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We girls also have ambitions!

Exploring opportunities for and challenges to quality education for adolescents in the Gaza Strip

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Introduction

Education is a core human right and one where there has been significant global progress since the commencement of the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000. There have been considerable gains in school access and in narrowing the gender gap (especially at primary school level). However, as highlighted by a 2017 UN Human Rights Council Resolution calling for states to 'give full effect to the right to education by putting in place a regulatory framework for education providers guided by international human rights obligations', the quality of education services remains a significant challenge (UNESCO, 2017). As underscored by UNESCO's global Education for All campaign, ensuring access to quality education services in conflict-affected contexts is especially challenging, and is an area where the evidence base is limited (UNESCO, 2011).

This briefing paper aims to contribute to the debate by drawing on findings from a Gender and Adolescents: Global Evidence (GAGE) mixed methods research study. We explore the opportunities for adolescent girls and boys in a protracted crisis setting, such as the Gaza Strip, and the challenges they face in accessing high-quality, relevant and effective education services. Informed by the emerging evidence base on adolescent wellbeing and development, our findings are informed by GAGE's conceptual framework. This takes a holistic approach to better understand how humanitarian and development partners, alongside government agencies, can better support adolescents in conflict-affected contexts to grow into healthy and productive adults.

The paper is organised as follows: we begin by providing a brief overview of the Gazan educational landscape and our research methods, and then present our primary research findings on adolescent experiences, and perceptions of educational service strengths and weaknesses. The paper concludes by presenting implications for policy, practice and future research.

Overview of the Gazan educational context

School is one of the few consistent factors in the lives of Palestinian girls and boys who have been, and continue to be, affected by ongoing conflict and the threat of violence. Primary school starts at the age of six and continues for 6 grades when adolescents enter preparatory school until grade 9 and secondary school, typically at the age of 16, from grade 10-12. Primary school is compulsory, secondary school is not. The school year runs from September until May. Only 15% of Gaza schools are single-sex schools (either boys or girls schools, non-mixed gender), most of them private. Table 1 illustrates some key statistics on the Palestine education system (PCBS, no date a, MOHE 2016a).

During the 2017 school year, the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MOHE, 2016a) reported that there were 714 schools in Gaza: 55% of them run by government, 37% belonging to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), and 8% private schools. The number of pupils in Gaza during the school year 2016/2017 was 523,880 (262,974 girls and 260,906 boys) (MOHE, 2016a). UNRWA-affiliated schools, which serve refugees and provide basic education (until grade 9), accommodate 50% of the total number of pupils from all grades; government schools accommodate 47% and the remainder (3%) attend private schools. However, as UNRWA schools do not provide secondary-level education, government schools accommodate 93% of pupils at secondary level, with the rest attending private schools.

The Gaza school system has been under significant pressure: many facilities were destroyed during Israeli military assaults and limited funding for school rehabilitation has rendered many classrooms useless. As a result, classrooms are overcrowded and adolescents only go to school for around four hours a day, as double shifts are needed to meet the educational needs of the growing population (PCBS, 2015a). The average number of pupils per class is 38 at UNRWA and government-run schools, 23 at private schools. Data from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), however, shows that teacher–student ratios, at least in public schools, are improving slightly (see Figure 1). Our qualitative fieldwork revealed that in big cities or camps, classes could have more than 50 students.

Table 1: A snapshot of the Palestine education system

Indicator	Year	Value
Number of schools	2016/2017	2,963
Number of school students	2016/2017	1,229,756
Number of school classes	2016/2017	40,620
Average number of students per class	2016/2017	30.3
Dropout rate	2015/2016	1.2
Repetition rate (in %)	2015/2016	1.1
Number of students in universities and university colleges	2016/2017	207,362
Number of graduates from universities and university colleges	2015/2016	40,734
Number of students in community colleges	2016/2017	11,053
Number of graduates from community colleges	2015/2016	3,712
Literacy rate for persons (15 years and over)(in %)	2016	96.9

Source: PBCS, no date, a.

Figure 1: Teacher–student ratios in Palestine, West Bank and Gaza since 1994
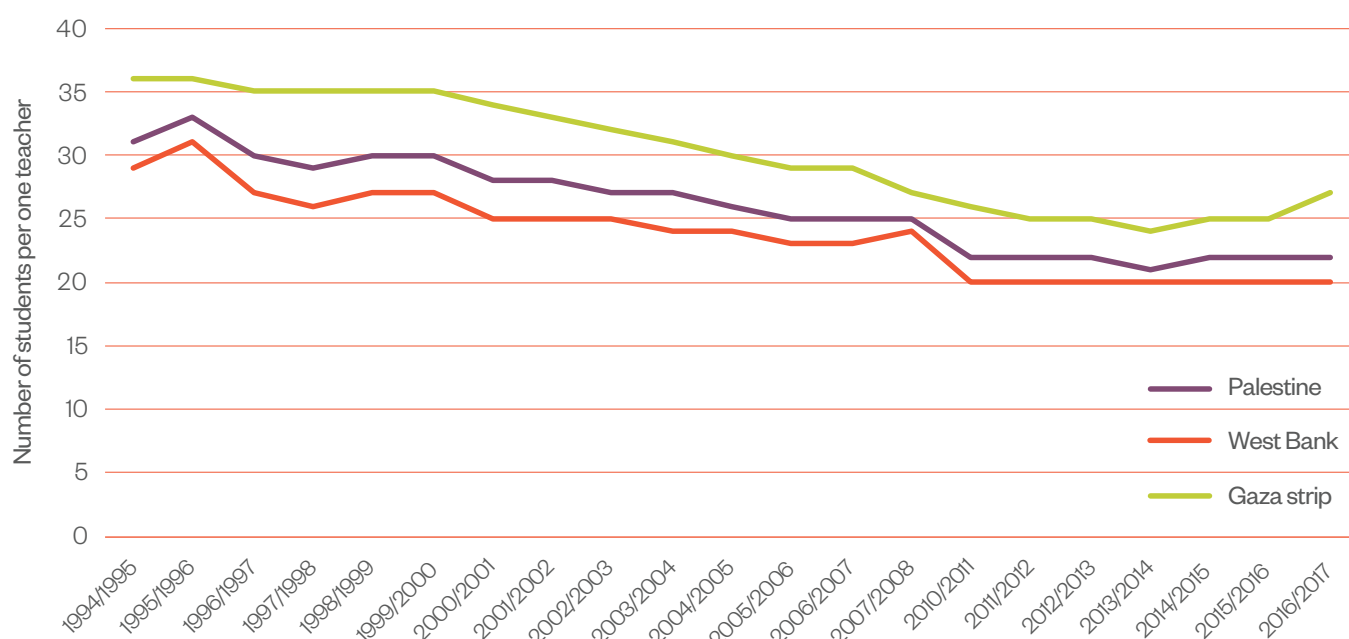
Source: PBCS, no date, b.

Adolescents in the Gaza Strip have almost universal access to public education (PCBS 2015a) (see Table 2 and figures 3 and 4). Enrolment rates are high for boys and girls, and have been stable for a long period (see Figure 2). In Palestine, girls account for 49.5% of basic students and 54.2% of students in secondary schools; this majority created a Gender Parity Index of 1.2 in favour of girls (PCBS 2015a). In the beginning of February, over 262,112 refugee children (135,325 boys and 126,787 girls) returned to 267 UNRWA schools in the oPt to start the second semester of the 2016/2017 school year (UNRWA 2017a).

Girls are doing well in school. Girls aged 15-19 enjoy a literacy rate of 99.3% (PCBS 2015d, PCBS 2016b). According to the most recent Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) (PCBS 2015a), boys are disadvantaged compared to girls at every educational juncture – ranging from school readiness at the age of five (96% of girls, 93% of boys) to secondary school attendance (80% of girls,

Figure 2: Enrolment rates for adolescents in Palestine, West Bank and Gaza, 1995-2011
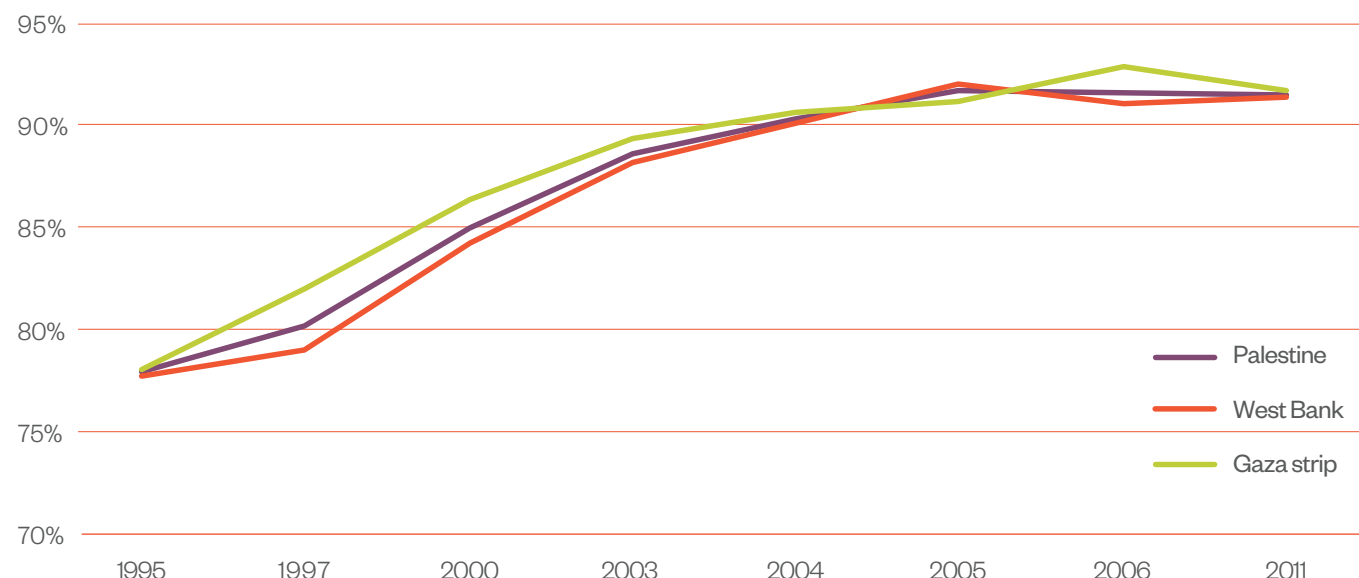
Source: PBCS, no date, c.

Table 2: Enrolment rates of Palestine adolescents across UNRWA and public schools compared across UNRWA's field of operations*

Type		Primary school (until grade 9)	Secondary school	Primary + secondary school
Ministry of Education and Higher Education	Girls	49.5%	54.2%	NA
	Boys	50.5%	45.8%	NA
UNRWA Gaza	Girls	48.5%	NA	NA
	Boys	51.5%	NA	NA
UNRWA West Bank	Girls	58.9%	NA	NA
	Boys	41.1%	NA	NA
UNRWA Jordan	Girls	48.5%	NA	NA
	Boys	51.5%	NA	NA
UNRWA Lebanon	Girls	NA	NA	53.1%
	Boys	NA	NA	46.9%
UNRWA Syria	Girls	49.5%	NA	NA
	Boys	50.5%	NA	NA

* *The UNRWA education programme provides schooling for all children from grades 1-9, and to grade 10 in Jordan and in one school in Jerusalem. In Lebanon, UNRWA provides secondary schooling in grades 10-12. In addition to not providing the full spectrum of high school education, UNRWA does not provide pre-school and kindergarten education (Medium Term Strategy, UNRWA).*

Source: UNRWA, 2011

63% of boys). Boys are also more likely to drop out of school due to low academic achievement, a lack of extra-curricular engagement, pressure to contribute financially to their families, lack of motivation or violence. Adolescent girls in Gaza are more likely to attend secondary school and post-secondary institutions than their male peers: the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reports that 93% of girls complete lower-secondary school and 73% complete upper-secondary (UNICEF, 2017) (a trend also reflected in figure 4). These rates are much higher than for boys, at 80% and 52% respectively. At the university level, in the 2014/2015 academic year, the Gender Parity Index

Figure 3: Enrolment rates of Palestine public school students

	Enrolled	Unenrolled
Boys in secondary education	67%	33%
Girls in secondary education	80%	20%

Source: UNICEF 2017
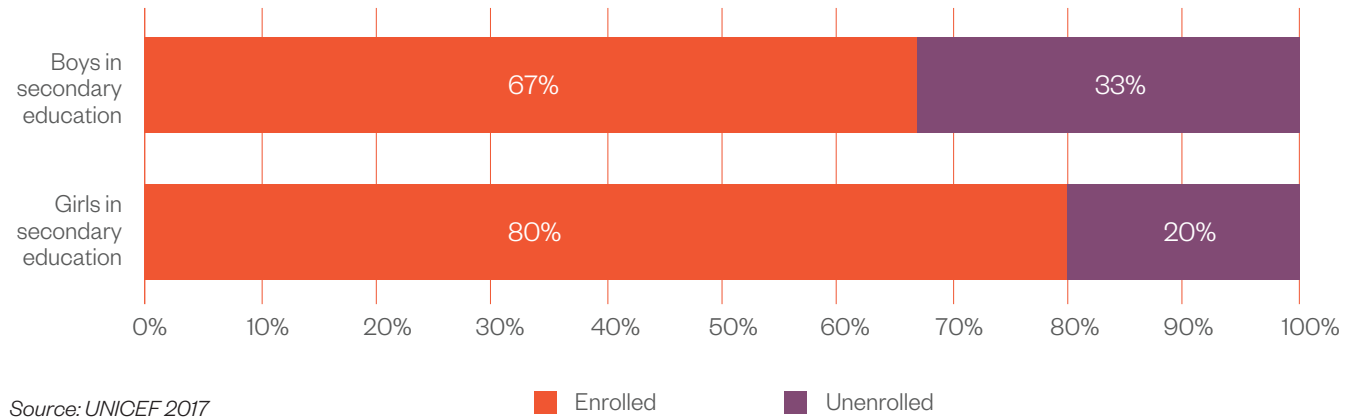
Figure 4: Gazan girls' access to basic and secondary education (2014-2015)

Basic education (16 years and below) enrollment

Secondary school (16 years and onwards) enrollment

2%

98%

20%

80%
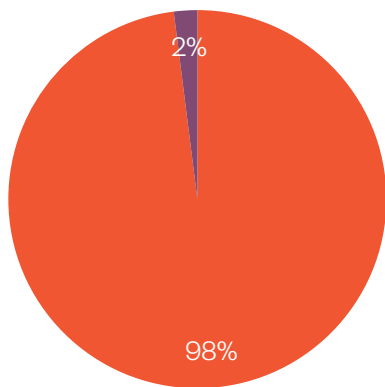
■ Girls enrolled in basic education

■ Girls not enrolled in basic education
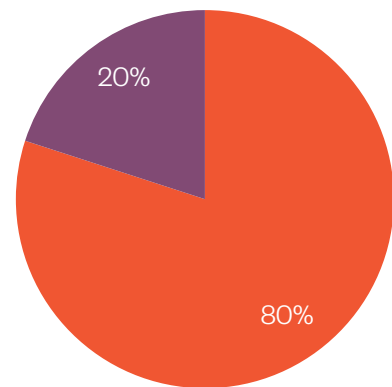
■ Girls enrolled in secondary education

■ Girls not enrolled in secondary education

Source: UNICEF, 2017

Figure 5: Completion rates by education level and sex

Boys ■ Girls ■

Primary　　　　Lower-secondary　　　　Upper-secondary

Source: UNICEF, 2017
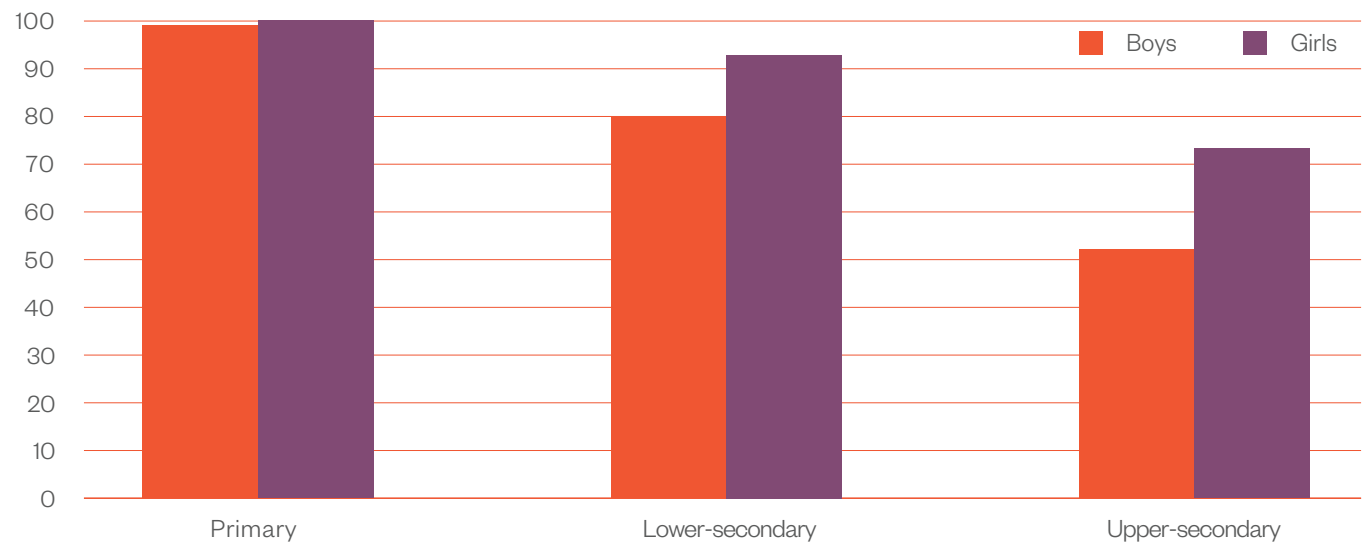
Figure 6: University students registered and graduated by gender
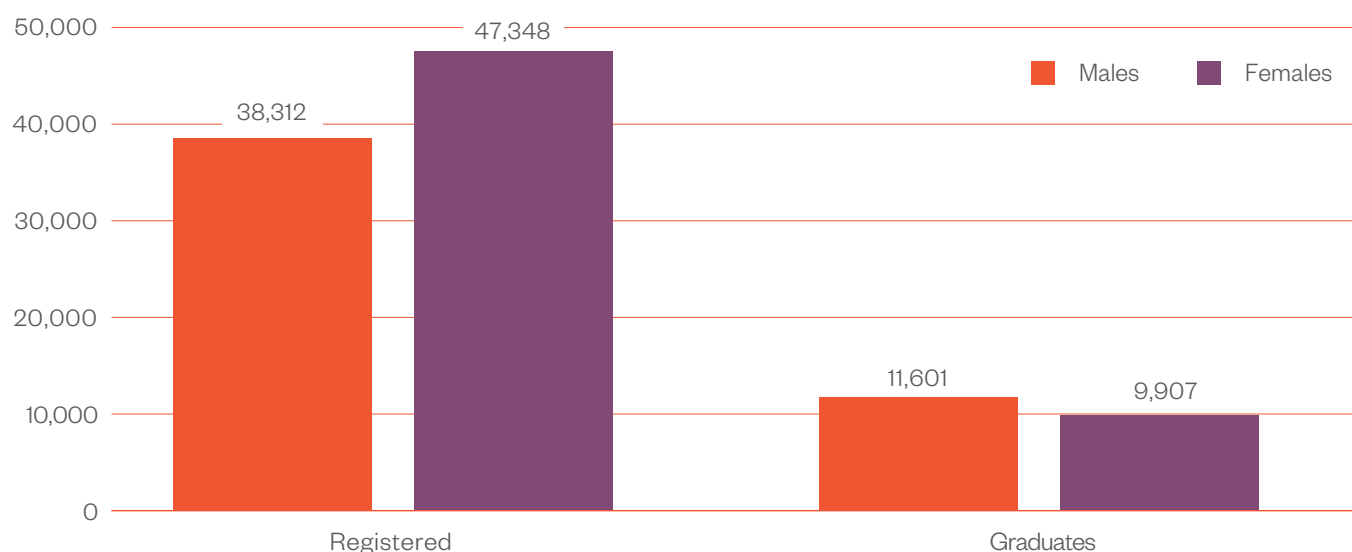
Source: MOHE, 2016a

was 1.56 (PCBS 2015a). These trends are also illustrated in Figures 5 and 6.

Girls' higher school attendance, even at university level (see Figure 6), seemingly contradicts the numerous reports which argue that, within Gaza's patriarchal culture, education for boys is more highly valued and, therefore, prioritised by Palestinian families. Labour force enrolment after graduation, however, shows a trend in line with these reports when it comes to equality of opportunities, with only 29% of women aged 25-34 in the labour force, compared to 90% of men (PCBS 2014, PCBS 2015c). Furthermore, of those with more than 13 years of education, 61% of women and only 23% of men were unemployed (PCBS 2014). Looking at girls' choice of study subject in Palestine's universities sheds light on whether their education is preparing them for future employment. Most female students will pick subjects deemed 'appropriate' for girls and women, such as social science, nursing, medicine, pharmacy and applied health sciences – professions with a high unemployment rate in the Palestine territories (PCBS 2016a).

UNRWA also recognised a strong gender bias in course enrolment in its technical and vocational education and training (TVET) programmes, as girls generally apply to service-oriented professions, such as secretarial work, nursing or beauty therapy, whereas boys tend to enrol in industrial, agricultural or vocational education. Few females enrol in trade courses: 10% in 2010, while 64% enrolled in semi-professional courses. The high proportion

of males in trade courses is very likely due to most trades being perceived as traditional male domains (UNRWA 2015). This also impacts on their employability at a later stage, with practical and trade professions being more needed than service-oriented professions (more on this in the GAGE economic empowerment briefing, Abu Hamad et al., 2018a).

To further understand the opportunities available to adolescent boys and girls in in a conflict-affected and protracted crisis setting, and the challenges they face in accessing quality, relevant and effective education services, GAGE implemented a mixed-methods research study to capture adolescents' voices. Informed by the emerging evidence base on adolescent wellbeing and development, GAGE's conceptual framework (2017) takes a holistic approach to understand how humanitarian partners and government agencies can help support adolescent girls and boys to grow into healthy and productive adults.

Based on the conceptual framework, we pose the following key research questions:

- What gender- and age-friendly education services aimed at increasing adolescent wellbeing are available to adolescents and their families in the Gaza Strip, a protracted conflict setting?
- How relevant, accessible, user-friendly and effective and of what quality are the available empowerment services in the Gaza Strip according to the beneficiaries of those services?

1 Methods, research sample and research ethics

To explore the paper's key research questions on educational access and quality for adolescents, GAGE employed a mixed-methods approach and used online and offline service mapping exercises with service providers and adolescents, a tablet-based QuickTapSurvey™ module completed by 107 adolescents, and a range of qualitative research tools with adolescents, their peers and families. These included focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews (IDIs), visual participatory methods (including object-based interviews), community mapping exercises, vignette, time use and social network mapping exercises (see the participatory research guide for GAGE) (see Table 3).

We also draw on findings from our 2016 Participatory Action Research project in Khanyounis, Gaza, involving 35 adolescents aged 15-19 years old. Participants met weekly with GAGE research facilitators to undertake a wide range of research activities, including peer-to-peer interviewing and participatory photography and videography.

1.1 Research sites

Shajaia was chosen because of its central location in Gaza city and the availability of specialised services offered by humanitarian partners and the government, which are often not available in other areas of the Gaza Strip. It also has the highest concentration of 'in need' people and refugees (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 2016). Shajaia neighbourhood is a non-camp settlement area with around 120,000 residents. It was heavily affected during the 2014 Gaza–Israel War.

The second site, Jabalia camp, is the closest camp to the Erez border crossing with Israel. It is home to nearly 110,000 registered refugees and there is a large presence by UNRWA, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and governmental institutions. It is, according to OCHA (2016), home to the second largest population in severe humanitarian need, with even higher vulnerability levels than Gaza city.

1.2 Research ethics

The research team adhered to stringent ethical measures to ensure the protection of adolescents and their families as set out under the GAGE Institutional Ethics approval document and GAGE child protection guidelines. Participant anonymity and confidentiality were ensured and data were securely stored. Informed consent was obtained prior to commencing each data collection activity.

Table 3: Overview of research methods used

Method	Total participants
Focus group discussions	10 groups with 97 participants in total
In-depth interviews	35 in-depth interviews with adolescents
Adolescent surveys with QuickTapSurvey™	107 survey respondents
Key informant interviews	68 key informant interviews
Physical access to care	High
Information and health education	Low

Table 4: Demographic characteristics of the adolescent sample (N=132)

Type	%	Type	%
Refugees	61%	Out of school	36%
Aged 10-14	39%	Male Headed Household	72%
Aged 15-19	44%	Disability in the family	17%
> 19 years	17%	Social assistance beneficiary	64%
Female	57%	Adolescent services recipient	53%
Male	43%	Single	87%
Median age	15 years	Married	10%
Family size 7-9	49%	Divorced	2%
Family size >9	34%	Separated	2%
Family income 501-1000 ILS p/m	42%	No children	31%
Family income <500 ILS p/m	28%	One child	54%
Family income 1001> ILS p/m	30%	Two children	15%
In school	64%		

2 Research findings

Following the GAGE conceptual framework, we set out our findings according to the following outcome-level indicators:

1. Cultivation of aspirations
2. Access to affordable, age-appropriate, gender-responsive and quality educational and learning environments
3. Support and resources to realise the right to education, including freedom from child labour and domestic and care work responsibilities that preclude access to learning opportunities
4. Support, skills and resources to transition to secondary and post-secondary educational and learning pathways

2.1 Outcome 1: Cultivation of aspirations

Analysis of qualitative and quantitative data obtained indicates that across the Gazan context, all actors – adults and adolescents – recognise the importance of education for their future. This is reflected in enrolment rates. Adolescent girls are performing well: in bi-annual national exams administered to students in grades 4-10 between 2007 and 2012, Palestinian girls outperformed their male peers. Girls in grade 10 averaged scores that were 10 percentage points higher in the Arabic languages, 3 in mathematics, and 7 in science. Girls aspire to graduate from university: a survey conducted by the PCBS found that among Gazan adolescents and women aged 18-22 years, 48.4% of males hoped to pursue a bachelor's degree, and 52.9% of females expressed a desire to earn a bachelor's degree, figures for postgraduate (master and PhD) education were 40% of females and 47% of males want to obtain that (PCBS, 2016b: 64).

2.1.1 Adolescent aspirations

Qualitative data confirmed the trend highlighted in the literature and quantitative data sets. Girls consider education as key for their self-esteem, mental stability, independence, healthy development and career. Not only did they perceive school to be instrumental to their future

('*there will be no future without education*' IDI, 13-year-old girl, Shajaia), they also saw the current benefits of attending classes; school provides social contact and an opportunity to exercise agency without the supervision of brothers and other male family members. As an older girl from Shajaia explained during a focus group discussion: '*My favourite part in the school day is the break when we get to socialise and interact with girls and staff. At school we like both education and socialising, but we prefer the socialising part more*' (FGD, older girls, Shajaia).

Girls also encourage each other to take education seriously and try to motivate those who are thinking of not continuing their education. At the same time, there is a certain jealousy between girls around who achieves more. Yet, girls who no longer went to school (for example) advised their friends not to follow the same path: '*She [a friend already married] told me that she did not feel good about getting engaged. She talked me into continuing my education – she said she wished she had continued going to school*' (IDI, 16-year-old girl, Shajaia).

Boys also recognise the overall importance of education in achieving their future aspirations but have lower school completion rates than girls: 13% less boys complete lower-secondary and 21% less complete upper-secondary school (MoHE 2016a). Boys in our qualitative sample explained the reasons behind the numbers. Adolescent boys – particularly those from lower socio-economic backgrounds, or burdened with caring for a sick family member – were frustrated about the relative value of secondary and tertiary education given high unemployment rates in Gaza. One orphaned 18-year-old from Jabalia indicated that he would not choose to go to university even if he had good grades and was able to afford the high fees (for more on this, see outcome 4): '*I will get a driving licence and will work as a taxi driver anyway*'. Another boy from Jabalia explained why he stopped going to school: '*We prefer to learn any craft because it is easier to find a job*' (FGD, older boys, Jabalia camp). Yet boys did indicate that being at school has some benefits. An older boy from Shajaia, in a focus group discussion, explained that going to school was good for his self-esteem and

stress: 'A*t school, they teach us how to draw and sing. Some students are talented at drawing*'. School often provided a welcome and, at times, entertaining distraction from the daily realities of life in a crisis-affected area and from child labour.

2.1.2 Family support for adolescent education

Brothers and male peers recognised a girl's right to aspire to a future that requires educational achievement, but to a different end than girls themselves envision. According to the research participants, many men only want adolescent girls to have a good education so that they can be a good wife to her future husband and a good mother to her children. As one of the boys in a focus group discussion in Shajaia indicated: '*Once a girl is married, her life should be evolved around the house and housing responsibilities*'. Whereas adolescents' boys, after graduating, are expected to seek work and provide for their family, adolescent girls and young women are not expected to work after graduation (see box, case study 1). When they do work, they are at times castigated for breaking established norms around gender roles. It is with this in mind that boys' education, when a family's financial resources run low, are prioritised over girls' education.

Adolescents report that parents often put too much pressure on their performance in school as higher education degrees are strongly respected in Gaza and having your children go to university is a symbol of success and potential future economic wellbeing. Overall, adolescents indicated that families are generally supportive of education for male and younger female adolescent children, and often worry about their academic performance – particularly before the '*Tawjehi*', the test at the end of secondary school that determines which type of tertiary education a person can go on to. There is also an economic element: adolescents indicated that female-headed households in particular 'prayed' to have their son – the perceived primary breadwinner of the family given that girls are not supposed to work – graduate from university as this meant a better chance of him finding employment.

Parents vary in their belief that education is instrumental for girls. Some fathers and mothers are hugely supportive, others to a lesser extent. Often, where adolescent girls recognised education as a key tool for their future development and potential working life, adults seemed to perceive a girl's education as a tool to the future education of their sons and grandsons. Family support often wanes as a girl gets older though: '*Families believe that females will marry so there is no need to get a bachelor degree*' (FDG, older girls, Jabalia camp). Girls did mention some potential

Case Study 1: Aspiring to work, expected to focus on child-rearing

Boys think education is vital for girls – but for a different reason than girls. As one of the young adolescent boys in the focus group discussion in Shajaia indicated, '*An educated mother would be great because she can teach the children*'. Another boy added: '*It's important for their future! Also, if her husband was uneducated, she would help a lot. And she can tell her husband and children what's right from wrong. People would listen to what she says. And they would approve of a man's wife who's well-educated. They would say, "this man's wife is understanding"*'.

But, if asked to choose, boys would prioritise educating sons rather than daughters, as the following excerpt illustrates:

Respondent: Boys, because at some point a girl might not go [to] work because their husbands won't allow them.

Respondent: An educated mother would be great because she can teach the children.

Interviewee: Who's more likely to leave school? Girls or boys?

Respondent: Boys! They leave to work and help their family, but girls don't.

Interviewee: You think families care more about teaching their female or male kids?

Respondent: Males! For girls, she's eventually getting married and that wouldn't make a difference! (FGD, younger adolescent boys, Shajaia)

Girls see their future differently – their dream is to graduate to find work. As they put it: '*Girls have ambitions*' (FGD, older adolescent girls, Shajaia). As one 16-year-old girl, already a mother, said: '*I dream that I am graduated and become an employee having my job that helps me and husband to live better and to have our own house. If I had the chance to complete my study, I would like to be an Arabic teacher*' (IDI, Jabalia camp). Another girl added: '*I am clever in my school and I would like to be a doctor in the future*' (IDI, 13-year-old girl, Jabalia camp) while another said, '*I hope to graduate from engineering school*' (IDI, 17-year-old girl, Jabalia camp).

allies in the household: mothers (in both female- and male-headed households), paternal aunties, paternal cousins and sisters all recognised the importance of education for girls and were concerned for the girl's psychosocial wellbeing and future if they are pulled out of school. As one 19-year-old already married young woman indicated: '*She [older sister] helped me and talked to my mom. My sister is smarter than her age, I would ask her for help because she knows more, that is why I tell you education makes you know more. She talks to them, she hears things and comes and tells us, she goes to the mosque, hears the sessions and comes and tells me. She teaches me a lot of things. She tells me "are you happy you got married?" Look at this girl, she is happy, she finished her education, I will finish mine*' (IDI, 19-year-old girl, Jabalia camp).

2.1.3 Structural and system level support for adolescent girl's education

Communities support boys' and girls' right to aspire to a future that requires educational achievement – but perceptions change when girls marry when they are still young or when finances become tight and university fees are no longer affordable. In Gaza, people who have obtained a higher education grade are respected and admired by the wider community. Girls expressed disappointment with conservative and discriminatory gender norms and with the bleak outlook for their future. As one girl from Shajaia protested, '*They ask us why we learn if we are just going to end up in our husband's houses*' (FGD, older girls, Shajaia).

Have systems and service providers developed and enforced a coordinated inter-sectoral approach to actively support girls' and boys' right to aspire to a future? Given adolescents' high enrolment rates, it is fair to state that Palestinian authorities, UNRWA, donors and NGOs have succeeded in making education and learning options available to those who aspire to an education. However, the research suggests that the school system is biased towards well-performing students ('*They see only the first in class*', FGD, Jabalia) with little or no support to students with average or below average scores.

2.2 Outcome 2: Access to affordable, age-appropriate, gender-responsive learning environments

Schools and informal education centres are generally available in Palestine, with the exception of areas close to the borders (highlighted by GAGE service mapping). But, even if adolescents in Gaza do, in theory, have access to educational and learning environments, the lack of high-quality, affordable, age-appropriate and gender-responsive services can impact on school dropout, learning outcomes and overall feelings of happiness and wellbeing at school.

2.2.1 Barriers to education: lack of quality and affordable adapted learning environments

Adolescent boys and girls involved in the study both flagged that their learning environments were generally not of high quality, citing overcrowded classrooms and limited play facilities. As one boy explained: '*We need to sit in shaded places during breaks. We need to have covers over our heads to protect us from the burning sun*' (FGD, younger adolescent boys, Shajaia). Other boys also mentioned that they would like the school to have drinking water and chairs that are not broken. Classrooms in Palestinian schools are often overcrowded due to the deficit of facilities created by recent military attacks, a lack of construction materials and rapid population growth. In the 2015-2016 school year, for example, basic school classrooms accommodated (on average) 37.8 students per class, while an average of 35.1 students packed into secondary classrooms (MOHE 2016a).

Participants (particularly those from poorer backgrounds) also reported economic barriers to education, citing public school fees (50 ILS a year), the cost for transportation to school (limited public transport options available) and fees for exams and school material. As one older adolescent girl explained: '*They have us buy the school uniform, books ... these are expensive. They have us buy English books for 15 shekels. And they only give us three days to buy them or else the teachers will beat us*' (FGD, older adolescent boys, Shajaia).

Accessing appropriate learning environments was particularly challenging for adolescents with disabilities, who often highlighted abuse and discrimination, reporting that

schools are often not adapted to their needs: '*They don't have a lift I can take*' (Jones et al., 2016). Transport was also reported to be a barrier, as schools do not provide transport services for disabled children and the transport sector is not adapted to their needs. An 18-year-old boy from Jabalia also noted that community adaptations for persons with disabilities are often limited: '*I used to suffer before I had the scooter. Before that, I had a wheelchair and I had to push myself around … the distance was far … The streets are not prepared to be accessible for … people with disabilities*'. Adolescents with disabilities also reported experiencing discrimination – from their peers, teachers and other service providers, and the wider community. Adolescent girls with mental and complex compounded disabilities faced stigma in the community (see GAGE psychosocial and health briefing, Abu Hamad et al., 2018b,c). The following excerpt highlights the challenging situation faced by one girl with a physical disability, who dropped out of primary school:

> '*… because I was treated badly due to my disability. They [teachers] thought that since I'm disabled I won't be able to succeed or earn a degree. The teacher told me to sit in the back and she asked me to avoid communication with my classmates. There was no classmate in the whole side I used to sit. All of them told me to sit at the back from the first grade. They [the other students] abused me and used to talk badly about me, everybody would move away from me, even the teachers who are supposed to be like role models for students would do the same*' (IDI, 19-year-old disabled girl, Jabalia camp).

2.2.2 Gender specific barriers to quality education: hygiene, work and practical education

Girls in Gaza are also not necessarily able to access gender-responsive and quality educational and learning environments. The lack of classrooms meant girl students had to '*mix with boys*', which was challenging, particularly during sport lessons. As a result, some parents would protest against mixing boys and girls during gym classes (even in a mixed school), which could result in parents deciding to pull their daughter out. Girls added that overcrowding in schools also made sanitary facilities unclean ('*the smell is intolerable*', FGD, older adolescent girls, Shajaia), which was particularly challenging during their menses. Adolescent girls indicated that teachers do not understand absences due to menses ('*it is a silent topic*', FGD, older adolescent girls, Shajaia) – often calling the girl's parents to ask why

she is not at school, which embarrasses the girls hugely because they have to '*confess*' to having a period.

Boys are also not always able to access quality educational and learning environments but for different reasons than girls. Boys – particularly poorer boys and those with a sick family member – indicated that they often drop out of school to find work. As one boy said: '*… for older ones, their dads tell them to quit schools and go to work*' (FGD, younger adolescent boys, Shajaia); a boy in the same FGD said: '*When a father cannot afford a good living to his family, he'd drop his kid out of school to have him get some money*'; '*I was doing very well at school … but it is related to the family's circumstances. The work, its related to money issues, we can barely have an income that suits our needs*' (boy, 15 years, Jabalia camp, IDI). Boys also said that education is often not practical enough and they would like educators to create '*fun places*', such as computer rooms and laboratories, where they can '*practice what they read in books*' (FGD, younger adolescent boys, Shajaia).

2.2.3 Adult actions: support and barriers to education

Brothers and males in the family might recognise a girl's right to access quality educational and learning environments but they could also pose significant (physical and mental) barriers to that access. Adolescent girls, during data collection activities, indicated that brothers often had a very controlling influence on their lives, restricting their mobility to honour social norms around appropriate behaviour for girls. As one of the girls said: '*When we get into a fight and my mom can't solve it she asks my older brothers to hit us. It is hard. They think they have the authority to control us*' (IDI, 13-year-old girl, Jabalia camp). Often, older male family members are used as a way to protect or control girls' movements. As one 19-year-old girl explained: '*When I used to go to school, my dad would stand on the street and prohibit us from walking with friends. Our school was far, so he would make my brother walk us to school. My sister was walked by her (male) cousins*' (IDI, Jabalia camp).

Boys and men in the streets (such as vendors or taxi drivers) who '*annoy and harass girls*' on their way to school are another barrier to girls' accessing education. According to participants, this is more of a risk for older girls. Being looked at or engaged by men can be enough of a cause for parents to withdraw a girl from school, as the following excerpt shows:

'I talked to my school counsellor about the problems I faced by boys who used to throw messages [that] were written on papers and some students called me "lover girl". My school counsellor helped me and I also complained about those boys and told my school principal and he told me not to be afraid. He said he will watch those boys when I leave the school at the end of the day. When I told my mother about those boys she got angry and prevented me to go back to my school. Then I got married directly after I dropped out [of] school.' (FGD, older adolescent girls, Jabalia)

Some family members actively support (within their means) boys' and girls' right to access quality educational and learning environments. Research participants mentioned many instances where parents, and particularly mothers, helped enable girls to go to education centres. As one girl explained: *'Recently my parents allowed my sister to come to a women's health centre to learn embroidery and communicate with others'* (FGD, older adolescent girls, Jabalia). In some cases, it might be that financial pressures prevent parents being as supportive as they wish to be. One solution, according to boys, would be to provide support to the parents: *'They first have to find job opportunities, so they wouldn't need help from their children. They should be given proper aid too'* (FGD, younger adolescent boys, Shajaia).

2.2.4 The burden of age: girl specific barriers

Families become less supportive when it comes to educating older adolescent girls. When an adolescent girl gets engaged or married – switching her social status from that of a girl to a grown woman – parents often deem it less

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Case Study 2: Violence in schools

All adolescents involved in our study mentioned having been subjected to physical, emotional and verbal violence by teachers, service providers and students (FGDs with younger and older girls in Shajaia and Jabalia). They reported that physical violence by teachers and school directors is common: '*One day a teacher came suddenly and started to hit a student without a reason*' (FGD, older adolescent boys, Shajaia); '*the headteacher grabbed my ear and hurt it. Then he slammed me twice on my ear. My ear kept hurting for two weeks*' (IDI, 16-year-old boy, Jabalia camp); '*the teacher made us carry around a banner with "donkey" on it*' (FGD, older girls, Jabalia); '*a counsellor always has a stick to beat us with*' (FGD, older adolescent boys, Shajaia); '*if a student is absent from the school for family circumstances, the school administration would punish her by asking her to stand up under the sun in the schoolyard for one or even four classes without eating or drinking water*' (FGD, older adolescent girls, Jabalia). Many mentioned having been threatened with having their grades marked down (FGD, older girls, Jabalia).

Responding to crowded conditions, teachers have resorted to punitive disciplinary measures. A PCBS survey of Palestinian youth (2016b) bears out the impact of this aggression: 20% of girls aged 15-17 objected to teachers' classroom management techniques. Students had constructive suggestions as to alternative strategies: '*Teachers can use another way other than beating. They can use dialogue and persuasion … They can also take kids on trips every now and then, to make them love school*' (ibid.).

School can also be a violent place for students who do not excel in traditional educational settings. Take, for example, the story of Ahmed's* brother: '*My older brother, Mohammed,* went to school … One day, the teacher asked him to read something on the board but my brother couldn't. The teacher hit him hard on his hands, head and legs. My two older brothers came to school and broke the chairs on top of all the teachers because one of them hit my brother. It is right that Mohammed couldn't read, but that does not give the teacher the right to hit him like a sheep. He could've struck him once or twice and that's it, but to beat him on his head, hands and legs, no. It's not right*' (IDI, 12-year-old boy, Shajaia).

Violence was the reason why many students dropped out of school, as the story of this 16-year-old boy shows: '*Then, he brought a stick and warned us not to do it again. I cried "I didn't do it [in] the first place". He told me to open my hands and he continued to hit my hand with the stick. Then he threw the chair on me and told me to call my father. I went to the class, took my bag and went home. The other day, the headteacher asked where my father is. I said he is sick at the hospital. He didn't believe it and hit me harder. I wanted to move to another class because of that teacher, but then I changed my mind and I dropped out from school*' (IDI, Jabalia camp).

Others mentioned violence by other students: '*My classmates treat me badly. There was that one time when a classmate pushed me against the wall, and I told her "May Allah forgive you"*' (FGD, younger girls, Shajaia). Participants with disabilities also indicated that violence and bullying by other students was a reason for dropping out (FGD, younger boys). Psychosocial problems in Gaza are common: UNRWA estimates that approximately 25% of refugee students in its schools require some form of psychosocial intervention.

* Pseudonym

appropriate for her to go to school. Additionally, schools in Palestine often expel pregnant students as they do not consider it appropriate for pregnant girls to be in school. As an out-of-school adolescent confirmed: '*I had left in 9th grade, at age 15, I left when I got engaged*' (IDI, 19-year-old girl, Shajaia). Some husbands or fathers, particularly those who hold more conservative beliefs, do not want their wives or daughters to go to school. One boy told us about his sister: '*She's supposed to be in the 12th grade now but her fiancé asked her to drop out of school*'. A girl told us about her 22-year-old sister: '*My family prevented my sister [from going] to school. My parents are extremely strict on her*' (FGD, older adolescent girls, Jabalia). And when finances become tight, adherence to social norms also becomes stricter for girls. As a female participant from Jabalia indicated: '*The financial situation is a huge barrier for women because families can prevent them easily from finishing their education*' (FGD, older adolescent girls, Jabalia). Married girls also have to negotiate with in-laws. As a married girl of 16 said when asked if she was planning to continue her education: '*I do, but my husband's family does not accept that. When I hear about people getting high school results, I feel so upset. My in-laws would not allow it*' (IDI, Shajaia). A 19-year-old adolescent mother discussed the restrictions she faces: '*Even though you are not talking to your mother-in-law you take her permission. Yes, it is inappropriate not to, because they will blame me, "where are you going" ... I am young. They need to know where have I gone, it is a must that he and she be satisfied with me*' (IDI, Shajaia).

Even if communities actively support adolescent girls' right to access quality educational and learning environments, this is not always the case in practice. The following quote shows why communities support boys over girls to access learning centres: '*Families care more about teaching their male kids because they would care for their family when they're old*' (FGD, younger adolescent boys, Shajaia).

2.2.5 Service provision: teaching in a conflict affected setting

Systems and service providers offer basic, secondary and tertiary education facilities but quality of service provision is often still a challenge, as well as interlinkages with other services needed to ensure adolescents' wellbeing. For example, all adolescents mentioned having been subjected to violence (physical and verbal) in schools and threats to have their grades decreased (see case study 2). Our findings were corroborated with evidence collected by the PCBS. In 2015, for example, 71.2% [1] of girls enrolled in Palestinian government secondary schools were exposed to violence (2015a)

Large class sizes have also compromised quality, as Palestinian teachers often resort to directive instructional techniques to cope. A study by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MOHE 2016a) found that in basic schools, students spent 83% of their classroom time responding to teachers' instructions.[2] In secondary schools, 23% of girls objected to teaching methods that left only 12% of instructional minutes for participatory activities. Boys also expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of teaching:
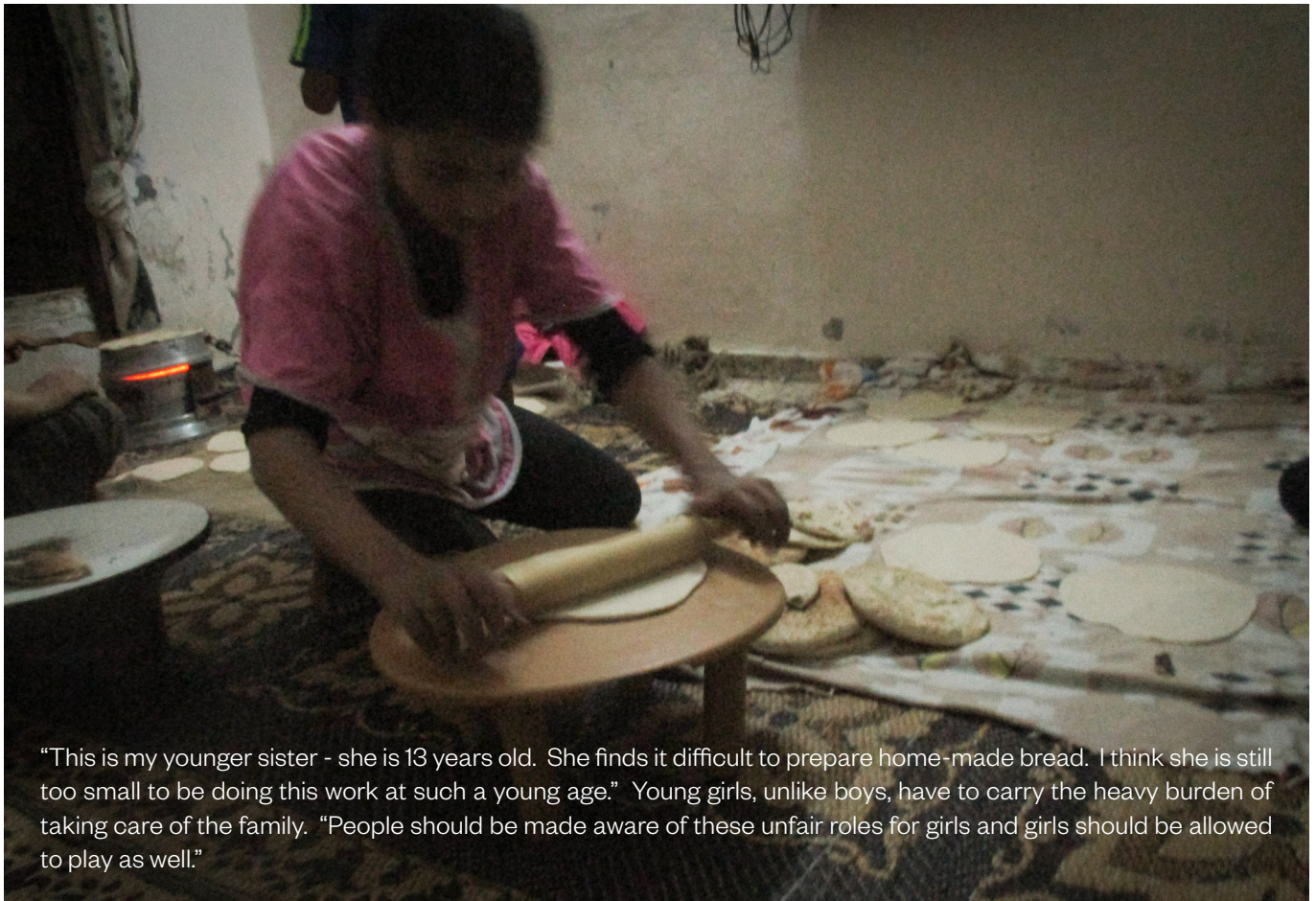
> '*They can't explain the lesson well. Teachers don't care whether we understand the subjects or not. They pass on lessons very quickly without making sure it's clear for us. Most teachers don't even come to give their classes on time. They have us wait for them to come. We need more classes, we need more space so that all students can understand the subject.*' (FGD, older adolescent boys, Shajaia)

Linkages to social protection and other services for adolescents (including psychosocial support) remain scarce (see GAGE psychosocial support briefing, Abu Hamad et al., 2018b). Some participants noted that schools focus on pupils' academic performance rather than other areas of development like physical education, health and nutrition. Girls who seek support from school counsellors may get into trouble for doing so: '*Some families might stop sending their daughters to school if they know that they are dealing with their school counsellors ... Some fathers may divorce their wives if they know that their daughters are talking to their school counsellors. It is stigma in Gaza to talk to a counsellor*' (FGD, older adolescent girls, Jabalia). On the other hand, adolescents also indicated that school counsellors could support them during difficult times: '*When I was in the school I faced a lot of problems with my parents and my school. I went to my school counsellor and I asked her to help me and she did*' (FGD, older adolescent

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1   This figure represents an 11% decline from the previous year when girls experienced violence at school at an even higher rate than their male peers.

2   Even though this figure represents an improvement over the previous year, the rate of active participation increased for boys at a slightly higher rate.

Image 1:   The burden of care as depicted by a GAGE participatory researcher

"This is my younger sister - she is 13 years old. She finds it difficult to prepare home-made bread. I think she is still too small to be doing this work at such a young age." Young girls, unlike boys, have to carry the heavy burden of taking care of the family. "People should be made aware of these unfair roles for girls and girls should be allowed to play as well."

girls, Jabalia). This is a missed opportunity, as these issues – if addressed in a holistic manner – could provide vital support to adolescents.

2.3 Outcome 3: Support and resources to realise the right to education including freedom from child labour and domestic and care work responsibilities

Adolescents in Gaza do not always enjoy the support or the resources to realise their right to education. Qualitative data collected by GAGE show that younger and older adolescent girls in Gaza have multiple obligations in the household – ranging from helping their mothers to cook food, bake bread, wash the dishes or look after siblings. Girls are more likely than boys to contribute to household chores – 75% of girls aged 15-17 versus 48.6% of boys (PCBS 2013a,b). Evidence indicates that some girls stop attending school either to marry or to look after younger

siblings or family members who are chronically ill or have a disability (see, for example, the photo gallery that Zenat, a GAGE youth researcher, has made for Gaza; the photo below was taken by another youth researcher involved in the GAGE pilot programme). As a 13-year-old girl explained: '*Because my mother is always sick and my father is old and nobody can look after them except me. I dropped out of school after finishing the sixth grade*' (IDI, Jabalia camp). Girls often have to do their homework at night after they finish all the other chores they are required to do. Lack of infrastructure also impacts on girls' learning outcomes: '*The electricity affects Tawjehi students. It is only on for four hours*' (FGD, older girls, Jabalia camp).

2.3.1 Missing school: income generating activities or housework?

Boys are more likely to drop out of school due to low academic achievement, a lack of extra-curricular or recreational activities, or pressure to support their family financially. The imperative of providing for one's family

can exert a more negative impact on school attendance among boys than marriage and caring does for girls. Some boys – particularly those from poorer backgrounds – have no other choice but to work, which significantly limits their access to learning opportunities. This is evidenced by statistics on child labour. Among children aged 5-14, more boys than girls are engaged in child labour (7% versus 4%), which is especially prevalent in the more agricultural West Bank than in Gaza (8% versus 3%) (PCBS 2013a,b). Young boys typically work in construction, garages, shops and other low-paid, labour-intensive jobs:

> *'Boys get deprived of their freedom and education to work at an early age due to the pressuring circumstances. Boys should work at the age of 15 in order to provide for the house needs. Some fathers ask their sons to do any kind of job so their fathers can get cigarettes to smoke while staying at home.' (FGD, older girls, Shajaia)*

Brothers and male peers recognise and, where possible, support girls' right to education but do not take on more of the domestic and care work responsibilities to free up girls' time to access learning opportunities. Many girls complained about the unfairness of this situation – boys would just go outside and girls would have to wash their clothes. As one girl said, housework keeps her very busy: '*My hands are sensitive from detergents and chlorine and I treat them and I can't keep treating them and in the winter I wear gloves because the skin breaks and bleeds*' (IDI, 19-year-old, Shajaia). This girl reflected on her situation and that of her brothers – who did not have to do this type of work and concluded that: '*it is very unfair*'.

2.3.2 Missing school: marriage and pregnancy

Discriminatory social norms also limit girls' access to education, particularly for married girls. One explained how she found it impossible to manage school homework on top of the other demands of married life and childbearing: '*When I married, the responsibility of the home, my husband and studying, I didn't think of it, they told me you will continue school but when I saw the work I said "how can I go back to school?" So I dropped out and stopped school. My in-laws told me you can continue and I continued my tests but when I saw the marriage and the work and tiredness and getting pregnant and delivery, I couldn't continue*' (IDI, 18-year-old girl, Jabalia camp). Another girl added: '*When someone gets married, she has to commit to her children and her husband*' (FGD, older girls, Shajaia).

As already noted, and as case study 3 confirms, a married girl's in-laws (or husband) usually decide whether she can continue in school: '*My husband's family do not accept that*' (FGD older girls, 16 years, Shajaia). One young mother recounted: '*Yes, [I left school] after my engagement. After getting married and then becoming pregnant just in the first three months, I was thinking a lot about school and regretted abandoning it for marriage. I am so upset to lose my chance to be educated and I wish I could re-join my class again. I asked my husband to*

Case Study 3: Wedding rings, closing school doors

'*I am married right now and life is different after marriage*' said one girl in a focus group discussion. '*It is because of the traditions. Now I have to spend time at home with my family. I stopped seeing my friends ever since I dropped out of school*' (IDI, 16-year-old, Shajaia). Another girl – who had already dropped out of school – added, '*When someone gets married, she has to commit to her children and her husband. I am lucky. I have learned sewing and took the vocational approach. I have also learned to read and write*' (FGD, older girls, Shajaia).

Girls know that as soon as they get married, the school doors close. As a 16-year-old girl told us: '*When I was engaged my husband saw me crying and I told him that I did not want to drop out of school, but he did not listen*' (IDI, Shajaia). Another girl added, '*My husband didn't approve that I would finish my school. I wanted to finish my school, but he refused. I asked him to let me finish that school year because the school might let me join high school later. I also told him that it would be a loss after I spent all those years at school. But he refused ... I tried to convince him many times, but in vain. I told him that this was my bridge to college and later on I would work!! He refused*' (IDI, 15-year-old, Shajaia). Young boys are aware of the situation: '*Girls get married ... at the age of 16 and their husbands ask them to stay at home instead of studying*' (FGD, older boys, Shajaia).

One girl, about to divorce, noticed that the failing of her marriage was a blessing in disguise: '*I will go back again to school. My father is going to send me again to school ... I said to myself, "God didn't complete my marriage, having kids, having a house", why won't I start my life again, learn? When you learn you can even speak better ... And you learn, you meet people and learn, and tomorrow if God sent something new, wouldn't I need to know and learn some stuff?*' (IDI, 19-year-old, Jabalia camp). It is a desperate situation for girls in Gaza: '*They ask us why we learn if we are just going to end up in our husband's houses*' (FGD, older girls, Shajaia).

allow me to go back to school, but his family refused' (IDI, 16-year-old, Jabalia camp).

Teachers also seem to play an active role in excluding girls should they get engaged or become pregnant. As one girl described: '*The teacher noticed her pregnancy and asked the school principal to expel that student. School put restrictions to those engaged or married students … Married students face problems to complete their studies*' (FGD, older adolescent girls, Jabalia). Another girl who got engaged in 3rd grade of primary school explained: '*The teachers turned against me when I got engaged. I was about to talk to her and tell her "why are you doing this to me? All the girls of my age get engaged, why do you like to treat me badly?" I was afraid to wear my engagement ring; I didn't show anyone that I got engaged until later. They would say bad things about me, that I wasn't decen …*' (IDI, 18-year-old girl, Jabalia camp).

Men's power over women is rooted in gendered social norms, which leave little room for girls or women in decision-making about issues that affect their lives. For many married girls, this keeps them out of school and largely confined to the home: '*Sometimes I would ask my husband for permission to go out, a week in advance and he accepts. However, when [the] time comes, he simply says no. When I ask him why, he does not have any good reasoning. He just likes to verbally abuse me and he has the need to feel dominant. He has to feel like every decision he makes is his alone*' (FGD, older girls, Shajaia). One of the older girls involved in the study had experienced physical abuse from her father-in-law: '*Once my father-in-law hit me by an electric wire … My family used to hit and I did not complete my education and this is the most important factor that caused me to be exposed to violence. Outside home I met people who talked to me [and told me] that I have my dignity and no one has the right to hit me*' (FGD, older girls, Jabalia).

2.3.3 Integrating gender in systems and services

Even if systems and service providers have developed a comprehensive education strategy and plan, girls' access to education will remain limited unless there is a coordinated inter-sectoral plan to extend social protection, prevent gender-based violence and promote gender equality.

2.4 Outcome 4: Support, skills and resources to transition to secondary and post- secondary learning pathways

2.4.1 Access and benefits of post-secondary education

Those girls who are able to access vocational training experience it very positively: '*I have come to the centre for women and learned everything and I am providing for myself*' (IDI, 17-year-old, Jabalia camp). Vocational learning opportunities, as long as they are perceived to be appropriate for girls and young women, are often seen as a '*next-best-thing*' for married and engaged women who are often by that time already out of the education system; or simply the only feasible solution with university fees unaffordable for many, or parents and husbands unsupportive of them going on to further education.

Whereas basic education is funded, tertiary education – and particularly university education – is expensive and often not affordable for students from poor backgrounds. Some boys[3] are not able to secure the support, skills and resources needed to transition to secondary and post-secondary educational and learning pathways. As already noted, many boys drop out of school or do not take up vocational training due to dissatisfaction with the quality of education offered or because their families can no longer afford to send them to school. As one boy explained: '*If I want to go to the college of applied sciences to receive vocational training on cell phone maintenance, they charge a lot of money*' (FGD, older boys, Jabalia camp). Some boys (particularly those with already limited opportunities) stop going to school during the transition from secondary to tertiary education as they fear being unemployed: '*I'm afraid I won't have a job. Because there are no jobs in Gaza. All are unemployed*' (IDI, 16-year-old, Shajaia). The boys our researchers spoke to, hoped to work as blacksmiths, carpenters, car mechanics, teachers, drivers, journalists or freedom fighters.

2.4.2 The taboo of working women

While brothers and male peers might recognise girls' right to transition to secondary and post-secondary educational and learning pathways, many see girls' education as a

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3   'Boys' are not a homogenous group. Some boys (from better-off households) are less likely to drop out of school than others (those from poorer households, boys with disabilities, boys that are struggling academically, and boys with a practical talent).

means of educating their sons and grandsons, rather than as a route to female employment. Even if education is perceived to be the ultimate goal, post-secondary education is considered to be more appropriate for boys given that social norms afford them the role of household breadwinner. Yet, times (and attitudes) are slowly changing, and adolescent boys involved in the research indicated that they are '*not against working women*' (FGD, older boys, Shajaia).

2.4.3 Vocational training: a second best pathway

Where families are supportive of girls' and boys' transitioning to secondary and post-secondary educational and learning pathways, there remains a strong preference for academic careers over practical learning routes, particularly for girls. The State of Palestine and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) (2017) observe that vocational programmes are seen as significantly less prestigious than a university education. A 17-year-old girl explained how family pressure for high grades worked in practice:

> '*I finished the first semester of the first secondary class. Then my father made me drop out because my average wasn't good. I failed two subjects, maths and chemistry. He didn't like the average. He did nothing. He said "Tomorrow, you will give your books back and you*

will stay and work with your mom". He said: "Since you are like that, we don't want the education". He didn't give me the chance to explain more. When I sit in front of the TV, he said: "Work hard! And if you didn't work hard, you will leave school. Don't fail any subject!" Then I failed two subjects and stayed at home.' (IDI, 17-year-old, Jabalia)

2.4.4 A need for female friendly vocational services

There are various secondary and post-secondary educational and learning pathways in Gaza, with 8 universities, 18 colleges, 2 polytechnic colleges and 1 institution for postgraduate programmes. Yet relatively few adolescents enrol in vocational training facilities. The Ministry of Education and Higher Education attributes this to the inaccessibility of vocational education facilities, the lack of programmes tailored to the needs of the labour market, and a lack of specialisations suitable for girls (MOHE 2016a). Graduation may not necessarily lead to finding a job or to job security – the youth labour force participation rate in Gaza is still low. And, while women's labour force participation rate has nearly doubled since 2000, it is still a fraction of the rate for men. Women's unemployment rate also remains nearly double that of men (39% versus 23%) (PCBS, 2015d).

Conclusions and implications for policy and programming

Overall, our findings underscore the complex and interlinked challenges to adolescents' full capability development in the Palestinian context, and the critical role that context-specific gendered norms and practices play in shaping adolescent girls' capabilities and wellbeing. Our findings suggest that enrolment and graduation rates of primary, secondary and tertiary education for girls and boys in Gaza are promising, but that discriminatory gender norms remain 'sticky'. Male peers, parents and wider communities support adolescent boys and girls to go to school to some extent, but often do not prioritise adolescents' educational and career aspirations. Girls are often only supported to obtain an education so they can provide high-quality care for future sons. Boys are often asked to work instead of going to school – in particular when money becomes tight.

There is considerable education-related programming available to adolescent girls and boys in Gaza yet it often remains inaccessible. For example, barriers to education and learning cited by our participants ranged from the lack of quality facilities and teaching, violence in schools, 'hidden' school fees, and risks to safety when walking to school.

In terms of implications for policy, programming and future evidence needs, Figure 7 maps out our findings in relation to national policy commitments and global Sustainable Development Goal (SDG)-related commitments. Where relevant, we highlight where additional investments in programming and evidence are urgently needed to support progress towards achievement of these commitments.

Figure 7: Summary of key findings

SDG Objectives under Goal 4 of Quality Education	GAGE Findings
Goal 4.1 Ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education	Overall good progress but more attention needs to be paid to adolescents with disabilities, those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and girls from families with strong conservative beliefs.
Goal 4.2 Ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university	Despite availability of vocational training facilities, cultural perceptions around the lower status of vocational education are harming effectiveness.
Goal 4.3 Substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship	It is less common for adolescent girls to access training courses offering skills needed in the labour market.
Goal 4.4 Eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities and children in vulnerable situations	Discriminatory gender norms constrain girls' ability to access secondary and vocational training, particularly so for girls with disabilities and vulnerable adolescents.
Goal 4.5 Ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy	Gaza is making excellent progress on this indicator (see Table 1).
Goal 4.6 Ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development (human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity)	When it comes to promoting these civic values, the education system in Gaza still has a long way to go; violence in schools (meted out by teachers and students) is reported to be common, while discriminatory gender norms constrain the lives of girls (particularly married girls).
Goal 4.7 Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, nonviolent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all	Education facilities need to be improved; donors could invest in building more schools and improving water and sanitation facilities. Violence in schools (particularly against adolescents with disabilities) must be addressed to ensure a safe and conducive learning environment.
Goal 4.8 Substantially expand the number of scholarships available to developing countries	Not being able to pay for books, bags, clothes and transport to school is still a barrier for many adolescents in Gaza. Scholarships could help adolescents from poorer families access school and may prevent some parents choosing to pull their daughters out of school.
Goal 4.9 Substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers	Violence by teachers, particularly against students who are not doing well, and against girls who became engaged, married or pregnant, were cited as key reasons for dropout. Investing in teacher training and reducing class sizes would significantly increase the quality of teaching.

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