REFERENCES:

Jones, Nicola, Kate Pincock, Silvia Guglielmi, Sarah Baird, Ingrid Sánchez Tapia, Erin Oakley, and Jennifer Seager. 2022. "Barriers to Refugee Adolescents' Educational Access During COVID-19: Exploring the Roles of Gender, Displacement, and Social Inequalities." *Journal on Education in Emergencies* 8 (2): 44-72. https://doi.org/10.33682/7e0m-40rq

BARRIERS TO REFUGEE ADOLESCENTS' EDUCATIONAL ACCESS DURING COVID-19: EXPLORING THE ROLES OF GENDER, DISPLACEMENT, AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

Nicola Jones, Kate Pincock, Silvia Guglielmi, Sarah Baird, Ingrid Sánchez Tapia, Erin Oakley, and Jennifer Seager

ABSTRACT

As of 2021, more than 80 million people worldwide have been displaced by war, violence, and poverty. An estimated 30 million to 34 million of these are under age 18, and many are at risk of interrupting their education permanently—a situation aggravated in recent years by the global COVID-19 pandemic.

In this article, we adopt an intersectional conceptual framework to explore the roles gender and other social inequalities have played in shaping adolescents' access to education during the COVID-19 pandemic. We examine two refugee populations: the Rohingya, who have been excluded from formal education opportunities in Bangladesh, and Syrian refugees in Jordan, who have access to formal education in their host country. We provide novel empirical data, as well as insights into the adolescent refugee experience and the short-term consequences for education resulting from the pandemic.

In the article, we draw from quantitative survey data on 3,030 adolescents, and from in-depth qualitative interviews we conducted in the spring of 2020 with a subset of 91 adolescents who are part of an ongoing longitudinal study. We also conducted 40 key informant interviews with community leaders and service providers.

Our findings highlight the fact that, during the pandemic, refugee adolescents have faced heightened challenges in accessing distance education, and that gender and other social inequalities, including marital status, have compounded these disadvantages. We conclude by outlining implications for gender-responsive education in emergencies in low- and middle-income countries.

INTRODUCTION

As of 2021, more than 80 million people worldwide have been displaced by war, violence, and poverty. Of these, an estimated 30 million to 34 million are below age 18, and many face significant barriers to realizing their right to education. Almost half (48%) of school-age refugee children and adolescents are out of school (UNHCR 2020), only 24 percent reach secondary education (UNHCR 2019), and many more are at risk of interrupting their education permanently. These barriers are also heavily gendered, with adolescent girls only half as likely to be enrolled in secondary school as their male peers (Grandi 2018). There is broad consensus that these disadvantages are being aggravated by the school closures and disruption of education associated with the COVID-19 pandemic (Asian Development Bank et al. 2020; INEE 2020).

Using an intersectional conceptual framing that attends to the interaction of social differences to produce specific experiences of marginalization (Crenshaw 1991), we explore the ways gender and other social inequalities have shaped adolescents' access to education during the COVID-19 pandemic. We focus on two distinct refugee populations: the Rohingya, who are excluded from formal education opportunities in Bangladesh, and Syrian refugees in Jordan, who do have access to formal education there. Both countries host significant refugee populations; UNHCR (2019) estimates that 750,000 Rohingya have fled from Myanmar into Bangladesh since 2017, while Jordan currently hosts more than 650,000 Syrian refugees.[1] These populations, especially girls, already face significant challenges in accessing education, as well as inequalities around connectivity, resources, and internet access. We therefore investigate how these pre-existing disadvantages affect their opportunities for online learning.

In this article, we provide novel empirical data and insights into the adolescent refugee experience, including the short-term consequences for education that have been caused by the pandemic. We draw from survey data on 3,030 adolescents,

---

1   In Jordan, 1 in 15 people is a refugee.

and from in-depth qualitative interviews we conducted between April and July 2020 with a subset of 91 adolescent girls and boys who are part of an existing longitudinal research sample.

We begin with an overview of the state of knowledge on gender-responsive education in emergencies in general, and for the Rohingya and Syrian refugee communities specifically. We then present our research methodology and findings, focusing on refugee adolescents' access to formal and nonformal education prior to COVID-19 and the extent to which they have been able to continue learning during the pandemic. We explore the extent to which gender and other social inequalities, including marital status, have compounded the disadvantages. We conclude by reflecting on the implications of these findings for gender-responsive education in emergencies in low- and middle-income countries.

STATE OF KNOWLEDGE ON GENDER-RESPONSIVE EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES

Pre-existing gender inequalities have created challenges in accessing education in crisis settings. The 2013 Ebola outbreak in West Africa illustrated the significant negative consequences a health crisis can have for girls. Because the emergency was initially seen as a public health crisis, the knock-on effects on education, livelihoods, and safety were overlooked, leading to what has been termed an emergency within an emergency (ACAPS 2016). Schools were closed, and children were kept at home to prevent the spread of Ebola. However, because education funding and personnel were diverted to the epidemic response, students reported that the education materials that would enable them to continue learning at home were largely unavailable (Risso-Gill and Finnegan 2015). Moreover, after the crisis, families were fearful about letting their children return to school, and in Liberia, confusion about reopening dates led to low attendance (UNMEER 2015).

Because schools were closed during the Ebola epidemic and many parents were working, girls who were at home alone were more vulnerable to sexual advances and abuse by men in their communities. Children sent away from Ebola-affected areas to stay with extended family were at increased risk of abuse, exploitation, and neglect (UNDP 2014). Social workers who had worked in family mediation and child protection were diverted to sensitization and awareness campaigns, as were many teachers, which left fewer people available to investigate school attrition or protection concerns (Santos and Novelli 2017). Teenage pregnancies increased,

which was connected to an increase in transactional sex as a way to cope with the economic effects of the epidemic (Bandiera et al. 2019). While child marriage rates were already relatively high in the countries affected by Ebola, spikes were reported in all contexts, especially in rural areas (Fraser 2020).

During the design stage of the response to the Ebola crisis, gender was not considered adequately. To avoid a similar outcome in such situations in the future, Onyango et al. (2019) have advocated for providing safe spaces for girls. This perspective is echoed elsewhere in the policy literature, which observes that, when face-to-face learning is not possible, it is important to connect emergency education initiatives to initiatives that address the challenges experienced specifically by girls (Naylor et al. 2020). However, while there is some evidence that girls can benefit from developing life skills in an emergency context, which may help them avoid dropping out of school or having an unwanted pregnancy (Rafaeli 2020), there is still scarce knowledge on how to enable girls to continue their studies during a crisis like COVID-19.

Another significant challenge in delivering remote learning is unequal access to technology across gender and other social inequalities. Research has found that, in low- and middle-income countries, boys are 1.5 times more likely than girls to have access to a mobile phone (Girl Effect and Vodafone Foundation 2018), and families that do have phones often do not have enough devices to meet the educational needs of all children in the household (see e.g., Abu Hamad et al. 2021). Moreover, unless carefully planned, distance education can exacerbate inequalities in education. Hardware "dumping," whereby devices are simply handed out with the assumption that the young people will figure out the technology, is often the basic form of assistance, despite the lack of evidence that hardware alone can improve learning outcomes (Koomar, Coflan, and Kaye 2020; Trucano 2010). Parents may lack the ability to support their children's use of technology, which can create online safety issues (Banaji et al. 2018). Moreover, girls' domestic and caregiving responsibilities may limit the time they have to engage with digital technology (Montanez et al. 2019). These findings indicate that remote interventions that rely on technology may in fact perpetuate social inequalities.

In settings where digital access is already a challenge, such as where internet access is limited or expensive, socioeconomic inequities can exacerbate gendered inequality (Shane-Simpson et al. 2017). This can lead to tradeoffs between investing in children's learning and having them engage in activities that

contribute to the family income (UNESCO 2018). These opportunity costs affect girls disproportionately (Dryden-Peterson 2011). A 2020 Education Development Trust report found that addressing economic shocks and the costs associated with learning—for example, through cash transfers—can increase participation among the most marginalized girls (Naylor et al. 2020). Alam and Tiwari (2020) have emphasized the need to address the barriers faced by marginalized learners, and to develop plans for reopening schools and bringing back face-to-face learning that mitigate the loss of learning and prevent the most vulnerable young people from being left behind.

Barriers Shaping Refugee Adolescents' Access to Education in Bangladesh and Jordan

Multiple factors restrict adolescent girls' access to education in displacement contexts, including in Bangladesh and Jordan. In a cluster analysis of gender-based vulnerability across Rohingya refugee settlements, Nelson, Saade, and Greenough (2020) examined the poor security in Rohingya camps. They found that a lack of safe spaces for women and girls prevents them from developing protective peer networks and makes them feel unsafe outside the home. School is more than a place where adolescents go to learn; it also provides a safe space where they can connect with peers and teachers and get the support they need (Pillai and Zireva 2020). Humanitarian actors thus face major challenges, not only in how to deliver learning during a pandemic but in ensuring that girls benefit from the protective elements of learner engagement (see Rafaeli 2020; Pillai and Zireva 2020).

While remote learning may negate concerns about safety outside the home, it is important to recognize violence within the household as a factor in young people's learning. The Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) study found that 46 percent of Syrian refugee adolescents in Jordan have experienced violence within their home but that they rarely report it; only 14 percent said they had spoken to someone about their experiences (Jones et al. 2019). This underreporting is partly due to gender norms that deter girls from reporting, due to the risk of bringing shame on their family (Presler-Marshall, Gercama, and Jones 2017). Research by UNICEF Jordan (McKeever 2020) found that half of the young people surveyed in Jordan have experienced cyberbullying at least once, which emphasizes the fact that caregivers need to supervise their children's internet use and be aware of safety issues (Naylor et al. 2020). Indeed, in low- and middle-income countries, parents' degree of digital literacy, which is mediated

by socioeconomic and cultural inequalities, can have a major impact on young people's online learning experience (Banaji et al. 2018).

Restrictions on girls' mobility as a means of protection reflect other norms related to girls' perceived social roles, including those that may inhibit their participation in distance learning. In her work with Syrian refugee girls in Jordan's Zaatari refugee camp, Hattar-Pollara (2019) found that, while her respondents generally enjoyed school, many also felt that their parents discouraged them from attending. For example, if a male relative asked them to skip school to attend to household needs, they had little choice other than to comply. Such norms around obedience to male relatives and the devaluation of girls' education were exacerbated by poverty. Due to restrictions on adults leaving the camp for work, girls in Hattar-Pollara's study also reported that their parents sometimes asked them to miss school so they could engage in paid seasonal work on nearby farms.

Research with Syrian refugees has also connected adolescent girls' insecurity outside the home to their reduced access to education, as the crisis of displacement tends to exacerbate protection concerns (DeJong et al. 2017). Sexual harassment of refugee girls is common, especially as they travel to and from school. This leads to further restrictions on girls' mobility, especially as they often are blamed for "inviting" attention from men (Jones et al. 2019; USAID 2015).

Child marriage is also a critical factor in Syrian girls' limited access to education. While exact numbers are difficult to establish, it is widely recognized that child marriage is prevalent in Syrian refugee communities (Mourtada, Schlecht, and DeJong 2017; Wringe et al. 2019). A lack of educational opportunities and displacement make girls and their families feel less certain about the future and more vulnerable to violence, and marriage is often seen as a safer option than attending school, and a means of protection (Mourtada et al. 2017; Bartels et al. 2018; Wringe et al. 2019). COVID-19 has exacerbated these insecurities; Save the Children (2020) has estimated that the pandemic may set the world back 25 years in terms of progress on eliminating child marriage.

Similar interplay between gender and poverty has also been observed among the Rohingya refugees. Montanez et al. (2019) found that, before fleeing to Bangladesh, Rohingya girls did household work, such as helping their mothers cook, clean, and take care of relatives. They also played outdoors, had fun with siblings, and studied at home. (They did not attend school due to conservative social norms, as Rohingya girls' mobility is restricted once they reach puberty; Bakali and Wasty 2020). Since becoming refugees in Bangladesh, Rohingya girls' opportunities

to study and play have been very limited, as their time is largely taken up with doing housework and cooking.

While more Rohingya boys attend learning programs in the camps than girls, the boys are at risk of engaging in hazardous and exploitative work to help their families. In Cox's Bazar, dropout rates for boys are around 45 percent, compared to 30 percent for girls (Shohel 2020). However, the GAGE research found that boys are 53 percent more likely than girls to be enrolled in learning programs in the first place; by older adolescence (ages 15-19), only 2 percent of girls, compared to 28 percent of boys, are engaged in some form of education outside the home (Guglielmi et al. 2020a).

Implications of COVID-19 for the Education of Refugees in Bangladesh and Jordan

The response to COVID-19 in Bangladesh was initially slow and uneven, whereas the lockdown in Jordan was immediate and much tighter; however, both countries experienced widespread school closures. In March 2020, as COVID-19 cases began to emerge in Bangladesh, the Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commission in Cox's Bazar announced that only "essential" activities would be allowed to continue in all 34 camps; education was not considered essential (Pillai and Zireva 2020). Even before COVID-19, Rohingya refugees were not permitted to attend formal schools in Bangladesh. Because of the government's emphasis on the temporary nature of the Rohingya situation, refugee learners were taught in what were referred to as "temporary learning centers" (rather than schools) by Rohingya "volunteers" (rather than teachers); moreover, the curriculum was delivered in Burmese and English, although the refugees do not speak either language (Bakali and Wasty 2020).

The COVID-19-related closure of schools run by nongovernmental organizations and other learning facilities are estimated to have affected 325,000 children and young people in Bangladesh (Pillai and Zireva 2020). Although Syrian refugees in Jordan have more schooling options, they also face barriers to access. Syrian students in the camps have access to formal education that follows Jordan's national curriculum and is taught by Jordanian teachers. While refugees living in the host communities can attend the same schools as their Jordanian peers, administrative and practical barriers prevent many from enrolling. Some are enrolled in Syrians-only double-shift classes in the afternoons, but these classes are of poorer quality, due to having less-qualified teachers with discriminatory attitudes and fewer resources (Jones et al. 2019). Syrians living in informal tented

settlements in Jordan often lack access to any schools, due to the distance from the closest schools and a lack of affordable transport.[2]

When the Jordanian government closed all schools in March 2020, distance education was quickly established through televised lessons and digital platforms offering educational content (UN Children's Fund [UNICEF] 2020). However, there are significant divides in access to these technologies based on gender and other social inequalities. Almost 9 in 10 Syrian refugees in Jordan (85%) live below the poverty line (Hanmer et al. 2020), and OECD (2018) data show that fewer than 50 percent of students from the poorest families have internet access at home. This suggests that Syrian refugees may struggle to keep up with lessons and learning that require digital connectivity. Jones et al. (2019) found that girls in Jordan are 43 percent less likely than their male peers to own a mobile phone and 17 percent less likely to have engaged with online lessons. Adolescents with disabilities are 16 percent less likely than their nondisabled peers to have accessed the internet, and adolescents in informal tented settlements are less likely to have a phone than their peers in the host communities and refugee camps.

Among the Rohingya, internet connectivity and proliferation have been low, due to the Government of Bangladesh's suspension of 3G and 4G mobile networks and internet access in the settlements between September 2019 and August 2020 (ISCG, IOM et al. 2020). These restrictions reduced any chance for the Rohingya to have access to distance learning opportunities that relied on internet connectivity, or to the timely dissemination of COVID-19 health messaging. There also are great gender discrepancies in mobile phone ownership; 63 percent of Rohingya men have access to a mobile phone, compared to 52 percent of the women (Toulemonde 2020).

METHODS

Recognizing the multiple barriers adolescents face in accessing education during emergencies, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, we have used an intersectional conceptual framework to shape our methods and analysis of findings. An intersectional approach focuses on the ways various types of social difference, such as race, gender, class, ethnicity, and age, shape individual experiences (Collins 2015). These inequalities often interact and reinforce the marginalization of individuals at the "intersections" of social difference, which prevents some from

---

2   Some Syrian refugees live in informal tented settlements due to security and/or environmental concerns in the camps and the unaffordability of renting in the host community.

thriving, even when good choices are ostensibly available to them (Crenshaw 1991). Taking an intersectional approach means developing tools for data collection and analysis that attend to the interactive character of social differences (MacKinnon 2013).

In this article, we draw from data on a sample that includes 692 Rohingya adolescents who are living in camps in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, and 2,338 Syrian refugee adolescents living in camps, host communities, and informal tented settlements in Jordan.[3] Our sampling strategy was as follows: in the Rohingya community, we selected a random sample of adolescents ages 10-12 and 15-17 at baseline from a random sample of 32 refugee camps in Cox's Bazaar. We undertook an additional purposeful sampling of adolescents with disabilities and of those who had experienced child marriage. The sample of Syrian refugees includes adolescents living in the Azraq and Zaatari camps, host communities, and informal tented settlements located in the five governorates of Jordan: Amman, Mafraq, Irbid, Jerash, and Zarqa. It also includes subsamples of adolescents with disabilities, married girls, and out-of-school adolescents. We took these random subsamples from databases of vulnerable adolescents maintained by UNHCR and UNICEF, with an oversampling of adolescents with disabilities and those that had experienced child marriage.[4] Both groups formed part of the GAGE longitudinal research in the Middle East, East Africa, and South Asia. Our quantitative sample includes two cohorts: younger adolescents, largely ages 10-12 at baseline (2018-2019), and older adolescents, largely ages 15-17 at baseline. This article reports findings from telephone surveys undertaken in May and July 2020 (see Table 1).[5]

---

3   The larger sample size in Jordan stems from the fact that refugees are living in three distinct contexts: host communities, informal tented settlements, and large formal refugee camps run by UNHCR. The overwhelming majority of the Rohingya in Bangladesh are living in refugee camps run by UNHCR, thus we were able to rely on a smaller sample to represent adolescent experiences during the pandemic.

4   The realities of these two groups tend to be overlooked because of their limited numbers.

5   The Rohingya COVID-19 sample was derived from a baseline sample of 1,071 Rohingya adolescents (reflecting a 65% contact rate) surveyed from March to August 2019 as part of the Cox's Bazar Panel Survey.

Table 1: Virtual Quantitative Research Sample for Rohingya and Syrian Refugee Communities

Country	Younger girls	Younger boys	Older girls	Older boys	Adult females	(Camps)	(ITS/Host communities)	(Married girls)	(Adolescents with disabilities)	Total
BANGLADESH Rohingya refugees	158	192	201	141	366	692	-	69	29	692
JORDAN Syrian refugees	604	614	552	568	Total AF surveys – 2,539	781	1,550	149	Functional difficulty – 228 Functional difficulty OR has an assistive device – 381	2,338

The quantitative data were complemented by a qualitative research sample in both contexts. In Bangladesh, we conducted in-depth qualitative telephone interviews with 21 adolescents from the older cohorts in three camps; in Jordan, we interviewed 70 Syrian refugees from both age cohorts.[6] To inform the pandemic response and contribute to efforts to ensure that gender- and age-specific experiences were taken into account, our sample also captured other social characteristics, including disability and marital status. We report disaggregated findings by gender, age, and other intersecting dimensions. To preserve confidentiality, the research locations of the people quoted in this article are anonymized. To understand the measures taken by the government, United Nations agencies, and nongovernmental organizations in response to the ongoing pandemic (see Table 2), we complemented the interviews with adolescents by conducting key informant interviews (7 in Bangladesh and 40 in Jordan) with experts working in education, public health, and site management in the camps.

---

6   We included only older Rohingya adolescents in the virtual qualitative in-depth interviews because we experienced very low response rates with limited content during piloting. This is likely due to younger adolescents having little familiarity with phone conversations, the very limited privacy in the overcrowded camp settings, and a high level of insecurity among the Rohingya community.

Table 2: Virtual Qualitative Research Sample for Rohingya and Syrian Refugee Communities

Country	Younger girls	Younger boys	Older girls	Older boys	Key informants	(Camps)	(ITS/Host communities)	(Married girls)	(Adolescents with disabilities)	Total
BANGLADESH Rohingya refugees	-	-	12	11	7	21	-	6	2	28
JORDAN Syrian refugees	16	14	28	16	40	25	31	15	5	114

We present our findings from a set of indicators constructed from the quantitative data to capture Rohingya and Syrian refugee adolescents' education experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic. For all outcomes, we explored differences by gender and age, and assessed whether these differences are statistically significant. All differences in the text are statistically significant at p<0.05, unless otherwise noted. We performed the quantitative analysis using Stata SE 16.

A team of researchers undertook the qualitative data gathering, data management, and data analysis. The interview transcripts were initially transcribed from audio recordings and then translated: in Bangladesh they were translated from Chittagonian into Bangla, and subsequently into English; in Jordan they were translated from Arabic into English. The transcripts were coded using the software package MAXQDA, following a thematic codebook that was shaped around a conceptual framework informed by intersectionality and overlapping social inequalities that affect adolescent refugees' education experiences. During the qualitative data analysis, we took care to identify cross-cutting themes while allowing space for unique voices to emerge. We secured ethics approval internationally and locally.

FINDINGS

We now turn to our findings, beginning with a brief overview of the divergent patterns among the sampled Rohingya and Syrian refugees' pre-COVID-19 access to education. We then discuss learning continuity and the gendered barriers to learning that arose during the pandemic.

Refugees' Access to Education before COVID-19

In the camps, Rohingya refugees have no access to formal school, due to Bangladesh government restrictions. However, before COVID-19, 29 percent of Rohingya adolescents in the camps were enrolled in nonformal schools, with significant differences in gender and age: boys were twice as likely to be enrolled as girls (39% versus 19%), and young adolescents were three times as likely to be enrolled as their older counterparts (43% versus 15%).

Our data highlight the fact that, COVID-19 aside, gender and age are key factors that intersect to shape Rohingya adolescents' access to education. This process is also dynamic; while refugee girls are disadvantaged at any age in terms of access to

learning, their marginalization intensifies as they go through adolescence.[7] Among the older cohort, only 6 percent of girls were enrolled, compared to 25 percent of boys; among the younger cohort, girls were significantly less likely than boys to be enrolled, 33 percent versus 51 percent. In fact, for many older adolescent girls, closing the learning centers in the camps to mitigate the spread of COVID-19 does not appear to have altered their daily routine, as a 15-year-old girl explained:

> In the morning I wash myself, say my prayers, recite Qur'an, then eat rice and go to sleep. Then at noon after washing myself, I say my prayer, then eat, and then if I have any household work, I do it. I don't do anything else…I don't go to school—now or before…If adolescent girls go to school, it is [a] shame here, as they are adolescents.

This sentiment was echoed by another 15-year-old girl: "We are [getting by] with sorrow and sufferings. No, [I don't go out, and] I didn't go to study [before COVID]. I didn't go anywhere [to learn]."

The qualitative data indicate that intersecting and compounded vulnerabilities, including disability, were also pronounced before COVID-19, and educational access has remained unchanged by pandemic-related restrictive measures. An 18-year-old boy with a physical disability explained: "Everything is like before. I mostly lie around all day…I am unable to walk so I don't go out. I haven't gone out from my house for about two years."

In Jordan, 72 percent of Syrian adolescents were enrolled in school prior to COVID-19 (68% in formal education and 32% in nonformal). However, among Syrian adolescents living in the informal tented settlements, only 52 percent were attending any school prior to COVID-19; 41 percent were attending a formal school at that time. Our findings also show that married girls are almost entirely shut out of education; among married girls age 15 and older, only 4 percent were enrolled in formal school before the pandemic. Interestingly, the enrollment figures in our sample do not vary by disability status. Our qualitative research, which highlighted transport barriers, poorly adapted school infrastructure, and stigma, suggests that this is most likely because our sample was purposively selected and included a number of adolescents in specialist schools.

---

7   During the initial phase of the Syrian refugee influx into Jordan, a shortage of schools meant that some children were unable to secure a place in a school. According to the ministry of education rules, those who were more than three years over the usual age for their grade were not allowed to resume formal education. Thus, older adolescents who lost several years of schooling soon after the onset of the Syrian crisis found their pathway to learning blocked. The dearth of education spaces has been addressed by using double shifts in many schools (Jones et al. 2019).

Given that older adolescents were of school age when the Syrian war broke out and arrived in Jordan before schooling had been scaled up, it is not surprising that they were far more likely (26%) than their younger peers to have ever been out of school for more than three months. Many of the enrollment issues for older Syrian adolescents are a legacy from the years before double-shift schools were taken to scale and documentation requirements largely abolished. A father in Zaatari camp, whose daughter is two years too old for her grade, explained: "When we came here there weren't schools, so her education was delayed."

Our qualitative research reveals that displacement and gender intersect, which creates further barriers for adolescent refugees. For refugee girls, these barriers derive from their parents' limited aspirations for their daughters' formal education (especially for families in the tented settlements), concerns about safety, and child marriage. As an older girl in an informal settlement noted, "They told me that I can write and read, so no need for school." The biggest barrier to education for refugee boys is pressure to obtain paid work. A 15-year-old Syrian boy living in a host community noted, for example, that his parents "even wanted me to [work so I could] pay rent for the whole house." Others underscored the endemic problems of school violence and poor-quality instruction. Out-of-school Jordanian boys explained that they had left school because they "felt bored."

Learning Continuity during COVID-19

We now discuss learning continuity among refugee adolescents during COVID-19, beginning with formal schooling, then turn to nonformal education, religious education, and skills-training programs.

Formal Education

Among the Syrian refugees who are living in Jordan in camps, informal tented settlements, and host communities, we found mixed evidence about adolescents' learning continuity when relying on distance education. Of the students enrolled in formal school prior to the pandemic, 67 percent reported that their school was providing some form of learning support while closed, but less than half (47%) reported having been in contact with a teacher in the previous seven days. While many (88%) had heard about the national distance education broadcasts the ministry of education was providing on television, radio, and the internet, only 15 percent reported using the online education program as their primary method of distance learning, while 32 percent reported using TV or radio. Notably, only 11

percent of the Syrian refugee adolescents enrolled in school were concerned that they would not be able to return to school when the enforced closures ended.[8]

One strong, cross-cutting theme emerged from the qualitative data: concerns about the poor quality of the distance education instruction. A 19-year-old Syrian refugee boy with a physical disability who was living in a host community noted that "distance education is not learning, it's like copy and paste…I mean, we don't learn a thing." A 17-year-old Syrian girl also living in a host community emphasized similarly that "the lessons aired on the TV aren't understood at all…It isn't that the teacher doesn't know how to explain, but for me, being face-to-face with a teacher explaining to me, making me understand the way I do, is different than distance learning." Many adolescents commented on the dearth of teacher-student interaction. Another 17-year-old girl living in Zaatari camp pointed out that "we don't feel that we are studying seriously because we don't go to the school, we don't sit in front of the teacher, and she doesn't explain the lessons in front of us… The change to distance learning negatively affected my study. On the internet, the teacher doesn't repeat what he explained. You have to understand the explanation from the first time." Younger adolescents underscored the challenges of trying to concentrate during distance learning and being unable to ask the teacher questions to help them understand the lessons. A 13-year-old Syrian refugee girl from Azraq camp explained: "I don't study as hard as before because I can't focus any more and I cannot ask any questions when I struggle with the class."

Nonformal Education

The data on the Rohingya refugees reveal only limited evidence of learning continuity in the camps when relying on distance education. However, the closure of the camp learning facilities does appear to have affected families' younger siblings and the children of married adolescents. A 17-year-old boy explained: "Now there are many difficulties in education in the camp. Previously they were tested at the end of the year. Now [this won't happen]." A 19-year-old married girl noted that "[my son] is five years old. He used to go [to school] earlier. He doesn't go now, it's been closed for two months." Notwithstanding the learning center closures, both younger and older Rohingya adolescents appear to have aspirations for their learning post-COVID-19. Among those enrolled in school prior to COVID-19, only 5 percent expressed concern about not returning once the restrictions ended, with no significant difference by gender.

---

8   At that time, this was expected to occur in early 2021.

Our data show a multitude of ramifications of the government's decision to deem education a "nonessential" activity during the fight to curb the spread of COVID-19. Bangladeshi teachers were no longer allowed in the camps, and some Rohingya volunteer teachers turned their attention to other activities in the humanitarian sector. The restructuring of the humanitarian staff led to a doubling of efforts in the health and nutrition sectors, which in turn created a teaching void. An education focal point official in one of the camp blocks explained that "most of the camp teachers are working now as volunteers with the nutrition and health team…WASH [water, sanitation, and hygiene] is also active, as they must maintain hygiene. So, our teachers are working as volunteers with them, as they have no work now."

The education sector's attempts to maintain learning continuity during the pandemic appear to have targeted only children and younger adolescents. A key informant discussed the provision of take-home learning packs and the self-education guides being developed for younger adolescents, which further exposed the stark age divide around educational access in the camps: "Younger adolescents can get proper information for their level of study, but older adolescents didn't get any kit to learn by themselves." The qualitative data also reveal that some Rohingya families organized ad hoc home-based learning, which still targeted young children. A 17-year-old boy explained: "[Children] are taught at home right now. We have 8 to 10 [neighbors] here. We make the children learn by keeping one master [teacher] and one *hujur* [religious teacher]."

Almost half (49%) of the adolescent Syrian refugees who were enrolled in informal or nonformal education programs in Jordan reported doing something to continue learning while schools were closed: 14 percent were learning through online videos, 10 percent through ministry of education online programs, 11 percent through ministry of education programs on TV, and 26 percent through mobile learning apps.

Our qualitative data highlight the fact that this was largely a reflection of the Makani (My Place) nonformal education centers managed by UNICEF Jordan, which had pivoted quickly to provide online messaging and short educational videos in the early phases of the first lockdown. Our findings also show that Makani facilitators set up WhatsApp groups to provide psychosocial support, as well as support for formal distance education. As a 15-year-old Syrian girl in a refugee camp explained, "The Makani centers send us messages by phone…about healthy food, practicing sports, and COVID-19 prevention measures…They raise awareness about online education. They help us with the lessons that we get at school." A 12-year-old Syrian boy, also in a refugee camp, noted that "the Makani center teachers created a group

for us on the mobile. They give us questions and we solve them. They told me to follow my lessons through the Jordan channel [on TV]."

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Given the absence of formal schooling options, adolescent Rohingya refugees were twice as likely as Bangladeshi adolescents (24% versus 13%) to receive religious education prior to the outbreak of COVID-19, as Rohingya parents prioritized religious over secular teaching for their children (Guglielmi et al. 2020b). Important age and gender distinctions persisted during the pandemic, with Rohingya boys nearly twice as likely as girls (30% versus 17%) to be enrolled in religious education classes. The majority of enrolled students across both genders were in the younger cohort (39% versus 8%), which indicates that older students were not accessing education. Our qualitative data highlight the impact religious school closures have had on adolescents' wellbeing. A 15-year-old boy said that, "since the mosque-madrasa cannot be opened, as the government has closed it, I am not able to study [now]. That's why a lot of sadness is in my mind."

Syrian refugees, especially girls, reported participating relatively less in Qur'anic education classes during lockdown. However, it was noted that, in some host communities, sheikhs were reaching out informally to encourage refugee students to continue studying the Qur'an as a source of psychosocial support. A 12-year-old Syrian girl from a host community described her family's situation during COVID-19:

> I can't go to school and go outside home, I don't see my friends…My siblings fight with each other and my mother gets angry. But my brothers…like studying. They memorize some Qur'anic verses…the Sheik comes to teach them and they recite the Qur'anic verses to him.

TRAINING AND SKILLS-BASED EDUCATION

Our survey data reveal that very few (3%) Rohingya adolescents are engaged in training and skills-based education. Girls are more likely to be engaged than boys, although overall numbers are a mere 4 percent and 1 percent, respectively. Our qualitative data reveal that girls appear to be more accustomed to learning deprivation. In fact, they appear to be more frustrated by the loss of earning ability they might have gained from learning a craft, rather than by the halted learning itself. A 15-year-old girl explained: "Before corona[virus] I learned tailoring. [But now] I can't go [to work]…Before, I [could have some] income and at least manage

the expenditure of daily shopping. But now I can't go out. I have no brother, no father, how I will do?"

The qualitative data provide a mixed picture of adolescent uptake and participation in training courses linked to COVID-19 prevention measures. As a key informant explained, "People of different ages participate in the training. Adolescents come, the religious leaders come…Four sessions a day are being given, in groups of five, [such as lessons on] maintaining social distance, what to do about nutrition, hand washing." However, an 18-year-old married girl noted that some training had been halted: "No one is holding meetings now. It's been [more than] one month." One 19-year-old married girl had not benefited from any training or classes: "No one came here to talk to us about anything."

Gendered Barriers to Education during COVID-19

We now discuss the gendered barriers to education faced by refugee adolescents in both contexts during COVID-19.

Connectivity

Distance learning via low- or high-tech practices, including radio, TV, and internet-enabled phones, was largely inaccessible among the adolescent Rohingya refugees in the camps. As a 17-year-old married girl explained, "We don't have any mobile phone or television." This also created gaps in the dissemination of information about COVID-19. Although a minority of Rohingya adolescents mentioned that their household owned a mobile phone and that they had found creative ways to go online—for example, "I use Facebook somehow [by] going up on the hill" (18-year-old male)—many more described how the combination of not owning a mobile phone, illiteracy, and internet suppression in the camps made internet-based information flow and learning difficult. A 15-year-old boy stated that "the internet connection has closed over here…I've never used the internet." One 17-year-old boy could not afford the internet: "How can I use [the internet] when I've no money? [Just] having food is too hard now." Poverty is a barrier to technological access for Rohingya adolescents, as a 15-year-old boy explained: "I don't have a smartphone like that. I'm poor, so I can't buy it." COVID-19 has further exacerbated personal and household income deprivation, which is a concern for many adolescents, as an 18-year-old boy explained: "We could earn money then. Now we can't."

There is a more mixed picture among the older adolescent Syrian refugees in Jordan, and the survey data reveal significant differences by gender. Overall, 67

percent of Syrian adolescents reported that their formal school was providing learning support during the COVID-19-related school closures; however, older girls were significantly more likely than their older male peers (58% versus 48%) to report receiving support from school (79%) or being in touch with a teacher in the seven days prior to the survey (60%). Older girls also felt that their parents were trying to accommodate their studies; they were more likely than older boys (65% versus 47%) to report that their family reduced the time they had to spend on household chores to support their learning from home, and that their family provided access to mobile learning apps during the shutdown (34% versus 24%). Our qualitative work helps to explain differing perceptions between boys and girls about the balance they were able to achieve between studying and domestic duties; prior to the pandemic, older boys were not expected to participate in household chores, but they reported that they were expected to do more to help around the home during lockdowns. These differences were typically less significant among boys and girls in the younger cohort, which suggests that gendered differences in support for schooling from family and schools increases with age.

By contrast, while students reported using internet-based methods to continue their education at a similar rate by gender within each cohort, older adolescent boys were much more likely to have their own mobile device with internet access (63%) than older adolescent girls (34%). Younger boys also were slightly more likely to have such a device than younger girls (14% versus 9%). Indeed, our qualitative findings highlight the fact that, although both boys and girls from refugee families were often at a disadvantage due to limited internet connectivity (in the camps) and poverty-related access barriers (in the host communities), discriminatory gender norms often exacerbated the challenges girls faced in accessing online education. Some girls noted that, pre-pandemic, they had generally had more limited access to mobile phones and the internet than their brothers, due to their parents' fears that the phones might expose them to unwanted male attention. Thus, the switch to online education presented them with a steeper learning curve, as a 14-year-old Syrian girl in a host community explained:

> We told the teachers that we didn't understand something, they told us to re-watch the lesson and that's it. It was as if the teacher only wants to relieve herself of the burden…Before… no one other than the teacher could explain the lesson for us, so she was obliged to explain…But now, at home…the lessons are explained on the platform, so the teacher has been ignoring us…It is so difficult, as all of this online stuff is not familiar to me.

Other girls explained that gaining access to devices was a major challenge, as they often did not own their own phone and had to negotiate access with their brothers, who were reluctant to share their phones. A 13-year-old Syrian girl living in an informal tented settlement explained: "I use my brother's phone to access the lessons but he often doesn't let anyone come near his phone…There is a lot of conflict about this, as he also needs the phone for his lessons."

DOMESTIC AND CAREGIVING RESPONSIBILITIES

School closures appear to have increased the amount of time adolescents spend on household chores and child care; this was reported by 93 percent of Rohingya adolescents in Bangladesh and 88 percent of Syrian adolescents in Jordan. Our qualitative data, however, highlight gender divides. Girls, particularly in the host communities, mentioned an increase in their household chores and in helping their mothers during the pandemic. By contrast, COVID-19 and the associated restrictions do not appear to have significantly changed the lived realities of married Rohingya girls. As an 18-year-old married girl stated, "I cook and serve food to everyone. That's all I do…We are women. There is no change in our work…[What is different is that] we can't have enough food. No one even gives us food." A 17-year-old married girl recounted similar experiences: "What do I do? I cook, serve food, eat, that's it."

Of the Syrian refugees in Jordan, less than half (46%) were spending the same number or more hours per day studying/learning, while 88 percent reported spending more time on household chores and/or child care during COVID-19. Our qualitative work shows that household burdens increased because more male family members were at home more often due to lockdowns, and a gendered division of labor meant that the majority of domestic responsibilities fell to women and girls. Our qualitative findings underscore the fact that these heavier domestic and caregiving responsibilities were affecting older and married girls in particular, which limited their ability to continue learning during the pandemic. As a 17-year-old Syrian girl in a host community explained, "I used to go to school, then I returned back and studied. If I was stressed, I went out walking or to the mall. Now, I cannot go out…Now, I just work at home. There is no time for fun…I sleep, study, or work at home. This affected my studies a lot." An 18-year-old married Syrian girl described her circumstances similarly:

> The situation has changed a lot since the virus. Before, I divided my time between school, the house, my husband, and studying…But now…I spend all my time at home, taking care

of my husband and the house. I try my best to learn new things, watch new things, and do new things, but time for myself is limited…Even to my parents' house, I went more often before… and sometimes I stayed over, but now, it's difficult to do so.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Drawing from an intersectional conceptual framing that attends to the ways vulnerability is compounded for the most socially marginalized, our findings demonstrate that the COVID-19 pandemic has heightened gender and other social inequalities that have shaped refugee adolescents' access to education. Rohingya refugee girls in Bangladesh reported experiencing more "time poverty," as they were expected to help with household work because they were not at school. This was compounded by a devaluation of girls' education, as reflected in the lower rates of attendance in religious education and informal education programs. By contrast, married girls' restricted mobility and responsibilities in the home changed little. The picture was more complex for Syrian refugees in Jordan, where girls' school enrollment before the pandemic was higher than in Bangladesh and digital connectivity was generally better. However, the school closures and the shift toward distance learning created new challenges. Despite support from international nongovernmental organizations and the schools, girls found themselves struggling to access distance learning because of discriminatory gender norms that restricted their use of technology. Syrian girls similarly reported a higher burden of domestic work, which limited their time to study. Demands on their time within the home left girls little flexibility in terms of when they could study.

These findings have various implications for gender-responsive education in emergencies in low- and middle-income countries. The first is the clear need to address time poverty and its impact on girls' opportunities to participate in distance learning. A 2020 Education Development Trust report found that addressing economic shocks and the costs associated with learning—for example, through cash transfers that incentivize girls to continue their education—can increase the participation of even the most marginalized girls (Naylor et al. 2020). However, school closures do not only affect practical matters. The findings discussed here echo other findings about the negative effects school closures have on young people's mental health and wellbeing (Lee 2020). For example, girls expressed fear and anxiety about being pushed into marriage and not being able to pursue their educational aspirations. Our findings also underscore the fact that regular communication with a trusted and competent adult who can assist with and advocate for girls' continued learning is vital, as is continued outreach by

the organizations that work with young people, as seen at the Makani education centers in Jordan.

Technology is an appealing means of delivering education in an emergency, and it has been the focus of many responses to COVID-19 (Naylor et al. 2020; Koomar et al. 2020). However, given the evidence that even very low-tech solutions may be unsuitable to the Rohingya refugees' context, local realities that present practical barriers to learning must not be overlooked. Furthermore, having access to technology does not guarantee that refugee adolescents will have equal learning opportunities (UNICEF and ITU 2020). Previous work on education in emergencies has identified modalities for delivering education that do not always rely on internet access. Using a combination of approaches can make distance learning more accessible; for example, a flexible multimodal approach may be more accessible for learners who, due to gender, marital status, age, or socioeconomic barriers, lack access to technology (Alam and Tiwari 2020). It is most vital that efforts to support education during and in the aftermath of the COVID-19 emergency, and future similar emergencies, confront and address the gender and social inequalities that shape learning opportunities for refugee adolescents.

REFERENCES

Abu Hamad, Bassam, Sarah Baird, Nicola Jones, Agnieszka Małachowska, Erin Oakley, Taghreed Alabbadi, Sarah Alheiwidi, and Wafa Amaireh. 2021. *Adolescents and the COVID-19 Pandemic: Experiences and Perspectives from Jordan's Host Communities and Refugee Camps.* Report. London: Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence. https://www.gage.odi.org/publication/living-with-the-covid-19-pandemic-adolescent-experiences-in-jordan/.

ACAPS. 2016. *Beyond a Public Health Emergency: Potential Secondary Humanitarian Impacts of a Large-Scale Ebola Outbreak*. Geneva: ACAPS. https://www.acaps.org/sites/acaps/files/products/files/t_beyond_a_public_health_emergency_feb_2016.pdf.

Alam, Andaleeb, and Priyamvada Tiwari. 2020. *Putting the "Learning" Back in Remote Learning: Policies to Uphold Effective Continuity of Learning through COVID-19*. UNICEF Issue Brief. New York: UNICEF Office of Global Insight and Policy. https://www.unicef.org/globalinsight/reports/putting-learning-back-remote-learning.

Asian Development Bank, Association for the Development of Education in Africa, BRAC, Education Above All, Education Cannot Wait, Save the Children, UNICEF et al. 2020. *Save Our Future: Averting an Education Catastrophe for the World's Children*. Manila: Asian Development Bank. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/White-Paper-FINAL.pdf.

Bakali, Naved, and Shujaat Wasty. 2020. "Identity, Social Mobility, and Trauma: Post-Conflict Educational Realities for Survivors of the Rohingya Genocide." *Religions* 11 (5): 241. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11050241.

Banaji, Shakuntala, Sonia Livingstone, Anulekha Nandi, and Mariya Stoilova. 2018. "Instrumentalising the Digital: Adolescents' Engagement with ICTs in Low- and Middle-Income Countries." *Development in Practice* 28 (3): 432-43. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2018.1438366.

Bandiera, Oriana, Niklas Buehren, Markus Goldstein, Imran Rasul, and Andrea Smurra. 2019. *The Economic Lives of Young Women in the Time of Ebola: Lessons from an Empowerment Program*. Policy Research Working Paper 8760. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/31337.

Bartels, Susan Andrea, Saja Michael, Sophie Roupetz, Stephanie Garbern, Lama Kilzar, Harveen Bergquist, Nour Bakhache, Colleen Davison, and Annie Bunting. 2018. "Making Sense of Child, Early and Forced Marriage among Syrian Refugee Girls: A Mixed Methods Study in Lebanon." *BMJ Global Health* 3 (1): e000509. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2017-000509.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241-99. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039.

DeJong, Jocelyn, Farah Sbeity, Jennifer Schlecht, Manale Harfouche, Rouham Yamout, Fouad M. Fouad, Seema Manohar, and Courtland Robinson. 2017. "Young Lives Disrupted: Gender and Well-Being among Adolescent Syrian Refugees in Lebanon." *Conflict and Health* 11 (1): 25-34. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-017-0128-7.

Dryden-Peterson, Sarah. 2011. *Refugee Education: A Global Review*. Geneva: UNHCR. https://www.unhcr.org/uk/research/evalreports/4fe317589/refugee-education-global-review-sarah-dryden-peterson-november-2011.html.

Fraser, Erika. 2020. *Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic on Violence against Women and Girls.* VAWG [Violence Against Women and Girls] Helpdesk Research Report No. 284. London: VAWG Helpdesk. https://www.sddirect.org.uk/media/1881/vawg-helpdesk-284-covid-19-and-vawg.pdf.

Girl Effect and Vodafone Foundation. 2018. *Real Girls, Real Lives, Connected: A Global Study of Girls' Access and Usage of Mobile through 3,000 Voices.* London: Vodafone Foundation. https://www.girlsandmobile.org.

Grandi, Filippo. 2018. *Her Turn: It's Time to Make Refugee Girls' Education a Priority.* Geneva: UNHCR. https://www.unhcr.org/herturn.

Guglielmi, Silvia, Nicola Jones, Jennifer Muz, Sarah Baird, Khadija Mitu, and Muhammad Ala Uddin. 2020a. *Age- and Gender-Based Violence Risks Facing Rohingya and Bangladeshi Adolescents in Cox's Bazar.* Policy Brief. London: Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence. https://www.gage.odi.org/publication/age-gender-based-violence-risks-rohingya-bangladeshi-adolescents/.

Guglielmi, Silvia, Nicola Jones, Jennifer Muz, Sarah Baird, Khadija Mitu, and Muhammad Ala Uddin. 2020b. *"I Don't Have Any Aspiration Because I Couldn't Study": Exploring the Educational Barriers Facing Adolescents in Cox's Bazar.* Policy Brief. London: Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence. https://www.gage.odi.org/publication/exploring-educational-barriers-facing-adolescents-coxs-bazar/.

Hanmer, Lucia, Eliana Rubiano, Julieth Santamaria, and Diana J. Arango. 2020. "How Does Poverty Differ among Refugees? Taking a Gender Lens to the Data on Refugees in Jordan." *Middle East Development Journal* 12 (2): 208-42. https://doi.org/10.1080/17938120.2020.1753995.

Hattar-Pollara, Marianne. 2019. "Barriers to Education of Syrian Refugee Girls in Jordan: Gender-Based Threats and Challenges." *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 51 (3): 241-51. https://doi.org/10.1111/jnu.12480.

INEE (Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies). 2020. *20 Years of INEE: Achievements and Challenges in Education in Emergencies.* New York: INEE. https://inee.org/resources/20-years-of-inee.

ISCG (Inter-Sector Coordination Group), IOM (International Organization for Migration), UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees), UNRC (UN Convention on the Rights of the Child) Bangladesh. 2020. *COVID-19 Response Plan: Addendum to the Joint Response Plan 2020. Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis (April-December 2020).* Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh: ISCG. https://reliefweb.int/report/bangladesh/2020-covid-19-response-plan-addendum-joint-response-plan-2020-rohingya.

Jones, Nicola, Sarah Baird, Elizabeth Presler-Marshall, Agnieszka Małachoswka, Kelly Kilburn, Bassam Abu Hamad, Aida Essaid et al. 2019. *Adolescent Well-Being in Jordan: Exploring Gendered Capabilities, Contexts and Change Strategies. A Synthesis Report on GAGE Jordan Baseline Findings.* London: Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence. https://www.gage.odi.org/publication/adolescent-well-being-in-jordan-synthesis-report-baseline-findings/.

Koomar, Saalim, Caitlin Moss Coflan, and Tom Kaye. 2020. *Using EdTech in Settings of Fragility, Conflict, and Violence: A Curated Resource List.* London: EdTech Hub Helpdesk Response No 8. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3885806.

MacKinnon, Catharine A. 2013. "Intersectionality as Method: A Note." *Signs* 38 (4): 1019-30. https://doi.org/10.1086/669570.

McKeever, Claire. 2020. "Cyberbullying: What It Is and How to Stop It." *UNICEF Jordan* (website), February 10, 2020. https://www.unicef.org/jordan/stories/cyberbullying-what-it-and-how-stop-it#cyber10.

Montanez, Joel, Sanchary Prativa, Ilja Ormel, Mukta Jahan Banu, Nicolas Gulino, and Cécile Bizouerne. 2019. "Focus Group Discussions with Rohingya Adolescents on Current and Future Perceived Needs and Wants from Two Distinct Cohorts in Bangladesh." *Intervention* 17 (2): 259-66. https://doi.org/10.4103/INTV.INTV_24_19.

Mourtada, Rima, Jennifer Schlecht, and Jocelyn DeJong. 2017. "A Qualitative Study Exploring Child Marriage Practices among Syrian Conflict-Affected Populations in Lebanon." *Conflict and Health* 11 (27): 53-65. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-017-0131-z.

Naylor, Ruth, Kristine Gorgen, Ed Gaible, and Jamie Proctor. 2020. *Overview of Emerging Country-Level Response to Providing Educational Continuity under COVID-19*: *What Are the Lessons Learned from Supporting Education for Marginalised Girls That Could Be Relevant for EdTech Responses to COVID-19 in Lower- and Middle-Income Countries?* Reading, UK: Education Development Trust and EdTech Hub. https://edtechhub.org/supporting-marginalised-girls-lessons-learned-before-the-pandemic.

Nelson, Erica L., Daniela Reyes Saade, and P. Gregg Greenough. 2020. "Gender-Based Vulnerability: Combining Pareto Ranking and Spatial Statistics to Model Gender-Based Vulnerability in Rohingya Refugee Settlements in Bangladesh." *International Journal of Health Geographics* 19 (1): 20. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12942-020-00215-3.

Onyango, Monica Adhiambo, Kirsten Resnick, Alexandra Davis, and Rupal Ramesh Shah. 2019. "Gender-Based Violence among Adolescent Girls and Young Women: A Neglected Consequence of the West African Ebola Outbreak." In *Pregnant in the Time of Ebola: Women and Their Children in the 2013-2015 West African Epidemic,* edited by David A. Schwartz, Julienne Ngoundoung Anoko, and Sharon A. Abramowitz, 121-32. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-97637-2_8.

OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). 2018. *Programme for International Student Assessment.* Paris: OECD. https://www.oecd.org/pisa/publications/pisa-2018-results.htm.

Pillai, Sharmila, and Ralph Zireva. 2020. *COVID-19 Response Strategy, 2020: Reaching Every Learner.* Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh: Cox's Bazaar Education Sector. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/education_sector_covid_19_strategy_2020.pdf.

Presler-Marshall, Elizabeth, Ingrid Gercama, and Nicola Jones. 2017. *Adolescent Girls in Jordan: The State of the Evidence.* London: Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence. https://www.gage.odi.org/publication/adolescent-girls-jordan-state-of-evidence/.

Rafaeli, Tal. 2020. *The Links between Girls' Life Skills Intervention in Emergencies and Their Return to Education Post-Crisis and Prevention of Unwanted Pregnancies and Early Marriage.* K4D Helpdesk Report 807. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.

Risso-Gill, Isabelle, and Leah Finnegan. 2015. *Children's Ebola Recovery Assessment: Sierra Leone.* Freetown, Sierra Leone: UN Children's Fund, Save the Children, Plan International, and World Vision. https://www.savethechildren.org/content/dam/global/reports/emergency-humanitarian-response/ebola-rec-sierraleone.pdf.

Santos, Ricardo, and Mario Novelli. 2017. *The Effect of the Ebola Crisis on the Education System's Contribution to Post-Conflict Sustainable Peacebuilding in Liberia.* Brighton UK: University of Sussex Centre for International Education. https://educationanddevelopment.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/liberia-report_march2017_lowres.pdf.

Shane-Simpson, Christina, Jennifer Dixon, Tawnya Fay Switzer, Joanna Laursen Brucker, John Fraser, and Kate Flinner. 2017. *From Browsing to Behaviour Change: How Digital Interventions Influence Offline Change among Adolescent Girls.* London: New Knowledge Organisation, Ltd., and Girl Effect. https://www.datocms-assets.com/15254/1567649714-newknowledgereportdigitalfinal.pdf.

Shohel, M. Mahruf C. 2020. "Education in Emergencies: Challenges of Providing Education for Rohingya Children Living in Refugee Camps in Bangladesh." *Education Inquiry* 13 (1): 104-26. https://doi.org/10.1080/20004508.2020.1823121.

Toulemonde, Marie. 2020. *COVID-19 Outbreak: Rapid Gender Analysis.* Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh: ISCG Gender Hub, UN Women, CARE, and Oxfam. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/covid-19_outbreak_rapid_gender_analysis_-_coxs_bazar_-_may_2020.pdf.

Trucano, Michael. 2010. "Worst Practice in ICT Use in Education." *World Bank Blogs,* April 30, 2010. https://blogs.worldbank.org/edutech/worst-practice.

UNICEF and ITU (International Telecommunication Union). 2020. *How Many Children and Young People Have Internet Access at Home? Estimating Digital Connectivity during the COVID-19 Pandemic.* Report. New York: UNICEF. https://www.unicef.org/reports/how-many-children-and-young-people-have-internet-access-home-2020.

UNDP (UN Development Programme). 2014. "Red Flags Raised as Ebola Set to Reverse Development Gains—UN Study Finds." Press Release, November 14, 2014. https://reliefweb.int/report/sierra-leone/red-flags-raised-ebola-set-reverse-development-gains-un-study-finds.

UNESCO (UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation). 2018. *A Lifeline to Learning: Leveraging Technology to Support Education for Refugees.* Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000261278.

UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees). 2019. *Stepping Up: Refugee Education in Crisis.* Geneva: UNHCR. https://www.unhcr.org/steppingup.

UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees). 2020. *Coming Together for Refugee Education.* Geneva: UNHCR. https://www.unhcr.org/5f4f9a2b4.

UNMEER (UN Mission for Emergency Ebola Response). 2015. "External Situation Report." Accra, Ghana: UNMEER. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/150218-_unmeer_external_situation_report.pdf.

USAID (United States Agency for International Development). 2015. *Jordan National Youth Assessment, 2015.* Arlington, VA: USAID and Jordan Monitoring and Evaluation Support Program.

Wringe, Alison, Ekua Yankah, Tania Parks, Omar Mohamed, Mohamad Saleh, Olivia Speed, Rebecca Hémono et al. 2019. "Altered Social Trajectories and Risks of Violence among Young Syrian Women Seeking Refuge in Turkey: A Qualitative Study." *BMC Women's Health* 19 (1): 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-019-0710-9.