual Growth Rate in Table 2: determine through Microsoft Excel, using the slope of the line. Additionally, the following calculation was used to verify the results:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Growth Rate}_{(\text{country type})} &= \frac{\Delta \text{Indicator}_{(\text{country type})}}{\Delta \text{time}} \\ &= \frac{\text{Indicator}_{(2017, \text{country type})} - \text{Indicator}_{(2010, \text{country type})}}{2017-2010} \end{aligned}$$

Where: *country type* = All SSA, conflict-affected, or non-conflict-affected; *indicator* = NER and GER at either lower secondary or upper secondary.

Note regarding the drop in GER for 2017 in Figure 4: GER does drop overall for 2017 at both the lower and upper secondary level. However, since data from the UIS-UNESCO is collected from DHS surveys, it may be that country information for 2017 for higher performing countries are simply not reported to UIS-UNESCO yet. Indeed, there is no data included for the country with the highest GER/NER for 2010-2016, Seychelles. Meanwhile, lower performing countries, such as Tanzania, Mozambique and Ethiopia do not have available surveys for the 2016 year, which may inflate the 2016 value and make the drop appear starker. Again, this speaks to the problems with collecting data in conflict-affected countries. UIS-UNESCO often provides an additional update with DHS/MICS surveys to backfill countries that were missing in the previous round. Thus, when 2019 data is released there likely will be additional data included in the 2017 year.

- 3.1.2 Completion and Transition Rates: While we used UIS-UNESCO 2018 data to look at the overall trend, we also used the GEMR-WIDE to calculate the overall transition and completion averages at the lower and upper secondary level. We used this data to produce *Table 3*.

3.2 *Secondary Education Access for Marginalized Groups*

- 3.2.1 Gender: Figure 4 specifically looks at the completion rates for girls and boys in conflict-affected and non-conflict-affected countries. In all cases, girls have markedly lower enrollment rates than boys. Further, while completion rates in CAC are lower for both boys and girls, the difference is especially dramatic for girls, with a completion rate for LSE of just 24 percent for girls in CAC compared to 40percent for those in non-CAC (the difference for boys in LSE is 10 percent). Data for this discussion and Figure 4 comes from GEMR-WIDE, 2016.

- 3.2.2 Refugees in National Education Datasets, Methodological Note: National refugee education data is particularly difficult to come by, given the different strategies for managing refugees (encampment vs. inclusion) and the fact that even when

inclusion policies exist, there is often no category on a DHS survey, or otherwise, which indicates refugee status. This lack of data in national statistics that is comparable across countries makes the policy analysis in Section 4 and case studies of Ugandan and Kenyan refugees in Section 5 even more important when considering policy and programming for reaching these most marginalized groups.

- 3.2.3 Ethnicity and Marginalized Groups: In order to determine the relationships between marginalized ethnic groups and access to schooling, we used the *Ethnic Power Relations* (EPR) dataset, version 1.2 (see: Cederman, Wimmer, & Min, 2010 for original dataset) to map politically relevant ethnic groups and access to executive state power in the context of our study. In this case, we created a dummy variable for politically relevant groups who had access to power – either as a dominant group, senior partner, junior partner, or having regional autonomy – compared to those who did not – groups who were categorized by Cederman et al. as either irrelevant, powerless, or discriminated.⁴² This measure, of course, does not capture the entirety of the ethnic dynamics within a country – indeed, ethnic groups that never sought power are not included in the dataset, regardless of group size (Vogt, Bormann, Cederman, Hunziker, & Girardin, 2015). Ethnicity can also be too politically sensitive to ask on household surveys, particularly in conflict-affected countries; only 27 countries in our dataset contain ethnic information, though the number of ethnic groups per country increases the statistical power of this analysis. Regardless, this rough coding gives insight into how marginalized groups are treated.

3.3 Education Sector Plans

In order to understand the current state of education sector development in conflict-affected and countries experiencing complex emergencies and/or protracted refugee crises, we conducted a policy analysis of the most current *Education Sector Plans* for each of the countries in our data set. We obtained these documents from the Global Partnership for Education’s (GPE) website, except for Swaziland (2011), Namibia (2012) and Ethiopia (2016), which were obtained from internet searches and/or from Ministry of Education or equivalent websites. Only Malawi’s 2008 *Education Sector Plan* is from outside our time frame for this analysis, though it covers the timeline of interest. All Education Sector Plans were in English, French, or Portuguese.

We coded the education sector plans for each of the following terms: gender/girls, ethnic/marginalized/minority groups, refugees, emergencies/conflict, and climate change/natural disasters. These terms have been identified as important across our analysis.

- 3.3.1 The *gender* domain entails education provisions for specifically relation to access and/or barriers for girls’ education

Keywords: *gender* OR *female* OR *women* OR *girl*

French: *genre* OR *fille* OR *femme* OR *feminine* OR *sexe*

Portuguese: *gênero* OR *sexo* OR *menina* OR *mulheres* OR *fêmea*

- 3.3.2 The *ethnicity* domain references different ethnic groups and their importance. Specific to addressing as marginalized groups.

⁴² For more information on the Ethnic Power Relations Categories see: “The Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) Core Dataset 2018” Available at: https://icr.ethz.ch/data/epr/core/EPR-2018_Codebook.pdf

Keywords: *ethnic** OR *marginal** OR *minority**

French: *ethni** OR *marginalis** OR *minorité*

Portuguese: *étnico* OR *marginalizado* OR *minoria*

- 3.3.3 The *refugee* domain references education provisions specific to refugees and displaced persons.

Keywords: *refugee** OR *displaced* OR *internally displaced person* OR *IDP* OR *migration*

French: *refuge** OR *migration* OR *déplac**

Portuguese: *refugiado* OR *deslocado* OR *pessoa deslocada internamente* OR *migração*

- 3.3.4 The *emergencies/conflict* domain references specific provisions to address education in case of emergencies

Keywords: *emergenc** OR *crisis* OR *fragile zone* OR *conflict*

French: *urgence* OR *crise* OR *zones fragile* OR *conflit*

Portuguese: *emergência* OR *crise* OR *zona frágil* OR *conflito*

- 3.3.5 The *climate* domain references specific provisions for preparation/managing education in conditions of climate disasters

Keywords: *climate change* OR *natural disaster* OR *disaster* OR *drought* OR *epidemic*

French: *catastrophe* OR *Préparation aux catastrophes* OR *catastrophe naturelle* OR *sécheresse* OR *dérèglement climatique* OR *changement du climat* OR *épidémie*

Portuguese: *catástrofe* OR *das Alterações Climáticas* OR *desastres naturais* OR *desastre* OR *epidemia* OR *seca*

5. Refugee Education in Kenya and Uganda Case Studies

5.2 Kenya Case Study

Data for overall secondary school enrollment rates in each of 2012, 2015, and 2018 was generously provided by Windle Trust, Kenya. Population statistics were obtained from UNHCR for both Kakuma and Dadaab (UNHCR 2012b, UNHCR 2012c, UNHCR 2015b, UNHCR 2015c; UNHCR 2018c, UNHCR 2018d). We calculated enrollment rate using the following:

$$\text{Enrollment Rate} = \frac{\# \text{ enrolled}}{\text{Total Population}} \times 100\%$$

This value is estimated given that data was extracted from two separate sources, further Windle Trust did not provide the age range for student enrollment at secondary level for Kenya.

5.3 Uganda Case Study

Data for NER and GER for 2018 and 2017 was generously provided by Windle Trust, Uganda. Here, we obtained both the enrollment and population statistics for the Ugandan settlements for refugees. Of note, the data does not include refugees who live in non-settlement areas. This includes refugees that are potentially living in cities such as Kampala.