

THE EVIDENCE FOR IMPROVING EDUCATION IN CONFLICT-AFFECTED AREAS OF NIGERIA AND EXISTING GAPS

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ABSTRACT

This review sets out to (i) identify and synthesise the evidence base of education programmes in conflict-affected areas of Nigeria in order to generate a rigorous understanding of the circumstances under which education is delivered; and (ii) identify evidence gaps concerning access, quality and continuity of education, and the interventions that aim to improve education outcomes. The review was conducted as part of the Education Research in Conflict and Protracted Crisis (ERICC) programme. The literature review drew on peer-reviewed academic papers and programme reports, which were categorised according to the ERICC conceptual and research framework according to the research questions and programmes they addressed. The findings show that, although there is promising evidence of interventions which can improve academic outcomes of out-of-school children in some areas, particularly around teaching and learning, there remain significant evidence gaps related to: (i) the state of policies, budgets and data systems; (ii) the state of coherence in the education system and the factors that enable or constrain coherence; (iii) policy-level interventions which can align, accountability and adaptability of the education system; (iv) interventions which can improve access, quality and continuity of children's education in conflict affected areas in cost-effective ways; (v) the status of children's academic learning, social emotional development, mental health and well-being, and achievement and equity for different subgroups; and (vi) system strengthening education interventions which can improve children's achievement and equity in cost-effective ways. Findings were used to inform the generation of to develop the ERICC Nigeria programme through consultation with key government and non-government stakeholders.

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ACRONYMS

ACAPS	Assessment Capacities Project
AENN	Addressing Education in Northeast Nigeria
ALP	Accelerated Learning Programme
BAY	Borno, Adamawa and Yobe
CACs	Crisis and Conflict Affected Contexts
CHF	Common Heritage Foundation
CwD	Children with disabilities
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
E2A	Evidence to Action
EC	Education Cluster
ECR	Education Crisis Response
EiE	Education in emergencies
EiEWG	Education in Emergencies Working Group
EGMA	Early grade mathematics assessment
EGRA	Early grade reading assessment
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ERICC	Education Research in Conflict and Protracted Crisis
FCDO	UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office
FME	Federal Ministry of Education
FMWA	Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development
GAR	Gross attendance ratio
GCPEA	Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack
GEC	Global Education Cluster
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
ICT	Information and communication technology
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally displaced person
IE	Impact evaluation
IEP	Institute for Economics and Peace
IIEP-UNESCO	International Institute for Educational Planning–United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
INEE	Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRC	International Rescue Committee
ISWA	Islamic State West Africa
ITQE	Islamiyya, Qur’anic and Tsangaya education
JSS	Junior secondary school
LC	Learning centre
NAR	Net attendance ratio
NCE	Nigerian Certificate of Education
NCNE	National Commission for Nomadic Education
NEDS	Nigeria Education Data Survey
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NFLC	Non-formal learning centre
NMEC	National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-formal Education
NPC	National Population Commission
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OOSC	Out-of-school children

RPBA	Recovery and Peacebuilding Assessment
SAME	State Agency for Mass Education
SANE	State Agency for Nomadic Education
SEL	Social and emotional learning
SEMA	State Emergency Management Agency
SENSE	Strengthening Education in the Northeast Nigeria States
SME	State Ministry of Education
SMS	Short messaging service
SSS	Senior secondary school
SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UBEC	Universal Basic Education Committee
UIS	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Institute for Statistics
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

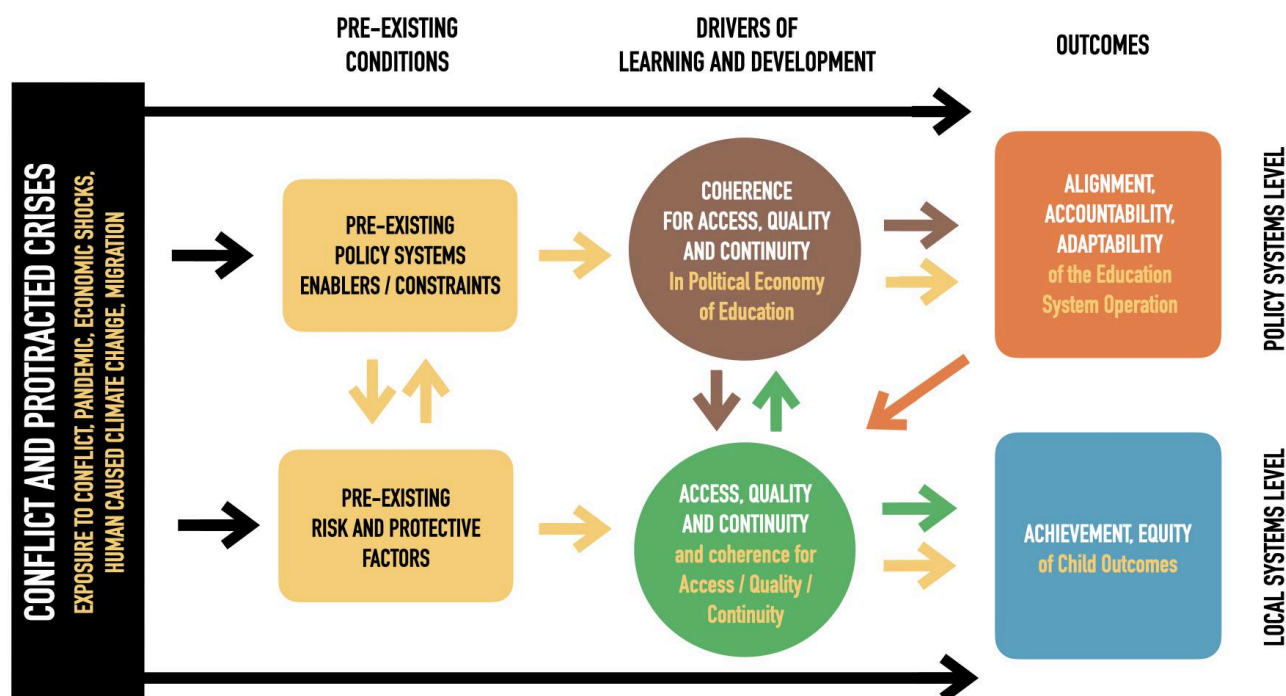
I. INTRODUCTION

This evidence review identifies and synthesises findings on the state of access, quality, continuity and coherence within the education system, as well as on programmes focused towards improving education in areas of Nigeria affected by conflict and protracted crisis. There is a particular emphasis on the status of education and programmes carried out in the BAY States – Borno, Adamawa and Yobe – in the country's northeast, which have borne the brunt of the Boko Haram insurgency. Research for the review was conducted as part of the Education Research in Conflict and Protracted Crisis (ERICC) programme, funded by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO). It was carried out by Evidence to Action (E2A) on behalf of the Common Heritage Foundation (CHF).

Conflict and protracted crises present significant challenges at the local, national and international levels: they have an immediate, and typically catastrophic, effect on local populations and – as evidenced by the Boko Haram insurgency – they can generate instability and cause fear within and beyond regional and national borders. Conflict and protracted crises have devastating effects on education systems. They therefore severely disrupt the right of children to learn and so improve their own well-being as well as contribute to the improvement of their family, local and national well-being.

Yet evidence-based and practice-oriented research on education in areas of conflict and protracted crises remains limited. The ERICC programme seeks to redress this by identifying and engaging with the drivers of learning and outcomes of education at the policy and local levels (Kim et al., 2022) to stimulate and support educational improvements in these contexts. The programme's conceptual framework (figure 1, below) aims to identify, examine and support four key drivers of learning and development in the context of conflict and protracted crises: (i) access to education; (ii) quality of education; (iii) continuity of education; and (iv) coherence within the education system. The outcomes of current and recent programmes concerned with education in the conflict-affected areas of northeastern Nigeria, and which inform ERICC, are addressed in this evidence review. It examines interventions that have informed access to and continuity of high-quality education in this conflict-affected area and identifies gaps that need to be filled.

Figure 1. ERICC Conceptual Framework



Source: Kim et al. (2022)

Peer-reviewed academic journals and programme reports addressing the issues identified have been reviewed and categorised according to (i) their relevance to the overall aims of the ERICC programme and the specific aims of the research questions (below); and (ii) the strength of the evidence used to support their findings. The review's purpose is to generate a rigorous understanding of the conditions that affect education in areas of conflict and protracted crisis – conditions that go beyond, but are likely to be worsened by, these situations – and of the drivers of learning and development and of education interventions and their outcomes. This enables the review to identify gaps in knowledge that need to be addressed to improve access, quality and continuity of education in conflict-affected areas.

In this context of northeastern Nigeria, there is a need to develop a better understanding of how conflict impacts education: not just outcomes but teaching and learning processes, including its psychological impact on students and teachers and how it affects social and emotional learning (SEL). One impact is a regional shortage of teachers and further evidence is required to support the recruitment and retention of appropriately qualified, properly trained and effective teachers – including those who can provide SEL. There is also a need to better understand how conflict impacts on the learning of especially vulnerable groups, including girls, internally displaced children, children with disabilities (CwD) and former abductees as well as out-of-school children (OOSC). There are two main ways of defining OOSC: those outside the formal education sector; and those receiving no schooling in either the formal or non-formal sector. There are a significant number of non-formal education initiatives in northeastern Nigeria but only limited evidence of the quality of the teaching and learning they provide, how the foundational skills of literacy and numeracy can be incorporated into their curricula and, particularly given the increased access to education the non-formal sector enables, what the formal education sector can learn from it.

At the macro level, there are questions concerning what, if any, specific policies are needed to improve teaching and learning and how education funding can be made more effective. Importantly, further research is needed to develop a clearer understanding of the evidence that is needed to inform education

policies and practices that are appropriate to areas affected by conflict and protracted crises. There is only limited evidence on how policymakers can be encouraged to engage with such evidence and how those generating that evidence can make it policy-relevant.

A. Nigeria's education system

Nigeria operates a 6-3-3-4 system of education comprising six years of primary school, three years of junior secondary school (JSS), three years of senior secondary school (SSS) and four years of tertiary education. Basic education – the focus of ERICC Nigeria – is made up of the six years of primary school and three years of JSS.¹ The 2004 Universal Basic Education (UBE) Act governs the delivery of basic education and states that it should be universal, free and compulsory. In practice, though, it is none of these.

Education is in principle state-funded (see below) but there is a strong and growing private sector presence throughout the four educational stages. There is also a significant non-formal education sector, which includes vocational learning centres and, particularly in the north of the country, schools delivering Islamiyya, Qur'anic and Tsangaya education (ITQE). In these, children receive a religiously oriented educational experience that does not always include the foundational skills of literacy and numeracy.

The Federal Ministry of Education (FME) co-legislates on education with the State Ministries of Education (SMEs). However, the period of basic education is overseen by the Universal Basic Education Committee (UBEC), which works under the authority of the UBE Act and is represented in the States by the State Universal Basic Education Boards (SUBEBs). The FME and SMEs are responsible for SSS and tertiary education. The FME is responsible for the direction and delivery of education at the Federal level but the Federal constitutional provision for concurrent regulations and protocols and strong regional identities means there is no national set of basic education policies. Curricula, funding and quality therefore all vary across the States.

In the FME and UBEC, gender and disability issues in education are represented more broadly, with some aspects overlapping with the mandate of the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (FMWA). The National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-formal Education (NMEC) coordinates the activities of State Agencies for Mass Education (SAMEs). The National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) coordinates the activities of State Agencies for Nomadic Education (SANEs).

There are no specific policies for the education of internally displaced children. Across Nigeria, most displaced individuals stay in internally displaced person (IDP) camps, from where the children access host community schools. Only a few IDP camps have schools. However, in Adamawa (the main focus of ERICC Nigeria), the majority of internally displaced children are hosted within the community.

However the figures are calculated – with the main arguments on this being around whether institutions delivering ITQE offer a recognised form of education – worryingly high numbers of children are out of school. Financial resources, allocated through SUBEBs, are rarely sufficient to meet demand, and parents and guardians may be required to pay for their children's 'free' education through indirect means (e.g. subscriptions to parent teacher associations). Although community-based efforts to encourage children to attend school exist, there are no sanctions for the families of those children who remain out of school.

B. Conflict and education in Northeast Nigeria

¹ The UBE Act also recognises pre-primary education as basic education (although ERICC Nigeria does not cover this stage) as well as adult literacy and non-formal education, skills acquisition programmes and the education of special groups such as nomads and migrants, girl children and women and Al-majiri, out-of-school and disabled children.

Nigeria has been described as an ‘historically... conflict-prone country due to its heterogeneous population along ethnic, religious, and cultural lines’ (Bertoni et al., 2019). The main drivers of conflict and protracted crises in Northeast Nigeria are (i) Boko Haram; (ii) the splinter group Islamic State West Africa (ISWA) (also known as ISIS West Africa); and (iii) criminal gangs exploiting the fragile situation in these and other States.

Boko Haram is Nigeria’s most notorious terrorist group. It came to international attention in April 2014 when its members kidnapped 276 young women from the Government Girls Secondary School in Chibok, Borno State. Boko Haram is often translated as ‘Western education is forbidden’ but the group – which refers to itself as Jamā’at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da’wah wa’l-Jihād (‘The organisation committed to the propagation of the Prophet’s teachings and jihad’) – has suggested the name means ‘Western civilisation is forbidden.’ It was founded in 2002 in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State, and exploited the impoverishment of the mostly Muslim north of Nigeria (particularly in comparison with the mostly Christian south of the country) and political and police corruption to press its cause.

The group acquired a reputation for extreme brutality, and by 2014 had become the deadliest terrorist group in the world, according to the 2015 Global Terrorism Index (IEP, 2015). Internal divisions led to the formation of the breakaway group ISWA in 2015 but the two are often conflated and confused. Borno State remains the epicentre of the group’s terrorist activities, but it has been active across Northeast Nigeria and the wider Lake Chad basin and has also launched attacks in Abuja. Its attacks have resulted in heavy casualties and widespread destruction.

Boko Haram’s ideology has made the education sector an inevitable target. Unfortunately, it is also a soft target: schools and other educational institutions are easily accessible, often have minimal security, and attended by large numbers of students and teachers on a regular and predictable basis (with students boarding at the schools in some cases). The conflict has resulted in the killing and abduction of students, the killing of teachers and the destruction of schools. The devastation to communities and livelihoods has jeopardised the survival of families and made access to education more precarious.

Former President Muhammadu Buhari claimed that Boko Haram had been ‘technically defeated’ in 2019 but attacks by the group and by ISWA, including on schools, have continued across northern Nigeria and in neighbouring countries. It is claimed that, as of 2022, Boko Haram has killed over 530 teachers, orphaned more than 50,000 children and destroyed over 5,000 primary and secondary schools and tertiary institutions (Fatunmole, 2022). Other sources suggest the group is responsible for the deaths of more than 2,300 teachers (Tijani, 2018).

The lines separating terrorist and criminal activities are usually blurred. Boko Haram, for example, has partially funded its ideological aims through the kidnapping and subsequent ransoming of hostages. And criminal organisations have exploited the instability in the BAY States that terrorist activity has caused. These criminal gangs may initially have aligned themselves with terrorist organisations, for practical purposes, but they are increasingly asserting their own authority in what has been referred to as the ‘bandit conflict.’ Kidnapping has become a very profitable criminal enterprise, and schools continue to be soft targets.

It is estimated that 3.6 million people had been internally displaced in Nigeria by the end of 2022 (IDMC, nd), with terrorist groups and bandits accounting for the majority of these displacements. Conflict and protracted crises – whether for ideological, sociocultural and/or criminal reasons – present a significant barrier to educational opportunities. The intensity of the violence has destroyed educational infrastructure and continues to prevent youth from accessing education as is their right.

II. THE PRESENT STUDY

This evidence review sets out to provide a detailed context of the impact of the conflict in Northeast Nigeria, specifically the BAY States, on the region's education system. This is intended to inform and guide the ERICC Nigeria programme by identifying key evidence gaps that need to be addressed in order to inform policy and practice if the system is to be accessible by all children, to provide them with a quality education and to enable them to progress through their schooling. It is also intended to identify implementation gaps in the system that can and should be filled.

The findings of this evidence review have been summarised and made available to key government and non-government stakeholders at the Federal level and in selected States (Adamawa, Borno and Kaduna) affected by conflict and prolonged crisis. This has enabled them to identify and rank research priorities where evidence is needed to improve the education system in these conflict-affected areas.

The research questions addressed in this evidence review are as follows:

Education Outcomes

- What is the state of education sector policies, budgets and data systems responding to crises and to what degree are they aligned, accountable and adaptable to the needs of children in conflict and crisis settings in Nigeria?
- What is the state of children's academic learning, social and emotional development and physical and mental health and well-being in terms of level of achievement and equity?

Pre-Existing Conditions

- At the micro level: What are the school, community, household and personal risk and protective factors that affect access, quality and continuity of education?
- At the macro level: What policies exist to regulate access, quality and continuity education and what policy enablers and constraints exist?

Drivers of Learning

- At the micro level: What is the situation of access, quality and continuity of education for children in schools, communities and households?
- At the macro level: What is the political economy of the education sector, in alignment and coherence in goals and operations across main actors in providing children with access to, and quality and continuity of education?

Interventions

- What interventions, if any, have been shown to affect access, quality and continuity of education and improve coherence in crisis and conflict affected contexts (CACs)?
- What evidence is there, across studies/sources, of competing priorities in policies and programming?

A. Method

In addressing these questions, a multi-stage review process was undertaken to identify relevant sources of literature from academic peer-reviewed journals and reports from organisations working on education in emergencies in the northeast of the country. Various iterations of the search terms *North\$ Nigeria [Document Title] AND education or school or learn [Document Title]* were applied, using advanced search functions in academic databases such as ProQuest, Google Scholar and EBSCOhost, as well as non-academic ones such as the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) database and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) website. The searches were conducted within a seven year timeframe, 2015–2022. Additional resources were added based on colleagues' recommendations.

Table 1. Inclusion criteria for the first two levels of screening

Title- and abstract-level screening	
Inclusion criteria	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studies concerned with education in northern Nigeria • Studies addressing conflict and protracted crises in northern Nigeria • Studies addressing education in the formal and non-formal sectors, life skills, vocational skills or adolescent soft skills policies, programmes, research or interventions • Systematic reviews • Literature reviews • Impact evaluations or observational studies with clearly defined and rigorous methodologies • Other studies with clearly defined and rigorous qualitative and/or quantitative methodologies addressing how, why and under what circumstances and for whom the study and/or programme has an impact • Studies having been completed 	
Full-text-level screening	
Inclusion criteria	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studies and reports addressing basic education in the formal and non-formal education sectors in northeastern Nigeria • Studies and reports closely aligned with the interventions of interest to the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and the ERICC programme • Study and report outcomes closely aligned with IRC's outcomes and sub-outcomes of interest 	
Full-text-level screening	
Exclusion criteria	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studies and reports primarily addressing pre-primary and/or post-junior secondary education in the formal education sector and their equivalents in the non-formal education sector • Studies and reports addressing education in the formal and/or non-formal sectors outside conflict-affected areas • Studies and reports without clearly defined and rigorous methodologies or without reference to authoritative sources 	

B. Instruments

The ERICC team created a protocol that was followed for this evidence review. Inclusion and exclusion criteria were generated to facilitate the search for data on education in Nigeria in general and education in conflict-affected areas in particular (table 1, above). An Excel spreadsheet, developed by a cross-regional team of ERICC researchers, was used to code selected documents in line with the ERICC methods (Diazgranados et al., 2022) and conceptual framework (Kim et al., 2022). The indicators used were: type of document, funder, primary research question(s) used, regional focus, research purpose, sample/sampling (including units of analysis, e.g. children, schools), methods, findings and limitations. The studies were also coded according to the ERICC Conceptual Framework, with attention paid to: level of focus (macro and/or micro), pre-existing conditions (enablers and/or constraints at the macro level; and risk and/or protective factors at the micro-level) and education outcomes (alignment, accountability and adaptability of policies, budgets and data systems at the macro level; and academic, social-emotional learning, physical and

mental health at the child level). Details of the target population and programme intervention at both macro and meso/micro levels were also included.

C. Procedure

The review process followed three levels of screening: (i) primary-level screening based on the search strategy; (ii) title- and abstract-level screening; and (iii) full-text-level screening. A hierarchical protocol based on the inclusion criteria (table 1, above) was followed to determine whether or not a study would be included. The first inclusion criterion was if the study concerned education in conflict-affected areas of northern Nigeria. Documents that fitted this criterion were then examined to determine whether they evaluated an education policy, programme or issue. Documents fitting this criterion were subjected to further review to identify whether they were descriptive or exploratory, a systematic review, an impact evaluation or an observational study.

After searching, 477 results that included academic peer reviewed and non-academic sources were downloaded and stored in the Reference Management software *Mendeley*. After screening for duplicates, selecting the abstracts to review, and reading the documents to select the full text sources, 30 academic peer reviewed articles and 30 reports were selected for inclusion in the synthesis document and 46 were included in the output report after further synthesis and editing. Additional sources (18) were later added to the final list of references. A categorization table (table 2, below) was used to determine the strength of evidence for identified programmes and to facilitate the final selection of documents used in this evidence review.

Table 2. Categorisation table legend

Interpreting the evidence strength	Interpreting study context	The direction of impact
<p>● ● ● = Strong [2 or more systematic reviews demonstrates impact, whether positive, negative, uncertain or null]</p> <p>● ● = Moderate [At least 1 systematic review, at least 1 literature review with predominantly impact evaluation (IE) based evidence or 2 or more IEs demonstrates impact, whether positive, negative, uncertain or null]</p> <p>● = Promising [At least 1 IE demonstrates impact, whether positive, negative, uncertain or null]</p> <p>● = Limited [Only observational or qualitative evidence demonstrates impact, including literature reviews of only observational or qualitative data]</p>	<p>Stable: Contexts not experiencing conflicts, disasters or crisis</p> <p>Fragile: Contexts that are very impoverished or rendered vulnerable owing to past crises; will also include contexts that frequently experience a crisis</p> <p>Humanitarian: Contexts facing conflicts, disasters or crisis</p> <p>Low-income country: Calculated by the World Bank to have an annual per capita gross national income of US\$1,035 or less</p>	<p>⊕ = Positive result</p> <p>⊕⊖ = Mixed result</p> <p>⊖ = Findings indicate a negative result</p> <p>? = Uncertain/inconclusive</p> <p>∅ = Null result</p> <p>For each directional finding, the addition of an asterisk (*) shows there was at least 1 statistically significant result. The lack of an asterisk means no significant results</p> <p>Example: ⊕* Means positive, statistically significant results</p>

Source: E2A.

D. Analytical strategy

The abstracts, executive summaries and introductions of the selected papers and reports were scrutinised to link them to the ERICC framework indicators and to identify which research questions they addressed. In most cases, they addressed more than one and a ranking system was used to indicate which questions they addressed most clearly.

Each document was then closely examined through content analysis and pertinent information was extracted and recorded on a spreadsheet. Where different findings of the programmes were identified, those findings were considered in the context of the evidence strength indicated in the categorization table. These data were then triangulated, with findings across the different indicators compared and contrasted. This analytic approach facilitated the compilation of a comprehensive evidence-base and to subsequently identify gaps in it.

III. FINDINGS

A. Education Outcomes

A. 1. Education sector policies, budgets and data systems

State policies

The government's capacity to implement educational policies depends largely on its political will and its capacity to mobilise resources and deploy them judiciously (UNICEF, 2012).

The main policy governing UBE is the 2004 UBE Act (above). Neither the Federal government nor any of the BAY State governments have introduced policies (i.e. specific legislative acts) to address the provision of education in the context of conflict and protracted crisis.² This absence of specific legislation was highlighted during the ERICC Nigeria Country Scan, which ranked the need for *specific conflict and crisis policy on education* as the overall top priority of the Federal and State governments.

Policies such as the National Gender Policy 2006, the National Policy for Integrated Early Childhood Development 2007 and the National Policy on Gender in Basic Education 2006 are some of the education-related policies that existed prior to the start of the Boko Haram insurgency in 2009. Since then, the National Policy on Education 2013,³ the National School-based Management Policy 2016,⁴ the National Policy on Inclusive Education 2016 and the National Policy on Safety, Security and Violence-free Schools 2021 have been enacted as part of the set of key education policies in the country.

In 2016, with the support of the World Bank, the United Nations and the European Union, the Federal government and the six affected States in the northeast prepared a Recovery and Peacebuilding Assessment (RPBA). This multi-sector initiative aimed to enable the 'reconstruction and rehabilitation of damaged and destroyed infrastructure and equipment' (World Bank, 2016a, p. 47) but, as the ERICC Nigeria Country Scan indicates, progress in implementing it in the education sector has been slow.

² Policy can also be interpreted as 'intentions put into practice' and so could include, for example, the practice in Adamawa of hosting internally displaced children in communities rather than camps (i.e. something that is being done without specific legislation). However, such practices are beyond the scope of this evidence review.

³ The National Policy on Education 2013 focuses on the quality and continuity of education across all educational stages.

⁴ The National School-based Management Policy 2016 is designed to achieve improved educational performance through the active participation of local communities in decision-making processes.

Whatever practical policies may be in place – for example hosting IDPs in the community – there is a clear absence of legislated policy addressing the specific educational needs of children in the BAY States.

State of budgets

Education expenditure as a percentage of Nigeria's total expenditure on essential services has been declining steadily since its peak of 9.26% in 2015 (UNESCO-UIS, nd). In 2021, education expenditure was at 5.14%, a proportion virtually unchanged from that of 2020, and the lowest for all African countries for which there was data. There is no such data specific to the northeast (or available at the State level) and there are no certain figures on recovery budgets. However, estimates suggest that the cost of the conflict on the northeast's education sector has been about US\$273 million, 53% of which is accounted for by Borno (Bertoni et al., 2019).

Current estimates suggest that expenditure is nowhere near what is needed to meet recovery costs. The RPBA estimates damage to education infrastructure within the BAY States at US\$249 million (World Bank, 2016a, p. 59), and puts as estimated funding needs for education recovery in the six northeast States at US\$721 million (World Bank, 2016b, p.41). The World Bank (2016b, various pages) estimated education recovery costs at about US\$83 million for Adamawa, US\$23.5 million for Bauchi, US\$513.6 million for Borno, US\$6.8 million for Gombe, US\$17.4 million for Taraba and US\$77.1 million for Yobe. High levels of displacement in the affected States mean that funding is also required for capital and recurrent costs to supply education services for IDPs.

Borno State has the highest budgetary costs as it remains the most affected by the conflict. If additional infrastructure and equipment such as science labs, clinics, computer libraries and computers, library books and hostels for students and/or teachers were provided to secure a suitable learning environment for students in the State, its costs would increase to US\$625.18 million (World Bank, 2016, p.74). Low investment in education means there is a need for increased household spending, which poor families cannot afford.

Data systems

At the national level, there are significant challenges to the development of an integrated Education Management Information System (EMIS) (FME, 2021; Ogunode & Usman, 2023). The production of high-quality education data and its use for decision-making is limited in Northeast Nigeria where current monitoring and evaluation systems generate inadequate and inaccurate information for informing policy making and programme implementation (FRN & World Bank, 2016). Underdeveloped information systems need upgrading in terms of data gathering, accuracy, processing and reporting. Limited capacity inhibits staff from gathering and using data strategically.

Evidence from Adamawa – the focal State of ERICC Nigeria – is limited with the most recent evidence-based report dating back ten years (i.e. outside of the timeframe used for this evidence review). It notes that data collected in six primary schools in Adamawa (Dunne et al., 2013) indicated that research and evidence in the State were limited and used underdeveloped information systems that needed upgrading in terms of data collection, accuracy, processing and reporting. These inadequate information systems ranged from macro-level data handling and reporting to school-level record-keeping (ibid., p. xiii). Further, the inadequacy and/or lack of high-quality data limited the capacity of legislators to formulate evidence-based policies. Also, the evidence suggested that head teachers had limited capacity to complete the data returns that had the potential to contribute to the production of positive strategies for school development. This represents a threat to data quality and macro-level planning as school returns feed into Local Government Education Authority and State datasets (ibid.). There is no evidence to suggest that matters have improved over the last ten years.

Some initiatives have aimed to address data-related issues in Nigeria. In 2013, a 5-year Department for International Development (DFID)-funded Education Data, Research and Evaluation in Nigeria (EDOREN) programme aimed to embed evidence into education programming by generating and using data in all DFID education programs and to subsequently build national capacity for data use in decision-making. In 2018, FHI 360 established Data Hubs through USAID's Addressing Education in Northeast Nigeria (AENN) which aimed to increase access to and use of quality data for practitioners and policy makers interested in improving access, quality and continuity of education in the region. FHI 360 provided computers, programs, and training to set up 17 Data Hubs in Yobe, Borno and Adamawa, which managed data on the first nine years of students' education, as well as on school personnel and education structures. However, effective implementation of the DataHubs was affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. At the end of AENN, FHI 360 handed over the Data Hubs to the government, to be managed by the Head of Education Management Information Systems (EMIS) and a team of EMIS Officers, under the supervision and monitoring of the SUBEBs. In 2022, the International Rescue Committee began collaborating with the government through USAID's Opportunities to Learn (OTL) program to improve Data Hubs in Northeast Nigeria. A needs assessment conducted to identify data-related issues affecting the quality, accuracy and effective use of data emphasised acknowledged concerns (FME, 2021; Ogunode & Usman, 2023) and showed that the Data Hubs were experiencing challenges related to power, internet connectivity, manual data collection processes, inadequate skills and lack of capacity-building opportunities for staff and insufficient funding, among others (OTL, 2022).

Evidence gaps

Education policies: Federal and State policies (i.e. specific legislation) fail to acknowledge the specific educational needs of children living in areas of conflict and protracted crisis; and there is no direct evidence documenting the degree to which the UBE act or other related policies are being implemented in conflict-affected areas in Nigeria, or about the strategies that are being used to guarantee universal, free, quality education for all in these settings, or the factors that enable or hinder implementation the implementation of existing laws and policies. Additionally, there is no information on the impact of existing laws and policies on access, quality and continuity of education of children in conflict affected settings.

Budgets and finance: While we know that government budgets are insufficient to meet existing education needs, we do not have information about the cost that conflict and crisis have had on the education system, the cost of reconstruction and recovery, or enough information on the cost of implementation of policy strategies in conflict affected areas.

Data systems: School and household-based data on education needs – which should inform policy decisions and budget allocations – is limited and needs to be improved. However, there is no evidence on how existing or innovative data-system strengthening interventions can result in improved data availability, data quality and data use to inform policy and practice in Northeast Nigeria. There is, therefore, a need for information on feasible, cost-efficient and cost-effective strategies to make better use of school-based data to improve access, quality and continuity of education in Northeast Nigeria.

A. 2. Children's academic learning, social and emotional development and physical and mental health and well-being

Academic learning

Academic outcomes in the northeast States are unsurprisingly among the poorest in the country. In the northeast as a whole, 17% of children aged 5–16 in 2010 were literate, the lowest across all the regions (the highest being the southwest, with 79% of children literate) (NPC, 2014). By 2015, children's literacy rate had increased to 28% (NPC, 2015). In terms of numeracy, in 2010, 27% of children in the northeast were numerate

(could correctly sum two single-digit numbers), again the lowest across all regions (the highest being the southwest, with 89% of children numerate) (NPC, 2014). By 2015, the numeracy rate in the northeast had increased slightly, to 29% (NPC, 2015).

Comparing literacy and numeracy over the same period between Adamawa, Borno and Yobe, evidence from the Nigeria Education Data Survey (NEDS) suggests Adamawa's children have the best outcomes while Borno's usually have the poorest. With the exception of numeracy in Yobe, and in spite of the conflict, children's literacy and numeracy outcomes appear to have improved across the three States between 2010 and 2015, as indicated by the regional data discussed above. Literacy rates for rural children also improved but an equity gap (i.e. the return on investment in educational outcomes) remains and girl and boy children from urban areas typically continue to outperform their rural counterparts. The literacy gap is highest in Yobe, where there is a 45% difference in rates between urban and rural boys and a 48% difference between urban and rural girls – with urban children outperforming rural children on average. Numeracy gaps have worsened significantly in Borno and Yobe. Despite overall improvements, rates remain low overall, though numeracy rates are higher than literacy rates. For instance, only in 2015 were literacy rates greater than 50% for urban Adamawa boys and for boys and girls in Yobe. Numeracy rates for all groups of children in Borno remain lower than 50%. Notably, in the NEDS, literacy does not equal ability to read and therefore the rate does not provide a real sense of children's functional literacy. In the survey, children are assessed as literate if they can read at least one of three words in English or one of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, which suggests illiteracy rates could be higher than those suggested by the data.

Similar evidence of weak literacy and numeracy is provided by baseline assessments of interventions, for example the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)–funded Education Crisis Response (ECR) project (2014–2017) (ECR, 2017) and the UK-funded Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP) for out-of-school learners (2018–2019) (with baseline assessments in Yobe and Borno: (Diazgranados and Lee, 2018).

Social and emotional learning

Baseline evidence conducted by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) as part of the DFID Education in Emergencies tutoring programme for in-school children at risk of dropping out (Diazgranados et al., 2019) and an Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP) for OOSC (Diazgranados and Lee, 2018) in the northeast documented the state of children's social emotional learning and mental health outcomes on a set of outcomes such as hostile attribution bias, emotional regulation, conflict resolution and depression. These studies suggest that: (i) 20% of children experience hostile attribution bias (i.e. attributing hostile intent to the behaviour of others even in neutral situations) which puts them at risk of engaging in aggressive behaviours; and (ii) 5% experience severe depression (Diazgranados and Lee, 2018) with displaced children being significantly more likely to experience higher levels of depression than host-community children. Qualitative data from the same programme shows that some children experience bullying and abuse from other children in their resettled communities (Diazgranados et al., 2019).

Other studies highlight the effects of school attacks specifically – for example girls and women who return to school after a school attack reportedly suffer stress and trauma such as recurring nightmares, anxiety, being easily frightened and inability to concentrate (GCPEA, 2019). There is evidence of stigma faced by formerly abducted girls when reintegrated into either communities (GCPEA, 2019; Ogun et al., 2020) or IDP camps (Oketch, 2021; Oladeji et al., 2021). The stigma and social exclusion are particularly severe for those who have had children with members of the insurgent group (GCPEA, 2019). Other liberated girls also reported shame and embarrassment at the prospect of returning to school and facing their classmates (ibid.). More generally, the evidence points also to broader social and emotional impacts of the activities of Boko Haram as a result of its erosion of the social fabric in the region and of social relations between citizens and government, ethnic groups and communities, and even within extended families (World Bank, 2016a, b).

Physical and mental health

Researchers estimate that, at the height of the Boko Haram insurgency, nearly two thirds of the health infrastructure in Borno was destroyed (Nnadi et al., 2017), including more than 788 health facilities, with at least 48 health workers killed and many others displaced (Adesina and Kanmodi, 2019b). In displacement camps, overcrowding and poor sanitation and hygiene are prevalent (ibid.). Child-specific physical outcomes include severe and acute malnutrition and famines (UNICEF, 2018a), increased likelihood of wasting (low weight for height) (Dunn, 2018) and new discoveries of wild poliovirus (owing to low population immunity and surveillance limitations) (Nnadi et al., 2017).

Mental health consequences have also been evidenced. Researchers suggest children in the region suffer from various symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, including irritability, insomnia, aggression and poor concentration, among others (Foluke and Hyacinth, 2017). Others self-report high levels of anxiety or panic attacks (Yusuf and Edemenang, 2018.). Evidence from outreach sessions with conflict-experienced individuals in health care facilities and displaced people's camps in the northeast suggests the existence of severe emotional disorders, seizures associated with psychological distress, unexplained somatic complaints, psychotic disorders and substance abuse, among other issues, with the symptoms potentially exacerbated by the conditions in the camps themselves (Adesina et al., 2020). The psychosocial effects on children who have lost parents/caregivers, siblings or relatives to the crisis are also likely to be significant (Adesina and Kanmodi, 2019b). For former women and girl sexual victims of Boko Haram, evidence suggests experiences of social isolation, depression, suicide and suicide ideation (Read, in Adesina et al., 2020). Sexual violence-related pregnancies have been documented among liberated women and girls who had been subject to forced marriages and repeated sexual assaults (Oladeji et al., 2021). Exact pregnancy rates among abductees are unknown but are not likely to be low; researchers suggest women's social reproductive capabilities are among the primary reasons for their abduction (Oriola, 2017; Oketch, 2021).

Evidence gaps

There is very limited data on (i) how stakeholders understand and engage in the promotion of social-emotional learning, the social and emotional skills they value and prioritise for members of their communities and the state and developmental trajectories of social-emotional learning of children affected by the conflict in Northeast Nigeria, particularly for different subgroups of the population, including subgroups defined by age, gender, displacement status, disability status, etc.; (ii) the physical and mental health of learners; (iii) how social-emotional learning and mental health affect their (re)integration into communities; and (iv) how social-emotional learning and mental health problems affect their opportunities to learn. There is also very limited data on (v) how governments and communities can support them to learn and (vi) how their engagement with the education system can contribute to their overall well-being.

B. Pre-existing Conditions

B.1. School, community, household and personal risk and protective factors

Risks directly from school attacks

Boko Haram's school attack strategies have included burning and looting; forced recruitment of boys (usually in school though sometimes from home, and sometimes as retaliation against the military); intimidation and abduction of girls; killing of boys in schools (to prevent access or as retaliation for refusal to join the group or suspected assistance to government forces); suicide bombings; and occupation of schools (to store stolen goods, detain captives or abductees and manufacture weapons) (Human Rights Watch, 2016b). The group has thus operated at the level of physical infrastructure, educators and learners (and their communities).

Physical infrastructure

Estimates suggest that, between 2009 and 2015, Boko Haram destroyed more than 910 schools in the northeast, with more than 1,500 schools forced to close and more than 950,000 children of school age forced to flee. In Borno, the number of schools destroyed may have been more than 500 within that period (Isokpan and Durojaiye, 2016). Three out of every five schools in the State are closed and one out of every five is either destroyed or occupied (World Bank, 2016a). An education needs assessment conducted in the northeast that surveyed 332 schools found that 74 out of those schools had been hit by shells, bullets or shrapnel, 83 reported looting (with nearly half citing multiple instances) and 53 schools reported burnt infrastructure (ACAPS, 2017). The same needs assessment found an average of 497 classrooms destroyed across the three States, corresponding to about 1.5 classrooms per school per State. Another 1,392 schools were considered damaged but repairable, with the report noting these estimates were likely to be worse in inaccessible areas.

The occupation of schools by Boko Haram (Human Rights Watch, 2016b) and also by the government security or military forces (e.g. for use as accommodation) (ACAPS, 2017; AENN, 2019; IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021; GCPEA, 2022) presents a risk for schooling access. In 2021, the Nigerian army reportedly used about seven primary and secondary schools for military purposes in Borno (GCPEA, 2022). One risk is that schools will be rendered unusable for schooling. The presence of military men in and around schools also represents a risk. Parents often decide to withdraw their girl child from school – or the girl decides herself – as a result of concerns about the presence of military men (GCPEA, 2019, 2022). Schools have reportedly also been used to shelter displaced persons (Isokpan and Durojaiye, 2016; World Bank, 2016a; Buba, 2019), while schools in displaced communities, such as in Adamawa, have experienced delayed school resumption as a result of their use as camps during the holidays (Isokpan and Durojaiye, 2016).

Educators

Reports from Human Rights Watch (2016b) indicate that, between 2009 and 2015, more than 600 teachers were killed in the northwest and northeast (411 in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa), with more than 19,000 forced to flee. As indicated above, the current number of teachers killed is likely to be significantly higher. Many other teachers were threatened and harassed; some female teachers were abducted. School administrators, teachers and education officials have been among the displaced (Foluke and Hyacinth, 2017). Teachers' displacement not only leads to teacher shortages but also may cause learner dropouts (IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021).

Abductions, killing and recruitment of learners

There are various estimates of the number of learners abducted and killed over different periods. Foluke and Hyacinth (2017) suggest more than 233 learners were killed in school attacks in Borno and Yobe between 2013 and 2014, and an estimated 276 girls were abducted from a girls' secondary school in Chibok. Secondary and tertiary institutions were targeted, including a college of agriculture. Adesina and Kanmodi (2019a) estimate some 173 deaths over the same period, with the same number of abducted Chibok girls. According to Human Rights Watch (2015), between 2009 and 2014, more than 500 girls and women were abducted, while more than 100 boys in two government secondary schools in Yobe (Buni Yadi and Potiskum) were killed. In March 2015, an estimated 300 learners between the ages of 7 and 17 from Zanna Mobarti Primary School in Damasak, Maiduguri, alongside 100 women and girls from the town, were abducted a few months after the school was first occupied (Human Rights Watch, 2016a). In February 2018, more than a hundred girls were abducted from a government girls' secondary school in Dapchi, Yobe, though all except one were reportedly released; the one who was not reportedly had refused to convert to Islam. Five girls reportedly died in the process of the abduction (Ikechukwu-Illomuanya et al., 2022). It has been suggested that the total number of abducted girls and women could range between 2,000 and 8,000 (IIEP-UNESCO and

World Bank, 2021). Boko Haram has also reportedly targeted boys and girls for wearing school uniforms, and girls for wearing trousers or other items of clothing considered not sufficiently modest (GCPEA, 2018, 2019).

For girls, abduction is likely related to their reproductive (e.g., Oketch, 2021; Oriola, 2017), productive and sexual capabilities. Abducted girls are used for forced labour and recruitment (of other girls) (Human Rights Watch, 2016b), as sex slaves (e.g. Hassan et al., 2018; IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021) and as battle shields (IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021). They are subject to sexual violence and forced conversion (Human Rights Watch, 2015) and sometimes forcibly married off to group members (Human Rights Watch, 2015; GCPEA, 2019; IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021; Oladeji et al., 2021). There is limited data on boys' abduction, though some estimate that, by 2017, Boko Haram had recruited about 8,000 Nigerian children (O'Connor et al., 2021), many of whom are likely to have been boys. Children, whether abducted or otherwise, both boys and girls, have been used as suicide bombers in some attacks (Hassan et al., 2018; Adesina and Kanmodi, 2019b; IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021).

Indirect risks and protective factors

Less direct challenges include those presented by external school-related risk factors (e.g. lack of a school fence, dangerous routes to school, broader armed conflict, etc.) and internal ones (e.g. overcrowded classrooms, insufficient ablution facilities, armed opposition groups, environmental risks such as fire and floods, lack of trauma-trained or trauma-informed teachers) (AENN, 2019). At the system level, the conflict and school attacks have reduced the overall budget for school infrastructure and teacher welfare (IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021). Challenging camp conditions (Olanrewaju et al., 2018) pose risks to well-being, with implications for learning. Some evidence suggests women and girls are compelled to engage in transactional sex in order to provide food for their families (Ogbe, 2020).

According to teachers and school heads, parents' fears of attacks have led to increased early and girl child marriages (GCPEA, 2019). Some fathers have reportedly transacted their daughters to the group for financial gain (Atela et al., 2021). Local youth in the most affected areas, consisting largely of teenagers (some as young as 13), have also mobilised as part of civilian joint task forces in the fight against Boko Haram. Others suggest the conflict has exacerbated other health and gender issues, including school-related gender-based violence and gender stereotypes in materials, school curricula and teacher attitudes (IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021). An increase in gender-based violence has also been reported at the community level (AENN, 2019). Other challenges, such as hunger, food insecurity, early pregnancies, trauma, costs of schooling and families' lack of value for education have also been reported as key constraints (ibid.). Mothers' education, found to be protective for children's health outcomes (Dunn, 2018), may also be protective for educational outcomes. Poverty is a risk factor for the recruitment of poor young men (Hansen et al., 2016; Moshood and Thovoethin, 2017) and also for women and children (Oketch, 2021).

Evidence suggests positive parent-child relationships, lower frequency of family conflict, lower economic stress and longer length of stay within resettled communities may be protective, as a result of their correlation with children's increased perception of safety during the post-displacement phase (Ariyo et al., 2020). Other evidence suggests children's perception of safety may be linked to friendships and access to food, schooling and other community support services (Diazgranados et al., 2019). Others advocate the application of an ecosystems model, which examines the interconnectedness of safety, access (to basic psychological needs and health care), family (and connection to others) and education and economic security in generating a holistic understanding of conflict-affected persons and children (O'Connor et al., 2021). In the case of the northeast, the model has been used broadly to highlight the variances between community and humanitarian objectives, and the gendered strategies Boko Haram employs for its recruits and abductees (ibid.; see also Oketch, 2021). Reflections with liberated Chibok girls in a university preparatory programme found that the girls valued the space and opportunity to reflect on current learning experiences as well as traumatic experiences of captivity (Ogun et al., 2020), and highlighted the

importance of therapy (for psychological trauma), opportunities for course assessment, and culturally sensitive and responsive pedagogy for the reintegration and re-education of former abductees or recruits.

Evidence gaps

There is still limited evidence of the direct and indirect impacts of school attacks – and the ever-present threat of such attacks – on access to and the quality and continuity of education, and on students' and teachers' physical, emotional and mental health and well-being. There is also very limited evidence on the experiences of former abductees as they (re)enter the education system and on the factors that enable or hinder their successful reintegration to school and the community.

B. 2. Policy enablers and constraints

Policies have been put together to enable access to quality education and ensure its continuity. These include the National Gender Policy 2006, the National Policy for Integrated Early Childhood Development 2007, the National Policy on Gender in Basic Education 2006, the National Policy on Education 2013, the National School-based Management Policy 2016, the National Policy on Inclusive Education in Nigeria 2016 and the National Policy on Safety, Security and Violence-free Schools 2021. As with all policies, there are factors enabling and/or constraining their implementation.

There is limited evidence to suggest that policies – whether at Federal, State or Local Government levels – are evidence-based and this is a significant constraint on effective and actionable policy formation. However, a study on the identification, recruitment and retention of effective teachers in Kaduna and Kano States (Allsop & Watts, 2018) – both of which are struggling with their own conflicts and protracted crises – indicated that structured collaboration between policymakers and researchers can lead to the development and implementation of evidence-based policies (Watts et al., forthcoming).

Enablers

Enabling factors contribute in some way towards the achievement of the aims of a policy. One of the major policy enablers has been the availability of funding from various donors and the government. For example, one major government effort has been the Safe Schools Initiative, which was established by the Presidential Committee on North-east Initiative and received 23 billion naira from some 55 billion naira pledged by donors in 2014. Moshood and Thovoethin (2017) note that, as part of the Safe Schools Initiative, 2,400 secondary school learners were transferred from high-risk areas in the BAY States to 43 Federal Unity schools in other States across the country. Hassan et al. (2018) also note the creation of five learning centres in the city of Maiduguri for secondary school learners from the various affected towns outside of the city. Tens of millions of dollars have been invested in the Safe Schools Initiative (Isokpan and Durojaiye, 2016; Abubakar, 2021) although it has been suggested that the initiative soon faltered (Abubakar, 2021).

Constraints

Nigeria's large population means a great deal of investment is required in education to promote accessible quality learning. For instance, the school-age population experienced a 23% increase between 2011 and 2021, meaning that, in addition to existing demand, the government had to accommodate additional children and youth (IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021). This massive growth has limited the government's provision of key education interventions such as the establishment of schools, classroom construction, the supply of additional teachers and the provision of teaching and learning resources while maintaining the desired sector norms and standards. Because most resources are used to avail a basic minimum for the general population, equity considerations are often neglected and vulnerable and marginalised populations are excluded (ibid.).

Hand in hand with Nigeria's fast-growing population is the country's deteriorating macroeconomic performance. In 2017, approximately 46.4% of the country's population was multidimensionally poor (IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021). The economy is reliant on services (hospitality, tourism, entertainment), agriculture (cocoa, rubber, groundnuts, palm oil), manufacturing, construction and trade. The agriculture sector has been unable to keep up with the population's requirements, making Nigeria an importer rather than an exporter of food. Agricultural activities have been further disrupted by the Boko Haram insurgency, mostly concentrated in the northeast region, further decreasing productivity. Lack of food affects access and quality in two ways: because the northeast States are reliant mostly on agriculture, which is the main source of income for 60–80% of the population (World Bank, 2016a), disruption to agricultural activities results in limited income to ensure basic needs, and education becomes a lower priority, with children likely to drop out of school. Second, for those who do manage to attend school, there is a danger of malnutrition and stunting, which affects the quality of participation (IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2021).

According to Brechenmacher (2019), the international response to the Boko Haram crisis was slow because, in addition to the Nigerian government underplaying the severity of the challenge, there was some reluctance by the international community to become involved in the fighting. This reluctance had a negative impact on policies aimed at widening access to quality education. The response by the Nigerian government was also slow. The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), established in 1999 to respond to disasters in the country, began to respond to the Boko Haram insurgency only in 2015, by which time the situation had degraded significantly (Okunade and Ogunnubi, 2020). During the time in which NEMA and its State arm, SEMAs, were operational, there were disagreements about ways of operating and fund management. The resulting lack of cooperation hampered humanitarian efforts. Also, NEMA's and SEMAs' activities in education were limited, beyond the training of secondary school students on disaster management (*ibid.*).

There have also been various challenges related to policy implementation, such that the different initiatives have yielded mixed results because they are carried out by various agencies, with little coordination and, accordingly, little synergy (UNICEF, 2012). Therefore, despite the participation of Federal and State government officials, policy implementation has not been guaranteed. Challenges include reverse order planning, capacity deficits and lack of data. Reverse order planning is when policy implementation is not discussed alongside policy formulation, resulting in weaknesses in the process. Capacity deficits have mostly been noted within the Educational Planning, Research and Development Department. And the lack of relevant data and/or inaccurate data at Federal level compromises the development and implementation of rational policies and programmes. Lack of disaggregated data has been identified as a constraint to the reintegration of displaced persons and children, particularly as it relates to schooling (Moshood and Thovoethin, 2017).

Evidence gaps

Further research needs to be conducted on the issues that enable or constrain the cost-effective implementation of policies to improve access to quality education in both the formal and non-formal education sectors, and how formal and non-formal sectors can collaborate and learn from each other. Such research should address the extent to which policies and practices are evidence-based and examine those evidence bases to ensure they meet educational needs and are policy-relevant.

C. Drivers of Learning

C. 1. Access, quality and continuity of education for children

Access to education

UNESCO recently reported that the number of OOSC in Nigeria has risen to 19.7 million (UNESCO, 2022). While these figures are not publicly available on a State-by-State basis, a source has estimated that there are 489,855 OOSC in Adamawa (The Guardian, 2022). However, these figures are disputed at Federal and State levels as they include children learning in the non-formal education sector. The GoN uses the National Personnel Audit (NPA) to estimate the number of teachers required to deliver legally mandated levels of education. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, the 2018 audit estimated that there is a national shortage of 277,537 teachers in the basic education sector.

Evidence demonstrates significant negative effects of the conflict on children's access to formal schooling in two of the three BAY States. Between 2010 and 2015, the primary gross attendance ratio (GAR) in Yobe decreased from 52% to 28% and that in Borno from 31% to 23% (NPC, 2014, 2015). A similar trend is observed for primary net attendance ratio (NAR) in both States: between 2010 and 2015, the primary NAR in Yobe decreased from 37% to 22% and that in Borno from 23% to 17%. The trend in Adamawa is the opposite: between 2010 and 2015, the primary GAR increased from 91% to 114% while the primary NAR increased from 60% to 79%, though this may owe to the inclusion displaced families and their impact on community and school populations. The trends in the three States also hold true at the JSS level. Between 2010 and 2015, the junior NAR in Yobe and Borno decreased while that in Adamawa increased.

For children who have never attended school, Adamawa again goes against the trend, with improvement in this area. Between 2010 and 2015, the proportion of children aged 5–16 who had never attended school in Yobe increased from 60% to 73% and that in Borno from 73% to 75% but that in Adamawa decreased, from 32% to 17%. Other estimates suggest up to 52% of children in the northeast are not in school (i.e. not in the formal education sector) (Bertoni et al., 2019) and that 1.4 million girls and over 1.2 million boys were out of school in the region in early 2020 as a result of the conflict (GCPEA, 2022). Relatedly, statistical evidence suggests that a 1 standard deviation increase in the number of fatalities within a 5 km radius of a child's village reduces the probability of enrolment by 3 percentage points, with similar negative effects for boys and girls and between rural and urban areas. Negative effects are potentially larger for Muslim children and children over 15 years (Bertoni et al., 2019).

There is limited data on the level of access to education in camps. Some suggest some camps have volunteer-operated schools (Hassan et al., 2018). Others say some camps have no access at all (Olanrewaju et al., 2018). It is likely that children displaced in communities have greater access to schooling than do those in camps, though there is evidence that some schools in host communities refuse to enrol displaced children because of a lack of resources (Isokpan and Durojaiye, 2016). Some estimates suggest more than 90% of schools in the region may have no provision for children with disabilities and special needs (ACAPS, 2017).

Quality and continuity of education

The quality of teaching in northern Nigeria is a long-standing problem (Allsop and Watts, 2018; Kontagora et al., 2018) that some States, including Adamawa, are slowly addressing. The issue is made worse by a severe shortage of appropriately qualified and trained teachers. Significant numbers of teachers are unqualified, uneven teacher deployment disadvantages rural schools and 14% of teachers – one in seven – in the BAY States are volunteers (EiEWG, 2021; UNESCO, 2021). The most recent Need Assessment from the Education in Emergencies Working Group (EiEWG) reported an average of 124 pupils per classroom in the schools it surveyed. However, in conflict- and crisis-affected areas, an even wider range of issues affect the quality and continuity of education available to children.

Similar to the effect on access, Bertoni et al. (2019)'s analysis suggests that a 1 standard deviation increase in the number of fatalities within a 5 km radius of a child's village results in a reduction of 0.6 years of education completed – an 11% reduction relative to the 5.2 years of average completion in the region. Exposure to conflict is found to reduce completion more for male students, while Muslim children are slightly more affected.

The NEDS provides some indication of quality through parents' satisfaction (i.e. did not see a problem) with school buildings and facilities and classroom sizes in their children's school. The 2010 data suggests low satisfaction rates overall, with Borno having the lowest satisfaction rate on each of these dimensions in 2010, at 19% (NPC, 2014). By 2015, Adamawa's parents were least satisfied with the physical condition of classrooms (37%), compared with Borno (55%) and Yobe (44%) (NPC, 2015), suggesting school facilities may have deteriorated in Adamawa, though the differences between the 2010 (school buildings and facilities) and 2015 (physical condition of the classroom) measures are not clear. Perceptions of safety also contribute to quality. For example, in 2010, parents' perceptions of the existence of challenges with regard to student safety in rural areas and government schools were lowest in Adamawa (24% and 22%, respectively) and highest in Borno (72% and 76%). By 2015 in Borno, while the perception appeared to have lessened for government schools (to 53%), for rural areas it had heightened to 94%.

The Joint Education Needs Assessment – Northeast Nigeria shows that inadequate teaching and learning materials, teaching aids and teachers have had a far greater impact on school attendance in rural areas than in urban areas (ACAPS, 2017). The assessment also found that teachers were overwhelmed by overcrowded and ill-resourced classrooms. For children who have access to education in camps, it remains generally unclear what is taught in such spaces, by whom, for whom and with what consistency, given evidence that suggests children are taught by displaced teachers on a voluntary basis (World Bank, 2016a). Likewise, for children in host communities, learning conditions are also not particularly conducive; this may be because of the overpopulation of host communities: a few estimates suggest some communities are up to three times more populous than prior to the conflict (AENN, 2019). For instance, although few internally displaced children may attend host schools during official school hours, most attend school during a second afternoon shift (World Bank, 2016a, p. 75). Moreover, schooling facilities are sometimes unavailable for IDP children and are provided in the form of either tents or mobile classrooms.

Evidence gaps

There is limited data on: (i) what children and their families consider to be accessible quality education; (ii). There is also limited data on the factors that inhibit children, particularly those from the most vulnerable socioeconomic groups, from accessing the educational opportunities that may be available to them; (iii) the factors that inhibit teachers and other education personnel from providing a quality education that continues through the formal and non-formal sectors; (iv) how effective teachers can be identified, recruited and retained; and (v) how effective and relevant professional development opportunities can be delivered in the formal and non-formal education sectors to improve the quality of teaching provided by the current workforce

C. 2. The political economy of the education sector

Stakeholder influence

The political economy of education in Nigeria is driven by the aims of different stakeholders. In the country's efforts to gather data and rebuild the education sector, there is evidence of the influence of a combination of internal players, comprising the government and teachers' unions, and external stakeholders, such as international donors and development agencies. Bello et al. (2017) have noted the politicised nature of education in Nigeria. Their viewpoint is that there is a 'secret play' by the governing and ruling elite to

perpetuate its socioeconomic, political and legal dominance over the majority. This analysis at least suggests that the political economy of education in Nigeria is deeply embedded within the country's social, political, economic and power structures.

This alleged political meddling, alongside the country's history and the religious, cultural and political differences that exist, means that managing the provision of education across the 36 States and the Federal Capital Territory is a complicated task. Moreover, the inclusion of Federal and State government officials does not guarantee policy implementation (IIEP-UNESCO and World Bank, 2016). For example, the NCE's 2004 decision to separate junior and senior secondary schools to ensure efficient supervision of teaching and learning was reversed in 2011 as a result of non-compliance by some State and Federal government actors. Thus, the country's policy formulation processes are 'beset by flaws that make their coordination and smooth implementation somewhat challenging' (ibid., p. 53). Despite these challenges, there has been some alignment and coherence in terms of goals set and operations among the main groups of people in order to provide sustainable and quality education.

Diverging political views

Evidence from the literature indicates that, while policy seems to point to a collaborative desire to ensure the provision of quality education to all children, in practice such unity does not exist. There remains a need for collaboration across Federal, State and Local governments (vertical linkages) and horizontal linkages between various State sectoral experts, coordinated by each State to work towards efficient reconstruction and recovery (World Bank, 2015). Lack of political will regarding the provision of quality education to all children perpetuates regional and local differences in educational outcomes, as do differing levels of development. Limited coordination of education management across the three tiers of government renders the education system difficult to govern. In addition, non-government and external efforts to aid in the recovery process are hampered by lack of funding to and focus on the conflict-ridden States. In part because of restricted access, in States such as Borno, hard hit by the conflict, relief efforts are not very effective in ensuring that those children most in need of education can access it.

Education system funding

Nigeria also appears to be among the least funded countries in terms of education in emergencies support. Data from Education Cannot Wait suggests that, between 2007 and 2016, among countries with large education appeals (over US\$10 million), Nigeria was the fourth least funded in terms of education, receiving just 18% of what it requested (GEC, 2018). Likewise, in 2020, Save the Children recommended that donors fully finance the US\$55 million needed to deliver emergency education to 3.1 million conflict-affected children in Northeast Nigeria; however, to date, only US\$3.3 million (6% of the total required) has been received (Badar et al., 2020, p. 5). On top of this, an additional US\$300 million was needed from donors both to cover the remaining 2021 strategic activities of Education Cannot Wait and to fill the funding gaps in the Covid-19 response (ibid.).

However, this evidence is contradicted by other claims that Nigeria was among the biggest recipients of the World Bank's education funds in 2021 for countries affected by fragility, conflict and violence (US\$258 million: 98 million from the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – OCHA – financial tracking service and 160 million from the Global Partnership for Education – GPE) (Lilly and Thiery, 2022). One of the ongoing challenges to recovery efforts remains a lack of consultation within governance on education provision. A more consultative and integrative approach to education, highlighting how education funding is related to education needs, would result in a more acceptable system and make schooling more relevant to the needs of the different communities.

Evidence gaps

More evidence is needed on how the three tiers of government (Federal, State and Local) and donors and multilateral organisations, international and local non-governmental organisations and the formal and non-formal education systems: (i) align (or fail to align) their incentives, goals, procedures and resources to provide equitable access to quality education and (ii) the extent to which these practices align (or fail to align) with the needs of children in conflict-affected areas.

D. Interventions

D.1. Interventions affecting access, quality and continuity of education and improved coherence in conflict- and crisis-affected contexts

This research has identified a range of programmes intended to improve access, quality and continuity of education in and beyond the BAY States and to improve multi-actor coherence. It cannot be assumed, however, that all programmes will achieve their aims (and, indeed, the purpose of a review such as this is to increase that likelihood). Nor can it be assumed that the evidence base of their findings is sufficiently strong to inform future programmes. Table 3 presents two key indices for three programmes: strength of confidence and direction of impact. The programmes are then summarised and discussed.

Table 3. Intervention evidence categorisation

Intervention Name / Type / Setting / Brief findings	Strength of confidence	Direction of impact	Study reference
Education Crisis Response (ECR): Literacy, numeracy and social and emotional learning (SEL) for OOSC through non-formal learning centres (NFLCs); nine months; Adamawa, Bauchi, Gombe, Yobe, Borno; learning gains in literacy, numeracy and SEL.	Unclear	+	ECR, 2017
DFID EiE Non-Formal Learning Centres: Nine month Accelerated learning programme (ALP) to help OOSC in Borno and Yobe mainstream into formal schools by helping them improve their literacy, numeracy and SEL Evidence from a randomised control trial showed significant improvements in multiple literacy and numeracy subtasks but in fewer SEL outcomes.	Promising	±*	Diazgranados and Lee, 2018; Diazgranados et al., 2019, 2022
DFID EiE Tutoring program: Five month tutoring programme for low performing in-school children at risk of dropping out of formal schools. Evidence from a randomised control trial showed improvements in literacy and numeracy skills, but only in one SEL skill.	Promising	+*	Diazgranados and Lee, 2020
Addressing Education in North-east Nigeria (AENN): Literacy, numeracy, SEL and vocational skills; Borno, Yobe; statistically significant improvements in all early grade reading assessment (EGRA) subtasks and almost all early grade mathematics assessment (EGMA) subtasks	Promising	+*	AENN 2019, 2020a, 2020b
Social-Emotional Learning Kernels of Practice: Evidence from landscape and design research used to identify local SEL priorities and practices and design a set of targeted social emotional learning activities. Evidence from implementation research confirmed that the SEL kernels are feasible, implemented with high levels of quality and fidelity, and cost-efficient. No impact evaluation.	Unclear		Bailey et al, 2021; Diazgranados et al, 2021

ECR, a USAID-funded project (2014–2017), provided formal education and psychosocial support through formal and non-formal learning for internally displaced and OOSC aged 6–17 in the northeast (ECR, 2017). It began in Adamawa, Bauchi and Gombe before expanding to Yobe in 2015 and Borno in 2016. Four types of learning centre (LC) were initially created: NFLCs for boys and girls aged 6–12; adolescent girl LCs for girls aged 13–17; youth LCs for boys aged 13–17; and centres for the physically challenged for learners with disabilities aged 6–17. Another girls LC for girls aged 6–12 was later added in response to lower enrolment of this age group. The LCs were established to provide vocational skills, and ‘dignity kits’ were also given out to support learners’ health, alongside daily snacks to encourage enrolment, attendance, retention and completion. Learners undertook a nine-month programme on literacy, numeracy and SEL delivered by community-based facilitators and formal school teachers, who were in turn supported by local education officials. SEL was introduced as its own subject and also integrated into reading/literacy and numeracy. By October 2017, 80,341 (36,397 male, 43,944 female) children in three cohorts had ‘received education and psychosocial support’ in 1,456 established NFLCs and 786 formal schools in Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe and Yobe States. Of these learners, 47% had never attended formal school before.

ECR generated important learning gains: by endline, 49% could read in Hausa (at baseline 64% could not recognise Hausa letters); 37% could read in English (at baseline 50% scored zero in English); and 39% could perform at least one basic mathematics operation (at baseline 40% could not recognise numbers one to nine). Children’s SEL skills were also improved: 30,154 (12,365 male, 17,789 female) learners who had completed the nine-month accelerated programme were mainstreamed into formal schools. The project’s partnership model was among the reasons for its success: this took the form of technical working groups made up of government officials; sub-granting to national and local non-government organisations; and the creation of community coalitions (67 in 31 Local Government Areas) to implement early warning systems around the LCs, which also leveraged cash and in-kind resources.

The IRC’s DFID-funded ALP in Borno and Yobe from 2017 to 2019 sought to mainstream OOSC into formal schools by helping them improve their literacy, numeracy and SEL in non-formal learning centres. Children participated in the ALP for three hours a day, five days a week, for nine months (Diazgranados et al., 2022). The programme created 400 non-formal Learning Centres (NFLCs) in Yobe and Borno, led by community learning facilitators, and served nearly 34,000 OOSC aged 9–14. The intervention led to statistically significant improvements in literacy (fluency and reading comprehension – two of the five EGRA subtasks), numeracy (all EGMA subtasks except level 2 subtraction) and one of seven SEL outcomes (conflict resolution) (Diazgranados et al., 2019, 2022).

The IRC’s DFID EIE program in Yobe and Borno provided 21,000 low performing children (grades 2–4 and ages 6 to 17) in over 1,300 government schools, with a 5-month tutoring after school intervention to help them improve their literacy, numeracy and social-emotional skills. Results from a randomised controlled trial (Diazgranados et al., 2020) show that at a cost of 63 GBP per child, the program had positive and statistically significant results on children’s literacy and numeracy skills, but limited impact on children’s social emotional learning, with only significant impact on children’s hostile attribution bias.

Given the limited SEL impacts that existing programs to date had on the academic and SEL skills of children in Northeast Nigeria, IRC designed an intervention with constituents of the ALP and tutoring programmes to identify and design locally relevant SEL materials/activities feasible in a CACs such as the northeast (Bailey et al., 2021). Through an iterative, user-informed design process, social-emotional materials were locally sourced and further developed (e.g. a goal-setting form; a checklist and badges; SMS nudges; teacher learning circles/guides; video demos by local teachers; and certificate of completion), to support teachers’ implementation of 20 SEL kernel activities (short and targeted activities aimed at building specific SEL skills or classroom practices), 7 of these locally rooted, to encourage 3 contextually identified SEL skill categories: self-discipline, respect and tolerance.

A study was conducted in October 2019 to examine the technological skills of educators and the connectivity conditions among participants of the USAID-funded Strengthening Education in the Northeast Nigeria States (SENSE) project in Adamawa and Gombe (Martens et al., 2020). A total of 33 (22 Adamawa and 11 Gombe) staff and 423 teachers from 69 schools (42 Adamawa and 27 Gombe) responded to questionnaires and, in the case of teachers, were observed. Staff reported lack of access to technology and the internet, low proficiency in Microsoft Office applications and lack of access to training on educational data analysis. Teachers reported overcrowded classrooms, lack of classroom resources and infrastructure (e.g. a functioning blackboard, materials, chalk, tables, chairs, toilets, fans, etc.), with only 1 teacher out of 423 reporting presence of the internet and 3 reporting the presence of technology. The study also showed a lack of basic information and communication technology (ICT) infrastructure (e.g. electricity, internet connectivity) as well as a lack of support for training and infrastructure development.

The USAID-funded AENN (September 2018 to September 2021) sought to improve learners' literacy, numeracy, SEL and vocational skills in Borno and Yobe (AENN, 2020a). Implemented by FHI 360, AENN worked with community and government partners to revitalise/establish NFLCs and support formal schools. NFLC instructors and teachers were trained in learner-centred pedagogy, positive discipline, SEL and inclusion, while learners were also given learning materials. By mid-2020, the project was supporting 900 non-formal LCs and 79 formal schools in Borno and Yobe. Endline assessments for the project's first cohort show statistically significant improvements in all EGRA subtasks (letter sounds, syllables, oral reading fluency) and statistically significant improvements in almost all EGMA subtasks (number identification, simple addition, simple subtraction). In nearly all literacy and numeracy subtasks, girls made higher gains than boys, in both States; learners performed best in number identification, followed by addition and then subtraction. After a disability assessment, two LCs for children with disabilities were established in Year 3 (AENN, 2020b).

Evidence gaps

There is promising evidence on the impact of ALP interventions for OOSC and afterschool interventions for low performing school children, but there is a need for information on the impact of school strengthening interventions that improve access for OOSC, and quality education for in-school children through the school system. Existing ALP and tutoring interventions have had limited impact on SEL, given the lack of localization of SEL materials, so there is a need to further understand the social emotional skills and practices that community members value, and the impact of localised SEL programming on the academic, social emotional and mental health of children affected by conflict and crisis. There is also a need for further evidence on how and why successful educational interventions affect particular groups of children (e.g. girls, children with disabilities, displaced children, etc.) and how lessons learned can be transferred to other groups of children.

Also needed is further information on the cost-efficiency and cost-effectiveness of existing interventions, as there is very limited information on cost of programs. Finally, there is a need to identify the degree to which successful interventions — feasible, desirable and cost-effective — have been sustained beyond the end of a project, and understand the components that facilitate and constrain sustainability and uptake.

D.2. Competing priorities in policies and programming

There have been collaborations between different organisations. For instance, Nigeria's NEMA has been working with SEMAs, together with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), to monitor the movements of IDPs and provide humanitarian relief support to affected communities. The Nigerian government also received assistance in assessing the needs associated with peacebuilding and crisis recovery in accordance with the 2008 Joint European Union, United Nations and World Bank Declaration on Post-crisis Assessments and Recovery Planning.

Since 2007, global coordination and collaboration around education in humanitarian crises have been carried out by the Global Education Cluster (GEC). Co-led by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Save the Children International, the GEC collaborates with non-government organisations, United Nations agencies and other partners under the shared goal of ensuring the predictable, well-coordinated and equitable provision of education for children affected by humanitarian crises. The northeast has received the majority of GEC support and, in 2012, the Education in Emergencies Working Group (EiEWG) Nigeria, comprising more than 50 partner implementing organisations, was created to coordinate the education response in the northeast. In 2019, half of the partner organisations reported on activities implemented in the northeast while the other half did not, owing to difficulty in accessing funds (Passy et al., 2020).

Based in Maiduguri and coordinated by the GEC leads (UNICEF and Save the Children), EiEWG Nigeria builds and sustains relationships with the United Nations Humanitarian Country Team, FME and SMEs, SUBEB, local education authorities and OCHA. In the past, EiEWG has undertaken the development of one-year strategic plans; however, it has recently departed from these to develop a three-year strategic plan for 2021–2023. Given recent improvements in the security situation, and a perceived need to drive forward longer-term solutions for beneficiaries and local stakeholders, this three-year strategic plan aims, among other things, to continue the delivery of strong EiE programming, to mainstream learners into formal education, to strengthen educators' and school leaders' capacities and to bolster local leadership to take full ownership of EiE delivery.

The GEC has generally been considered to be well aligned with the coordination needs of Education Cluster (EC) / working groups (WGs) and to have effectively addressed systemic EiE coordination capacity gaps and strengthened capacities to develop improved strategies and needs assessments. However, GEC supply has not always coincided with EC/WG demand, with questions arising about the availability, combination and sequencing of services. The lack of consistent cluster coordination performance monitoring has resulted in the GEC also lacking systematic information about EC/WG coordination gaps to guide implementation. Despite the EC/WGs' limited capacity to enable the development of joint plans or multi-year coordination approaches, they have been generally functional even without the GEC Action support. The EiEWG Nigeria, for example, has sought to promote EiE connectedness with development-oriented education actors and strategies, in addition to conducting needs assessments in collaboration with FME and SMEs and developing comprehensive EiE strategies aligned with the priorities of ministries of education, national education strategies, sector plans and/or development coordination strategies.

Despite evident collaborative efforts to mitigate the effects of the crisis, the overarching aims of the EiEWG Nigeria of delivering strong EiE programming; strengthening access, equity and quality; mainstreaming learners into formal education; and addressing cross-cutting issues such as gender, disability and psychosocial health are likely to require classifying according to priority for the purposes of funding allocation. Differences between some stakeholders regarding the priorities and possible implementation strategies of the GEC have reduced the effectiveness of the crisis response vis-à-vis quality education. Also, the unavailability of, and at times limited, information on the status of education, combined with limited access owing to security concerns in the northeast, results in the diversion of relief efforts to other States, where the need is not as great. This curtails the effectiveness of relief efforts to ensure equitable access to education.

Evidence gaps

There is a need for further evidence on how bottom-up approaches to policies and programmes can make education in Northeast Nigeria more inclusive. There is also a need to consider how to harness resources to strengthen that evidence in order to promote access, quality and continuity of education.

IV. CONCLUSION

This review has identified and highlighted evidence bases – drawn from peer-reviewed academic journals and programme reports – concerning key issues that need to be addressed to improve access, quality and continuity of education in conflict-affected areas of Nigeria, particularly in the northeast of the country. It has generated considerable evidence on the problems facing the education sector, drawing on multiple sources to highlight, contextualise and explain them. It has also provided evidence-based summaries of where these problems, especially those concerning teaching and learning, are being addressed successfully. It therefore underlines the importance of strong evidence in policymaking and the implementation of educational practices.

The findings, presented above, show that, although there is strong evidence of improvements in some areas, there are also clear gaps that need to be addressed related to all of the research questions: (i) policies, budgets and data systems; (ii) children's academic development and well-being; (iii) access, quality and continuity of education; (iv) risks and protective factors; (v) policy enablers and constraints; (vi) impact of education interventions on children's academic learning, social-emotional development and mental health outcomes, impact of interventions for different subgroups of the population, cost-effectiveness of interventions and evidence about what makes interventions successful and sustainable; and (vii) coherence of policies and programmes.

Given the ongoing conflict in the BAY States, it should come as no surprise that many issues remain unresolved. However, while the weight of evidence emphasising these gaps may be concerning, it does indicate not only which gaps need to be filled but also, in some cases at least, how to do so. The responses to the review's research questions (above) indicate the most important evidence gaps. It should be noted that ERICC Nigeria has been working with key government and non-government education stakeholders to prioritise education needs and that the initial evidence review, conducted as part of the Country Scan, informed those discussions.

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ABOUT ERICC

The Education Research in Conflict and Protracted Crisis (ERICC) Research Programme Consortium is a global research and learning partnership that strives to transform education policy and practice in conflict and protracted crisis around the world — ultimately to help improve holistic outcomes for children — through building a global hub for rigorous, context-relevant and actionable evidence base.

ERICC seeks to identify the most effective approaches for improving access, quality, and continuity of education to support sustainable and coherent education systems and holistic learning and development of children in conflict and crisis. ERICC aims to bridge research, practice, and policy with accessible and actionable knowledge — at local, national, regional and global levels — through co- construction of research and collaborative partnerships.

ERICC is led by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and expert partners include Centre for Lebanese Studies, Common Heritage Foundation, Forcier Consulting, ODI, Osman Consulting, Oxford Policy Management and Queen Rania Foundation. During ERICC's inception period, NYU-TIES provided research leadership, developed the original ERICC Conceptual Framework and contributed to early research agenda development. ERICC is supported by UK Aid.

Countries in focus include Bangladesh (Cox's Bazar), Jordan, Lebanon, Myanmar, Nigeria, South Sudan and Syria.

