

Empowering Girls and Enhancing Learning in DRC

Note 3 of 3
June 2021

Policy Implications of the Basic Education Gender Gap in DRC

Melissa Adelman
Iva Trako
Eliot Faron de Goër
Maroua Sallami

Executive Summary

As the gender gap in education is closing at the primary level across most of DRC, successful implementation of the free schooling policy will be among the most effective approaches to eliminating remaining inequities. Lower costs and greater access go hand-in-hand with increased gender equity. Early indications suggest that the free schooling policy has disproportionately benefited girls, with gender parity improving in primary and secondary as measured by phone surveys in Kinshasa, Ituri, and North Kivu. Looking across DRC's provinces, 10 of the 11 provinces with a net primary enrollment rate of at least 80 percent have a gender gap below 5 percent. Global evidence corroborates this relationship, as reducing costs is consistently among the most effective initiatives for increasing girls' enrollment.

Achieving gender equity in educational attainment, necessary for DRC's human capital and poverty reduction agenda, will require prioritizing investments in secondary that target girls in underserved provinces and rural areas. As detailed in Note 1, secondary enrollment overall is much lower than primary enrollment in DRC, with greater disparities within and across provinces. Relatedly, gender disparities are larger overall and also vary more across provinces. This creates a potential opportunity for provinces to learn from each other what works best to increase girls' participation in secondary, as well as drawing from the international evidence presented in this note series. Increasing girls' secondary participation is necessary not only for gender equity in educational attainment, but also for reducing early marriage and adolescent fertility, and ultimately breaking the intergenerational cycle of low human capital accumulation in which many families in DRC are trapped.

Based on the diagnostics presented in Notes 1 and 2, as well as evidence from DRC and across the world, six approaches hold the most promise for increasing girls' access to and completion of secondary school. On the supply side, the three priority approaches are: (i) rehabilitate/expand and build adequately equipped secondary schools in communities that lack access, (ii) increase the share of female secondary school teachers and improve the quality of teaching overall, and (iii) eliminate school violence of all forms through stronger school leadership and foster commitment to equitable access by leveraging community engagement. On the demand side, the three priority approaches are: (i) lowering the costs (direct, indirect, and opportunity costs) for poor families of sending girls to secondary school, (ii) empowering girls and their families to challenge harmful social norms, and (iii) providing flexible education opportunities to keep girls and boys learning in crisis situations.

These efforts will be most effective when approached from two directions: focusing resources and programs on removing the multiple layers of disadvantage affecting vulnerable girls, as well as developing the next cadre of women innovators and political and social leaders...**and as part of a broader multidimensional approach** that empowers girls and women to control over their life choices, enhances their access to healthcare to improve their own and their children's health outcomes, and provides productive employment opportunities to utilize their skills and earn a living.

Box 1: Schooling as part of a broader agenda of gender equity, human capital, and poverty reduction in DRC: the need for a multidimensional approach

The 3 notes in this series have shown that there are a host of factors, both within and outside of the school system, that drive poor outcomes and large gender gaps in education. Gender disparities in education are themselves part of a broader set of issues affecting girls and women, and ultimately the development of human capital across the DRC. For example, women's lower rates of secondary school participation and completion are among the most important explanatory factors in gender disparities in wage earnings. Yet women also reap lower economic returns to education, as they continue to face discrimination in the workplace, are less likely to participate in the labor force, and are disproportionately burdened with domestic work. Widespread poverty pushes many families to marry their daughters too early, and inadequate health services contribute to high rates of fertility and poor maternal and child health outcomes. These realities contribute to the perpetuation of gendered social norms across generations, including to parents' less ambitious educational goals for their daughters compared to their sons. They also drive an intergenerational cycle of low human capital accumulation for men and women, who are unable to accumulate enough skills to escape poverty through productive work.

The World Bank's 4E framework outlines the importance of a multidimensional approach to tackling these issues. DRC has made progress on **empowering** girls and women through enacting and enforcing legislation on equal rights, prohibiting child marriage, and fighting against gender-based violence. Yet girls and women continue to suffer in all three of these dimensions, making it urgent to further invest in shifting social norms and changing behavior. Increased focus from the Government of DRC (including over \$1B in World Bank financing) on **enhancing** maternal and child **health**, including family planning services, should contribute to reducing mortality rates, adolescent and total fertility, and early childhood development. Coupled with the DRC's priority on **educating** girls and boys, these investments should yield improvements in human capital in the coming years. Productive **employment** opportunities can turn these improvements into much-needed poverty reduction, and spark a new cycle of intergenerational progress.

Sources: World Bank Africa Women's Empowerment DRC Note; World Bank DRC Gender Diagnostic Report 2021

Box 2: Empowering girls and enhancing learning outcomes note series

In recognition of the critical role human capital plays in a country's development, and seeing that the country ranks 164th out of 174 countries on the 2020 Human Capital Index, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has set education investment as an urgent priority for the country.¹ This takes the form of free public primary schooling, the current administration's signature policy which took effect in September 2019. Full implementation of the policy is expected to cost over US\$1B per year, more than doubling recent levels of public spending on primary education.

While financial constraints greatly impede access to education in the DRC, the equity of access across genders is equally worrisome. The purpose of this note series, and the broader Advisory Services and Analytics (ASA) on Empowering Girls and Enhancing Learning in DRC, is to identify such barriers and offer solutions to lift them, guaranteeing equal opportunity of schooling across genders. This ASA will generate new data and analysis on girl's education and empowerment in the DRC through a series of three snapshot notes:

Note 1. Snapshot of the Gender Gap

Note 2. Supply and Demand Side Determinants of the Gender Gap

Note 3. Policy Implications and Practical Solution to Addressing the Gender Gap

Note 1 "***Snapshot of the Gender Gap***" provides a broad diagnostic of the basic education system in DRC, in terms of the gender gap in access and quality of education, before delving into its determinants and searching for remedial policies.

Note 2 "***Determinants of the Gender Gap***" identifies both the supply and demand side barriers to girl's education in DRC following closely the framework presented in the 2018 World Development Report. In particular, this note focuses on two critical factors that currently limit girl's education and empowerment:

- (i) quality of service delivery (supply side); and
- (ii) household financing and cultural norms (demand side).

Note 3 "***Policy Implications and Practical Solutions to Addressing the Gender Gap***" identifies several policy recommendations that hold promise for keeping girls in school and learning. This last note uses evidence from literature reviews and interventions that have proven effective in the past or in other contexts for tackling constraints to girls' education.

This note presents the findings of Note 3 "***Policy Implications of the Basic Education Gender Gap***".

¹ The World Bank, 'The Human Capital Index 2020 Update'.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	v
Supply Side Policies	1
1. Rehabilitate and build better equipped secondary schools	1
2. Increase female teaching staff and improve teacher competencies	2
3. Eliminate school-related gender-based violence and leverage local community engagement.....	4
Demand Side Policies	6
1. Lower the cost of sending girls to secondary school.....	6
2. Empower girls to challenge harmful gender norms.....	8
3. Sustain education during emergency crises	9
Bibliography	12

Section 1

Supply Side Policies

On the supply side, the provision of accessible and safe secondary schools is capable of leading to large gender parity improvements, while better trained teachers and engaged communities provide an enabling environment to keep adolescent girls in the education system. Moreover, a growing consensus is emerging that supply-side policies for education must be holistic in their approach in order to be successful.

1. Rehabilitate and build better equipped secondary schools

Lessons learned from Note 2

The existing infrastructure for secondary schools in DRC is poor and is disproportionately disadvantaging girls. Secondary schools are too few and too far, leading to long travel times and increasing both transport costs and security risks for teenage girls, especially in conflict-affected provinces. Existing schools lack gender-segregated sanitation facilities and running water, which can lead girls to be absent during menstruation or to drop out prematurely.

Continue increasing public resources devoted to education, with well-targeted investments in secondary infrastructure to reduce provincial and rural/urban disparities and increase gender equity. As detailed in the World Bank's 2021 Public Expenditure and Institutional Review (PEIR), DRC has significantly increased the share of the public budget devoted to education since the start of the free schooling policy. However, it will take many years to make up for chronic underinvestment in the past, and moreover, public resources will remain inadequate until the country is able to mobilize more public revenues. As more resources for secondary education become available, underserved provinces and rural areas where gender disparities are highest should be prioritized for the infrastructure investments discussed below.

Make secondary schools more accessible through a combination of rehabilitation/expansion and new construction and, where feasible, safe transport programs. Distance to school remains one of the most important barriers to girl's education as roughly 17 percent of secondary school-age children across DRC live more than 5 kilometers (at least an hour of walk) from the nearest secondary school. Research has shown that locating new schools in underserved areas and in locations that reduce travel time and distance to school has significant benefits for girls. For instance, the construction of new schools dramatically improved girls' enrollment and average test scores in rural areas of Afghanistan (Burde & Linden, 2013) and increased school attendance in Indonesia (Duflo, 2001). In addition, reducing the distance that a girl needs to travel to school to less than 1 mile for Ghanaian girls had a positive effect on their test scores, similar to that of many successful classroom-based interventions (Camfed Ghana, 2012). Therefore, building new secondary schools in underserved areas, combined with a safe and free transport program where feasible, should be a priority for improving access to secondary especially for girls. Geo-mapping of all existing secondary schools, completed in 2019, could be combined with satellite-based population estimates as well as administrative and survey data (in lieu of a population census) to develop a prioritized plan.

Invest in water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) infrastructure in secondary schools to improve girl's educational outcomes. Focus groups participants in Kinshasa and Kananga cited the lack of gender-segregated toilets as major security and health barriers to girls' education. Evidence shows that improvements to WASH facilities in schools contribute to better student health and make adolescent girls, especially those who are menstruating, feel more comfortable in school (Sperling & Winthrop, 2015). For instance, the provision of separate latrines for adolescent girls in India significantly reduced dropout rates and the impact persisted at least three years after construction, outlasting the effect of many other education interventions (Adukia, 2017). Similarly, sanitation improvements such as lower student-to-toilet ratios, handwashing and drinking-water containers, water disinfectant and building more latrines in school have shown to increase girls' school attendance and reduce absenteeism in Kenya (Bashir, et al., 2018; Freeman, et al., 2012). Furthermore, in South Africa, increasing the number of toilets in urban townships is shown to have reduced sexual assaults against women by 30 percent, a testimony to the possible spillovers adequate hygiene infrastructure can have for schoolgirls (Gonsalves, et al., 2015).

Complement WASH investments with menstrual hygiene management supplies in schools, including educational material about puberty. The evidence shows that supplying girls with sanitary pads leads them to feel better about themselves, less anxious about others knowing they are menstruating, and more confident about participating in school, although there is no rigorous evidence of impacts on attendance or dropout (Oster & Thornton, 2011; Dolan, et al., 2014; Jewitt & Ryley, 2014). In addition, research on menstrual hygiene management issues has also shown that the largest gain from these type of interventions is reached when the provision of menstrual hygiene products is implemented in combination with interventions that target adolescent girl's knowledge about puberty, which is frequently quite limited (Montgomery, et al., 2012).

2. Increase female teaching staff and improve teacher competencies

Lessons learned from Note 2

There is a profound shortage of female teachers, as well appropriately skilled teachers, at the secondary level. Recent data from the Ministry of Education shows that on average only 10 percent of secondary school teachers are women, and only 25 percent have a postsecondary degree. Within secondary schools, few teachers are trained to challenge gender norms and biases, which tends to further gender stereotypes and impede gender parity in education attainment.

Hire and deploy more female teachers across the country. Given the extremely low share of female teachers at the secondary level, the government should develop a teacher hiring strategy in order to prepare and attract more female teachers into the profession, and also a deployment strategy in order to provide a more equitable distribution of female teachers across secondary schools, particularly in remote rural areas.² Previous research suggests that hiring more female teachers is necessary in contexts such as the DRC, where there is a great disparity in the ratio between male and female teachers and where social norms discourage girls from attending school with male teachers (Kirk, 2004). For instance, evidence from Yemen and India shows that increasing the share of female teachers led to sustained gender parity in enrolment, and to positive effects on girls' completion rates at the primary level (Yuki, et al., 2013; Chin, 2005). Similarly, increasing the number of female teachers at the secondary level led to improved academic performance for girls in Ghana (Agyapong, 2018). Therefore, hiring more female teachers at the secondary

² When female teachers are not available, schools should recruit women from the local communities as teaching assistants to promote a more protective learning environment for children.

level could lead to large gains for girls in DRC, if accompanied by the provision of adequate trainings and school materials.

Establish a system to provide quality in-service training and professional development opportunities to improve secondary school teacher competencies. In order to improve the quality of teaching, in-service training should be subject-specific rather than general, focused on practice rather than theory, and provided as continuous support rather than one-shot training (Popova, et al., 2016).³ It is also important to ensure that teachers are provided with sufficient materials and tools to adequately manage large classrooms. In sum, training the current stock of teachers and providing them with continued support for improving how they teach can be effective, even when the teaching force is relatively low-skilled. Examples of successful programs that provide long-term professional development and coaching have shown to have positive impacts on student learning (Popova, et al., 2016).⁴ Yet in DRC, neither primary nor secondary school teachers receive this type of support on a regular basis – initiatives are largely donor-financed and limited to a subset of schools or geographic areas. Going forward, developing and deploying effective in-service teacher training mechanisms nationally could be one of the highest-return investments for the education system.

Ensure adequate qualification requirements are in place and applied for secondary teachers, and where necessary provide financial incentives to encourage teachers, especially female teachers, to work in under-served areas of the country. Over time as more fiscal resources are available, boosting the prestige of the teaching profession through better compensation or teaching awards could attract a larger pool of qualified applicants to become secondary teachers. For instance, a specific set of incentives such as better pay, monetary bonuses or opportunities for promotion could be put in place in areas that suffer from critical shortages. In addition, introducing a teaching recognition award that rewards teachers based on student examination results, reductions in dropout or completion of teacher in-service trainings could improve teacher motivation. Previous research from India, Kenya and Tanzania suggests that providing teachers with monetary awards or in-kind rewards linked to their student's performance can be successful at attracting better teachers and improving learning outcomes (Muralidharan & Sundararaman, 2011; Glewwe, et al., 2010; Filmer, et al., 2020).

Embedding gender-sensitive approaches into teacher training can help combat gender stereotypes and improve the learning environment for girls. Given that teachers tend to carry their gendered upbringing and prejudices to the classroom, in-service training with a gender-sensitive approach can help to equip them with the skills to identify at-risk students and support equal learning environments. Effective approaches include encouraging respect for girls and boys equally; making sure that girls can participate in class equally with boys; encouraging girls to study subjects such as mathematics and science, expressing similar expectations for boys and girls in learning performance; and suggesting non-traditional occupations for girls (Sperling & Winthrop, 2015). For instance, thirteen African countries have adapted the model of teacher training followed by the Forum for African Women Educationalist's Gender-Responsive Pedagogy, which trains teachers in the design and use of gender-responsive lesson plans, language in the classroom, classroom interactions, among other things (Mlama, et al., 2005). Although research on the impact of such programs is scarce, gender-responsiveness training of this kind has been associated with improved

³ A recent meta-analysis shows that some of the most effective teacher training interventions involve structured pedagogy in early grades, or providing teachers with clear guidance on teaching or even scripted lesson plans (Evans & Yuan, 2019).

⁴ In DRC, the Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom (LRHC) program provided primary-school teachers in Katanga with training and peer support for effective teaching, as well as instructional guides for improved pedagogy. Evaluation of the program found marginally significant positive impacts on children's reading scores and geometry scores, but not on their addition/subtraction scores (Aber, et al., 2016). In Liberia, teacher trainings through the EGRA Plus program led to children learning the equivalent of three years of schooling in a single year (Piper & Korda, 2011).

outcomes for girls and boys.⁵ Qualitative evidence also suggests that where schools have a focus on gender equality, a more gender-sensitive approach is used in the classroom (Marcus & Ella, 2016).

3. Promote safe, equitable school climates by strengthening leadership and leveraging community engagement

Lessons learned from Note 2

Corporal punishment is widespread and teacher harassment against schoolgirls has been linked to dropouts in DRC secondary schools. Physical and sexual violence against girls is higher in DRC than in neighboring countries, and local community engagement in school management practices is not sufficient to reduce such pervasiveness.

Strengthen school leadership by providing training to principals on promoting a safe school climate with a special focus on gender sensitivity. The quality of school leadership is a significant determinant of both overall levels of learning in a school and equity in learning among students (Bashir, et al., 2018; Bloom, et al., 2015). In order to improve school management practices, including those related to gender-based violence in school, principals and head teachers must be knowledgeable not only in teaching and curriculum matters, but also in mechanisms for monitoring and supervising teachers and students. In particular, they must be trained to protect students from school-related gender-based violence and to strengthen the mechanisms for reporting violations to the appropriate enforcement authorities and for holding perpetrators of violence accountable. For instance, a rigorous study of USAID’s Safe Schools Program in Ghana and Malawi concludes that schools that reformed their staff code of conduct increased the number of teachers who knew how to report an incident of gender-based violence in the school (USAID, 2008). Similarly, an evaluation of the Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) program shows that girls are more likely to report gender-based violence if schools have established mechanisms for doing so (Unterhalter & Heslop, 2012).

Prohibit all school staff from using any form of corporal punishment, and do not tolerate harassment or abuse perpetrated by staff or students. To ensure that schools provide a safe and secure environment for girls and boys, a reassessment of the existing legislation on the use of corporal punishment is needed. While corporal punishment is considered unlawful in schools, corporal punishment is still permitted in households under the Family Code of 1987 (Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children).⁶ This dichotomy between types of lawful punishment in and out of school helps to maintain the social acceptability of corporal punishment in Congolese society. Given the harmful effects it has on students and their education, principals and teachers need to be trained in alternative forms of class management and discipline measures that do not lead to students dropping out of school prematurely. For instance, a qualitative study from Sierra Leone shows that raising teacher and community awareness about teacher’s

⁵ In both primary and secondary schools in Nigeria and Tanzania, the Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) program provided teachers with training on gender issues, HIV and participatory methods to facilitate the active participation of students in the classroom, particularly girls. Evaluation of the program shows that improving teacher qualifications (through pre-service and in-service training) is associated with girls speaking out more about obstacles to completing their education and possible solutions. Girls were also more confident in dealing with GBV and had improved knowledge of HIV and gender equality (Unterhalter & Heslop, 2012).

⁶ Ministerial decision No. MINEPSP/CABMIN/00100940/90 of 1 September 1990 establishing internal regulations for students. Article 326(4) of the Family Code 1987 states that “a person exercising parental authority may inflict reprimands and punishments on the child to an extent compatible with its age and the improvement of its conduct”.

code of conduct and training teachers with alternative classroom discipline helped reduce corporal punishment in the classroom. More specifically, students reported that teachers disciplined students by having them sweep or clean the classroom instead of receiving floggings (Reilly, 2014). In addition, given the pervasiveness of both teachers' sexually harassing students and various forms of bullying among students reported in focus group discussions, it is important to help school leaders develop rules to prohibit and practices to discourage and sanction these behaviors.

Leverage community engagement in the management of schools to focus attention and foster parental support for girls' schooling. Engaging the community, parents and especially mothers in the management of a school can be key to removing barriers to girls' education (Sperling & Winthrop, 2015). In particular, it is important to ensure that school staff are working with the committee to identify and reach out-of-school girls in the community. Previous research has shown that when community members monitor school committee action plans as well as teacher and student performance more closely, schooling outcomes for girls improve. For instance, a randomized experiment in Indonesia finds that increasing relationships between school committees and village-level structures (by having elected school committees instead of appointed ones) improves student learning, especially for girls (Pradhan, et al., 2014). In the same line, evidence from rural Mali shows that parents were willing to enroll their daughters in community schools as long as school management committees had gender parity as an explicit goal in school enrollment (Laugharn, 2007). In DRC, the strong tradition of school management committees can be leveraged to develop stronger support for girls' secondary schooling among communities, for example by monitoring the student body for girls and boys at risk of dropping out and taking action to support them (a basic early warning system), or identifying and addressing school-level issues that discourage girls from enrolling or persisting.

Section 2

Demand Side Policies

On the demand side, the cost of sending a girl to secondary school and social norms around gender pull girls out of the school system as they reach adolescence. To offset these pull factors, policies must lower the financial burden of schooling on families wishing to send their daughters to school. Policies must also raise awareness and empower girls to challenge gender norms surrounding teenage pregnancy and early marriages. For students affected by conflict, especially in Eastern DRC, both physical and technological infrastructure can improve schooling access and learning outcomes.

1. Lower the cost of sending girls to secondary school

Lessons learned from Note 2

Poorer households are less likely to send their daughters to school, especially at the secondary level. Direct costs (school fees), indirect costs (uniforms, transport), and opportunity costs lead to high education expenses for secondary children. When costs are high and resources limited, households generally prefer to educate boys over girls. The worsening economic situation due to the COVID-19 crisis is exacerbating such financial struggles.

In the medium term, prioritize fee-free secondary education as a natural continuation of the free schooling policy. The implementation of free primary schooling in DRC is a step in the right direction, and early indications suggest the policy has improved gender parity at primary, lower secondary, and upper secondary levels, due to both directly reducing schooling costs as well as freeing up household resources to finance secondary school (World Bank PEIR 2021). However, in the medium term, policies that eliminate fees and make schooling more affordable, together with carefully planning to handle increased enrollment (e.g. through building new schools) are critical for achieving universal secondary education. Extensive research has shown that many of the most effective interventions to improve access to education for girls consist of reducing schooling costs (Evans & Yuan, 2019; Morgan, et al., 2012).⁷ However, recent research has also shown that, though crucial, eliminating fees alone may not be sufficient to bring the poorest girls to school, as they still face large indirect and opportunity costs (Chepleting, et al., 2013; Lincove, 2009; Sperling & Winthrop, 2015). Additional interventions beyond the abolition of fees, like cash-based transfers or scholarships, will be needed to enable poor households to send and keep their girls (and boys) in school (Lucas & Mbiti, 2012).

Reward school attendance with cash transfers. There is substantial evidence that providing conditional cash transfers (CCTs) to poor families can be very effective for increasing girls' school participation in both primary and secondary schools (Evans & Yuan, 2019; Garcia & Saavedra, 2017; Baird, et al., 2014). For instance, the CCTs distributed in the Zomba Cash Transfer experiment in Malawi more than doubled the reenrollment of girls between 13 and 22 years old who were out of school at baseline (Baird, et al., 2011). The Punjab Female Stipend Program in Pakistan increased lower secondary school enrollment, completion rates and transition rates to upper secondary for girls (Alam, et al., 2011). In rural Bangladesh,

⁷ Even though many of these policies are not girl-targeted, they are still the most effective way of bringing girls to school and keeping them in school (Evans & Yuan, 2019).

the Female Stipend Program (FSP), which provided secondary school-age girls with stipends to attend school in the mid-1990s almost doubled enrolment (Khandker, et al., 2003). Similarly, the Mexican PROGRESA Program (renamed *Oportunidades*) which gave families monthly payments conditional on 85 percent school attendance increased across-the-board enrollment in primary and secondary and has been successfully scaled up and replicated (Schultz, 2004; Behrman, et al., 2005). This type of demand-side intervention can also be implemented in the context of DRC to incentivize access to education for girls from disadvantaged households, building on recent successful experiences with social safety net programs.⁸

Incentivize secondary school enrollment with scholarship programs for low-income girls. Similar to cash transfers, scholarship programs have the potential to reduce the direct and opportunity costs of schooling, which may create an incentive for parents to send their daughters to school. However, scholarship programs must be designed with transparent eligibility criteria to avoid participation as being viewed as unfairly allocated.⁹ Overall, previous evidence suggests that merit-based scholarships can effectively increase attendance and test scores, while needs-based scholarships tend to affect mainly enrollment and attendance, but not test scores (Dynarski & Scott-Clayton, 2013). For instance, experimental evidence from the DRC suggests that providing needs-based scholarships to primary school girls successfully increased their enrollment in late primary grades, while interventions supporting their studies, such as providing tutoring services, are less impactful (Randall & Garcia, 2020). In Cambodia, a needs-based scholarship programs encouraged girls to transition to secondary school, increasing girl's secondary school enrollment and attendance among the poorest. However, there were no impacts on math and vocabulary tests (Filmer & Shady, 2008). Similarly, in Ghana, free secondary and tertiary education allocated through a needs-based scholarships increased attainment, knowledge, skills and health outcomes, and lowered fertility for women (Duflo, et al., 2019). In the Gambia, another scholarship program improved girls' secondary enrolment by 10 percent (Gajigo, 2016). Despite targeting secondary girls, the program also improved primary enrolment, in anticipation of lower costs of future secondary schooling for their children.

Also consider in-kind transfer programs to encourage poor households to send their daughters to school. The government of DRC could also explore other types of targeted social assistance programs for increasing girl's school participation in secondary level through in-kind transfers (e.g. uniforms, bicycles, school supplies) or school feeding programs. Research has shown that in-kind transfers can be effective at increasing school attendance, especially for girls. For instance, providing free uniforms to primary school children in Kenya significantly reduced girl's dropout rates (Duflo, et al., 2014). Another in-kind program that provided free uniforms to orphans in Kenya reduced absenteeism for the poorest beneficiaries, and impacts on girls' attendance was larger than for boys (Evans, et al., 2008).¹⁰ In India, providing girls with bicycles increased girl's age-appropriate enrollment in secondary school and reduced the gender gap in enrollment (Muralidharan & Prakash, 2017). In the same line, school feeding programs provide an incentive for parents to send their children, but they also provide students with the nutrition they need to improve learning outcomes. Evidence from Burkina Faso and Ghana reveals that providing meals in school or take-

⁸ Previous research has also shown that both conditional cash transfer (CCTs) and unconditional cash transfers (UCTs) are effective at increasing school participation compared to no cash transfer programme. However, CCTs tend to have larger effects in improving girl's educational outcomes, while UCTs may be more effective in improving girl's health outcomes (Baird, et al., 2014). In addition, the limited literature on humanitarian assistance programs highlights the potential of UCTs for making a difference in access to education for displaced children from conflict affected settings, but more research is needed on the impact of UCTs to be able to draw clear conclusions (Brück, et al., 2019).

⁹ If not, they can negatively impact the attendance and general well-being of non-recipients. For instance, scholarship allocation may lead households with two or more children to reallocate child work to ineligible siblings or re-direct educational investments away from a sibling who did not receive a scholarship, creating inequalities within the household.

¹⁰ Similarly, students that participated in a school supplies provision program in Kenya, that provided uniforms, textbooks and additional classrooms, were less likely to drop out of school and had completed more schooling compared to students in control schools 5 years after the program (Kremer, 2003).

home ratios can lead to positive effects on school participation and learning outcomes (Kazianga, et al., 2014; Aurino, et al., 2020).

2. Empower girls to challenge harmful gender norms

Lessons learned from Note 2

Social norms surrounding girl's education beyond primary contribute to widening gender gaps. Girls tend to work more intensively on household chores than boys, reducing their time available for school attendance or homework. The high prevalence of early marriage and teenage pregnancies lead to girls dropping out of the school system entirely. Qualitative evidence suggests that in some parts of the country, social pressures can lead families to prioritize other expenditures over girls' secondary schooling.

Enforce legal age of marriage and ensure that pregnant and married girls can continue their education free from stigma and discrimination. In 2016, with the amendment of the Family Code, the legal minimum age of was set at 18 for both men and women in the DRC.¹¹ The government of DRC should enforce this law and the Congolese Child Protection Act (Article 48) in all regions of the country. Moreover, married girls should be encouraged to continue their studies, including during pregnancy and after childbirth. Even though the legal framework is evolving in the right direction, these policy changes need to be backed up with additional measures or interventions targeting social and cultural norms surrounding child marriage and teenage pregnancy to enforce these changes.¹²

Reduce financial constraints through in-kind and cash transfers to prevent teenage pregnancy and early marriage. Many social assistance interventions that reduce financial constraints in the household have also been successful at reducing early pregnancy and marriage through spillover effects. For instance, the free uniforms program in Kenya significantly reduced girl's dropout rate, but also led to a significant decline in teenage pregnancy rates (Duflo, et al., 2014). In Malawi, out-of-school girls who received CCTs were less likely to have been married and to have been pregnant two years after the program, while there was no effect on early pregnancy and marriage rates for UCT recipients (Baird, et al., 2011). Similarly, the Punjab Female Stipend Program in Pakistan delayed early marriage by 18 months, and recipient girls had an average of 0.3 fewer children (Alam, et al., 2011).

Provide information to parents about the benefits of educating girls and raise awareness about the negative impacts of early marriage and pregnancy. Improving the information on which households base the schooling decision of their children has the potential to both increase their investments in education and provide additional support to their daughters. Research has shown that social media campaigns on radio, TV and in the press or edutainment interventions can be used to change attitudes and behaviors related to early marriage, teenage pregnancy and sexual behavior. For instance, awareness campaigns on the radio and in community drama durbars in Ghana, Zimbabwe and Malawi had a significant impact on reducing teenage pregnancy rates (Leach, et al., 2003). Similarly, exposure to entertainment education interventions (e.g. drama series or comic movie) in Nigeria and Kenya aimed at providing information related to safer sexual practices and HIV significantly improved the knowledge and attitudes towards risky sexual behavior (Banerjee, et al., 2019; Dupas, 2011). These types of social media campaigns could be

¹¹ Prior to this amendment of the Family Code in 2016 (Law 2016-008, Art 352, 2016), there were exceptions to the legal age of marriage where children under the age of 18 could contract marriage provided there was consent of the parents or legal authority.

¹² In 2019, the Congolese Senate passed a law which enables access to family planning services for all women, including adolescents, and protects a women's ability to choose family planning methods even if her spouse objects.

targeted to parents, guardians and community leaders in DRC in order to raise their awareness about the harmful physical, educational, and psychological effects of teenage pregnancy and early marriage, the importance of pregnant girls and young mothers continuing their education, and ultimately the benefits of educating all girls.

Empower girls through safe spaces and girls' clubs to raise awareness and challenge gender norms.

Given the high prevalence of early marriage, teenage pregnancy and also gender-based violence in and out of school in DRC, interventions that help empower girls (e.g. girls clubs) can have promising effects on changing attitudes and behavior related to gender norms. Safe spaces and girls' clubs are an innovative and increasingly popular intervention for empowering girls and increasing their capacity to stand up against gender-based violence and other issues of gender inequality. For instance, girls' clubs led by trained female mentors in Ghana, Mozambique, and Kenya provided important spaces for combating discriminatory and oppressive gender norms. In particular, girls were able to change their attitudes towards gender and violence and increased their knowledge about how and where to report incidences of violence, compared to girls who did not participate. (Parkes, et al., 2013). In Swaziland, girls' clubs for 16 year-olds helped increase girl's social assets (e.g. friendship or participation in extracurricular activities) and their awareness about gender-based violence (Manzini-Henwood, et al., 2015). Similarly, girls clubs run by BRAC Uganda that offered an integrated package of games, music, sex education, financial literacy, vocational training and access to microfinance for young women (in and out-of-school) reduced teenage pregnancy rates by a third and early marriage or cohabitation by 62 percent four years after the program (Bandiera, et al., 2018).¹³

Provide girls with female mentors and role models. Exposure to female leaders or role models weakens gender-stereotypes about roles and norms among boys and girls and also significantly increases parent's aspirations for their daughters as well as adolescent girl's aspirations for their own education and careers. For instance, in India, researchers found that the mere exposure to more female leaders in village councils, helped close the gender gap in adolescent attainment and led girls to spend less time on domestic chores, through what the authors identify as a "role-model" effect (Beaman, et al., 2012). Similarly, the World Vision's Project HOPE in Pakistan (Manshera) used a buddy system, whereby a girl who was not in school was matched with a girl buddy who was in school. Girl buddies and their peers were given life skills, health and vocational training and participated in recreational activities together. An evaluation of the program indicated that the program raised girl's enrollment in project villages by 46 percent. The use of role models may also help with the under-representation of girls in STEM fields by changing adolescent girl's perceptions of science careers and ultimately steering them towards choosing STEM studies.

3. Sustain education during emergency crises

Lessons learned from Note 2

Insecurity and conflict concerns drive adolescent girls and boys out of school. Children in Eastern DRC are much more likely to be out of school than in neighboring provinces. Displacement from conflict can lead families to enter poverty traps and reduce education expenses for all members. Widespread physical and sexual violence against girls, even in schools, also discourages families from sending their adolescent daughters to secondary schools which are often far away from home.

¹³ The evidence also suggests that like girls' clubs, boys' clubs are an alternative education intervention that targets young men with the objective to encourage critical reflections on rigid norms of masculinity, but their effectiveness in changing attitudes and behavior towards GBV is more limited unless they are combined with other interventions like community outreach.

In a conflict-afflicted setting, besides reducing the distance to school, securing school premises can be the next best alternative (Pereznieto, et al., 2017). Findings suggest that building walls or fences surrounding the perimeter of school grounds raises the feeling of security, while absence of such dividers can lead community members to enter school compounds carrying guns, such as in South Sudan (Kariuki & Naylor, 2009).

Promptly provide alternative means of accessing education to students deprived of their schools because of hostilities or threats. In Eastern DRC and the Kasai regions, where conflict is still widespread, school attacks can especially target girls and forever lead them to leave school. Given this, the government should take all appropriate measures to ensure that there is as little disruption as possible to girl's education, by providing alternative means of accessing education, including non-formal and accelerated learning opportunities, distance learning and/or school supply kits, while their own schools are being repaired or reconstructed. In this process, community engagement plays a crucial role in sustaining education during crises.

Adopt distance learning practices with equity considerations and a gender-responsive approach. The adverse effects of school closures due to the COVID-19 pandemic are likely to have exacerbated gender gaps in education. Even though many remote learning initiatives were put in place, only a few people have easy access to the tools needed for accessing these resources, such as television, the internet, and reliable electricity.¹⁴ The current COVID-19 crisis has only highlighted the broader need for systematically adopting distance-based learning practices as well investing in technology infrastructure to make education more resilient in the face of the numerous natural and man-made shocks faced by DRC. In order to make such practices equitable, the government must also take into consideration the gender digital divide and ensure that program scheduling and learning structures are flexible, so as not to deter girls who often disproportionately bear the burden of care at home. Remote learning can provide a promising alternative to increasing access to girls' (and boys') education in situations where attendance to school is not possible for reasons other than pandemics, such as conflict and insecurity. Programs in the Philippines, South Sudan and Somalia have already shown the utility of radio-based learning in conflict-afflicted regions where there is a significant risk associated with traveling to school (Pereznieto, et al., 2017).

Use child-friendly spaces to support children's psychosocial well-being during conflict. In emergency settings such as parts of Eastern DRC, child-friendly spaces (safe, non-school environments within communities) can be an effective approach to sustain education through play-based activities between children and adults. For those children that had to flee from conflict-affected settings or natural disasters, child-friendly spaces show promising improvements in their well-being, and in particular for girls. For instance, among child refugees in Uganda fleeing conflict in the DRC, child-friendly spaces – which provided academic and artistic lessons as well as recreational activities and organized sports – improved children's social-emotional well-being and bolstered their development. (Metzler, et al., 2013). Similarly, in the war-affected villages of Afghanistan, interviews with community members showed that child-friendly spaces supported children's well-being, and in particular helped increase girls' ability to speak out about their needs (Loughry, et al., 2005). These spaces reflect the demand for education even in times of violent conflict: crisis-affected communities prioritize education at similar levels as jobs or safety (Martone, 2007).

Expand training opportunities for teachers on conflict-sensitive education and psychosocial support to help student survivors of violence. The government, with the support of international donors, should scale up training programs for teachers and education staff on conflict-sensitive and gender-responsive education, and how to support and care for students suffering from post-traumatic stress, including

¹⁴ During the lockdown period, only 55 percent of children in DRC were able to follow classes over the radio when school were closed (DRC Crisis Observatory, November 2020).

specifically girls suffering from psychological trauma and stigma from sexual violence. Research from DRC has shown that cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) interventions can be effective at improving children's trauma symptoms during situations of ongoing violence (Bass, et al., 2013; O'Callaghan, et al., 2013). Therefore, programs that provide psychosocial support training to teachers should be expanded particularly to the most conflict-affected regions of the country, such as North Kivu, South Kivu and the greater Kasais.

Bibliography

- Aber, L. et al., 2016. Impacts After One Year of “Healing Classroom” on Children's Reading and Math Skills in DRC: Results From a Cluster Randomized Trial. *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness*.
- Adukia, A., 2017. Sanitation and Education. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 9(2), pp. 23-59.
- Agyapong, E., 2018. Representative Bureaucracy: Examining the Effects of Female Teachers on Girls’ Education in Ghana. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 41(16), pp. 1338-1350.
- Alam, A., Baez, J. & Del Carpio, X., 2011. Does Cash for School Influence Young Women’s Behavior in the Longer Term? Evidence from Pakistan. *Policy Research Working Paper*, Volume 5669.
- Aurino, E. et al., 2020. Food for thought? Experimental evidence on the learning impacts of a large-scale school feeding program. *Journal of Human Resources*, pp. pp.1019-10515R1.
- Baird, S., Ferreira, F., Özler, B. & Woolcock, M., 2014. Conditional, unconditional and everything in between: a systematic review of the effects of cash transfer programmes on schooling outcomes. *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, 6(1), pp. pp.1-43.
- Baird, S., McIntosh, C. & Ozler, B., 2011. Cash or Condition? Evidence from a Cash Transfer Experiment. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 126(4), p. pp. 1709–53..
- Bandiera, O. et al., 2018. Women’s Empowerment in Action : Evidence from a Randomized Control Trial in Africa. *World Bank Working Paper*.
- Banerjee, A., Ferrara, E. & Orozco-Olvera, V., 2019. *The entertaining way to behavioral change: Fighting HIV with MTV*, s.l.: National Bureau of Economic Research. (No. w26096).
- Bashir, S., Lockheed, M., Ninan, E. & Tan, J.-P., 2018. *Facing Forward : Schooling for Learning in Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Bass, J. et al., 2013. Controlled trial of psychotherapy for Congolese survivors of sexual violence. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 368(23), pp. pp.2182-2191.
- Beaman, L., Duflo, E., Pande, R. & Topalova, P., 2012. Female Leadership Raises Aspirations and Educational Attainment for Girls: A Policy Experiment in India. *Science*, 335(6068), pp. 582-586.
- Behrman, J., Sengupta, P. & Todd, P., 2005. Progressing through PROGRESA: An Impact Assessment of a School Subsidy Experiment in Rural Mexico. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 54(1), pp. 237-275.
- Bloom, N., Lemos, R., Sadun, R. & Van Reenen, J., 2015. Does management matter in schools?. *The Economic Journal*, 125(584), pp. pp. 647-674.
- Brück, T. et al., 2019. Social Protection in Contexts of Fragility and Forced Displacement: Introduction to a Special Issue. *Journal of Development Studies*, 55(1), pp. pp. 1-6.
- Burde, D. & Linden, L. L., 2013. Bringing Education to Afghan Girls: A Randomized Controlled Trial of Village-Based Schools. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 5(3), pp. 27-40.
- Camfed Ghana, 2012. *What Works in Girls’ Education in Ghana: a critical review of the Ghanaian and international literature*, s.l.: Ministry of Education and the Girls’ Education Unit, Ghana Education Service.
- Chepleting, S., Chepkemei, A., Yano, K. L. & Chebet, L. L., 2013. Factors Influencing Girls’ Participation in Free Primary Education: A Survey of Schools in Kapenguria Division–West Pokot District, Kenya. *International Journal of Business and Commerce*, Volume 2, pp. pp. 20-35.
- Chin, A., 2005. Can redistributing teachers across schools raise educational attainment? Evidence from Operation Blackboard in India.. *Journal of Development Economics*, 78(2), pp. pp.384-405..
- Dolan, C. et al., 2014. A Blind Spot in Girls’ Education: Menarche and Its Webs of Exclusion in Ghana. *Journal of International Development*, Volume 26, pp. 643-657.

- DRC Crisis Observatory, November 2020. *Results from 3rd Round High-Frequency Phone Survey of Households*, s.l.: s.n.
- Duflo, E., 2001. Schooling and Labor Market Consequences of School Construction in Indonesia: Evidence from an Unusual Policy Experiment. *American Economic Review*, 91(4), pp. 795-813.
- Duflo, E., Dupas, P. & Kremer, M., 2014. Education, HIV, and Early Fertility: Experimental Evidence from Kenya. *NBER Working Paper*, Volume 20784.
- Duflo, E., Dupas, P. & Kremer, M., 2019. The Impact of Free Secondary Education: Experimental Evidence from Ghana. *Massachusetts Institute of Technology Working Paper*.
- Dupas, P., 2011. Do teenagers respond to HIV risk information? Evidence from a field experiment in Kenya. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(1), pp. pp.1-34.
- Dynarski, S. & Scott-Clayton, J., 2013. Financial Aid Policy: Lessons from Research. *The Future of Children*, 23(1), p. pp 67–91.
- Evans, D., Kremer, M. & Ngatia, M., 2008. The Impact of Distributing School Uniforms on Children's Education in Kenya. *World Bank Working Papers*.
- Evans, D. & Yuan, F., 2019. What We Learn about Girls' Education from Interventions that Do Not Focus on Girls (English). *Policy Research Working Paper*, Volume WPS 8944.
- Filmer, D., Habyarimana, J. & Sabarwal, S., 2020. Teacher Performance-Based Incentives and Learning Inequality. *Policy Research Working Paper*, Volume 9382.
- Filmer, D. & Shady, N., 2008. Getting Girls into School: Evidence from a Scholarship Program in Cambodia. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 56(3), p. pp. 581–617.
- Freeman, M. et al., 2012. Assessing the Impacts of a School-Based Water Treatment, Hygiene and Sanitation Programme on Pupil Absence in Nyanza Province, Kenya: A Cluster-Randomized Trial. *Tropical Medicine and International Health*, 17(3), pp. 380-391.
- Gajigo, O., 2016. Closing the Education Gender Gap: Estimating the Impact of Girls' Scholarship Program in the Gambia. *Education Economics*, 24(2), pp. 167-188.
- Garcia, S. & Saavedra, J., 2017. Educational Impacts and Cost-Effectiveness of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs in Developing Countries: A Meta-Analysis. *Review of Educational Research*, 87(5), pp. 921-965.
- Glewwe, P., Ilias, N. & Kremer, M., 2010. Teacher Incentives. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 2(3), pp. pp 205-27.
- Gonsalves, G., Kaplan, E. & Paltiel, D., 2015. Reducing Sexual Violence by Increasing the Supply of Toilets in Khayelitsha, South Africa: A Mathematical Model. *PLoS ONE*, 10(4).
- Jewitt, S. & Ryley, H., 2014. It's a girl thing: Menstruation, school attendance, spatial mobility and wider gender inequalities in Kenya.. *Geoforum*, Volume 56, pp. pp.137-147.
- Kariuki, W. R. & Naylor, R., 2009. *Rewrite the Future Global Evaluation Southern Sudan Midterm Country Report*, s.l.: Save the Children.
- Kazianga, H., de Walque, D. & Alderman, H., 2014. School feeding programs, intrahousehold allocation and the nutrition of siblings: evidence from a randomized trial in rural Burkina Faso. *Journal of Development Economics*, Volume 106, pp. pp.15-34.
- Khandker, S., Pitt, M. & Fuwa, N., 2003. Subsidy to Promote Girls' Secondary Education: The Female Stipend Program in Bangladesh.
- Kirk, J., 2004. Promoting a Gender-Just Peace: The Roles of Women Teachers in Peacebuilding and Reconstruction. *Gender and Development*, 12(3), pp. 50-59.
- Kremer, M., 2003. Randomized Evaluations of Educational Programs in Developing Countries: Some Lessons. *American Economic Review*, 93(2), pp. 102-106.
- Laugharn, P., 2007. *Negotiating "Education for Many": Enrolment, Dropout and Persistence in the Community Schools of Kolondieba, Mali*, Brighton: Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions, and Equity.
- Leach, F. et al., 2003. *An Investigative Study of the Abuse of Girls in African Schools*, s.l.: Department for International Development (DFID).

- Lincove, J., 2009. Determinants of schooling for boys and girls in Nigeria under a policy of free primary education. *Economics of Education Review*, 28(4), pp. pp.474-484.
- Loughry, M. et al., 2005. *Assessing Afghan Children's Psychosocial Well-Being: A Multi-Modal Study of Intervention Outcomes*, Richmond: ChildFund International.
- Lucas, A. & Mbiti, I., 2012. Does free primary education narrow gender differences in schooling? Evidence from Kenya. *Journal of African Economies*, 21(5), pp. pp.691-722.
- Manzini-Henwood, C., Dlamini, N. & Obare, F., 2015. School-Based Girls' Clubs as a Means of Addressing Sexual And Gender-Based Violence in Swaziland. *BMC Proceedings*, pp. A5-A7.
- Marcus, R. & Ella, P., 2016. *Girls' learning and empowerment: The role of school environments*, New York : United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI) and Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- Martone, G., 2007. *Educating Children in Emergency Settings: An Unexpected Lifeline*, New York: International Rescue Committee.
- Metzler, J. et al., 2013. *Evaluation of Child-Friendly Spaces: Uganda Field Study Summary Report*, London and New York: Save the Children.
- Mlama, P. et al., 2005. *Gender-Responsive Pedagogy: A Teacher's Handbook*, Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists.
- Montgomery, P. et al., 2012. Sanitary Pad Interventions for Girls' Education in Ghana: A Pilot Study. *PLOS ONE*, 7(10).
- Morgan, C., Petrosino, A. & Fronius, T., 2012. *A systematic review of the evidence of the impact of eliminating school user fees in low-income developing countries*, London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London.
- Muralidharan, K. & Prakash, N., 2017. Cycling to School: Increasing Secondary School Enrollment for Girls in India. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 9(3), pp. 321-350.
- Muralidharan, K. & Sundararaman, V., 2011. Teacher performance pay: Experimental evidence from India. *Journal of Political Economy*, 119(1), pp. pp.39-77.
- O'Callaghan, P. et al., 2013. A randomized controlled trial of trauma-focused cognitive behavioral therapy for sexually exploited, war-affected Congolese girls.. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 52(4), pp. pp.359-369..
- Oster, E. & Thornton, R., 2011. Menstruation, Sanitary Products, and School Attendance: Evidence from a Randomized Evaluation. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(1), pp. 91-100.
- Parkes, J. et al., 2013. Conceptualising Gender and Violence in Research: Insights from Studies in Schools and Communities in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 33(6), pp. 546-556.
- Pereznieto, P., Magee, A. & Fyles, N., 2017. *Mitigating Threats to Girls' Education in Conflict-Affected Contexts: Current Practice*, s.l.: United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI) & Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- Piper, B. & Korda, M., 2011. *EGRA Plus: Liberia. Program Evaluation Report*, s.l.: United States Agency for International Development; RTI International.
- Popova, A., Evans, D. & Arancibia, V., 2016. Training Teachers on the Job : What Works and How to Measure It. *Policy Research Working Paper*, Volume 7834.
- Pradhan, M. et al., 2014. Improving Educational Quality through Enhancing Community Participation: Results from a Randomized Field Experiment in Indonesia. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 6(2), pp. 105-126.
- Randall, J. & Garcia, A., 2020. Let's Go Girls!: Evaluating the Effectiveness of Tutoring and Scholarships on Primary School Girls' Attendance and Academic Performance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *Forum for International Research in Education* , 6(3), pp. pp. 19-35.
- Reilly, A., 2014. Adolescent girls' experiences of violence in school in Sierra Leone and the challenges to sustainable change. *Gender & Development*, 22(1), pp. 13-29.

- Schultz, P., 2004. School subsidies for the poor: evaluating the Mexican Progresa poverty program. *Journal of Development Economics*, 74(1), pp. 199-250.
- Sperling, G. & Winthrop, R., 2015. *What Works in Girls' Education: Evidence for the World's Best Investment*. s.l.:Brookings Institution Press.
- Unterhalter, E. & Heslop, J., 2012. *Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania: A Cross-Country Analysis of Endline Research Studies*, Washington DC: ActionAid.
- USAID, 2008. *Safe Schools Program: Final Report*, Washington: USAID.
- Yuki, T., Mizuno, K., Ogawa, K. & and Mihoko, S., 2013. Promoting gender parity in basic education: Lessons from a technical cooperation project in Yemen. *International Review of Education*, 59(1), pp. pp.47-66.