Refugee education between humanitarian and development assistance

A configurational comparative analysis across low- and middle-income host countries

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by Barbara Zeus

Refugee education between humanitarian and development assistance

A configurational comparative analysis across low- and middle-income host countries

Abstract

In the context of increasing and ever more protracted forced displacement within a globally shrinking asylum and solutions space, long-standing efforts to bridge the humanitarian-development divide in refugee assistance are on a periodical high. Amongst others, such efforts translate into a decisive policy shift away from parallel systems of refugee education supported by the humanitarian sector, towards the inclusion of refugees in host country national education systems supported by governments and development partners.

This policy shift comes with a clearly defined end goal: increased self-reliance levels through improved education access and quality for both refugee and host communities. It comes without an evidence base including understanding of current policy and practice and their variation across countries.

Against this backdrop, this doctoral research project builds a cross-country baseline of current policy and practice across 41 of the largest low- and middle-income refugee hosting countries. It sets out to examine under what conditions developmental approaches can lead to better access outcomes in primary and secondary education for refugees. It finds these to be stronger national education systems in host countries with more favourable protection environments ensuring basic socio-economic rights, thereby reducing opportunity costs and increasing demand for education amongst refugees. Set within the global policy context, the project analyses degrees of inclusion of refugees in national education policy and provides insights on implementation paths pursued along with resulting education outcomes for refugees.

The conceptual starting point for this study is refugees' position within the global system of nation-states which defines their opportunities to access education and ultimately transform their skills into self-reliance outcomes. It adopts a configurational comparative research design that enables a broader global perspective while not overlooking contextual specificities and multidimensional complexities. As such, the study makes empirical but also theoretical and methodological contributions to the field of refugee education.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER I REFUGEES BETWEEN HUMANITARIAN AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE 7

1. Education in refugee situations 7

A theory of change for refugee education 9

Motivation and focus of this study 15

2. Bridging the humanitarian-development divide 16

What is humanitarian, what is development and what is the divide? 16

A historical journey from divide to nexus 20

Critical reflections on education for refugees between humanitarian and development assistance 29

3. Key contributions 33

CHAPTER II REFUGEE EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN A GLOBAL SYSTEM OF NATION-STATES 35

1. Refugees in a global system of nation-states 36

Who are refugees? 37

From liminality to re-rooting in the national order 38

Theoretically approaching refugees' inclusion in nation-states' visions of development 40

2. Refugees in education 46

Education as a right and a 'good thing' for development 46

Typologies of refugee education 48

Challenges to envisioning and enabling the right to education for refugees 53

Theorising inclusion and exclusion 60

3. Refugees contributing to development 63

Forced migration and development 63

Self-reliance and solutions 65

Development as economic growth or as freedom? 67

Theorising education access outcomes for refugees 70

CHAPTER III RESEARCH DESIGN 76

1. Research questions 76

2. Methodological approach 77

3. Research design in detail 79

CHAPTER IV REFUGEE EDUCATION IN POLICY AND PRACTICE 110

1. Developmental approaches in refugee education policy 110

1.1 To what extent have developmental approaches in refugee education been adopted at national policy level? 111

1.2 What explains variation across host countries in refugee education policy? 126

1.3 Conclusions on national policy approaches to refugee education 157

2. Developmental approaches in refugee education practice 161

2.1 What are refugee education implementation pathways? 163

2.2 To what extent can implementation pathways be explained by policy approaches? 174

2.3 Conclusions on developmental approaches in practice 194

3. Outcomes of developmental approaches in refugee education 198

3.1 What are education access outcomes for refugees? 199

3.2 Under what conditions can developmental approaches produce better access outcomes? 209

3.3 A closer look at education access across four cases 224

3.4 Conclusions on refugee education access: under what conditions can developmental approaches lead to better outcomes? 236

CHAPTER V TOWARDS DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACHES IN REFUGEE EDUCATION 241

1. Contributions, limitations and outlook on areas for further research 241

2. A theory of change towards developmental approaches in refugee education 244

3. Education for refugees at the heart of the humanitarian-development nexus 248

APPENDICES 254

A) Data set 255

B) References 260

1. Abbreviations 260

2. Country codes 261

3. Conditions 262

4. List of tables 270

5. List of figures 270

6. List of hypotheses 271

7. Bibliography 272

Chapter I
Refugees between humanitarian and development assistance

1. Education in refugee situations

Education plays a central role for the development of individuals and societies. These development prospects are greatly diminished by conflict and forced displacement. The case of Syria is only one that illustrates these disastrous effects. Boasting nearly universal primary and lower secondary education levels prior to the onset of conflict in 2011, five years later, only a little more than half of Syrian children and adolescents were in school in the country, and as few as 40 percent of those who had become refugees had access to education in neighbouring Lebanon and Turkey (UNHCR, 2016g).

Rapid decline in human capital has negative impacts for generations to come. With low levels of education in turn resulting in higher chances of future conflict, this creates a vicious cycle of conflict, displacement and lost opportunities for development (UNESCO, 2016a). Acknowledging the importance of education in post-conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction (Novelli et al., 2014), this leaves no doubt then that the provision of education needs to be a priority in refugee situations.

Education is of vital importance also for refugees themselves. It is not only their basic right to access education just as it is anyone else's right, education is key to all aspects and stages of a refugee's life. It is essential for refugees' protection while they are outside the nation-state[1] system, and it presents a crucial portable asset facilitating self-reliance wherever their future might be.

However, while there is little doubt about the benefits of education in refugee situations, refugees' levels of education access have been extremely low in many host countries. With increasing duration of forced displacement, "the status of refugee often becomes an intergenerational carrier of civic and social exclusion"(Costello, 2017: 718). This highlights that education cannot wait until a permanent solution is found for refugees. The time spent as refugees might be the "one shot" they have at education (Dryden-Peterson, 2016a: 194).

Faced with these realities, normative questions arise about what would be the most effective policy and programmatic approaches to ensure forced displacement does not result in lost educational opportunities for young people. Refugees' particular positioning outside the nation-state system throws up questions about responsibility, curriculum and accreditation. Who is

[1] In line with key literature that shaped the beginnings of this research (Anderson, 1983; Dryden-Peterson, 2016b; Malkki, 1995a; Waters & Leblanc, 2005), this thesis employs the term 'nation-state' while acknowledging that most states in fact are not mono-national.

responsible for the timely provision of this education, and how can the necessary quality levels be guaranteed for it to lead to the intended individual and societal development effects? These questions are connected to uncertainties about the future education ought to prepare young people for: Should refugees continue studying their home country curriculum or be integrated into schools of their host country, or should there even be tailored educational programmes created for their particular situations, or a ready-made curriculum that is to be deployed at the onset of a refugee crisis?

These are some of the questions that have informed and have been guiding this research project. While the ideas for this project started to emerge within the context of forced displacement in low- and middle-income countries (LMIC) in the Global South – where the vast majority of refugees reside – it takes place within a changing global landscape in which mixed migration flows arrived on the shores of the Global North.[2] These events, triggered by the conflict in Syria and a lack of opportunities, importantly education, for refugees in neighbouring host countries (UNHCR, 2016h: 1) reached a climax in 2015, and resulted in unprecedented levels of international attention to forced migration.

While these events came with challenges, they have also brought along opportunities and desire to redefine the governance of refugee assistance at a global level. Driven by increased electoral pressure and political appetite to more effectively manage – or contain – the refugee 'problem' in regions of origin in the Global South, instead of increasing asylum and solutions space in the Global North, efforts to improve refugees' lives closer to home in their countries of first asylum translate into a shift from purely humanitarian approaches towards an emphasis on development assistance for refugees and their host countries in the Global South.

Against this backdrop, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN, 2015) offers a welcome and critical window of opportunity for the inclusion of refugees in national development planning. This developmental approach has education and jobs "at the core" (Collier & Betts, 2017: 179). Yet, while education has been ascribed a key role in this agenda as a driver of development, little attention has been paid to questions of how and what kind of education needs to be provided for it to fulfil this role effectively and to lead to the intended individual and societal development effects.

[2] This thesis employs the terms 'Global South' and 'Global North' without intending to categorise individual countries, nor to further any related debates. While recent events have further shaken up its traditional bounds, it remains a useful dichotomy to analyse forced migration, where according to Betts, the "North can be regarded as comprising the industrialised third-party asylum states, which are generally outside the refugee's regions of origin and exert a relative degree of border-control on extraterritorial influence. The South, on the whole, comprises the refugee-producing, transit or first-asylum host states within the refugees' region of origin" (2009b: 13).

Regardless of these shortcomings, but with the stated goal to improve education access and quality for both refugee and host communities and thereby increase self-reliance levels, a decisive shift has occurred at the global policy level. This is a shift away from parallel systems of refugee education supported by the humanitarian sector, towards the inclusion of refugees in host country national education systems supported by governments and development partners (Dryden-Peterson, 2015a). As will be discussed further in this study, the shift is broadly one from a humanitarian to a developmental approach to refugee education.

This policy shift is at the core of this doctoral research project. Its central research question asks under what conditions developmental approaches can lead to better access outcomes in primary and secondary education for refugees in low- and middle-income host countries. Set within the global policy context, the project firstly analyses degrees of inclusion of refugees in national education policy across host countries. Secondly, it examines implementation pathways in practice, and thirdly, it assesses access outcomes for refugees.

This thesis introduces the context of this policy shift and presents the focus and contributions of this study in chapter I. It then situates the central research question in a conceptual framework in chapter II and introduces the research design outlining methodological approaches in chapter III. Chapter IV presents research findings and chapter V draws conclusions and provides an outlook on areas for further research.

Chapter I discusses the broader historical and contextual background within which this policy shift has emerged and situates refugee education along the humanitarian-development divide analysing how approaches to refugee education have changed over the past decades. To set the stage for this research project, it is first of all crucial to understand the refugee regime's 'theory of change' – or logic model – that is supporting this shift, the challenges and goals driving it. The following section serves to introduce it.

A theory of change for refugee education

In planning and evaluation of international development programmes, theory of change (ToC) has become a frequently employed logic model which describes a sequence of events that are expected to "lead to a particular desired outcome" (Davies, 2012 in Vogel, 2014: 9). This model is employed here to dissect the policy shift that has occurred in refugee education, and with the objective to build theory around the proposed change.

In formulating a ToC, a backwards-mapping process takes place starting out from a stated long-term goal of desired change from the current situation or problem, and connecting this to requirements and conditions that need to be in place for this goal to occur, explaining why these are necessary and sufficient (CTOC, 2016). Theories of change are often presented through

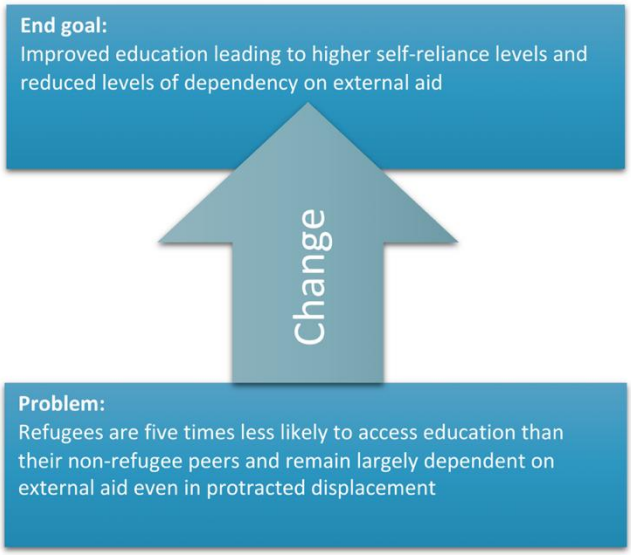
diagrams depicting pathways to intended outcomes which facilitate the process of uncovering assumptions. Identifying and questioning assumptions is central to the process of articulating a ToC, whereby assumptions are referred to as the necessary underlying conditions or resources that need to exist for desired change to occur (Stein & Valters, 2012).

At the base of the theory of change for refugee education sits a challenge, or a problem. The majority of first asylum countries are LMIC where basic services are often stretched to the maximum, and refugees have limited access to socio-economic services including education (Papademetriou & Fratzke, 2016). While it is unknown exactly how many refugees have access to formal education during displacement across host countries, it is estimated that globally young refugees are five times less likely to access primary and secondary education than their non-refugee peers (UNHCR, 2016g). Refugees have remained largely dependent on external assistance even in situations of protracted displacement, and the lack of education accounts to a large extent for their inability to escape this vicious cycle, leaving responsibility to provide for them with host states and the international community.

This problem is understood to be the prime motivator for the policy shift as a way to bring about intended change. This is following Soroos, who approaches policy theoretically as global problem-solving efforts, explaining that global policy formulation is understood to be motivated by a problem, or a "set of circumstances that can be potentially improved upon with purposeful action" (1990: 310). More specifically, following Milner, 'global refugee policy' is a "formal statement of, and proposed course of action in response to, a problem relating to protection, solutions or assistance for refugees or other populations of concern to the global refugee regime" (2014: 480). This regime refers to key actors, the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), its member states, and the norms and principles that guide refugee protection.

At the top of this theory of change is the envisioned end goal, a clear change from the present challenge. That goal is for improved education accessibility and quality to ensure increased self-reliance levels amongst both refugee and host communities and thereby decrease dependency on external assistance.

Figure 1: Theory of Change – from problem to envisioned end goal



The dilemma, however, is that not only has access been insufficient, the quality of education has been deemed too poor for it to have a protective let alone empowering function that could lead to eventual self-reliance (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). The poor levels of accessibility and quality were attributed to the failure of parallel education systems, which could not offer accreditation and thereby ensure future relevance given refugees' "unknowable futures" (Dryden-Peterson, 2017: 16). In the face of ever more protracted displacement, parallel systems were also deemed unsustainable and jeopardising social cohesion between refugee and host communities (Dryden-Peterson, 2011).

To solve this dilemma and promote the intended change, a new policy pathway was defined breaking with parallel systems of education, set up specifically for refugees outside the national host country education system, either following their home country or an adapted curriculum, and supported entirely by the humanitarian sector. The new approach promotes inclusion of refugees in host country national education systems with the support of governments and development partners. This shift is expressed by the following two policy quotes, lying less than a decade apart:

> "The language of instruction should be that of the country of origin as should the curriculum" (UNHCR, 2003b: 11).
>
> "The general approach is integration of refugee learners within national [host country] systems where possible and appropriate and as guided by on-going consultation with refugees" (UNHCR, 2012a: 8).

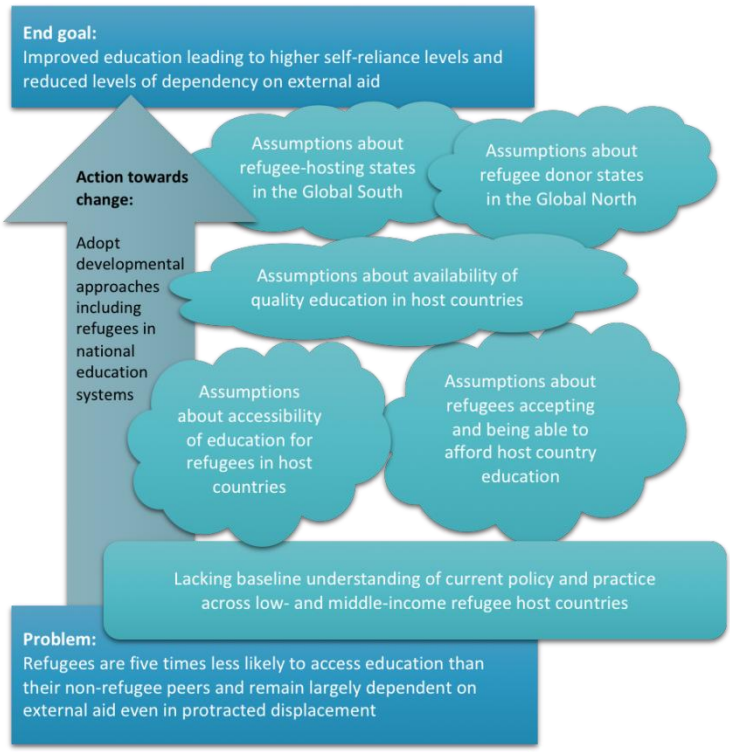
In the years following its still somewhat timid formulation in UNHCR's Education Strategy, inclusion in host country national education systems has been promoted with unprecedented determination, and it seems that the subordinate "where possible and appropriate" (UNHCR, 2012a: 8) has disappeared. Rather, inclusion is encouraged as early as possible in the emergency phase to serve for all possible, and yet unknown, future solution scenarios. Five years on, parallel systems are more boldly referred to as representing lost opportunities that can be gradually "phased out" (UNHCR, 2017i: 3).

The rationale for the change in the policy pathway posits that inclusion in national systems "provides a protective environment for refugee children and young people within the community and supports a focus on quality within existing systems of teacher training, learning assessments, and certification" (UNHCR, 2012a: 8). Beyond these benefits, inclusion is supported with the aim of "promoting social cohesion, investing in existing programmes and infrastructure, and achieving SDG4" – Sustainable Development Goal 4 on education (UNHCR, 2017i: 4).

It is such considerations on increased sustainability, supervision and planning capacity, as well as accountability and accreditation offered by a national system, that – again, in the face of refugees' unknown futures – are expected to lead to improved protection and education outcomes for both refugee and host communities thereby advancing social cohesion and self-reliance. In the face of such promising prospects, this theory of change has been adopted confidently at global level with determined efforts under way to influence policy and practice towards inclusion across refugee host countries.

Following ToC practice to formulate 'if…then' statements (Stein & Valters, 2012: 4), the linear change process states that if developmental approaches are adopted to include refugees in national host country education systems, then there will be improved education accessibility and quality to ensure increased self-reliance levels amongst both refugee and host communities thereby decreasing dependency on external assistance. Undoubtedly, this begs not only for empirical testing, but reveals also that a number of assumptions are made about national education systems in low- and middle-income refugee host countries in relation to this rationale.

Figure 2: An incomplete Theory of Change; simplified model following Keystone (2009)



According to Keystone (2009), assumptions can relate to context, institutions, relationships, capabilities, attitudes and behaviours. In the context of the ToC on refugee education, assumptions are made regarding the Global South's attitudes and behaviours towards refugees more broadly and host countries' legal and policy context more specifically. It also makes assumptions regarding the existence, capacity and capabilities of their educational institutions and infrastructure, and about the availability, accessibility and quality of teaching and learning produced by this system.

Given low capacities across many host countries, the ToC makes assumptions about relationships between donor states in the Global North and the Global South. Assumptions are made about the North supporting the South in their efforts to include refugees in national education systems and for this support being able to make up for lacking capacity.

Finally, it makes assumptions about refugee and host communities, about their capabilities, attitudes, their inter-community engagements, relationships and behaviours. With an increasingly assertive and prescriptive formulation of policy, the ToC makes assumptions about acceptability of host education systems and refugees' curricular preferences rather than considering these as initially stated through "on-going consultation with refugees" (UNHCR, 2012a: 8). Substantial assumptions are made around necessary pre-conditions for refugees to be able to not only afford and access, but also succeed in host country education systems, and on

linkages between education and self-reliance more broadly, which however go beyond the scope of this project.

Assumptions are inherent in each theory. Church & Rogers explain that these assumptions relate firstly to "how change works", and secondly to the "strategic advantage of the chosen theory over other theories for the context" (2006: 16). A closer analysis of the proposed change in refugee education, by way of analysis of related policy documents, guidance materials and personal experience, suggests that stated assumptions are limited to the second element, in that national system inclusion is seen as strategically more advantageous than the maintenance of parallel systems.

This brings to light a lack of discussion and critical reflection on the above outlined underlying assumptions, and acknowledgement of different contexts in which refugees live, on the role of various stakeholders, as well as a lack of empirical evidence that would support and direct this push towards system inclusion. It is unclear whether or to what extent such assumptions on national systems' capacity, political willingness, or community engagement can be upheld in the face of refugee influxes. This is particularly pertinent where it has clearly emerged that even high-income countries struggle with more students and more diverse classrooms (Crul, 2017).

Importantly, it reveals that the proposed change is in fact missing theory along with a clear definition of possible pathways specifying under what conditions developmental approaches can be adopted. Such observations are supported also by a recent external evaluation of UNHCR's protection strategies, including education (UNHCR & OPM, 2017). In combination with a lack of a clear baseline on current policy and practice, this leaves little room for future evaluation of progress and effectiveness of the approaches pursued as part of this theory of change.

Instead, it leaves only speculation on 'how change works' and the effects the policy shift will have. While it seems sensible to move away from 'inadequate' and 'wasteful' practices of the past (Kaiser, 2005), such as warehousing refugees in remote camps and setting up unsustainable parallel service systems, including for education, supported entirely by the international community outside the nation-state system, adopting new approaches to govern refugee education without fully understanding implications seems imprudent in a world where forced displacement has been on the rise. It seems short-sighted if indeed the "current situation is less of a momentous crisis and more an indication of a new normal" (Küchenhoff & Lourie, 2016: 37), and where therefore "effective international reaction to displacement and refuge is going to be needed for decades to come" (Collier & Betts, 2017: 32).

Motivation and focus of this study

This study is motivated by the missing base and the 'missing middle' (CTOC, 2016) of this 'non-theory' of change in refugee education. While it has a clearly defined end goal, that of improved education accessibility and quality and ensuing self-reliance outcomes for refugees and their hosts, this study posits it lacks a baseline understanding of current policy and practice and their variation across LMIC hosting refugees. It is not known how many countries adopt developmental approaches including refugees in their national education systems and to what extent refugees have access to these. No systematic study has been carried out across the major refugee host regions.

A critical analysis of underlying assumptions and necessary conditions towards refugees' inclusion in national education systems has been missing. Dominant discourse towards developmental approaches has not engaged critically with ramifications of the policy shift on communities affected by displacement and on host states – themselves challenged by limited capacity to provide quality education services for their own citizens.

Against this backdrop, this doctoral research project engages critically with developmental approaches in refugee education analysing them in contrast to humanitarian approaches. This study does not trace out how changes in policy and practice have come about or how transitions from one to the other approach have been implemented over time in specific contexts, nor on what should be the best approaches and how these are to be implemented as these are context-specific questions. Instead, it sets out to build a cross-country baseline and contribute theory and empirical findings in response to some of the underlying assumptions on refugees' access to national host country schools. It focuses on access to education only as a first step on the way to self-reliance without empirically testing linkages between education and self-reliance outcomes.

The central research question, under what conditions developmental approaches can lead to better access outcomes in primary and secondary education for refugees in low- and middle-income host countries, is answered through a set of three sub-questions. These three sub-questions build on each other in that data generated in one is used in others. They move broadly from a medium sized cross-country analysis at the national policy level, to the level of practice, and finally to outcomes explored also through case studies in the last question: 1) To what extent have developmental approaches in refugee education been adopted at national policy level, and what explains variation across host countries?; 2) What are refugee education implementation pathways, and to what extent can these be explained by policy approaches?; and 3) Under what conditions can developmental approaches produce better access outcomes?

The study is further motivated by a missing conceptual link between education and refugee studies. Compared to the vast literature on immigrant children, second, and even third generation immigrant children education, there has been little attention to refugees in

education literature (Bartlett & Ghaffar-Kucher, 2013; Bloch et al., 2015; Crul et al., 2016). In the education context, refugees as a group are often blatantly associated with individualised psychosocial and trauma-related factors (Nilsson & Bunar, 2016). When included in education literature, refugees are frequently mixed up with other migrants and their particular educational needs are not considered in relation to their particular legal status. This is reflected also in educational policies, where even progressive policies tend to conflate approaches for all non-citizens without recognising refugees as a distinct category (Mendenhall et al., 2017a). At the other end, the broader forced migration literature, while ascribing a key role to education, fails to engage with the technicalities and to grasp the politics of education for refugees (e.g., Collier & Betts, 2017; Fransen et al., 2016).

Beyond these conceptual shortcomings, at the level of practice, the project is motivated by a glaring lack of data on refugee education (UIS, 2016), and evidence on the long-term effectiveness of the mainstreaming, or developmental, approach (i.e. including refugees in national host education systems) as highlighted by recent research into education in crisis situations (Bengtsson & Naylor, 2016; Burde et al., 2015; Thompson, 2013).

2. Bridging the humanitarian-development divide

While the impression arises that the mainstreaming approach is novel (for instance CDG & IRC, 2017), a deeper look into the forced migration literature situates this policy shift in refugee education within a long-standing campaign to bridge the humanitarian-development divide in refugee assistance. When refugee assistance has traditionally been conceived of as a humanitarian concern, in recent times forced displacement has been termed “a development issue with humanitarian elements” (Harild, 2016: 5). But how exactly do these concepts differ, what divides them, and how do they apply to education? The following section sheds some light on these questions to provide the required background understanding for the ensuing analysis.

What is humanitarian, what is development and what is the divide?

Humanitarian and development assistance are two concepts based on distinct paradigms operating in distinct realities with different programme cycles, governed by separate funding regimes managed by professionals with different mind sets. They are divided conceptually not only by bifurcated aid architecture but also by misaligned policy and practice.

Humanitarian relief targets specific events, such as natural disasters, conflict-induced displacement, or other incidents like health epidemics, and as such focuses on treating symptoms. Development assistance responds to broader systematic challenges to socio-

economic development aiming to treat root causes. In other terms, humanitarian relief focuses on saving lives, and development on building livelihoods.

There are good reasons for this separateness. Saving lives in humanitarian aid often necessitates working around governments to gain access to affected areas by adhering to strict humanitarian principles of humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence in order to ensure quick, unbureaucratic action and relief (Mackintosh, 2000). Development is about supporting government structures and systems and comes with long-term agendas and plans that are of political nature (Macrae, 2012).

In contrast to the humanitarian care and maintenance model in refugee assistance where refugees are portrayed as helpless victims to be assisted with food, shelter, and clothing (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Hyndman, 2000; Malkki, 1995b; Napier-Moore, 2005), the development approach is centred on:

> "such concepts as economic opportunity, medium-term sustainability, and cost-effectiveness. It sees the forcibly displaced and their hosts as economic agents who make choices and respond to incentives. It pays particular attention to institutions and policies. And it relies on partnerships with and between governments, the private sector, and civil society" (Devictor, 2016: xiii f.).

This makes clear that the two approaches differ not only in their institutional structures and processes, but also in terms of the agency attributed to refugees which present stark contrasts juxtaposing refugees as victims in need of outside help to refugees as economic agents making contributions to wider society.

While humanitarian assistance is necessary in an emergency phase, it becomes problematic when it turns into the norm as refugee situations extend into protractedness. Although the definition has been subject to review for some time, a protracted refugee situation currently is defined as one lasting longer than five years (UNHCR, 2017c).

In cases of protracted humanitarian crises relief is no longer effective. Continued handing out of food instead of enabling beneficiaries to access labour in fact results in a denial of basic human rights and establishes cycles of dependency. For this reason, the adoption of humanitarian practice for extended periods of time has been described as "hypocritical, counterproductive, unlawful, and morally unacceptable" (Smith, 2004: 38).

The reality is that such protracted use of humanitarian approaches is not the exception, with the majority of humanitarian appeal countries making them for more than eight consecutive years (Bennett, 2015). This is a particularly relevant consideration given that three quarters of the world's refugees live in protracted refugee situations, including Palestinians, Afghans, Burmese and Somalis, who have been displaced for more than two decades (UNHCR, 2017c).

The challenge arises from delimitating the end of humanitarian and the beginning of development assistance, which is where the divide emerges. At the programmatic level, it is often difficult to make this transition while attempting to maintain constant levels of socio-economic well-being. At the funding level, it is often necessitated when humanitarian funding ebbs out as it moves to another geographical area and crisis hotspot, but development assistance has not kicked in yet due to state fragility.

A case in point is the recent humanitarian funding crisis in Chad and the wider Sahel region when global attention focused on the Syrian crisis. Faced with an increased refugee influx in 2013 from neighbouring countries, instead of keeping up with higher needs, humanitarian budgets in Chad rapidly decreased, which led to dramatic reductions in food rations for camp-based refugees with socio-economic but also security impacts for the region (UNHCR, 2016f). Meanwhile, Syrian refugees in first asylum countries soon also felt such dramatic cuts with depleting humanitarian funding pots, which accelerated onward movement to Europe (Grant, 2015).

Even though education has been part of both approaches, there have been few efforts in academia to conceptualise education within this divide. Against this backdrop, the work of Sarah Dryden-Peterson has done a great deal in professionalising the field of refugee education through her contribution in theoretical thinking, historical and policy research and wealth of empirical field work data, and recently also offering a clear definition of the distinctness in the humanitarian and development approach in refugee education (2011, 2016a).

In line with the above definitions of the two concepts, according to Dryden-Peterson (2016a), the humanitarian approach to refugee education is short-sighted and often implemented in parallel systems working around governments. The developmental approach takes a long-term view working with governments with institution-building as its starting point aiming to capacitate the host nation education system to absorb incoming refugee learners.

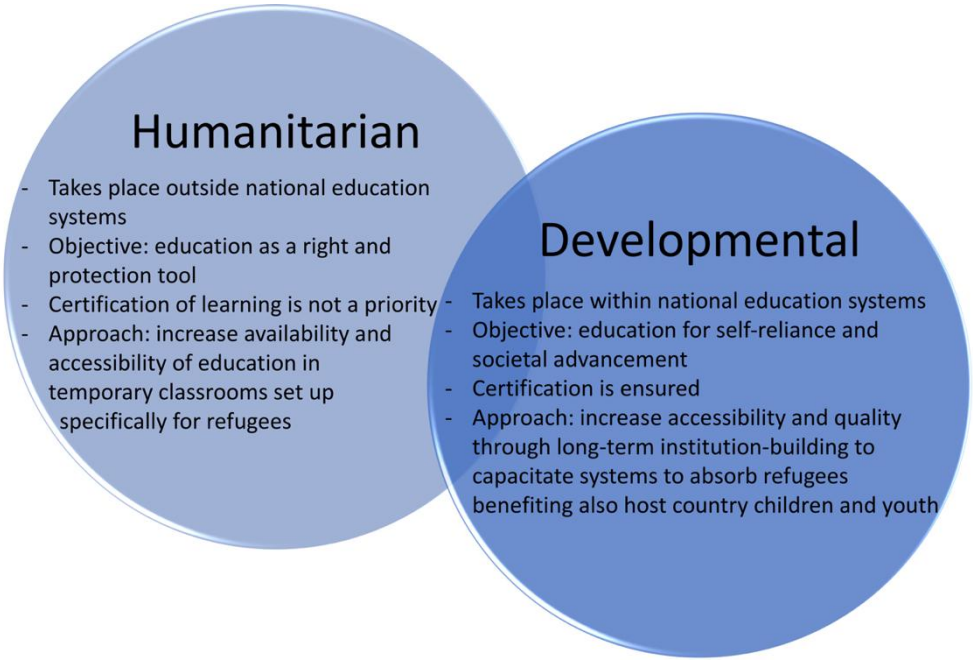
In educational terms, the humanitarian approach promotes education as a right and a tool for protection against exploitation and abuse focusing on access-related inputs, such as numbers of children enrolled or numbers of classrooms constructed, and as such pays little attention to the content and pedagogy or its future usefulness. The development approach, on the other hand, goes beyond access and prioritises quality education. With a “sense of future relevance toward individual livelihoods and societal advancement”, this approach is linked to broader development goals (Dryden-Peterson, 2016a: 198).

Acknowledging that the distinction between the humanitarian and developmental approach to refugee education can in practice be blurry, transitions fluid, and a range of variations or hybrid forms can be found in both policy and practice, this research project adopts this definition focusing broadly on the distinction between emergency-driven humanitarian systems of

education working outside national education systems on the one hand, and the inclusion of refugees in host country national education systems within larger development plans on the other.

In practical terms, the distinction is between the set-up of parallel education services created especially for refugees during an emergency and the inclusion of refugee learners in classrooms of national host country schools. At the humanitarian side of the divide, the parallel service is supported entirely by the humanitarian community, based on curricula that may differ from national ones and that are often not accredited. At the development side of the divide, the inclusion into national systems is supported by governments and development actors. The below figure provides an overview of the two approaches to refugee education that are examined in this research project.

Figure 3: Humanitarian and developmental approaches to refugee education adapted from Dryden-Peterson (2016a: 198)



Considering the opportunities a national education system can offer in terms of accreditation, continued learning and qualification for the labour market, the developmental approach seems sensible – in fact, a no-brainer – especially given the increasing protractedness of forced displacement and the openings for social cohesion between refugee and host communities resulting from mutual benefits. The obvious question is why the developmental approach has not been pursued earlier. To answer this, a historical journey into the evolving field of refugee assistance provides insights.

A historical journey from divide to nexus

The realisation that a rethinking and reorientation is needed away from care and maintenance towards more developmental approaches is by no means a recent one. In policy and practice, such attempts date back as long as the 1960s (Betts, 1966; Loescher, 2001b) and have since been made "on an almost cyclical basis" (Betts, Bloom, et al., 2017: Loc.327).

For the field of refugee studies, this divide has been providing food for academic thinking ever since its formal establishment in the early 1980s, with the debate moving from a divide (Gorman, 1993) along a linear humanitarian-development continuum toward identifying a nexus (Betts, 2009a; Crisp, 2001; UNEG, 2016). The unanimous agreement being that this divide needs to be bridged in favour of more developmental approaches leading to increased refugee self-reliance (Bradshaw, 2016; Demusz, 1998; Ellis & Barakat, 1996; Harrell-Bond & Henry, 1989; Kaiser, 2005; Krause, 2013).

At the level of policy and practice, this divide has been identified as "the single major obstacle to durable solutions for displaced persons", as addressing refugees' developmental needs only by humanitarian means "has resulted in the protracted displacements of millions of IDPs [internally displaced persons] and refugees, unable to find solutions for their displacement that can assist them to break from the cycle of dependence on humanitarian assistance and to move on with their lives" (UNHCR, 2010a: 4).

Why have humanitarian approaches been adopted in the first place when a clear preference for developmental approaches seems to exist? A brief historical overview of efforts over the past decades towards bridging the humanitarian-development divide in refugee assistance, and in particular in refugee education, is helpful to situate and better understand the current policy shift towards developmental approaches. The following sections bring to light how approaches have shifted from developmental to humanitarian and back to developmental within the political realities and historical contexts of time.

Burden-sharing in a bipolar world and the emergence of refugee education as a field of practice

While original archival research points to developmental approaches being the early norm in refugee assistance during the interwar years (Easton-Calabria, 2015), it is the Integrated Zonal Development Approach, formulated in the 1960s, which has been widely referred to as the birth of the articulation of developmental approaches in refugee assistance (Betts, 1966; Loescher, 2001b). This also coincides with the refugee education literature, which describes education for refugees being provided prior to World War II, but places the origins of a "coherent field of refugee education" in its aftermath (Dryden-Peterson, 2011: 12).

The crux thus is the emergence of the current refugee regime – in the form of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees created in the immediate aftermath of World War II to temporarily deal with forced displacement in Europe (UNHCR, 2011). Importantly, it was not initially designed to become operational as a humanitarian relief agency, but rather as one that would provide legal advice to governments, protect refugees uprooted from the national order and provide solutions by reintegrating them into this order including labour markets.

To achieve these goals, education has been at the core of UNHCR's work since its inception as becomes apparent through a review of its annual reports.[3] The report on 1952, in referring to a private grant, highlights that it "must not be used to provide the refugees with food and shelter" but instead with a "permanent, radical and final solution" and the "best means of achieving this result is vocational training or re-education" (UNHCR, 1953).[4]

From inception, UNHCR's concern has been to ensure that refugees have the same rights as nationals in terms of accessing education. The overall approach in post-World War II Europe was developmental: to integrate refugees in national education systems. Challenges to this approach were highlighted early on as "local schools are often incapable of adequately absorbing refugees in addition to indigenous children" (UNHCR, 1955). UNHCR's support to education came through scholarships at the post-secondary level, so the focus clearly lay on supporting refugees at higher levels of education as it was expected that host states would facilitate access to basic education. This strategic approach for UNHCR to focus on post-primary education, offering university scholarships for the elite few, is characteristic of the emerging Cold War times – when refugees were ascribed geo-political value and resettlement became a political tool (Chimni, 1993).

That the big development project was born in the meantime as governments became more involved in citizens' welfare and concerned with economic development after World War II (Easton-Calabria, 2015), was reflected also in refugee assistance as it moved from Europe into post-colonial Africa where new refugee flows emerged in the 1960s which led to increasing demand and need for educational services. There, the arrival of refugees in neighbouring countries was seen as an opportunity for development of remote border locations where they self-settled. The general approach to refugee education was imported from Europe in that primary education was to be provided largely by host governments or through regular programmes, with UNHCR placing its focus on secondary and technical education for which scholarship support came from a special education account (UNHCR, 1966).

[3] All reports are publicly available on www.unhcr.org.
[4] Note that page numbers are not available for some reports.

Again, it was recognised early on that "governments were already facing a problem in providing adequate educational facilities for their own young people", and that UNHCR thus needed to "give increased attention to the question of education and training for refugees" (UNHCR, 1970). While the support at the primary level provided by host governments was repeatedly described as 'generous', wherever refugees could not access national systems, efforts were made to offer supplemental educational activities.

These activities can be seen as an early manifestation of the emergence of a parallel system for refugees. However, as few resources were available for such programmes, these were largely left to refugee communities themselves offering informal educational activities for refugee children and youth with minimal support from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as well as, in some cases, with adapted curricula developed by UNESCO which worked in an advisory role for UNHCR on education (UNHCR, 1966). Documentation of refugee communities' resourcefulness in establishing such programmes also points to them being closely linked to decolonisation and political freedom struggles (Dodds, 1986; Sinclair, 2001).

What might come as a surprise to those portraying current developmental approaches as novel (for instance CDG & IRC, 2017), the 1967 UN Economic Commission for Africa conference recommended the "integration of refugees into national development plans" (Betts, 1967 in Betts, Bloom, et al., 2017: Loc.589). Along these lines, UNHCR's 1968 annual report recommended "closer integration of programmes for refugees' education into the national systems" and "combining educational assistance to refugees with that provided for nationals of the host countries" (UNHCR, 1968).

Education was clearly linked to the durable solution of local integration, i.e. it was expected that, just as in Europe, refugees would integrate into host countries which would grant them citizenship and the socio-economic rights this brings along. The objective of education was thus for refugees to learn "those skills for which there is a direct demand in the economy of their country of asylum" (UNHCR, 1969). This was of key importance as:

> "education and remunerated employment would help to prevent refugees from becoming a burden on their country of asylum, while, at the same time benefiting from the economic and social development of the country" (UNHCR, 1969).

While Integrated Zonal Development included the expansion, renovation and construction of schools – including, in the language of the time, the conversion of "bush schools into semi-permanent buildings" (UNHCR, 1969) – and other infrastructure benefiting both refugee and host communities, such investment was clearly understood as jump-start support by UNHCR and came with the unconcealed condition that responsibility for management and running costs would subsequently be taken over by host countries whose responsibility it is to provide

education, as stated in successive reports throughout the 1960s and 1970s (UNHCR, 1969, 1971).

And while UNHCR advocated for host states to submit additional financial needs for refugee education in their development assistance programmes (UNHCR, 1968), Southern host countries had been protesting the unequal burden-sharing arrangements. This is illustrated by the appeal of Tanzania's representative pointing to "difficulties which the Governments of countries of asylum were experiencing in providing education for their own nationals; thus, for instance, in his own country, only half the children could benefit from elementary education and a very small percentage from secondary school education" (UNHCR, 1966).

In combination with structural adjustments and related cuts to government spending, as well as increasing security concerns about refugee settlements in border regions, the perception of unequal burden-sharing led to a dramatic change in the refugee hosting landscape. These developments prompted the formulation of encampment policies to clearly demarcate refugees from nationals and ensure additional funding would be channelled to these areas and not compete with resources to be allocated to nationals (Deardorff, 2009; Loescher & Milner, 2005).

This stark shift is illustrated by accounts of refugees in Tanzania in the 1970s enjoying the same educational rights as nationals with the support of the government and development partners (Dodds, 1986: 11), but in later decades relocated to parallel systems set up in refugee camps (Bird, 2003; Obura, 2003), where a humanitarian care and maintenance model emerged. The emergence of this model has been described as "the most detrimental" change within the refugee regime (Collier & Betts, 2017: 40).

Instead of leading to the expected developmental outcomes for refugee hosting areas, the Integrated Zonal Development Approach in rural areas marked the birth of Africa's big refugee camps, some of which continue to exist to this day. The institutionalisation of the refugee camp in the early 1980s as the primary mode of assistance in a way has also given birth to the humanitarian approach to refugee education as a "structural necessity of refugee children attending separate schools under the funding and direction of UNHCR" (Dryden-Peterson, 2011: 16).

Unequal burden-sharing arrangements and issues around additionality of funding continued to play a major role over the following decades – and in fact to this date (Betts, Costello, et al., 2017) – as new approaches were designed with the aim to bring refugees within long-term development programming leading to self-reliance, as it appeared that refugee situations were becoming protracted and donors did not wish to provide care and maintenance in separate camps and parallel service systems over extended periods of time for Africa's refugees. A new approach designed during a series of meetings during the late 1970s and early 1980s, focused on

alleviating burdens on Southern host countries by adopting a development-oriented approach from the outset of an emergency enabling refugees to move quickly to self-reliance. This became known as the 'Refugee Aid and Development' strategy (Crisp, 2001).

This strategy seems to have contributed to a rethink as evidenced by a drastic change in language and a clear break in the overall tone of education-related sections in UNHCR's annual reports. While refugees' access to basic education was generally painted in a rosy picture and host governments' efforts were repeatedly described as "liberal and generous" up to the 1985 report (UNHCR, 1985a) – so that UNHCR's support could be largely limited to post-primary scholarships – the 1986 report describes the situation as "unsatisfactory" and notes "limitations" host governments face in providing services (UNHCR, 1986: 9).

The year 1985 also marked a "major shift toward a central role for UNHCR in articulating the purposes and mechanisms of provision of refugee education for adoption across all nation-state contexts in which refugees resided" (Dryden-Peterson, 2016b: 477). This shift from individual scholarships to a broader approach to basic education is largely based on conclusions of a review of UNHCR's approach to education which found it required "a disproportionate share of resources for a small amount of refugees both in terms of staff time and project funds" (UNHCR, 1985b in Dryden-Peterson, 2016b: 477).

However, while Refugee Aid and Development went a long way in conceptualising at least theoretically, that refugees are a development rather than simply a humanitarian concern, it did not lead to the expected development success. While Betts (2009b) notes weak structural connections between refugee protection and development, Crisp ascribes its very limited achievements to the "essentially ambiguous nature of its objectives" (2001: 4).

Southern refugee host states' interest was to promote international burden-sharing and receive additional funding from Northern donor states to compensate their generous hosting. Northern donor governments were more interested in finding durable solutions to the refugee problem, thus to 'write them off their books' (Crisp, 2001), which included *de facto* integration into host countries in the absence of alternatives. Southern host nations, however, were not interested in *de facto* integrating refugees which entails granting them a whole range of socio-economic rights, falling short only of full citizenship rights. They feared having to bear the financial consequences without being able to count on the North's additional aid, which the North was increasingly reluctant to provide given also issues of bad governance and lacking capacity to responsibly absorb these additional resources in the South (Stein, 1994).

Limited success and follow-up also needs to be understood in the context of geo-political events of the time. For one, famine-related displacements in the Horn of Africa in the 1980s necessitated a renewed focus on emergency relief – away from development planning. Then

also, the looming end of the Cold War presented opportunities to refocus on repatriation as the final solution to the refugee 'problem'. It was hoped this would eventually also reduce hosting obligations for the South and costs for Northern donors (Harrell-Bond, 1989).

A new world order and the emergence of refugee education as a field of policy

Within a new world order, voluntary repatriation became a viable political option and quickly emerged as the preferred durable solution (Long, 2013). During the 1990s' so-declared 'decade of repatriation' (Ogata, 1992), UNHCR transformed into a more broadly-based humanitarian agency expanding the interpretation of its mandate, which some observers see as an organisational survival strategy to remain relevant when it could no longer serve strategic Cold War interests of its Western donors (Loescher, 2001a). It focused on providing humanitarian assistance in refugee camps and the reintegration of the displaced in their countries of origin.

While education faced initial difficulties in articulating its life-saving rationale for it to be effectively considered as part of humanitarian assistance alongside food, shelter and health, starting from the early 1990s, it soon emerged as a key tool to facilitate repatriation and advance reintegration. In efforts to facilitate repatriation, and in a clear break from the previous approach focused on local integration, the dominant approach saw the promotion of basic education for refugees in country-of-origin education systems, set up in parallel to host state systems in order to facilitate reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction: "the content of schooling should follow the principle of education for voluntary repatriation, with refugee teachers providing a familiar type of education, using familiar languages of instruction" (UNHCR, 1995: v).

Education entered the field propelled by a new-found legal basis framing education as a basic right in the Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNGA, 1989), but also with the massification of basic education driven by the Education for All framework (UNESCO, 1990), and further reinforced by increasing attention on the impact of crisis and conflict on children (Machel, 1996). Along with increased visibility of emergency support provided in clearly demarcated refugee camps and set up in parallel to national systems, also came an increase in partners involved and attention to refugee education.

In this rights-based agenda for refugee children and adolescents, schooling was seen as a way to restore normalcy. It paid particular attention to war-affected children's emotional needs which were deemed best addressed in an educational system they are familiar with, taught in a language they know, by refugee teachers who know and understand the traumatic experiences they may have made (Aguilar & Retamal, 1998). Parallel humanitarian refugee education systems had found a sound base of justification.

To support parallel systems, UNHCR advocated that refugee children's "trauma of displacement should not be increased by the trauma of loss of educational opportunity", and offered a protection-focused rationale for prioritising education highlighting how attending "school provides continuity for children, and thereby, contributes enormously to their well-being" (1994: 111).

When from UNHCR's inception through to the end of the Cold War, refugee education was a field of practice, "a loose collection of educational programmes deeply embedded in local contexts", it had now become a field of policy (Dryden-Peterson, 2016a: 195). While 'refugee education policy' recently has been conceptualised as a "manifestation of the state's legitimated authority to intervene in the decision-making process concerning educational practices for refugees" (Buckner et al., 2017: 5), it needs to be acknowledged that it has been largely coordinated at the global level by a wide range of actors with diverse international political and geo-political interests, and shaped by a proliferation of centrally-issued field guidance.

This guidance became increasingly prescriptive setting minimum standards for refugee schools, stipulating number of school hours per day, recommending omission from home country curricula of any controversial or potentially harmful content, and recommending instead the addition of recreational activities, peace education, and psychosocial support for refugee children (e.g., Aguilar & Retamal, 1998; UNHCR, 1995, 2003b). As such, UNHCR more and more resembled a pseudo-Ministry of Education (Waters & Leblanc, 2005).

With the initial post-Cold War optimism of a new world order of peace and security waning towards the end of the millennium (Duffield, 2001), new efforts to smooth out the gap between humanitarian assistance and long-term development in refugees' regions of origin began. These were marked by an increasing security discourse in the aftermath of 9/11, reflected also in language referring to education as an important protection tool to "keep refugee children and adolescents safe from forcible military recruitment" in UNHCR's Agenda for Protection (UNHCR, 2003a: 15).

Mirrored by a general trend conceptualising aid as a "tool for fighting the war on terror" (Novelli & Smith, 2011: 50), and connections between education and terrorism, more than a protection tool, education was instrumentalised as a security tool. Through specially designed peace education programmes deployed to refugee camps, its potential to help prevent conflict and advance peace was harnessed (Sinclair, 2004; Sommers, 2003). Dryden-Peterson (2016a) regards the security approach to refugee education as a third approach next to the humanitarian and developmental approach. Its outlook in terms of curriculum and institutions remained deeply humanitarian however, and arrangements to regulate the accreditation of refugees' learning in parallel systems across borders remained deeply flawed. This led to reintegration challenges for refugees upon repatriation, such as in the case of Burundian returnees (RET, 2012).

A new policy context and the emergence of refugee education as a driving force to bridge the divide

As it became clear at the turn of the century that humanitarian assistance and repatriation alone could not stem the challenges arising from new, both internal and globalised, conflicts for which the refugee regime was seen as ill-equipped having its origins in post-World War II Europe, as part of the Convention Plus process initiated in 2003, renewed efforts were made to reconnect to earlier developmental approaches and for refugee assistance to be "anchored within national, regional and multilateral development agendas" (UNHCR, 2003a: 60). The new catch phrase was Targeted Development Assistance which laid foundations for transforming refugees from burdens into benefits for both the South and North in a 'grand bargain' that however led to an even deeper North-South impasse as it failed to take states' foreign policy considerations into account and create a strong structural basis linking refugee protection with wider issues such as migration and development (Betts, 2009a).

This resulted in a challenging global policy climate. Further, as a result of austerity measures, education services for refugees declined in quality and scope (UNHCR, 2007). It slowly emerged that maintaining humanitarian education services set up in parallel to national education systems would not be viable in the face of protracted displacement, and that the support of the development sector was necessary. Various attempts over past decades outlined above exemplify that the UN Refugee Agency had long recognised the humanitarian approach as an "inadequate response" (UNHCR, 2010a: 4).

While UNHCR joined the UN Development Group in 2005, importantly however, the big development goals of the new era, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were conceived and implemented leaving refugees largely out of the picture. The formulation of the successor Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) promising to 'leave no one behind' then presented an opportunity to integrate forced migration in the new agenda (UN, 2015). UNHCR highlighted that this Agenda for Sustainable Development provides an "important platform for including refugees and other forcibly displaced persons in national and local strategies aimed at building economic growth and addressing a range of social needs, including education, health and job opportunities" (UNHCR, 2016h: 11).

In breaking with failed attempts of the past, characteristic for this most recent development push is the move away from a purely state-centric approach, which is seen as being at the heart of past failure (Betts et al., 2013). Instead, the 'whole-of-society' approach attempts to place communities at its heart and includes – along with development actors – also new partners such as academia, media, or the private sector (OECD, 2017; Türk & Garlick, 2016; UNHCR, 2017h). This move is firmly anchored in the UN Refugee Agency's current five-year strategy (UNHCR, 2017h) and is at the core of a new Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF).

As Annex I to the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants in which all 193 member states of the United Nations committed to deliver more comprehensive, predictable and sustainable responses to address large-scale refugee movements, the CRRF presents key elements of more comprehensive responses to refugee movements amongst others a multi-stakeholder approach, assistance for host communities receiving refugees and opportunities for sustainable solutions (UNGA, 2016). The CRRF is being rolled out by 15 countries to assess its practical application and "scope for refinement and further development" (UNGA, 2016: 20) to inform the presentation of the Global Compact for Refugees at the 2018 UN General Assembly.

The new development push is also characterised by a recognition of refugees' "long-term marginalisation" offering in response a progressive rights framework with emphasis placed on encouraging refugees' "inclusion in national services and economies, and mobilizing development interventions to support these efforts" (UNHCR, 2017h: 22), which is an important cutback in a context where durable solutions, that offer full citizenship rights, remain elusive.

While the alignment of humanitarian action with the SDGs as part of the One Humanity: Shared Responsibility proclaimed at the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit (UN, 2016a), has raised alarm bells within sections of the humanitarian world who perceive this as a risk to dilute the humanitarian and neutral character of relief (DuBois, 2016), overwhelmingly, this global policy context provides momentum and hope to finally find the final key stone to bridge the long-standing humanitarian-development divide moving towards a nexus.

Education is not the only sector in refugee assistance that has adopted increasingly developmental approaches towards national system inclusion as similar changes have taken place in the health sector for instance (Spiegel, 2017). Importantly, however, education has emerged as a driving force for this development push agenda. In particular the mention of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in, amongst others, key policy documents accompanying Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4) on education have created much enthusiasm. SDG4, which seeks to "ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning" by 2030 (UNESCO, 2015), "represents a critical window of opportunity to ensure that refugees and stateless children and youth are accounted for in national education sector planning" (UNHCR, 2016h: 9).

Within this setting, the launch of new education financing mechanisms (Nicolai, 2016) aiming to bring together a "fragmented system" (ECW, 2016a: 14), efforts on combined data systems and programmatic approaches, all triggered to a great extent by the Syrian crisis, have contributed to turning education into the poster star of the development campaign. Within UNHCR, the education sector has taken a pioneering role in defining new partnerships with the kind of heavy-weight development actors that have the political leverage to ensure, and the financial

means to support, the inclusion of refugees in national education sector plans – at least on paper (e.g., UNHCR & GPE, 2016).

Through its long-term and enabling character, education indeed has the power to play an important bridging role in this agenda as a key driver of development, an important ingredient for self-reliance and, as a portable asset that can equip refugees for any future solutions.

Critical reflections on education for refugees between humanitarian and development assistance

The brief historical overview of post-World War II refugee education policy set within broader refugee assistance policies provides several insights. First of all, it showcases how developmental approaches were the norm during the interwar years, prior to the establishment of the current refugee regime in the aftermath of World War II (Easton-Calabria, 2015), and how the "humanitarian silo model is in fact a late arrival to refugee policy: it became very dominant very quickly" in response to asymmetrical global power dynamics and unequal burden-sharing arrangements (Collier & Betts, 2017: 145).

In the current context of record numbers of refugees, longer average duration of forced displacement (UNHCR, 2017c), more complex and mixed migration flows entering also the borders of some of the largest refugee donor countries, the refugee and development policy agenda has reached a new periodical high. Within a globally shrinking traditional asylum and solutions space, increased pressure is placed on the refugee regime, recently labelled a 'broken system' (Collier & Betts, 2017), to innovate and reconceptualise the ways forced migration can be effectively governed. Faced with such daunting tasks, the regime has had challenges in shaking off its image as a pseudo-state running the very parallel humanitarian service provision system it once saw itself forced to create in the context of global asymmetry.

What this overview reveals also is how over the past decades, education policy for refugees in regions of origin was inextricably linked to political realities that define how refugees' futures are envisioned as one of three traditional durable solutions, i.e. a legal route back into the nation-state system via either repatriation to the country of origin, local integration in the first asylum country, or resettlement to a third country. When it was a focus on tertiary education scholarships for the elites during the heydays of the Cold War refugees-as-pawns period when resettlement was a geo-political tool (Chimni, 1998), the provision of basic education for all following the home country curriculum was promoted where repatriation was foreseen to ensure smooth reintegration upon return (Sinclair, 2001). Host country language and curriculum learning was encouraged where leaving the door to local integration open was considered a potential solution scenario (Dodds, 1986; Sinclair, 2001).

Since the historical overview presented here is limited to refugee protection in the Global South, it is important to note how the discourse on refugee education in the high-income countries of the Global North has generally not followed such logic along envisioned solutions, rather education for refugees always takes place within national education systems. The question is less about inclusion in national systems per se, but rather about how and how quickly, when these education systems also face challenges in the effective inclusion of large groups of students with different linguistic and educational backgrounds (Küchenhoff & Lourie, 2016).

More recently only, the global-level policy discourse is changing regardless of where refugees are. Unlike dominant academic thinking that links refugee education to durable solutions scenarios (Dryden-Peterson et al., 2018), it is no longer so readily linked to an envisaged solution in practice. Rather than promoting it in the context of local integration, refugees' inclusion in national systems is encouraged as early as possible in the emergency phase to serve for all possible, and yet unknown, future solution scenarios. The discourse on solutions itself has undergone transformations moving beyond the limits of the three traditional durable solutions towards a more progressive rights-based conceptualisation of solutions as being "achieved when a durable legal status is obtained which ensures national protection for civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights" (UNHCR, 2017e: 14).

In this sense, the shift could be seen as a sign of the international refugee regime giving in to the reality of protracted displacement realising that in "the absence of cooperation to provide protection, containment undermines the rights of refugees" (Costello, 2017: 735) making humanitarian parallel systems unviable and unsustainable. Given the current global context, this however also suggests that the theory of change on refugee education is driven by political desire to control migration and by growing realism moving beyond narrowly defined traditional durable solutions.

As the duration and dimensions of protracted displacement have grown, expectations for achieving a 'durable solution' have waned, and there is a growing call for realism to accept that many of the displaced will not return home either because the conditions for return are unsafe or unfavourable or because they prefer to remain in exile – "implicitly accepting the inevitability that many people in situations of protracted displacement will gravitate towards de facto integration or onward migration" (Crawford et al., 2015: 18). This realism has been accompanied by growing pragmatism when it comes to delivering humanitarian aid to the displaced, and designing and delivering programmes for self-reliance and livelihoods.

The current shift from a humanitarian to a developmental approach in refugee education aiming to ensure greater levels of social cohesion by providing opportunities for both refugee and host communities, has come about with changing dynamics and patterns in forced displacement including increasing urban refugee populations and cycles of displacement that exceed

education cycles in years (Dryden-Peterson, 2016b), as well as more complex and mixed migration flows, coupled with regular humanitarian funding shortfalls after the immediate emergency phase when the crisis spotlight shifts to other affected regions, all making the maintenance of parallel service provision undesirable and infeasible.

With the additional impetus received through the Agenda for Sustainable Development, the refugee regime stands more determined than ever to push the development agenda from the top down. Refugees find themselves in between global policy shifts between humanitarian and developmental approaches with little control to influence their direction. These approaches, along with their unique funding and implementation regimes, ultimately affect them individually by defining the type of curriculum and certification options available. For refugees, it does matter whether humanitarian or developmental approaches are pursued wherever they happen to find themselves. It matters in terms of their protection, livelihoods and solutions prospects.

For the 7.4 million school-age refugees (UNHCR, 2018h) this translates, amongst others, into being either educated in their home or in their host country curriculum. A global shift in policy can mean for this curriculum to change with refugees needing to adapt and possibly learn a new language after years in camps (Dryden-Peterson, 2015a; UNHCR, 2015b), but it can also mean a world of difference between earning a local certificate that holds little value outside the circumference of a refugee camp (Kirk, 2009), or a certified degree that has the potential to indeed serve for various future solution scenarios.

While this historical overview confirms that national system inclusion is seen as strategically more advantageous than the maintenance of parallel systems, as suggested in the ToC further above, critically, the assumptions and underlying conditions remain unquestioned and untested, and it is unclear whether and under what conditions developmental approaches towards the inclusion of refugees in national systems can enhance education and self-reliance outcomes. Zetter (2014) concludes that from a macro-intervention perspective, the developmental approach theory of change has grown out of experience showing that, over time, displaced people, 'in aggregate', can become self-reliant economic actors and usually do so with relatively little outside support, such as humanitarian relief and protection or development assistance.

Such an approach, however, makes assumptions about refugees' ability to successfully claim socio-economic rights. As such, it risks overlooking contextual realities and may even jeopardise refugees' individual protection needs when the refugee regime's oversight functions weaken in contexts of national host system integration. This "may not pay enough attention to marginalised or residual displaced populations and their neighbours, who face particularly difficult barriers to accessing development opportunities and therefore require intensive, direct interventions" (Crawford et al., 2015: 24).

In situations where refugees are barred from becoming economically self-sufficient and remain resource-dependent, education in building the refugee population's capacity, can indeed be an empowering process that increases their ability to control and direct the resources they receive from the bottom up, equipping them with the skills to initiate and manage projects which meet the needs of their communities to foster their self-reliance (Demusz, 1998). It is clear however, that there are a number of conditions involved to make this a reality and for education to be able to contribute to breaking out of the relief-cycle in offering a way to development and self-reliance.

Beyond education, much thought has gone into analysing the failure of past developmental approaches in refugee assistance that include differing irreconcilable mandates, institutional and funding arrangements, tools and instruments and programming cycles that contribute to perpetuating and widening the humanitarian-development divide (Cordova, 2016; Crisp, 2001). Notwithstanding the introduction of transition programmes as bridging initiatives, the gap still exists with the two ends of the spectrum clearly distinct (Bradshaw, 2016), and it appears that, with either end having professionalised further and established more complex institutions and mechanisms, rather than narrow, the divide has become even wider.

In what has been perceived as a linear transition from humanitarian to development assistance (OECD, 2017), a failure to address refugees' socio-economic rights, such as education, livelihoods, employment and freedom of movement and land rights, have stood in the way of moving towards truly developmental approaches with a potential for self-reliance. What emerges as the overarching challenge seems to be the asymmetrical power relations between the refugee-hosting South and the aid-providing North in what has been described as a North-South impasse (Betts, 2009b).

Despite practical failures to tap into development, the theoretical argument in favour of more developmental approaches in refugee assistance in terms of creating opportunities for refugees and hosts alike and turning refugees from burdens into benefits remains relevant. Described as a win-win for the Global South and Global North (Betts, 2009a), and more recently even as a triple win situation that includes refugees in the function (Krause, 2016a), it makes sense.

While it makes sense in theory, history has shown that it is not easy to reach a win-win situation, let alone a triple win situation. Despite the inclusion of new actors in most recent attempts, the focus remains on the state as the ultimate bearer of rights. The lingering question is thus how likely it is for a policy focused on increasing state responsibility to have success especially in places where UNHCR has been playing the role of 'surrogate state' for years (Kagan, 2011; Slaughter, 2009) and where basic inequality and asymmetrical power relations between the global South and North persist.

Can policy efforts to include refugees in national education systems indeed play a bridging role? Do Southern host states accept responsibility to effectively provide education for refugees on par with citizens, and does the North pay up to turn this into a win-win?

3. Key contributions

It is within this context that this research project finds its rationale. In light of the fact that developmental approaches are being promoted with unprecedented determination in the governance of the global refugee 'crisis', the lack of a sound evidence base that would support and direct this policy push is glaring.

That this evidence base is needed is however widely acknowledged to ensure it leads to the intended benefits for both refugee and hosting communities. As such, this project provides research supporting "an evidence-based case for enabling displaced […] people to contribute to the communities in which they live and secure their own futures, including through […] education" (UNHCR, 2017h: 23). The focus on education as a sector playing a pioneering bridging role is suitable where claims of lacking empirical evidence point to a particular weakness in analysing conceptual foundations of 'bridges' or 'links' between humanitarian and development assistance (Cordova, 2016).

This project aims to provide a baseline understanding of current refugee education policy and practice across 41 low-and middle-income host countries and analyse conditions under which developmental approaches can lead to improved education access as stipulated by the ToC as a first step towards self-reliance. In doing so, it makes three key contributions in terms of substance, methodology and theory.

Firstly, empirical findings offer so-far-unavailable insights on how global policies on refugee education are varyingly understood and adopted at national level, the implementation paths pursued along with resulting education access outcomes for refugees in the form of enrolment data from 41 countries that hosted 82% of the world's school-age refugees in 2016 (UNHCR, 2017g). This contributes a baseline understanding of the refugee regime's theory of change towards the inclusion of refugees in national education systems against which future progress can be measured while contributing more broadly to research into global refugee policy as suggested by Milner (2014).

Secondly, while cross-sectional studies are common within the field of comparative education, much of this literature has looked at education and fragility more broadly (e.g., Winthrop & Matsui, 2013) without giving focused attention to refugees. Given that so far no large scale cross-country analyses of refugee education policy and practice in regions of origin have been carried out, by adopting Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), this study contributes an

original methodological model that enables a broader global perspective while not overlooking contextual specificities and multidimensional complexities. This model can be adopted, adapted and further improved by future research once more and better quality data on refugee education exist.

Designed as an alternative to regression methods, QCA assumes that given causal factors may be necessary or sufficient in combination with other causal factors (Ragin & Rihoux, 2009), and by allowing for analysis of variables not in isolation, but in such configurations, QCA offers a systematic approach for this cross-sectional study where causal complexity is expected and a context-sensitive method informed by case knowledge is necessary.

Finally, based on an interdisciplinary analytical framework, this research project takes a critical approach to examining the assumptions and dynamics of the development discourse in refugee assistance as it relates in particular to the theory of change towards the inclusion of refugees in national education systems. Analysing the drivers and interests at play, it offers theory and knowledge to better understand how refugee education can be conceptualised and corresponding policy formulated and implemented in the interest of best possible outcomes. In the context of increasing and more complex displacement challenges, such understanding is of relevance beyond forced migration studies.

The conceptual starting point for this study is refugees' position within the global system of nation-states which defines their opportunities to access education and ultimately transform their skills into self-reliance outcomes within this system. This is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter II
Refugee education and development in a global system of nation-states

This chapter outlines the overall conceptual framework guiding the research project and providing an analytical lens through which to critically examine the research questions. Conceptual considerations lead to the formulation of fifteen hypotheses which are to be tested as part of the empirical analysis in chapter IV. The development of these provisional hypotheses is the result of a lack of theory on the adoption of developmental approaches in refugee education which imposes a largely exploratory character on the empirical analysis. The hypotheses serve to guide the empirical process and are formulated in terms of necessity and sufficiency in line with the main methodological approach, as described in chapter III. A list of hypotheses is available for reference in Appendix B.

A conceptual understanding of what makes refugees distinctive is central to the analysis of how refugee education is governed through shifting policy approaches and how these are translated into practice before being able to estimate their outcomes. The research project is embedded in an interdisciplinary conceptual framework built on three core pillars, and across these gives centre stage to the individual refugee. It examines what makes her or him distinctive from a theoretical perspective, firstly in relation to their position within the global system of nation-states, secondly to accessing education, and thirdly to using skills obtained through education within this system to contribute to development as self-reliant agents in the future. These pillars build on each other and broadly relate to the research questions presented in the following chapter.

The first pillar considers legal and political theory, but also socio-anthropological perspectives, to conceptualise refugees relative to their position in a global system of nation-states. It is their legal liminality within this system which represents the one unifying characteristic that distinguishes refugees from non-refugees, rather than experiences of trauma, flight, or marginalisation which often dominate in academic and public thinking as well as in policy and practice regarding refugees. This important distinction matters, and this pillar, by looking at refugees' positionality both through a normative rights-based lens as well as that of national interests, contributes theory for the ensuing empirical analysis identifying explanatory factors in the variation of refugee education policy across host countries.

As non-members of the nation-state system, questions arise about refugees' education which bring to light moral, pedagogical, political and economic dilemmas. Who should be responsible for its provision, and should this take place outside this system in a parallel non-state system, or rather within the national education system of either the home or the host nation-state. The

second pillar conceptualises different typologies of refugee education by drawing on the field of education and international development set in broader socio-economic and political considerations on refugees. These typologies help understand and frame ensuing empirical findings on varying forms and shapes of implementation of refugee education across host countries. In combination with the first pillar, this allows for linkages to be made with drivers' interests in steering towards or away from including refugees in national development frameworks.

Having conceptualised varying education opportunities for refugees in the form of typologies, the third conceptual pillar theorises the different resulting access opportunities refugees have for putting their acquired skills to use on their way towards a self-reliant future, equipped and enabled to contribute to development as agents in a global system of nation-states. This pillar draws on development and education theories and adopts Sen's Capability Approach (1999) as a cross-disciplinary bridge between economics and human rights. While this approach has not previously been applied to refugee education, it offers an alternative evaluative tool of the design and choices of policies about social change. As such, it helps theorise and analyse linkages between conflict-induced forced displacement, education and development in the context of the theory of change towards self-reliance.

1. Refugees in a global system of nation-states

A conceptualisation of refugee education needs to begin with reflections about what it is that makes refugees different from non-refugees. Such thinking ultimately leads to considerations about the global system of nation-states. A refugee does not fit into this well-established system. In fact, refugees would not exist without it. This system has both a limiting effect on refugees' rights as well as affording them particular protection rights.

This first conceptual pillar takes this distinctness of the refugee's position within the global nation-state system as its starting point. Explored from a legal and political theory, but also from a socio-anthropological perspective, this matters both conceptually and practically for refugees' education opportunities. It matters conceptually for this study to identify factors that can explain variation in states' refugee education policy formulation, and practically, it matters in terms of the education opportunities that are available and accessible for refugees.

Who are refugees?

Refugees are individuals who are forced to flee across an international border. They flee due to individual persecution that might occur on the basis of their social group or political affiliation, or due to conflict and generalised violence.[5] A refugee, as someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted", is seeking protection of another state (UNHCR, 2010b: 14).

To ensure refugees enjoy this protection, that is asylum and access to basic socio-economic rights as well as a durable solution that sees them reintegrated into the nation-state system by way of repatriation to their home country, resettlement to a third asylum country, or local integration into their first country of asylum, an international protection framework has been created governed by the refugee regime (Barnett, 2002). This regime is made up primarily of UNHCR, an international agency mandated by the United Nations with refugee protection and supported by member states, as well as norms and principles defined in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, 2011).

Along with its 1967 Protocol, the 1951 Convention remains a key international instrument that is "complemented by regional refugee instruments" providing the "global legal framework for international refugee protection" together with "complementary protection mechanisms and temporary protection or stay arrangements" (UNHCR, 2017f: 3).

While refugees should in principle enjoy equal basic rights as non-refugees, they have one additional, and important, right that non-refugees do not have, and do not usually need for that matter. They have the right not to be *refouled*, that is returned, to their country of origin. This represents the one unifying characteristic that distinguishes refugees from non-refugees. Other international migrants, who generally move to improve their quality of life or for other personal but voluntary reasons, can still seek protection of their own countries, and remain with the option to 'go home'. It also distinguishes refugees from those who are displaced internally within the borders of their nation-state, who might face persecution, but legally still remain under the protection of that state.

---

[5] The refugee definition has broadened over the years and may for instance include someone fleeing across an international border due to "armed conflict, which may be rooted in and/or conducted along lines of race, ethnicity, religion, politics, gender or social group divides"; due to "persecution on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity"; due to "violence perpetrated by organized gangs, traffickers, and other non-State actors, against which the State is unable or unwilling to protect"; or due to "disasters (including drought or famine), for instance where they are linked to situations of armed conflict rooted in racial, ethnic, religious, or political divides, or disproportionately affect particular groups" (UNHCR, 2017f: 2f.). An important side note is that those forced to flee due to climate-related factors are not formally recognised as refugees by law, yet in practice often receive temporary protection and humanitarian assistance.

This is an important consideration given that there is a general tendency to mix up refugees with other groups of migrants in policy and practice, but also in academia and public thinking propelled by media portrayals. Experiences of trauma, flight, marginalisation or poverty might apply to some individuals, but are not a unifying characteristic for refugees as a group category. Such conceptualisations have a tendency to victimise refugees as a group. They ignore individual refugees' experiences and needs, and ignore that such needs might also be found within the local host population.

Since they have left and cannot be returned to their home country, but are not fully accepted into the political community and jurisdiction of another state that hosts them temporarily, refugees find themselves in legal limbo, and in practice often without access to a full set of basic rights. Refugees are at the mercy of their host states' refugee policy with varying levels of tolerance and temporary granting of such rights, as well as their capacity to provide them, and the additional support provided by the refugee regime which itself is shaped and limited by states' interests.

Owing to their uniqueness, refugees' political and strategic significance has been a subject of interest with varying interpretations across post-World War II history (Goodwin-Gill, 2008). From political pawns during the Cold War era, refugees have turned into unwanted burdens and have at times been instrumentalised as threats to the political, ethnic, social, or economic order (Chimni, 1998). Even though contested as a label (Rhodes & Mansbach, 2007), the nation-state has been well-established since the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia (Barnett, 2002), even if today most states in fact are not mono-national. As refugees disturb the old trinity of state-nation-territory (Agamben, 1994), conceptual challenges arise on how to deal with the refugee phenomenon.

From liminality to re-rooting in the national order

The conceptual challenges in thinking of refugees as non-members of the nation-state system stem from a sedentary bias. Within this bias, migration is traditionally perceived as having a negative developmental impact (Bakewell, 2008). Despite increasing international trade and the exchange of ideas in the 21st century where mobility 'equals good', migration still 'equals bad' (Castles, 2008). *Forced* migration then brings with it increased negative connotations of insecurity, instability, chaos and a threat to the nation-state order (Taylor, 2013).

From a sedentarist viewpoint, people are rooted in place in 'imagined communities' in a system of nation-states (Anderson, 1983). Refugees are considered 'abnormal', having been uprooted from the normal order, they live in a liminal state waiting to be 'normalised' yet again within the system of nation-states by way of one of the three traditional durable solutions (Malkki, 1995a).

In this post-structuralist discourse, both refugees and the international refugee regime receive blanket characteristics (Malkki, 1995b). The 'refugee narrative' talks of refugees as dependent, hungry, helpless, uprooted victims of displacement with no action or agency of their own (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Hyndman, 2000; Malkki, 1995b; Napier-Moore, 2005), which seems to be with the exception of the 'refugee warrior' who is ascribed negative or destructive agency (McConnachie, 2012; Zolberg et al., 1992). The regime, on the other hand, is there to help and protect refugees by temporarily re-rooting them in designated non-states, or camps, where they can be 'contained and controlled' (Verdirame et al., 2005) until they can be re-integrated in a nation-state.

It is this sedentary bias of the refugee regime's preoccupation with re-rooting people in the old trinity, that has implications for the type of protection practices (including education) offered to refugees. Conceived of as people in a temporary situation in need of protection and assistance, the humanitarian model of saving lives takes dominance. The inherently political nature of the mere presence of refugees makes developmental approaches challenging to conceive and adopt as these are to be applied once refugees are back in the national order (Kaiser, 2005).

Against this backdrop, conceptually speaking, the move towards more developmental approaches in refugee assistance, that is the transfer of responsibility from the international refugee regime to hosting states, could be seen as an effort to make refugees fit into the nation-state system, however, without granting full citizenship rights, thus turning refugees into "quasi-citizens" (Haddad, 2003: 10). This process as it occurs naturally with refugees accessing more socio-economic rights and interacting with the local host community, and without particular policy directive towards local integration as a durable solution, is known as *de facto* integration (Jacobsen, 2001).

The question is whether in this sedentary discourse refugees can be imagined as part of nation-state development policy formulation with host states assuming increased responsibility and extending access to rights and services, including education, to refugees, or whether host states see the approach as local integration through the backdoor and as presumptuous of the global North, meanwhile adopting increasingly restrictive asylum policies at home and backtracking on burden-sharing commitments (Hammerstad, 2017; Kaiser, 2005). Based on lessons from the past, host states in the Global South might be keen for such approaches to "not be mistaken for the beginning of any softening towards the idea of 'local integration'" (Kaiser, 2005: 353).

Or else, can such concerns be put aside in the end, and indeed a more nomadic view be adopted, beyond traditional protection and solutions frameworks, adopting progressive rights frameworks (UNHCR, 2017e) and recognising mobility and de facto integration (Crawford et al., 2015)? Nomadism, as the antipode to sedentarism, however, has been described as cosmopolitan romanticism with limited relevance to protection (Haddad, 2003; Kibreab, 1999),

and might indeed face challenges where the welfare state has been replaced with a human security agenda in which populations must be (re)territorialised within a security state (Duffield, 2007; Stilhoff Sörensen, 2012).

Theoretically approaching refugees' inclusion in nation-states' visions of development

In socio-political terms, what this debate comes down to is whether and to what extent refugees are entitled to a set of (temporary) socio-economic rights within host nation-states, and how this impacts national interests including politico-economic and security concerns. Hathaway posits that the driving purpose of refugee law "is not specifically to meet the needs of the refugees themselves (as both the humanitarian and human rights paradigms would suggest), but rather is to govern disruptions of regulated international migration in accordance with the interests of states" (1990: 133).

The metaphor of a 'tug-of-war' between normative and interest-based factors has been used to describe the perceived assumption that upholding human rights norms favours protection while national interests decrease protection space (Steiner, 2000). Political theory points to states complying with norms and international law when these align with their state interests, but "when norms and interests come into tension, most states will side with their own interests" (Krasner, 1999 in Collier & Betts, 2017: 209). However, the metaphor does not entirely hold up to empirical scrutiny as an overlap of the two sets can be observed where upholding norms can prove to be in a state's interest under certain conditions (Cooper, 2011).

Traditionally, refugee protection has been perceived as a global public good connected with portrayals of refugees as burdens (Suhrke, 1998). A public good is defined by being firstly non-excludable, i.e. it is not possible to exclude even those who do not contribute to it from consuming or benefiting from it, and secondly non-rivalrous which means that additional consumers or beneficiaries do not diminish others' benefits (Mas-Colell et al., 1995). In being a public good, the benefits of refugee protection accrue to the entire international community, regardless of individual members' contributions, as refugee protection is deemed to contribute to peace and regional stability (Loescher, 2001a) with global impacts in today's interconnected world. The burden lies on host states who bear the costs to provide asylum and access to socio-economic rights and services to refugees.

In following this logic, incontrovertibly, states that happen to be geographically close to large refugee-producing countries are at a clear disadvantage, and those that are furthest away benefit from these states' investments without feeling compelled to contribute unless it affects their immediate security concerns. It so happens that this situation represents a South-North divide as "Southern states have historically hosted the overwhelming majority of world refugees,

Northern states have few clearly defined obligations to contribute to the protection of refugees in the South" (Betts, 2009b: 13). Considering Southern states' lower economic capacity, "[r]esponsibility-sharing is a necessary condition for the effective functioning of the refugee system, at both global and regional levels" (Betts, Costello, et al., 2017: 93). This means without this international cooperation, refugee protection and assistance cannot occur and solutions cannot be identified.

Forced migration literature has long been concerned with transforming portrayals of refugees as burdens to those of refugees as benefits (Dick, 2003) and moving away from a negative discourse of refugee dependency to that of refugee empowerment (Kibreab, 1993). In this vein, it has been pointed out that, more than being a public good, the provision of protection for refugees can indeed yield certain private benefits to host states including "excludable prestige benefits" such as the desire to be seen as having a strong human rights record including for the sake of accessing trade concessions or access to financing, and "excludable altruistic benefits" which include norm diffusion, besides "state-specific security benefits" (Betts, 2003: 286).

The crux thus seems to ensure refugee protection norms align with states' interests. Betts lists 'ingredients for political agreement' and 'ingredients for practical viability' to ensure such scenarios highlighting the importance of underlying structural relationships, recognising and communicating these effectively (Betts, 2009a: 13f). More recently also, research has pointed to refugees as a "possible source of opportunity and benefit to host societies and economies" (Betts et al., 2013: 5).

These are important considerations when theorising what might motivate states to include refugees in their national visions of development. However, rather than referring to the adoption of developmental approaches, the above debates refer more directly to the type of protection environment created at the levels of policy and practice. While there is no single most suitable theory that could be applied to testing what explains variation in adopting developmental approaches to refugee education across LMIC refugee hosts, the above considerations on protection regimes stretching and tightening provide the necessary analytical lens through which to examine drivers and interests in including refugees in or excluding them from national policy frameworks of development.

To be able to apply and test these theories empirically here, as a basis, the assumption needs to be made that a more favourable protection environment also translates into higher degrees of adoption of developmental policy approaches. Following this, a first hypothesis, developed to serve as part of the guiding framework for the empirical process in chapter IV, is for the refugee protection environment, as in the respect for refugee protection-related norms to be sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches. In following the insights from the above discussions, this would only be the case in combination with interest-based factors.

Hypothesis 1: When aligned with states' interests, the respect for refugee protection norms are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches.

An important element of the overall normative environment is the fact of having ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention. By testing this hypothesis, the thesis thus also considers the practical effects of ratification which remains an understudied issue. While International Relations scholarship on compliance theory in human rights law has been growing (Stubbins Bates, 2015), literature critically examining the effects of ratification of the 1951 Refugee Convention in particular remains extremely scarce.

In the absence of theory on LMIC host states adopting developmental policy approaches to refugee protection, further relevant theoretical considerations can be drawn from Jacobsen's (1996) work on whether there is a single overriding concern for governments in less developed countries to more generously or restrictively define their refugee policy. She argues that "policy is influenced by a range of domestic and international considerations" (1996: 674) and introduces four broad categories of explanatory factors: firstly, weighing costs and benefits of accepting international assistance and related bureaucratic choices made. Secondly, international relations, in particular also with refugee countries of origin. Thirdly, political calculations about local community absorption capacities, and fourthly, national security considerations. She concludes that "the end result is not a neat solution yielding a rationally evolved refugee policy" and that host governments also struggle with a range of other issues such as bureaucratic politics, the position of refugees in domestic politics, "power struggles between government ministries and among decisionmakers, paucity of information, bureaucratic inertia, and other complications that must be teased out at the empirical level." (1996: 674).

In relation to the first category of explanatory factors, Jacobsen highlights the importance of the political system itself, and the potential influence of administrative and bureaucratic set-ups of refugee protection within countries' government structures. She argues that having dedicated governmental entities dealing with refugees, for instance as a division of the ministry of interior or social welfare, leads to more bureaucratic self-interest of the concerned unit and thus to more favourable policy, rather than where refugee issues are dealt with by the army (1996: 661). A resulting hypothesis that might be formulated here would be for high relative refugee numbers in combination with the existence of dedicated and functioning governmental refugee entities to lead to the adoption of developmental policy approaches, which however is considered doubtful and insufficient as it might just as well lead to the adoption of more humanitarian approaches in the absence of aligning interests or a favourable protection environment.

Leaning on Dye (1972), Jacobsen further points to the inputs-outputs approach of systems theory which "envisions public policy as the response of the political system to inputs, or forces brought to bear upon it from the societal environment" (1996: 660). The existence of a problem as a policy agenda setting driver is indeed a widely found assumption across policy theory (Greer, 2016; Kingdon, 2013). In the framework of this study, the second hypothesis thus assumes for the adoption of developmental policy to indeed be necessitated by the existence of relatively high numbers of refugees.

In following Kingdon's agenda-setting theory, however, it is not the problem alone that defines whether a policy is adopted in response, but when the problem as an event generating public attention converges with at least one of two other process streams to create a policy 'window of opportunity'. He identifies the second stream as policies, as in the solutions generated to address problems which are constrained by technical feasibility or compatibility with prevailing values. The third stream, politics, are political factors relating to the degree of influence of interest groups and other urgent political issues that are on the agenda (Kingdon, 2013). The resulting hypothesis thus states that while high relative refugee numbers are necessary for the adoption of developmental policy, they are not sufficient.

> *Hypothesis 2: High relative refugee numbers are necessary but insufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches.*

What Kingdon's theory misses is an international perspective that reflects global inequalities that have resulted in poorer countries adopting internationally promoted policy as a "condition for receiving aid" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016: 383). When UNHCR is acting as global norm setter on refugee education and, with its global partners, exerts influence on national policy making, host governments in need of international support will be keen to learn and engage in this policy discourse and acknowledge the adoption of global norms. It should thus be assumed that low- and middle-income host countries are adept in borrowing global policy in order to benefit from needed extra support.

Reflecting such thinking, Jacobsen's second category points to relations with refugee countries of origin, but also to the influence of donor countries who will have an interest in advancing their preferred refugee policies in the country in exchange for promising aid or third country resettlement places for refugees. There are reciprocal power dynamics with the host government holding the key to granting territorial access to refugee aid organisations. Her first two broad categories of explanatory factors also converge with the above discussed 'tug-of-war' between normative and interest-based factors with her analysis corresponding with Betts' (2003) or Cooper's (2011) in that governments might wish to be seen as having a good human rights record and acting in accordance with ratified treaties in exchange for aid or favourable loans.

Rather than theorising the adoption of global policy as voluntary policy borrowing, it might indeed need to be considered policy imposition in the case of aid conditionality with the help of Dale's typology (1999: 6), and policy conformity and compliance would be expected. At the same time, Jacobsen points out that there are sensitivities around national sovereignty. While it needs to be assumed that the host government is the "agent primarily responsible for refugee policies" and that it "can and does make decisions" against the wishes or recommendations of pro-refugee actors (1996: 656), this also assumes the government is capable of implementing its policies. When a country cannot but let refugee flows pass for inability to control its porous borders, it might be forced to seek international aid for lack of capacity, which is not in its interest if it wants to avoid further dependence on external support:

> "Sometimes governments must compromise their preferred policy directions so as to accommodate recommendations by international organisations to incorporate long-term refugee assistance into national development programmes. Such pressure can be viewed by the government as a threat to its control over policymaking, and it is particularly resented by those who advocate independence from imperialism and neo-colonialism" (Jacobsen, 1996: 663).

Control over policy making is an important issue to consider in the empirical analysis in the context of LMIC where refugee policy – both understood as a process and a product – needs to be seen in the context of resource dependence and sources of pressure external to the government, which according to Milner (2014) include the international refugee regime, local communities as well as refugees. The hypothesis that results from Jacobsen's international relations category, as well as from comparative education literature on policy imposition and aid conditionality (Novelli et al., 2014; Pherali, 2013; Steiner-Khamsi, 2016), is thus for high relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of external intervention to lead to the adoption of developmental policy approaches as a simple result of dependency, rather than national interests, and this occurs particularly where there is weak state or socio-economic capacity.

> *Hypothesis 3: High relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of external intervention are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches even in the absence of political or socio-economic capacity.*

The capacity element is the subject of Jacobsen's third category, defined not only in national but also in local terms both as economic capacity and social receptiveness (1996: 666). Economic capacity encompasses such factors as availability of land, employment, infrastructure, and social services such as education, health or housing. Jacobsen points to scholars such as Cuenod (1989) having argued that negative refugee policy formulation occurs during periods of economic decline. Social receptiveness, in turn is influenced by cultural and religious connotations, ethnicity and kinship (Kunz, 1981), historical experience and public beliefs and attitudes towards refugees and their motivations for flight. Acknowledging the importance of the capacity element and building on the previous hypotheses, it is thus assumed that high levels of socio-economic

capacity in combination with government effectiveness, thus political capacity, can be sufficient in combination with the existence of the 'problem' stream. This would support assumptions that the less dependent a country is on external support, the more it will want to guard its national sovereignty and avoid the set-up of parallel humanitarian systems and outside influence these entail.

> *Hypothesis 4: High relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of socio-economic and / or political capacity are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches.*

In the fourth category, national security considerations are divided into three dimensions by Jacobsen (1996: 672). The strategic dimension as the ability to defend the country from external aggression, the regime dimension as the government's capacity to protect from internal threats, and the structural dimension balancing between population and available resources such as food, water, living space which are all impacted by the arrival of refugees. The hypothesis that is formulated based on these considerations in turn assumes that interest-based factors such as high levels of security threats coupled with low levels of government capacity and high levels of demographic pressure on land and resources lead to the adoption of humanitarian approaches in countries experiencing the 'problem'.

> *Hypothesis 5: High relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of geo-political interest-based factors resulting from security threats or demographic pressure on land and resources are sufficient for the non-adoption of developmental policy approaches when combined with low levels of government capacity.*

Given the overall lack of specific theory on developmental approaches in refugee education, these provisional hypotheses serve as a guiding framework for the empirical analysis in chapter IV as operationalised in the research design (chapter III). Resulting from the review of relevant literature and the related hypotheses formulated above, a wide range of factors emerge which might help explain variation in states' refugee education policy, and as such are of interest for the empirical analysis.

2. Refugees in education

Building on the first pillar, which thematised refugees' distinctness in the nation-state system, this second pillar conceptualises refugees as individuals who have the universal right to access education but face challenges in claiming this right as non-members of the nation-state system. Drawing on the field of education and international development set in broader socio-economic and political considerations on refugees, this pillar conceptualises different typologies of refugee education. This helps frame and understand empirical findings on varying forms and shapes of implementation of refugee education across host countries and how these are linked to the drivers' interests in stretching or tightening, i.e. steering towards or away from including refugees in national education systems in practice.

Education as a right and a 'good thing' for development

Education refers to processes of structured teaching and learning, but also more broadly to the governance behind the scenes of these more visible and familiar classroom activities, that any reader of this text will have experienced in some form. Educational governance refers to the funding, provision, ownership, and regulation of education undertaken by a set of actors including most importantly the state from national to school level (Robertson & Dale, 2008: 6). While apart from formal education where learners follow a set programme, known as a curriculum and usually taught by certified teachers, non-formal but structured education activities complement these as important elements of education systems, together with informal educational activities that can also take place outside of classrooms. This study focuses on formal primary and secondary education that commonly target students between the ages of six to 18, although this differs across national education systems.

Education has been ascribed a central role in development owing to its significance for economic growth. While development economists largely agree that it is a 'good thing', they do not grant attention to education as a driver of development in itself, instead focusing on education's positive externalities (Collier, 2007; Easterly, 2006; Sachs, 2009; Stiglitz, 2007). These externalities, or positive side effects, include positive health, demographics, equity, democratisation or peace outcomes (McMahon, 2004; Schäferhoff et al., 2015; Wigley & Akkoyunlu-Wigley, 2006). With a marginal social benefit greater than the marginal private benefit, education is a public good which justifies, and necessitates, public expenditure, if nations are to advance.

In development assistance, education's externalities have been instrumentalised to great degrees in attracting external funding to education for development in poorer countries (Appiah & McMahon, 2002). What is particular about education is that it implies significant opportunity costs and yields long-term returns, that are less visible in the short term. This is in contrast to

life-saving measures such as food, shelter or health care. Thus, in humanitarian contexts, it proves more challenging to make the case for education when it is perceived to be yielding benefits that are difficult to measure in quick-impact emergency projects.

What better justification then for refugee education, to point out that, far from simply being an essentially good thing, education is an inalienable right (Robeyns, 2006; Tomasevski, 2006b). Although generally speaking this rights-based approach has done too little to ensure education is available and accessible to all, it is precisely this approach that has largely contributed to establishing education as a sector in humanitarian emergencies, and as such has paved the way also for greater attention to refugees' educational needs.

While it faced initial difficulties in articulating its life-saving rationale for it to be effectively considered as part of humanitarian assistance, as outlined in chapter I, starting from the early 1990s, the field of Education in Emergencies (EiE) has slowly emerged and professionalised itself steadily. At the turn of the century, this professionalisation saw the creation of normative standards for education in emergencies (INEE, 2004) as a companion to the humanitarian SPHERE standards (The Sphere Project, 2004).

Since then, the field of refugee education has been subsumed into this broader field of EiE, which includes educational activities in humanitarian emergencies more generally such as conflicts, situations of violence, forced (internal) displacement, disasters, and public health emergencies. EiE refers to "quality learning opportunities for all ages in situations of crisis" and "provides physical, psychosocial, and cognitive protection that can sustain and save lives" (INEE, 2010: 117). When within the evolving field of EiE refugees received the attention they had not received under global development goals and programming, it is also this association with the humanitarian emergency sector that poses challenges for refugee education to move towards developmental approaches.

While international instruments on the right to education, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26 (UN, 1948), or Article 28 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNGA, 1989) apply universally to refugees, their right to education is also well established in the 1951 Refugee Convention. Article 22 establishes clear responsibility on the part of contracting host states to "accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education", and other than that "treatment as favourable as possible [and] not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally" (UNHCR, 2010b: 24).

It is noteworthy that while 145 states are party to the Convention, some, such as Egypt, have made reservations to Article 22 as it considers refugees equal to nationals. Others, such as Ethiopia or Zambia regard it as a non-binding recommendation only, whereas some of the

largest refugee hosting countries, such as Lebanon, Jordan, Pakistan, Malaysia, or Thailand, have not ratified the Convention (UNTC, 2017).

As applies to non-refugees also, an emphasis on the right to education alone is not a guarantee for refugees accessing education in practice. Dryden-Peterson points out that the practical interpretation of 'treatment as favourable as possible' is "variable between countries of exile, and the right to education for refugees is dependent on the laws, policies, and practices in place in each national context" (2016b: 475).

If a normative rights-based lens thus seems insufficient to explain whether refugees have access to education in host countries, a more diversified approach is required to take into account the complexity of factors at play in reality. The empirical analysis in chapter IV is to test combinations of factors that enable access to the host country national education system, i.e. according refugees the same treatment as nationals, and those that lead to refugees being excluded. To guide the empirical process of mapping out refugee education in practice across 41 host countries towards the creation of a baseline for the ToC, a conceptual framework for different types of refugee education in practice is required.

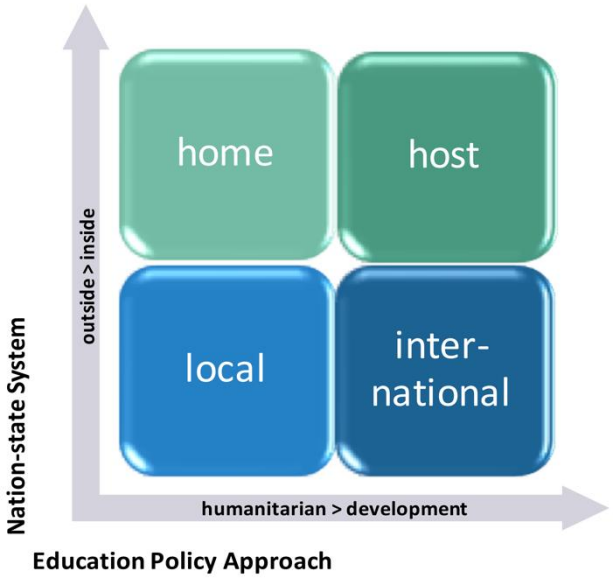
Typologies of refugee education

While from a refugee law perspective, the approach to refugee education seems clearly defined in terms of establishing responsibility on the part of ratifying states to grant refugees access to their education systems, and this is generally the approach pursued in many host countries, in practice, a diversity of approaches to refugee education exist as revealed by a review of the literature and the discussion of refugee education over the past decades in chapter I, as well as informed by field-based case knowledge.

While obviously simplified, Figure 4 below is an attempt at conceptualising the systems of education provision and accreditation available and accessible to refugees according to ways they are conceived of as within or outside the nation-state system and whether humanitarian or developmental education policy approaches are adopted.

Even if reality undoubtedly is more complex – with fluid changes and constant evolution occurring naturally – than can be captured in a two-dimensional set of neatly cut-out boxes, this non-evaluative framework provides a helpful starting point for analysing variation in the implementation of refugee education across hosting countries towards the creation of a typology.

Figure 4: A simplified typology of systems of education provision and accreditation for refugees



The four broad types identified relate to host or home country, non-state local or international systems of education. The use of the host country education system situates refugees within the nation-state system in combination with the adoption of developmental refugee education policy approaches – this is the inclusion approach proposed by the theory of change. Exclusion from the national education system of the host country either leads to setting up community-based local educational structures, some form of access to internationally accredited learning, or the continued use of their home country curriculum. The four approaches provide the basis for empirical analysis, and are here discussed further to then theorise underlying motivations to adopt one or the other approach.

Host country education system – the inclusion approach

Use of the host country education system presents the approach that has been adopted widely in high-income refugee hosting countries. The theory of change towards inclusion foresees increased responsibility-taking by national ministries of education with initial support coming from humanitarian budgets, and as these deplete, with gradually greater amounts from developmental budgets to support both local and refugee students in the national system.

While the 1951 Refugee Convention establishes clear responsibility on the part of contracting host states to grant refugees the same rights as nationals, at least in respect to elementary education (UNHCR, 2010b: 24), in practice, allowing refugees access to national systems is a political, and often politicised, decision. Where education systems work imperfectly for citizens, the inclusion of refugees in over-stretched national systems proves challenging.

Inclusion comes with a certain degree of acknowledgement of refugees' more-than-temporary presence and opens a possible pathway to eventual local integration (World Bank, 2015), which might not be stated policy nor in the political interest of governments. It opens up such pathways precisely because education provides a mechanism for refugees to experience social citizenship, in the "form of access to a key social service", and "cultural citizenship, in the form of equality and recognition" (Dryden-Peterson, 2016b: 479). It is in this context, that UNHCR has been keen to label the policy approach 'inclusion' instead of 'integration' in national education systems, so as to avoid unwanted allusions to local integration as one of the three traditional durable solutions, and to drive the policy also in contexts where local integration is not currently a politically viable or envisioned solution.

Dryden-Peterson underlines that refugee education policies towards inclusion in national host education systems are normative aspirations "without mechanisms or institutions of enforcement" (2016b: 479). They:

> "exist within the constraints of refugees' positions within the nation-state. As noncitizens, refugees are without permanence or possible pathways to the rights that enable post-education work and civil and political participation. The lack of alignment between normative aspirations and doctrine external to the nation-state and mechanisms and institutions of enforcement within the nation-state presents a paradox for the refugee children and young people who seek education within these precarious spaces" (2016b: 480).

For refugees, inclusion in national education systems can bring about linguistic, curricular or socio-cultural challenges, but inclusion also comes with additional political challenges. As shown in the first pillar, the one unifying element that distinguishes refugees from non-refugees is their legal status, and this also holds true when intending to access education. Depending on contexts, refugees may lack necessary documentation to register and access schools, including for instance birth certificates, prior schooling certificates or academic track records. This means, refugee children are often disadvantaged when it comes to registration or taking exams since they might not have had the time to take along such documents due to circumstances of flight. This is usually not the case for migrants who plan their journey in advance, even in situations of irregular migration.

Understanding the distinctness of refugees is important in formulating policy and practical implementation arrangements to facilitate refugees' access to national education systems. In a recent cross-country study of urban refugee education, 81% of survey respondents noted that documentation was a major barrier to accessing schools for refugee students (Mendenhall et al., 2017b). In view of such political and administrative access barriers, what refugees as a group need is legal documentation, and in the absence of the required papers, help to obtain accepted equivalents, more flexible administrative requirements or waivers of such requirements that will enable refugees to learn at levels commensurate with their prior learning.

Home country education system – the return approach

The use of the home country education system situates refugees within the nation-state system, however, in combination with the adoption of humanitarian refugee education policy approaches. The approach has its origin mainly in the early 1990s when it was advocated as the preferred approach by the refugee regime during the decade of repatriation, reinforced by a focus on child protection as outlined in chapter I.

Hathaway (2005) illustrates the challenges in addressing refugees' right to education and deciding on appropriate curriculum throughout recent history and across refugee settings where refugee communities might have a preference for country-of-origin curriculum in clinging on to hope for repatriation. Home country systems are indeed usually adopted in combination with a strong political discourse on refugee repatriation, and are either intentionally adopted to facilitate reintegration, or often necessitated by an implicit or explicit exclusion policy that bars refugees from accessing the host system.

Home country schooling for refugees became dominant very quickly within the context of a newly emerging field of education in emergencies. This legacy also means that many field-level actors continue to adopt the approach, either unaware of a policy shift or convinced of the benefits of home country schooling regardless of global policy.

Home country schooling comes with the clear advantage for refugees to be able to continue learning in a curriculum and language they are familiar with, and for refugees to continue teaching it. Since this approach cannot be implemented via government and development programming, funding typically comes from humanitarian pots, and it has proven challenging to maintain it in situations of protracted displacement, such as for Darfuri refugees in Eastern Chad (UNHCR, 2015b).

Accreditation cannot be ensured by the host government and raises concerns if it was to be ensured by the home country authorities for reasons of refugee protection and national sovereignty of the host country. Home country schooling thus follows humanitarian approaches as refugees' long-term developmental needs remain mostly unaddressed through it for lack of quality assurance and oversight of an accountable system as well as lack of certification.

Local education system – the community-based approach

The use of a local education system situates refugees outside the nation-state in combination with the adoption of humanitarian refugee education policy approaches. The approach is evidence of great levels of agency on the part of refugee communities, and is adopted often as a result of a gap in education service provision linked to a nation-state or the explicit wish to

separate from the home and host nation-state. In adopting this approach, refugee communities show ingenuity in coming up with their own transformative solutions in the absence of outside support to tap into education's potential to nation-build in exile through the development of their own curricula (Zeus, 2011). Historically, such programmes have been closely linked to decolonisation and political freedom struggles (Dodds, 1986; Sinclair, 2001).

While this approach thus has high levels of ownership at the community level, and ensuring cultural and community linkages as well as educational continuity with previous experiences in the country of origin is seen as advantageous (Fresia & Von Känel, 2015; Malkki, 1995a), the schooling bears little value outside of the immediate circumference of the refugee camp for lack of accreditation (Kirk, 2009).

International education system – beyond the nation-state

The use of an international education system situates refugees outside, in fact above, the nation-state system in combination with the adoption of developmental refugee education policy approaches. Faced with political challenges to the inclusion approach, and accreditation challenges for the two humanitarian approaches of home country and local education systems, the international approach has long been debated with renewed interest and new supporters emerging in the wake of the Syrian conflict with its ensuing educational challenges.

This is based on the rationale that refugees often do not plan their futures in the first country of asylum, where they arrived merely due to geographical proximity, and also the recognition that having to learn a new language and curriculum puts young refugees at an additional disadvantage. The latter point has been raised especially in the context of early selection education systems that require high levels of language proficiency and where students need to succeed in a range of subject exams to progress through the system and be certified (Crul et al., 2016).

Creating an international system tailored specifically to refugees – an international refugee baccalaureate for instance – has long been a romantic project that has recently caught the attention of wealthy and well-meaning individuals in search of philanthropic causes (e.g., Culbertson & Constant, 2015; TKF, 2017). If refugees cannot be adequately schooled by nation-states, then private education providers need to fill the gap, so the thinking. Innovation and technology are hoped to assist in deploying the curriculum to refugees anywhere in the world via smart phones and even without the physical presence of teachers.

Supporting this vision are refugee youths' own transnational identities and solutions (Chrostowsky & Long, 2013; Long, 2010) that go beyond the boundaries of their home or host nation-states imagining their futures as citizens of the world. International certificates, however,

have been an option for the elite few only even in high-income settings. They have gained increasing popularity globally, the International Baccalaureate for instance is said to have greater value than school-leaving certificates from public national systems (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016), although there is of course a great degree of variation between national systems in the global economy. The risk of this type clearly is one of further segregation of refugees, instead of creating opportunities for all towards social cohesion.

Challenges to envisioning and enabling the right to education for refugees

The four types of refugee education in practice serve as a conceptual framework and starting point for the empirical analysis in chapter IV in mapping out approaches in use across the 41 host countries. To base the analysis on what might explain why some countries include and others exclude refugees from their national education systems on a more solid fundament, a better theoretical understanding is needed of the complexity of factors that shape implementation pathways in reality. While there is a lack of theory explicitly on the adoption of different typologies of refugee education in practice on which to base this analysis, a more holistic view to refugee schooling provides insights on why it has proven so challenging to respond to refugees' right to education.

Waters and Leblanc, in a seminal article on refugees and education, describe how "the nation and its schools define the 'we' that is the citizenship of a modern state. By default, it also defines a 'them'" (2005: 129). They go on to explain that "because the capacity of refugees to shape the 'we' is attenuated" as they "no longer enjoy the privileges and responsibilities associated with a state, including access to their national education system", refugees "provide an unusual challenge for understanding the relationships imagined between school curriculum and modern citizenship" (2005: 130).

This 'unusual challenge' has three distinct paradoxes at its root according to Waters and Leblanc. The first is a basic philosophical paradox of the international refugee regime "identifying curriculum and pedagogy" as a "pseudo-state", the second is around the politicisation of refugee education, and the third is that "schooling is inherently embedded in broader issues of individual and economic development that for refugee populations are inherently unclear and often unimaginable" (2005: 131).

While refugees' right to education is inalienable, the conceptualisation and implementation of refugee education has indeed proven challenging in terms of deciding on the curriculum they should follow, about responsibilities and accountabilities for its delivery, about its financing, supervision and certification.

This means there are first of all normative questions about what should be the best approach to pursue for refugees to decide whether the theory of change can be supported. As non-members of the nation-state system, are refugees to be educated within this system or outside it? But there are also analytical questions about what approaches are in use and why so as to inform the strategic directions that could be adopted towards the end goals of the theory of change.

Going beyond Waters and Leblanc's paradoxes, ethical, pedagogical, protection, economic, and socio-political perspectives are discussed from a normative viewpoint. Based on these, theoretical reflections lead to the development of five provisional hypotheses that serve as a guiding framework in answering analytical questions to identify combinations of factors that can lead to refugees' inclusion or their exclusion.

Ethical considerations

Ethical debates around the injustice done to refugees in having had to forcibly leave their homes for no fault or wrongdoing of their own, regard repatriation as restoration and reparation for the harm inflicted on them (Souter, 2014). In following this line of thought, it is the moral obligation of the country of origin that is responsible for the displacement, to pay up for education and ensure certification of learning.

The logical deduction of such theories would be to grant refugee children special rights allowing them to maintain their language and country-of-origin curriculum in exile so as to ensure and facilitate continued learning during displacement and upon repatriation (Sinclair, 2001). This perspective acknowledges that refugees, as people who did not migrate out of their own will, cannot be expected to, and are not necessarily in favour of learning the language of their host country (Collier & Betts, 2017: 194), when their wish and moral right is to return 'home'.

In that sense, refugees are clearly treated distinctly from other migrants who, by having migrated out of their own free will, would be expected to assimilate, which in many cases necessitates learning a new language and adapting to a different curriculum and education system. The notion of assimilation in relation to refugees has indeed traditionally been rejected in favour of an integration discourse as refugees should be entitled to "maintain their own identity" rather than be expected to abandon their own culture and become indistinguishable from members of the host community (Kuhlman, 1994: 56).

Conceptually speaking, it is indeed the state of origin that bears responsibility by turning refugees into outsiders of the nation-state system, hence their moral obligation to readmit them to this system (Haddad, 2003). Realistically though, this moral obligation cannot be enforced given refugee-producing states are likely fragile and might have discriminatory agendas that are at the very root of forced displacement. Waiting for them to take up this responsibility would

likely mean condemning the young generation to a life without access to schooling, or at least to schooling without an accountable system or accreditation.

From a pragmatic perspective, maintaining country-of-origin curricula might be workable in situations of natural disaster-induced forced migration across an international border where returns are more predictable through reconstruction planning. In such instances, the forcibly displaced would benefit from continued schooling in their home curriculum so as to ensure the most seamless learning experience as possible under the given conditions both immediately following displacement and upon return. In such cases, there might be no political vulnerabilities that would necessitate the protection of another state so that a parallel system temporarily set up for the duration of reconstruction could be justified and supported by the involved states with humanitarian assistance.

Realistically speaking also, it needs to be considered that only around three per cent of refugees repatriated in 2016, and that the average duration of displacement has been on the rise, with more than 35% of refugees under UNHCR's mandate currently displaced for longer than 20 years (UNHCR, 2017c). These facts put into question the feasibility and usefulness of maintaining country-of-origin curricula in exile and might outweigh the moral arguments in its favour provided that inclusion approaches are found more effective by the empirical analysis.

Pedagogical considerations

From a pedagogical perspective, scientific evidence points unanimously to the most effective learning taking place when children are allowed to learn in their mother tongue (Benson, 2004). Research highlights that children whose mother tongue is different from the language of instruction are more likely to drop out of school or fail in early grades (UNESCO, 2008). Clearly, refugees will struggle at school when they need to follow an unfamiliar curriculum in a foreign language (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). This additional stress can easily lead to lower motivation levels and eventually higher drop-out rates.

While insistence on mother tongue learning suggests for refugees to continue studying their home country curriculum, advocates of the inclusion approach (into host country curricula) stress that drop-out does not need to be refugees' fate if adequate support is provided allowing them to attain conversational fluency and develop the levels of language proficiency required for academic success (UNHCR, 2017d). Language learning by properly trained teachers and using specifically developed teaching materials is indeed the most important support mechanism identified by a comparative study into refugees' inclusion in national education systems in Europe (Crul et al., 2016). It is important to note in this context, however, that pedagogy and learning in refugee contexts remains seriously under-researched (Mendenhall et al., 2015).

It is again pragmatism that underlines how in many refugee hosting countries, in particular those with colonial histories, the language of instruction is not the mother tongue of many of the national students either. Küchenhoff and Lourie highlight how the pedagogical and language challenges to integrating refugees into mainstream national education systems can turn into "learning opportunities on a larger scale" by moving "towards more flexible and more diverse education pathways" to the benefit not only of refugees but of all learners (2016: 37).

As such, new pedagogical approaches towards more inclusive classroom practice, innovative teacher professional development pathways, or special educational support programmes for language learning or curriculum orientation, can also benefit non-refugee learners with diverse special educational needs. Testing such claims is beyond the scope of this study and would require further research into impacts on host communities.

Protection considerations

Such perspectives in favour of allowing refugees to maintain country-of-origin curricula are supported also by discourse based on child protection that sees refugee children as traumatised by conflict and forced displacement. War-affected children's emotional needs are deemed to be best addressed in an educational system they are familiar with, taught in a language they know, by refugee teachers who know and understand the traumatic experiences they may have made (Aguilar & Retamal, 1998).

Research has demonstrated that refugees, just as ethnic or linguistic minorities, experience marginalisation in host country schools in their countries of first asylum creating additional stress (Dryden-Peterson, 2015b; Mendenhall et al., 2015). Allowing such children to continue learning in their home country curriculum can be seen as a way to create the needed social-emotional stability and healing in times of upheaval and instability.

While such considerations are indeed crucial, and refugees' social-emotional health cannot be underestimated in any response, a review of the literature reveals a tendency to treat refugee children as a homogenous group who has experienced trauma. In a classroom, such children would automatically be treated as groups of students with special educational needs without giving attention to particular individual needs, which risks also overlooking the individual and group-based needs, talents and aspirations of host community and refugee students.

A study on education of refugee children in the United Kingdom identified their educational needs in three main areas: learning, social and emotional. The study found that while schools concentrate on language support and refugees' emotional problems, less attention was given to other learning needs of the students such as facilitating their access to the mainstream curriculum (Arnot & Pinson, 2005). Rutter (2006) criticises the disproportional focus by

researchers and education professionals on refugees' trauma experiences which is at the expense of a concern with their individual backgrounds and educational experiences as well as a consideration of their uncertain legal status.

Taylor and Sidhu, examining refugee education inclusion in Australia, highlight how this "tendency to medicalise the refugee subject can be related to funding regimes" where refugee education lacks a policy framework, and financial support to assist refugees' access to the education system needs to be sought from other budget lines such as from mental health programmes (2012: 44).

However, as outlined in the first pillar, such concerns are not necessarily what distinguishes refugees from other learners. What is more, such narratives of refugees as victims of trauma bear the risk to see education merely as psychosocial therapy without a concern for its long-term protection and self-reliance impacts that require it to be of good quality. When the primary concern is restoring normalcy through the provision of access to schooling (Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003), the implication of this thinking is that "it would almost be enough to get the children back into school and that the routines of schooling are as important as its content" (Davies & Talbot, 2008: 513). Clearly, education can have psychosocial benefits when it is of good quality, but its primary goal remains to instil knowledge and create social and practical skills.

The unifying characteristic shared by refugees is their legal status and their resulting liminality in the nation-state system. Refugees who continue learning in their home country curriculum while in exile face substantial protection risks if this learning is to be accredited by the mandated entity, in this case the home country Ministry of Education. Registering refugees with their home country national education authorities will in many situations be cause for concern from a refugee protection perspective, so that the social-emotional protection needs are outweighed by refugee protection principles that will pursue alternatives to registering refugees, in particular children, with governments of nation-states from which they seek protection.

Determining what is in the best interest of a child from a refugee child protection angle then does not only take into account their short-term protection and social-emotional needs, but also considers the long-term self-reliance outcomes of any intervention which would then look more favourably towards an inclusion or an international approach where refugees can translate learning into livelihood opportunities by way of accreditation from an accountable system.

Economic considerations

When it has been challenging to make the economic argument in favour of education in humanitarian emergencies more broadly, refugee situations indeed present an even greater puzzle. No one will contest that, on an individual level, education is a necessity for vertical

mobility, and on a societal level for intellectual development of human capital. As graduates enter labour markets, they often become leaders and innovators throughout the economy, generating productivity, the benefits of which may accrue to the community at large as well as to them personally. But it seems that refugees have not been part of such discourse on economic returns to education due to their liminal position and legal constraints in participating in the economy.

While there is no doubt about the economic and human capital loss to a refugee-producing country, as outlined for instance in relation to the conflict in Syria, which has drained the country of around half of its entire university-educated population (Collier & Betts, 2017: 199), the question of who gains economically by educating refugee populations remains largely unanswered by academic research.

Indeed, conceiving of the benefits to refugee education provision to any nation-state has been a political endeavour at best, with attempts at economic rates of return calculation having largely remained unattempted or failed so far. This is with the exception of a recent study into refugee economies in Uganda which found that:

> "an additional year of education is associated with a 3 per cent higher average income. The type of education matters. An additional year of primary education is associated with 1 per cent higher earnings, secondary school 10 per cent, and tertiary education 27 per cent. Finishing primary school is associated with a 30 per cent higher income" (Betts, Bloom, et al., 2017: Loc.5281).

The study also finds considerable variation when controlling for refugees' nationality and location which highlights questions around equity with differing returns to education to different subgroups. In the refugee context, importantly, this also raises questions on the right to work, referring back to political challenges. Uganda is an example where refugees have the right to work, and as such, can contribute actively to the local and national economy not only in the form of capital but also job creation.

While returns to refugees' education seem lower than conventional rate of return estimates (Montenegro & Patrinos, 2014), in this narrative, including refugees in the national education system of the host country clearly has the potential to enable economic gains. In practice, refugees might need relatively more investment than nationals if they do not bring with them the required language skills to easily move through the education system to eventually generate productivity.

Regardless of such additional up-front investment, the reality is that not all host countries grant the unlimited right to work to refugees. If this is not the case, conceiving of the benefits to providing education for refugees then becomes a different equation as host countries might try to curb informal economic activity competing with the formal economy dominated by nationals.

Crawford et al. point out that while there seems to be growing consensus on refugees' economic dynamism offering "practical economic and social returns", host states have not picked up on this argument, with policy discourse and practice continuing "to be shaped by domestic political calculations" (2015: 2).

Socio-political considerations

Schooling is intrinsically political and can assume diverse social roles and meanings (Apple, 1990; Freire, 1970; Pherali & Turner, 2018). Apart from being a right and significant for economic development, education also plays a central role in nation-building and promoting social cohesion (Novelli et al., 2014). As such, schools play a key social role in all modern societies as creators of modern citizens and workers who can 'imagine' themselves as members of a political and economic community (Anderson, 1983). School being a place for the construction of social relationships for students and their parents, education is not only a 'marker' of integration, but also a 'means' for successful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008).

This focus on education as a tool for community- and nation-building has given rise to debate about education's ambiguous and complex relationship with crisis and development (McGrath, 2010) in which more recently, the 'two faces' of education with one contributing to peace, the other to conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000), have evolved into 'multiple faces', where "education can play a role in instigating, reinforcing, escalating, mitigating, resolving, and preventing conflict" (Dryden-Peterson, Bellino, et al., 2015: 633).

Refugee communities themselves have tapped into education's potential appreciating schools as a locus of communal identity formation that offers significant avenues to nation-build in exile, which makes it appear a threatening endeavour to the existing order of nation-states.

It is perhaps this significance that makes education, as an ideologically laden public good predominantly provided by states, so inherently challenging to conceptualise in the context of refgueehood. Conceiving of education as inextricably linked to a nation-state that designs curriculum in line with its very own adopted values and ideology, that trains and employs teachers and ultimately delivers education content in the classroom, refugees as non-members of the nation-state system are left not only without a place within this system, but also without a place at school.

In light of these considerations, rather than having "little incentive" to "provide schooling for refugees" (Collier & Betts, 2017: 194), host states might actually be motivated to include refugees in order to avoid exclusion and the setting up of extra-national educational structures that might have such identity-in-exile-building agendas. With exclusion approaches potentially having impacts on national security if the state is not in control over the content of learning,

some host countries might be primarily motivated by their own national security agendas in allowing refugees to access their national systems so as to avoid the creation of parallel systems, with potentially extremist content, on their territories (UNHCR & OPM, 2017).

In addition, continued use of their home country curriculum might implicate challenges to national sovereignty if access needs to be provided to foreign state authorities to supervise learning and assessments and provide certification. The pedagogical dimension on curriculum is thus ultimately linked to the political dimension as the use of a curriculum necessitates the agreement of the relevant state authorities for that curriculum to be certified.

As revealed by a historical analysis into post-World War II refugee education policy (Dryden-Peterson, 2016b), refugee education has been instrumentalised by both refugee leaders as well as the refugee regime as a key policy tool. Education policy for refugees in regions of origin has been inextricably linked to protection approaches and envisioned durable solution scenarios, which themselves are strongly linked to the political realities of time as outlined in chapter I. From supporting tertiary education scholarships favouring resettlement as a geo-political tool during Cold War times, to encouraging host country language and curriculum learning for local integration, to providing home country curriculum to facilitate repatriation (Dodds, 1986; Sinclair, 2001), education for refugees has been strongly linked to their imagined future within the nation-state system. A change in refugee policy and perceived solution scenarios often entails a change in the type of education offered to refugees as shown by past (Prasertsi, 1983; Preston, 1991) and more recent history (UNHCR, 2015b).

Dryden-Peterson et al. argue that refugee education is challenging to conceptualise also because its purpose remains unclear as following Dewey, "[t]he conception of education as a social process and function has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind" (1929: 97), which in the case of refugees is "both highly unpredictable and contentious" (Dryden-Peterson et al., 2018: 4). Only recently, has a new discourse beyond the traditional nation-state-bound solutions framework been emerging (UNHCR, 2017e), which remains as of yet little thematised, and still hard to conceptualise, in the academic world.

Theorising inclusion and exclusion

The discussion on the challenges to envisioning and enabling refugees' right to education reveals that different schools of thought have diverging answers to normative questions on best approaches to schooling refugees. In contrast, the theory of change has a very clear preference for inclusion of refugees in national education systems. In doing so, it carries several implicit assumptions. It assumes that host country education capacity allows inclusion and that there is support to facilitate inclusion. It assumes that there is social, political and economic interest to

include refugees in national education systems and that there is a favourable normative environment in which to make education a worthwhile investment for states and for refugee families. It assumes that refugees want to be included in national education systems.

To guide the empirical process of answering analytical questions about what approaches are in use and why, these assumptions are broken down and five provisional hypotheses are formulated which lend themselves for testing in chapter IV. In line with the theory of change, of particular interest for the empirical analysis is how inclusion can be produced, as well as the relationship between policy and practice. Following the ToC, it is hypothesised that developmental policy, while not being a sole driver, is an enabler in conjunction with other favourable conditions.

In search of such favourable conditions, the review of the literature suggested that the fact of having ratified the Refugee Convention without reservations to Article 22 might not be sufficient for refugee inclusion. In combination with developmental approaches pinned down in policy, a favourable protection environment might however lead to inclusion where there is socio-economic capacity to do so, or, in line with the theory of change, where international support is provided to make up for lacking capacity. It is thus assumed that where refugee protection norms are respected and there is sufficient capacity to implement these norms, efforts will be in place to include refugees in national education systems to ensure their protection. This leads to the formulation of the first hypothesis for the second research question.

> *Hypothesis 6: Developmental policy approaches are not necessary for the inclusion of refugees in national education systems, but sufficient, where there is a favourable refugee protection environment, in combination with either socio-economic capacity or with targeted financial support to refugee education.*

The hypothesis that results from the above economic considerations as well as from Waters and Leblanc's third paradox on the linkages between schooling and economic development, is that where refugees have opportunities for economic integration, host states also have an economic interest in schooling refugees in their national education systems to benefit from returns to investment.

> *Hypothesis 7: A favourable normative environment where refugees have opportunities for socio-economic integration is sufficient for the inclusion of refugees in national education systems.*

A further hypothesis, based on Waters and Leblanc's second paradox around the politicisation of refugee education, is that states that are faced with security threats might be more inclined to avoid the setting up of parallel schooling structures that will be beyond the state's control especially where there are relatively high numbers of refugees. In this perspective, controlling education activities within its territories, host states can curtail such threats to the national order.

Hypothesis 8: High relative refugee numbers combined with interest-based factors resulting from security threats are sufficient for the inclusion of refugees in national education systems.

To test whether high relative refugee numbers, conceptualised as problem visibility in the first pillar, can have contrasting effects towards exclusion when combined with other interest-based factors resulting from demographic pressure, which might entail a strong repatriation and thus exclusion discourse, a hypothesis about exclusion is made.

Hypothesis 9: High relative refugee numbers combined with interest-based factors resulting from demographic pressure are sufficient for the exclusion of refugees from national education systems.

A final hypothesis resulting from the above considerations is for unfavourable refugee protection norms combined with low capacities to lead to the exclusion of refugees. Since the research question is interested in the extent to which policy can explain implementation pathways, the last hypothesis also makes the assumption that humanitarian policy is part of this sufficient combination.

Hypothesis 10: Humanitarian policy combined with an unfavourable protection environment is sufficient for the exclusion of refugees from national education systems.

The empirical chapter IV is to provide answers by systematically testing these hypotheses towards a baseline understanding for the theory of change. Based on the conflicting views on normative questions on what type of education provision can satisfy refugees' right to access education, and how best can be ensured that this education will be of the required levels of quality to enable them to translate their acquired knowledge and skills into self-reliant futures, the third pillar now turns to conceptualising questions on refugees and their self-reliance opportunities resulting from education.

3. Refugees contributing to development

The challenges of conceiving of the benefits to nation-states in providing refugee education link in directly with the third conceptual pillar on the distinctiveness of refugees contributing to development. The typologies of refugee education developed in the previous pillar also provide a lens through which to then view the different resulting opportunities refugees have for putting their acquired skills to use starting out from one of these boxes towards a self-reliant future to contribute to development in the reality of a global system of nation-states. Ultimately, the questions to be explored through literature are whether and how the different types of education are enabling refugees to access education and participate in development, how development is understood and what type of development is being promoted with what degrees of agency attributed to refugees in the discourse.

Dryden-Peterson points out that traditionally, refugee education policy has been concerned with enabling refugees' universal right to education while neglecting questions on how to "facilitate refugees' ability to use that education" (2016b: 479). It is against this backdrop that this third conceptual pillar seeks to identify a suitable framework to theorise, understand and analyse linkages between conflict-induced forced displacement, education and development in the context of the theory of change towards self-reliance.

In so doing, this pillar draws on development and education theories. It adopts Sen's Capability Approach (1999) as a cross-disciplinary bridge between economics and human rights. While this approach has not previously been applied to refugee education, it offers an alternative evaluative tool of the design and choices of policies about social change that will be of use for the ensuing empirical analysis.

Forced migration and development

With the theory of change moving towards developmental approaches to refugee education, it is critical to understand what development means in the context of forced displacement given refugees' liminal position in the system of nation-states and ensuing challenges to conceptualise education for them, as shown in the previous pillars.

Following on from the first two pillars, it would appear as though the perceived temporariness and inherently political nature of the mere presence of refugees makes developmental approaches challenging to conceive and adopt. The question then is what kind of development might be possible to envision in the context of forced migration. Is development simply a function of aid as provokingly suggested by Dercon (2016), and if so, what would such a function look like and how would the way education is provided change this equation?

Development has been perceived generally as “all that makes for a better life” (Przeworski et al., 2000: 1), a “process by which vulnerabilities are reduced and capacities increased” (Anderson & Woodrow, 1988: 4), or even through a more bottom-up conceptualisation as a “continuous process whereby a community is allowed to identify its own problems and seek solutions that will improve the lives of community members according to their own values” (Dick, 2003: 20).

The dichotomy is between what Easterly (2006) conceptualises as the planners versus the searchers, that is top-down big plans imposed on those at the receiving end, versus bottom-up approaches that recognise the lack of socio-economic rights as preventing development. This is a central element to the development discourse highlighting unequal power dynamics and the principal-agent issue in development aid where concepts of ownership, agency and interests of those driving specific agendas and policy goals are dominant (Ellerman, 2005).

From a sedentary perspective, where migration is perceived to have negative developmental impacts as outlined above, and faced with increasing insecurity and conflict-induced forced migration, rather than following such bottom-up conceptualisations, some observers argue that development policy has become increasingly concerned with adapting assistance to serve strategic migration control interests to maintain the neoliberal order (Duffield, 2007). This is manifest by donor governments showing interest also in understanding how education affects migration decisions from fragile contexts (Browne, 2016) hoping to instrumentalise it for the purpose of curtailing secondary movements.

Conflict-induced forced migration is widely acknowledged to be linked with low levels of development and horizontal inequalities (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Stewart, 2008). Collier and Hoeffler’s research (2004) concludes that the risk of conflict decreases with higher levels of education and economic growth as opportunity costs for participation in warfare increase.

While this insinuates to increase development aid, in particular for education, this stands in contradiction to a growing body of research suggesting that the most likely effect of increased aid is to accelerate rather than inhibit overall migration from LMIC, pointing to education as an ingredient for increased mobility (Clemens, 2016; De Haas, 2007; Devictor, 2016). Clemens highlights that emigration generally rises with economic development until countries reach upper-middle income, and only thereafter falls, so that in “poor countries, more development means more migration, not less” (2014: 0), which means development policies need to accommodate for increased mobility.

Collier and Betts remind of the importance to distinguish between refugees and migrants, warning of the risks to conflate these distinct categories of people when analysing migratory behaviour. While migrants move in search of better lives and economic opportunities with their likelihood to move increasing along with their income levels, refugees are “just a random sample

of ordinary people who have been forced to flee from their homes. Like other people, most are not aspiring migrants. They have the humbler aspiration of restoring normality to their lives" (2017: 155). They go on to clarify that secondary (onward) movement of refugees from first countries of asylum only occurs "if the neighbouring havens do not enable this modest goal to be reached" and with "lack of economic opportunity closer to home" (2017: 155). They conclude from this that "international policy should be providing opportunities for autonomy to refugees in the haven countries which they are most readily able to reach" (2017: 155).

Self-reliance and solutions

How would such opportunities for autonomy, that is self-reliance, look like? Self-reliance is a frequently employed, yet in itself little debated nor scrutinised, concept in both development and humanitarian policy and practice. If we understand self-reliance as one's ability to rely on one's own resources, abilities and judgements rather than depend on others, it implicates the end of humanitarian and development assistance. Stating self-reliance as the overall goal thus means for these assistance regimes working to abolish themselves. The sticky point is to effectively monitor and decide when someone has reached self-reliance for assistance to end.

According to Galtung et al. (1980), self-reliance is development on the basis of a country's own resources, involving its populations based on the potentials of its cultural values and traditions. Following this definition, it can be understood as one of the basic principles of sustainable community development involving also the necessary degree of self-determination.

Paradoxically however, the discourse has done little to contribute substantial economic dimensions aimed at education, employment and social welfare. Advanced largely as a viable alternative strategy to "donor-led structural adjustment in developing countries" (Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2003: 197), it has come to serve dominant principals' agendas. Together with the sustainable development discourse, which "began as an anti-modernist, non-material, romanticist alternative to industrialisation in the 1970s", the self-reliance discourse has come to "foster the neoliberal ideal of integrating poor people in the market, where they can become entrepreneurs responsible for their own survival" (Stilhoff Sörensen, 2012: 59f.).

Indeed traditionally in policy and practice, self-reliance has been approached from a technical perspective failing to link it with issues of refugee protection and rights acknowledging the fact that many refugees are unable to achieve self-reliance because they do not have the right to work, have no access to land, lack legal documentation and limited freedom of movement, and importantly live in areas affected by conflict and continuing fragility – all of which limit their potential to carry out economic activities (Crisp, 2003).

Stilhoff Sörensen argues that development agendas have abandoned "previous concern with material growth within states, industrialisation, modernisation and creating a more equal world, and moved to managing effects occurring at the level of populations" (2012: 61). According to him, development:

> "now appears as a security technology aiming both to secure the global liberal order, and its continuous extension, from disturbance and potentially dangerous disruptions in terms of refugees, illiberal networks, local conflict, political extremism and terrorism, and to secure the surplus population that is excluded, or generated, through the process of the unleashing of market forces on a global scale" (2012: 61).

He concludes that "while states are expected to undertake market reform and adapt to neoliberalism, populations need to be contained and protected through measures to promote self-reliance and through poverty reduction among marginalised groups. Self-reliance for refugees is offered as an alternative to liberal development" (2012: 61). To repeat Haddad's words from the first conceptual pillar, this conceptualisation of self-reliance offers refugees, as non-members of the nation-state system, to take part in the neo-liberal project as "quasi-citizens" (2003: 10).

In the same vein, some observers have also been keen to describe self-reliance strategies as convenient for the Global North in presenting a "euphemism" for budget cuts and withdrawal of responsibility (Dick, 2003: 23). This debate goes back to the earlier discussed burden-sharing impasse between the Global South, hosting the overwhelming part of refugees, and the Global North, trying to cut back on responsibility sharing.

Collier and Betts, in aiming to offer a new model for refugee protection, highlight how self-reliance:

> "can offer a gradual pathway to longer-term solutions. If refugees are equipped during exile to live independently and contribute to the wider society, they will have a far greater chance of contributing when they go home or assimilate elsewhere, and they will be a more attractive prospect for resettlement or local integration in the event that the route home is indefinitely blocked" (2017: 153).

Given that this route home indeed remains blocked for the vast majority of refugees today and with the duration of displacement growing ever more protracted (UNHCR, 2017c), offering opportunities towards self-reliance during displacement seems a reasonable solution pathway. In the same vein, the World Bank highlights emerging evidence that "supportive, development-focused" responses focusing on investment in skills and livelihoods lead to more positive results including regional developmental spill-over effects (2015: 45).

While this seems common-sensical, the discourse should, however, not forget that effective self-reliance necessitates the restoration and protection of refugee rights as a prerequisite. In adopting such a progressive rights-based approach, UNHCR now defines a solution as being

achieved “when a durable legal status is obtained which ensures national protection for civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights” (UNHCR, 2017e: 14).

Development as economic growth or as freedom?

After decades of academic thinking on how most desirable changes can be achieved ranging from modernisation over dependency theory, structural adjustments up to post-development and sustainable development theory, in practice more interventionist pro-aid approaches such as those prominently promoted by Sachs (2005) have dominated over more libertarian approaches advocated by Easterly (2006) or Moyo (2008) which sit less comfortably with the international development regime’s aim to control and manage populations (Stilhoff Sörensen, 2012).

Pro-aid approaches stem from a linear Rostowian development stages model (Rostow, 1960) blaming above all a lack of financial investment for failed development assistance and seem to attribute a purely instrumentalist role to education (Sachs, 2009). Following this linear logic, beginning from the 1960s, Human Capital Theory, as a reasonable account of the way that education contributes to income and productivity (Becker, 1964; Schultz, 1963), has formed an important part of development studies discourse and has dominated educational planning and developmental strategies. Owing to its ability to articulate clear and convincing policy messages, it continues to be influential (Psacharopoulos, 1994, 2004, 2014), despite being widely challenged (Klees, 2016; Little, 2000; Torres et al., 2012).

With refugees’ formal economic opportunities largely restricted by policy and law, their freedom of movement often artificially constrained and the quality of their education often inadequate, the human capital interpretation of education with conventional rate of return analysis that assumes labour markets work rationally and efficiently, has limited validity in such contexts and will offer only an imperfect understanding of how different educational content and processes in diverse contexts can translate into individual self-reliance and produce the expected positive externalities.

Similarly, as its antipode, the human rights-based approach to education seems reductionist, when, by focusing on access, it turns a blind eye to end-goals of education and it might just as well serve as purely occupational therapy in a refugee context although it certainly has high relevance as a point of entry by emphasising equity in access.

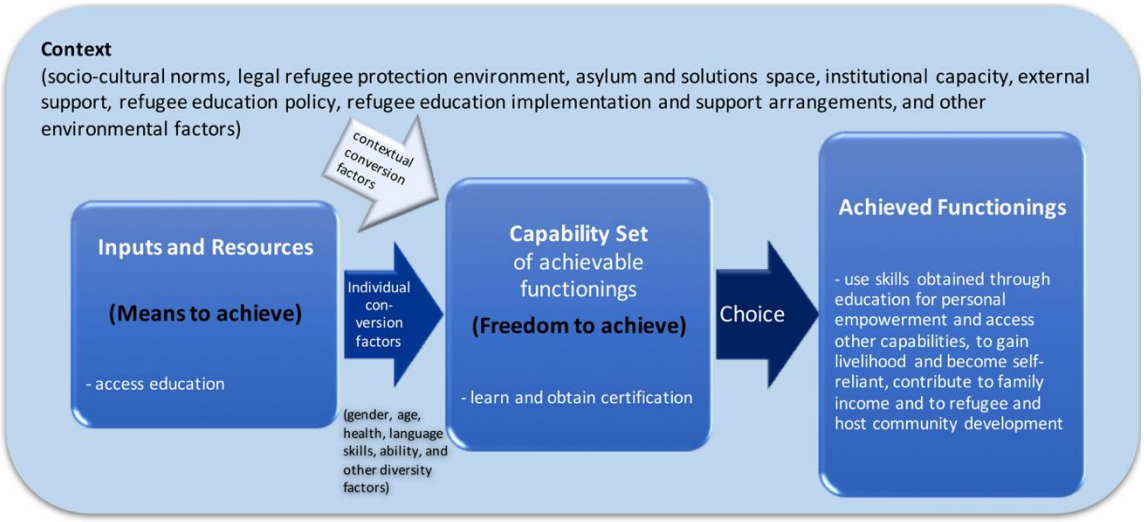
In building a cross-disciplinary bridge between economics and human rights, Sen’s Capability Approach (1999) alongside related work (Comim, 2001; Comim et al., 2008; Kroll, 2011, 2013; Nussbaum, 2006; Stiglitz et al., 2010; Vaughan et al., 2007; Walker & Unterhalter, 2007) offers a useful framework for a more nuanced analysis complementing both traditional monetary cost-

benefit analysis and subjective accounts of well-being. It lays out how it is not only lack of access to resources and means that prevents development, but rather, not being able to be and do, that is not having the capability to realise one's full potential as a human being and the freedom to choose the life one has reason to value (Walker, 2005). The process of development, according to Sen (1999), has to be the expansion of human capability for people to lead freer and more worthwhile lives.

Education fulfils an instrumental social role, an instrumental process role, and has an empowering and distributive role in this framework (Drèze & Sen, 1995). Being educated is considered a basic capability, but at the same time matters in terms of developing other capabilities towards the realisation of achieved functionings (Flores-Crespo, 2007; Unterhalter, 2003). Following the Capability Approach, access to education, the number of years of schooling, or achieving basic literacy and numeracy alone are insufficient to advance development.

Rather than expanding, schooling may even diminish or restrict capabilities in contexts where specific social and learner identities are valued over others (Walker, 2005) thereby highlighting both the quality and equity dimensions of education in its contents, delivery processes, and policy and institutional arrangements. Such considerations offer the necessary analytical multidimensionality required for this study. The below figure offers a simplified visual representation of the Capability Approach as it is applied to this study.

Figure 5: A simplified representation of the Capability Approach following Sen (1999), Robeyns (2005) and Chiappero Martinetti (2006), subsequently applied to refugee education theory of change towards self-reliance



Although it has not been translated into theoretical thinking on refugees, in being a people-centred and agency-focused approach, this normative framework is helpful in theorising and understanding the multitude of factors involved in how accessing education can be translated into capabilities and lead to self-reliance and subsequent contributions to development. It

focuses on how resources are varyingly distributed for conversion into capabilities, on the capabilities and freedoms individuals have, on how functionings are valued by people deciding to participate in development as agents set within specific contexts and arrangements enhancing or restricting their freedoms and functionings.

The model not only looks at inputs and outputs in a traditional human capital approach, but allows to take into account the inter-relatedness of teaching, learning, and human development. More than preparing learners to contribute to economic growth, education contents, processes, and contexts must assist learners in "developing abilities that help them think critically and creatively, solve problems, make informed decisions, cope with and manage new situations, and communicate effectively" and to lead "to specific learning outcomes in the form of capabilities" (Hoffmann, 2006: 80). As such, this framework offers opportunities to look at what types of learning and educational arrangements can enhance conversions considering the heterogeneity of refugee learners and the diversity and complexity of settings, and frequently resource-scarce environments, in which they study and live often as freedom-deprived individuals.

In other words, it is this framework that enables a critical analysis of the conceptualised self-reliance outcomes which are the formulated goal of the theory of change by allowing for a consideration of underlying dynamics and a dissection of potential explanatory factors to be tested in the empirical analysis.

One of these dynamics brought to light by applying this framework is the conceivable labelling of developmental approaches to refugee education as paternalistic in that they liken refugees to children. In following Sen, Saito clarifies that for children, it is the "freedom they will have in the future rather than the present that should be considered" (2003: 26). This might be true against the backdrop of selected literature suggesting that what some refugees value might be the material gains they receive immediately from a programmatic response rather than how much it facilitates their development or self-reliance in the long run (Dick, 2003). It also holds true against literature review findings on refugee education policies towards inclusion in national systems being justified by long-term developmental outcomes, rather than short-term social-emotional and cultural protection needs.

Most importantly, the Capability Approach brings to light how self-reliance outcomes are shaped by diversity and context as potential explanatory factors. It allows us to realise that more than being simply a human right implemented purely as occupational therapy, whether education can in addition lead to self-reliance depends on a multitude of factors and is connected to an enabling environment and the degree of agency attributed to refugees, and ultimately also on what is understood by self-reliance and development.

This is in line with Crawford et al. pointing to refugee populations as a diverse group of individuals with varying levels of "vulnerability, opportunities for work, expectations of return, existing social capital", and more generally to "the external environment of a specific displacement situation: the legal and policy framework, the extent of conflict or violence, the geographic location, donor funding, the dynamism of the surrounding economy" defining individual and group-based possibilities of pursuing self-reliance (2015: 18).

Applying the Capability Approach as an alternative evaluative tool of social arrangements and the design and choices of policies about social change (Klees, 2016; Robeyns, 2006), this study sets out to explore refugee education policy approaches and typologies of implementation in relation to education inputs, capabilities and achieved functionings. Achieved functionings begin with inputs and resources as means to achieve these functionings, which need further theorising for the empirical analysis in this study to be able to determine differing outcomes towards functionings.

Theorising education access outcomes for refugees

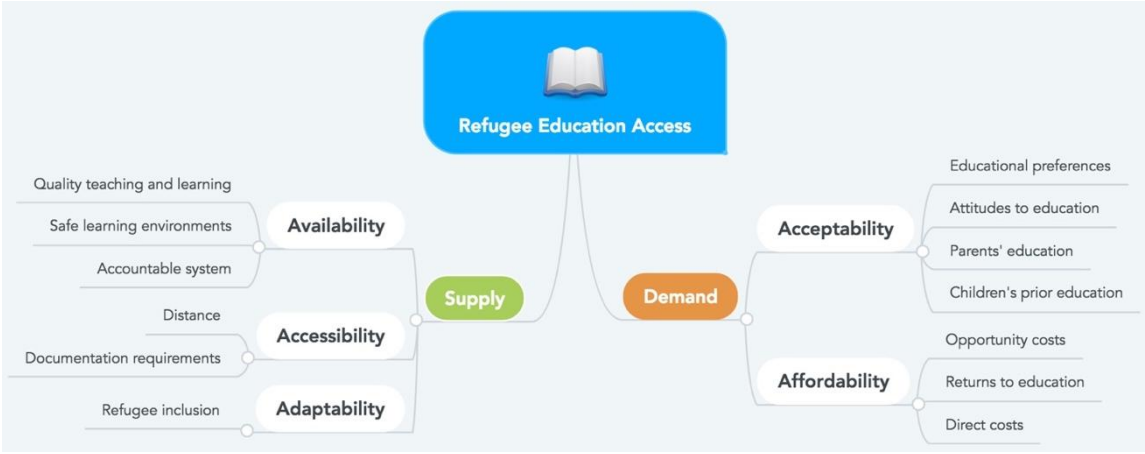
To be able to reach the level of achieved functionings, refugees need to first of all gain access to education. For this, refugees require an education system with schooling infrastructure along with human and material resources. The second pillar created four broad types of systems to which refugees can have access. Attempting now to theorise refugee access to education based on these different typologies in an effort to extract potential explanatory factors for differential access outcomes, a lack of theory as well as empirical evidence on refugee-specific considerations becomes apparent.

Theory on education access amongst the general population highlights the importance of both supply- and demand-side factors that influence whether children access primary and secondary education. While empirical research comes to different context-specific results as to which side has greater influence, there is general agreement on interaction and the need to adequately address both sides to increase access (Akyeampong et al., 2007; Handa, 2002). Nevertheless, both aspects of demand and supply are rarely analysed in combined frameworks by education economics (Boissiere, 2004).

The supply-side factors relate not only to the existence of schools, but also to quality aspects of teaching and learning that ultimately inform the demand for education. Where education is perceived to be of poor quality, demand will be lower. The demand side is generally associated with household-level factors that determine capacity, interests and benefits for families to send children to school.

Given the lack of a suitable theoretical framework that would enable the identification of possible factors that can explain refugees' education access outcomes specifically, Tomasevski's 4A framework of rights to, in and through education (2006a) is here adapted very liberally and expanded by a fifth A, that of affordability given the particularities of the refugee context. The five dimensions of availability, accessibility, adaptability, acceptability and affordability are seen in an overarching framework of demand and supply, but are all interlinked with each of the five being influenced further by environmental and contextual factors.

Figure 6: Supply and demand factors determining access to education for refugees: free adaptation and expansion of Tomasevski (2006a)



In this adapted framework, the acceptability dimension is influenced by socio-cultural norms at community and household level as well as household-level educational backgrounds. It might be that some communities have preferences for a specific type of education for their children, i.e. to be taught in their home country curriculum and language (Hathaway, 2005), or that cultural norms are favourable to boys' over girls' education (Sperling & Winthrop, 2016), or to primary over secondary education. Having educated parents is generally associated with higher enrolments (Glick & Sahn, 2000). If children have already been enrolled prior to displacement, they might be more likely to get back to school, than if they have never been to school as there might be even fewer opportunities, or restrictions, for over-age learners.

The affordability dimension depends on household-level socio-economic capacity, which counts as a critical aspect on the demand side (Glewwe, 2002). This capacity defines whether families are able to send all children to school and pay direct costs related to education, such as school fees in case schooling is not free, as well as transport fees where relevant, uniforms, text books and school supplies. In addition, there are indirect costs for families in sending their children to school (Baschieri & Falkingham, 2009). Especially amongst resource-scarce communities, there are high opportunity costs in particular for sending adolescents to study when there are greater and immediate household-level returns of them working instead.

For refugee communities, this comes with an important additional consideration in terms of their legal right to work in host countries and linked opportunities to find work. Returns to education accrue in the future, and this future for refugees is often uncertain, which complicates their cost-benefit calculation especially when no clear solution scenarios are available, and in host country settings where refugees do not have the right to work and do not foresee this to be granted to their children.

Returns to education are an important factor on the demand side, so if returns are perceived to be lower, demand will also decrease. In the refugee context, this aspect is crucial and it is in turn shaped by the affordability dimension which depends not only on the household level but is also influenced by the overall refugee protection environment including importantly the right to work and concrete opportunities for families to work in order to reduce opportunity costs and be able to afford education both by avoiding child labour and child marriage and by recognising clear livelihood opportunities for children in the future.

Eventually demand is also influenced by supply and the quality of education that is available and accessible. When quality of education can make for a convincing case of higher future earnings and social returns, demand can increase in combination with contextual factors.

The availability dimension depends on the general socio-economic and geo-political context of the country. It includes the availability of quality teaching and learning, so qualified teachers, learning resources and processes at classroom level. These are governed by an accountable system that oversees teaching and learning, ensures teachers' payments, administers exams, ensures certification and monitors quality and learning outcomes. Safe learning environments include physical classroom and sanitary structures that are conducive to learning as well as their location in safe and accessible sites, which links directly with the accessibility dimension.

The accessibility dimension is shaped by physical access factors, including the availability of schools at a reasonable distance from home, and also accessible for learners and teachers with reduced mobility. Importantly, for refugees it also depends on administrative access policies and requirements, such as proof of birth certificate at time of registration or when registering to take exams, or track records of previous schooling and their recognition and equivalency arrangements. Refugees might not always have such documentation with them given circumstances of flight, or their previous learning might not be recognised, or at least not at the commensurate level.

The adaptability dimension addresses learners' specific needs within education, such as those of learners with disabilities, or of working children who are out of school. In the refugee context, this is of core importance as it ultimately defines the availability dimension in that the type of

refugee education policy applicable can open up access in practice to the national education system or prevent this access, and thus necessitate access to alternative systems.

It is thus at this dimension that certification and the value of education are defined, in that access to a non-certified system outside of the national system might be immediately of more value in that it corresponds to learners' needs at local level, but it will be of limited value in the long-term if it does not lead to other rights through education such as further learning opportunities and employment and will thus have reduced returns to education.

The ToC towards self-reliance that was presented in chapter I, assumes that through enhanced adaptability, i.e. the inclusion of refugees in national education systems, supply-side factors can be boosted by way of availability of an accountable system within which quality teaching and learning can be ensured, as well as accessibility where national schools will be constructed within proximity of refugee sites and documentation requirements waved. On the surface, it seems less concerned with demand-side factors of acceptability and affordability in the refugee context. The theory of change makes implicit assumptions around refugees' curricular preferences as well as on necessary pre-conditions for refugees to be economically able to access, but also succeed in host country education systems.

Based on the above considerations on the importance of both demand- and supply-side factors for enabling access to education, as well as following the theory of change logic, five provisional hypotheses are formulated in terms of necessity and sufficiency to guide the empirical analysis that will operationalise access outcomes through enrolments.

Having focused on refugees' right to education and neglected questions on how to "facilitate refugees' ability to use that education", Dryden-Peterson posits that refugee education policy only now, "begins to confront the issue of refugees' participation, in focusing on the quality of education and in promoting integration of refugees in national education systems" (2016b: 479). In this narrative, inclusion seems a core enabler for participation in development, and following the theory of change, it is then implied that inclusion can be sufficient and that international support will be able to make up for lacking internal capacity to include refugees.

> *Hypothesis 11: Developmental policy or practice are not necessary for high enrolment rates, but they can be sufficient in combination with factors defining the supply of education, either host country education-specific socio-economic capacity or specific targeted support to refugee education.*

As part of the availability dimension, certification indeed takes a prominent place throughout the literature review as a key demand-driver and a determinant of quality on the supply side (Buckland, 2006; Kirk, 2009; Sawade, 2007). In line with the theory of change, Dryden-Peterson et al. posit that certification is one of three main factors that define why refugee education within the national host education system could be of higher quality besides an "existing curriculum" and "trained teachers" (2018: 12). It is thus to be tested whether certification

emerges as a necessary ingredient, and in combination with other demand- and supply-side factors leads to better access outcomes.

Hypothesis 12: Certification is necessary for high enrolments and in combination with demand-side affordability and acceptability is sufficient.

On the other hand, Dryden-Peterson et al. also point out that "if the quality of education within a national system is low, as is the case in many refugee-hosting countries, integration may not serve these purposes. Instead, it may create a gap between the future refugees believe is promised to them through the national system and one that is attainable" (2018: 12). The empirical analysis is to test the effects of low supply-side factors that are typically expected to be present amongst many host countries, also in combination with low demand resulting from lacking socio-economic opportunities.

Hypothesis 13: Low demand- or supply-side factors are sufficient for low enrolments, particularly low affordability (lack of refugees' socio-economic capacity) and low accessibility and availability (lack of host country capacity without additional support).

In the search for empirical evidence that can serve as a basis for this analysis going beyond testing access outcomes in general, but looking into differential outcomes in relation to the four types of refugee education systems that were identified in pillar 2, Smawfield's small-scale study (1993) offers some case-specific insights to guide the empirical analysis for this study. Smawfield finds different effects of key variables for Mozambican refugees in Zambia who were included in the national education system, and for those in Malawi who studied in a parallel system. Enrolment rates and education quality in Zambia were higher than in Malawi, with better teacher-pupil, book-pupil, and desk-pupil ratios, as well as higher attendance rates.

These better education outcomes in Zambia were achieved in a context of relatively few refugees and a better equipped refugee support system, more space including arable land allocated to families. Refugees had equal access as nationals to education and were limited by the same quota system of restricted enrolments due to limited capacity of schools. While they were schooled in the Zambian curriculum in English, they had the opportunity to continue learning Portuguese through extra-curricular lessons run by refugee teachers. The Zambian Ministry of Education took a more active role in the management of refugee education by sending national teachers and meeting running costs, illustrating a developmental approach with refugees included in the national host education system.

Hypothesis 14: Relatively few refugees combined with higher education capacity and a favourable protection environment are sufficient for higher enrolment rates in national education systems.

The home country education type illustrated by the Malawi case took place in a setting of relatively high refugee numbers, with less space, no land allocation to refugees, but an open enrolment policy with education supported largely by UNHCR and partners instead of through the national system. Refugees continued studying the Mozambican curriculum in Portuguese taught by refugee teachers.

> *Hypothesis 15: Relatively high refugee numbers in an unfavourable protection environment are sufficient for lower enrolment rates in parallel education systems.*

In a literature-scarce environment, Smawfield's small-scale study offers some key contextual elements that are of relevance for the following empirical cross-country and case study analyses. Detailing how this empirical analysis is approached and structured is the subject of the following chapter that introduces the research design and methodological approaches.

Chapter III
Research design

This chapter introduces the overall research design for this study starting with an overview of the main research questions, followed by a presentation and discussion of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) as the study's main methodological approach, before outlining in detail the specific design of each of the three research questions including case selection and model specifications with the operationalisation and selection of conditions, objectives, contributions as well as limitations of each question.

1. Research questions

Based on the theoretical reflections presented above, the main research question for this project is:

Under what conditions can developmental approaches lead to better access outcomes of primary and secondary education for refugees in low- and middle-income host countries?

This question aims to capture the core elements (development, education and refugees), and at the same time delimitate the field of research interest by specifying aspects of education to be analysed (access indicators of formal primary and secondary education) and the study's geographical scope. The question further alludes to the main methodological approach used ('conditions') as explained below and contains an element of doubt ('can') about the relationship between approach and outcomes.

The main research question (RQ) is answered through the analysis of three sub-questions that build on each other in that data generated in one is used in others. They move broadly from a medium sized cross-country analysis at the national policy level, to the level of practice, and finally to outcomes explored also through case studies in the last question:

RQ1: To what extent have developmental approaches in refugee education been adopted at national **policy** level, and what explains variation across host countries?

RQ2: What are refugee education **implementation** pathways, and to what extent can these be explained by policy approaches?

RQ3: Under what conditions can developmental approaches produce better access **outcomes**?

Each of these questions has its own research design and is composed of a data generation and descriptive part as well as an analytical part where a relational question is answered with the help of configurational comparative analysis. The three questions form the three core parts of the thesis' empirical chapter (IV). Before describing them further, the main methodological

approach underlying all three of them is introduced so that an integrated approach can be used in outlining each of the questions' research model further below.

2. Methodological approach

This study adopts a configurational comparative research design where data is generated through desk research, the coding of policy documents, as well as the compilation, review and analysis of qualitative and quantitative refugee education reports. The study is further informed by the author's refugee education policy work at field- and headquarter-level as well as field notes taken between 2004 and 2016 on refugee education in seven countries in Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (Zeus, 2017).

In moving from policy to implementation and outcomes, the study includes both a macro-level cross-sectional analysis of 41 low- and middle-income countries in refugee regions of origin that hosted 78% of the global refugee population in 2016 (UNHCR, 2017g), as well as a case study of four countries. This leaves the number of cases too small for purely quantitative methods and too large for purely qualitative methodologies.

In the absence of clearly defined and well-established theory on the adoption of developmental policy approaches in refugee education across refugee-hosting LMIC, but with the goal to either support or challenge assumptions made within the 'non-theory of change' as outlined in chapter I, Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) emerged as the main methodological approach for this study. QCA allows for "causal claims to be tested without the need of a counterfactual situation" and makes the "best of existing resources and data, drawing insight from information which is already available and allowing it to support or refine a number of possible theories of change" (Befani, 2016: 5).

First designed by Charles Ragin (1987) as an alternative to the commonly employed regression methods, QCA has been further developed and gained increasing recognition in the social sciences (Cooper & Glaesser, 2016). Over the past 30 years, the application of QCA has experienced exponential growth as measured through their appearances in peer-reviewed academic journals, and "counts among the most influential recent innovations in social science methodology" (Thiem & Dusa, 2013: 87). QCA has been applied in political sociology, political science and international relations, business and economics, management and organisation, legal studies and criminology, education and health policy research.

QCA is a configurational comparative method, which refers to combinations of factors – or 'conditions' in QCA terms – observed across a set of cases that are compared to such combinations – or rather 'configurations' in QCA terms – for other sets of cases. The method assumes that given causal factors may be necessary or sufficient in combination with other

causal factors, whereby condition C might lead to a different outcome if combined with condition A than if combined with condition B, which is in contrast to conventional statistical methods. QCA is based on set theoretic logic and allows for the systematic examination of these configurations of conditions in truth tables. Employing the Quine-McCluskey algorithm, the truth table is reduced to eventually obtain a solution formula (Ragin & Rihoux, 2009).

Building on early causation theory and the work of Mackie (1974), Ragin (1987) argues that social phenomena can have multiple causes which are affected by their interaction and can have opposing effects depending on contextual factors. With QCA, Ragin tries to reflect such social reality by accounting for causal complexity and multiple conjunctural causation. So, again in contrast to classical statistics, QCA can for one produce several solution formulas – or solution pathways – within the same set of conditions, and secondly, it also assumes logical asymmetry where a condition can contribute to an outcome, however its absence does not necessarily lead to the absence of the outcome (Bretthauer, 2014). By allowing for analysis of variables not in isolation, but in such configurations, and through its ability to factor in both qualitative and quantitative aspects (Vis, 2007), QCA offers the most appropriate tools and systematic approach for this cross-sectional study where causal complexity is expected and a context-sensitive approach informed by case knowledge is necessary.

Nonetheless, the methodology is not without its challenges and limitations. While it is based on Boolean algebra and set theoretic logic, the qualitative aspect dominates, as its name suggests[6], so that it is sensitive to confirmation bias, the researcher's selection of conditions and setting of thresholds. Results have been found by some to be "worryingly susceptible to minor parametric and model specification changes" (Krogslund et al., 2015: 21). To offset these risks, awareness of the same, as well as transparency throughout the research steps are recommended as good practice (Ragin & Rihoux, 2009). Further challenges include the need for "consistently available data across comparable cases" and relative "unpredictability of the number of iterations needed to achieve meaningful findings" which can make it time-intensive (Befani, 2016: 6).

In QCA terms, this study aims to firstly establish what configurations of sufficient and necessary conditions lead to greater degrees of adoption of developmental approaches at policy level, and secondly whether and how these overlap with the configurations of conditions producing more developmental, i.e. inclusive, refugee education practice, and thirdly, to what extent developmental approaches are necessary for, or form part of sufficient configurations producing higher education access rates for refugees. The below sections further outline the case selection and each of the three sub-questions.

[6] Interestingly though, QCA translates as "*analyse quali-quantitative comparée*" in French (De Meur et al., 2002).

3. Research design in detail

Case selection

A set of 41 cases was identified prior to embarking on empirical research. These country cases were selected following an initial analysis of all countries that hosted refugees in 2016, as the latest year with data availability at the time of research design (UNHCR, 2017g). Hosting refugees is a selection criterion, as beyond policy, implementation is examined in the following research question.

It has to be noted that this study deals exclusively with refugees under UNHCR's mandate and does not consider other forcibly displaced or conflict-affected groups for whom different legal frameworks apply resulting in different policy, assistance frameworks and practical outcomes that would go beyond the scope of this project.

In aiming to select a set of cases that allows both for a practicable analysis and offers as broad and relevant a cross-sectional view as possible, it was decided to focus on a set of around 40 countries hosting the largest number of refugees both in absolute terms and relative to national populations.

While initially the inclusion of high-income countries was considered, to stay within the bounds of the feasible and ensure greater levels of comparability, it was decided to limit the study to LMIC. Receiving official development assistance (ODA), it is hypothesised that these countries would be most relevant for the analysis since variation in foreign aid emerged as a core element during preliminary research and theoretical reflections.

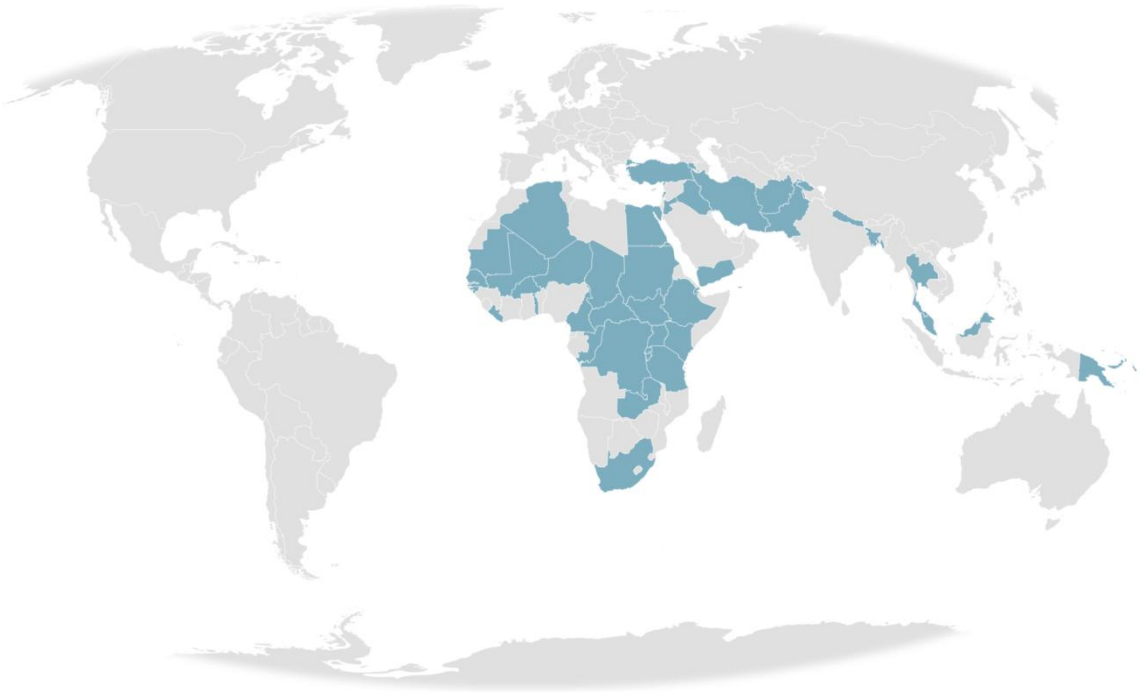
The exclusion of high-income countries is also informed by the fact that these offer little variation in the outcome variables defined below. In other words, refugees in countries boasting more sophisticated welfare systems fall under compulsory schooling policies and the inclusion of refugees in national education systems is generally not debated, even if delays in integration vary across countries and physical segregation might be practice in some countries. While by no means sufficient, unlike for LMIC, there is an increasing body of cross-country comparative literature on refugee education in high-income countries largely informed by migration studies and focusing on how differences in national education systems, refugee integration policies and support programmes impact refugees' educational outcomes (Crul et al., 2016; Küchenhoff & Lourie, 2016).

Finally, to ensure the greatest levels of comparability within an already diverse set of countries, it was decided to exclude geographic outliers of four countries otherwise fitting the case criteria in Central America and Western Europe, focusing instead on hosting countries in Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa which corresponds to the most important refugee-producing regions. Further countries needed to be excluded from the outset for a

known lack of data, namely Syria and Libya. While it was expected that others might face exclusion at later research stages in case data are not available or do not meet the required quality criteria, all cases are considered throughout the analysis.

The set of 41 country cases is presented in the below figure and referenced in Appendix B. These 41 countries hosted 82% of school-age refugees under UNHCR's mandate in 2016 (UNHCR, 2017g), so that the study covers a significant portion of refugees globally.

Figure 7: Map of 41 country cases



Research Question 1

The first question looks at how globally promoted developmental policy approaches in refugee education are understood and to what extent these have been adopted at national policy level across refugee-hosting LMIC. It examines whether policy texts explicitly or implicitly include or exclude refugees from national development frameworks, specifically national education policy, and with what levels of national responsibility-taking. Having classified countries along the humanitarian-development spectrum in the form of an inclusion index, the data generated then serve for an analysis into drivers, interests, norms and contextual factors identifying configurations of conditions that explain variation across countries to establish, amongst others, what might motivate some host countries to envision the inclusion of refugees in their – often already overstretched – education systems, and keep others from doing so.

RQ 1.1 To what extent have developmental approaches in refugee education been adopted at national policy level?

Creation of Refugee Education Policy Inclusion Index

To base the ensuing cross-country analysis into developmental approaches in refugee education at national policy level on a more solid fundament, the most suitable methodological approach is through a systematic identification, review, assessment and ranking of relevant policy documents. This exercise is to lead to the generation of the Refugee Education Policy Inclusion Index ($REPI^2$).

Indices have gained increasing popularity both in social science research and in policy making as a useful tool for creating a composite measure that summarises several variables into one data item to simplify interpretation and analysis of complex issues and multidimensional realities (OECD, 2008). For the $REPI^2$ to be indeed a useful tool, transparency in its construction process is key. The research steps towards its generation are thus outlined in the following paragraphs.

To create this index, first of all a search and compilation of relevant policy documents is carried out to build a policy database. The review identified UN Development Assistance Frameworks (UNDAF), National Development Plans (NDP), Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), as well as Education Sector Plans (ESP) as the key policy documents generally available across LMIC, and as such, providing a comparable base of how countries are envisioning and defining their development path with focus on refugee education.

Since it is the degree of inclusion of refugees in broader national development policy documents that is to be examined, the database only focuses on these generic policy documents as opposed to also considering refugee-specific policy. The existence and nature of such specific policy might be of interest for the empirical model as an explanatory factor. To be noted is also that the database is strictly limited to policy-level documents, and does not include any programmatic documents, academic reports, evaluations, or legal texts. The legal component for instance is explored as one of the potential explanatory factors defining the policy environment in the ensuing analysis. While it was initially planned to include SDG4 country road maps along with other relevant country-specific policy texts, this was discarded for lack of availability of the former across countries, and lack of comparability for the latter.

These four key documents are sought for all cases through a systematic search of online databases hosting a range of policy documents (GPE, 2017a; IMF, 2017a; UNDG, 2017b; UNESCO, 2017b; World Bank, 2017b). As the aim is to identify the most recent iterations of these policy documents for all cases, and since these databases are not always up-to-date, in addition, countries' line ministry websites are consulted as well as carrying out a general Google search.

In total, 147 documents are included in the policy database while 17 could not be identified. These documents are subsequently scanned and reviewed with the help of a key word search to ascertain levels of refugee inclusion at policy level.[7] The search starts with three primary search terms *refuge*, displace*, asylum*.[8] Given that some countries are known to use different terminology to refer to refugees depending on national legal contexts, in cases where the search did not yield any results and to avoid potential omissions, it is extended to include *alien, emergenc*, migra*, conflict, crisis, illegal, undocumented*. In addition, key word searches are carried out for nationalities of refugee majority groups, as well as major refugee hosting localities; in the case of Kenya, this would for instance involve searching for *Somali** and *South Sudan** as well as *Dadaab* and *Kakuma*. The majority of documents are in English, with some in French for which translated terms are used for the search.[9]

The words are analysed in context to decide whether reference to refugees is indeed made, as opposed to other groups of migrants. In parallel to creating the policy database with hyperlinks to included documents, mentioning the policy base year (i.e. the year of policy adoption), and flagging inclusion of search terms through 'yes' or 'no', relevant paragraphs with search term results are copied and pasted in a separate document for further qualitative analysis.

This analysis involves close reading to code policy documents by degree of refugee inclusion and the dominant approach, for which the definition on humanitarian and developmental approaches to refugee education adopted in chapter I are used.

To exploit variation between countries and to avoid too many cases classified in a neutral middle category, a six-point coding scale is developed and applied to each document reviewed (see Table 1). At the lower end of the spectrum, a code of - 1 is applied to documents explicitly excluding refugees from national development planning so that no government responsibility is foreseen leaving provision of basic services to humanitarian actors. In case no mention of refugees through any of the above-stated key search terms is made, a code value of 0 is applied which indicates unclear responsibilities and approaches.

A code of 1 is applied when refugees are mentioned but the policy text gives no indication of whether they are either excluded or included, so that government responsibility levels remain unclear, and a predominantly humanitarian approach is assumed. Minimum inclusion of refugees in national services as clearly distinct groups from nationals are allocated a code of 2, where weak links between humanitarian and developmental approaches might exist.

---

[7] Key word search was carried out using the search function in *Apple Preview Version 9.0* as well as the find tool in *Google Chrome Version 60.0*.
[8] Note that *refuge** would yield results including *refugee* or *refugees*, *displace** yields results including *displaced*, *displacement*.
[9] These were: *réfug*, déplac*, asile, étrang*, urgence, migra*, conflit, crise, illégal*, sans-papiers*.

Where refugees are more strongly included but still at levels unequal to nationals and with limited government responsibility-taking in an emerging link between humanitarian and developmental approaches, a code value of 3 is applied. At the upper end of the spectrum, a code value of 4 is applied to documents showing high inclusion levels by clearly mainstreaming refugees into development planning as equal to nationals with full government responsibility-taking with support from development actors so that a clear link between humanitarian and developmental approaches can be observed.

Since 17 policy documents were not identified, and indeed code value - 1 did not come to use, a later adjustment needed to be made in the 0-code value category to account for the fact that missing values were skewing results in favour of countries with fewer and better documents. It was decided to use the code value 0 for missing values and 0.1 for no mentions, so that a slight difference is made between countries that do not have the specific policy versus those that do have it but without mentioning refugees.

Table 1: Six-point REPI^2 coding scale

Code	Degree of inclusion	Inclusion interpretation and responsibilities	Approach (Humanitarian vs. Development)
-1	**Exclusion**	Refugees are explicitly excluded: no government responsibility	entirely humanitarian
0	**No mention**	0: Document non-existent 0.1: Refugees are not mentioned: unclear responsibility	unclear
1	**No exclusion**	Refugees are neither explicitly excluded nor included: unclear responsibility	predominantly humanitarian
2	**Minimum inclusion**	Refugees are included, but as separate to nationals: minimal government responsibility	weak link
3	**Medium inclusion**	Refugees are included but unequal to nationals: limited government responsibility with development support	emerging link
4	**High inclusion**	Refugees are included as equal to nationals: full government responsibility with development support	clear link

Given the complexity of policy environments, the task of reducing these to quantitative indices indeed is not simple as suggested elsewhere (Ochel & Rohwer, 2009). To ensure a systematic and fair allocation of codes, pasted text sections are read and analysed first in country clusters, second in policy document type clusters. Finally in a third round to cross-check and validate coding, text sections are re-read in clusters of the same code categories and same document types. Findings are triangulated with results of a recent survey that included a question on refugees' inclusion in national and local development plans (UNHCR, 2017b), while case knowledge also helped validate assigned inclusion scores.

This presents an important step of the research process as these scores define the REPI^2 which plays a significant role as the outcome variable in the ensuing analysis into variations across countries. While it was initially planned to further enhance policy document data with

qualitative data from interviews with purposively selected experts to complement existing information gaps and help validate assigned inclusion scores, this was discarded to ensure non-biased and factual information from written policy texts only is included in the policy database. Given the wealth of policy documents identified and considered in the policy database, it was also not deemed necessary.

Coded values from each document are multiplied with their respective coefficients. Coefficients were added as the cross-reading for code value validation stage discovered a further level of diversity between countries as to how the presence of refugees is regarded in the context of national development. It was deemed important to refine the index by capturing this layer of diversity instead of conflating countries within the same code value, e.g. a country coded 2 might refer to refugees as being a burden and limiting developmental progress while another with the same assigned code might present their presence in a neutral or more positive light.

Coefficients are assigned adjusting each coded value by an evaluative component on how refugees' presence is portrayed in relation to their inclusion in the national education system. Coefficients range from 0.75 where refugees are regarded as a burden, a challenge or portrayed in a negative light, to a neutral 1 where refugees are simply mentioned without any qualifying value attached, or where positive and negative hold the balance, to 1.25 where refugees are portrayed in a more positive light as participating in, and an opportunity for, development.

Given the index's focus on education, it is skewed towards education, multiplying coefficients by 2 for ESPs. While it was initially planned to assign coefficients where specific positive reference to education is made in documents other than ESPs, this option had to be discarded as little to no variation between countries was found with none of these documents making specific positive reference to refugee education. This in itself is an important research finding further discussed in chapter IV.

To generate the $REPI^2$ for country *i*, coded values from each document multiplied with their respective coefficients α are accumulated relative to the number of documents reviewed (double weighting ESPs) as shown in Equation 1 below. The index is calculated relative to the number of documents. The coded values range between -1 and 4 as detailed in Table 1 above. Coded values are applied to each policy document including the UNDAF (*U*), NDP (*N*), PRSP (*P*), and ESP (*E*) each multiplied by its coefficient α. The higher the $REPI^2$, the more the country is found to be offering a favourable policy environment towards inclusion of refugees in education, i.e. the further it is found to be at the development end of the spectrum. Findings from this research step along with the $REPI^2$ are presented in chapter IV.

Equation 1: REPI²

$$REPI^2{}_i = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} (\alpha_{Ui} * U_{ci},\ \alpha_{Ni} * N_{ci},\ \alpha_{Pi} * P_{ci},\ \alpha_{Ei} * E_{ci})}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} (U, N, P, 2E)}$$

RQ 1.2 What explains variation in the adoption of developmental policy approaches in refugee education across host countries?

Resulting from the review of relevant literature, possible explanatory factors emerged that might help shed light on the observed variation in states' refugee education policy. To identify explanatory factors of interest in further empirical analysis of the REPI², Qualitative Comparative Analysis is carried out.

Both crisp-set (csQCA) and the more recently developed fuzzy-set QCA (fsQCA) are employed for the analysis. As the two main variants of QCA, they differ in the type of sets on which they operate. Crisp-set QCA is a particular form of fsQCA in that it only allows dichotomised conditions where cases must be either members or non-members in the set. Fuzzy-set QCA can empirically capture shades of membership with cases falling anywhere between full membership and non-membership to be considered as more member than non-member for instance without being one or the other. Unlike its name might suggest, fuzzy-set QCA deals with precise membership scores and, in comparison to csQCA, comes with the clear advantage of adding differences in degree of membership and being able to process more fine-grained data, all the while allowing for the flexibility to add crisp-set values where conditions need to be dichotomised. Considering the complexity of concepts in social science research, such differentiation is useful as it is often not possible, nor desirable, to clearly assign cases to one or the other (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012).

For the non-expert, csQCA might be more straightforward to understand and offers the possibility to visually represent the degree of inclusion in the logical space. Since QCA is a methodology so far not employed in refugee education, csQCA is carried out first so as to provide an introduction to the methodology, as well as to gain broad insights into the data set and interactions of conditions included in the model. This serves as a useful basis for further refining the research identifying conditions of particular interest. In line with recommendations by Schneider and Wagemann (2012) according to which fsQCA should be used whenever feasible for its greater generality, fsQCA is then carried out in a second step pursuing a phased approach where several combinations of conditions are tested based on the provisional hypotheses formulated in chapter II.

QCA is carried out with the help of Tosmana software version 1.54 (Cronqvist, 2017) as well as fs/qca software version 3.0 (Ragin & Davey, 2014). Tosmana is more user-friendly than fs/qca as it remembers settings and visualises distribution of values for threshold setting, so is used for some parts of the analysis due to these benefits, however, fs/qca needs to be employed, despite its frequent thus time-consuming shut-downs, as it offers higher functionality especially for the more fine-grained fuzzy-set analyses.

Following Wagemann & Schneider (2010), notation for QCA operations is as follows: logical AND by asterisk (*), logical OR by plus (+). A sufficient solution is denoted by rightward arrow (→) while a necessary solution is denoted by inverted, i.e. left-pointing arrow (←). Absence of conditions or outcome is indicated by tilde sign (~).Conditions in capital letters refer to positive values, i.e. the condition is present. Absent conditions are indicated with tilde sign (~). Single-pathway cases are highlighted in *italics*.

Upon selection of the preliminary cases and the definition of the degree of policy inclusion – the REPI^2 – as outcome variable, a set of potential explanatory factors, known as conditions in QCA language, needs to be mapped from which to select for the QCA models. Upon mapping of these conditions here below, the csQCA model follows the key steps recommended by Rihoux and De Meur (2009). The fsQCA model follows good practice laid out by Wagemann & Schneider (2010). With the aim to ensure maximum transparency, these QCA model building steps are further detailed in the sections following the mapping of conditions.

Operationalisation of potential explanatory factors: mapping of conditions

Amenta and Poulson (1994) discuss five approaches to selecting conditions (independent variables) for QCA. This study adopts what they define as the comprehensive approach, where developing as comprehensive a model as conceivable is considered in an iterative process, in conjunction with a perspective approach, where a set of conditions representing different theoretical pathways are tested in the same model. Where the empirical analysis was confronted with a paucity of relevant theory, a more inductive approach to selecting conditions, purely relying on case and contextual knowledge, needed to be adopted. This approach "allows the construction of a more articulated explanatory model, specific to the pool of cases considered" (Yamasaki & Rihoux, 2009: 131).

Given the lack of specific theory on refugee inclusion in national education systems and prior empirical cross-country studies into developmental approaches in refugee education, it was found crucial to avoid omitting critical variables at the outset. The iterative process thus starts with an open model taking into account as wide a range of potential conditions as possible, informed by theory and case knowledge, and building on the hypotheses formulated in

chapter II. This process leads to a data set including 40 quantitative variables from various sources (see Table 2).

Conditions are identified and grouped as informed by theoretical pathway considerations from chapter II. As such, primarily of interest is whether the adopted policy can be explained by normative or interest-based factors, or whether solution paths include a combination of these as well as analysing the importance of contextual and capacity-based factors. Conditions are thus grouped by four types of normative, interest-based, contextual and capacity-related factors, as well as categorised into two dimensions pertaining to either socio-economic or geo-political aspects.

As a next step, these potential explanatory factors further need to be operationalised with the help of suitable indicators. This involves both a secondary data review and adoption of indicators from publicly available datasets including from the World Bank, UNESCO and UNHCR, as well as the creation of composite indicators where none were found as part of this data research process. All data refer to 2016 or the most recent available. While for space constraints, not all these preliminarily selected conditions can be described in detail here, Table 2 provides an overview of the operationalisation of potential explanatory factors grouped along these four types and two dimensions. The complete data set including metadata is available in Appendix A. Appendix B references the full list of conditions along with their definitions.

Table 2: Operationalisation of potential explanatory factors

	Socio-Economic	***Geo-Political***
Normative	•*Degree of socio-economic equity [GINI, ECINQ]* •*Degree of socio-economic freedom [LIB, VAC]* •*Human rights record [HUMR]*	•*Ratification of international rights instruments [RAT]* •*Refugee protection environment [RPE, CONV, RLEG]* •*Good governance track record [SLG, COR]*
Interest-based	•*Degree of economic decline / vulnerability [EVI, ECD]* •*Degree of economic interconnectedness [EXGS]* •*Degree of social grievance [GRI]*	•*Importance of in- / external security threats (natural or man-made) [SEC]* •*Degree of natural resource scarcity [DEM]* •*Degree of external influence [EXT, HCR, ODAG]*
Contextual	•*Degree of social receptiveness (qualitative)* •*Refugee population characteristics [REFI, RIDP]* •*Refugee hosting history [RHH]*	•*Type of political system [SYS]* •*Availability of physical inclusion space (arable land) [LAN]* •*Nature of relations with refugee countries of origin (qualitative)* •*Political position of refugees (qualitative)* •*Refugee hosting context [LOC]* •*Year of policy issuance [PMY]*
Capacity-related	•*Economic capacity [GNIC, RCAP]* •*Degree of development [HDI]* •*Availability of employment [EMP]* •*Availability and capacity of social services and infrastructure, including education system capacity [PBS, EXG, NPNER, NPGER]*	•*Political stability [POLS]* •*Government effectiveness [GOV, FSI, RUL]* •*Type of refugee protection bureaucratic set-up [REN]*

Some of the explanatory factors that will turn out key in the empirical analysis, are described further in the following sections along with a formulation of hypotheses for each selected condition regarding its connection to the outcome as recommended by Berg-Schlosser and De Meur (2009) and as an addition to the hypotheses formulated in chapter II.

As a normative geo-political condition, the refugee protection environment (RPE) needs to be assessed by building a single weighted composite index that includes the following six composite conditions: 1) CONV: Ratification of the 1951 Convention, its 1967 Protocol and absence of reservations to key articles 17.2 on employment, 22 on education, 26 on freedom of movement and 28 on travel documents (UNHCR, 2010b; UNTC, 2017); whereby a value of 1 is assigned to a 'State party' and 0 otherwise for the Convention and Protocol; for the four articles, 1 is assigned where no reservation exists, and 0 in case a reservation is in place. Subsequently, the sum is divided by the six potential maximum points. 2) RLEG: The existence of domestic refugee legislation coded 1, its absence 0 (UNHCR, 2016a). 3) REN: The existence of a dedicated bureaucratic entity within civilian administration (ministry of interior or other ministry) dealing with refugee affairs, with or without support from UNHCR, coded 1, its absence 0 (UNHCR, 2016a). 4) LOC: Type of refugee settlements: encampment (0) versus self-settled in urban or rural areas (1) (UNHCR, 2017c). 5) The normalised average of 45 indicators relating to the protection environment from UNHCR's 2016 year-end report (UNHCR, 2017k). 6) The assessment of the protection environment by close reading of key passages of UNHCR's narrative operations plans from 2016, coded from 0 as 'extremely unfavourable', to 1 as 'rather unfavourable', 2 'rather favourable', to 3 'extremely favourable' (UNHCR, 2016a).

It was hypothesised that the respect for refugee-related protection norms are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches when aligned with states' interests. With preliminary research based on secondary sources suggesting that non-ratifying states do not necessarily have otherwise less inclusive refugee policies (Collier & Betts, 2017; Mendenhall et al., 2017a), this composite indicator enables later break-down into its components, such as CONV or RLEG, should a more differential approach be required by the empirical analysis.

One condition representing geo-political interests is found in the security apparatus sub-indicator (SEC) from the FSI. It considers the security threats to a state, including bombings or terrorism, as well as organised crime and the existence of groups that challenge the state's monopoly of the use of force, and perceived trust of citizens in domestic security (FFP, 2017). Seen in isolation, the hypothesis here would be the higher the security threats, the less inclusive the refugee policy, i.e. the lower the REPI[2]. Seen in combination with other factors, it was hypothesised that high levels of geo-political interest-based factors resulting from security threats or demographic pressure on land and resources are sufficient for the non-adoption of

developmental policy approaches when combined with low levels of government capacity and high relative refugee numbers.

An alternative, and more comprehensive measure is the external intervention sub-indicator (EXT) of the FSI which considers economic, political and humanitarian influence and impact of external actors in the functioning – particularly security and economic – of a state (FFP, 2017). Here, it is hypothesised that the higher the degree of external influence, thus influence to adopt global policy at national level, the greater will be the degree of inclusion, although, it could just as well be hypothesised that a higher degree of external influence generally stands for lower internal capacity of national systems, including education, thus results in lesser degree of inclusion. It will thus be interesting to see in combination with which conditions, the $REPI^2$ outcome could be produced – or not.

More than general external influence, UNHCR's influence is of particular interest. Here, a simple weighted composite ranking (HCR) was constructed out of three separate rankings each reaching from 1 as the case with the least influence, to 41 as the highest amongst the cases. 1) The first component considers UNHCR country-level expenditures in relation to the country's GDP as an average over the past five years from 2012 to 2016 (UNHCR, 2017j; World Bank, 2017a). 2) UNHCR country-level expenditures in relation to the number of refugees as an average over the past five years from 2012 to 2016 (UNHCR, 2017g). 3) UNHCR country-level expenditures per refugee as an annual average of the past five years from 2012 to 2016 in relation to the country's GDP based on the aforementioned data sources. It is hypothesised that with higher UNHCR influence at country-level, the more its policies will be adopted, thus the higher the $REPI^2$.

A further measure for geo-political interests is the demographic pressure sub-indicator (DEM) also from FSI. It states pressure deriving from the population itself or the environment around it, relating to food supply, access to safe water, and other life-sustaining resources, or health, but also to natural disasters or environmental hazards. It considers demographic characteristics, such as pressures from high population growth rates or skewed population distributions (FFP, 2017). The hypothesis here would be for it to contribute to a lower $REPI^2$.

Operationalisation of the contextual socio-economic category looked at the importance of refugee populations in host countries both in terms of absolute numbers, and as a proportion of the national population (REFI) with data taken from UNHCR (2017g). The hypothesis here was for high relative refugee numbers to be necessary but insufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches. This is considering higher visibility leading to political pressure to act. Considered is also the degree of complexity of a country's refugee hosting history (RHH), a measure developed with the help of historical refugee hosting data by country of asylum and country of origin from 1951 to 2016 (UNHCR, 2017g). A ranking was created as a cumulative of

four components each ranked individually: 1) the cumulative sum of all refugees hosted since 1951, 2) the annual average of refugees hosted relative to the current population size, 3) the cumulative sum of all refugees hosted between 2012 and 2016, 4) the annual average of refugees hosted between 2012 and 2016 relative to the current population size. The hypothesis here would be similar as for the REFI.

Socio-economic capacity is operationalised through the host country's economic capacity to host refugees (RCAP) as the number of refugees relative to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) obtained from UNHCR (2017g). Further conditions are gross national income per capita (GNIC) sourced from the World Bank for 2016 (World Bank, 2017a), which in simple terms, is an aggregate income of an economy generated by its production and its ownership of factors of production divided by its population. The hypothesis here would be for higher capacity to contribute to a higher $REPI^2$.

A further condition in this category that seemed relevant to consider in the model is the year in which the policy documents (at the base of the $REPI^2$) were issued. This is measured as the mean year across the four policy documents (PMY). Assuming influence of global policy directives on national-level policy making, the hypothesis here would be for more recent the policy to contribute to the $REPI^2$ outcome.

csQCA model

The number of possible combinations of conditions increases exponentially with each new condition added. For 40 quantitative conditions as operationalised in Table 2, there are 2^{40} combinations of conditions. Ultimately, the goal was to reduce the broad set of data and identify those variables that offer best possible explanatory pathways towards the outcome. This is in keeping with Ragin & Rihoux (2009) who recommend the number of conditions to be kept low to avoid individualisation of cases. A common practice for QCA models of between ten to 40 cases are around four to seven conditions (Berg-Schlosser & De Meur, 2009). Although seven conditions already produce 2^7=128 combinations, which means that even if each case has its individualised combination, only less than a third of logical combinations would be covered by the 41 cases. When in the case of many logically possible combinations, the empirical cases cover only a small proportion of the logical space, this leaves a considerable number of logical remainders. The more logical remainders, the more assumptions are being made which has the potential to jeopardise the model's robustness.

It was thus decided to preliminarily test various configurations of the 40 conditions with different thresholds both informed by theory and by case knowledge. This testing informed the model specification process during which it was considered for some conditions to be discarded

and some to be combined by logical procedure into thematic super-conditions. Tests with a very high proportion of persistent contradictory configurations or those for which parsimony could not be achieved, i.e. where minimised formulas did not allow coherent interpretations, needed to be discarded to eventually obtain the most suitable operational model free of contradictions, parsimonious enough, and yet able to provide sound explanatory insights. While this is a comparatively time-consuming approach, its advantage is a lower risk of omitted variables (Yamasaki & Rihoux, 2009). This was the preferred approach given the relative lack of theory and absence of previous research in this area.

As a result of this testing process, the most parsimonious and robust first insights into the interplay of conditions are obtained through logical combination of conditions into thematic super-conditions along the lines of the categories from Table 2 above. A sensitivity analysis for the creation of super conditions supports for individual variables to be normalised and combined through simple weighting.

Eight super-conditions are created for consideration in the csQCA (referenced in Appendix B). The normative socio-economic condition split up into human rights-related and economic conditions (NSEH, NSEC), normative geo-political condition (NGP), the socio-economic interest-based (ISE) and the geo-political interest-based (IGP) condition, the socio-economic capacity condition (CSEC), the socio-economic capacity condition relating to education (CSED), as well as the geo-political capacity condition (CGP). Contextual conditions REFI, RHH and LAN are considered as standalone conditions representing the socio-economic and geo-political refugee hosting context.

To arrive at Boolean minimisation providing a meaningful and parsimonious result, a number of steps are carried out following Rihoux and De Meur (2009). These include setting thresholds with the creation of a dichotomous data table, building truth tables, resolving contradictory configurations, bringing in logical remainders and Boolean minimisation. While these steps build on each other in theory, in practice it is required to move back and forth between the steps, as for instance resolving contradictory configurations might entail recalibrating conditions, i.e. slightly adapting thresholds. Readjustments and testing various alternatives in dialogue with the cases, and between cases and relevant theories are seen as a natural part of this process in which threshold setting is a decisive step. Although Ragin emphasises that readjustments should not be considered opportunistic data manipulation, but rather necessary steps of the iterative QCA process (Ragin, 1987), robustness checks are an important step of this process (Skaaning, 2011).

Thresholds can be set in a number of ways. Berg-Schlosser and Cronqvist (2009) detail how thresholds can be set mechanically, with the help of data gaps, informed by theory, or by case knowledge, and need to be justified to allow for comprehensible and replicable analyses. While

both theory-consistency and empirical-coverage strategies are adopted (Befani, 2016), in the absence of theory, case knowledge is predominantly employed to set thresholds for the csQCA analysis where data gaps are either non-existent or not meaningful as a marker suggesting qualitatively different categories of cases.

In keeping with QCA good practice, it is ensured that thresholds would not artificially separate very similar cases, that no very differently sized groups of cases are created, and that small threshold changes would not lead to substantially different results (see robustness checks in Appendix A). In addition, the Tosmana threshold-setter feature, which plots all values and suggests a threshold based on cluster analysis, is used systematically and results compared with those obtained through case knowledge to check their meaningfulness also visually (Cronqvist, 2003; Medina et al., 2017). Since threshold setting involves significant content discussion, thresholds are further justified for each condition in chapter IV.

Upon testing various thresholds, producing truth tables, and assessing truth table quality against good practice detailed by Rihoux and De Meur (2009), a number of contradictory configurations emerge, which are one of the most challenging features of csQCA. Contradictions are cases that display the same values on the condition variables but lead to different outcomes. Without resolving these, the analysis cannot proceed. However, such contradictions also offer a first robustness check of the model and form part of the iterative QCA process of 'dialogue between ideas and evidence' (Ragin, 1987).

Rihoux and De Meur (2009) outline eight strategies to resolve contradictory configurations which they recommend considering before adopting a combination of any of these justified on empirical and / or on theoretical grounds. Some contradictions could be resolved by slightly adapting thresholds of conditions and by reconsidering the outcome threshold. However, due to persistent contradictions and non-parsimonious results, six cases (Iraq, Mauritania, Papua New Guinea, South Sudan, Yemen and Zambia) need to be excluded from the key minimisation as recommended by the authors. Following several iterations of the truth table for the 35 considered cases, a number of the selected conditions are found irrelevant, so that the final csQCA model includes five conditions presented in chapter IV with their respective thresholds.

Boolean minimisation is the key QCA procedure which produces minimal formulas that allow for more focused causal questions about configurations to be asked. With the help of Boolean minimisation algorithms, a "condition can be considered irrelevant if a number of logical expressions differ in only this condition and produce the same outcome, and if all possible values of this condition are included in these logical expressions" (Berg-Schlosser & Cronqvist, 2009: 7). All four complete minimisation procedures – positive and negative outcome configurations, with and without logical remainders (non-observed cases) – recommended by Rihoux and De Meur

(2009) are run displaying the list of simplifying assumptions about logical remainders so that any contradictory assumptions can potentially be solved.

In addition to presenting the solution formulas, robustness checks are carried out that include the calculation of consistency and coverage values for both outcomes. Consistency provides information about the size of set overlap and is calculated as the number of cases where the condition is present and the outcome is present, divided by the total number of cases where the outcome is present. Coverage provides information about the size of the condition relative to the outcome, as in the percentage of successful cases within the group of cases that present the condition (Thomson, 2017).

Furthermore, Venn diagrams produced by Tosmana help visualise the csQCA results, to see where solution configurations are located within the logical space and to visualise the empty space for logical remainders. The minimal formulas produced for both positive and negative outcomes are the perfect logical complement using up all logical space (Rihoux & De Meur, 2009).

fsQCA model

To enable a more fine-grained analysis, fsQCA is carried out in a second step, following the recommendation to prioritise it for its greater generality (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012). For the fsQCA, conditions as well as the outcome need to be transformed into fuzzy set scores between zero and one, which rather than ranking cases relative to each other, describe the degree of membership for a given case in the category which is formed by the condition (Ragin & Rihoux, 2009). This study adopts the direct calibration method rather than the indirect method in which fuzzy scores are assigned reflecting qualitative grouping of conditions by membership in the target set (Ragin, 2008).

The direct method specifies three thresholds for each condition, firstly the fuzzy set score of 1 as full set membership (fully in), then the crossover point of 0.5 at which the condition is neither in nor out, as well as the 0 score as complete set non-membership (fully out). Using these defined thresholds for each condition, the raw data is then calibrated with help of the Tosmana software. The calibrated scores assigned by the software are the membership scores of each case in the respective condition. Conditions that score above 0.5 (more in than out) are considered present and those scoring below 0.5 (more out than in) are considered absent.

Thresholds are set as informed either by case knowledge, by theory or as becomes apparent through data gaps between cases. For some conditions, following theoretical thresholds is not possible as it would result in a lack of diversity across the cases given that all cases are at the lower end of the income per capita spectrum for instance, or most cases are more in than out of

the set of failed states. The rationale for threshold setting for each condition is detailed in chapter IV for conditions included in the various models.

Following fsQCA good practice laid out by Wagemann & Schneider (2010), the analysis begins with identification of necessary conditions and proceeds with the analysis of sufficient configurations.

The necessity analysis considers both consistency and coverage values. The necessity consistency value represents the number of successful cases that condition is observed in, divided by the total number of successful cases. It is zero, when the condition is never observed in successful cases, and it is one, when the condition is observed in all successful cases, which means the condition is perfectly necessary.

The necessity coverage represents the percentage of successful cases within the group of cases that present the necessary condition, and as such measures the degree of exclusivity with which a condition is necessary for the positive outcome, or in other words, the extent to which it is non-trivial. If this value is low, it can mean the condition is trivial, and as such is equally necessary for success as for absence of the outcome. At 1, the necessity coverage is not only necessary but also sufficient for success, which means that whenever it is observed, the case is always successful (Befani, 2016).

The sufficiency analysis is carried out with fs/qca software in truth table format. It considers raw consistency scores, which indicate the degree to which the set is contained within the outcome, whereby rows with sufficiently high consistency are coded 1, those below this consistency threshold are coded 0 for the outcome, while logical remainder rows are not coded. This consistency threshold indicates the lowest level of consistency that is considered indicative of quasi-sufficient relationship and is usually determined by data gaps, whereby it is attempted to use a minimum threshold of 0.8 considering scores between 0 and 0.75 as substantially inconsistent as recommended by Ragin & Rihoux (2009: n7).

The frequency threshold, which defines the number of cases that need to populate a row in this table for it to be considered in the analysis, is set to 1 since the model is not considered to be a large-n design, which would necessitate a higher threshold (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009). When the frequency is higher in specific sets, this is reported in the output.

The fs/qca software returns three minimisation results, the complex, parsimonious, and intermediate solution, which each make different assumptions about logical remainders. Excluding logical remainders of course leads to the most complex solution, including them leads to the most parsimonious solution as with csQCA. The software provides an option to make three different assumptions, based on theoretical insights or case knowledge, about whether

individual causal conditions should contribute to the outcome when either present, absent, or present or absent (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009).

Given the high number of conditions included in this study, it was found that intermediate solutions while aiming to strike a balance between complexity and parsimony using theoretical assumptions, still leads to rather complex results, which is why in certain cases the parsimonious solution is the preferred output for further analysis, although all three solution formulas are reported in Appendix A following QCA good practice (Wagemann & Schneider, 2010). In case this solution leads to overly simplified results, the intermediate solution results are consulted and presented in the findings.

This minimisation process returns prime implicants, which make up the solution formula. In instances where prime implicants are tied, a decision needs to be made on which prime implicants to keep. It is these minimal formulas, introduced in chapter IV, that serve for the following interpretation of variation in policy across countries.

The various models in chapter IV are presented with complete model specifications, i.e. the outcome tested for and conditions included. The fs/qca output report also lists successful cases covered by the parsimonious or intermediate solution pathways respectively along with their membership scores, as well as seven measures: 1) the frequency cut-off, as in the frequency threshold described above; 2) the consistency cut-off, as in the threshold set in the truth table analysis described above; 3) the raw coverage as the "proportion of outcome cases that are covered by a given term"; 4) the unique coverage as the "proportion of outcome cases that are uniquely covered by a given term" meaning that no other terms cover those cases, 5) the consistency, i.e. set overlap; 6) the solution coverage as in "the proportion of cases that are covered by all the terms", and 7) the solution consistency (Rihoux & De Meur, 2009: 29).

This configurational comparative analysis offers a more in-depth understanding of enabling or restrictive factors informing the theory of change towards the inclusion of refugees in national education systems. Data obtained through research in this first question are then used for the second question.

Research Question 2

The second research question sets out to map the kinds of education services that exist in practice and how these differ across and within countries and to analyse variations across host countries. It is interested in configurations of conditions leading to developmental, i.e. inclusive, education opportunities for refugees, as operationalised through implementation types, and analysed in relation to types of policy approaches adopted across host countries examined under the first question. Of particular interest is the role of the REPI condition, i.e. the policy approach adopted, to see whether developmental policy is necessary for inclusive practice, or whether it can produce inclusive practice in combination with other conditions. As such, the outcome variable from the previous research question, the degree of inclusion in policy (REPI), is here employed as one of the conditions in the model.

The research question is broken down in two parts with RQ 2.1 serving for data generation towards the creation of the typology of refugee education in practice, operationalised through the refugee education implementation (REI) condition, which serves as outcome variable for the QCA carried out under RQ 2.2.

RQ 2.1 What are refugee education implementation pathways?

The four-fold typology framework developed in Figure 4 (chapter II) is the starting point for mapping out refugee education as it is implemented in practice for each case. It is in the following analysis further refined to include considerations on refugees' opportunities to access public schools of the national education system in their host countries, the curriculum they follow, types of certification available to refugees from uncertified local provision to certified host country education system provision, refugees' inclusion in national education statistics, as well as the actors and funding mechanisms supporting refugee education.

A typology is a nominal and multidimensional composite measure representing concepts, which is often used and also effectively employed as independent variables in social science (Babbie, 2012). Creating a typology involves definition of dimensions and their classification into attributes. Dimensions represent concepts and are based on the notion of an "ideal type", a "pure mental construct" of which the relationship to "empirical reality of the immediately given is problematical in every individual case" (Weber, 1949: 103). This means that certain characteristics are emphasised deliberately in the construction of typologies and the types do not necessarily represent empirical reality.

Rather than being explanatory or evaluative, typologies "create useful heuristics and provide a systematic basis for comparison" (Smith, 2002: 381), which allows for easy comparison of types and analysis of similarities and variation between types, as well as analysis of "general qualities inherent in the typology" (Bailey, 1994: 12).

As such, it is important to note that the typology is non-evaluative and does not provide information on the effectiveness of different elements captured, as such it does not consider whether and to what extent refugees actually do access education, i.e. are enrolled, attend regularly or obtain certification at the end of their studies. These are elements addressed under RQ 3.

Given the absence of theory and empirical cross-sectional data, the typology is a prerequisite for creating theory, and necessary as a foundation for further empirical analysis (Bailey, 1994). In order to achieve this, in chapter IV typology construction is combined with the identification of empirical cases for each cell of the typology. To be able to apply types to empirical cases, the types created must be both exhaustive and mutually exclusive, i.e. each case must find its appropriate type and there will be only one correct type for each case (Bailey, 1994: 4).

Three steps are undertaken to operationalise the typology of refugee education in practice which are described in the following, starting from a broad mapping by type of system available and accessible in a first step, to a more detailed mapping that situates countries in a two-dimensional space in the second step, to finally the creation of the implementation condition as one of the conditions for the ensuing QCA.

Data sources for this mapping exercise include primarily UNHCR country reports on 2016 along with reporting on the extent of refugees' inclusion in national education systems (UNHCR, 2017k), operations plans for 2018 (UNHCR, 2017a) and Alternatives to Camps diagnostic tool results from 2015 to 2017 (UNHCR, 2015c, 2016c, 2017b) available for all cases, results of an education survey (UNHCR, 2016d) available for eleven of the cases, as well as Refugee Education Strategies available for 24 of the cases. It was further informed by case knowledge and complemented by additional secondary sources (Dryden-Peterson et al., 2018; Dryden-Peterson, Davison, et al., 2015).

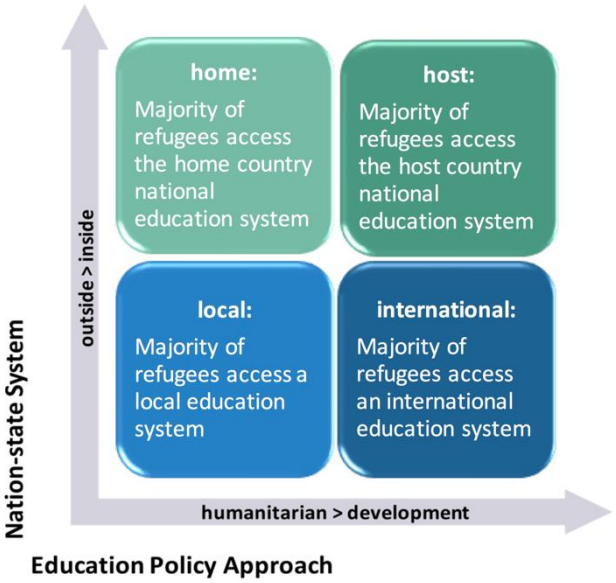
Step 1: Mapping cases within a fourfold typology

In a first step, countries are mapped broadly by the type of education system that is available and accessible to refugees in practice along the lines of the typology developed in Figure 4 (chapter II), which delivers the basic framework. By using two dichotomised dimensions (education policy approach dichotomised into its attributes humanitarian or development, and nation-state system dichotomised into its attributes outside or inside), it creates a fourfold typology with the four types being host (development-inside), home (humanitarian-inside), local (humanitarian-outside), and international (development-outside).

A country is assigned to one of the four types, or boxes, when it was concluded from close reading and triangulation of the mentioned data sources that the majority of refugees access

this type of education system. As indicated, the mapping is carried out regardless of the extent to which refugees are actually enrolled.

Figure 8: Operationalised fourfold typology of systems of education provision and accreditation for refugees



Step 2: Situating cases in the two-dimensional space

In a second step, a more detailed mapping is carried out whereby the two dimensions (education policy approach and nation-state system) are further operationalised as detailed in Table 3 below. The two dimensions are operationalised through six variables, each with four attributes that are coded on a scale from 1 to 4.

The goal of this more detailed mapping is to not only fit countries into one of the four boxes of host, home, local and international, but to situate them more precisely in relation to each other within the two-dimensional space produced by the typology given particular coded values for the six variables. This enables analysis of more fine-grained differences between countries as well as identification of similarities of country groups. Coded values for variables making up the education policy approach dimension are found on the x-axis, and the y-axis represents coded values of the nation-state system dimension.

The education system dimension is operationalised through four variables (Table 3 below): a) the extent to which refugees have access to public schools of the host country national education system varying from none in a typical humanitarian approach to all in a typical developmental approach; b) the extent to which refugees study the national curriculum of the host country system varying from none in a typical humanitarian approach to all in a typical developmental approach; c) the type of actors supporting refugee education varying from entirely humanitarian to national and development actors; and d) the type of funding

mechanisms supporting refugee education varying from exclusively humanitarian funding pots to national and development budgets.

These variables provide information about the type of education system approach that is being pursued at country level contrasting the humanitarian to the developmental approach as earlier defined. While variables a) and b) look at the extent refugees have access to either schools or curriculum, this provides by no means information on actual access levels in terms of enrolment rates, which will be looked at in the following research steps below.

Variables a) and b) might seem similar, however, it is possible in practice that refugees do not have access to schools of the host country system and yet follow the national curriculum, so that a distinction needed to be made. Likewise, variables c) and d) might result in the same response for most countries, however, there might be cases of more development actors involved but still with higher humanitarian funding pots.

The nation-state dimension is operationalised through two variables: e) the extent to which refugees can obtain certification accredited by any nation-state varying from none as completely outside the nation-state system to all as completely in; and f) the extent to which refugees are included in national Education Management Information Systems (EMIS) of any nation-state from none as completely outside the nation-state system to all as completely in. These two variables provide information about the way refugees are imagined as members or non-members of the nation-state system, be that through their inclusion in the host or the home country national monitoring systems or their ability to attain certification that is recognised by any nation-state.

Table 3: Detailed mapping to situate cases in the two-dimensional space

Code	Variables and attributes	Dimension
a)	**Extent to which refugees have access to public schools of the host country national education system (ACC)**	**Education policy approach dimension:** 4: developmental 3: more developmental than humanitarian 2: more humanitarian than developmental 1: humanitarian
4	All refugees have access to national system schools	
3	More than 50% have access to national system schools	
2	Fewer than 50% have access to national system schools	
1	No refugees have access to national system schools	
b)	**Extent to which refugees study national curriculum of host country (CUR)**	
4	All refugees study national curriculum	
3	More than 50% study national curriculum	
2	Fewer than 50% study national curriculum	
1	No refugees study national curriculum	
c)	**Type of actors supporting refugee education (ACT)**	
4	Entirely national and development actors	
3	Mainly national and development with humanitarian	
2	Mainly humanitarian with national and development	
1	Entirely humanitarian actors	
d)	**Type of funding mechanisms supporting refugee education (BUD)**	
4	Entirely national and development budgets	
3	Mainly national and development with humanitarian	
2	Mainly humanitarian with national and development	
1	Entirely humanitarian funding	
e)	**Extent to which refugees can obtain certification recognised by any national education system (CER)**	**Nation-state dimension:** 4: inside nation-state 3: more in than out 2: more out than in 1: outside
4	All refugees can obtain recognised certification	
3	More than 50% can obtain recognised certification	
2	Fewer than 50% can obtain recognised certification	
1	No refugees can obtain recognised certification	
f)	**Extent to which refugees are included in national Education Management Information Systems (EMIS)**	
4	All refugees are included in EMIS with disaggregation	
3	More than 50% are included in EMIS (with or without disaggregation)	
2	Fewer than 50% are included in EMIS (with or without disaggregation)	
1	No refugees are included in EMIS	

Step 3: Creation of implementation type condition

In a third step, the resulting average of the coded values for variables a) to d) are taken as the x-axis value, and the average of e) and f) as the y-axis value to create a scatterplot visualising the distribution of countries in the two-dimensional space. The x- and y-values are then multiplied to create a new unidimensional variable, REI, the refugee education implementation condition, which is transformed into fuzzy scores for use as an outcome in the ensuing QCA. The results of this mapping exercise and calibration of the condition are presented in chapter IV.

The mapping part of this research question aims to provide as broad an overview as possible while giving first insights into correspondence and potential gaps between policy and practice. Discussing the different models of refugee education provision in relation to countries' positions on the humanitarian-development spectrum delivers the necessary data and knowledge for developing an original refugee education typology.

RQ 2.2 To what extent can implementation pathways be explained by policy approaches?

The second part of research question 2 turns to analysis of combinations of conditions that can explain variation between cases in terms of adopting developmental approaches in practice. This analysis is carried out through fsQCA for all 41 cases.

As in the first research question, fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis is employed as the main methodological approach following the same good practice recommendations and steps that were detailed above. The analysis within this second research question aims to examine necessary conditions and sufficient configurations that lead to developmental approaches in practice, i.e. the inclusion of refugees in national education systems. The analysis places a particular focus on establishing the role of policy, i.e. whether REPI, the degree of inclusion in policy, acts as a necessary or sufficient combination for inclusion in national education systems.

In QCA terms, the question is whether the set of cases where REPI is present is a superset of REI, or whether it is contained within the set of cases where REI is present, and if so in combination with what other conditions this might be the case.

The outcome variable from the first research question (REPI) becomes one of the conditions of key interest in the model where data generated in RQ 2.1, i.e. refugee education inclusion (REI), is used as outcome variable. Conditions are transformed into fuzzy-set scores with content-related calibration decisions detailed again in chapter IV.

As in the first research question, an iterative approach is pursued to determining suitable conditions to be included in the QCA models, based on theory and guided by the five hypotheses formulated in chapter II. Conditions employed for the REPI analysis under the first research question serve as a pool of potential explanatory factors, with a few additions made to consider implementation-specific aspects. These additional conditions include RISE as a measure of refugees' socio-economic inclusion in the host country, as well as REFS as a measure of specific targeted humanitarian finance support provided for refugee education.

Refugees' socio-economic integration (RISE) is created by combining the means of two sets of indicators considering refugees' integration in policy and in practice. For one, it looks at the mean of three indicators: the extent to which socio-economic integration has been achieved, the extent to which local communities support the presence of refugees, and the extent to which

refugees have access to work (UNHCR, 2017k). Secondly, it considers the mean of coded responses from a recent survey on questions relating to refugees' freedom of movement, access to banking services and loans, freedom to choose the place of residence, access to rent or own land, and whether refugees' right to work is upheld in practice (UNHCR, 2017b). Missing values are estimated through the analysis of qualitative information as well as by comparison with similar context values with the help of case knowledge.

In line with the hypotheses formulated, it is assumed that the higher refugees' socio-economic integration, the higher will be host states' interests in including refugees in national education systems, so that RISE is expected to emerge in sufficient combinations producing the REI outcome.

Additional financial support targeted specifically at refugee education (REFS) is estimated by calculating the five-year average of UNHCR budget support to refugee education per school-age refugee (UNHCR, 2017j). It is dichotomised and coded 1 when this value is greater than 40 USD per child, and 0 if it is lower. Based on the theory of change, it is assumed that REFS can be part of sufficient combinations producing inclusion in national systems making up for lacking internal education capacity. The condition has clear limitations in that it only considers funding from UNHCR without being able to account for other humanitarian, but also developmental support for which disaggregated data is not readily available.

Analysis under this research question adds a further layer towards gaining a more in-depth understanding of the current state of refugees' inclusion in practice in national education systems in relation to policies adopted across major refugee hosting countries in taking the theory of change forward. This knowledge and data is needed as a baseline against which to measure future progress, to highlight and learn from existing successful policies and implementation models, to design successful policies and act more strategically based on highlighted gaps and system support needs.

Research Question 3

In building on research carried out under the first two questions, this final question aims to distil under what conditions developmental approaches might have certain positive or negative effects on refugees' education access outcomes. Operationalising education access outcomes through net enrolment rates in a first research step, the analysis looks at these in relation to the degree of inclusion in national policy and the type of implementation approach used. The qualitative comparative analysis for 41 cases is complemented by a closer look at four cases.

RQ 3.1 What are education access outcomes for refugees?

While the previous steps under the second research question were focused on creating a typology of different systems of refugee education, this is now the step where refugees' actual access to these systems comes into play.

As an outcome measure for successful implementation, enrolment rates of refugees in primary and secondary education are used. Net and Gross Enrolment Rates (NER and GER) are commonly accepted as measures of access coverage and system capacity respectively (UIS, 2009). The NER for refugees in 2016 (Refugee NER – RNER) disaggregated by country of asylum is used as outcome condition for this research step. It is further split into the primary school and secondary school refugee NER throughout the course of the analysis (RPNER and RSNER).

To compile net enrolments for refugees across 41 country cases, it is important to highlight that there is no central repository or harmonised approach to collecting global refugee education data. As further discussed in chapter IV, refugee education data presents a patchwork of different elements stored in different formats within various entities from the school level, to implementing NGOs, UN agencies and up to ministries of education, although in the case of the latter, usually no disaggregation levels exist that would allow for the analysis of refugee-specific education data.

The compilation of refugee enrolments thus implies a mapping of available data across the 41 cases. Besides review and analysis of indicator reporting on refugee net enrolments in primary and secondary education (UNHCR, 2017k) which is available for all cases complemented by the results of an education survey (UNHCR, 2016d) available for eleven of the cases, as well as specific reporting from countries where refugees are included in national EMIS, the creation of the outcome variables implies the assessment of data quality for each of the data elements provided and their triangulation with secondary sources. This was carried out as part of work with UNHCR in 2017 leading to the publication of global refugee enrolment data (UNHCR, 2017d) which facilitated the process of receiving data upon email requests addressed directly to field-based education focal points.

The net enrolment rate measures the number of enrolled students who are of the correct age group against the number of all children of that age group. Unlike the gross enrolment rate, it does thus not measure all enrolled students regardless of age against the number of all children of that age group (UIS, 2009). Gross and net enrolment rates can differ significantly especially in refugee contexts due to late enrolments and a usually high proportion of over-age students who might have missed out on years of schooling. The net enrolment is the appropriate measure to assess education system coverage and out-of-school children.

With education systems differing across countries, entry age and the duration of primary and secondary school cycles vary so that a global application of 'correct age group' is not possible, but rather needs to be applied country by country. Age disaggregated data for refugee populations however, is not consistently available for all refugee-hosting countries. For the 41 cases, age-related data was available only for 68% of all refugees in 2016. What is available throughout are estimations of the proportion of five to 17-year-old children amongst a given refugee population, which is the best-available proxy measure used where such data are not available.

For cases where age-disaggregated population data is available by individual years, the exact primary and secondary school age ranges depending on countries' education systems can be applied to calculate the base population for the denominator. Where population data is available only by pre-defined age ranges, the range 5-11 years is used as proxy for the primary base population, and the range 12-17 years is used for the secondary base population. In cases where no age-disaggregated refugee population data exists, global averages for shares of these two age ranges (22% for 5-11, and 15% for 12-17 year olds) need to be applied (UNHCR, 2017g). These are limitations that affect the quality and exactitude of enrolment data. Taken together with the overall refugee education data challenges that are discussed in chapter IV, it becomes clear that the data need to be interpreted with caution.

All enrolment-related data were compiled by refugee population group, by host country, and disaggregated by primary and secondary school, and where available also by sex. Data for the denominator (i.e. the number of all children of the relevant age group) were triangulated with refugee population demographic data (UNHCR, 2017g) to assess data coverage against the entire population as one of the data quality assessment and robustness checks. Another check involved comparison with data submitted in previous years relative to the evolution of the refugee population, comparison against national-level enrolment rates for the host country, and cross-referencing with narrative reporting (UNHCR, 2017k). In case of doubts or inconsistencies, these were addressed through email follow-up with field-level focal points.

The compilation of refugee enrolment data for 41 countries (presented in chapter IV) is a first-of-its-kind exercise, and as such, it is hoped for it to offer a useful contribution to the field of

refugee education and global education statistics more broadly, especially in the framework of monitoring SDG4 where the lack of such data has been lamented (UIS, 2016).

RQ 3.2 Under what conditions can developmental approaches produce better access outcomes?

The second part of this research question is addressed through fsQCA following steps outlined for the two previous questions and complemented by a closer look at four of the cases.

QCA

Employing conditions from the previous models, again with a particular focus on the degree of inclusion, fsQCA analysis is carried out with refugee education access (RNER) as the outcome variable. The analysis aims to establish whether and to what extent policy and practice act as sufficient conditions for higher enrolments in line with the ToC. The analysis explores trends along the humanitarian-development spectrum considering different implementation models and contextual factors.

The hypotheses developed in chapter II on refugees' enrolment in education relate to demand- and supply-side factors which were conceptualised with the help of a 5-A framework including availability, accessibility, adaptability on the supply-side, and acceptability and affordability on the demand-side (Figure 6, chapter II). While the review of literature points to demand-side factors at the household-level as being most significant, this analysis is restricted to the national level, so that these cannot be considered here. The availability of data on refugee populations in general, and in particular at household-level, is a challenge in exploring configurations of conditions that produce the RNER outcome.

Refugees' socio-economic status varies greatly within and across host countries not only depending on the particular policy context and environmental factors between different locations and settings such as camps, rural or urban environments, but also depend on refugees' nationality, their pre-flight socio-economic conditions and education background, their length of displacement and the time of their arrival in the host country, as well as potential solution scenarios that apply in their particular contexts. All these factors shape and define the internal and external value of education and as such influence the demand for education, and thus enrolments.

As such, an analysis with national-level data has its limitations, but has benefits for cross-country comparison. It is thus complemented by the case study model detailed below.

The conditions included in the cross-country QCA model are informed by theory and based on the hypotheses formulated. As such, they focus both on demand- and supply-side factors and also include a number of contextual factors. Some of the conditions from the first research

question are employed including the refugee protection environment (RPE), the education-related socio-economic capacity of the host country (CSED), the economic capacity to host refugees (RCAP), the refugee hosting context (LOC), as well as REPI and REI. Conditions created for this research question are listed in Table 4 and presented further below.

Table 4: Operationalisation of potential explanatory factors for RNER outcome

Dimensions		*Conditions*	
Demand-side factors	*Affordability*	•*Refugee socio-economic capacity*	*RCSE*
		•*Refugee socio-economic integration*	*RISE*
		•*Refugee protection environment*	*RPE*
	Acceptability	•*Curriculum*	*CUR*
		•*Community education level*	*EDI*
Supply-side factors	*Availability*	•*Education system capacity*	*CSED*
		•*Capacity to host refugees*	*RCAP*
		•*Certification*	*CER*
		•*Degree of external financial support*	*REFS*
	Accessibility	•*Refugee hosting context*	*LOC*
		•*Documentation requirements*	*DOC*
	Adaptability	•*Refugee Education Policy Inclusion Index*	*REPI*
		•*Refugee Education Inclusion*	*REI*
Contextual factors		•*Refugees per inhabitants*	*REFI*
		•*Degree of development*	*HDI*

Two of these conditions are subcomponents of the REI condition, CUR and CER. Curriculum (CUR) refers to the extent to which refugees study the national curriculum of the host country, and certification (CER) to the extent to which refugees can obtain certification recognised by any nation-state as detailed in Table 3 above. Both conditions are coded from 1 to 4, from humanitarian to developmental.

The RCSE condition is created based on close reading of narrative year-end reports and analysis of related indicators (UNHCR, 2016i, 2017k). Due to limited data quality and inconsistency in data availability across cases as well as lack of comparability with data from previous years, it is not possible to adequately estimate refugees' socio-economic capacity, so that the condition is created as a binary variable where 0 refers to relatively lower capacity and 1 to relatively higher capacity within the set of 41 cases.

Parents' educational level is challenging to estimate without household-level data. The EDI condition is used as reference for the educational context of the host country. It is an average of mean years of schooling (of adults) and expected years of schooling (of children), both expressed as an index obtained by scaling with the corresponding maxima (UNDP, 2017). Since it refers to

national-level host country data, it is by no means representative of the refugee population and can only be used for reference to the host country context.

Representing the accessibility dimension, the DOC condition defines whether refugees' access is in practice facilitated respecting their particular situation and accounting for the fact that they might not be able to produce birth certificates. By close-reading of narrative reports and survey data (UNHCR, 2016i, 2017b, 2017k), more favourable accessibility arrangements are coded 1, less favourable ones 0.

The DOC and LOC conditions representing the accessibility dimension are challenging to employ in the cross-country QCA as more detailed field-level data would be required for a meaningful analysis given great variation at school level on documentation requirements and specificities of camps or self-settled locations in terms of distance to schools. This highlights limitations of national-level data and the need for a within-case analysis.

Within-case analysis

Due to limitations with national-level data in the fsQCA, a case study design is incorporated to further isolate configurations of favourable and restricting conditions for refugees' education outcomes in relation to their degree of inclusion in national education systems. Adopting the Capability Approach as outlined in chapter II, the analysis here aims at distilling contextual and conversion factors to establish under what conditions policy and practice approaches can work favourably towards the building of capabilities and their conversion into achieved functionings.

Within-case analysis is carried out after cross-case QCA as a means to corroborate or challenge more macro-level findings at a more disaggregated level. If within-case observations are found to be broadly consistent with solution formulas from the QCA, this can support the overall approach and findings of this study (Mahoney, 2000) while at the same time offering more case-specific insights on contextual conditions. Case studies are particularly useful for understanding and explaining how context and historical changes influence outcomes and how better to tailor interventions to specific context to achieve intended outcomes (Goodrick, 2014).

One case from each of the quadrants in Figure 18 (chapter IV.3) are selected to include two cases from either end of the humanitarian-development policy spectrum, each with differing implementation paths and RNER outcomes to look into the sub-national level and consider different refugee population groups and settings. This means that cases are purposively selected to illustrate useful variation on the dimensions of theoretical interest (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). The cases at the humanitarian end, Malaysia (which emerges as a classic humanitarian case) and Tanzania (a humanitarian case with diversity in refugee population groups and

relatively higher education access rates), are analysed next to Chad and Zambia at the development end with relatively lower and higher enrolments respectively.

Case selection does therefore not strictly follow set-theoretic multimethod research, or post-QCA case selection methodology on how differences in established fuzzy-set membership degrees can be used for case selection (Schneider & Rohlfing, 2013), or ideal typical case and ideal deviant case consistency methodology introduced by Schneider and Rohlfing (2016), where the best typical case would be the one furthest to the right and closest to the diagonal line. In the case of the X-Y plot in Figure 18 (chapter IV.3) this would be Armenia.

Rather, purposeful selection is informed by overall QCA findings, insights on all three research questions and, importantly, case knowledge. With a more complex refugee hosting history and more variation in its refugee population and protection environment, Zambia was deemed a more interesting case for in-depth analysis following the Capability Approach, than Armenia even if it is slightly more to the left on the diagonal line. Similar case knowledge-based considerations informed the selection of Malaysia over Thailand, and Chad over Burkina Faso as typical deviant case.

The relative scarcity of data and information on refugee education across the cases also serves as a limitation for case selection, meaning that two cases that would have been more representative of the upper-left quadrant, Burundi and Mauritania needed to be discarded selecting instead the case of Tanzania further below.

While the combination of QCA with follow-up case studies is becoming “more and more common in empirical research”, the “discussion about how to perform post-QCA case studies is still in its infancy” (Schneider & Rohlfing, 2016: 527; 557). Since there are thus few definitive guidelines about how to conduct within-case analysis (Mills et al., 2010), the Capability Approach serves as a guiding framework for the case study looking at inputs and resources as well as opportunities for conversion. Besides looking into historical and context-specific factors, variables for the case study include access, quality and equity considerations on education structured along inputs and resources, capabilities and achieved functionings (see Figure 5, chapter II). Data sources include primary data from this study as well as secondary data including education programme reports, country-specific literature and policy documents.

At the level of inputs and resources, this means looking at learning conditions in general, the degree of inclusion in practice, stakeholder engagement and budgetary provisions. At the level of capabilities, the case study looks at qualification of teaching personnel, the capacity of the education system, and considers attendance, performance and transition rates to gauge the opportunity set refugees have for conversion into functionings.

At the level of achieved functionings, specific programmatic support mechanisms available for refugees such as language training or fee waivers are considered, as well as refugee-specific barriers such as documentation requirements including birth certificates or certificates of prior learning. At this level, future prospects in terms of solution scenarios are taken into the analysis to gauge opportunities towards self-reliance given the particular protection environment and capability sets available.

While this case study methodology alone does not capture the wide range of context-specific realities of refugee education, in combination with the previous QCA analyses, it can contribute more in-depth understanding of particular contexts that facilitate future theory-building. It needs to be clarified that even with the additional case study design, this study remains very much at the macro-level and will not be able to incorporate further qualitative research elements, anthropological field work or interviews with refugees and their host communities, however, the researcher's field experience feeds into the body of case knowledge for the qualitative comparative analyses.

Opportunities exist to link this macro-level research with the more micro-level studies being carried out on refugee education (Dryden-Peterson et al., 2017; Mendenhall et al., 2017a; PRIO, 2018), which amongst others aim to identify relevant factors in individual refugee children's retention and learning outcomes. At the other end of the spectrum, the study can link in with research adopting a cross-sectoral approach beyond education establishing a baseline of host country performance for the 2018 Global Compact on Refugees through a planned Refugee Response Index (DARA, 2017).

While the study undoubtedly is further limited by the availability of good quality data on refugee education, it is hoped that it will not only contribute such data, but thereby also draw attention to this important gap and instigate more work on better quality data and provide a model for future comparative configurational research, so far little employed in researching refugee policies in LMIC, once these data are available.

Chapter IV
Refugee education in policy and practice

The discussion of research findings is structured along the three research questions presented in the previous chapter. Part 1 presents findings at the policy level in relation to the first research question which includes the presentation of the Refugee Education Policy Inclusion Index (REPI^2) and an analysis into explanatory factors for variation in countries' policy contexts. The second research question is discussed in part 2 looking at the level of implementation, which includes the presentation and analysis of the applied typology for refugee education. Levels of and variation in refugees' access to education are discussed in part 3 responding to the third research question.

1. Developmental approaches in refugee education policy

As outlined in chapter I, a clear shift has occurred at global policy level towards the adoption of developmental approaches in refugee education entailing inclusion of refugee learners in national host country education systems, instead of setting up parallel humanitarian systems of education provision. The theory of change framing this policy shift has a well-defined end goal, that of improved education accessibility and quality and ensuing self-reliance outcomes for refugees and their hosts. However, it was found to be lacking a clear baseline understanding on current refugee education policy at national level and variations across LMIC that would support this global level policy shift.

While global refugee education policy has been articulated through the ToC, it is less clear what national-level refugee education policy looks like, whether and how global policy is domesticated and adapted to varying contexts. Since national education policies have been found to be increasingly shaped by a wide range of international actors with diverse political agendas and differing geo-political interests (Buckner et al., 2017; Novelli et al., 2014), and poorer countries in particular adopt internationally promoted policy as a "condition for receiving aid" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016: 383), a basic assumption is for empirical findings to uncover widespread policy conformity and compliance.

This first part of chapter IV explores refugee education policy across 41 low- and middle-income refugee host countries in answering the first research question that aims to establish to what extent developmental approaches in refugee education have been adopted at national policy level, and what explains variation across host countries. The research interest lies in first of all establishing to what degree the global policy push towards developmental approaches in refugee education has been translated into national policy in the form of clear commitments

towards refugees' inclusion in national education systems and development planning frameworks. Secondly, this question is interested in explanatory factors that enable or inhibit refugees' inclusion in national systems at the level of written policy across the 41 cases. As such, empirical research here focuses on analytical instead of normative questions on the reception and translation of policy (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016).

To do this, the following outline and approach are adopted. Firstly, refugee education policy at national level is analysed through coding of written policy texts in relation to the extent to which refugees are explicitly or implicitly included in or excluded from national development planning. The coding adopts definitions of humanitarian and development approaches to refugee education as presented in chapter I, whereby the former is short-sighted and often implemented in parallel systems promoting education as a right and a tool for protection, and the latter goes beyond access to prioritise quality education taking a long-term view towards institution- and capacity-building to enable the absorption of incoming learners linked to broader development goals (Dryden-Peterson, 2016a). Coding of policy documents then leads to the creation and discussion of the Refugee Education Policy Inclusion Index (REPI^2).

In a second step, the degree of inclusion is compared across the 41 cases in an effort to uncover and understand combinations of explanatory factors for different inclusion outcomes, both as shared determining factors enabling successful inclusion and as factors limiting inclusion. The analysis here adopts Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) as outlined in chapter III. This enables empirical testing of five hypotheses which were developed based on theoretical considerations informed by the literature review in chapter II (referenced in Appendix B).

Finally, conclusions on the extent to which developmental approaches in refugee education have been adopted at national level and variations across countries are drawn which enable a more critical discussion of the underlying assumptions of the theory of change.

1.1 To what extent have developmental approaches in refugee education been adopted at national policy level?

The chosen path towards assessing the extent to which developmental approaches in refugee education have been adopted at national level, is through a review of written policy. National development policy documents are analysed to gauge if and how refugee education is envisioned, coordinated and prioritised as part of national development. Do national development plans incorporate concerns for refugees' access to education, and how are these concerns addressed? Do national education plans in turn make reference to refugees and their specific educational backgrounds and needs? These are the guiding questions for the policy document analysis that is to lead to the creation of a policy inclusion index.

Policy, following Soroos (1990), was theoretically understood as problem-solving efforts, whereby the problem in this case relates to refugees' lack of access to education and continued dependency on aid. Without any doubt, written policy plans offer only one part of the story, as they are often visionary in scope and might fail at the implementation stage for lack of ability to enact the policy, not least due to limited funding, but also for reasons of differing interpretation across actors and their intentions (Ball, 1994). It needs to be considered also that policy narratives might "not fully reflect real intentions" leaving a discursive gap in addition to an implementation and efficacy gap (Czaika & De Haas, 2013: 493). Buckner et al. indeed remind us that "some degree of policy-practice gap is expected" (2017: 6). However, as Winthrop and Matsui point out, it is "much more likely that education issues will be prioritised and funded if they are clearly articulated in a country's national education plan than if they are not" (2013: 35).

The review of such plans is thus the first step to uncovering the broader picture on the adoption of developmental approaches towards refugees' inclusion in national education systems. Part 2 of this chapter will then follow on from these insights into policy with an analysis of practice.

To base the ensuing cross-country analysis into variations of policy approaches in refugee education on a more solid fundament, the most suitable methodological approach was found to be through a systematic identification and compilation of key policy documents, their review, assessment and coding with subsequent generation of the REPI^2. The following sections outline the results of the index generation exercise starting from the compilation of documents in a policy database, review and index generation, followed by an interpretation of the results that then serves for further analysis into variation between countries.

1.1.1 Compiling policy

As outlined in chapter III, the REPI^2 is generated through systematic coding of documents included in a policy database. The first step is thus the compilation of policy. This database includes United Nations Development Assistance Frameworks (UNDAF), National Development Plans (NDP) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), as well as Education Sector Plans (ESP) which were identified as the key policy documents generally available across countries that can provide a comparable base of how development paths, with view also to the education sector, are envisioned and defined. Since it is the degree of inclusion of refugees in broader national development policy documents that is to be examined, the database only focuses on these generic policy documents as opposed to also considering refugee-specific policy that might exist outside of national frameworks.

The UNDAF is a strategic, medium-term results framework that describes the collective vision and response of the UN system to national development priorities and results on the basis of normative programming principles (UNDG, 2017a). As such, it can be interpreted more strongly as the UN's vision of the country's development path, than necessarily the government's vision. However, with the UN acting within the territory and jurisdiction of this government, it needs to be assumed that it would not include policies that go against its vision either. UNDAFs were found for all but one country, Malaysia. All of the included UNDAFs date from between 2011 and 2017, and are generally the most up-to-date development planning document across the countries under review.

National Development Plans were identified for 38 out of the 41 countries. There is generally no uniform approach to the conceptualisation of these plans and there are various forms and shapes of NDPs depending largely on the socio-political context. Some countries lay out their development plan in a long-term 20 or 25-year vision document, such as Jordan for instance, other countries, such as Nepal, review their development plans every five years. The vast majority, 32 of the 38 development plans included in the policy database were adopted between 2012 and 2017, the oldest (from Rwanda) dates back to 2000. In contrast to the UNDAF, national plans offer a cruder view of the government's development vision.

For 30 out of the 41 countries, PRSPs were identified, resulting in the lowest coverage. The papers describe the country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies over a three-year or longer horizon to promote broad-based growth and reduce poverty, as well as highlight associated financing needs. PRSPs are prepared by countries through a participatory process involving not only national stakeholders but also development partners (IMF, 2017b). As these documents are a requirement for LMIC to receive aid or loans from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, it must be expected that these can be drafted with the international community's objectives and conditions in mind. PRSPs are generally the oldest documents within the policy database, three quarters of the papers were adopted between 2003 and 2011, seven papers were adopted within the past five years.

A challenge relating to labelling of NDPs and PRSPs was encountered where some online databases stored the same document as being the national development plan, and another as being the poverty reduction strategy paper. In such cases, the document was included in the database as the NDP only.

Education Sector Plans were found for all but two countries, Algeria and Armenia. Since the adoption of the Education for All goals in 2000, the development of ESPs has become a priority in many countries. ESPs "present the policies and strategies for national education reform" (IIEP & GPE, 2015: 7). Since they offer a channel for countries to communicate their educational

achievements, sectoral needs and gaps to the international community, i.e. potential donors, these too must be read in the context of latent alignment with global policy priorities.

In recent years, many LMIC have received specific support towards the elaboration of ESPs through the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) who has become vocal in supporting the inclusion of refugees in national ESPs upon signature of a Memorandum of Understanding with UNHCR (UNHCR & GPE, 2016). According to IIEP, "educational planning for displaced populations can assist governments of countries hosting large numbers of refugees to secure short to long-term funding for education provision, and greatly facilitate coordination between stakeholders" (2018: 6). It would thus be expected, especially for the most recent ESPs to make reference to refugees and to move towards the adoption of developmental approaches in refugee education.

In total, 147 documents were included in the policy database while 17 could not be identified. The aim was to identify the most recent iterations of these policy documents. More than 70% of documents in the database were adopted within the last five years (between 2012 and 2017). Less than 8% of documents are older than ten years, and these include long-term vision documents as national development plans, such as Rwanda's Vision 2020 adopted in the year 2000.

As highlighted, given LMICs' dependence on external financing in the form of loans or aid, the expectation at the outset is that even countries with more restrictive legal frameworks might want to adopt more progressive policy texts across these documents to respond to donors' requests. This calls for a critical analysis of potential 'discursive gaps' (Czaika & De Haas, 2013). Following methodological approaches outlined in chapter III, documents compiled in the policy database are analysed through a three-step process that involves firstly a key word search, secondly qualitative analysis through close reading of relevant sections, and thirdly coding of documents by degree of refugee inclusion along a six-point coding scale from -1 to 4 with subsequent application of coefficients that serve to calculate the index.

1.1.2 Analysing policy

The key word search leads to positive results for 64 of the 147 policy documents included in the database (44%). These results show, unsurprisingly so, that amongst the four document types UNDAFs are most likely to make reference to refugees with 27 out of the 40 documents (68%) doing so. This is unsurprising because UNDAFs are jointly developed by all agencies making up the UN country team, which includes UNHCR, along with government stakeholders. Only about a third of the reviewed NDPs, PRSPs and ESPs make reference to refugees. Amongst the 38 NDPs analysed, 13 yielded key word search results (34%), as did 10 out of 30 PRSPs (33%), and 14 out

of 39 ESPs (36%). The results are presented in Table 5 further below where all policy documents are referenced through hyperlinks.

The share of plans including refugees seems low for these latter documents, although in the case of PRSPs the proportion is slightly improved in comparison to an earlier study which found refugees included in only two out of twenty PRSPs for refugee hosting countries (UNHCR, 2004). While the proportion of PRSPs including refugees remains lower than anticipated by UNHCR's efforts resulting from this study, and its subsequent agreement with the World Bank to make the papers more displacement-sensitive (Betts, 2009b), the results provide for some interesting case insights.

One of these two PRSPs that was part of the earlier study concerns Armenia, a country also included in this study. This case proves that explicit inclusion is highly contextual and not consistent throughout different iterations of such policy documents. The 2008 iteration considered in the policy database does not make any reference to refugees unlike its 2003 iteration. This might be linked to the fact that the bulk of refugees from Azerbaijan had returned in the meantime, and overall refugee numbers in Armenia had dropped from more than 200,000 to around 4,000 in the five-year period (UNHCR, 2017g). This example highlights the importance of issue visibility, or the existence of a 'problem', which was discussed in chapter II, i.e. this refers to refugee population numbers as a potential necessary condition which needs to be tested by the ensuing QCA.

This impression is further substantiated when looking at key word search results across the 41 cases. Jordan is the only case that yielded key word search results for all four policy documents included in the database. Six countries have three policy documents with mentions of any of the key words (Cameroon, Chad, Djibouti, Pakistan, Sudan, and Uganda). Sixteen cases mention key words in two policy documents, ten cases in only one document, and eight country cases' policy documents do not mention any of the key words (Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Guinea Bissau, Malaysia, Mauritania, Nepal, Senegal). What becomes apparent with the help of case knowledge is that policy documents in countries with higher relative refugee numbers seem to have higher probability to mention key words.

Another insight that emerges and merits further investigation through QCA below, relates to the time dimension. As would be expected, basing the analysis on the assumption that global policy is influential in defining national policy (Buckner et al., 2017), the year of policy adoption seems to be significant. Only around a quarter of documents adopted between 2000 and 2010 include a mention of refugees, whereas half of documents adopted between 2011 and 2017 do so. On average Education Sector Plans with a mention of key words are two years younger (2014) than those without mention (2012), this would coincide with formulation of global refugee education policy towards inclusion of refugees in national systems. However, the database nonetheless

includes 16 ESPs adopted between 2012 and 2017 that do not make mention of refugee-related key words, so that a clear link cannot readily be established. Case knowledge however shows that these recent ESPs are for countries with relatively low numbers of refugees, while all ESPs for countries with relatively high refugee numbers indeed yield positive key word search results irrespective of their age, which is a further indication for the importance of issue visibility for policy agenda setting.

In a second step, a more qualitative analysis of the key word search results provides further insights to understand of what nature the mentions of key words are and in what context they are made. Close reading of relevant text sections containing the identified key words is carried out with the aim to ensure a systematic and fair allocation of codes. Reading and analysis occur in a first round in country clusters, in a second round by policy document type clusters, and finally in a third round – to cross-check and validate coding – text sections are re-read in clusters of the same code categories and same document types. Findings are triangulated with results of a recent survey that included a question on refugees' inclusion in national and local development plans (UNHCR, 2017b), while case knowledge also helps validate assigned inclusion scores.

Close reading of documents leads to the general impression that concerned sections largely serve to state the presence of refugees or to judge this presence as having negative impacts on development prospects, rather than state the intention to include refugees in national development visions and planning. The systematic coding exercise confirms these first impressions. The following sections illustrate how code values are allocated while providing an insight into variation between the cases that become apparent through this qualitative analysis.

Codes ranging from 0 to 4 are assigned to policy documents, whereby 4 is the highest code value denoting a high level of inclusion with a clear link between humanitarian and development approaches. The -1-code-value denoting explicit exclusion was not applied to any of the reviewed policy documents indicating that countries refrain from making such outright statements in their policy texts, as would be expected.

The majority of documents (83 of the 147 documents, or 56%) are coded in the 0 category for falling short of mentioning refugees. Many of these instead focus only on rural-urban migration, labour migration, or internal displacement. This goes in particular for policy documents other than UNDAFs from such countries as Armenia, Bangladesh, Egypt, The Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Nepal, Senegal, Tanzania, Togo. There are however differences that can be observed across the different policy documents within these countries. In Bangladesh, Egypt, Rwanda and Tanzania for instance, the UNDAFs are clearly inclusive of refugees stating developmental approaches also for education, whereas national policy documents do not reflect this same spirit remaining

limited to rural-urban migration, as well as disaster and climate-induced internal displacement in the case of Bangladesh.

Fragile refugee-producing countries such as Afghanistan, Burundi, Central African Republic, or South Sudan focus on internal displacement as well as returning refugees which make up more substantial numbers, without making much reference to refugees living within their own national territories. While nationals of these countries have been hosted in neighbouring countries, in many cases for decades, their own nation-building efforts leave little space for refugees. Afghanistan for instance is host to around 45,000 school-age refugees originating from Pakistan, which in turn has been hosting more than half a million school-age Afghan refugees (UNHCR, 2017g). The Afghan NDP, while not being explicitly exclusive of refugees, does not offer a sufficiently inclusive policy framework when it refers to investing in the "education of our people" (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2017: 3). Its ESP makes a number of provisions to ensure the inclusion of returning Afghan refugees and supporting Afghan-run schools in neighbouring host countries.

A code of 1 is applied to 18 documents where refugees are mentioned but the policy text gives no indication of whether they are either excluded or included, so that government responsibility levels remain unclear, and a predominantly humanitarian approach is assumed. The Democratic Republic of the Congo's RPSP for instance refers briefly to the presence of refugees, but does not link it to any policy implications or responsibilities, and is thus coded 1.

Minimum inclusion of refugees in national services as clearly distinct groups from nationals are allocated a code of 2, where weak links between humanitarian and developmental approaches might exist. An example from amongst the 19 documents with this code is Chad's NDP which refers to the development of humanitarian response plans to support refugees, which however have not received the required funding for their implementation.

Where refugees are more strongly included, but still at levels unequal to nationals and with limited government responsibility-taking in an emerging link between humanitarian and developmental approaches, a code value of 3 is applied. Niger's UNDAF is one of the 21 documents in this code category as it envisions to refine targeting mechanisms for the benefit of vulnerable groups, including refugees, and to enhance synergies between emergency response, early recovery and development, and to strengthen capacities at community level. Likewise, in the code value 3 category, Uganda's NDP aims to enhance national response capacity with regard to refugees and to implement programmes for refugees and refugee hosting areas. Its UNDAF underscores the need to "bridge the gap between humanitarian and development" (UN, 2016c: 1). Yemen's UNDAF was developed cognisant of the "interface between humanitarian and development assistance" (UN, 2011: 4).

At the upper end of the spectrum, a code value of 4 is applied to six documents showing high inclusion levels by clearly mainstreaming refugees into development planning as equal to nationals with full government responsibility-taking – with support from development actors – so that a clear link between humanitarian and developmental approaches can be observed. Zambia's PRSP highlights the role of the Ministry of Home Affairs in mainstreaming refugees in national and regional development policies. Rwanda's UNDAF foresees integration of refugee data in national information management systems as a clear link between humanitarian and developmental activities that ensures refugees' visibility, and thus enables national planning to be inclusive of refugees.

Throughout the analysis, it became apparent that different qualifying values are attached to the refugee group across countries and documents regardless of the type of approach pursued. As detailed in chapter III, this is reflected in the inclusion index through the coefficient α (0.75, 1 or 1.25). While the vast majority of documents were coded in the neutral category either for not making qualifying statements about refugees or for negative and positive holding the balance, a tenth of documents were coded 0.75 denoting an overall negative connotation of refugees as burdens or challenges.

Jordan's NDP for instance makes clear that the Syrian refugee crisis "poses a burden on Jordanian citizens and the national economy" and points out that "due to the pressures placed on Jordan" other "countries have been able to achieve larger gains in health and education outcomes than those achieved in Jordan" (Kingdom of Jordan, 2014: 10; 22). In Iraq, the influx of refugees due to the conflict in Syria is "increasing national vulnerabilities and threatening stability" and is "putting pressure on already limited education infrastructure" (UN, 2014: 10). In Kenya, the refugee influx has been "taking a heavy toll on gains Kenya has made in the education sector" (Republic of Kenya, 2014: 62). In Pakistan, the "large-scale influx of refugees" has contributed to "mushroom growth of slums" and to a "number of health and security hazards" (IMF, 2010: 253) and in Sudan, the influx of refugees "has threatened the social fabric" (Republic of the Sudan, 2012: 20).

Across ten countries with overall negative connotations of refugees, some connect the presence of refugees to instability and violence, such as Liberia's NDP. Other countries, such as Djibouti, point to the negative environmental impact of refugees, while also stating that the national "job crisis is exacerbated by the importance of refugees on Djibouti soil" (Republic of Djibouti, 2015: 38). Some documents, such as Togo's NDP or the Central African Republic's UNDAF only refer to refugees in sections relating to HIV suggesting that refugees are high-risk groups listing them besides sex workers, truckers, prisoners, homosexuals and drug users at whom prevention programmes should be targeted.

A common practice across 15 of the countries is to subsume refugees under vulnerable groups, which, depending on country contexts, also include the poor, rural populations, women, youth, the elderly, persons with disabilities, persons living with life threatening communicable or non-communicable diseases, ethnic and religious minorities. Cameroon's ESP subsumes refugees under minorities besides specific ethnic groups and handicapped children. While this might not be the most adequate and sensitive approach, and certainly not one that would be conducive towards developmental approaches, this was not weighted in the coefficient as it was not found to be a qualifying element in the text sections, but rather one that is used to attract attention to specific needs of the vulnerable or minorities.

Strikingly, however, there is no single example of a corresponding opposite of the portrayal of refugees as vulnerable. None of the documents has an utterly positive outlook on refugees as opportunities for, or contributors to development. Nonetheless, two documents were coded 1.25 for having an overall more positive perspective on migration with reference to refugees. These include South Africa's UNDAF referring to migration's "constructive role in development" while highlighting the challenges and risks migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers face (UN, 2012: 11), and Papua New Guinea's NDP which states that its "economic prospects and demographic trends make migration a necessity and a key factor of future development" and calls for "clear and effective policies, legislation, organisational structures and funding" and for this framework to "also provide for the protection of refugees" (Government of Papua New Guinea, 2010: 120).

Table 5: Interactive coded policy database[10]

Case	UNDAF	U code	NDP	N code	PRSP	P code	ESP	E code
AFG	2015	0.10	2017	0.10	2008	0.10	2017	0.10
DZA	2016	0.10	2014	0.10		0.00		0.00
ARM	2016	3.00	2014	0.10	2008	0.10		0.00
BGD	2017	2.00	2016	0.10	2011	2.00	2015	0.10
BFA	2011	0.10	2016	0.10	2004	2.00	2012	1.00
BDI	2012	0.10	2012	0.10	2006	0.10	2012	0.10
CMR	2013	3.00	2010	1.00		0.00	2013	3.00
CAF	2012	0.75	2017	1.00	2008	0.10	2013	0.10
TCD	2017	4.00	2017	1.50	2008	3.00	2013	0.10
COG	2014	0.10	2012	1.00		0.00	2015	3.00
COD	2013	0.10		0.00	2011	1.00	2016	3.00
DJI	2013	2.25	2015	0.75	2008	0.10	2010	2.00
EGY	2013	3.00	2016	0.10	2004	0.10	2014	0.10
ETH	2016	1.50	2015	0.10	2010	0.10	2015	2.00
GMB	2017	0.10	2017	0.10	2011	2.00	2014	0.10
GNB	2016	0.10	2015	0.10	2011	0.10	2011	0.10
IRN	2017	0.10	2015	0.10		0.00	2008	4.00
IRQ	2015	1.50	2013	2.00	2009	0.10	2011	0.10
JOR	2015	3.00	2015	0.75	2013	1.00	2014	2.25
KEN	2014	2.00	2008	0.10	2005	0.10	2014	2.00
LBN	2017	3.00		0.00		0.00	2016	3.00
LBR	2013	2.00	2013	0.75	2008	0.10	2010	0.10
MYS		0.00	2015	0.10		0.00	2013	0.10
MLI	2015	2.00	2016	0.10	2013	1.00	2015	0.10
MRT	2012	0.10		0.00	2013	0.10	2012	0.10
NPL	2013	0.10	2013	0.10	2003	0.10	2016	0.10
NER	2014	3.00	2012	0.10	2013	0.10	2014	4.00
PAK	2013	2.00	2007	0.10	2010	0.75	2013	2.00
PNG	2012	2.00	2011	3.75		0.00	2010	0.10
RWA	2013	4.00	2000	0.10	2013	0.10	2014	0.10
SEN	2012	0.10	2014	0.10	2013	0.10	2013	0.10
ZAF	2013	2.50	2012	0.10		0.00	2015	0.10
SSD	2016	0.10	2011	0.10		0.00	2012	1.00
SDN	2012	3.00	2012	0.75	2012	2.00	2012	0.10
TZA	2016	3.00	2016	0.10	2010	0.10	2008	0.10
THA	2016	0.75	2017	0.08	2005	0.10	2003	0.10
TGO	2014	1.00	2013	0.75		0.00	2014	0.10
TUR	2016	4.00	2014	0.10		0.00	2009	0.10
UGA	2016	3.00	2016	3.00	2010	0.10	2004	3.00
YEM	2011	3.00	2012	1.00	2003	0.10	2013	0.10
ZMB	2016	3.00	2013	0.10	2006	4.00	2011	0.10
Document count	40		38		30		39	
Average code value		1.67		0.50		0.51		0.92

Comparing code values across policy document types, it emerges that not only are UNDAFs most likely to make reference to refugees, they also show the highest inclusion levels, i.e. are most likely to adopt developmental approaches. The average code value across UNDAFs at 1.67 is significantly higher than those for NDPs, PRSPs and ESPs at 0.5, 0.51, and 0.92 respectively (see Table 5).

[10] Policy document cells show the year of policy adoption and hyperlink to the relevant document (to access linked documents, see Appendix A and under http://bit.ly/ZeusDPhilData; links last verified on: 18/09/2017). Cells highlighted in green make reference to key search terms and those highlighted in orange do not, while grey cells stand for unavailable documents. U, N, P, E codes are products of coded values and their respective coefficients α.

With only about a third of the reviewed NDPs, PRSPs and ESPs making reference to refugees, a first conclusion can be drawn regarding overall adoption of developmental approaches in terms of refugee inclusion. Refugees remain far from being imagined as an integral part of nation-state development policy formulation. The low average code values indicate that the majority of countries find themselves more at the humanitarian than the development end of the spectrum when it comes to refugee policy. This needs to be seen in the light of the fact that all cases are party to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, where Article 22 obliges ratifying states to provide protection and schooling to all asylum seeking and refugee children (UNGA, 1989).

With regards to refugee education policy in particular, it becomes evident that refugees' access to education is not a positive theme outside of the 14 countries' ESPs that make reference to refugees. Only Djibouti's PRSP refers to basic social services including education for displaced persons more generally, without it being clear from context whether this includes also refugees. As referenced above, Jordan's NDP refers to the education sector being negatively impacted by the presence of refugees.

This leads to a second preliminary conclusion that refugee education does certainly not present an overall development policy priority in any of the 41 countries, and refugees' inclusion in national education systems – as far as written policy is concerned – remains a distant reality.

The education sector plans reviewed reveal overall little concern for refugees accessing quality education that would enable them to effectively participate in the national development project. Only Kenya's ESP acknowledges that the "exclusion of various groups" in mainstream education affects "the country at large", and that it "has denied them a chance to acquire requisite knowledge, skills and to enable them to participate effectively in national development". While the plan specifically lists refugees included in these various groups, it falls short of outlining concrete action to redress this situation apart from encouraging "social mobilization and awareness creation" (Republic of Kenya, 2014: 105).

These findings echo results from Winthrop and Matsui's analysis of 75 national education plans from around the world developed between 2008 and 2012 which found that only a "minority of plans address education and fragility issues in any serious way" with most plans remaining silent on the subject (2013: 36). In their analysis, two thirds of reviewed plans did not mention either conflict or disasters, and the vast majority of plans that referenced conflict did so superficially, usually to note the effect that conflict has had on the education sector.

Education sector plans at the humanitarian end (coded 1) include for instance Burkina Faso's ESP which makes a brief reference to refugees, but responsibilities and national system inclusion remain unclear. It highlights the need for improved crisis prevention and management capacity

of the education system as revealed by recent events such as flooding, a socio-political crisis in neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire and an influx of Malian refugees.

Djibouti's ESP (coded 2) refers in its action plan to humanitarian intervention enabling refugee children to continue their education in refugee camp schools including through planned efforts towards certification to encourage their return. This is a clear example of a separate system, where the link to developmental approaches remains weak. Against global policy, the Iraqi UNDAF makes a clear distinction between refugees and locals citing barriers for refugees to go to local schools where Kurdish is the language of instruction, since refugees – although mostly Kurdish – are accustomed to being taught in Arabic, and Arabic-teaching schools are farther away.

Both the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Congo's ESPs (coded 3) make clear reference to facilitating access to free schooling for refugees, but do fall short of specifically envisioning their inclusion on par with nationals.

At the development end (coded 4), Iran's and Niger's ESPs put refugees on par with nationals in terms of accessing education and foresee measures to facilitate their inclusion such as through fee waivers and registration.[11]

Overwhelmingly, education is seen in the context of a rights framework – broadly revealing a humanitarian approach – with only Egypt's and Yemen's UNDAFs and Lebanon's ESP making reference to quality education. In addition to the fee waivers laid out by several countries that apply to vulnerable groups, only the ESP of Niger makes a specific reference to one of the particular barriers that refugees face in accessing education, namely to reduce documentation requirements at the time of registration and examination.

The other countries' education plans were found to refer to refugees as part of humanitarian emergency response or as part of marginalised groups of out-of-school children. This tendency to conflate approaches "for all non-citizens without recognizing refugees as a distinct category", which was found even in progressive educational policies in a recent cross-country study (Mendenhall et al., 2017a: 15), might in fact have adversary impacts on budgeting, programming and monitoring.

1.1.3 Creating the Refugee Education Policy Inclusion Index

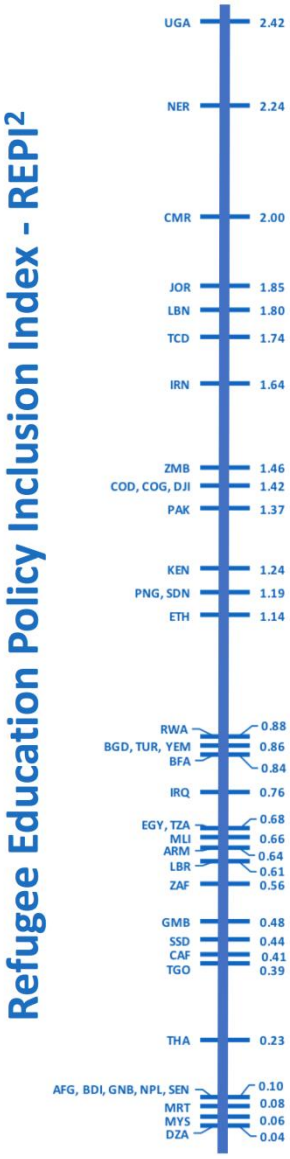
All these observations lead to the initial conclusion that refugees overall are not firmly incorporated in national policy plans in the spirit of the ToC as positive contributors to national

[11] Coding strictly refers to the policy document texts and does not consider whether refugees are in practice included in the national education system, this is the focus of the second research question.

development, but overwhelmingly (albeit with positive exceptions) remain depicted as burdens or challenges to be taken care of by humanitarian actors. Written policy entrenches the "popular perception, that refugees are an economic burden" instead of embracing the robust research findings that have challenged this perception (Zetter, 2014: 14). This mirrors Crawford et al. who point out that while there seems to be growing consensus on refugees' economic dynamism offering "practical economic and social returns", host states have not picked up on this argument, with policy discourse and practice continuing "to be shaped by domestic political calculations" (2015: 2).

Yet there is wide diversity between countries as revealed when calculating the REPI^2 with the help of Equation 1 (chapter III). This diversity of countries' policy environments reaches from Uganda at the upper end of the spectrum (2.42) to eight countries clustered at the lower end, with Algeria at the bottom (0.04) as shown in the below figure.

Figure 9: REPI^2



Just like any index, the REPI^2 can without any doubt only offer an imperfect and limited view of reality, in this case written policy across the 41 countries. As outlined in the research design chapter, not all four policy documents were found for all countries which contributes to the index's imperfection. It also needs to be kept in mind that the methodology involved a key word search and the analysis is limited to written policy which can be interpreted in various ways.

While some policy texts might not make specific mention of these terms, the common understanding of policy at country-level might be to be all-inclusive without there being a need for mention of specific groups such as refugees. Through further secondary research, this was confirmed for instance for the case of Armenia where the national development plan makes no explicit mention of refugees, however it is widely understood that refugees benefit from services such as education just like nationals do (UNHCR, 2016d). This example leads on to questions about the policy-practice gap, which is the theme of the second part in this chapter.

In Burkina Faso, while the ESP does not specify inclusion of refugees (coded 1), a Refugee Education Strategy developed by UNHCR jointly with UNICEF and the Ministry of Education, issued one year later than the ESP, states that all foreign children, including refugees, have access to the national education system and are subject to mandatory schooling regulations in the country (UNHCR, 2013c). It clarifies that refugee children thus follow the national curriculum, are granted access even if they are not in possession of normally required documentation. A similar mention in the national ESP would have moved the country's index ranking upwards.

As stated earlier, refugee-specific policy however, was not considered in the policy database and index calculation. The research interest lies in ascertaining the extent to which refugees are mainstreamed, i.e. included in national-level written policy documents, rather than in separate refugee-specific policy. The REPI^2 thus must be understood with these limitations and specifications in mind.

Secondary research going beyond the policy documents included in the database, further revealed contradictory policy environments and 'discursive gaps' (Czaika & De Haas, 2013), such as in the case of Jordan. While the country's NDP portrays the presence of Syrian refugees as a challenge detailing negative impacts on infrastructure and the economy and diverse sectors such as food, health, education, energy and housing, and its economic growth plan highlights rising unemployment and job competition, the country has also issued an SDG review (not included in the policy database). This review adopts a different tone and language stressing that Jordan carries out a "critical global public good on behalf of the region and the world" and has "turned the refugee challenge into an economic opportunity". The language seems strategically employed for the same document calls on donors to provide "preferential concessional loans, debt swaps, or debt relief, and soften the terms and conditions for both existing and new loans"

as well as “increase commitments to resettle refugees in their countries” (Kingdom of Jordan, 2017: 8f).

Rather than presenting a truly inclusive policy context for refugees, this implies discourse instead of policy conformity in a strategic and opportunistic advocacy effort with the international community. This indeed confirms ongoing research on Jordan suggesting institutionalised divisions between actual inclusion of refugee learners alongside their national peers in classrooms, and educational policy and planning documents, drafted up to please donors and channel funds via government budget structures (Cohen, 2017).

Notwithstanding such particularities, thanks to its systematic approach, the REPI^2 gives an indication of where countries stand in relation to each other, clearly dividing countries with explicitly more favourable policy environments towards refugee education from those with less favourable ones, or those not making the existence of such environments explicit.

Importantly, it gives an indication of the extent to which developmental or humanitarian approaches are explicitly adopted at policy level with the index revealing dense clustering of countries at the humanitarian end of the spectrum. Rather than envisioning refugees as part of the national development project or seeing refugee situations as ‘development opportunities’ (Zetter, 2014), this tendency seems to point out that the humanitarian-development divide has not yet been overcome, at least on paper. At the development end, the index reveals a more thinly and wider spread population with Uganda, Niger and Cameroon well ahead of the other 38 countries.

While it was expected for policy documents, and especially the more recent ones, to lean towards displaying more liberal and progressive policy goals aligning with global goals, considering also LMICs’ dependence on external financing in the form of loans or aid, this was not found to be the case overall. Evaluated critically, even the two documents assigned a positive coefficient do not represent the kind of progressive rights framework recognising mobility and *de facto* integration of refugees as envisioned at global refugee policy level as outlined in the first two chapters (Crawford et al., 2015; UNHCR, 2017e). Instead of finding instances of nomadism, it is indeed the human security agenda (Duffield, 2007; Stilhoff Sörensen, 2012) that dominates discourse linked to refugees in national policy documents.

Although isolated, the practice to mix up refugees with high-risk groups transmitting disease, or to associate refugees with instability, violence and environmental degradation in official policy documents is of particular concern. While individual refugees’ specific protection needs are an important consideration, the general tendency of 15 country cases to refer to refugees amongst vulnerable groups in written policy does not provide for a sound basis on which to build a

discourse of refugees as socio-economic agents, nor does it present a foundation for a move towards more developmental approaches in refugee education.

Based on these findings of a relatively low extent to which developmental approaches in refugee education have been adopted at national policy level, the next section turns to investigating explanatory factors dividing countries at the upper end of the REPI[2] from those at the lower end.

1.2 What explains variation across host countries in refugee education policy?

This exploration into variation of refugee education policy approaches adopts Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) as outlined in chapter III. Resulting from the review of relevant literature in chapter II, possible explanatory factors emerged and five hypotheses (Appendix B) were formulated that are tested here.

Two QCA techniques are employed for the empirical analysis. It begins with the basic, dichotomous crisp-set QCA (csQCA) as a way to visualise the degree of inclusion in the logical space offering first insights into a complex data set and a useful basis for further research. Secondly, fuzzy-set QCA (fsQCA) processes more fine-grained data testing combinations of conditions through a phased approach. The complete data set is available in Appendix A.

The REPI index serves as the outcome condition for all models. To avoid omitting critical variables at the outset, an iterative process was adopted taking into account a wide range of potential conditions informed by theory and case knowledge building on the hypotheses formulated. This process led to a large data set of 40 conditions grouped – as informed by theoretical pathway considerations – into a two-dimensional framework of four types of normative, interest-based, contextual and capacity-related factors, and two dimensions pertaining to either socio-economic or geo-political aspects.

1.2.1 csQCA

Acknowledging the extremely complex dataset made up of 41 cases and high number of logical combinations, the most suitable approach to gain first insights into the interplay of conditions was found to be through combination of conditions into thematic super conditions along the lines of this two-dimensional framework. As such, findings are expected to reveal to what extent policy can be explained by normative or interest-based factors, or whether solution paths include a combination of these as well as analysing the importance of contextual and capacity-based factors.

In following csQCA recommendations by Rihoux and De Meur (2009), to arrive at Boolean minimisation providing a meaningful and parsimonious result, a number of steps need to be carried out beginning with threshold setting to enable creation of a dichotomised data set. This being a crucial QCA step pertaining to content-related considerations, the discussion of thresholds also forms part of this substantial chapter rather than the methodological chapter.[12]

1.2.1.1 Model specification

Upon initial testing, the csQCA model was built with REPI as its outcome and four thematic super conditions, the normative geo-political condition (NGP), the socio-economic interest-based condition (ISE), the geo-political interest-based condition (IGP) and the socio-economic capacity condition (CSEC). Since the above policy document analysis pointed to the significance of refugee numbers, the REFI condition is added to the model. It measures the number of refugees relative to the host country's national population.

Visualising distribution of the REFI condition's values with the help of the Tosmana software (Cronqvist, 2017) reveals a clustering of countries at the lower end around values of 1 refugee per 1,000 inhabitants, and a wide gap left by Lebanon with 169 refugees per 1,000 inhabitants to its closest follower, Jordan at 88. Using data gaps as breakpoint here would create very differently sized groups of cases. The breakpoint is thus set where it is considered that a significant number of refugees are present. At five refugees per 1,000 inhabitants, it separates Tanzania at 5.1 from Burundi at 4.97, and divides up the set of cases quite evenly including 22 cases in the set of countries with high relative refugee numbers.

The threshold for the normative geo-political condition (NGP) is set at 0.48 dividing Algeria from Chad, Mauritania and Yemen. While data gaps would have dictated a threshold at 0.23 separating South Sudan from Egypt, this led to inconsistencies and the threshold was moved up with the help of case knowledge. This super condition considers four components. Firstly, whether the country has ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention, its 1967 Protocol and whether it has made relevant reservations (CONV). Secondly, it takes into account whether the country has specific refugee legislation (RLEG) in place, with its overall refugee protection environment (RPE) being its third component. The fourth component looks at the extent to which the state has expressed its consent to be bound by human rights treaties under international law, as a measure of ratification of 18 international human rights treaties (RAT).

[12] Robustness checks for threshold setting were carried out; available in Appendix A.

The threshold for the socio-economic interest-based condition (ISE) is set at 0.42, dividing South Africa from Jordan based on cluster analysis carried out with the Tosmana threshold setter (Cronqvist, 2003). This super condition considers the degree of economic vulnerability (EVI), the degree of economic decline (ECD), as well as the extent of social grievance (GRI).

The threshold for the geo-political interest-based condition (IGP) is set at 0.455. This is to make a clear cut between Egypt, Zambia and Nepal with Jordan, where UNHCR's degree of influence (HCR) is measured at a higher level, as the most important component of this super condition which also includes the extent of external influence (EXT) more broadly, ODA as a proportion of gross national income (ODAG), the level of internal or external security threats (SEC), and the degree of demographic pressure on national resources (DEM).

The socio-economic capacity condition (CSEC) divides Burundi and Mauritania from Pakistan at 0.465, since Pakistan and the following cases have higher ratings in the individual components of this super condition, which include the gross national income per capita (GNIC), Human Development Index (HDI), and the number of refugees relative to gross domestic product (RCAP). Apart from a few exceptions, the threshold divides low-income from lower- and upper-middle-income countries.

The REPI outcome is calibrated at 0.87. While it was initially calibrated at 1 considering data gaps, this was an adjustment following persistent inconsistencies with the case Rwanda, which was thus moved up to a REPI outcome case. This was justified by the country's efforts to create more favourable refugee policy in particular with respect to education and inclusion of refugees in previous policy documents that could not be considered in the policy database to stay within the norms of adopted methodology (Republic of Rwanda, 2010).

1.2.1.2 Truth table generation

As detailed in chapter III, six cases, Iraq, Mauritania, Papua New Guinea, South Sudan, Yemen and Zambia needed to be excluded from the csQCA model due to persistent contradictions. The csQCA analysis produced the following truth table for 35 cases.

Table 6: Dichotomous truth table for 35 cases (produced with Tosmana)

CaseID	NGP	ISE	IGP	REFI	CSEC	REPI
Threshold	*0.48*	*0.42*	*0.455*	*5.00*	*0.465*	*0.87*
DZA, MYS, THA	0	0	0	0	1	0
BGD, EGY	0	1	0	0	1	0
JOR, LBN, PAK	0	1	1	1	1	1
TGO, ZAF	1	0	0	0	1	0
TZA	1	0	0	1	0	0
ARM, TUR	1	0	0	1	1	0
BFA	1	0	1	0	0	0
SEN	1	1	0	0	0	0
NPL	1	1	0	0	1	0
IRN	1	1	0	1	1	1
AFG, BDI, CAF, GMB, GNB, LBR, MLI	1	1	1	0	0	0
COD, DJI, ETH, NER, SDN, TCD, UGA	1	1	1	1	0	1
CMR, COG, KEN, RWA	1	1	1	1	1	1

A number of analytical observations can be made by examining this truth table without needing the help of software. Looking at the truth table, it becomes evident that all four positive outcome configurations, which represent 15 cases, are successful in both the ISE and REFI conditions, which is an indication for these being perfectly necessary, i.e. the necessity-consistency value for each condition is 1. However, either condition is also present in a number of other configurations, so they are definitely not sufficient individually, and a test of necessity-coverage is needed to establish their degree of exclusivity.

The fs/qca software (Ragin & Davey, 2014) helps produce these test results, which can however also be calculated by hand based on the truth table. At 0.58, the necessity-coverage for the ISE condition indicates that just above half of cases presenting the condition are successful while just under half of them are not. The REFI condition has a higher necessity-coverage at 0.83 indicating that it is non-trivial, i.e. it is necessary for success, while not being necessary for lack of success. In combination, though, and this becomes apparent also by looking at the truth table as the outcome always occurs when both conditions are present, the two conditions have a perfect necessity-coverage at 1 indicating that the configuration is not only necessary, but also sufficient.

The IGP condition also appears relevant from examining the truth table with it being absent in only one successful case, Iran, which has a lower degree of external influence due to its geo-political isolation. Its necessity-consistency stands at 0.93 and its necessity coverage at 0.64 which means that the condition is present in nearly all successful cases and leads to success in about two thirds of cases where it is observed. The NGP and CSEC conditions both have lower necessity-consistency at 0.8 and 0.53 respectively, and low coverage at 0.44 which means they might be equally necessary for success as for absence of the outcome.

This dichotomous analysis offers some first insights while highlighting also that a more fine-grained fsQCA operation will be necessary for further nuanced conclusions. For the set of 35 cases, interest-based conditions and refugee numbers seem to have greater explanatory power than normative and capacity-based factors, although the cases Cameroon, Republic of Congo, Kenya and Rwanda offer a combination of all factors. Remarkably, the group of low-income cases DR Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Niger, Sudan, Chad and Uganda show that developmental approaches are pursued in the absence of socio-economic capacity. It will here be interesting to further test in how far external influence plays a role as was hypothesised. The cases Jordan, Lebanon and Pakistan, on the other hand, show that developmental approaches are pursued in the absence of normative conditions.

For these three cases the successful pathway combines the ISE and REFI conditions with high geo-political interests and socio-economic capacity and the absence of geo-political norms. While these countries are amongst the largest refugee host countries worldwide, they remain non-signatories to the Refugee Convention and have not adopted specific legislation towards the protection of refugees, which contributes to their lower normative ranking. Especially Jordan and Lebanon have relatively higher socio-economic capacity than other cases in the model, however given the influx of large refugee numbers over a relatively short period of time, they have had to struggle to provide adequate services, and like Pakistan been depending on external aid, which might explain higher levels of political interest towards the adoption of developmental approaches.

In the case of Iran, it is a combination of NGP, ISE, REFI and CSEC conditions and the absence of geo-political interest condition that leads to the positive outcome. While the country has been isolated on the political scene for many years and the adoption of developmental approaches cannot be explained to great extent by external influence, it is a state party of the Refugee Convention and has had to deal with significant numbers of mainly Afghan refugees who have been granted access to national education on par with nationals.

The truth table shows nine configurations representing 20 cases, which do not lead to success, i.e. the outcome is absent. All but three of the cases (Tanzania and Armenia, Turkey), have low relative numbers of refugees, so that it might be concluded that – in near logical symmetry to

the positive outcome cases – low relative numbers of refugees do not favour the adoption of developmental approaches. These three cases, although high on the normative condition, show low levels of geo-political and socio-economic interests that explain humanitarian approaches.

For all but five of these 20 cases (Algeria, Malaysia, Thailand and Bangladesh, Egypt), the NGP condition is observed, its necessity-consistency being 0.75, however with only medium coverage at 0.56. This would go in contradiction to assumptions of a more favourable normative environment leading to the adoption of developmental policy approaches, which were made as a basis for the development of the first hypothesis, or point to the fact that norms do not align with interests in these cases, which needs to be examined further.

Algeria, Malaysia and Thailand offer a classic example of a zero case where socio-economic capacity alone does not lead to the adoption of developmental approaches without the existence of a problem as a policy driver (Greer, 2016; Kingdon, 2013) in an otherwise unfavourable normative environment lacking also socio-economic and political incentives. Bangladesh and Egypt in addition show that socio-economic conditions are not sufficient for REPI in the absence of geo-political norms and interests.

The rest of the conditions for 0 configurations are a mixed bag, with none of them, neither individually nor in combination, appearing necessary or sufficient. It is thus essential to go deeper into the analysis beyond the truth table and carry out QCA minimisation procedures which will deliver more detailed results.

1.2.1.3 Boolean minimisation procedure

To have a closer look at these results, Boolean minimisation procedure is carried out with the help of Tosmana. The result obtained from the csQCA minimisation for the 35 cases minimising first of all outcome 1 without considering logical remainders is still relatively complex and seems to have more descriptive than analytical value.

NGP * ISE * IGP * REFI +
(CMR,COG,KEN,RWA+*COD*,*DJI*,*ETH*,*NER*,*SDN*,*TCD*,*UGA*)

NGP * ISE * REFI* CSEC +
(CMR,COG,KEN,RWA+*IRN*)

ISE * IGP * REFI * CSEC
(CMR,COG,KEN,RWA+*JOR*,*LBN*,*PAK*)

However, this result already gives some indication of the direction a more parsimonious result might take in that the socio-economic interest condition as well as the refugees per inhabitant condition are positively present throughout the results as was observed by analysing the truth table above. The cases of Cameroon, Republic of Congo, Kenya and Rwanda have three different explanatory pathways as all conditions are present.

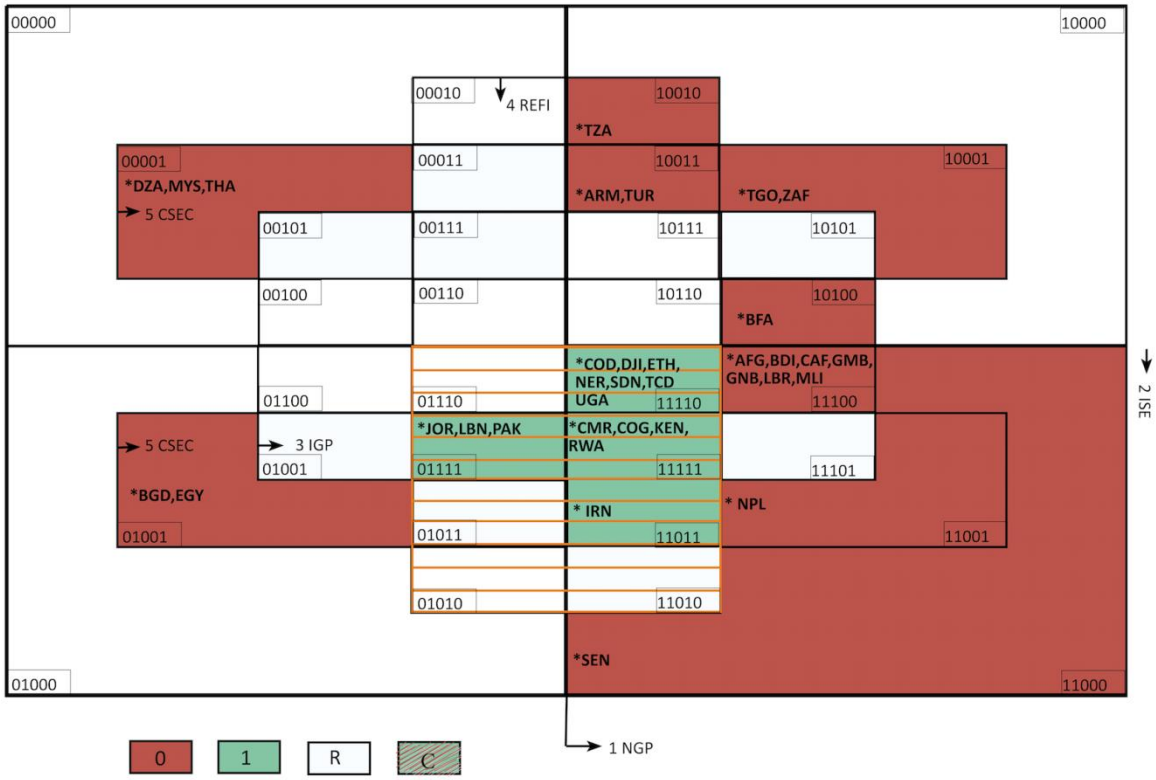
To obtain a more parsimonious result, logical remainders are thus included, which leads to four simplified assumptions, and indeed a much simpler minimised formula:

ISE * REFI

(CMR,COG,KEN,RWA+COD,DJI,ETH,NER,SDN,TCD,UGA+IRN+JOR,LBN,PAK)

As expected, this result indicates that high levels of socio-economic interests in combination with high relative numbers of refugees lead to the adoption of more developmental approaches in all 15 cases with a positive outcome. The remaining 20 cases with negative outcomes occupy various areas of the logical space as is visualised in the below figure. This Venn diagram highlights the solution area (red striped) and within it the positive outcomes in green. This also serves as a visualisation of the four logical remainders (white areas striped red).

Figure 10: Venn diagram explaining outcome 1 and considering logical remainders (adapted from Tosmana output)[13]



[13] In the Venn diagram, areas marked in red stand for 0 outcome, areas in green for 1 outcome, white areas represent logical remainders, and green/red diagonally striped represent contradictions (none in this case). The area horizontally striped in red represents the solution area.

The logical space occupied by remainders being equally large as the logical space occupied by observed cases with positive outcomes, leads to questions of validity of the result if applied to other non-included cases.

The robustness of the result is further tested by including the remaining conditions to the model which were found to have less explanatory value during initial testing. Adding the normative socio-economic condition split up into human rights-related and economic conditions (NSEH, NSEC), the geo-political capacity condition (CGP), the socio-economic capacity condition relating to education (CSED), and the refugee hosting history (RHH), and testing various thresholds, does not affect the minimised formula, even though significantly more simplified assumptions need to be made with the higher number of conditions included in the model.

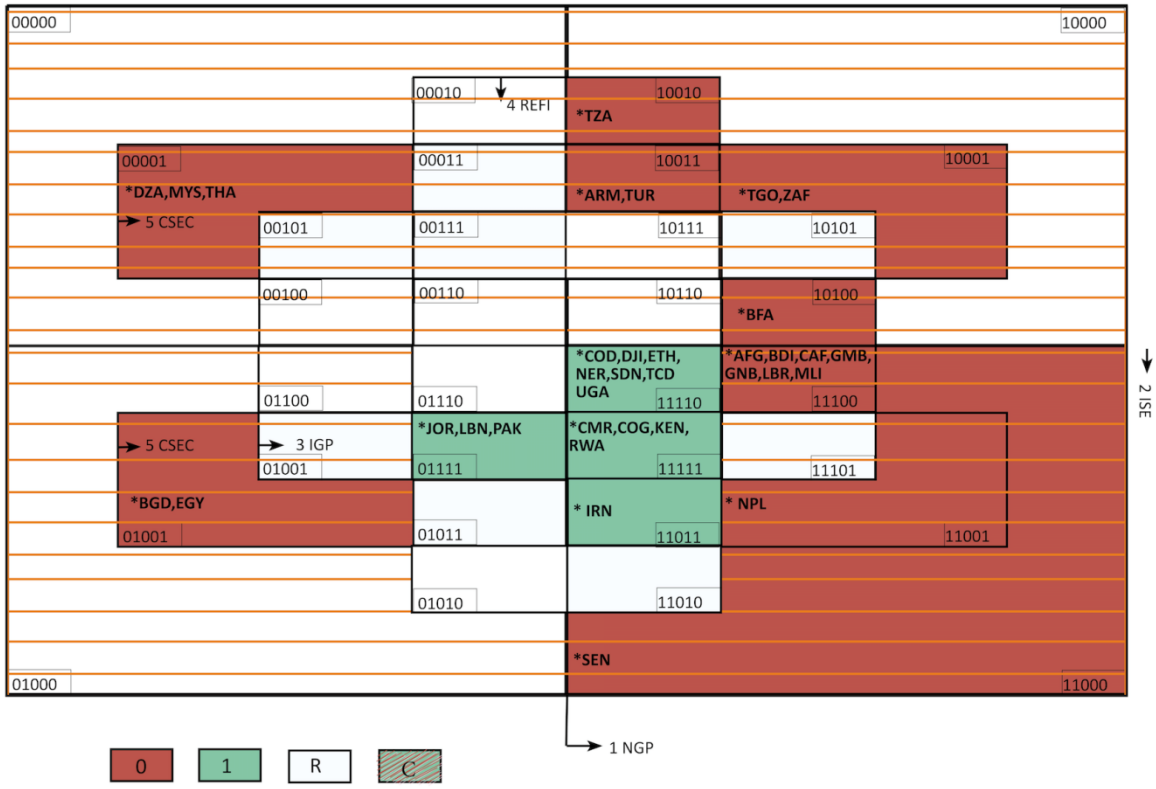
As per Rihoux and De Meur's (2009) recommendation to carry out all four complete minimisation procedures, csQCA is also carried out minimising the 0 outcome. While the formula without logical remainders is extremely complex, the inclusion of remainders in the reduction results in the following:

~ISE +
(*ARM*,*TUR*+BFA+DZA,MYS,THA+TGO,ZAF+*TZA*)

~REFI
(*AFG*,*BDI*,*CAF*,*GMB*,*GNB*,*LBR*,*MLI*+BFA+*BGD*,*EGY*+DZA,MYS,THA+*NPL*+*SEN*+TGO,ZAF)

This proves indeed that rather low levels of socio-economic interests or low numbers of refugees do not result in developmental policy approaches. For six of the cases (Burkina Faso, Algeria, Malaysia, Thailand, Togo and South Africa), it is a combination of the two. In all but three (Armenia, Tanzania, Turkey) of the 20 0-outcome cases, it is low numbers of refugees which are a necessary condition, which was also observed from the truth table.

Figure 11: Venn diagram explaining outcome 0 and considering logical remainders (adapted from Tosmana output)



The Venn diagram in the above figure shows that indeed the minimal formulas produced for both positive and negative outcomes are the perfect logical complement using up all logical space (Rihoux & De Meur, 2009). It visualises the interpretation of the truth table showing nine unsuccessful configurations representing 20 cases, highlighted in red. Most of them are on the right-hand side, meaning the NGP condition is observed – apart from five of these cases (in two configurations) on the left. All cases leading to a 0 outcome, apart from five (Algeria, Malaysia, Thailand, Bangladesh and Egypt) are also cases with a more favourable geo-political normative environment, which was initially hypothesised to instead lead to the adoption of developmental policy approaches when aligned with interests. Since this condition was minimised through the procedure that included logical remainders, it deserves further investigation through the ensuing fsQCA. The solution area highlighted in red stripes includes 15 logical remainders.

At this point, it is interesting to ask about the six cases that needed to be excluded from the analysis at the truth table generation stage due to persistent contradictions. While with the help of the fs/qca software some more parsimonious results might be produced, from the crisp-set analysis of the six cases alone, and testing various combinations of conditions, it emerges that it is socio-economic norms related to human rights (NSEH), either alone or in combination with geo-political norms (NGP), that are the necessary condition for Papua New Guinea and Zambia adopting more developmental policy approaches, rather than interest-, context-, or capacity-

based conditions. Neither of these countries are successful on the REFI condition, which is necessary for the 15 successful cases of the set of 35. For the remaining four unsuccessful 0-outcome cases from this set of six, the absence of the NSEH condition is necessary and in combination with the absence of NGP sufficient.

Including the six cases and carrying out minimisation procedure for outcome 1 including logical remainders for all 41 cases, the combination of ISE and REFI conditions prevails with a 0.88 necessity-consistency and a 0.79 necessity-coverage rate, which is far from the perfectly necessary and perfectly sufficient result obtained for the 35 cases, but still a strong indication of this configuration being an important explanatory factor for the adoption of developmental policy approaches. It means socio-economic interests in combination with high refugee proportion are not absolutely necessary, as there is indeed a 12% chance for a positive outcome to occur without this configuration. The two conditions in combination with IGP have only slighter lower necessity-consistency and necessity-coverage rates at 0.82 and 0.78.

The csQCA has been a helpful start to understanding configurations in a complex dataset. It emerges that relative numbers of refugees are an important factor in explaining variation across host countries' policy approaches. In countries with relatively high numbers of refugees, it is primarily interest-based factors that explain the move towards developmental approaches. The lack of interest-based factors in large host countries was shown to result in humanitarian approaches instead.

Even if it might seem contradictory that such aspects as economic vulnerability, economic decline and social grievance account for more inclusive refugee education policies, it is assumed that precisely due to these, host countries are put in a weaker position in the global arena and thus have higher political interests in mirroring global policy directions, as well as generally having more important presence of humanitarian actors who push this agenda. In countries with lower numbers of refugees, it is their relatively better human rights record that accounts for the adoption of developmental approaches.

Nonetheless, results are not yet sufficiently robust and detailed towards fully confirming or rejecting any of the hypotheses, so that a more fine-grained technique is now employed.

1.2.2 fsQCA

In comparison to csQCA, fsQCA comes with the clear advantage of adding differences in degree of membership and being able to process more fine-grained data, all the while allowing for the flexibility to add crisp-set values where conditions need to be dichotomised (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012). Following QCA good practice (Wagemann & Schneider, 2010), the fsQCA begins with an analysis of individual conditions' necessity, followed by the analysis of

configurations of sufficient conditions with the help of truth tables and Boolean minimisation procedures. While the focus of the analysis is on cases that have adopted developmental approaches, thus testing for REPI outcome, understanding what produces the ~REPI outcome is also of relevance in order to answer the research questions explaining variation not only within REPI, but also between REPI and ~REPI cases. The analysis considers conditions for REPI and ~REPI outcomes separately based on the assumption of asymmetric causality in QCA, which means that if condition X produces the outcome, this does not imply that its absence will also lead to the absence of the outcome.

The REPI outcome was calibrated at 0.87 in the crisp-set analysis, which is used as the point of maximum ambiguity in the fuzzy-set analysis. Full membership is set at 1.5 between Zambia and Iran putting seven countries in the fully-in set, and non-membership at 0.23 which corresponds to Thailand and adds nine countries to the fully-out set. Model specifications, including thresholds set for conditions, are detailed in the sufficiency analysis below.

1.2.2.1 Necessity analysis

The analysis of necessary conditions with the fs/qca software (Ragin & Davey, 2014) reveals the necessity consistency and coverage scores. The required necessity consistency threshold of 0.9 is not reached by any of the conditions. The table below lists conditions with the highest values greater than 0.8. Amongst these, the REFI condition has a necessary consistency of 0.81, which remains low to be able to speak of necessity. It is the only condition in the table that is also non-trivial, while the other conditions might turn out to be trivial. With coverage values around 0.5 indicating that just above half of the cases presenting that condition are indeed successful, while just under half actually are not successful, these conditions might be equally necessary for lack of success.

A necessity test with the ~REPI outcome confirms this as all but the REFI condition indeed also have high necessity consistency for the negated outcome, and do so at even higher coverage rates (see Appendix B for reference of condition codes and definitions).

Table 7: Analysis of necessary conditions at consistency level ≥ 0.8 for REPI outcome compared to ~REPI (produced with fs/qca)

Outcome:	REPI		~REPI	
Conditions:	Consistency	Coverage	Consistency	Coverage
EXT	0.887	0.543	0.741	0.603
RIDP	0.878	0.541	0.737	0.605
~POLS	0.874	0.507	0.843	0.651
~PBS	0.871	0.491	0.841	0.631
~LIB	0.861	0.542	0.777	0.651
~LAN	0.852	0.493	0.842	0.649
~RCAP	0.848	0.644	0.601	0.608
DEM	0.844	0.520	0.780	0.654
ISE	0.835	0.512	0.773	0.632
CSED	0.827	0.524	0.819	0.691
REFI	0.812	0.706	0.454	0.526

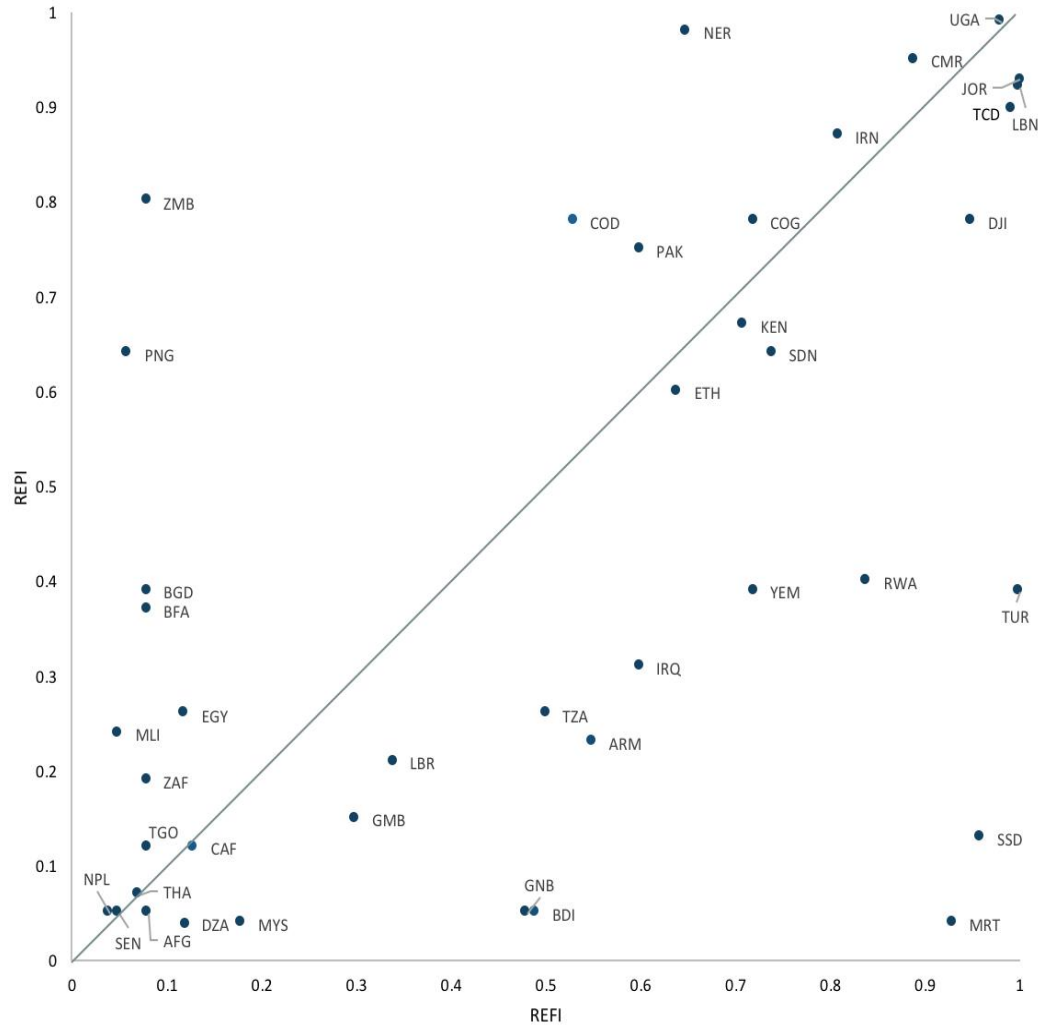
The PMY condition, referring to the policy mean year which was hypothesised to be influential in the adoption of developmental policy approaches in the above policy analysis, emerges with only a 0.75 consistency and 0.53 coverage in the necessity analysis.

The REFI condition, which was categorised as a contextual condition, is present in 81% of successful REPI cases, and is not necessary for the ~REPI outcome, which confirms csQCA results. It means that the majority of cases that adopt developmental policy approaches also have high refugee per inhabitant ratios. This in part supports Kingdon's agenda-setting theory (2013) where the existence of a problem acts as a driver for policy agenda setting, but also shows that it is not a direct cause for the adoption of developmental approaches as there are indeed cases with high proportions of refugees which have not adopted developmental approaches, so that Hypothesis 2 (High relative refugee numbers are necessary but insufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches) can be confirmed.

In other words, while the majority of REPI countries have a high proportion of refugees, not all countries with high refugee proportions also have high REPI scores, but it is difficult to imagine a high REPI score without the presence of REFI. The cases of Zambia and Papua New Guinea are two examples that stand out here as exceptions in having adopted developmental approaches with relatively low refugee proportions, although in the case of Zambia definitely a long refugee-hosting history. On the other hand, cases such as Iraq, South Sudan and Mauritania have a high REFI which does not result in the REPI outcome. It becomes apparent that these are also cases that needed to be excluded from the initial csQCA for persistent contradictions. The X-Y Plot in the below figure visualises these outliers (in the top left and bottom right corners). Importantly,

the plot also shows that REFI is neither perfectly necessary (although relatively more cases are nested in the lower triangular plot than the upper triangular plot) nor sufficient for the outcome.

Figure 12: X-Y Plot for REFI condition and REPI outcome



The REFI condition on its own is thus not sufficient to produce the REPI outcome, i.e. result in the adoption of developmental approaches. While these results support the initial Hypothesis 2, they raise questions about what differentiates countries with a high REFI and a REPI outcome from those with a high REFI but a ~REPI outcome, such as the mentioned cases of South Sudan, Mauritania, Iraq, but also Yemen, Rwanda or Turkey (outliers in the bottom right quadrant). Are there case-specific reasons for their difference or are there overarching aspects that make these cases different from the REPI outcome cases with high REFI? This is explored through the ensuing sufficiency analysis.

Prior to the sufficiency analysis, a separate necessity analysis for the ~REPI outcome reveals generally lower necessity consistency levels, and none of the conditions with high necessity consistency rates show sufficiently high coverage rates to be considered non-trivial. Indeed, the

conditions with the highest necessity consistency rates (higher than 0.8, see Table 7 above) also appear with similarly high necessity consistency rates when tested for the REPI outcome, although with lower coverage rates.

It thus results that none of the conditions are found to be necessary for the non-adoption of developmental policy approaches, and the sufficiency analysis will need to shed more light on interactions between conditions in producing the ~REPI outcome.

1.2.2.2 Sufficiency analysis

The sufficiency analysis focuses on combinations of conditions that produce the REPI outcome. As QCA good practice dictates, sufficient configurations producing the ~REPI outcome are also examined. Even though these are not the prime focus of this study which is interested in the adoption of developmental policy approaches, testing configurations that produce both outcomes provides the needed insights for comparing REPI and ~REPI cases. Since no perfectly necessary condition was found in the necessity analysis, no conditions are excluded from the sufficiency analysis.

Given the large set of 40 conditions that lead to 2^{40} combinations resulting in too large a number of logical remainders for a meaningful analysis, but also considering the lack of relevant theory, it was decided to adopt a phased approach to the sufficiency analysis, examining configurations in separate operations following a systematic approach. Separate analyses are thus run, first focusing on socio-economic conditions, then on geo-political conditions, followed by testing of normative, interest-based and capacity-related conditions as operationalised in chapter III. As well as testing hypotheses formulated in chapter II (referenced in Appendix B), this phased approach allows for a more detailed analysis looking at interactions of more conditions. The discussion of findings includes 21 of the conditions tested for the REPI outcome. By considering the most prevalent and meaningful pathways at each step of the process, this approach paves the way for a more parsimonious analysis that is to reveal the most parsimonious solution (Bretthauer, 2014).

All models are processed with the fs/qca software employing the Quine-McCluskey algorithm and use the standard analysis unless otherwise indicated. While most of the models report only one solution type, the full set of complex, parsimonious, and intermediate solutions are included in Appendix A.

Socio-economic conditions

While it was assumed about individual normative socio-economic conditions to be working favourably towards the adoption of developmental approaches, a first analysis reveals low levels

of consistency and coverage, which do not allow for solid conclusions to be drawn. Contextual conditions on the refugee protection environment (RPE) and relative refugee numbers (REFI) were thus added to the model. It is only in combination with the REFI condition, that the ~ECINQ condition, i.e. absence of economic inequality, becomes a sufficient pathway covering five REPI outcome cases in the parsimonious solution as shown in Model 1 below.

The first model includes relative numbers of refugees (REFI), the refugee protection environment (RPE), economic inequality (ECINQ), respect for human rights (HUMR), political rights and civil liberties (LIB), as well as citizen participation and freedom (VAC).

The REFI condition also uses the crisp-set calibration as its crossover point at 5, defining the fully-in set at 20 which includes six countries in this category that are considered to have full membership in the set of countries with high relative refugee numbers (South Sudan, Uganda, Chad, Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon). The fully-out set is calibrated at 1 allocating non-membership to Nepal, Senegal and Mali.

To benefit from the full spectrum available in fsQCA, RPE non-membership score is set at its lowest value, 0.17 (Thailand), and the membership score at its highest value 1.44 (Uganda). The crossover point is set at a visible data gap at 0.85 which separates Pakistan as more out than in from Tanzania as more in than out of the set.

Economic inequality (ECINQ) is a condition calculated on a ten-point scale, where ten corresponds to the highest level of inequality, so that a natural crossover as per the methodology would be at 5.5. Considering however that only four cases have values below 5.5, it was decided to create set-specific thresholds setting the crossover value at 7 between The Gambia and Tanzania. As fully out, i.e. not unequal are considered eight countries cut off at the value 6. Fully in are six countries starting from 8.9. Given the particular set of cases for this study, it is important to highlight that being more out than in does not imply perfect equality.

Similarly, the crossover point for HUMR would need to be set at - 5.5 as it is coded on a negative ten-point scale where - 10 represents non-respect for human rights. This however is not sensible for a general tendency towards non-respect for human rights, with only one country (South Africa) being above this threshold at - 4.2. The fully-in set is thus set at this highest value, and the fully-out set is defined at its lowest value, at - 9.8 which defines both Egypt and the DR Congo. The crossover point is set at - 7.45 dividing Guinea-Bissau as more out, from Lebanon as more in. It is thus important to highlight that when the empirical analysis makes reference to cases where the HUMR condition is present, this does not imply that these countries are judged to be respecting human rights, it is rather a statement about these countries being more in than out of the set of cases with respect for human rights considering the particular set of cases for this study.

The political rights and civil liberties condition (LIB) is coded on a negative seven-point scale, where - 1 refers to liberties and - 7 to the absence of liberties. The calibration uses this method in defining full membership at - 1, non-membership at - 7 (Sudan, South Sudan, and Central African Republic), and the crossover point at - 4.01 separating Mali as more out from Malaysia as more in the set.

Voice and Accountability (VAC) is a similar condition and refers to citizen participation and freedom with scores ranging from - 2.5 to 2.5. The 41 cases are distributed between - 1.8 and 0.64, so that the fully-in score is set at 0.6 which include South Africa in this set. The fully-out score is set at - 1.6 covering South Sudan, Sudan and Yemen. Setting the crossover point at 0, as would seem natural following the methodology, would only leave four countries as more in, so that it is set at - 0.6 at a data gap between Armenia as more out, and Bangladesh as more in.

Model 1: REPI = f(REFI, RPE, ECINQ, HUMR, LIB, VAC)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.816
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
REFI*~ECINQ	**0.492**	**0.492**	**0.755**
solution coverage:	0.492	solution consistency:	0.755

REPI cases: JOR (1,0.93), LBN (1,0.92), IRN (0.81,0.87), ETH (0.64,0.6), PAK (0.6,0.75)

The resulting parsimonious solution pathway suggests that high relative refugee numbers combined with low levels of economic inequality lead to the adoption of developmental approaches in 76% of cases where this configuration is observed. The coverage is still quite low at less than 0.5 indicating the pathway's low level of importance of socio-economic normative conditions.

While the result indicates that in countries hosting large numbers of refugees relative to their own populations, economic equality might be a favourable ingredient towards the inclusion of refugees in developmental planning, it needs to be considered at the same time that countries such as Armenia, Malaysia and Thailand that host relatively and comparatively low numbers of refugees have not adopted developmental approaches although being amongst the cases with least economic inequality.

A test for socio-economic capacity-related conditions leads to slightly higher coverage and consistency levels as shown in below model which includes REFI, in addition to the capacity-related conditions CSED, HDI, and RCAP. CSED, the socio-economic capacity super condition related to education, includes the national net and gross enrolment rates at primary level (NPNER, NPGER) as well as the expenditure on education as a proportion of the gross domestic product (EXG). It is distributed normally and ranges from 0 for South Sudan to 0.81 for Malaysia,

which are taken as fully-out and fully-in data points. The crossover point is set using case knowledge and considering data gaps at 0.34 separating the DR Congo as more out, from Niger as more in than out.

The Human Development Index (HDI) is calibrated using cut-off points defined in the HDI methodology for grouping countries from low (below 0.55), to medium (0.55 to 0.69), high (between 0.7 and 0.79), and very high human development at above 0.8 (UNDP, 2017). As fully in are considered cases of high development at 0.7 which includes eight cases. The crossover point is set at 0.54, thus calibrating medium developed cases as more in than out, which divides Tanzania as more out from Pakistan as more in. The non-membership score is defined at 0.35, the lowest point in the set covering Niger and Central African Republic.

The RCAP condition is a measure of the number of refugees per one million USD in GDP, which was reverse coded to be read as a country's economic capacity to host refugees. It reaches from South Sudan at - 90.1 to Thailand at - 0.26, which was also taken as the full membership score. The fully-out score for cases that definitely lack capacity is set at - 20 encompassing four cases (South Sudan, Chad, Uganda and Niger). The crossover point is set at - 2 where a data gap occurs between Iran as more out, and Armenia as more in.

The parsimonious solution pathway suggests that high relative refugee numbers combined with high levels of development produce the REPI outcome, with the intermediate solution also factoring in the CSED condition.

Model 2: REPI = f(REFI, CSED, HDI, RCAP)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.821
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
REFI*HDI	**0.548**	**0.548**	**0.809**
solution coverage:	0.548	solution consistency:	0.809

REPI cases: JOR (0.98,0.93), LBN (0.98,0.92), IRN (0.81,0.87), COG (0.72,0.78), KEN (0.55,0.67), PAK (0.55,0.75)

This result indicates that socio-economic capacity offers slightly higher explanatory value than socio-economic norms towards the adoption of developmental approaches across the six large host countries covered by this solution pathway. At the same time, there are a number of REPI cases also hosting large numbers of refugees where developmental approaches have been adopted with very low socio-economic capacity. The top three REPI[2] cases, Uganda, Niger and Cameroon serve as examples.

The csQCA indicated that socio-economic interest-related conditions in combination with REFI are sufficient for the adoption of developmental approaches. After initial testing, two of the ISE

components, GRI and EVI, are included in Model 3 that also takes in the ECINQ, HDI, CSED conditions that prevailed in the above two models.

Social grievance (GRI) again is coded on a ten-point scale where ten refers to maximum grievance, which is taken as the fully-in score encompassing four cases. The fully-out score is set at 5.2, encompassing five cases, and the crossover point at 7.5 where a data gap occurs between Burundi as more in, and Mali as more out of the set.

The economic vulnerability index (EVI) sees the cases distributed between 11.37 (Turkey), which is set as fully out, i.e. non-vulnerable, to 70.49 (Gambia). The full membership is set at 50 which encompasses seven cases, and the crossover point is set at 30 separating Kenya from Papua New Guinea, which is more in.

The two parsimonious solution pathways cover 13 of the 16 REPI cases between them (single-pathway cases are highlighted in italics) and reveal that high relative refugee numbers in combination with interest-related conditions, either social grievance or the absence of economic vulnerability are sufficient configurations.

Model 3: REPI = f(REFI, CSED, HDI, ECINQ, HUMR, GRI, EVI)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.808
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
REFI*GRI	**0.645**	**0.156**	**0.754**
REFI*~EVI	**0.551**	**0.062**	**0.865**
solution coverage:	0.707	solution consistency:	0.749

REPI cases in pathway **REFI*GRI:** IRN (0.81,0.87), *SDN* (0.74,0.64), KEN (0.71,0.67), LBN (0.7,0.92), *UGA* (0.7,0.99), CMR (0.66,0.95), ETH (0.64,0.6), JOR (0.6,0.93), *NER* (0.6,0.98), PAK (0.6,0.75), *TCD* (0.6,0.9), COD (0.53,0.78)

REPI cases in pathway **REFI*~EVI**: LBN (0.865,0.92), JOR (0.788,0.93), CMR (0.762,0.95), IRN (0.757,0.87), *COG* (0.603,0.78), PAK (0.6,0.75), COD (0.53,0.78), KEN (0.524,0.67)

This shows that socio-economic interest-related conditions in combination with REFI offer indeed higher explanatory value. An initial conclusion after the first three models is to retain capacity and interest-related socio-economic conditions and discard the normative solution pathway from Model 1 as it covers the same cases that are also covered by the following models, but at lower consistency.

The most consistent, i.e. successful, pathways that emerge in the category of socio-economic conditions are high relative refugee numbers in combination with either a relatively high developmental status or with a relatively low degree of economic vulnerability; both at similar coverage rates, i.e. similarly important. Indeed, following Cuenod (1989), it was assumed that the absence of economic decline or vulnerability could contribute to the REPI[2]. Assuming that

higher economic stability also favours development, these two pathways naturally cover the same set of cases, with the second covering in addition also DR Congo and Cameroon.

Cameroon emerges as an example of a country with relatively low socio-economic capacity but higher interest levels that explain the high REPI outcome. The country has been host to more than 300,000 refugees from neighbouring Central African Republic and Nigeria, and has been granting equal educational rights to refugees, many of whom had never been to school before arriving in the host country (UNHCR, 2016d) which has added further complexities in an already extremely volatile and insecure environment especially in the country's North with fears of conflict swapping into its borders and increasing numbers of internally displaced. The country is thus heavily dependent on external aid, which however has been far below requirements, with less than 50% of humanitarian appeals funded in 2017 (OCHA, 2018).

Geo-political conditions

Following similar procedures as for the socio-economic conditions, an analysis of geo-political norms reveals a prevalence of the refugee protection environment condition RPE, in addition to the external influence condition EXT amongst the interest-based set, and the government effectiveness condition GOV in the capacity-related set. Taken together with the geo-political context condition LAN, Model 4 is created.

The external intervention condition (EXT) is coded on a ten-point scale where ten refers to maximum intervention. As fully in are defined ten cases at 9.3 and higher; as fully out, three cases at or below 3.8, and the crossover point is set at 6.4 taking advantage of a data gap between Togo and Iran.

The LAN condition refers to the availability of physical inclusion space by measuring the hectares of arable land per person. Data gaps are used to define the three breakpoints at 0.83 as fully in (representing Niger which leaves a wide gap to its closest follower), 0.3 as the crossover point between Burkina Faso more in and Cameroon, and 0.07 as fully out covering nine cases.

Scores for government effectiveness (GOV) range from - 2.5 to 2.5 with the dataset for the 41 cases ranging from - 2.26 to 0.88. These are also taken as fully out and fully in membership scores respectively, with the crossover point set at - 0.62 separating Pakistan as more out from Niger due to a data gap.

The resulting intermediate solution includes two pathways that are combined to EXT*GOV in the parsimonious solution. These pathways indicate that either high levels of external influence and government effectiveness are sufficient even in the face of arable land scarcity to lead to the adoption of developmental approaches in 72% of cases with this configuration, or else, high levels of external influence and government effectiveness are sufficient if combined with a more

favourable protection environment. The solution covers six cases, amongst which Iran, Kenya and Uganda are explained by both intermediate pathways.

Model 4: REPI = f(RPE, EXT, LAN, GOV)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.712
Intermediate solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
EXT*~LAN*GOV	**0.601**	**0.076**	**0.722**
RPE*EXT*GOV	**0.554**	**0.017**	**0.722**
solution coverage:	0.641	solution consistency:	0.720

REPI cases in pathway **EXT*~LAN*GOV**: *JOR* (0.707,0.93), KEN (0.603,0.67), *LBN* (0.53,0.92), IRN (0.517,0.87), UGA (0.517,0.99)

REPI cases in pathway **RPE*EXT*GOV**: IRN (0.517,0.87), UGA (0.517,0.99), KEN (0.51,0.67), *NER* (0.51,0.98)

Niger emerged as the top-two case on the REPI index and is here covered by the second intermediate solution pathway indicating that a combination of geo-political normative, interest-based and capacity-related conditions are sufficient for the adoption of developmental approaches. In comparison to many other host countries, such as those covered by the first pathway, the availability of arable land per person is not an issue with the country scoring highest amongst the set of 41 for this condition. Niger's Education Sector Plan was the only policy document that was found to make specific arrangements to facilitate refugees' access to education by reducing documentation requirements at the time of registration and examination.

The country has also been one of the pilot countries for UNHCR's Alternatives to Camps policy, a central pillar of a more developmental approach. By providing more land for livestock, nomadic Malian refugees were given opportunities towards self-sufficiency favouring their pastoral lifestyle (UNHCR, 2015a). This was made possible indeed by the more favourable refugee protection environment and partnerships at both government and community levels with Nigerien families hosting refugees, and refugees being able to also access land property rights.

Normative conditions

The analysis of normative conditions by themselves reveals that no combinations reach the levels of consistency and coverage that are needed to draw solid conclusions. They are therefore combined with contextual conditions RHH and PMY to see whether they lead to more meaningful results in these configurations. To reduce the number of conditions in Model 5, the super condition NSEH is used instead of its components.

The refugee hosting history (RHH) is a composite measure that was created where normalised scores range from 0 as the least complex (Papua New Guinea) to Lebanon as the most complex at 1. Its thresholds are set based on case knowledge and supported by data gaps. The fully out score is set at 0.26 covering ten cases. The fully in score is set at 0.78 covering nine cases, and the crossover point is set at 0.45 dividing Algeria from Rwanda as more in than out.

Socio-economic norms related to human rights (NSEH) were used as super condition that encompasses three of the conditions included in previous models (VAC, LIB, HUMR) which were normalised and combined to this measure distributing cases from 0.01 to 1. The highest value is also used as the fully-in score observed for South Africa. As fully out are considered eleven cases at or below 0.14, and the crossover point is set at 0.39 due to a data gap between Jordan and Uganda, which is more out.

The mean-year of policy document issuance (PMY) was perceived influential in the REPI^2 generation. It was considered that issuance before 2012 should be regarded more out than in informed by the release of UNHCR's global education strategy stipulating a more developmental approach. A value of 2011.9 thus serves as crossover point. Definitely new are documents from 2015 and more recent, and definitely outdated are documents from 2009 and prior.

The two resulting parsimonious pathways explain nine REPI cases, two amongst them with a complex hosting history where even older policy is sufficient for a developmental approach if combined with higher human rights norms, although this pathway does not seem important at low coverage. Seven cases with a complex hosting history but with lower human rights norms need a more favourable protection environment to be sufficient for the developmental approach outcome.

Model 5: REPI = f(RHH, NSEH, ECINQ, RPE, PMY)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.804
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
RHH*NSEH*~PMY	**0.275**	**0.040**	**0.803**
RHH*~NSEH*RPE	**0.538**	**0.302**	**0.806**
solution coverage:	0.577	solution consistency:	0.773

REPI cases in pathway **RHH*NSEH*~PMY**: *KEN* (0.656,0.67), *PAK* (0.533,0.75)

REPI cases in pathway **RHH*~NSEH*RPE**: *COD* (0.803,0.78), *IRN* (0.75,0.87), *SDN* (0.65,0.64), *ETH* (0.63,0.6), *UGA* (0.62,0.99), *TCD* (0.54,0.9), *COG* (0.501,0.78)

Normative conditions by themselves offer little explanatory significance. This goes in part to confirm Hypothesis 1 in that normative aspects might be sufficient only when aligned with interest-based factors, as is to be further explored. The top three REPI^2 cases Uganda, Niger and

Cameroon also show high values on the geo-political normative condition, which might be an indication of them being crucial for greater degrees of refugee inclusion. Importantly, in the two REPI cases with low relative refugee numbers, Papua New Guinea and Zambia, a favourable refugee protection environment alone is sufficient for the adoption of developmental approaches as discussed further below.

Interest-based conditions

Interest-based conditions are also tested on their own including five conditions GRI, EXT, EVI, SEC, and DEM in Model 6 after preliminary testing of several combinations. The csQCA found sufficiency in combination with REFI which is added to the model.

The SEC condition provides insights into the importance of internal or external security threats to a state, and it is coded on a ten-point scale where ten refers to the highest threat level. The lowest threat level is observed for Zambia at 4.6 to which the fully-out membership score is also attached. Setting the fully-in score at 9.8 includes Yemen, South Sudan, Iraq and Afghanistan in the set of countries definitely experiencing security threats. The crossover is set at 7.3 due to a data gap between Papua New Guinea as more out, and Iran as more in.

Demographic pressure on national resources is represented by the DEM condition which is also coded on a ten-point scale where ten refers to the highest levels of pressure. The lowest pressure levels are reported for Armenia at 3.1 which serves as the fully-out score. As fully in are considered Ethiopia, South Sudan and Chad defined by the breakpoint at 9.8. The crossover point is set at 7, due to a data gap occurring between Jordan as more out, and Egypt as more in.

The three parsimonious solution pathways covering nine REPI cases suggest that high relative refugee numbers in combination with either the absence of economic vulnerability or the absence of demographic pressure is sufficient to produce the REPI outcome, as is social grievance in combination with economic vulnerability and the absence of security threats. The first pathway also resulted from Model 3 testing socio-economic conditions on their own, and the second pathway can be excluded for covering the same cases as the first, but at lower consistency and coverage.

Model 6: REPI = f(REFI, GRI, EXT, EVI, SEC, DEM)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.816
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
REFI*~EVI	**0.551**	**0.150**	**0.865**
REFI*~DEM	**0.376**	**0.016**	**0.822**
GRI*EVI*~SEC	**0.331**	**0.063**	**0.763**
solution coverage:	0.648	solution consistency:	0.773

REPI cases in pathway **REFI*~EVI**: LBN (0.865,0.92), JOR (0.788,0.93), *CMR* (0.762,0.95), IRN (0.757,0.87), *COG* (0.603,0.78), *PAK* (0.6,0.75), *COD* (0.53,0.78), *KEN* (0.524,0.67)

REPI cases in pathway **REFI*~DEM**: IRN (0.769,0.87), LBN (0.679,0.92), JOR (0.564,0.93)

REPI cases in pathway **GRI*EVI*~SEC**: *UGA* (0.537,0.99)

Overall these results point to relative stability being favourable towards the inclusion of refugees. While the literature review found that security threats could potentially have a positive effect towards the adoption of developmental approaches for governments to avoid negative impacts on national security by increased social exclusion and the set-up of parallel structures beyond government control (UNHCR & OPM, 2017), this is not confirmed by QCA at least at policy level. However, it is remarkable that some of the top REPI^2 cases are indeed cases with high levels of security threats such as Chad, Niger, Lebanon and Cameroon.

Uganda, the top REPI^2 country, provides for an interesting case here where socio-economic challenges in a rather secure setting account for the adoption of developmental approaches. The argument could be made that Uganda is aware of its precarious situation set in between some of the largest refugee-producing nations and would like to avoid further security threats by adopting favourable refugee policy that has ensured it continued international support in the face of its economic vulnerability and internal social grievance.

The case is however also covered by other solution pathways that offer alternative explanatory approaches, such as Model 4 suggesting high levels of external influence and government effectiveness are sufficient if combined with a more favourable protection environment. Uganda is indeed part of the group of remarkable low-income countries where developmental approaches are pursued in the absence of socio-economic capacity, that were otherwise found a 'perfect' REPI case in the csQCA. Faced with these capacity constraints, Uganda has long been offering not only asylum, the right to work and plots of land, but also fertile ground for research into developmental approaches (Betts, Bloom, et al., 2017; Krause, 2016b; Meyer, 2006).

Importantly though, it emerges that external influence alone, is not sufficient for REPI. This is exemplified by countries that have received highest per refugee aid through UNHCR relative to domestic income such as Burundi, Central African Republic or Liberia, which however have not

been adopting developmental approaches. This points to the fact that relative internal political stability and capacity are key ingredients that are explored next.

Capacity-related conditions

Acknowledging the importance of the capacity-related conditions, it was assumed that high levels of socio-economic capacity in combination with government effectiveness, thus political capacity, can be sufficient in combination with the existence of the 'problem' stream, i.e. REFI. Analysing capacity-related conditions in combination with contextual conditions, Hypothesis 4 (High relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of socio-economic and / or political capacity are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches) can partly be confirmed, in that REFI in combination with HDI emerges as one of the solution pathways in Model 7. The two pathways suggest that high relative refugee numbers are sufficient either in combination with high levels of development or the availability of land, and are mutually exclusive covering nine REPI cases.

Model 7: REPI = f(HDI, RCAP, REFI, LAN, CSED, GOV)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.819
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
HDI*REFI	**0.548**	**0.308**	**0.809**
REFI*LAN	**0.323**	**0.323**	**0.844**
solution coverage:	0.631	solution consistency:	0.798

REPI cases in pathway **HDI*REFI**: *JOR* (0.98,0.93), *LBN* (0.98,0.92), *IRN* (0.81,0.87), *COG* (0.72,0.78), *PAK* (0.55,0.75), *KEN* (0.55,0.67)

REPI cases in pathway **REFI*LAN**: *NER* (0.65,0.98), *SDN* (0.585,0.64), *TCD* (0.557,0.9)

An important finding is that capacity-related conditions on their own are insufficient to produce the REPI. As has been found elsewhere, a country's capacity or financial wealth "does not ensure protection for its most vulnerable" (Svevo-Cianci et al., 2010: 51). Only the upper-middle-income cases Lebanon and Jordan are covered by the solution pathway HDI*CSED*GOV when testing Model 7 without the REFI condition at 0.8 consistency level. This supports assumptions that the less dependent a country is on external support, the more it will want to guard its national sovereignty and avoid the set-up of parallel humanitarian systems with the entailing stream of outside influence. The importance of REFI in combination with capacity-related factors however is crucial. This is confirmed by high capacity cases such as Malaysia or Thailand which have not adopted developmental approaches in the absence of high relative refugee numbers.

Model 8 tests Hypothesis 3 to see whether high relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of external intervention are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches even in the absence of political or socio-economic capacity.

The parsimonious solution pathways covering eight cases show that this hypothesis cannot be confirmed as indeed high relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of external intervention are sufficient only in combination with either socio-economic capacity (HDI) for six cases, or in combination with political capacity (GOV), which is true for six cases. For Lebanon, Jordan, Iran and Kenya, both pathways apply.

Model 8: REPI = f(REFI, EXT, DEM, HDI, CSED, GOV)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.811
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
REFI*EXT*HDI	**0.498**	**0.059**	**0.856**
REFI*EXT*GOV	**0.528**	**0.090**	**0.826**
solution coverage:	0.588	solution consistency:	0.818

REPI cases in pathway **REFI*EXT*HDI**: LBN (0.966,0.92), JOR (0.707,0.93), *COG* (0.621,0.78), KEN (0.55,0.67), *PAK* (0.55,0.75), IRN (0.517,0.87)

REPI cases in pathway **REFI*EXT*GOV**: JOR (0.707,0.93), KEN (0.603,0.67), LBN (0.53,0.92), IRN (0.517,0.87), *UGA* (0.517,0.99), *NER* (0.51,0.98)

While Hypothesis 3 can be confirmed for three REPI cases, Cameroon, Djibouti and Chad where high relative refugee numbers are sufficient in combination with external intervention (EXT) in the absence of governance (GOV) and development (HDI), overall this result serves to refute Hypothesis 3. This is an important finding that shows that exerting influence on refugee-hosting LMIC towards the adoption of developmental approaches can hardly work in the absence of home-grown capacity.

The recent withdrawal of Tanzania from the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) serves as a vivid example of host states not supporting the idea of unequal burden sharing. While the country has been hosting hundreds of thousands of refugees from neighbouring countries for many decades, and hosting regions have been found to have positively, albeit differentially, benefited from the presence of refugees in terms of socio-economic developmental impacts (Alix-Garcia & Saah, 2008; Maystadt & Duranton, 2014; Whitaker, 2002), and in the past been a prime example of favourable refugee solutions policies through the naturalisation of Burundian refugees (Hovil & Kweka, 2008), Tanzania has made it clear that “in the spirit of burden sharing, the Government will not borrow from the World Bank for financing refugees”. In a blow to refugee protection rights in the East African region, in the same *note verbale*, it emphasised that it will “no longer provide citizenship to Burundian

Refugees" but will encourage "voluntary repatriation" and discourage "new asylum seekers" (United Republic of Tanzania, 2018).

Combined analysis of sufficient configurations

From the eight models above, a number of insights emerge which inform the creation of a combined model. In search of the most parsimonious explanatory pathway, this model includes prevailing conditions from the above solutions, testing various configurations. It is through various iterations of such testing that a number of conditions were not included in the combined model such as EVI, GRI, NSEH, PMY, SEC as resulting solutions were either too complex to draw meaningful conclusions or resulted in low consistency and coverage values.

As Model 7 above, Model 9 partly confirms Hypothesis 4 (High relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of socio-economic and / or political capacity are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches), in that REFI in combination with HDI emerges as one of the solution pathways. Its other solution pathways suggest that the protection environment is sufficient in combination with either REFI or the refugee hosting history and external influence.

Model 9: REPI = f(REFI, RHH, CSED, RPE, EXT, LAN, HDI, GOV)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.818
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
REFI*HDI	**0.548**	**0.118**	**0.809**
RHH*RPE*EXT	**0.539**	**0.035**	**0.775**
REFI*RPE	**0.615**	**0.047**	**0.765**
solution coverage:	0.768	solution consistency:	0.741

REPI cases in pathway **REFI*HDI**: *JOR* (0.98,0.93), *LBN* (0.98,0.92), *PAK* (0.55,0.75), IRN (0.81,0.87), COG (0.72,0.78), KEN (0.55,0.67)

REPI cases in pathway **RHH*RPE*EXT**: UGA (0.828,0.99), COD (0.803,0.78), SDN (0.65,0.64), ETH (0.63,0.6), TCD (0.54,0.9), IRN (0.517,0.87), COG (0.501,0.78), KEN (0.51,0.67)

REPI cases in pathway **REFI*RPE**: *NER* (0.65,0.98), UGA (0.98,0.99), COD (0.53,0.78), SDN (0.65,0.64), ETH (0.63,0.6), TCD (0.54,0.9), IRN (0.75,0.87), COG (0.501,0.78), KEN (0.51,0.67)

A total of twelve out of the 16 REPI cases are covered by these three most parsimonious solution pathways. The REPI cases Cameroon, Djibouti, Papua New Guinea, and Zambia are not covered. The cases Republic of Congo, Iran, and Kenya are covered by all three pathways. The second and third pathway overlap in cases except for Niger which is only covered by the third, so that the

second pathway can be excluded since cases with high relative refugee numbers are also covered by cases with a complex refugee hosting history, except for the case of Niger.

Overall, the solution pathways indicate that high relative refugee numbers in combination with high development levels are sufficient for the adoption of developmental approaches, or in combination with a favourable refugee protection environment, leading to the below solution formula.

Equation 2: REPI outcome

REFI*(HDI + RPE) → REPI

For eight cases (COD, ETH, IRN, NER, PNG, SDN, UGA, ZMB), the RPE condition alone emerges as sufficient to produce the REPI outcome (consistency 0.61, coverage 0.75), suggesting a correlation here between the protection environment and the adoption of developmental approaches as was hypothesised. However, to test Hypothesis 1 (When aligned with states' interests, the respect for refugee-related protection norms are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches), further analysis is required to see in how far state interests align with refugee protection norms. A necessity test for RPE as outcome results in high scores for interest-based conditions, with EXT at 0.90 and DEM at 0.91. This shows that a favourable protection environment is extremely difficult to produce without these conditions and goes to further support the hypothesis.

Four REPI cases (CMR, DJI, PNG, ZMB) are not explained by the solution in Equation 2, and the question remains what makes them different, what other pathways they combine towards the REPI outcome. All four cases are lower-middle-income countries and have ratified the 1951 Convention (although Zambia with reservations including on Article 22 on education). Testing all eight conditions from Model 9 for these four cases specifically, the common elements emerge as high levels of external influence in combination with land scarcity and low levels of government effectiveness (EXT*~LAN*~GOV). In searching for more similarities of the four countries, a more detailed solution pathway emerges suggesting that external influence as well as high levels of external economic connections are sufficient for these lower-middle-income countries to produce the REPI outcome even in the absence of sufficient land and low levels of public service capacity (EXGS*EXT*~LAN*~PBS) at a solution coverage of 0.80 and solution consistency of 0.97.

Importantly however, in an effort to seek most parsimonious solution pathways, Papua New Guinea and Zambia's relatively favourable protection environment was found sufficient to produce the REPI outcome even with relatively low refugee numbers. Cameroon and Djibouti on the other hand, have relatively high refugee numbers, an unfavourable protection environment

and low developmental levels. What instead emerges as sufficient combination with REFI is external influence (EXT) at a solution consistency of 0.95.

The models for the four unexplained cases are combined, reduced to the most parsimonious pathways and added to the overall solution formula for the REPI outcome in Equation 3 which covers all 16 REPI cases.

Equation 3: REPI outcome

REFI*(HDI + RPE + EXT) + RPE → REPI

This overall solution for the REPI outcome indicates that high relative numbers of refugees in combination with either high development levels, or a favourable refugee protection environment, or high levels of external influence are sufficient, or else, a favourable refugee protection environment alone is sufficient for eight of the successful cases. The following table summarises the solution pathways and cases they cover for all 16 REPI cases (single pathway cases in italics).

Table 8: Summary of REPI solution pathways

REPI solution pathway	REPI cases covered by solution pathway
REFI*HDI	COG, IRN, *JOR*, KEN, *LBN*, *PAK*
REFI*RPE	ETH, COD, COG, IRN, KEN, NER, SDN, *TCD*, UGA
REFI*EXT	*CMR*, *DJI*
RPE	COD, ETH, IRN, NER, *PNG*, SDN, UGA, *ZMB*

The sufficiency analysis for the REPI outcome contributes several important insights towards answering the first research question. Firstly, the adoption of developmental approaches across host countries is necessitated by the presence of a significant number of refugees. Secondly, the existence of refugees is not sufficient for the adoption of developmental approaches. For the majority of cases, it is the combination with socio-economic capacity or with a favourable protection environment that leads to the inclusion of refugees in written policy. Thirdly, external intervention or internal pressure alone rarely lead to such positive outcomes for refugees at policy level.

Analysing the cases in two separate sets of 20 low-income and 21 lower and upper middle-income countries, Model 9 results in the parsimonious solution pathway REFI * RPE for the 5 low-income REPI cases, and in EXT * (REFI + RPE) for the 11 middle-income REPI cases, supporting the finding that external influence is a core ingredient in the case of middle-income countries. This indicates that normative factors indeed are sufficient for large host countries with lower socio-economic capacities where aid accounts for higher shares of government

resources and states thus have an interest to uphold norms in return, whereas external influence is sufficient for large host countries, and for smaller host countries in combination with a more favourable protection environment.

It is now of importance to analyse the ~REPI outcome in order to better understand variation between host countries on either ends of the REPI index.

~REPI outcome

No condition was found necessary for the adoption of humanitarian approaches. Looking at explanatory pathways towards the ~REPI outcome, low relative numbers of refugees (~REFI) emerges as a dominant sufficient condition throughout different models that have been tested. Including REFI, the refugee hosting history (RHH), NSEH, CSED, RPE, EXT, LAN, and HDI into Model 10, five parsimonious solution pathways emerge explaining 24 of the 25 ~REPI cases (except Rwanda, which resulted to be a 'perfect' REPI case in the csQCA); 17 of them are explained by low relative refugee numbers alone in the first pathway at highest consistency and coverage.

Model 10: ~REPI = f(REFI, RHH, NSEH, CSED, RPE, EXT, LAN, HDI)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.747
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
~REFI	**0.746**	**0.199**	**0.841**
~RPE*~HDI	**0.406**	**0**	**0.831**
[~NSEH*~RPE	0.533	0.002	0.807]
NSEH*RPE*~LAN	**0.388**	**0.001**	**0.833**
[RPE*HDI	0.412	0.008	0.784]
solution coverage:	0.876	solution consistency:	0.752

~REPI cases in pathway **~REFI**: *NPL* (0.96,0.95), *MLI* (0.95,0.76), SEN (0.95,0.95), THA (0.93,0.93), *AFG* (0.92,0.95), *BFA* (0.92,0.63), *BGD* (0.92,0.61), *TGO* (0.92,0.88), ZAF (0.92,0.81), *DZA* (0.88,0.96), EGY (0.88,0.74), CAF (0.87,0.88), *MYS* (0.82,0.96), *GMB* (0.7,0.85), LBR (0.66,0.79), GNB (0.52,0.95), *BDI* (0.51,0.95)

~REPI cases in pathway **~RPE*~HDI**: YEM (0.621,0.61), MRT (0.62,0.96), SSD (0.593,0.87), CAF (0.586,0.88)

[~REPI cases in pathway ~NSEH*~RPE: THA (0.76,0.93), MRT (0.66,0.96), EGY (0.621,0.74), YEM (0.621,0.61), SSD (0.593,0.87), CAF (0.586,0.88)]

~REPI cases in pathway **NSEH*RPE*~LAN**: SEN (0.674,0.95), LBR (0.67,0.79), ZAF (0.64,0.81), TUR (0.549,0.61), GNB (0.533,0.95), ARM (0.51,0.77), *TZA* (0.501,0.74)

[~REPI cases in pathway RPE*HDI: TUR (0.66,0.61), ZAF (0.64,0.81), *IRQ* (0.53,0.69), ARM (0.51,0.77)]

Apart from the 17 cases explained by relatively low refugee numbers, three additional cases are explained by an unfavourable refugee protection environment in combination with low developmental levels through the second parsimonious pathway. The Central African Republic is covered by the first two pathways.

The third pathway suggests that the low levels of normative conditions are sufficient for the non-adoption of developmental approaches. However, since all six cases explained by this pathway are already covered by the first two pathways, the third pathway is excluded.

The fourth pathway suggests that favourable normative human rights and refugee protection environment when combined with scarcity of physical inclusion space are sufficient for the non-adoption of developmental approaches. It covers seven cases, three of which are not covered by any of the previous pathways: Turkey, Armenia and Tanzania.

The cases Turkey, South Africa, Iraq and Armenia provide for logical inconsistency in the fifth pathway. It suggests for a combination of favourable protection environment and high developmental level to be sufficient for the non-adoption of developmental approaches, which is a direct contradiction to the main findings of sufficiency for the REPI outcome. Since three cases are also covered by the fifth solution pathway, this pathway is ignored and alternative explanations for Iraq need to be found.

This case is included in a second model that is created to specifically look at eight cases with a high REFI where the ~REPI outcome is observed (ARM, IRQ, MRT, RWA, SSD, TUR, TZA, YEM). This model also serves to test Hypothesis 5, which assumed that high relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of geo-political interest-based factors resulting from security threats or demographic pressure on land and resources are sufficient for the non-adoption of developmental policy approaches when combined with low levels of government capacity. Model 11 thus includes the REFI, SEC, DEM and GOV conditions. It confirms the hypothesis for four (including Iraq) of the eight ~REPI cases where REFI is present in its first complex solution pathway at a 0.95 consistency rate.

Model 11: ~REPI = f(REFI, SEC, DEM, GOV) *[cases: ARM, IRQ, MRT, RWA, SSD, TUR, TZA, YEM]*

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.940
Complex solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
REFI*DEM*~GOV	**0.615**	**0.304**	**0.947**
[REFI*~DEM*GOV	0.372	0.159	0.951]
REFI*~SEC*DEM	**0.326**	**0.056**	**0.960**
solution coverage:	0.840	solution consistency:	0.926

~REPI cases in pathway **REFI*DEM*~GOV**: *SSD* (0.96,0.87), *YEM* (0.72,0.61), *IRQ* (0.6,0.69), MRT (0.552,0.96)

[~REPI cases in pathway REFI*~DEM*GOV: *TUR* (0.723,0.61), *ARM* (0.55,0.77)]

~REPI cases in pathway **REFI*~SEC*DEM**: *RWA* (0.679,0.6), MRT (0.574,0.96), *TZA* (0.501,0.74)

The second pathway is again excluded as the cases have already been explained in Model 10. The third pathway offers a solution for Rwanda which was not explained previously. It suggests that high relative refugee numbers in combination with demographic pressure in the absence of security threats is sufficient for the non-adoption of developmental approaches. A more parsimonious sufficient solution combining the first and the third pathway thus emerges as high relative refugee numbers in combination with demographic pressure.

The solution pathways that have emerged from Models 10 and 11 suggest that mostly low relative refugee numbers are sufficient for the non-adoption of developmental approaches, but this can also result from either an unfavourable refugee protection environment in combination with low levels of development, or a more favourable normative environment combined with lack of physical inclusion space, or in the case of high relative refugee numbers when combined with demographic pressure on natural resources.

Equation 4: ~REPI outcome

~REFI + ~RPE*~HDI + REFI*DEM → ~REPI

These results show that policy shifts towards developmental approaches have not taken place in countries where refugees are not as visible and have not made it on the top of policy agenda setting lists. Countries without favourable protection environments, low socio-economic capacity or struggling with demographic pressure on land and resources that host large numbers of refugees, count on the humanitarian sector to provide for them.

1.3 Conclusions on national policy approaches to refugee education

Empirical findings show that despite a strong policy push from the global level and expectations of conformity and compliance amongst low- and middle-income host states, developmental approaches in refugee education have so far been adopted to a very low extent at national policy level. While the policy environment overall was not found to be outright exclusive of refugees, with the majority of policy documents ignoring the existence of refugees, there are few instances of explicitly inclusive policy frameworks, such as in the case of Niger where favourable education access arrangements for refugees are pinned down in written policy.

The coding of policy documents led to a clustering of the majority of countries at the humanitarian end of the REPI^2 spectrum, with 16 countries showing a marginal degree of refugee inclusion at the development end. It results that overall across 41 countries hosting 78% of the world's refugees (UNHCR, 2017g), refugees are not imagined as an integral part of nation-state development visions and their educational needs do not present a national policy priority. Education Sector Plans when referring to refugees, do not generally take the kind of long-term view towards institution- and capacity-building linked to broader development goals that would enable the absorption of incoming refugee learners (Dryden-Peterson, 2016a), but instead remain stuck in access challenges.

This presents a very low baseline for the theory of change towards the inclusion of refugees in host states' national education systems and thus reveals great advocacy needs towards policy revision if it is to lead to success.

Strikingly, host countries' development plans do not represent the kind of progressive rights framework recognising mobility and de facto integration of refugees as envisioned at global refugee policy level (UNHCR, 2017e). Instead, the human security agenda (Duffield, 2007; Stilhoff Sörensen, 2012) dominates discourse linked to refugees in national policy documents, which continue to be "shaped by domestic political calculations" (Crawford et al., 2015: 2). Rather than being offered the opportunity to take part in the neo-liberal project as "quasi-citizens" (Haddad, 2003: 10), written policy assigns refugees the role of non-citizens living outside the nation-state system supported through humanitarian mechanisms.

Three decades ago already, Kibreab argued that to "transform refugees from a liability to an asset and to enable them to become an important factor in the process of national development, three conditions must exist simultaneously" which he defined as follows: national economies must improve, refugee policies must be integrated nationally, and refugee policies must encourage refugees to partake in development processes (1987: 278).

The analysis shows indeed that economic capacities are a key aspect, it made clear however that refugees still do not figure prominently in national development policies. Refugee education is

regarded merely as a public good to be provided by the international refugee regime, without consideration of its potential private benefits to host states.

It also reveals that cases of mixing up refugees with high-risk groups as well as the general tendency to include refugees amongst vulnerable groups in written policy does not provide for a sound basis on which to build a discourse of refugees as socio-economic actors and to tap into the developmental potential that the inclusion of refugees in national development visions and planning could offer. If refugees are to contribute positively to their host communities' development, a first important step at policy level will be to portray refugees not as trouble makers nor as victims in need of humanitarian assistance, but as agents.

What explains variation across host countries in the adoption of developmental policy approaches in refugee education? Through Qualitative Comparative Analysis, it was shown empirically that clear sets of conditions exist under which developmental approaches are adopted in low- and middle-income host countries, and sets of conditions under which they do not.

Pathways towards developmental approaches highlight refugee numbers act as a key driver for global level policy to be picked up at national level rather than normative or capacity-related conditions. Findings confirm Kingdon's agenda-setting theory (2013) in the sense that the existence of a problem alone, in this case refugee numbers generating public attention, is necessary, but not sufficient in itself to lead to the adoption of developmental approaches. It is mainly in convergence with internal capacity and the increasing political autonomy this brings along that work towards the avoidance of parallel humanitarian service systems, but was also found as a result of a more favourable normative environment that serves the country's interests in the case of lower resource countries dependent on aid.

Importantly, the analysis reveals that it is neither socio-economic capacity nor external influence alone that guarantee the adoption of developmental approaches. Faced with high refugee numbers and a lack of capacity, external intervention is unlikely to lead to the inclusion of refugees.

Upholding refugee protection norms in itself was not found sufficient for the adoption of developmental approaches across the board, but when aligned with states' interests as was hypothesised. While Mendenhall et al. found that policy barriers to refugees' access to national education systems are "more likely to occur in countries that have reservations affecting education or that have not ratified" international treaties, this was not widely confirmed by QCA, while the opposite – having signed on to international norms indeed results in "more inclusive policy environments" (2017a: 23) as exemplified by Niger and Uganda, the top two REPI^2 cases.

Humanitarian approaches on the other hand, were found prevalent in countries with low relative refugee numbers, but these can also result from demographic pressure on natural resources where refugee numbers are more important.

This has a number of implications for global policy making. Beyond good-intentioned but empty-handed advocacy towards more developmental approaches to ensure refugees' inclusion in national education systems of overstretched host countries, financial and technical support will be needed given persistent asymmetrical power relations between the global South and North. Commitments towards supporting the inclusion of refugees in national development frameworks need to go beyond offering loans, as was shown by the case of Tanzania, and need to pay attention to the needs of the most vulnerable that will include host and refugee community members alike. Without dedicated international cooperation, policy change is unlikely to occur as host governments will not perceive developmental approaches as the solution pathway to create a policy 'window of opportunity' in Kingdon's terms.

These empirical findings offer a baseline understanding of the refugee regime's theory of change towards the inclusion of refugees in national education systems against which to measure progress and effectiveness of the approaches pursed. More than being the foundation for this analysis, the REPI[2] itself serves as a much-needed state-of-play of the refugee education policy landscape across the largest hosting countries in refugee regions of origin enabling more strategic engagement with governments and development partners in addressing remaining policy gaps. As such, it offers a useful contribution to the refugee education sector as well as a complement to ongoing work on refugee policy more broadly, such as the Refugee Response Index currently being developed by DARA (2017).

While it was not confirmed that more recent policy documents were overwhelmingly more developmental in their outset, the time dimension deserves closer attention in further research. This seems relevant as indeed the latest global policy efforts, including the "historic" adoption of the New York Declaration with unprecedented commitment to refugees and migrants aiming to ease pressure on host countries and enhance refugee self-reliance as well as expanding resettlement and safe repatriation (Thomas, 2017), along with the ensuing CRRF eventually leading to the adoption of a Global Compact for Refugees (UNGA, 2016), but also stronger partnerships in education (IIEP & GPE, 2015; UNHCR & GPE, 2016), appear to be turning the tide. These events are still relatively fresh for their effects on national policy adoption to be assessed here.

What recent developments prove, is that refugee policy matters to the international community and to refugee hosting countries. The issue is on the agenda and there is political will to work towards solutions that serve both national and international interests. It is up to all those stakeholders to ensure that developmental approaches are enacted and practised as a viable

solution. In December 2017, Ministers of Education of seven East African countries declared to include refugees in their national education sector plans by 2020, to “facilitate their rapid entry into the national education system” and to respond to their “distinct learning needs” (IGAD, 2017: 4).

These are positive steps, and it will remain to be seen whether good intentions lead to more favourable policy, and with the necessary support, can be translated into positive action. Indeed, while most refugee education policies “have not been enacted into law, and instead serve as unenforceable internal guidelines for those who have adopted them” (Mendenhall et al., 2017a: 20), policy does serve as an important instrument that can actively facilitate or hinder refugees’ access to education in practice, which is of empirical interest for the second and third parts of this chapter that look at implementation patterns and variation in practice in relation to these findings on refugee education policy.

2. Developmental approaches in refugee education practice

The first part of chapter IV was concerned with adoption of developmental approaches at policy level. Part two of the empirical analysis now turns to refugee education in practice across the 41 cases in answering the second research question that aims to establish to what extent implementation patterns in refugee education can be explained by policy approaches. The research interest thus lies in first of all investigating how refugee education is implemented in practice across the cases. This implies researching possible access pathways for refugees within or outside national education systems. Secondly, this question is interested in determining factors that can explain implementation pathways.

Considering the dominant theory of change and decisiveness with which inclusion has been promoted at global level, it is expected for the mapping of implementation pathways and subsequent comparison to the REPI[2] to reveal a gap where countries might wish to appear compliant with global trends but do not have capacity or interest in implementing policy. Such an "implementation gap is the discrepancy between policies on paper and their actual implementation" which can arise due to capacity or planning constraints but also when a "large degree of discretion and assessment is involved in policy implementation" (Czaika & De Haas, 2013: 496). In countries with decentralised education governance, national-level education policy outlined in sector plans might not be closely followed at school-level. Schools might have discretion on who they admit, and even in high-income countries have been found to shy away at times from admitting refugees for fears of lowering their performance average (Hathaway, 2005).

In considering ethical, pedagogical, protection, economic and socio-political perspectives, the literature review revealed there are different schools of thought with opposing views on what should be the best approaches to schooling refugees. Normative questions aside, this empirical part answers analytical questions about what approaches are currently in use within the host nation-state education system or without it, and what combinations of factors can lead to refugees' inclusion or their exclusion, so as to create a baseline understanding for the theory of change and inform strategic directions that could be adopted towards its end goals.

By promoting inclusion of refugees in national education systems, the theory of change was found to carry several implicit assumptions that need to be tested here. To structure and guide this analysis, five hypotheses were formulated based on the ToC and theoretical considerations from a review of the literature (referenced in Appendix B).

Against the backdrop of an expected implementation gap, it was hypothesised that developmental policy would not be necessary for developmental practice, i.e. to ensure refugees' inclusion in national education systems. Rather, it is a key enabler when combined

with socio-economic capacity, but not necessary where refugee protection norms can sufficiently produce inclusion on their own.

Importantly, the literature review pointed to the fact that normative conditions, such as having ratified the Refugee Convention, would not be a guarantee by themselves for granting access to the national education system. With this in mind, a favourable protection environment goes beyond conventional obligations and includes opportunities to work for refugees which will also change the education rate of return calculation for host governments in supporting education as a public good yielding societal returns.

Since inclusion of refugees in national education systems comes with a certain degree of acceptance of their more-than-temporary presence, and opens up possible pathways to eventual local integration precisely by providing a mechanism for refugees to experience social citizenship (Ager & Strang, 2008; Dryden-Peterson, 2016b; World Bank, 2015), it is expected that exclusion is practised where there is demographic pressure to avoid the opening up of such pathways. In cases with relatively high refugee numbers, which were assumed to act as a main driver for the adoption of developmental policy as was confirmed, demographic pressure or the lack of additional targeted support for refugee education could act as an inhibitor for inclusive practice. Whereas it was found that security pressure could produce inclusion where there is interest to avoid exclusion and the set-up of parallel non-state structures this could entail.

To carry out this analysis, this second part of chapter IV is structured along three sections where data is generated in section 2.1 by systematically mapping patterns of refugee education against the fourfold typology that was built in chapter II to create the Refugee Education Implementation (REI) outcome condition. Section 2.2 then uses the data generated and analyses explanatory factors for variation in implementation pathways, i.e. REI, through Qualitative Comparative Analysis. Data generated in previous research steps, such as the REPI index, serve as conditions for the models that are created here. Of particular concern for QCA is to what extent written policy is necessary for more inclusive approaches to refugee education, or in combination with what conditions it might be sufficient to produce such developmental practice. Section 2.3 provides conclusions.

2.1 What are refugee education implementation pathways?

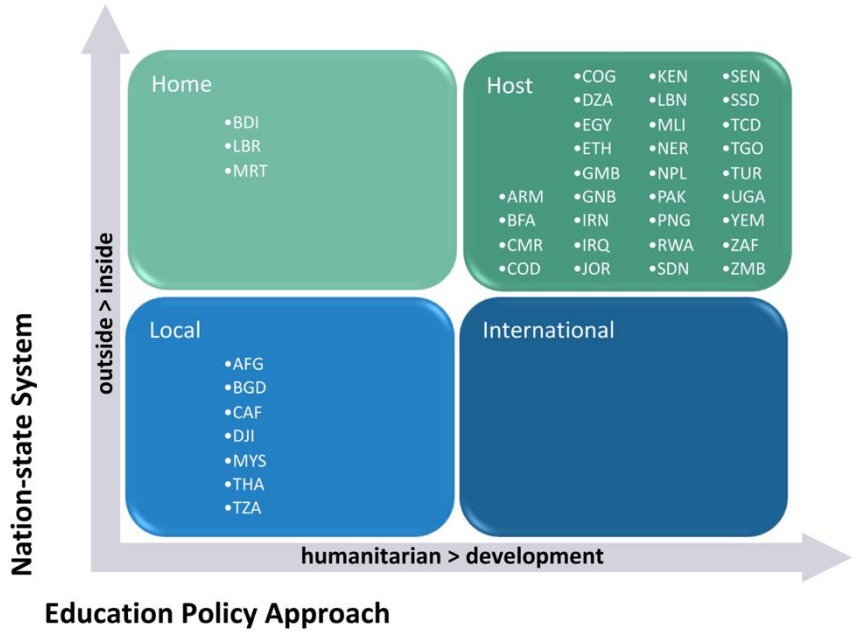
To establish implementation patterns, the fourfold typology developed in chapter II (Figure 4) is used as a starting point, against which cases are mapped to create the Refugee Education Implementation (REI) condition. A typology was identified as a useful heuristic foundation for the following empirical analysis (Bailey, 1994; Smith, 2002). By using two dichotomised dimensions (education policy approach dichotomised into humanitarian or development, and nation-state system dichotomised into outside or inside), a fourfold typology was created with the four types being host (development-inside), home (humanitarian-inside), local (humanitarian-outside), and international (development-outside).

Three steps are here carried out as detailed in chapter III to develop an applied typology of refugee education as described in chapter III, starting from a broad mapping by type of system available and accessible in a first step where empirical cases are assigned to one of the four types, to a more detailed mapping that situates cases in a two-dimensional space in the second step, to finally the creation of the Refugee Education Implementation (REI) condition as outcome condition for the ensuing QCA.

Step 1: Broad mapping along fourfold typology

In the first step, cases are assigned to one of the four types following close reading and triangulation of the core data sources (UNHCR, 2015c, 2016c, 2016d, 2017a, 2017b, 2017k), when it was found that the majority of refugee students have access to that particular type of education system. This is done irrespective of the percentage of refugees who are actually enrolled (enrolments are only added to the analysis in part 3). Where significant differences in education system access possibilities were identified within cases either by refugee population group, or by their geographic location, this is considered in the discussion, however, with the analysis limited by national-level data, cases cannot be disaggregated at sub-national level as the typology demands for each case to be assigned to one type only.

Figure 13: Broad typology of refugee education



The broad mapping reveals that the vast majority of cases indeed find themselves inside the nation-state system (y-axis) and at the development end of the education approach spectrum (x-axis). This gives the first impression that developmental approaches are the norm in practice, even though the policy analysis found a prevalence of humanitarian approaches. If confirmed by more detailed mappings, this would imply an immense gap between policy and practice with written policy being less favourable in terms of the adoption of developmental approaches than what is in fact practice.

No cases were found to have the majority of refugees schooled through the international approach, although minorities of refugees in various host countries would fall into this box, such as Malaysia where refugees are not allowed to access the national education system and are taught in community schools mostly following locally developed curricula, but where some of them have the opportunity to sit for internationally accredited examinations (UNHCR, 2014d). Outside the set of 41 cases, in Sri Lanka, refugees are mainly enrolled in private international schools for lack of access to the public system (UNHCR, 2016d).

Seven cases are located in the humanitarian-outside 'local' box. These include Thailand and Malaysia, where refugees from Myanmar have been following locally developed curricula which are not accredited by any state authorities. In Thailand, urban refugees in theory can attend national schools, but face practical barriers including language and documentation requirements, as well as parents' preference to send children to informal community-based schools. Refugee communities in Thai camps, have shown ingenuity in coming up with their own transformative solutions in the absence of outside support, and have successfully tapped into

education's potential to nation-build in exile through the development of their own curricula (Zeus, 2011). Historically, such programmes have been closely linked to decolonisation and political freedom struggles (Dodds, 1986; Sinclair, 2001).

In Afghanistan, Pakistani refugees from North Waziristan study the national Pakistani curriculum in Urdu with the support of humanitarian actors solely. A small minority of refugees who live in urban areas in Kabul or Herat, however, access national Afghan schools (UNHCR, 2017k). These examples go to show that countries cannot easily be assigned to only one of the boxes as a mix of implementation arrangements exist.

Tanzania is another case that would need to be split into two sub-cases by refugee population groups, in the 'home' and 'local' boxes – both at the humanitarian end of the spectrum. Burundian and Congolese refugees follow the curriculum from their respective home countries in refugee camp schools set up for them in parallel to the national system (UNHCR, 2014b). Congolese refugees are counted as inside the nation-state system as they receive certification from their country of origin, while Burundian refugees who arrived in 2015 are outside the nation-state system. Home country accreditation arrangements have not been made for refugee protection reasons, instead efforts have been under way to include refugees in Tanzania's national education system with limited success, which in the face of renewed restricted refugee policy seems unlikely to occur. Refugee students in the meantime can go to school, but without receiving recognised certificates for their learning achievements (UNHCR, 2017a). If a historical component was added to this mapping, Tanzania would also be counted in the 'host' box as earlier case loads of Burundian refugees were included in the national education system and were later naturalised (Kuch, 2017; RET, 2012).

Similarly, the Central African Republic would need to be split between the local and the host boxes. Efforts have been under way to include South Sudanese refugees in the national system, which have been met with some resistance from the communities who prefer to use their country-of-origin curriculum instead. Congolese refugees have been following the national curriculum, however since the South Sudanese outnumber Congolese, overall the local type dominates (UNHCR, 2017a).

The three cases in the 'home' box are settings where refugees officially follow their home-country education system and thus remain inside the nation-state system as students register with their home country education authorities. The education approach is a humanitarian one where their needs are not envisioned as part of developmental planning within the host nation-state, but is supported through parallel policy, funding and programming streams. This is the case in Burundi, where Congolese refugees have been residing, mainly in camps, since the early 2000s. Children and youth are taught the Congolese curriculum by teachers from the refugee

community who are paid incentives by UNHCR and partner organisations. Their learning is accredited by Congolese inspectors (UNHCR, 2017a).

The 'host' box is filled with the vast majority of cases. This is in spite of the policy analysis finding the bulk of cases to be located at the humanitarian end of the policy spectrum. However, there are different practical adaptations of this approach and great disparities within and across the countries in this box in terms of specific implementation arrangements and practical adaptations.

In Iran for instance, refugee and national students go to the same schools. Likewise, in Uganda refugees from various countries are registered in the national education system following its curriculum and receiving Ugandan school certificates whether they are residing in urban areas or in settlements across the country (UNHCR, 2012b). Such arrangements are not without learning infrastructure or language challenges (Kupfer, 2016).

While in Zambia, the majority of refugees live in settlements and are physically segregated from the local population, schools in the settlements are registered with the national education authorities and refugees are entitled to the same access and certification arrangements as nationals. This is in spite of the country's reservations to Refugee Convention Article 22 on education (UNHCR, 2017k). Schools in settlements also take in local students from small surrounding communities.

When geographical segregation is a reality in many of the countries where refugees are hosted in camps that are often remote and thus attended predominantly by refugees, such as in Chad, Ethiopia or Kenya (Government of Kenya, 2011; UNHCR, 2014c), time-bound segregation is practised in countries such as Lebanon, so that inclusion in policy and practice does not necessarily reflect inclusive classrooms where refugee and local students study side-by-side.

Lebanon had to introduce second shifts to accommodate the large number of Syrian refugee learners in national schools. While this has led to a rise in the numbers of refugees enrolled, and refugees follow the same curriculum as nationals on the same school benches, it also means a segregated education system as the two groups – nationals and refugees – are mainly taught in separate morning and afternoon shifts (Buckner et al., 2017; UNHCR, 2014a). Fears about creating parallel and inequitable education opportunities for refugees and nationals were what led on the one hand to the restriction of non-formal education provision, and on the other to the opening up of double shifts enabling Syrian refugee learners to attend public schools. Some observers argue that these implementation arrangements have had a negative effect on the quality of teaching, and thus learning outcomes, since class time needed to be reduced to accommodate both shifts (CDG & IRC, 2017).

In some countries, a gradual shift towards inclusion in the national host education system has occurred over time with increasing refugee arrivals, such as in the case of Turkey where Syrian refugees first attended temporary learning centres and have progressively been included in the national education system following the government's roadmap (UNHCR, 2017i).

West African host nations, such as the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal or Togo fall into the host country box, even though they were situated at the humanitarian end of the policy spectrum for not explicitly including refugees. Regional agreements within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) work in refugees' favour as they can in practice access national host education systems by virtue of their ECOWAS member-state citizenship which outweighs their refugee status (IOM & UNHCR, 2011).

Step 2: Situating cases in the two-dimensional space

The description of dissimilarities between country cases grouped within the same box, but also the diversity of implementation pathways within cases, begs for more detailed analysis and unpacking of components. In a second step, the typology's two-dimensional space is therefore further broken down with the help of six variables that are each coded on a scale from 1 to 4 as described in chapter III (Table 3) in order to situate cases more precisely in relation to each other. The education policy approach dimension (x-axis) is operationalised through access, type of curriculum, type of actors and type of funding mechanisms. These variables provide information about the type of education system approach that is being pursued at country level contrasting the humanitarian to the developmental approach as earlier defined.

The nation-state system dimension (y-axis) is operationalised through accredited certification and inclusion in national education statistics. These two variables provide information about the way refugees are imagined as members or non-members of the nation-state system, be that through their inclusion in the host or the home country national Education Management Information System (EMIS) or their ability to attain certification that is recognised by any nation-state. The rationale for these two components is that without being included in national EMIS, refugees' learning achievements are not captured and they effectively do not exist in global education statistics that are made up of national statistics. Without them being able to obtain recognised certification, their entry into further education or labour markets will be barred.

Table 9: Detailed analysis of refugee education typology components

	Education Policy Approach				Nation-State	
Case	**Access**	**Curriculum**	**Actors**	**Funding**	**Certificate**	**EMIS**
AFG	2	2	1	1	2	1
ARM	4	4	4	4	4	4
BDI	2	2	1	1	3	2
BFA	4	4	3	2	4	3
BGD	1	3	1	1	1	1
CAF	3	3	1	1	2	1
CMR	4	4	3	2	4	3
COD	4	4	2	2	4	2
COG	4	4	3	3	4	3
DJI	1	1	2	1	1	1
DZA	4	4	3	2	4	3
EGY	3	3	3	2	3	3
ETH	4	4	3	2	4	2
GMB	4	4	3	2	4	3
GNB	4	4	3	3	4	3
IRN	4	4	3	3	4	3
IRQ	4	4	2	2	4	2
JOR	4	4	3	2	4	3
KEN	4	4	3	2	4	3
LBN	4	4	3	2	4	3
LBR	2	2	2	1	3	2
MLI	4	4	2	2	4	2
MRT	2	2	2	2	3	2
MYS	1	1	1	1	1	1
NER	4	4	3	2	4	3
NPL	2	4	3	2	3	2
PAK	2	3	3	2	3	2
PNG	4	4	3	3	4	3
RWA	3	4	3	2	4	3
SDN	2	3	3	2	3	2
SEN	4	4	3	2	4	3
SSD	4	4	3	2	4	2
TCD	4	4	3	2	4	2
TGO	4	4	3	2	4	3
THA	1	1	1	1	1	1
TUR	4	4	3	3	4	4
TZA	1	1	1	1	2	1
UGA	4	4	3	2	4	3
YEM	4	4	3	2	4	3
ZAF	4	4	3	3	4	3
ZMB	4	4	3	2	4	3
Average	*3.22*	*3.39*	*2.54*	*1.98*	*3.39*	*2.41*

The detailed mapping reveals differences not only across the 41 cases, but also within cases between the six variables. On average across the 41 cases, the highest values emerge for curriculum and certification at 3.39 which means a tendency towards developmental approaches in practice in terms of ensuring refugees have access to an accredited curriculum and are entitled to certification at levels close to those for nationals. This is an encouraging finding in that most countries have moved towards granting refugees access to an accreditation which, based on a review of the literature, was hypothesised to serve as a strong motivation for attendance, retention and learning outcomes (Kirk, 2009).

The lowest values emerge for the budget variable at 1.98 on average which goes to show that even where progress has been made towards including refugees in the national education system, this is still largely funded from humanitarian pots which poses a risk to sustainability given the protractedness of most refugee situations. The EMIS variable emerges with an only slightly higher average value at 2.41, still classified as humanitarian. This is a further indication for the fact that while refugees can access recognised certification, their learning needs and achievements are not captured in national statistics of their host countries.

The methodological description in chapter III highlighted that while access and curriculum, or actors and funding might seem similar, there can be cases where refugees do not have access to national public schools and the formal education system, but they still follow the host country's curriculum.

The table reveals that for most countries, the values on the first two and the last two variables for the x-axis indeed are the same, however there are notable exceptions. In Nepal, for instance, only a minority of refugees attend public schools, mainly in urban areas. Access was thus coded 2 following Table 3. However, all refugees in the country study the national Nepali curriculum, so the second column is coded 4. All refugees studying this curriculum also receive certificates, with these certificates specifically mentioning their refugee status. Refugees are not mainstreamed in national public schools, and mostly separated from nationals in camp schools supported by humanitarian actors. Bhutanese and Tibetan refugee schools combine the host curriculum with their respective country-of-origin language and social studies (UNHCR, 2016d).

This is also the case in Bangladesh where Rohingya refugees from Myanmar have been hosted mainly since the early 1990s. Only from 1996 onwards, were refugee children permitted to access non-formal education services following an adapted version of the Burmese curriculum. In 2007, the Government of Bangladesh agreed to introduce the formal Bangladeshi national curriculum for refugee children at primary level. However, this did not come with access rights to national schools nor allow refugees to sit for national end-of-primary exams, so their learning achievements are not officially certified and post-primary education remains a challenge. Instead, refugees are provided with certificates issued by UNHCR and partners which bear little

value outside the camp setting (UNHCR, 2016e). While curriculum was thus coded 3, access and certification needed to be coded 1.

In Mauritania, all urban refugees have access to public schools at the same level as national children. Sometimes, parents are reported to be reluctant however to send their children to host country schools where the teaching language is mainly Arabic which creates challenges for refugees coming from francophone countries, so in reality many refugees attend private schools in the capital (UNHCR, 2017a). In camps, Malian refugees follow the Malian curriculum taking Malian exams but without any support from Malian authorities. Since camp refugees make up the majority in the country, Mauritania is coded 2 on the access and certification variables.

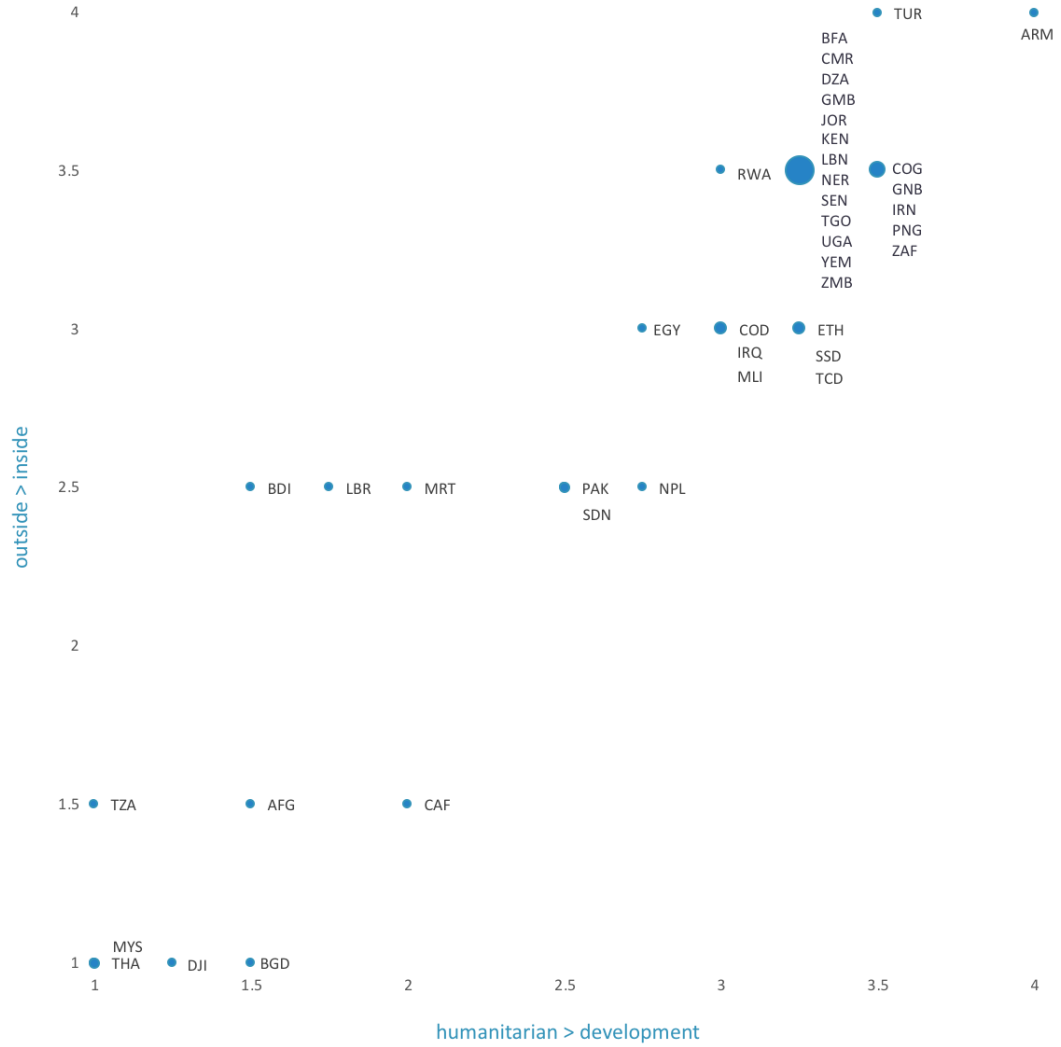
In Ethiopia, public schools are often too distant, so while refugees have access to national host country schools in camps which are accredited by the national ministry of education, it means they are geographically separated from national learners. This separation has also meant that refugee schools are mainly supported by humanitarian funding pots, coded 2, all the while the national government has been taking on an increasing role, coded 3. While their learning is accredited, it is not yet officially included in national education statistical reports, although efforts have been made to capture refugee education data and include it as a subsection to the national statistical report.[14]

Step 3: Creation of Refugee Education Implementation condition

To create the detailed typology, the average of the four values for the x-axis variables and the average of the two values for the y-axis are calculated. This is visualised in the figure below. The x- and y-axis values are then multiplied to create the Refugee Education Implementation (REI) condition which serves as outcome condition in the ensuing QCA. Values are available in Appendix A.

[14] These statistics were not yet available at the time of research, but have in the meantime indeed been published (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2018). Ethiopia's ranking has since moved up to 4 on the y-axis.

Figure 14: Detailed typology of refugee education (marker size relative to number of cases)



The detailed typology reveals large differences between cases within the same box while also uncovering clusters of similar cases. Armenia and Turkey emerge as the cases with the most development-oriented and inclusive approaches to refugee education in this typology, while Malaysia and Thailand are the cases with the most humanitarian-oriented and exclusive approach to refugee education. All four countries were classified as humanitarian for the REPI[2]. Research into practical arrangements now indeed confirms a policy-practice gap.

The policy analysis classified both Armenia and Turkey at the humanitarian end since no mention of refugees was made in the texts. Research into practice now corroborates that refugees are included in the national education system and are understood to have the same access rights as nationals, as was already discussed for the case of Armenia. Turkey has adopted domestic legislation to govern, amongst others, education for refugees with temporary protection status. The countries' high ranking in the REI condition however cannot be mistaken for high enrolment rates, to be discussed in part 3. While Turkey's legislation should in practice facilitate refugees'

enrolment, many refugees are reported to be ill-informed about their rights and procedures of registration and enrolment with language presenting an additional obstacle (Crul et al., 2016).

What adds further points to the nation-state dimension for both cases, is the fact that refugees and asylum seekers are captured in the national education database managed by the Institute for Educational Technologies in Armenia (UNHCR, 2016d), and in Turkey, refugee education data is captured in the Foreign Student Information Management System which was devised by the education ministry in cooperation with UNICEF as a supplement to the national EMIS (Government of Turkey, 2016).

Algeria also emerged at the humanitarian end in the policy analysis and in practice reveals developmental approaches. Sahrawi refugees in Algeria are quite a notable case of a locally refugee-managed but nationally accredited host education system. Education has been a priority for the refugee community and an important element of their liberation struggle (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2011). Except for two subjects – geography and history – Saharawi refugees use the official Algerian curriculum, receive official certification, and have the opportunity to continue their studies in Algerian public schools and universities (UNHCR, 2016d). The numbers of refugees who reach this level and can afford to travel to these distant institutions is low however, and with education in the camps managed by Sahrawi leadership, there might be no interest at national level towards more inclusive policy frameworks given a generally restrictive protection environment (Amnesty International, 2017).

Just as the typology does not inform about actual access levels, it does not suggest that countries further in the top right might be those that portray most inclusive practice at classroom-level or are free of challenges in facilitating inclusion. While its refugee education policy context was found to be more at the humanitarian end for failing to mention refugees, South Africa, for instance allows refugees access to the national education system provided they have the requisite documents (Perumal, 2015). However, refugees are often confronted with cultural and social dynamics that may act as barriers for their participation, resulting from social stigmatisation, stereotyping and xenophobia (Buckland, 2011; Crush & Tawodzera, 2013).

Rwanda was just at the border between humanitarian and development in the policy analysis and now emerges as clearly developmental since refugees have access to the national system in practice, although with slight differences to implementation arrangements depending on refugees' location. In urban areas and in the more recently established Burundian camps, refugees attend national schools. Some of the Congolese camps have schools that are entirely supported by the humanitarian sector while following the Rwandan curriculum, which is why Rwanda was coded higher on curriculum than access in the detailed mapping.

The three cases in the 'home' box now emerge at the border between in- and outside the nation-state system albeit with different degrees of developmental approaches, with Burundi the most humanitarian of the three where access to the country-of-origin curriculum is facilitated by non-development and non-state actors.

Pakistan and Sudan emerge as border cases for both dimensions, located right in the centre of the typology in Figure 14. Both cases were found to be on the development side of the REPI^2 and here expose a mixed approach to refugee education in practice depending on refugees' location of residence in the one, and on their location and origin in the other.

In Pakistan, around half of refugee students follow the Afghan curriculum in private Afghan schools and the other half attend Pakistani public or private schools. There are wide regional differences in this schooling landscape with the proportion of refugees in national host country schools highest in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and lower in Baluchistan, Punjab and Islamabad (UNHCR Pakistan, 2016).

In Sudan, there are also differences between refugee population groups. Yemeni and Syrian children mainly are enrolled in public schools, however, these groups only make up less than 2% of the entire refugee population. Little is known about their educational trajectories within the national system, as they are not specifically captured by national education statistics.

In the urban settings of Khartoum, only a minority of refugees of different origins attend public schools, the majority follow lessons in a parallel system of community and faith-based schools. The curriculum used in such Eritrean or Ethiopian community schools is often that of the country of origin until the fifth grade, after which schools switch to the Sudanese curriculum in English. In camp settings, where the vast majority of refugees reside, the picture on inclusion in national schools is similarly low. The majority of learners here attend Sudanese curriculum schools supported by UNHCR and the national education authorities who accredit learning corresponding to the compulsory eight-year basic education cycle. Administratively however, these schools are not linked to state ministries of education. Access was thus coded lower than curriculum and accreditation. In many instances, as many as half the students in these schools come from local communities (UNHCR, 2017k).

The biggest cluster of cases emerges at 3.25/3.5 from Burkina Faso to Zambia. Amongst these 13 cases are also the top three REPI^2 cases, Uganda, Niger and Cameroon. In addition to a favourable policy environment, Cameroonian refugee law stipulates that all fundamental rights and provisions provided for in the 1951 Refugee Convention apply to any refugee established in Cameroon, who enjoys the same rights as national citizens, including the right to education. While there are great challenges to providing education to refugees in addition to nationals where school places are often limited, especially at secondary level, refugees have the same

access rights as nationals. Cameroon has made special arrangements for Nigerian refugees in the North, where Cameroonian teachers from the country's anglophone South have been posted to camp-based schools to facilitate their schooling in the national curriculum in English in an otherwise francophone environment (UNHCR, 2016d).

This typology serves as a crucial puzzle piece towards creating a baseline understanding of refugee education in practice. It provides an insight into differences in dominant implementation pathways between 41 refugee host countries and goes to show that while on the surface it appears as if the inclusion approach dominates, there are great differences in what inclusion means and how it is implemented at classroom level. The typology does not yet inform about refugees' actual access levels to see whether refugees in particular boxes have higher chances to be enrolled in primary and secondary education. This will be explored under research question 3. Before turning to these outcomes, it is important to gain a deeper understanding on implementation pathways and explore what might explain differences across the host countries, which is the focus of the next section.

2.2 To what extent can implementation pathways be explained by policy approaches?

Based on the data generated, the analysis is now interested in finding out whether and to what extent policy – besides other factors – can explain variation in types of refugees' education opportunities. The mapping of implementation pathways found that in 10 host countries refugees do not have access to national systems, while 31 host countries include refugees to some degree in their national education systems, albeit with great diversity in practical arrangements. What might explain why some countries include refugees in their education systems and others do not, and what role does refugee education policy play?

Informed by theory and case knowledge, the set of conditions used in the previous research question serves as repository of possible explanatory factors to be tested here through an iterative process with additional conditions that have particular relevance for the analysis of refugee education in practice as outlined in chapter II. The Refugee Education Implementation (REI) condition serves as outcome for all models. Following good practice (Wagemann & Schneider, 2010), the fsQCA considers both positive and negative outcomes, i.e. REI and ~REI. It begins with a necessity analysis, followed by the analysis of configurations of sufficient conditions with the help of truth tables and Boolean minimisation procedures. The complete data set is available in Appendix A.

In QCA terms, this means to first of all establish whether REPI is a superset or a subset of REI, i.e. whether the set of countries with developmental policy is contained within the set of countries with developmental approaches in practice or vice versa. If REPI is a subset of REI, what configurations of conditions are most consistent, that means what combination of factors can sufficiently produce the inclusion of refugees in national education systems?

2.2.1 Necessity analysis

The Refugee Education Implementation (REI) outcome was created with the help of six variables each coded from 1 as most humanitarian to 4 as most developmental, and subsequently by multiplication of the resulting x- and y-axis values. It is now calibrated by logical procedure whereby the lowest possible value 1, i.e. fully humanitarian, constitutes full non-membership which concerns Malaysia and Thailand. The highest possible value is 16 which represents fully developmental and is represented by Armenia with full membership. The crossover point is set in the centre of the square (Figure 14) at the crossing of the two medium points 2.5 and 2.5, that is 6.25 where it coincides with two REI cases Pakistan and Sudan. To avoid ambiguities and – based on case knowledge – keep these as slightly more in than out, fuzzy values for these two cases need to be manually adjusted from 0.5 to 0.501. Model specifications, including thresholds set for the additional conditions, are detailed in the sufficiency analysis below.

The analysis of necessary conditions with the fs/qca software (Ragin & Davey, 2014) reveals the necessity consistency and coverage scores for the REI outcome, which measures the inclusion of refugees in national education systems in practice. No conditions emerge with necessity consistency values greater than the required 0.9; the three conditions with values greater than 0.8 are listed below in Table 10. While their consistency levels remain low to be able to speak of necessity, with relatively high coverage scores, they emerge as non-trivial. This appears to suggest that it is hard for inclusion to occur without socio-economic capacity related to education, without having ratified the 1951 Convention, or without external influence.

A necessity test with the ~REI outcome, however, reveals that the conditions have similar, or only slightly lower, necessity consistency for the negated outcome, so that they might be regarded as equally necessary for the adoption of humanitarian approaches, but they do so at significantly lower coverage rates. This means that while the conditions are also present in a high proportion of unsuccessful cases, they can be regarded as trivial for the ~REI outcome.

The test confirms there are no perfectly necessary conditions that are required for the inclusion of refugees in national education systems in practice, but it is difficult to imagine inclusion without there being capacity at the level of the national education system or some sort of external influence. The results remind however that there are indeed REI cases where these

conditions are not observed, so it is possible to achieve inclusion without capacity or external influence.

With regards to the 1951 Convention, a closer look at this binary condition reveals that 25 out of the 31 REI cases and seven out of the ten ~REI cases have ratified it, so it does not appear necessary for the inclusion of refugees. Some of the largest host countries with high REI scores indeed have not ratified the Convention including Jordan and Lebanon. Amongst the ~REI cases, all countries on the African continent have ratified the Convention, while the three Asian ~REI countries Bangladesh, Malaysia and Thailand have not (UNTC, 2017). As expected based on the literature review, the fact of having ratified an international convention thus does not emerge as a factor of explanatory value for this analysis and it remains to be seen whether related normative conditions are part of sufficient configurations that produce inclusion.

Table 10: Analysis of necessary conditions at consistency level ≥ 0.8 for REI outcome compared to ~REI (produced with fs/qca)

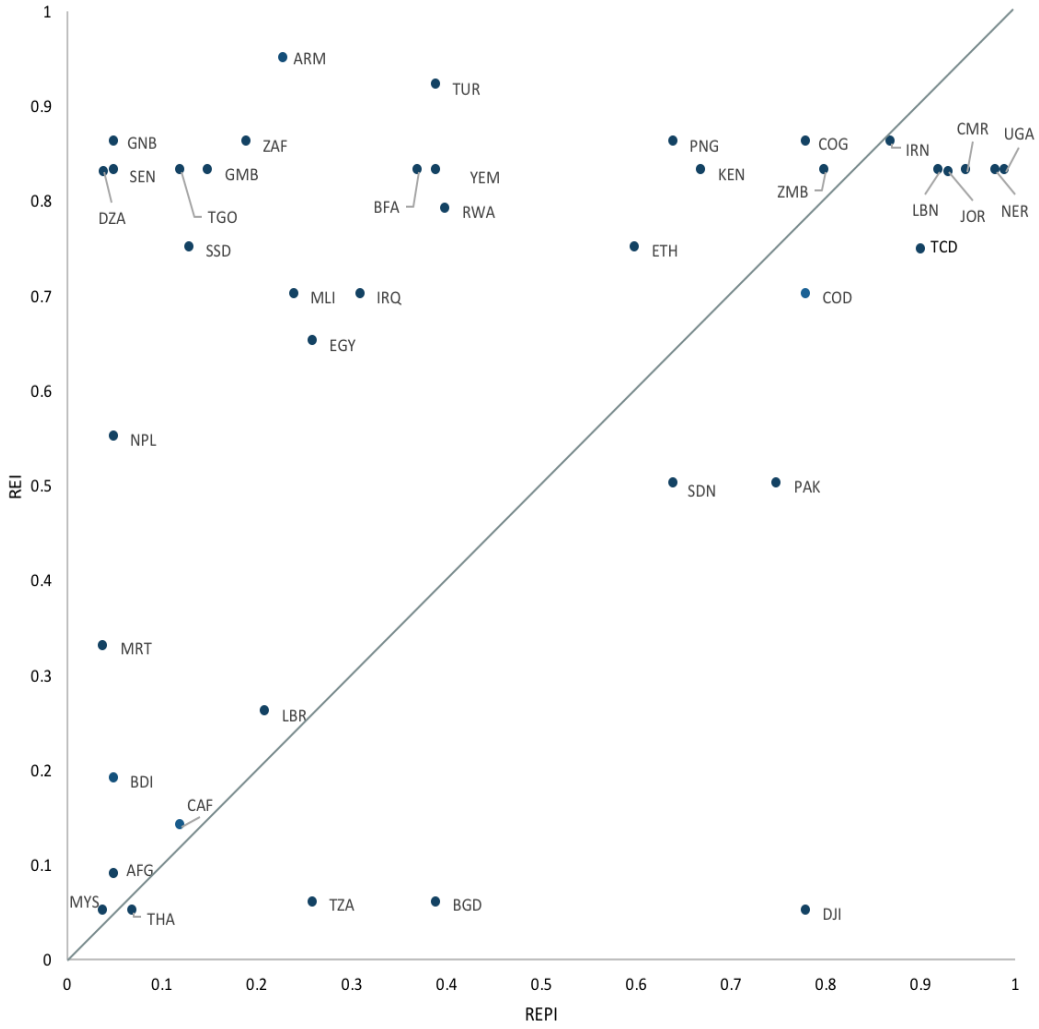
Outcome:	**REI**		**~REI**	
Conditions:	Consistency	Coverage	Consistency	Coverage
CSED	0.842	0.776	0.817	0.454
C51	0.831	0.664	0.696	0.336
EXT	0.800	0.712	0.809	0.434

Unlike for the policy outcome, at implementation level, high relative refugee numbers are not necessary. REFI, which emerged with 0.81 necessity consistency (0.71 coverage) for the policy outcome REPI, reveals a lower necessity consistency of 0.64 for REI (0.80 coverage). This indicates that while the existence and visibility of a 'problem' is relatively necessary for the adoption of policy, when it comes to implementation, refugee numbers do not act as a key driver to make education systems more inclusive. It was hypothesised instead that high relative refugee numbers could be sufficient for exclusive approaches in practice where they are combined with lack of capacity or demographic pressure (Hypothesis 9), which remains to be tested.

With reference to the research question and in response to Hypothesis 6, it results that the REPI condition, i.e. developmental policy, does not emerge as a necessary ingredient for the adoption of developmental approaches in practice as was hypothesised. Its necessity consistency stands at 0.59 with 0.86 coverage, which means that just under 60% of cases where developmental approaches are adopted in practice also have developmental policy. The remainder practise inclusion while having adopted humanitarian policy. This speaks to the presumed policy-practice gap, which is worth exploring further. The X-Y plot below illustrates cases where policy and practice converge and where they diverge.

Cases where both policy and practice are found at the developmental end of the spectrum are located in the top right corner, with the greatest degree of convergence along the diagonal line observed for Iran and Zambia. Classic humanitarian cases such as Liberia, Central African Republic, Malaysia and Thailand are settled along the diagonal line at the humanitarian end in the bottom left corner.

Figure 15: Policy-practice gap in refugee education (X-Y Plot for REPI condition and REI outcome)



The plot also exposes the outliers that are responsible for the policy-practice gap. One outlier is visible in the bottom right corner. Djibouti emerges with relatively high degrees of developmental policy, but clearly humanitarian practice. Djiboutian policy documents revealed developmental traits, and high-level political discourse has recently been looking more towards inclusion (UN, 2016b), however, its more dated Education Sector Plan was found to be a clear example of an envisioned separate system for refugees, where the link to developmental approaches remains weak (Gouvernement de Djibouti, 2010).

Refugee education practice in Djibouti indeed remains stuck in a curious version of the 'local' type, where Somali refugees living in two camps have been following the curriculum of a third nation-state, Kenya, without this being accredited. This was the preferred choice of the refugee community, who, for lack of a Somali national curriculum, were looking for a substitute curriculum for the young generation after they arrived in the camps in the early 1990s. Mirroring their compatriots in exile in Kenya, the Kenyan curriculum, taught in English, was chosen over the Djiboutian curriculum, which is taught in French. Unlike refugees in Kenya, however, Somalis in Djibouti are not registered with the Kenyan education authorities and thus do not receive accreditation for their learning (UNHCR, 2015d).

Efforts have been under way towards a curriculum switch to the national Djiboutian curriculum for refugees to benefit from accreditation. Although Djibouti has made high-level commitments to the inclusion of refugees in the national education system, including at the September 2016 Leaders' Summit on Refugees (UN, 2016b), this has been met with resistance by the refugee community and with confusion at the implementation stage. For the time being, Somali refugees in Djibouti remain without accreditation. The implications are that young graduates will face difficulties integrating either higher education or the labour market in their host, home or a third country.

The vast majority of outliers, however, are found in the top left corner. These are cases where no developmental approaches were identified in policy, mostly for failing to mention refugees, but it now results that practice leans more towards developmental than humanitarian approaches for the majority of refugees. Examples for these outliers are West African nations where refugees are included by virtue of their regional citizenship rights within ECOWAS.

ECOWAS has formalised a regional system of education attainment equivalency where students' prior education level is recognised upon arrival in a host country without need for further documentation, which has facilitated refugees' inclusion in the national education systems in Burkina Faso, Ghana and Niger (UNHCR, 2017i). This clearly represents developmental practice, and it appears that there is no need to single out refugees in policy when their rights are addressed thanks to such regional arrangements.

Similarly, other policy-practice gap cases might not find it necessary to name refugees as a specific group, when overall policy frameworks are inclusive and education rights apply to all children regardless of their legal status, and where policy is aligned to international treaty and convention obligations. This might be practicable for the top REI cases Armenia and Turkey where capacity is higher, however there are also a number of low-capacity cases in this group where there are challenges in providing education services for refugees in addition to other groups, such as Iraq, Mali, South Sudan, or Yemen.

For these cases it might be smart to align their policy with their already more developmental practice to more effectively use policy as an advocacy tool with the international community. Policy discourse that overtly grants refugees education access rights indeed comes with a certain degree of acknowledgement of their more-than-temporary presence and as such opens up possible pathways to eventual local integration (World Bank, 2015), might not be stated policy nor in the political interest of governments. However, in the framework of current global refugee policy, this might prove lucrative when the Global Compact's draft text suggests that international support "will be provided for the development and implementation of national education sector plans that include refugees" (UNHCR, 2018d: 13).

While this is an overall positive finding from the ToC perspective in that practice has more developmental, i.e. refugee-inclusive, traits than policy, it still remains to be assessed whether developmental practice can also translate into increased opportunities for refugees to access national primary and secondary schools, which is the theme of part 3. A closer look at the policy-practice gap cases reveals stark differences in implementation at sub-national level.

This is true in the case of Egypt which has made reservations to education Article 22 of the 1951 Convention, but allows some groups of refugees access to national schools on an exceptional basis by presidential decree or through bilateral agreements (UNHCR, 2013a). While Syrian, Sudanese and Iraqi refugees can access national schools, refugees of other nationalities mainly from sub-Saharan Africa, cannot. Since the former group makes up the vast majority in terms of numbers, Egypt was coded towards developmental practice. This undeniably masks more important gaps towards full inclusion of refugees.

The X-Y plot in Figure 15 further indicates that REPI is sufficient to produce REI as relatively more cases are nested in the upper triangular plot although this is not perfectly consistent. It thus results that REPI is a subset of REI where nearly all REPI cases are also REI, however not all REI cases are REPI. This means that almost all cases with developmental policy also practise inclusion of refugees in national education systems, although the fact of having more inclusive practice does not necessarily result from that policy since there are a number of cases with inclusive practice that lack developmental policy. This serves as an important preliminary finding, and the analysis in 2.2.2 below is to shed more light on sufficient combinations that produce more inclusive practice.

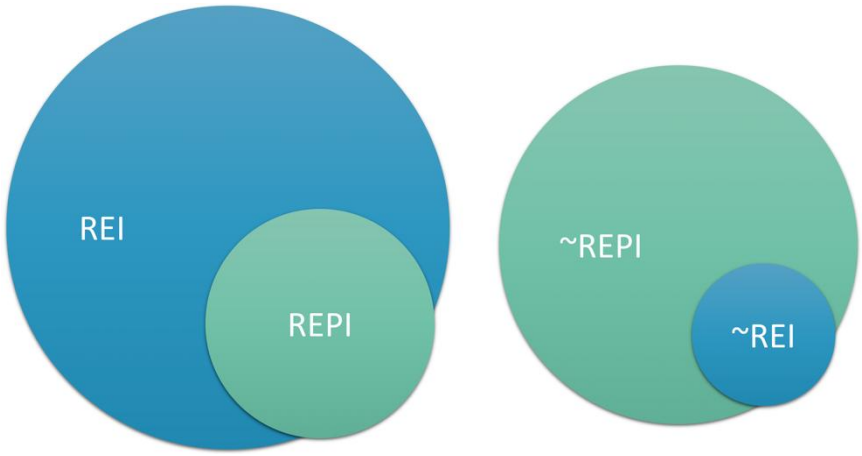
Before embarking on the sufficiency analysis, a look at necessity levels for humanitarian approaches in practice, i.e. the ~REI outcome, reveals that ~REPI is necessary at 0.84 consistency with 0.55 coverage. While the absence of land (~LAN) as well as demographic pressure (DEM) both emerge as necessary for ~REI (~LAN 0.89 consistency and 0.45 coverage; DEM 0.87 consistency and 0.4 coverage), they also have high necessity scores with even higher coverage for REI (~LAN 0.83 consistency and 0.70 coverage; DEM 0.79 consistency and 0.71 coverage), so

can be discarded. Demographic pressure was hypothesised to be part of a sufficient configuration with high relative refugee numbers to produce refugees' exclusion, so a further sufficiency test is to be carried out below.

The absence of developmental policy (~REPI) thus remains the only necessary condition that is not also necessary for the positive outcome. This means that nearly all cases where parallel refugee education services are in place also have humanitarian policy, so it is hard to imagine humanitarian practice without clearly humanitarian policy, but non-developmental policy can also lead to developmental practice as was shown.

To illustrate these findings, the below figure shows the subset relations between the policy and practice conditions where REPI emerges as quasi-sufficient for REI, thus is a subset of REI, and ~REPI as quasi-necessary for ~REI, thus is a superset of ~REI. The set overlap in both is relatively high as confirmed by consistency values, and the sufficiency analysis will further explore sufficient combinations for the REI and ~REI outcomes.

Figure 16: Illustrative subset relations between REI and REPI



What can be concluded at this stage is that developmental policy is not necessary for the adoption of more developmental education approaches in practice, yet humanitarian policy is indeed necessary for the adoption of humanitarian approaches in practice. A practical implication for the theory of change would thus be to work towards the avoidance of humanitarian policy if humanitarian practice is to be evaded, although this alone will not be a guarantee for more inclusive practice.

2.2.2 *Sufficiency analysis*

As for the first research question, in following QCA good practice, the sufficiency analysis focuses on combinations of conditions that produce the REI as well as the ~REI outcome. None of the conditions need to be excluded since no perfectly necessary conditions were identified. All models are processed with the fs/qca software employing the Quine-McCluskey algorithm and use the standard analysis with one solution type reported and the other two included in Appendix A.

The set of conditions from the first research question serves as a repository for the qualitative comparative analysis that again adopts a systematic and iterative phased approach (Bretthauer, 2014) running several iterations of tests towards the most prevalent and meaningful pathways, focusing on socio-economic and geo-political normative, interest-based and capacity-related conditions as operationalised in chapter III.

This process is guided by the five hypotheses that were formulated (referenced in Appendix B), but aims to look beyond these to avoid overlooking potentially relevant configurations that might offer alternative explanatory insights. While this is more time-consuming, it is judged crucial given the lack of theory on refugee education and inclusion in national education systems in practice. For space limitations, only the final models are presented in the below analysis.

While it was hypothesised that REPI would be part of sufficient configurations that can produce the inclusion of refugees in national education systems, the X-Y plot in Figure 15 already suggested relatively high sufficiency levels for REPI by itself. Of interest is in combination with what other conditions highest sufficiency levels can be attained.

Hypothesis 6 posits that while REPI is not necessary for REI (which has already been confirmed), it is sufficient where refugee protection norms are respected and there is sufficient capacity to implement these norms, or, in line with the theory of change, where international support is provided to make up for lacking capacity. Relevant is thus a model that includes REPI as well as capacity-related and normative conditions.

The particular challenge for the sufficiency analysis with the REI outcome relates to its relative size with 31 out of the 41 cases being REI cases, so naturally a very diverse set for which the goal is to identify an all-encompassing yet parsimonious solution formula. For comparison, the previous sufficiency analysis dealt with 16 REPI cases out of the set of 41. Several iterations of tests needed to be carried out to arrive at a solution that includes all 31 REI cases at acceptable consistency cut-off and at the same time with high solution consistency and coverage rates.

A first simple model to test this hypothesis includes only REPI along with two economic capacity conditions as well as the specific targeted financial support to refugee education (REFS) leaving RPE for a later model. All conditions employed in previous models are calibrated as indicated in

relevant models above. REFS is coded with its fully-in point at 80 which separates Kenya from Zambia, the crossover point at 30 between Guinea Bissau as more in and Mali more out, its fully-out point at 6 constitutes a data gap between Bangladesh and Papua New Guinea.

Since the parsimonious solution yields too simplistic a result with three single condition pathways (~CSED + REPI + REFS), the intermediate solution is presented which offers greater explanatory insights.

Model 12: REI = f(REPI, CSED, CSEC, REFS)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.812
Intermediate solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
~CSED*~CSEC	**0.364**	**0.044**	**0.770**
REPI*CSED	**0.525**	**0.140**	**0.924**
CSED*REFS	**0.566**	**0.141**	**0.836**
solution coverage:	0.777	solution consistency:	0.808

REI cases in pathway **~CSED*~CSEC**: *SSD* (1,0.75), *SDN* (0.706,0.501), *MLI* (0.544,0.7), *COD* (0.515,0.7)

REI cases in pathway **REPI*CSED**: *JOR* (0.894,0.83), *IRN* (0.87,0.86), COG (0.78,0.86), *CMR* (0.713,0.83), LBN (0.691,0.83), UGA (0.681,0.83), KEN (0.67,0.83), *PNG* (0.64,0.86), ZMB (0.606,0.83), ETH (0.6,0.75), *PAK* (0.574,0.501), TCD (0.564,0.75), *NER* (0.553,0.83)

REI cases in pathway **CSED*REFS**: *RWA* (0.926,0.79), *EGY* (0.883,0.65), *NPL* (0.81,0.55), KEN (0.787,0.83), *DZA* (0.74,0.83), ETH (0.691,0.75), LBN (0.691,0.83), *SEN* (0.66,0.83), COG (0.63,0.86), ZMB (0.606,0.83), *BFA* (0.585,0.83), *GMB* (0.585,0.83), UGA (0.58,0.83), *TGO* (0.57,0.83), TCD (0.564,0.75), *GNB* (0.51,0.86), *YEM* (0.51,0.83)

The resulting intermediate pathways cover 27 of the 31 REI cases and provide a first confirmation that developmental policy in combination with education capacity can indeed be sufficient for the inclusion of refugees in national education systems in 13 cases with highest consistency in the model (second pathway). The third pathway suggests capacity in combination with additional external support to refugee education is sufficient for 17 cases. Seven of these are cases also covered by the second pathway and ten in fact are ~REPI cases, i.e. those with humanitarian policy.

In contrast to the hypothesis, there are four single pathway cases (highlighted in italics) in the first pathway which are lacking capacity but still have adopted inclusion in practice, two of them with humanitarian policy, two with REPI. With low coverage, this pathway is relatively unimportant. South Sudan in particular has very low values on its capacity conditions, having attained independence in 2011 only, the country remains fragile and has been struggling to ensure education services for its citizens. According to the country's Refugee Act, refugees have

access to education from early childhood to tertiary education level which is supported by the humanitarian sector (UNHCR, 2014e).

The hypothesised pathway combining REPI with REFS does not emerge. This would confirm that additional support to refugee education can be sufficient in cases where internal capacity is lower, but developmental approaches have been adopted in policy which is implicitly assumed in the context of the theory of change that suggests lower capacity can be made up for by external support or intervention. So, this leaves questions open as to what alternative explanatory factors there might be that can complement the capacity dimension. An alternative model thus includes the EXT condition as well as the refugee protection environment (RPE) as a normative aspect to diversify possible explanatory pathways and observe how capacity-related conditions behave in combination with interests and norms.

Model 13: REI = f(REPI, CSED, REFS, RPE, EXT)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.847
Intermediate solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
REFS*EXT	**0.582**	**0.036**	**0.781**
RPE*EXT	**0.644**	**0.041**	**0.840**
~REPI*CSED*REFS	**0.409**	**0.020**	**0.819**
~REPI*CSED*RPE	**0.457**	**0.036**	**0.844**
REPI*CSED*EXT	**0.484**	**0.037**	**0.925**
solution coverage:	0.845	solution consistency:	0.776

REI cases in pathway **REFS*EXT**: *SSD* (0.98,0.75), LBN (0.91,0.83), ETH (0.87,0.75), KEN (0.793,0.83), TCD (0.78,0.75), EGY (0.759,0.65), SDN (0.73,0.501), RWA (0.69,0.79), ZMB (0.638,0.83), BFA (0.63,0.83), COG (0.621,0.86), GMB (0.603,0.83), NPL (0.586,0.55), UGA (0.58,0.83), SEN (0.552,0.83), GNB (0.51,0.86)

REI cases in pathway **RPE*EXT**: *COD* (0.88,0.7), *MLI* (0.85,0.7), UGA (0.828,0.83), NER (0.793,0.83), GNB (0.7,0.86), BFA (0.69,0.83), RWA (0.69,0.79), SDN (0.65,0.501), ETH (0.63,0.75), ZMB (0.62,0.83), GMB (0.603,0.83), PNG (0.569,0.86), SEN (0.552,0.83), TCD (0.54,0.75), IRQ (0.53,0.7), IRN (0.517,0.86), ARM (0.51,0.95)

REI cases in pathway **~REPI*CSED*REFS**: NPL (0.81,0.55), *DZA* (0.74,0.83), EGY (0.74,0.65), SEN (0.66,0.83), RWA (0.6,0.79), BFA (0.585,0.83), GMB (0.585,0.83), TGO (0.57,0.83), GNB (0.51,0.86), *YEM* (0.51,0.83)

REI cases in pathway **~REPI*CSED*RPE**: SEN (0.66,0.83), *ZAF* (0.64,0.86), *TUR* (0.61,0.92), RWA (0.6,0.79), BFA (0.585,0.83), GMB (0.585,0.83), TGO (0.58,0.83), GNB (0.553,0.86), IRQ (0.53,0.7), ARM (0.51,0.95)

REI cases in pathway **REPI*CSED*EXT**: *CMR* (0.713,0.83), *JOR* (0.707,0.83), LBN (0.691,0.83), UGA (0.681,0.83), KEN (0.67,0.83), COG (0.621,0.86), ZMB (0.606,0.83), ETH (0.6,0.75), *PAK* (0.574,0.501), PNG (0.569,0.86), TCD (0.564,0.75), NER (0.553,0.83), IRN (0.517,0.86)

Unlike hypothesised, REFS does not emerge in combination with either REPI or RPE, instead with external influence or existing internal capacity on education. However, it emerges that the low capacity REI case South Sudan can indeed be explained by external intervention in combination with additional support to refugee education. The other low capacity cases from the previous model, DR Congo and Mali are explained by external intervention in combination with a favourable refugee protection environment, and Sudan covers both the first and second pathway.

With all other 27 REI cases covered by pathways including CSED, this suggests that internal capacity is an important element for sufficient pathways towards the inclusion of refugees in national education systems. Evidence remains thus rather weak to confirm the last element of Hypothesis 6 assuming that support can compensate for lacking capacity in line with the theory of change. Indeed, what unites the REI cases with humanitarian policy is internal capacity which is sufficient in combination with either additional support to refugee education or with a favourable protection environment.

What unites the 14 REI cases with developmental policy is external intervention, which was indeed found to act sufficiently towards the adoption of such policy. In all but three cases, this comes along with additional support to refugee education. In the cases of Chad, Ethiopia, Uganda and Zambia, this comes in combination with a favourable protection environment, relative internal education capacity along with additional support to refugee education. In the three cases Iran, Niger and Papua New Guinea, it is a favourable protection environment and internal capacity that sufficiently produce refugees' inclusion in national education systems.

This analysis leads to similar results when replacing the CSED condition with either CSEC or HDI as an indication of socio-economic capacity, but at slighter lower sufficiency levels.

Rather than completely confirming Hypothesis 6, the results suggest that internal capacity remains a key ingredient for producing the inclusion of refugees in national education systems. In cases where humanitarian policy is in place, it can sufficiently lead to inclusion in combination with either additional external support for refugee education, or as was hypothesised, in combination with a favourable protection environment. In cases where developmental policy is in place, it can sufficiently lead to inclusion in combination with external influence. External influence in turn is sufficient in combination with either specific support to refugee education, or with favourable protection norms.

It is thus not possible to entirely confirm Hypothesis 6 as the expected configuration of REPI with REI and either capacity or REFS was not observed. It can however be partly confirmed in that developmental policy indeed is not necessary. Developmental policy needs additional external influence to sufficiently produce refugees' inclusion in combination with internal education

capacity. It is even humanitarian policy that can be sufficient in cases with internal capacity, in combination with either a favourable protection environment or with additional support to refugee education. Such support cannot make up for lacking internal capacity.

As in the previous model, the parsimonious solution yields individual condition pathways with reduced explanatory insights. REPI emerges with 0.59 coverage and 0.86 consistency covering 15 REI cases, three of them individual condition pathways where the adoption of developmental policy alone can sufficiently produce inclusion in national education systems. REFS with 0.64 coverage and 0.75 consistency covers 17 REI cases. RPE with 0.72 coverage and 0.84 consistency covers 19 REI cases including seven that are only covered by this pathway. While such single condition pathways do not offer a satisfactory solution formula as they are indeed too simplistic where the goal was to obtain sufficient configurations, they do nonetheless offer additional explanatory value to understand differences and similarities between cases in the set. The below table summarises the seven groups of countries that are thus formed.

Table 11: Overview of REI parsimonious solution pathways emerging from Model 13

Cases	REPI	RPE	REFS
UGA, ETH, ZMB, SDN	X	X	X
COD, NER, PNG, IRN	X	X	
COG, LBN, TCD, KEN	X		X
CMR, JOR, PAK	X		
RWA, SEN, BFA, GMB		X	X
MLI, GNB, TUR, ZAF, TGO, IRQ, ARM		X	
SSD, EGY, NPL, DZA, YEM			X

What becomes apparent from this table is that, in 26 of the 31 cases, norm-related factors are sufficient for the adoption of inclusive refugee education approaches in practice. This is either developmental policy approaches or a favourable refugee protection environment alone or in combination with targeted support to refugee education.

For the five cases South Sudan, Egypt, Nepal, Algeria and Yemen normative factors are not observed, and it here is support that dominates. The intermediate solution found this to be in combination with external influence for Egypt, Nepal and South Sudan or with higher education capacity in Algeria, Egypt, Nepal and Yemen.

Together with the cases in the two lines above, these five cases form the group of 16 ~REPI cases in the REI set. This goes to highlight that developmental policy is not required for inclusive practice where there is a strong protection environment or targeted support.

Given the diversity of the 31 REI cases, it is indeed challenging to arrive at more parsimonious pathways that still offer explanatory value. Against this backdrop, the following model delivers solid results. It aims to test Hypothesis 7 which assumes sufficiency for a favourable normative environment where refugees have opportunities for socio-economic integration. The model includes RPE as the condition of key interest representing the refugee protection environment, as well as the refugee socio-economic integration (RISE) condition. The model is complemented by HDI to indicate the socio-economic status of the host country, as well as the specific targeted financial support to refugee education (REFS).

Thresholds for RISE are set with the help of case knowledge and data gaps, at 2 between Republic of Congo and Burkina Faso for full membership, with the crossover point at 1.35 with Algeria as more in and Iran more out, and 0.8 marking the fully-out point that separates Tanzania from Malaysia which is assigned non-membership. The parsimonious and intermediate solutions are nearly identical with the latter offering one additional pathway.

Model 14: REI = f(REPI, RISE, REFS, RPE, HDI)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.841
Intermediate solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
RISE	**0.790**	**0.262**	**0.826**
REPI*HDI	**0.407**	**0.038**	**0.912**
RPE*HDI	**0.444**	**0.004**	**0.922**
~REPI*REFS*~RPE	**0.347**	**0.030**	**0.840**
REPI*REFS*RPE	**0.337**	**0.015**	**0.924**
solution coverage:	0.953	solution consistency:	0.798

REI cases in pathway **RISE**: COG (0.97,0.86), *MLI* (0.97,0.7), *PNG* (0.97,0.86), *BFA* (0.95,0.83), *CMR* (0.94,0.83), *COD* (0.94,0.7), *GMB* (0.94,0.83), *GNB* (0.94,0.86), *TGO* (0.94,0.83), ZAF (0.93,0.86), UGA (0.92,0.83), *NER* (0.88,0.83), ARM (0.87,0.95), TCD (0.85,0.75), TUR (0.85,0.92), YEM (0.85,0.83), *RWA* (0.83,0.79), *SEN* (0.83,0.83)

REI cases in pathway **REPI*HDI**: *JOR* (0.93,0.83), *LBN* (0.92,0.83), IRN (0.87,0.86), COG (0.72,0.86), ZMB (0.68,0.83), KEN (0.55,0.83), *PAK* (0.55,0.501)

REI cases in pathway **RPE*HDI**: IRN (0.75,0.86), TUR (0.66,0.92), ZAF (0.64,0.86), ZMB (0.62,0.83), *IRQ* (0.53,0.7), ARM (0.51,0.95), KEN (0.51,0.83), COG (0.501,0.86)

REI cases in pathway **~REPI*REFS*~RPE**: *DZA* (0.721,0.83), *EGY* (0.621,0.65), *SSD* (0.593,0.75), *NPL* (0.571,0.55), YEM (0.51,0.83)

REI cases in pathway **REPI*REFS*RPE**: *SDN* (0.64,0.501), ZMB (0.62,0.83), *ETH* (0.6,0.75), UGA (0.58,0.83), TCD (0.54,0.75), KEN (0.51,0.83), COG (0.501,0.86)

All 31 REI cases are covered by these five pathways at relatively high solution consistency and coverage. The Republic of Congo is covered by four pathways, Kenya and Zambia by three pathways, seven cases by two and 21 are single pathway cases.

In line with Model 12, the solution confirms that developmental policy approaches, while not necessary for the inclusion of refugees in national education systems in practice, are sufficient in combination with socio-economic capacity, in the second pathway exemplified by higher Human Development Index (HDI). It also suggests sufficiency of capacity in combination with a favourable refugee protection environment (third pathway), which in the fifth solution pathway is combined also with REPI and targeted support to refugee education (REFS).

This pathway might lend itself to confirm the missing element of Hypothesis 6 in that developmental policy in a favourable environment is sufficient along with support (REFS) in seven cases. However, only two of them, low-capacity-cases Ethiopia and Sudan, are single pathway cases, the other five are explained also by other pathways at higher consistency rates highlighting either relative capacity or refugees' integration. The results do not deliver enough evidence to confirm the hypothesis that assumed lack of capacity could be compensated for with specific targeted support on the basis of two cases only.

The third pathway goes to show that favourable protection environments along with higher HDI can be sufficient by themselves without the need for developmental policy approaches in refugee education. The eight cases covered by this pathway include indeed four ~REPI cases Turkey, South Africa, Armenia and Iraq. Apart from Iraq, these cases are however also explained by the first pathway at higher consistency rates. The other four cases covered by this pathway Iran, Zambia, Kenya and Republic of Congo are in fact REPI cases.

The solution in its fourth pathway confirms the importance of specific financial support to refugee education for the five cases Algeria, Egypt, South Sudan, Nepal, and Yemen. In this model, this is combined with humanitarian policy approaches and an unfavourable protection environment, so seems to go against Hypothesis 7.

Importantly, in its first pathway, the solution adds an additional explanatory element by highlighting the connection between education and refugees' socio-economic integration, since RISE is sufficient in itself for 18 of the cases, eleven of them single pathway cases. At high coverage, this is an important pathway. There are clear theoretical links between economic development and schooling as a public good, so that it was hypothesised that states where refugees have relatively more opportunities for integration, would also have higher economic interest in including refugees in national education systems to benefit from so-developed human capital, even though practical limitations to refugees' right to work remain important across many host countries.

This finding further leads to questions about the time dimension to ascertain whether socio-economic integration or inclusion in national classrooms comes first and whether one triggers or facilitates the other, which cannot be examined through QCA.

The resulting solution formula remains quite complex since each pathway contains at least one single pathway case (in italics) and none can be excluded. Overall, however, with the exception of seven cases not covered by RPE or RISE pathways, it delivers a clear message that serves to confirm Hypothesis 7 in that sufficiency is indeed established for a favourable normative environment where there is relatively higher developmental status or where refugees have opportunities for socio-economic integration.

Hypothesis 8 posits that interest-based factors resulting from security threats are sufficient where there are high relative refugee numbers since it was assumed that there is particular interest in avoiding the set-up of parallel education services in such cases.

The selected model includes REFI which measures relative refugee numbers, as well as the SEC condition that was employed in the first research question as an indication of security threats. The model is complemented by REPI, CSEC and REFS in an effort to test configurations of capacity and interest-related factors within the same model. Since the model yields very complex individualised solutions, an additional condition is needed. A more parsimonious solution is achieved when RLEG, the refugee legislation condition, is added. A component of the RPE condition, it was created under the first research question as a binary condition that indicates whether a country has adopted specific refugee-related legislation or policy.

Model 15: REI = f(REPI, RLEG, SEC, REFI, CSEC, REFS)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.750
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
RLEG	**0.732**	**0.257**	**0.720**
REFI*~REFS	**0.412**	**0.024**	**0.896**
CSEC*REFS	**0.396**	**0.053**	**0.844**
SEC*REFI	**0.520**	**0.034**	**0.883**
solution coverage:	0.982	solution consistency:	0.735

REI cases in pathway **RLEG**: ARM (1,0.95), *BFA* (1,0.83), CMR (1,0.83), COD (1,0.7), ETH (1,0.75), *GMB* (1,0.83), *GNB* (1,0.86), IRN (1,0.86), IRQ (1,0.7), KEN (1,0.83), *MLI* (1,0.7), NER (1,0.83), NPL (1,0.55), *PNG* (1,0.86), RWA (1,0.79), SDN (1,0.501), *SEN* (1,0.83), SSD (1,0.75)

REI cases in pathway **REFI*~REFS**: *JOR* (0.97,0.83), TUR (0.96,0.92), IRN (0.81,0.86), CMR (0.76,0.83), NER (0.65,0.83), PAK (0.6,0.501), IRQ (0.58,0.7), ARM (0.55,0.95), COD (0.53,0.7)

REI cases in pathway **CSEC*REFS**: *EGY* (0.91,0.65), LBN (0.893,0.83), *DZA* (0.74,0.83), NPL (0.714,0.55), KEN (0.679,0.83), *COG* (0.63,0.86), RWA (0.589,0.79), *TGO* (0.57,0.83), YEM (0.51,0.83), *ZMB* (0.501,0.83)

REI cases in pathway **SEC*REFI**: SSD (0.96,0.75), *TCD* (0.92,0.75), LBN (0.78,0.83), SDN (0.74,0.501), YEM (0.72,0.83), KEN (0.7,0.83), TUR (0.7,0.92), NER (0.65,0.83), ETH (0.64,0.75), CMR (0.62,0.83), IRQ (0.6,0.7), PAK (0.6,0.501), IRN (0.54,0.86), COD (0.53,0.7)

The resulting pathways cover 29 of the 31 REI cases and first of all indicate that RLEG in itself is relatively sufficient and important for 18 REI cases, amongst them six single pathway cases, the other twelve being explained also by additional pathways.

Following the fourth pathway, Hypothesis 8 can be confirmed in that high relative refugee numbers in combination with security threats indeed sufficiently lead to the inclusion of refugees in national education systems in 14 cases.

A surprising finding might be offered by the second pathway where high relative refugee numbers in combination with a lack of additional support can produce refugee inclusion in nine cases. All but Jordan are however also covered by other pathways at higher consistency. The third pathway confirms messages that also emerged in Model 12 where capacity combined with additional support is sufficient for inclusion in ten cases.

Since Hypothesis 9 assumes that demographic pressure, unlike security threats, are sufficient to produce refugees' exclusion, a final REI model needs to test configurations of both interest-based factors in a simple four-condition model to see whether demographic pressure does not have similar effects as security threats.

Model 16: REI = f(RPE, REFI, SEC, DEM)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.821
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
~DEM	**0.411**	**0.047**	**0.845**
RPE	**0.721**	**0.096**	**0.843**
~REFI*~SEC	**0.373**	**0.019**	**0.814**
REFI*SEC	**0.520**	**0.063**	**0.883**
solution coverage:	0.886	solution consistency:	0.798

REI cases in pathway **~DEM**: *ARM* (1,0.95), IRN (0.769,0.86), TUR (0.769,0.92), DZA (0.731,0.83), LBN (0.679,0.83), *JOR* (0.564,0.83)

REI cases in pathway **RPE**: *UGA* (1,0.83), COD (0.88,0.7), NER (0.86,0.83), *MLI* (0.85,0.7), *RWA* (0.84,0.79), IRN (0.75,0.86), *BFA* (0.73,0.83), SEN (0.73,0.83), *GNB* (0.7,0.86), GMB (0.67,0.83), TUR (0.66,0.92), SDN (0.65,0.501), ZAF (0.64,0.86), ETH (0.63,0.75), ZMB (0.62,0.83), PNG (0.6,0.86), TGO (0.58,0.83),

REI cases in pathway **~REFI*~SEC**: ZMB (0.92,0.83), ZAF (0.722,0.86), SEN (0.704,0.83), GMB (0.685,0.83), *NPL* (0.648,0.55), TGO (0.648,0.83), DZA (0.519,0.83), PNG (0.519,0.86)

REI cases in pathway **REFI*SEC**: *SSD* (0.96,0.75), *TCD* (0.92,0.75), LBN (0.78,0.83), SDN (0.74,0.501), *YEM* (0.72,0.83), *KEN* (0.7,0.83), TUR (0.7,0.92), NER (0.65,0.83), ETH (0.64,0.75), *CMR* (0.62,0.83), *IRQ* (0.6,0.7), *PAK* (0.6,0.501), IRN (0.54,0.86), COD (0.53,0.7)

The results indeed indicate that rather than demographic pressure, it is its absence that can sufficiently produce refugees' inclusion. The four pathways cover all 31 REI cases, and the REFI cases Turkey and Iran are covered by all but the third suggesting for these two large host countries a favourable protection environment where high relative refugee numbers meet security threats but low demographic pressure.

The model serves to reinforce the confirmation of Hypothesis 8, as the fourth pathway re-emerges in this adapted model suggesting that high relative refugee numbers in combination with security concerns are sufficient to produce refugees' inclusion in national education systems. At the same time, there are eight cases where the absence of security concerns combined with relatively low numbers of refugees sufficiently produce the REI outcome (third pathway). Amongst them are Zambia and Papua New Guinea where normative conditions have high values.

Due to the complexity of the QCA models, none of the results deliver a perfect solution formula that is parsimonious enough for meaningful interpretation while yielding acceptable consistency and coverage. Equation 5 is thus formulated based on the above models where the most consistent pathways were extracted and analysed for coverage as well as types of cases covered to retain and select prevalent configurations that cover all cases while offering meaningful explanatory insights representative of findings from the tested models (see Appendix A). The three configurations with highest consistency and coverage above 0.5 are REPI*CSED, CSED*REFS, and REFI*SEC. Between them they cover 28 REI cases, with Armenia, Mali and South Africa missing. The next most consistent pathway covering these three is RPE which is thus added to the solution.

Equation 5: REI outcome

CSED (REPI + REFS) + REFI*SEC + RPE → REI

The resulting solution formula combines policy, capacity, norms and interest-based factors. It highlights that education capacity is a key element that can produce refugee inclusion either in combination with developmental policy approaches or with additional support to refugee education.

While policy therefore emerges as a relevant instrument, it is not the only path to inclusion. The solution confirms that REPI can be sufficient in combination with capacity, but even in its absence, targeted support to refugee education where there is already a certain level of education capacity is sufficient for inclusion. Importantly, it was found that this support cannot compensate for low capacity as corresponding sufficient configurations have not emerged throughout the models.

The formula reflects the security aspect in large host countries that were hypothesised to be inclined to opt for inclusion in order to avoid exclusion. This is a particularly relevant pathway for such cases as Cameroon, Kenya, Lebanon, Pakistan, South Sudan or Yemen where normative pathways were not observed.

On the other hand, a favourable protection environment in itself can be sufficient for refugees' inclusion where refugee legislation or opportunities for socio-economic integration have emerged as important components.

~REI outcome

In a next step, the ~REI outcome is analysed for sufficient combinations to find out what combinations of conditions produce the exclusion of refugees from national education systems. There are only ten ~REI outcome cases which nonetheless constitute an extremely diverse subset. They include the two extremes on the human development scale reaching from Central African Republic to Malaysia, reaching from those with a relatively complex refugee hosting history like Tanzania to those where refugee hosting history was measured as less complex such as Afghanistan. Might there be unifying characteristics across this diverse subset that can provide insights into what deters these states from including refugees in their national education systems?

It was hypothesised that while security threats would have an inclusive effect, demographic pressure would have an exclusive effect especially where there are high relative refugee numbers (Hypothesis 9). While Model 16 revealed that the absence of demographic pressure alone can be sufficient for refugee inclusion, after various tests in different combinations, demographic pressure does not produce exclusion in any of the tested models.

In fact, the combination REFI*DEM has a sufficiency consistency of 0.51 only with 0.55 coverage. There are only three REFI cases amongst the set of ~REI cases Djibouti, Mauritania and Tanzania, and demographic pressure is indeed also observed in these. However, given the low consistency and coverage values, Hypothesis 9 cannot be confirmed for the set of cases. Since high relative refugee numbers in combination with demographic pressure do not sufficiently produce the exclusion of refugees from national systems, alternative explanatory pathways must be identified.

Hypothesis 10 posits that humanitarian policy combined with an unfavourable protection environment is sufficient for the exclusion of refugees from national education systems. Upon various iterations either leading to parsimonious solutions without including all ten ~REI cases or too complex solutions, the below model delivers a parsimonious solution that includes all ~REI cases. Besides including REPI, RPE for the normative aspects, CSEC for socio-economic capacity,

as well as specific targeted refugee education support REFS, the model also includes external intervention (EXT) which was found to produce most consistent results in combination with these conditions.

Model 17: ~REI = f(REPI, REFS, RPE, CSEC, EXT)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.683
Intermediate solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
~REPI*~RPE	**0.684**	**0.102**	**0.713**
~REPI*EXT	**0.684**	**0.069**	**0.608**
~RPE*~CSEC*EXT	**0.531**	**0.019**	**0.753**
~REFS*~CSEC*EXT	**0.461**	**0.007**	**0.690**
solution coverage:	0.915	solution consistency:	0.581

~REI cases in pathway **~REPI*~RPE**: *THA* (0.93,0.95), *MYS* (0.907,0.95), MRT (0.729,0.67), *BGD* (0.61,0.94), CAF (0.586,0.86)

~REI cases in pathway **~REPI*EXT**: AFG (0.95,0.91), *BDI* (0.948,0.81), CAF (0.88,0.86), *LBR* (0.79,0.74), MRT (0.776,0.67), TZA (0.638,0.94)

~REI cases in pathway **~RPE*~CSEC*EXT**: *DJI* (0.593,0.95), CAF (0.586,0.86), MRT (0.529,0.67)

~REI cases in pathway **~REFS*~CSEC*EXT**: AFG (0.912,0.91), TZA (0.6,0.94), MRT (0.529,0.67)

The ~REI solution pathways mean that humanitarian policy approaches in combination with an unfavourable protection environment lead to the exclusion of refugees. This confirms Hypothesis 10 and goes for five of the ten ~REI cases. In the single pathway cases Thailand, Malaysia and Bangladesh, where there is relatively more education-related capacity, the rather unfavourable protection environment combined with humanitarian policy is sufficient, while Mauritania and Central African Republic are also covered by the second pathway suggesting that humanitarian policy approaches in combination with external influence are sufficient.

The external intervention condition (EXT) provides for some curious results as it also emerged in sufficient configurations towards inclusion of refugees. A sub-indicator of the Fragile States Index (FFP, 2017), it considers influence and impact of external actors in the functioning of a state. It looks at both political and security aspects affecting balance of power, as well as economic engagement including through loans, development aid and humanitarian intervention. In terms of policy inclusion, it was assumed that greater degrees of external intervention could lead to higher degrees of inclusion as a result of pressure and support, but could at the same time lead to lesser degrees of inclusion considering generally lower internal capacity of national systems in concerned states in case pressure is not accompanied by support.

The analysis into policy found EXT sufficient towards developmental policy mainly in combination with socio-economic or geo-political capacity-related factors such as HDI or GOV or

with normative factor RPE. The analysis into combinations producing inclusion or exclusion of refugees in national education systems in practice now reveals that both assumptions can actually be validated in that EXT can lead to inclusive practice in combination with capacity, but to exclusive practice without capacity. Although EXT by itself has lower consistency for the ~REI outcome than for REI, so as a sufficient condition is less necessary for the exclusion than for inclusion of refugees in national education systems. This goes to show the legitimacy and relevance of employing QCA as conventional statistical methods see variables in isolation and could not have brought to light such nuances.

The third pathway posits that external intervention combined with lack of capacity where there is an unfavourable protection environment produces exclusion. While the fourth pathway can be ignored since all cases are also covered with higher sufficiency by other pathways, it goes to show that external influence is unsuccessful in cases that lack capacity and are not provided with particular financial support for refugee education, which was exemplified by the case of Tanzania. Cutting the fourth pathway leads to the following equation to explain the ten ~REI cases.

Equation 6: ~REI outcome

~REPI (~RPE+EXT) +~RPE*~CSEC*EXT → ~REI

It thus emerges that the exclusion of refugees from national education systems is indeed produced by a combination of humanitarian policy with unfavourable refugee protection environment. Where refugees are not envisioned as part of national development planning at policy level and where refugees' rights are otherwise not respected, in such cases as Thailand or Malaysia, this is sufficient for the set-up of parallel education services for them outside the national education system.

Importantly, external influence can have adverse effects for the theory of change towards inclusion when it is combined with humanitarian policy or with a lack of socio-economic capacity and an unfavourable protection environment in such fragile cases as Afghanistan, Burundi, Central African Republic or Liberia, where additional targeted support to refugee education is relatively low. In contrast, external influence was found sufficient to produce refugees' inclusion when it is combined with such additional support, or with a favourable protection environment, or with relatively higher education capacity where developmental policy had been adopted.

What results from this analysis is that humanitarian policy cannot work towards refugees' inclusion in national education systems. On the other hand, developmental policy is a helpful ingredient, but it is not in itself a guarantee for more inclusive approaches in practice, nor does inclusive practice need inclusive policy.

2.3 Conclusions on developmental approaches in practice

This empirical part addresses analytical questions about what approaches to refugee education are currently in use across the 41 host countries, and what combinations of factors explain inclusion or exclusion from national host education systems so as to create a baseline understanding for the ToC.

A first overview reveals that the vast majority of cases, 31 of the 41, find themselves inside the nation-state system and at the development end of the education approach spectrum offering host country schooling for the majority of refugees. When this suggests a strong and clear trend towards the inclusion of refugees in national education systems, a closer look uncovers great disparities within and across these cases and a wide range of implementation arrangements and practical adaptations of the host schooling approach.

These stark differences in implementation across and even within host states go to show that, in Waters and Leblanc's words, refugees continue to "provide an unusual challenge for understanding the relationships imagined between school curriculum and modern citizenship" (2005: 130).

Adaptations reach from implementing different degrees of inclusion for specific groups of refugees defined by their country of origin (such as in Egypt), by their location (such as in Pakistan) or type of residence in the host country (such as in Mauritania), or by their time of arrival (such as in Rwanda). Inclusion can also be implemented incrementally such as in the case of Turkey, or partially where refugees follow the national curriculum but do not attend national public schools such as in Nepal.

Inclusion into national systems does not necessarily translate into inclusive classrooms. Particularly in African host countries where refugee camps or settlements have been established in remote areas, refugees might be included in the national education system but remain largely amongst themselves during class time, physically separated from nationals studying in geographically distant schools, such as in Chad, Ethiopia, Kenya or Zambia. Refugees might not only be separated by camp-based schools, but also by time where double-shifts have been established to cater to additional learners which often implies segregation of refugee from host country learners such as in the case of Lebanon.

But even where inclusion also translates into refugees and nationals learning side-by-side on school benches, this might not automatically result in inclusive classroom practice as was exemplified through the case of South Africa where refugees can access national schools but are often disadvantaged by documentation requirements and deterred by an unwelcoming climate of social stigmatisation and xenophobia.

While the mapping thus confirms an immense gap between policy and practice with written policy being less favourable in terms of the adoption of developmental approaches than what is in fact practice, it also highlights gaps at the level of implementation to achieve inclusion in a more holistic sense.

In its current forms and shapes of implementation, inclusion in national host education systems remains an ambitious goal in a world where refugees continue to occupy liminal positions within host nation-states at most as "quasi-citizens" (Haddad, 2003: 10). As such, current practice of inclusion might actually act as a barrier towards the proclaimed self-reliance goals if educational attainment does not open up "possible pathways to the rights that enable post-education work and civil and political participation" (Dryden-Peterson, 2016b: 480). At best, such little inclusive practical adaptations of the developmental approach, offer self-reliance as an "alternative to liberal development" (Stilhoff Sörensen, 2012: 61).

While Qualitative Comparative Analysis cannot answer normative questions on what should be the best approach for refugee education in practice, it does reveal combinations that can support the theory of change towards inclusion of refugees in national education systems or that work towards exclusion. The research question was interested in exploring to what extent refugee education implementation pathways can be explained by policy approaches.

Results show that developmental policy is a subset of developmental practice. This means that almost all cases where policy is inclusive of refugees also practise inclusion of refugees in national education systems. Although the fact of having more inclusive practice does not necessarily result from that policy, as not having developmental approaches anchored in written policy does not mean that developmental approaches cannot occur in practice. Some 16 cases were found without overtly developmental policy where inclusion of refugees in national education systems is possible to varying degrees in practice.

While in such cases it might indeed not be necessary to single out refugees as a specific group in written education policy, when overall policy frameworks are inclusive and education rights apply to all children regardless of their legal status, and where policy is aligned to international treaty and convention obligations, more resource-scarce refugee-hosting countries might want to align their policy with their developmental practice to benefit from increased support promised by the Global Compact by highlighting gaps in education provision not only for locals but also for refugees appealing to international responsibility sharing in the spirit of the New York Declaration (UNGA, 2016). The question remains whether the Global North can live up to its promises, and whether the inclusion discourse can be more confidently adopted in policy and practice in the Global South, when this means acknowledging refugees' more-than-temporary presence.

On the other hand, non-developmental policy is a superset of exclusive practice, meaning such policy is necessary for exclusion to occur as none of the cases with humanitarian approaches in practice have developmental policy. This informs practical implications for the ToC in that the refugee regime definitely needs to work towards the avoidance of humanitarian policy, although this alone will not be a guarantee for more inclusive practice.

Combinations where developmental policy works favourably towards the adoption of more inclusive approaches to refugee education in practice include first and foremost capacity-related factors on the host country side, which work sufficiently also in combination with targeted financial support to refugee education from the international community in such cases as Kenya or Ethiopia, but also in cases without developmental policy such as Rwanda or Nepal. When results highlight the importance of internal education capacity, they also show that inclusion cannot be produced by additional support where there is no internal capacity to enable refugees' inclusion.

Results further highlight interests in avoiding exclusion in large host countries that were hypothesised to be inclined to opt for inclusion in order to avoid exclusion and potential security risks that a set-up of parallel education structures might bring along. This is a particularly relevant pathway for such cases as Cameroon, Kenya, Lebanon, Pakistan, South Sudan or Yemen where normative pathways were not observed.

On the other hand, a favourable protection environment in itself can be sufficient for refugees' inclusion where refugee legislation or opportunities for socio-economic integration emerge as important components. In such cases, it was hypothesised that education rate of return analysis would economically justify investment and the opening up of national schools to refugees where it brings not only individual benefits but also yields societal returns for the host such as in Armenia or Turkey.

Refugees' exclusion from national education systems is brought about by a combination of humanitarian policy with unfavourable refugee protection environment or with lack of capacity. The analysis also reveals differing effects of external influence towards either exclusion when it is combined with low capacity and an unfavourable protection environment in such fragile cases as Afghanistan, Burundi, Central African Republic or Liberia, where additional targeted support to refugee education is relatively low. When combined with such support, with a favourable protection environment, or with capacity, it can sufficiently work towards refugees' inclusion.

The analysis also is testimony to the dynamic environment in which refugee education policy and practice take place and where research becomes quickly outdated. While Ethiopia was coded as more humanitarian on the education statistics variable, it has since made progress and published refugee education data as part of its annual education statistics in June 2018, which

had not yet been available at the time of research (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2018). The country's ranking has thus moved up on the nation-state inclusion axis. Importantly, this serves as a positive example towards inclusion of refugees at the level of statistics, an area further discussed in the following.

Based on the typology and analysis into differences in refugee education implementation across and within cases, part 3 turns to refugees' actual access levels. Do refugees in particular boxes have higher chances to be enrolled in primary and secondary education? Are there clear trends as to what implementation pathway works most favourably towards net enrolment levels? Or are there other factors that prove to have greater explanatory power than policy and practical implementation arrangements? To answer these questions, the next part is dedicated to compiling enrolment data for refugees across the cases in formal primary and secondary education.

3. Outcomes of developmental approaches in refugee education

Now that refugee education policy and practice across the 41 cases have been analysed, this third and last part of the empirical chapter explores how these are translated into concrete access opportunities. It aims to establish what explains outcomes, particularly to what extent developmental approaches can explain variation in refugee education access outcomes in answering the third, and thus the main research question.

The research interest lies in first of all establishing access levels to education which are identified through the compilation of enrolment and population data to estimate the net enrolment for refugees in primary and secondary education across the cases. Secondly, this question aims to determine factors that can explain these differing rates. Of particular interest is to what extent developmental policy and practice are necessary for better education access, or in combination with what conditions these might be sufficient to produce such outcomes.

Given the absence of theory on refugee education access outcomes, and in an effort to conceptualise these as a basis for this empirical analysis, the review of the literature informed the creation of an overarching framework of demand and supply which includes five interlinked dimensions of availability, accessibility, adaptability, acceptability and affordability. This framework is a very liberal adaptation of Tomasevski's 4A framework of rights to, in and through education (2006a).

With theory on education access pointing to the importance of both supply- and demand-side factors, considerations of dimensions on either side are included in the following QCA models. However, since this analysis is limited by national-level data, a case study is added where sub-national and more context-specific considerations are included. The case study is guided by the Capability Approach (see Figure 5, chapter II) looking beyond inputs, resources and outcomes (achieved functionings) considering also capability sets.

When supply-side factors relate undoubtedly to physical school infrastructure as well as to quality aspects of teaching and learning, in the case of refugees, they also refer to equity aspects in terms of how access is facilitated given refugees' particular position in the nation-state system, which can concretely translate into their inability to produce documentation that might be required at the time of registration.

Potential returns to education at the individual and family level are important considerations on the demand side, and for refugees these come with additional contemplations depending on available solution scenarios, their legal right to work in their current host countries and livelihood opportunities. Cost-benefit calculations for refugees are often complicated precisely because the returns to education accrue in the future, and this future for refugees remains uncertain.

The ToC towards self-reliance assumes that through enhanced adaptability, i.e. the inclusion of refugees in national education systems, supply-side factors can be boosted by way of availability of an accountable system within which quality teaching and learning can be ensured, as well as accessibility where national system schools will be constructed within proximity of refugee sites and documentation requirements waved. On the surface, it seems less concerned with demand-side factors of acceptability and affordability in the refugee context. The ToC makes implicit assumptions around refugees' curricular preferences as well as on necessary pre-conditions for refugees to be economically able to access, but also succeed in host country education systems.

Following the logic of the ToC and with these theoretical consideration in mind, five hypotheses were formulated that are to be tested here (referenced in Appendix B). Research into access outcomes aims to contribute so far unavailable refugee education baseline data and at the same time assess the effectiveness of developmental approaches in delivering better education access outcomes for refugees as is inherently proposed by the ToC. Concretely, the analysis establishes under what conditions enrolment rates can be higher on the spectrum from humanitarian to developmental approaches.

To do this, section 3.1 serves to generate data for the creation of the Refugee Net Enrolment Rate (RNER) outcome variable, which is then explored with the help of Qualitative Comparative Analysis in section 3.2. Section 3.3 zooms into four of the cases to enable a more case-specific analysis. Section 3.4 provides conclusions.

3.1 What are education access outcomes for refugees?

When global education statistics refer to enrolments and numbers of out-of-school children, these figures usually do not include refugees (UNESCO, 2016b). Refugees have remained largely invisible in global education statistics. This is due to their exclusion from national education statistics that are compiled by UNESCO at the global level, which was confirmed by both the policy review and the refugee education implementation mapping research under the two previous research questions.

Refugees' invisibility means that they are not accounted for in national education sector and development planning, including budgets, which limits tangible possibilities to move towards developmental approaches in practice. When a student becomes a refugee, they will eventually disappear from their home country national Education Management Information System (EMIS) without being automatically included in another state's EMIS due to their legal status. So, at the international level, it will seem as if these students have dropped out of school, or simply disappeared, even if they continue studying.

Data and education have been described as aspects that have the capacity to narrow the humanitarian-development divide, and efforts to improve work on refugee education data have been at the forefront of the push towards more developmental approaches. UNHCR considers that with increased collaboration between humanitarian and development partners, demands for new data and knowledge will refocus the development lens for assessment, planning and evaluation on humanitarian response and protection, so that the humanitarian-development gap will start to narrow at the data and analysis level (UNHCR, 2016b).

Given the importance of data to inform policy, planning and budgeting at national level, refugee education data could indeed be considered the last frontier that needs to be crossed at the policy level to pave the way towards refugees' inclusion in national education systems in practice. However, so far, data on refugee education has been extremely scarce and patchy. This calls for a deeper exploration of the related challenges.

Challenges and approaches to refugee education data

Obtaining data in situations of conflict and fragility is complicated in general. It is the most affected countries that will have lowest data availability and will thus be absent from global analyses (Shields & Paulson, 2015). In refugee contexts, obtaining data becomes a particularly complex undertaking, as also discussed elsewhere (Cooper, 2011; Culbertson & Constant, 2015; Devictor & Do, 2016; Tan et al., 2016). Education is a sector full of its own data challenges. The combination of refugees and education then makes for complex data endeavours that have only more recently become a topic of debate within the humanitarian and development communities (Naidoo & Montoya, 2015; Weiss-Yagoda, 2017). At global level, no centralised repository for refugee education data exists to date.

Findings of this research project point to refugee education data management being complicated by characteristics of refugees, the wide diversity of refugee situations and settings with differing governance arrangements. The challenges are not only due to technical limitations but also have to do with refugees' liminality in the nation-state system where counting them as part of one or the other nation-state demographic set turns into a political decision also.

For one, by definition, refugees are populations in flux. Monitoring refugee enrolment in national education systems or in parallel refugee-specific education systems is complicated by constantly changing figures. In some situations, refugees remain mobile within their first countries of asylum, or decide for secondary movements to other host countries, in search of the most suitable living and livelihood options while in exile. This makes it difficult to track their education over time and across different (national) systems.

This situation of flux also complicates data capture. When refugee enrolments are usually monitored once or twice a year, it can be that higher refugee base populations – that serve as the denominator for enrolment calculations – are not updated or taken into account, so that enrolment rates will become inflated. On the other hand, it can be that newly arrived refugees are captured with delays in enrolment statistics, but might have already been captured in population statistics, thus decreasing enrolment rates.

These calculations are complicated by the fact that both population and enrolment numbers are available in aggregate format at refugee situation-level only, so no individual tracking of education pathways, i.e. transitions of one child from one to the next grade, are possible. This necessitates 'no-turnover assumptions' (Devictor & Do, 2016: 9) that assume the same individuals are counted in consecutive years even if it is known that there are natural turnovers in reality, i.e. not only new refugees arriving and enrolling, but also enrolments and drop-out from existing refugees.

As this research has shown, refugee education takes different forms and shapes from inclusion in national education systems to parallel locally set-up structures. As a result of this diversity, data on refugee education is typically fragmented across various humanitarian actors, including UNHCR, UNICEF, the Education Cluster and NGOs, as well as local education providers and national education authorities. This multiplicity of stakeholders presents another challenge in itself. The situation of Syrian refugees is a vivid illustration of this issue with a minimum of 50 different stakeholders involved in the regional response, including international and civil society organisations in addition to ministries of education (UNESCO, 2016b).

Broadly, three main options for refugee education data capture have been identified by this research, reaching from firstly no tracking, to secondly parallel tracking systems to thirdly, inclusion in national statistics. The first option applies where refugees are attending private or community-based schools in urban, rural or camp settings without support or knowing of refugee education actors with links to national-level monitoring processes.

A second option are results-based management applications and sector-specific data systems used by refugee education actors. In these cases, data is often fragmented between various agencies and actors and might not be aligned with national EMIS data collection formats. UNHCR emerges as a key player in refugee education data management. However, the agency's data is limited in scope at the global level to operationally useful information for results-based management of specific interventions and established programmes to ensure quality of protection service provision and accountability to partners. This means that enrolment data might be available for countries where UNHCR is directly involved in the provision of education through partners, but not in countries where refugees are fully included in the national

education system. In 2016, UNHCR enrolment data was available for 61% of the entire global school-going refugee population.

While research findings here show that large amounts of education data are available at field level through refugee education providers and schools, the lack of a centralised information system that would both facilitate and strengthen refugee education data management at field and global level has been an obstacle to the generation of good quality data. There are at times methodological inconsistences between and even within countries in the compilation and aggregation of enrolment data, such as denominators used between all refugees, registered refugees, or only directly assisted refugees, calculation methods used, counting of dropouts and students enrolled – including in instances also students from the local host community who are not counted in the denominator figures. Age-specific enrolment data has been a challenge in many settings. With the goal to improve refugee education data quality for eventual data inclusion in national EMIS, the Refugee Education Management Information System (REMIS) was launched by UNHCR at the end of 2017.

A challenge to the analysis of field-level education data is the fact that UNHCR's systems for results-based management and population statistics are not compatible which does not allow for easy cross-referencing due to inconsistent nomenclature of refugee sites. What is more, disaggregated refugee population statistics provided by host governments sometimes do not exactly correspond to UNHCR data, which creates challenges in estimating the base figures. In some large host countries, UNHCR has higher base figures as those reported by national education statistics for refugees, which distorts enrolment rates.

Despite the challenges, there are some innovative and promising examples of refugee education data management at country level. Ethiopia has just released its annual education statistical abstract including a section on refugee education, which is a positive step towards full inclusion of refugees in the national education system and in forging partnerships between humanitarian and development actors on the way to closing the divide (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2018).

In Kenya, following the registration of all schools in Kakuma refugee camp as public entities by the national ministry of education, the camp schools have been included in the annual data capture carried out by the ministry. Each of the schools completes an EMIS form which is then collected for onward submission to the ministry in Nairobi and included in national education data management. With the national EMIS currently still unable to produce specific school profile reports and lacking refugee protection-related information such as nationality, legal status, specific vulnerability information, UNHCR in Kenya is maintaining an additional database for the time being to be able to monitor and address any protection concerns (Zeus, 2017).

Coinciding with the Chadian government's announcement to shift its humanitarian strategy from assistance to development in 2012 which resulted also in a curriculum transition for Sudanese refugees in the east of the country from their home country to host country curriculum, an integrated Education Data Management System to improve refugee education data management was designed in line with the national EMIS with the aim for eventual data integration (Zeus, 2017).

In Malaysia, where refugees are not allowed to access the formal education system and are instead attending community learning centres spread across Kuala Lumpur, the mapping of these centres improved monitoring of enrolments, attendance and performance across them with the help of a generic online tool (UNESCO & UNHCR, 2016).

A third option is for refugees to be included in national EMIS. Most LMIC host nations do not include refugee education data in their national EMIS as the mapping under section 2.1 showed. Inclusion in national EMIS is practised in high-income contexts where refugees are included in the national education system. Mostly, these systems do not collect data disaggregated by legal status so that refugees are mixed with the national population, or simply assigned a 'foreign student' label, and refugee-specific analysis is made impossible. In host countries where refugees face stigmatisation or protection risks if their status is revealed, avoiding disaggregation might however be the preferred approach.

What needs to be considered with this approach is that base population data for enrolment rates is pulled from national-level demographic data which does not usually include refugees. This means that enrolments could become inflated when, in an ideal education system, there are more children enrolled than there are children. At present enrolment rate levels, this might not be cause for concern, especially where refugee numbers would not be able to skew enrolment rates at national level.

With the theory of change moving towards including refugee children into national education systems, this implies a move towards this third option, i.e. tracking refugees' education as part of national EMIS. When the humanitarian and development sectors are becoming increasingly data hungry, this increasing inclusion however also implies increasingly less control over data as responsibilities shift to national entities.

Data and monitoring challenges are thus expected to increase with more refugees included in national education systems, but without appropriate levels of disaggregation in place in national statistical systems, and with low levels of statistical capacities in many host countries (Salinas, 2013). More than being a technical issue, adding such levels is a political one. While refugees might thus be counted, they might not be accounted for when they are mixed up with other

groups of foreign students. This likely means that a certain degree of parallel monitoring on refugee-specific vulnerability and protection aspects needs to be maintained.

Refugee net enrolment rates

As described in chapter III, refugee primary and secondary school enrolment and population data was compiled for the 41 cases to create the Refugee Net Enrolment Rate (RNER). This exercise included assessing data quality, data triangulation and critical follow-up for data verification and validation where necessary. This thorough process was required given the complete lack of such a database and the variety of data sources, calculation methods and purposes of data presentation that affect data quality. Taken together with the overall refugee education data challenges discussed above, it becomes clear that the data need to be interpreted with a degree of caution.

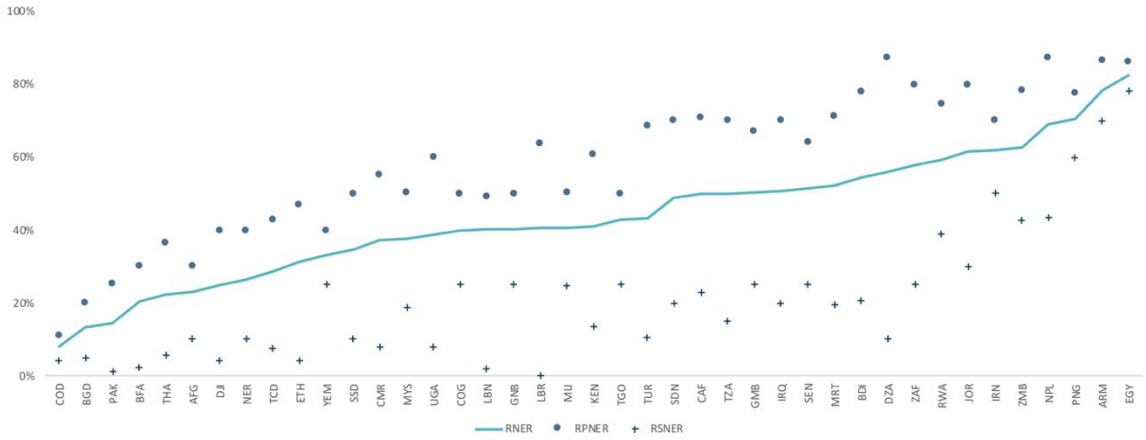
It also needs to be noted that data refer to the end of 2016 and will have changed since given fluctuations in refugee population data as well as enrolment evolution. This explains why data presented here might not necessarily correspond exactly to enrolment data presented elsewhere. Data presented here correspond with the global refugee education data set published by UNHCR that estimates 61% enrolment at primary education level and 23% at secondary level – an overall enrolment of 45% (UNHCR, 2017d). This compares to global primary enrolment rates at 91% and lower secondary enrolment rates at 83% and presents progress at primary level for refugees from 50% reported the previous year, but a slight regress at secondary level from 25% in 2015 (UNHCR, 2016g).

While global figures reveal insights into the specificities of refugee education data, they also conceal disparities across and within host countries. Fluctuations in enrolment rates at global level by eleven percentage points at primary, or even two percentage points at secondary level, are usually not observed in global education statistics where net enrolments have remained relatively stable – although on an upward trend – for the past years (UNESCO, 2017a).

The upward trend in refugee primary education at global level is explained by relatively more refugees having arrived in high-income settings where their children are subject to mandatory schooling regimes, not necessarily by progress in LMIC that host the majority of refugees. Although progress in numbers of refugee children enrolled has been made, the simultaneous and continued influx of refugees, does not reflect this progress in enrolment rates. That secondary education does not see a similar upward trend for the same reason is explained by the fact that adolescents are not always affected by mandatory schooling depending on country-specific laws. Entrance into secondary education is generally harder without prior schooling in the same system and is limited by language deficiencies.

As a subset of this global data set, 82% of school-age refugees reside in the 41 case countries where the overall enrolment rate stands at 39% with 55% enrolment at primary level and 14% at secondary level, so far below the global average for 2016. Country-level enrolments at primary (RPNER) and secondary (RSNER) level are presented in Figure 17 in ascending order by overall enrolments (RNER). The complete data set is available in Appendix A.

Figure 17: Refugee enrolments at primary and secondary school level



The highest overall enrolment rates are reported by Egypt, where 86% of primary-school aged refugees are enrolled in primary, and 78% of secondary-school-aged refugees in secondary school. There are however notable differences between population groups as Iraqi refugees' enrolment is reported in primary at 80% and 75% in secondary education, compared to 90% and 80% for the significantly larger Syrian refugee population group respectively. No estimates are available for the minority of sub-Saharan African refugees who do not have access to the national education system. Overall, these national-level estimates appear relatively high especially at secondary level, where the national net enrolment rate is reported at 82%; primary enrolments compare to 98% at national level (UIS, 2018).

Despite public opinion holding that refugees are often advantaged compared to local populations, in comparison with national enrolment averages, refugees are worse off in all 41 cases with significant gaps between national enrolments and refugee enrolments. Across the cases, the primary net enrolment for non-refugees is estimated at 83% compared to 55% for refugees (UIS, 2018).[15]

Nonetheless, this picture might change if sub-national level data were available allowing a more differential look at refugee host communities. In Ethiopia, only 47% of refugee children have access to primary education, compared with a national average of 86%. At secondary education

[15] Secondary-level NERs are not available for all 41 cases.

level, only 4% of refugee adolescents have access compared to a national average of 31% (UIS, 2018).

The lowest overall enrolment rates are estimated for the DR Congo with 11% at primary and 4% at secondary school. Even these low figures might turn out to be too high in reality given the lack of age-disaggregated data, so that what are reported as net enrolments might in fact be gross enrolments.

Comparing gross enrolments to net enrolments indeed reveals huge gaps for many of the cases. In Ethiopia, the 47% net enrolment rate at primary level compares to a 75% gross enrolment rate, and the 4% net at secondary to 45% gross enrolment. In Chad, 63% of refugee children regardless of their age are enrolled in primary, but only 43% of refugee children of primary school-age are enrolled at primary level, and at secondary level the 8% net enrolment compares to a 48% gross enrolment rate. These disparities are due to late enrolments and over-age students who might have missed out on years of schooling due to conflict and displacement.

While Algeria has the highest primary enrolment at 87%, its low secondary enrolment rates at 10% mean lower overall rates. This is due to the lack of secondary schools in the camps which means refugee adolescents need to travel to the closest city several hundred kilometres away from the camps to continue their studies (UNHCR, 2016d).

South Africa also reveals a huge gap between primary (80%) and secondary (25%) education as a country that emerged with developmental practice. In addition to access barriers related to social stigmatisation, refugees face difficulties in accessing education due to strict documentation requirements (Perumal, 2015; Stone & Winterstein, 2003). Having to present birth certificates and immunisation cards to register often deprives refugees of their constitutional right to access education when refugee papers are not readily accepted, with particularly negative effects at post-primary levels.

As in many contexts, in South Africa, Department of Education and Department of Home Affairs directives to schools are conflictive in that the former are more accommodating stressing the right to education for every child and the latter sees schools as a ‘frontline’ for more exclusive policy agendas (Crush & Tawodzera, 2013). The fact that refugees in South Africa reside mainly in urban areas, and might attempt to blend in rather than reveal their status, however also impacts the quality of data, so that enrolment rates in this context have an estimative value only and might in reality be even lower given monitoring challenges.

Secondary enrolment rates are particularly low also in Pakistan at 1%, Burkina Faso and Lebanon at 2%, or 4% in Djibouti and Ethiopia. There are both demand- and supply-side factors to explain lower secondary enrolment rates. Adolescents are an important labour force for their families, so that opportunity costs are higher for secondary school attendance. There are also increased

access challenges for adolescents at secondary education level in terms of documentation when they do not have proof of prior schooling, but also academically when they have completed their primary schooling in a different system or in a different language. Secondary schools are also fewer and often difficult to access from refugee locations.

The differences between primary and secondary enrolment are starkly visible across the cases, and this is also observed within specific settings. In Kenya's Kakuma camps, only 3% of refugees were enrolled in secondary education, while 73% were enrolled in primary education. This brings along retention challenges at primary school level when transition to secondary education is not possible resulting in lack of students' motivation to attend and succeed in their schooling. The lower secondary enrolments are explained by a lack of schools – five secondary schools compared to 21 primary schools. While in 2016 some 3,500 students were eligible to transition to secondary school, there were only 800 available seats on the secondary schools' benches (UNHCR, 2017a).

This gap between primary and secondary enrolments brings significant protection challenges and risks as secondary education provides a critical bridge from primary education to higher education or vocational skills training, thereby contributing to the development of human capital of refugee communities, to self-reliance and solutions. It is an essential step in ensuring that young refugees have the foundation for increased earning power and the skills to rebuild their communities.

The results show that enrolment rates vary widely within and across countries, depending on whether refugees are in urban, rural or camp settings. Enrolment can vary according to the size of the refugee population, their length of stay as well as protection concerns and specific policy contexts and differs greatly between educational levels or between different groups, including between boys and girls.

In Tanzania, while 81% of Congolese refugees were enrolled, only 48% of the more recently arrived Burundian refugees were enrolled. Primary enrolments for the two groups were 92% for Congolese and 65% for Burundians. Secondary enrolments differed more starkly even with 55% compared to 3%.

While sex-disaggregated enrolment data was not available throughout, some cases provide insights into the gaps between boys and girls. In South Sudan, for every ten refugee boys in primary school there were seven refugee girls, i.e. a gender parity index (GPI) of 0.7. At secondary school the figure drops to only two refugee girls for every ten refugee boys. In Bangladesh, while the GPI at primary level stands at 1.1, i.e. there were eleven refugee girls for every ten refugee boys in primary school, at secondary school the GPI drops to 0.7. In Pakistan,

for every ten refugee boys in primary school there are five refugee girls; at secondary school the figure drops to only two refugee girls for every ten refugee boys.

In terms of the type of refugees' residence, there are no clear-cut trends from a look at some of the cases. While in Rwanda, camp-based refugees seem to stand a better chance of being enrolled than their peers in urban settings, in Uganda this trend seems to be inversed. There are however stark disparities between settings and regions within host countries. In Pakistan, it was estimated that 26% of school-age refugees were enrolled in 2015 with stark regional and district-level differences between 40% in Quetta to only 1% in neighbouring Killa Saifullah (UNHCR Pakistan, 2016: 19).

With large-scale repatriation going on in Pakistan, these rates have nearly halved going down to 14% in 2016. This exemplifies the issue of fluctuations in refugee education data. As Afghan refugees make up 8% of refugees globally, changes in the schooling landscape have an impact on the global data set accounting for enrolment trends going upward or downward and hiding possible trends in the opposite direction in countries hosting relatively fewer refugees.

Looking at absolute enrolment numbers and trends over the years, the scale of refugee education becomes visible. In public Pakistani primary schools nationwide, Afghan refugees made up 14% of students in 2015. Lebanon, for the first school year in 2017, accommodated more non-Lebanese than Lebanese students in its public basic education system as a result of the arrival of Syrian refugees and gradual progress in their enrolment thanks to a system of double-shifts and community-based approaches that saw increased involvement of parents in their children's education, homework support groups and sensitisation through outreach volunteers who also referred out-of-school children to accelerated education (UNHCR, 2017a).

Average enrolments for the three types (home, host, local) reveal that local education systems have the lowest enrolments at 31% and the home type reaches highest enrolments at 52% overall, however based on three cases only. In host education systems, i.e. the inclusion approach representing the majority of the cases, enrolments are in line with average enrolments across the 41 cases at 39%.

The analysis of refugee access rates to primary and secondary education highlights the immense challenges at policy and practice levels for refugees to reach proclaimed self-reliance goals with currently only 39% of school-age refugees being enrolled in school. This presents an extremely low, but a very concrete baseline on which the theory of change must be built. The following QCA is to provide insights on explanatory factors for relatively higher and lower enrolments.

3.2 Under what conditions can developmental approaches produce better access outcomes?

The previous two QCA studies looked at factors producing the adoption of developmental policy and those producing refugees' inclusion in national education systems in practice. This empirical section is interested in explaining access outcomes which were operationalised through net enrolment rates. Of particular interest here is whether developmental policy or practice are necessary for higher enrolments or whether they can produce higher enrolments, and if so how such sufficient configurations would look like, i.e. under what conditions developmental approaches can produce better access outcomes. As in the first two empirical parts, the QCA begins with a look at necessity followed by the analysis of sufficient configurations.

3.2.1 Necessity analysis

After calibrating the outcome condition RNER at 0.7 as fully in including Papua New Guinea, Armenia and Egypt, with crossover at 0.5 corresponding to The Gambia, Tanzania and Central African Republic, and full non-membership at 0.25 covering seven cases, the analysis of necessary conditions reveals three conditions above the required 0.9 threshold for necessity consistency, and three conditions with high consistency levels above 0.8, although all of them with relatively low coverage (Table 12). These include socio-economic capacity related to education, the refugee education inclusion condition (REI), with its three components certification, curriculum, and access, as well as having ratified the 1951 Convention. The necessity consistency rates for CSED, CER and CUR constitute the highest throughout this study.

Yet, coverage values for the RNER outcome are relatively low indicating that just around half of the cases presenting these conditions are indeed successful, while just around half actually are not successful, which means that the conditions might be equally necessary for lack of success, i.e. for low enrolment rates.

A necessity test for the ~RNER outcome does reveal slightly lower consistency rates for these conditions but with higher coverage values. In other words, while there is greater set overlap for the RNER outcome, the relative size of these conditions to the ~RNER outcome is bigger and they are empirically more relevant for the ~RNER outcome and might just be too broad to be helpful explanations for the RNER outcome.

While necessary conditions do not yield perfect consistency levels and only low coverage, these results still suggest that high enrolments can hardly occur without there being relatively high education system capacity within the host country, without there being certification and an accredited host country curriculum, but these conditions are not sufficient for high enrolments to occur.

Table 12: Analysis of necessary conditions at consistency level ≥ 0.8 for RNER outcome compared to ~RNER (produced with fs/qca)

Outcome:	**RNER**		**~RNER**	
Conditions:	Consistency	Coverage	Consistency	Coverage
CSED	0.934	0.548	0.751	0.670
CER	0.931	0.477	0.797	0.620
CUR	0.904	0.466	0.796	0.624
ACC	0.846	0.474	0.740	0.630
REI	0.842	0.536	0.694	0.671
C51	0.819	0.417	0.755	0.583

The inclusion of the certification condition in the above table provides a preliminary analytical piece towards testing Hypothesis 12 that assumed certification would be a key driver for higher enrolments where certification improves the availability of quality education and thereby increases the demand for education, and lack thereof decreases demand. The low coverage however calls for further analysis on sufficient combinations as certification also seems to be an important explanatory factor for lower enrolments which is in contradiction to what was assumed.

Of particular interest for the study is whether developmental policy (REPI) or practice (REI) are necessary for higher enrolment rates. REI is included in the above table as it indeed emerges with relatively high consistency at 0.84, however with 0.54 coverage this means that in just under half of the cases where developmental approaches are used in practice, i.e. where refugees are included in national education systems, enrolment rates are actually low.

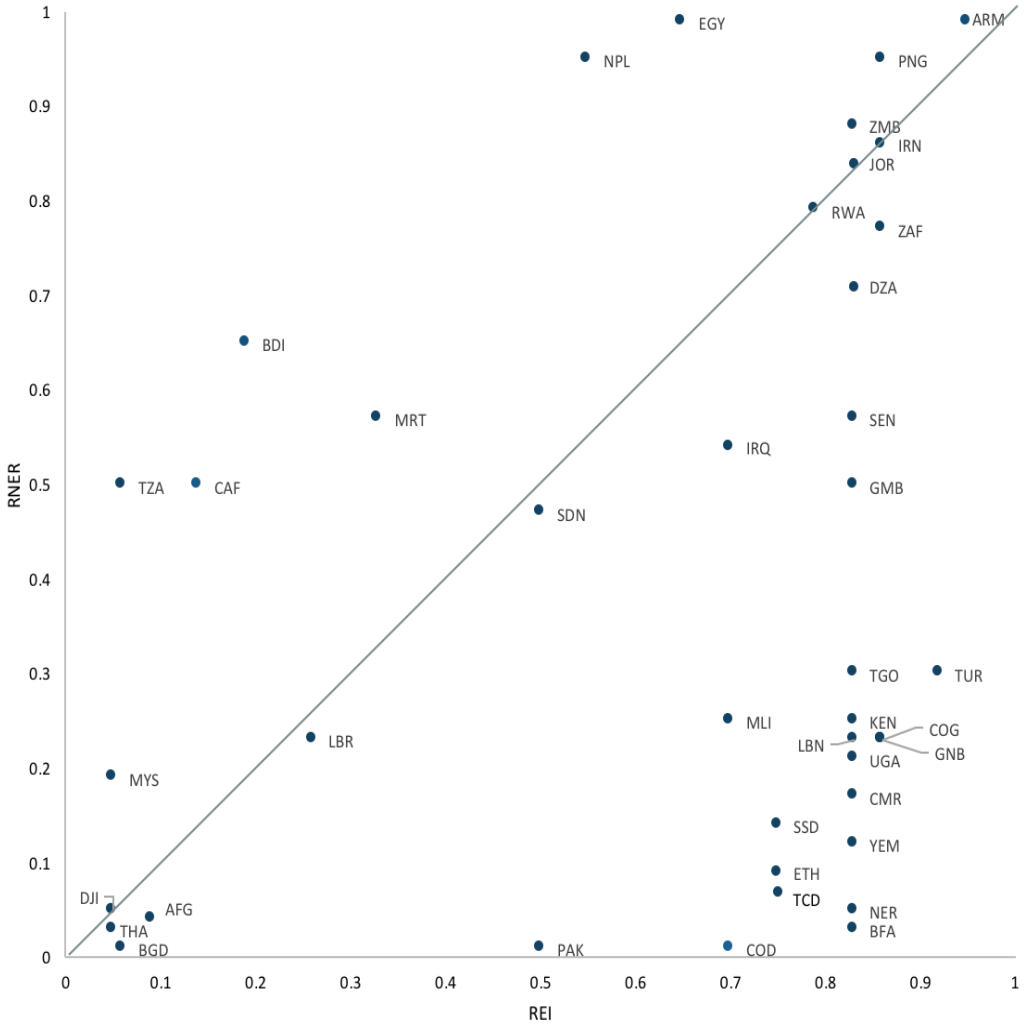
REPI emerges with a low necessity consistency of 0.52, at 0.48 coverage, which goes to show that it is definitely not necessary to achieve higher enrolment rates. Adoption of non-developmental policy (~REPI) emerges with higher necessity consistency at 0.75 (0.52 coverage). Humanitarian practice (~REI), the exclusion of refugees from national education systems, however is not necessary for higher enrolments at 0.48 consistency and 0.51 coverage. Importantly, these results show that neither REPI nor REI are perfectly necessary for higher access rates. This goes to partly confirm Hypothesis 11.

Since there are thus ~REI cases amongst the RNER outcome set, the finding of CSED as a necessary condition might appear unexpected. With the presence of CSED in 93% of successful, i.e. high enrolment cases, where some of these are indeed such where refugees are enrolled in a parallel system, the linkage between host country national education system capacity and the separate refugee education system administered in parallel to the national system would merit further investigation.

The X-Y plot in the below figure reveals the concerned cases where parallel refugee education services, i.e. humanitarian practice (~REI) coincide with relatively high enrolments in the top left corner where the two outliers Burundi and Mauritania are located. The identification of these two cases allows for more differential analysis which goes to show that both actually have rather low capacity values. What distinguishes these two ~REI cases from others where parallel education services are in place, are certification arrangements with exams delivered by Congolese and Malian officials respectively.

The plot also illustrates in which cases developmental approaches in practice converge with high enrolment rates in the top right corner where Armenia appears as the perfect REI-RNER case despite it having been classified at the humanitarian end of the policy index for failing to mention refugees. Classic humanitarian cases with humanitarian policy and practice, such as Bangladesh, Thailand, Afghanistan, Malaysia and Liberia, reveal extremely low enrolments. The case of Djibouti, which was an outlier in policy-practice convergence, also joins this group.

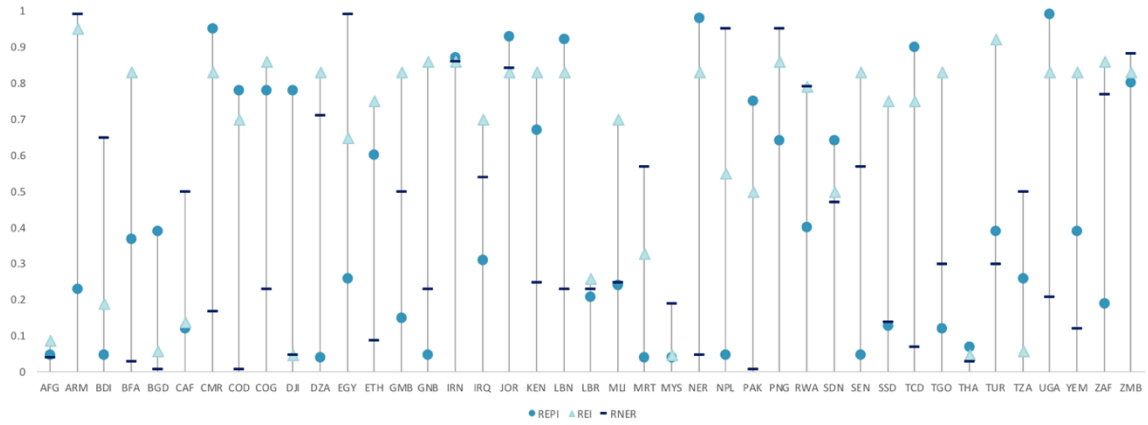
Figure 18: Refugee inclusion and enrolments (X-Y Plot for REI condition and RNER outcome)



There are relatively more outliers in the bottom right, indicating inclusion of refugees in national education systems with low enrolments, than there are outliers in the top left. The bottom right outliers constitute a diverse set of cases including those with relatively high numbers of refugees such as Lebanon, and those with relatively low numbers such as Guinea Bissau, those with higher national enrolment rates such as Uganda and those with lower rates like South Sudan, those with developmental and with humanitarian policy such as Cameroon and Togo, as well as cases with relatively higher and lower capacity including Turkey and Niger for instance. The sufficiency analysis is to provide more insights into factors that explain low enrolments across these developmental-in-practice cases.

With all three outcome conditions generated and analysed, the below figure now provides a case-by-case visualisation of the REPI, REI and RNER conditions. The graph serves as a tool to identify countries with perfect convergence between policy, practice and enrolments, as well as those with great divergence.

Figure 19: Refugee education policy, practice and net enrolments across the 41 cases (fuzzy scores)



Iran emerges as a case of perfect convergence at the developmental end, whereas for Thailand all three conditions converge at the humanitarian end. The visualisation brings to light some cases that appear to be exceptions where there are high enrolments despite low REPI and REI, such as Burundi and Mauritania, but also Nepal or Tanzania on which the sufficiency analysis is to provide further insights. Analysing the countries further along these three outcome conditions, seven groups of cases emerge that are presented in the below table.

The first group includes seven cases where all three conditions are absent, classic humanitarian cases. The group features both extremes in terms of capacity by including conflict-affected and fragile cases with obviously very limited capacity to host refugees such as Afghanistan, Central African Republic or Liberia, as well as relatively high-capacity cases Malaysia or Thailand.

The second group are two humanitarian cases that have relatively high performance on enrolments. These are the outliers Burundi and Mauritania that were identified in the REI-RNER X-Y plot and found to distinguish themselves by providing certification for home country schooling. Although a closer look beyond enrolments shows that while these are purportedly high and student-teacher ratios stand at acceptable rates, field reports highlight how low levels of teacher qualifications coupled with low levels of student motivation and a lack of perspectives contribute to low attendance rates (UNHCR, 2017a), so that they are in fact low performing once the scope of analysis broadens beyond access.

Djibouti makes up its own group where developmental policy is combined with humanitarian practice and low enrolments. An outlier in the REPI-REI X-Y plot (Figure 15), it was found to implement a curious type of a parallel education system that is based on the curriculum of a third state without this being accredited.

In the fourth group are eight cases where policy does not reflect inclusive practice and that have relatively low enrolment rates. It includes West African states where refugees were found to benefit from regional agreements hosting relatively few refugees such as The Gambia or Guinea Bissau, but also the top refugee host Turkey.

Eleven cases are grouped as developmental and with low enrolments. The group includes the top REPI cases where policy was found to be most developmental and inclusive of refugees in its outlook, including Uganda, Niger and Cameroon. The group appears to cover cases with relatively high refugee numbers, but with differing capacity levels from the likes of DR Congo to Lebanon.

There are eight cases with high enrolments where policy does not reflect refugee inclusion in the sixth group. The group includes relatively high capacity cases where national-level enrolments are also relatively high such as Armenia, Egypt or South Africa, but also cases at the lower capacity end such as Nepal or Iraq.

Finally, four classic developmental cases have relatively high enrolments, but at very different degrees of importance of refugees as a proportion of the national population from Papua New Guinea to Jordan and at differing capacity levels from Zambia to Iran.

Table 13: Seven groups of refugee education cases

Group	REPI	REI	RNER	Cases
1) classic humanitarian	0	0	0	AFG, BGD, CAF, LBR, MYS, THA, TZA
2) high-performing humanitarian	0	0	1	BDI, MRT
3) low-performing humanitarian-in-practice	1	0	0	DJI
4) low-performing developmental-in-practice	0	1	0	BFA, GMB, GNB, MLI, SSD, TGO, TUR, YEM
5) low-performing developmental	1	1	0	CMR, COD, COG, ETH, KEN, LBN, NER, PAK, SDN, TCD, UGA
6) high-performing developmental-in-practice	0	1	1	ARM, DZA, EGY, IRQ, NPL, RWA, SEN, ZAF
7) classic developmental	1	1	1	IRN, JOR, PNG, ZMB

This makes for a puzzling basis for the sufficiency analysis. As the naked eye cannot make sense of the country groups, QCA is to provide more solid insights as to what might explain relatively higher enrolments for three groups, and relatively lower enrolments for four groups. Although the table does already make clear that developmental policy and practice are no guarantee for better access.

3.2.2 Sufficiency analysis

This analysis now turns to identifying configurations of conditions that can produce higher enrolment rates for refugees (RNER), as well as lower enrolment rates (~RNER). Similar to the previous sufficiency analyses, models are processed with the fs/qca software employing the Quine-McCluskey algorithm using the standard analysis with one solution type reported and the other two included in Appendix A.

Based on theory and case knowledge, possible explanatory factors were identified as detailed in chapter III. A systematic approach is adopted that considers both supply- and demand-side factors that were hypothesised to influence refugee enrolment rates, as well as looking into contextual conditions and beyond the hypotheses (referenced in Appendix B) until the most parsimonious yet insightful and sufficient pathways are identified.

While it was hypothesised that relatively few refugees would be sufficient for higher enrolments in national education systems where they are combined with higher education capacity and a favourable protection environment (Hypothesis 14), the set of cases does not lend itself to confirm this across the board. It emerges that exactly half of the RNER cases where refugees are enrolled in national education systems have low relative refugee numbers, and amongst them

four can be considered higher capacity with a favourable protection environment, so that the hypothesis can be confirmed only for Papua New Guinea, Senegal, South Africa and Zambia. Adding REFI to the RNER QCA models does not contribute to parsimonious results. REFI is thus excluded and instead included in ~RNER models further below to test Hypothesis 15.

Informed by education literature, it was hypothesised that certification is necessary and sufficient in combination with demand-side affordability and acceptability (Hypothesis 12). Analysing individual conditions, it becomes apparent that all 14 RNER cases need both certification (CER) and education capacity (CSED – as a supply-based condition). However, this configuration can also lead to low enrolments, as indeed 15 of the 27 ~RNER cases offer certification and have relative education capacity, so that coverage rates are low. The two conditions in configuration lead to relatively high sufficiency consistency at 0.61 with 0.88 coverage. Since it also explains low enrolment rates, it remains an unsatisfactory solution pathway.

Demand-based factors thus are tested in configuration with CER and CSED to decide whether the hypothesis can be confirmed. The simplest model includes RCSE as a condition indicating affordability on the demand-side. RCSE as refugees' socio-economic capacity, was calibrated as a crisp-set condition where 0 refers to relatively lower capacity and 1 to relatively higher capacity within the set of 41 cases. Certification, CER is coded by logical calibration where fully in is at its highest developmental point, 4, its crossover is the midpoint at 2.5, and fully out is the lowest humanitarian value 1.

Model 18: RNER = f(RCSE, CSED, CER)

frequency cut-off:	2	consistency cut-off:	0.783
Intermediate solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
RCSE*CSED*CER	**0.453**	**0.453**	**0.783**
solution coverage:	0.453	solution consistency:	0.783

RNER cases in pathway **RCSE*CSED*CER**: DZA (0.894,0.71), JOR (0.894,0.84), ARM (0.851,0.99), PNG (0.851,0.95), ZAF (0.84,0.77), BDI (0.73,0.65), IRQ (0.723,0.54), SEN (0.66,0.57), ZMB (0.606,0.88)

Hypothesis 12 can indeed be confirmed for nine of the 14 RNER cases where certification is sufficient to produce high enrolments in combination with affordability on the demand-side, though the combination also includes availability on the supply-side and has low importance at 0.45 coverage. However, this pathway also covers four cases with relatively lower enrolments, namely The Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Niger and Uganda. With low coverage reflected by five cases not explained while four ~RNER cases are covered, it remains an unsatisfactory explanation pathway.

The model is thus extended to include further conditions including both CSED and CER to see how they react in different configurations towards higher enrolments with the aim also to test Hypothesis 11 that, in following the theory of change, assumes that REPI or REI can be sufficient in combination with factors defining the supply of education, either education capacity (CSED) or specific financial support provided to refugee education (REFS) making up for lacking capacity. Since various tests find that REPI does not add to parsimonious results, it is excluded and the below model is retained. It adds considerations of affordability at the demand end, RCSE as refugees' socio-economic capacity, as well as considerations of availability at the supply end, RCAP as the host country's capacity to host refugees.

RCAP is a measure of the number of refugees relative to GDP which was coded on a negative scale for the highest value corresponding to highest capacity. Its calibration is carried out with the help of case knowledge where the fully-out point is set at - 20 dividing Niger from Lebanon, the crossover at - 3 separates Afghanistan as more out from Togo as more in, and the full-membership point at - 2 divides Iran from Armenia.

Model 19: RNER = f(REI, CER, CSED, REFS, RCSE, RCAP)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.911
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
RCSE*RCAP	**0.336**	**0.255**	**0.870**
~REI*CSED*REFS	**0.414**	**0.333**	**0.756**
solution coverage:	0.669	solution consistency:	0.784

RNER cases in pathway **RCSE*RCAP**: *ZAF* (0.986,0.77), *PNG* (0.937,0.95), *DZA* (0.905,0.71), *SEN* (0.79,0.57), *ZMB* (0.678,0.88), *IRQ* (0.624,0.54), *ARM* (0.586,0.99)

RNER cases in pathway **~REI*CSED*REFS**: *BDI* (0.73,0.65)

The parsimonious solution suggests that it is either affordability and availability alone – a combination of capacity-related demand and supply factors – or, where parallel systems are in place, the availability of education expressed as a combination with specific support to refugee education and education capacity. The two pathways have low coverage explaining eight of the 14 RNER cases. Setting the consistency threshold significantly lower (0.51) to allow for the inclusion of more RNER cases yields CER*CSED*RCSE, as well as ~REI (REFS + CER*CSED) as solution pathways with 0.67 consistency and 0.78 coverage, however, these pathways also cover a considerable number of ~RNER cases.

Pathways that would be expected with Hypothesis 11 do not emerge. As in the REI QCA analysis above, REFS appears in combination with internal capacity only, which is another indication for additional support not being able to make up for lacking capacity. Testing only REPI, REI, CSED and REFS for this hypothesis results in two sufficient pathways of humanitarian policy (~REPI) in

combination with either humanitarian practice (~REI) and refugee education support (REFS) which covers only Burundi, or in combination with developmental practice (REI) and education capacity (CSED) covering eight RNER cases. While the model leads to low consistency and coverage, it suggests that internal capacity is sufficient in combination with developmental practice, i.e. inclusion, whereas refugee education support is sufficient in combination with humanitarian practice, i.e. exclusion.

Given the low coverage, alternative combinations are tested in search of the most parsimonious solution and in response to Hypothesis 11 with a particular interest in sufficient combinations of inclusive practice (REI). The below model thus includes the REI condition along with CSED defining availability of education, and the refugee protection environment (RPE) which informs affordability on the demand side by defining possible opportunity costs for education. The model also includes further considerations of availability, through RCAP, and affordability (RCSE) as well as acceptability on the demand side, which is expressed through the education index (EDI). EDI is coded fully in at 0.7 corresponding to Malaysia, Jordan and Iran, the crossover point is set between Iraq and Togo at 0.499, and the fully-out set at 0.3 corresponding to South Sudan.

Model 20: RNER = f(REI, CSED, EDI, RCSE, RCAP, RPE)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.651
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
EDI*RPE	**0.523**	**0.066**	**0.770**
REI*CSED*RCAP	**0.642**	**0.163**	**0.769**
EDI*RCSE	**0.353**	**0.081**	**0.888**
solution coverage:	0.809	solution consistency:	0.734

RNER cases in pathway **EDI*RPE**: *IRN* (0.75,0.86), ZAF (0.64,0.77), ZMB (0.62,0.88), ARM (0.51,0.99), IRQ (0.501,0.54)

RNER cases in pathway **REI*CSED*RCAP**: *PNG* (0.851,0.95), ZAF (0.84,0.77), DZA (0.83,0.71), *SEN* (0.66,0.57), *EGY* (0.65,0.99), IRQ (0.624,0.54), ZMB (0.606,0.88), ARM (0.586,0.99), *NPL* (0.55,0.95)

RNER cases in pathway **EDI*RCSE**: ARM (0.97,0.99), ZAF (0.96,0.77), *JOR* (0.95,0.84), DZA (0.91,0.71), ZMB (0.76,0.88), IRQ (0.501,0.54)

This solution suggests that demand for education, as a combination of affordability and acceptability expressed through a higher educational level (EDI) in combination with a more favourable protection environment that enables potential socio-economic opportunities or in combination with actual socio-economic capacity of refugee communities is sufficient for higher enrolments, or else, where refugees are included in national systems, it is the availability of education on the supply side that produces higher enrolments (second pathway).

It has slightly improved coverage but only explains eleven of the 14 RNER cases, missing the cases Burundi, Mauritania and Rwanda. The cases of Burundi and Mauritania are exceptions where humanitarian approaches are in use that achieve higher enrolments in combination with certification (~REI*CER) at 0.74 consistency.

Since the two ~REI cases Burundi and Mauritania are not covered by these pathways, the solution lends itself to partial confirmation of Hypothesis 11 in that inclusion in national education systems in practice in combination with supply-based factors CSED and RCAP indeed are sufficient to produce higher enrolments in nine cases. It can however not be confirmed that developmental policy (REPI) nor refugee education support (REFS) are part of such sufficient configurations. Importantly, REFS does not emerge as a substitute for internal capacity CSED or RCAP.

Other sufficient combinations that emerge throughout the iterative process in search of the most parsimonious and consistent solution that can provide meaningful insights on explanations towards higher enrolments include the combination of both availability and affordability, host country and refugee community capacity exemplified by the configuration HDI*RCSE which suggests that in countries with higher socio-economic capacity, refugees' socio-economic capacity always produces higher enrolments. This configuration is strengthened when the acceptability condition EDI is added, which is sufficient in the RNER cases of Algeria, Armenia, Iraq, Jordan, South Africa and Zambia.

A final model is presented which excludes the certification and CSED as well as REI and REPI conditions, but instead looks at constellations between broader socio-economic capacity within host countries (CSEC), the affordability dimension (RPE, RCSE) as well as specific targeted support to refugee education (REFS).

Model 21: RNER = f(CSEC, RPE, RCSE, REFS)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.594
Intermediate solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
RCSE	**0.485**	**0.167**	**0.607**
CSEC*RPE	**0.590**	**0.056**	**0.761**
CSEC*REFS	**0.520**	**0.071**	**0.704**
solution coverage:	0.855	solution consistency:	0.594

RNER cases in pathway **RCSE**: ARM (1,0.99), *BDI* (1,0.65), DZA (1,0.71), IRQ (1,0.54), *JOR* (1,0.84), PNG (1,0.95), *SEN* (1,0.57), ZAF (1,0.77), ZMB (1,0.88)

RNER cases in pathway **CSEC*RPE**: *IRN* (0.75,0.86), ZAF (0.64,0.77), PNG (0.6,0.95), RWA (0.589,0.79), IRQ (0.53,0.54), ARM (0.51,0.99), ZMB (0.501,0.88)

RNER cases in pathway **CSEC*REFS**: *EGY* (0.91,0.99), DZA (0.74,0.71), *NPL* (0.714,0.95), RWA (0.589,0.79), ZMB (0.501,0.88)

Overall, the solution consistency for this solution remains very low at 0.59, while the individual pathways have more acceptable consistency values. The solution covers all RNER and REI cases and suggests that refugees' socio-economic capacity alone, defining the affordability of education, is sufficient for nine cases. The other two pathways suggest that host country socio-economic capacity is sufficient in combination with either a favourable protection environment that goes to positively influence the affordability of education for refugees, which is the case for seven RNER countries, or with specific targeted support to refugee education which goes for five RNER cases. Zambia is covered by all three pathways.

Again, the model cannot show that lacking internal capacity could be compensated for by external and additional support going against Hypothesis 11 and the theory of change.

Taken together with the solution pathway for the ~REI cases Burundi and Mauritania, the complete solution formula for RNER is presented here below.

Equation 7: RNER outcome

RCSE + CSEC (RPE + REFS) + ~REI*CER → RNER

The parsimonious solution formula for higher enrolments highlights that both supply- and demand-side factors are key for access. For one, the affordability of education as in refugees' socio-economic capacity can produce higher enrolments as they reduce opportunity costs and increase demand for education. Host country socio-economic capacity is a key component in the formula and is sufficient in combination with either a relatively favourable protection environment or specific additional support to refugee education to increase the supply of education and ensure higher demand through more favourable conditions for future work force. The last element of the formula highlights that parallel education services require certification for them to sufficiently lead to higher enrolments.

Contrary to assumptions implicit in the theory of change, additional support to refugee education cannot produce higher enrolments where there is low internal capacity. While certification is indeed necessary for high enrolments and was found sufficient in combination with demand-side affordability and supply-side availability, there are a few cases with low enrolments where this configuration is also observed. It is thus important to look at sufficient combinations for the ~RNER outcome. This will also provide further insights on the effect of relative refugee numbers as the REFI condition was excluded from RNER models.

~RNER outcome

The analysis of cases with higher enrolments revealed they all offered certification. In turn, the lack of certification acts as a clear disincentive for enrolment as it always produces low enrolment rates. While lack of certification is therefore a sufficient condition, it cannot be a satisfactory explanation since there are a significant number of cases with low enrolments where certification is indeed ensured. In QCA terms, ~CER by itself has a sufficiency consistency of 0.88, but only a low coverage of 0.33.

Several tests are carried out to analyse both demand- and supply-side factors. It emerges that low enrolments are primarily produced by the lack of availability on the supply side and affordability or acceptability on the demand side. Various combinations of potential explanatory conditions reveal conditions of key interest that occur persistently with highest sufficiency levels. These include affordability as the lack of socio-economic capacity within refugee communities (~RCSE) as well as acceptability as in low education levels (~EDI), thus negatively affecting the demand for education, as well as low availability as in lack of economic capacity to host refugees (~RCAP), lack of education capacity within host countries (~CSED) or external targeted support to boost local capacity for refugee education (~REFS), thus lowering supply of education.

Taken together with the two conditions of core interest, REPI and REI, as well as certification (CER), which emerged as sufficient in itself, the following model delivers the highest solution coverage and consistency after iterative testing.

Model 22: ~RNER = f(REPI, REI, CER, RCAP, EDI, RCSE, REFS)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.870
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
~RCSE*~REFS	**0.427**	**0.128**	**0.877**
~RCAP*~RCSE	**0.559**	**0.120**	**0.842**
REI*~RCAP*~EDI	**0.505**	**0.151**	**0.914**
solution coverage:	0.838	solution consistency:	0.853

~RNER cases in pathway **~RCSE*~REFS**: AFG (0.96,0.96), TUR (0.96,0.7), *BGD* (0.93,0.99), PAK (0.84,0.99), *THA* (0.83,0.97), CMR (0.76,0.83), COD (0.63,0.99), TZA (0.6,0.501), *MYS* (0.57,0.81), *MLI* (0.55,0.75)

~RNER cases in pathway **~RCAP*~RCSE**: SSD (1,0.86), TCD (1,0.93), *LBN* (0.986,0.77), CMR (0.8,0.83), ETH (0.748,0.91), COD (0.746,0.99), YEM (0.719,0.88), *DJI* (0.704,0.95), *LBR* (0.694,0.77), *CAF* (0.634,0.501), *KEN* (0.626,0.75), TZA (0.61,0.501), *COG* (0.607,0.77), PAK (0.577,0.99), SDN (0.568,0.53), TUR (0.538,0.7), AFG (0.532,0.96), TGO (0.523,0.7)

~RNER cases in pathway **REI*~RCAP*~EDI**: *NER* (0.83,0.95), SSD (0.75,0.86), TCD (0.75,0.93), ETH (0.748,0.91), YEM (0.719,0.88), *GMB* (0.673,0.501), *GNB* (0.667,0.77), *UGA* (0.62,0.79), COD (0.59,0.99), CMR (0.53,0.83), TGO (0.523,0.7), *BFA* (0.521,0.97), PAK (0.501,0.99), SDN (0.501,0.53)

All 27 ~RNER cases are covered by these three pathways of the parsimonious solution. For the cases Cameroon, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Pakistan, all three apply, while nine cases are covered by two terms. The resulting solution formula that combines the three pathways still looks quite complex, however, the message behind it is fairly clear in that it is a lack of capacity either within refugee communities or within host countries that lower demand and supply for refugee enrolments (first and second pathways covering 23 cases).

In combination with separate findings on accessibility, i.e. refugees' location (LOC) and documentation requirements (DOC), these findings confirm Hypothesis 13. While the national-level data cannot provide detailed insights on distance to schools from refugee locations nor on specific documentation requirements at school level, findings suggest that documentation barriers sufficiently produce lower enrolments at 0.64 consistency and 0.67 coverage. Macro-level findings also suggest that being mainly camp based is sufficient for lower enrolments at 0.65 consistency, albeit this is a less important cause at 0.47 coverage only.

The third pathway now sheds some light on the outliers in the REI-RNER X-Y plot (Figure 18) where inclusion is practised with low enrolments. It suggests that for 14 of these 19 outlier cases lack of economic refugee hosting capacity combined with low levels of education in host countries sufficiently produces low enrolments where refugees are included in national education systems. The remaining five outliers not covered by this third pathway find themselves amongst the first two, so share low refugee socio-economic capacity as a sufficient element for low enrolments in national education systems.

This means that adopting developmental approaches, that is including refugees in national education systems by itself, is not a guarantee for higher enrolments as would be expected, and needs to be taken into account by the theory of change. What emerge as key ingredients are economic opportunities for refugees as well as general educational levels in refugees' surroundings, which implicates holistic approaches to the provision of basic education that include socio-economic strengthening for families and lifelong learning approaches.

Neither humanitarian policy approaches nor practice dominate in any of the tested configurations. In cases with relatively higher supply-side factors as in more socio-economic and education capacity however, humanitarian approaches emerge as sufficient (0.83 with 0.52 coverage) for low enrolments in cases such as Malaysia, Thailand, or Bangladesh.

Certification emerged as a key enabler for higher enrolments. Its lack is however not a prime implicant, since for 20 cases that do offer certification this is not sufficient for higher enrolments. Even where certification and education capacity are combined, joint with low supply-side factors on both the affordability and acceptability dimensions through lack of

refugees' economic capacity, low educational levels, or an unfavourable protection environment, this remains sufficient for lower enrolments.

Based on a small-scale empirical example (Smawfield, 1993), the final hypothesis (15) that remains to be tested assumes that high relative refugee numbers (REFI), which were identified as a key policy driver for developmental approaches, would here act as sufficient for low enrolments in combination with an unfavourable protection environment. Rather than in configurations with the normative RPE that informs potential affordability, REFI emerges in sufficient combinations with capacity-based conditions in the affordability and availability dimensions, either lack of capacity within refugee communities or within hosting countries. The following model includes conditions that result in highest consistency levels after iterative testing.

Model 23: ~RNER = f(REI, REFI, REFS, RCSE, HDI, EDI)

frequency cut-off:	1	consistency cut-off:	0.771
Parsimonious solution	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
~REFS*~RCSE	**0.427**	**0.133**	**0.877**
REFI*~RCSE	**0.482**	**0.054**	**0.806**
REFS*~EDI	**0.564**	**0.098**	**0.817**
REFI*~HDI	**0.472**	**0.021**	**0.920**
solution coverage:	0.873	solution consistency:	0.804

~RNER cases in pathway ~**REFS*~RCSE**: *AFG* (0.96,0.96), TUR (0.96,0.7), *BGD* (0.93,0.99), PAK (0.84,0.99), *THA* (0.83,0.97), CMR (0.76,0.83), COD (0.63,0.99), TZA (0.6,0.501), *MYS* (0.57,0.81), *MLI* (0.55,0.75)

~RNER cases in pathway **REFI*~RCSE**: *LBN* (1,0.77), TUR (1,0.7), TCD (0.99,0.93), SSD (0.96,0.86), DJI (0.95,0.95), CMR (0.89,0.83), SDN (0.74,0.53), *COG* (0.72,0.77), YEM (0.72,0.88), *KEN* (0.71,0.75), ETH (0.64,0.91), PAK (0.6,0.99), COD (0.53,0.99), TZA (0.501,0.501)

~RNER cases in pathway **REFS*~EDI**: DJI (0.95,0.95), SSD (0.95,0.86), *CAF* (0.92,0.501), *GMB* (0.89,0.501), ETH (0.87,0.91), TCD (0.78,0.93), *LBR* (0.76,0.77), SDN (0.73,0.53), *BFA* (0.63,0.97), UGA (0.58,0.79), *TGO* (0.54,0.7), *GNB* (0.51,0.77), YEM (0.51,0.88)

~RNER cases in pathway **REFI*~HDI**: TCD (0.9,0.93), SSD (0.87,0.86), DJI (0.75,0.95), YEM (0.72,0.88), SDN (0.69,0.53), UGA (0.69,0.79), *NER* (0.65,0.95), ETH (0.64,0.91), CMR (0.58,0.83), COD (0.53,0.99), TZA (0.501,0.501)

The four pathways of the parsimonious solution again cover all ~RNER cases, none of them can be excluded since each contains single-pathway cases (highlighted in italics). The first pathways also emerged from the model above. They further suggest that high relative refugee numbers are indeed sufficient for lower enrolments in cases with low socio-economic capacity, exemplified by a low Human Development Index (fourth pathway), but also in relatively higher

capacity countries where refugees have fewer socio-economic opportunities such as Lebanon, Turkey or Kenya (second pathway) thus lowering the affordability of education.

What becomes clear from this model's third pathway is that targeted support to refugee education can produce lower access when it is combined low education levels in wider society. It goes to underline that additional humanitarian finance support is no magic wand towards higher access rates on the way to the theory of change self-reliance end goal.

Rather than confirming Hypothesis 15, findings come to the logical conclusion that lack of capacity combined with high relative refugee numbers produces low enrolment rates regardless of the type of education system in use.

While both models offer solid and sensible explanatory pathways, they remain rather complex. To further simplify the solution equation, the dominant conditions from the two above models (EDI, REFI, RCAP, RCSE) are tested in all possible combinations to identify the most parsimonious pathways able to cover all cases. Two pathways appear as the most parsimonious solution to explain lower enrolment rates across the 41 cases, which is either a lack of refugees' socio-economic capacity at 0.70 consistency (0.79 coverage) thus lowering the demand for education due to higher opportunity costs, or low levels of education in combination with low supply as in the capacity to host refugees at 0.86 consistency (0.64 coverage), a solution consistency of 0.72, coverage 0.96 (see parsimonious and intermediate solution pathways in Model 24, Appendix A).

Equation 8: ~RNER outcome

~RCSE + ~EDI*~RCAP → ~RNER

A more differential analysis looking at primary and secondary education net enrolment rates as separate outcome variables, reveals similar results for primary-level education. For secondary education, it emerges that all humanitarian practice (~REI) cases are also ~RSNER cases, meaning exclusion of refugees from national education systems always leads to low enrolments at secondary level. Beyond highlighting the increased challenges for refugee adolescents to access post-primary education, it goes to show that parallel education systems cannot supply this higher, and more resource-intensive, level of education and keep up with demand from refugee students completing their primary education. Such differential aspects merit further investigation as part of a closer look at four of the cases.

3.3 A closer look at education access across four cases

The aim of the case study is to provide more explanatory detail in understanding contextual dynamics in answering the main research question, under what conditions developmental approaches can lead to better education outcomes for refugees. As outlined in chapter III, the case study adopts the Capability Approach and through it considers not only resources and inputs, but also contextual conversion factors. It enables a critical analysis beyond achieved functionings looking into capability sets of achievable functionings thereby acknowledging diversity and equity factors. In refugee education terms, it means looking beyond access outcomes or exam performance and considering curriculum content, language, pedagogy and delivery mechanisms as well as institutional arrangements in addition to possible solution scenarios on the way towards anticipated self-reliance goals.

Since both developmental and humanitarian contexts are of interest for this study, four cases have been selected for closer examination here. Two of them, Malaysia and Tanzania, at the humanitarian policy and practice end, and two, Chad and Zambia, at the developmental end of the spectrum. Each set includes a case with relatively better education access outcomes. Outcomes and key conditions from the QCA are summarised in the below table.

Table 14: Overview of outcomes and key crisp-set conditions for the four cases

case	REPI	REI	RNER	REFI	RPE	CONV	LOC	EXT	SEC	HDI	CSED	NPNER	CER	DOC	EDI	REFS	RCSE	RISE
MYS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
TZA	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TCD	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
ZMB	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0

Malaysia

An upper-middle income country of 31 million, Malaysia ranks 59th out of 188 countries on the Human Development Index. Refugees began arriving with the Vietnam war, but Malaysia has not ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and does not have domestic legislation nor a system for refugee protection. Refugees are officially referred to as 'illegal migrants', a label that transpires to perception amongst the general public (Bemma, 2018). While UNHCR-registered refugees are thus not protected against refoulement, they are generally not deported (Kaur, 2007). As of mid-2018, more than 150,000 refugees and asylum seekers lived in the country, originating mainly from Myanmar (UNHCR, 2018f).

The QCA explained Malaysia's humanitarian approach by the fact that refugee numbers are relatively small, so that low problem visibility has not triggered policy change in an overall unfavourable protection environment despite a long hosting history. Geographically surrounded by non-signatories to the 1951 Convention and with little public awareness of the issue, there has been no regional or internal pressure either towards a refugee policy change.

At the outset, amongst the four cases, Malaysia, a country with relative political stability, government effectiveness and low levels of demographic pressure (FFP, 2017; Kaufmann & Kraay, 2017b), would seem to be best placed to offer quality education to refugees with an effective and relatively well-funded education system in place which has enabled 98% of 15-24 year old youth to become literate (UIS, 2018). Even if it has frequently been criticised as being too exam-heavy and adopting rote learning instead of fostering critical thinking (Lee, 1999), Malaysia boasts near universal primary education net enrolments at 99%, and good secondary net enrolments at 87% (UIS, 2018).

However, Malaysia's Immigration Act prohibits refugees from attending public schools (Federal Government of Malaysia, 2006; O'Neal et al., 2018). Instead, a parallel education system has been set up for refugees learning in community centres. The more than 130 community learning centres are often hidden, located in apartments, shop houses or communal spaces in Kuala Lumpur and other urban centres where most refugees live. This parallel system is costly and mostly focused only on providing six years of primary education.

Some centres teach the Malaysian curriculum staffed by local teachers, in others, refugee teachers or volunteers teach an adapted version of the Malaysian curriculum. Centres receive minimal support for running costs, teacher stipends, management, learning materials and teacher training from faith-based organisations, UNHCR and NGOs (UNHCR, 2014d).

Inputs and resources are scarce. Learning conditions in the overcrowded makeshift classrooms are challenging and mostly inaccessible to children with special needs. Despite the fact that most centres teach the Malaysian curriculum, none of the schools are accredited and students do not receive certificates to mark their progress or enable their continued studies. This is unless refugees manage to pay expensive fees for international exams, such as the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE).

Some 60% of teachers have tertiary qualifications, however, almost all of them in disciplines other than teaching. With high teacher turnover rates, new teachers need to be trained continually which stretches limited resources further. This goes to show that contextual conversion factors are rather restrictive.

Despite the challenges, enrolments have been steadily increasing over the past years, with currently around half of primary school-aged children enrolled in primary, and one quarter of secondary school-aged adolescents enrolled in secondary education (UNHCR, 2018i). This still shows that more than half of school-aged refugees are not able to access education. Drop-out rates remain high, with boys being pressured to work to support family income and girls kept at home and often forced into child marriage. Some Rohingya refugees are reported to attend madrasahs where core subjects such as English, Maths or Science are not taught.

While assessment across the centres is not standardised, a reading assessment of nearly 1,000 grade three students revealed that only 62% can read at grade three level (UNHCR, 2018i). The capability set for refugees in Malaysia is extremely limited on this basis. Low enrolments were explained in the QCA by refugees' low socio-economic capacity, which is a direct result of the unfavourable protection environment that is not conducive to earning livelihoods and building self-reliance, as well as relatively low targeted support for refugee education, which however needs to be seen in a context of relatively higher domestic economic capacities.

Case insights show that future prospects for refugees in Malaysia remain bleak with repatriation or resettlement being an unlikely solution. Although refugees are barred from legal employment, many have been able to secure employment in the informal sector, and some private companies have employed refugees despite official restrictions. Refugees' status as illegal migrants however exposes them to hazardous working conditions and makes them vulnerable to exploitation (Bemma, 2018).

Preparations for a pilot have been under way to register learning centres with the Ministry of Education to ensure future support and accreditation (UNHCR, 2018b), but sustainability of the learning centres is of immediate concern as they cannot bear operational costs while humanitarian support has been dwindling. Without access to the national education system and broader socio-economic rights, conversion into achieved functionings remains impossible.

While a refugee child studying the Malaysian curriculum in a non-accredited learning centre might have put the same efforts into her studies and have equally high performance levels as a Malaysian child in a public primary school next door, and thus have similar capability sets, the Capability Approach reminds us that a consideration of the circumstances in which they choose from their opportunity sets (Robeyns, 2005) reveals features of social justice relating to individual freedom and agency that result in less enabling conversion factors for the refugee child. It also reminds us that learning that stops at basic reading and writing – what is offered by most centres – is insufficient for education to fulfil its enabling role to enhance substantive freedom and enable people to live lives they have reason to value, or to enhance other capabilities (Hoffmann, 2006).

In the absence of affordable and accessible quality certified education opportunities, parents more readily make the choice to send children to madrasahs instead of learning centres when the former are perceived to be more valuable even if they are not equipped to prepare children to participate in today's knowledge-based economies.

The humanitarian approach in Malaysia enables fewer than half of refugee children to study, mostly at basic education level. While it forms capabilities, restrictive refugee protection factors do not enable conversion into achieved functionings although the country would otherwise have

the economic capacity to integrate refugee learners into its national education system, it is a political choice to not allow them to do so, as for the time being, Malaysia's refugee policy continues to take place "outside a human rights framework" (Kaur, 2007: 79).

Tanzania

Tanzania is a low-income country of 55 million ranking 151st out of 188 countries on the Human Development Index. Having remained peaceful since independence, the country has been hosting refugees from neighbouring conflict-prone countries including Rwanda, Burundi and the DR Congo over protracted periods of time with recurrent emergency influxes, most recently, in 2015, from Burundi. In mid-2018, Tanzania hosted more than 350,000 mainly Burundian and Congolese refugees who live in three refugee camps in the country's West (UNHCR, 2018g).

Having ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention, Tanzania's policy towards refugees has undergone drastic shifts over the past decades away from Nyerere's open-door policy (Milner, 2013), and has over the recent months become increasingly restrictive. When in 2008, it offered naturalisation to Burundian refugees who had arrived in the 1970s, and did grant them citizenship in 2014 (Kuch, 2017), the country withdrew from the CRRF in early 2018. One of its objectives had been to work towards refugees' inclusion in the national education system. Instead, Tanzania lifted *prima facie* refugee status recognition to resume individual refugee status determination, and called for repatriation of refugees (UNHCR, 2018g).

Despite its low economic capacity, Tanzania's education system has enabled 86% of youth to become literate (UIS, 2018). This system is however not accessible to refugees. Tanzania's 2003 National Refugee Policy, while not codified law, provides the general framework for refugee protection. It limits self-reliance prospects by insisting on encampment stating that "refugees will be hosted in designated areas whereby the international community will be obliged to provide material assistance" and by insisting on country-of-origin schooling to facilitate eventual repatriation (Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 2003: para.28).

The QCA explained Tanzania's humanitarian approach through relatively high numbers of refugees and a long complex hosting history combined with demographic pressure, its relatively low domestic economic capacity coupled with high degrees of external intervention but relatively low levels of targeted support to refugee education.

Case knowledge highlights that the parallel education systems set up for long-term Congolese and newly-arrived Burundian refugees, oriented towards their home country curricula, face significant challenges related to quality assurance, examination, certification and sustainability. Without access to the national education system, contextual conversion factors are thus largely restrictive.

Inputs and resources for the parallel education systems are limited and the learning environments are extremely stretched especially for Burundians, while school infrastructures for Congolese are reported to become dilapidated with several classrooms having been destroyed by winds posing a protection risk for students and teachers. Amongst the Burundian refugees, 60% of children enrolled study under trees in the absence of classrooms with one teacher available for 120 students on average, and only one latrine for every 160 students, which is an alarmingly high ratio considering the norm of one latrine for 40 students (UNHCR, 2018i).

To deal with large numbers of students in the absence of infrastructure, two school shifts per day have been implemented. This reduces lesson times and also places additional pressure on teachers to cover more content in shorter time frames while working longer hours. Teachers are recruited from the refugee communities, with around half of them being professionally qualified, and are paid low incentives. Given their heavy workload and challenging teaching environment, they end up looking for other income-generating opportunities resulting in high absenteeism, and eventually leaving a gap in the available qualified teaching force (UNHCR, 2018g). The resulting quality cutbacks limit potentials for conversion.

While there are no language issues and children are taught a familiar curriculum, individual conversion factors are limited by the lack of certification, which in turn impedes access to higher levels of learning or to jobs. In the more immediate term, this lack of certification means lower levels of motivation negatively impacting attendance, performance, transition and completion rates.

Burundian refugees have not been able to take official Burundian exams in the first two years in Tanzania, and no relations exist with Burundian education authorities. In 2017, a specially developed exam, consistent with the Burundian curriculum and grading system, was developed in collaboration with the National Examination Council of Tanzania to facilitate examination and certifications at the same level as state certificates issued in Burundi. Due to a change in the Burundian education system towards a nine year basic education system in 2016, teaching materials for the new curriculum are not available. Only 60% of students passed grade nine exams (UNHCR, 2018g).

Congolese refugees have been taking exams administered by officials from the DR Congo's Ministry of Education, but successful candidates who took exams as long ago as 2013 have still not been delivered their certificates by their home country authorities, and obtaining Tanzanian equivalence for Congolese certificates has not been possible (UNHCR, 2018g). Nevertheless, exams are carried out, and in 2017, 76% of students passed grade 6 exams overseen by Congolese school inspectors (UNHCR, 2018i).

Enrolment rates were classified in the mid-range and explained by low internal refugee hosting capacity as well as low socio-economic capacities on refugees' side along with low levels of targeted support to refugee education in the face of high relative refugee numbers. Zooming further into the case also highlights that inadequate school and hygiene facilities, lack of learning material, and long distances to schools along with lack of future prospects act as a major access barriers in practice (UNHCR, 2018g).

While efforts have been made to equip and staff the parallel education systems in Tanzania for both Burundian and Congolese refugees, and increasing numbers of children have been able to study, the Capability Approach reminds us that the "simple presence of an input will not guarantee its use" (Tao, 2009), as in the current restrictive environment, capabilities cannot be converted into functionings. Making available potential functionings does not necessarily mean that students gain any value from these in the form of achieved functionings.

The humanitarian approach in Tanzania, while facilitating learning to around half of school-age refugees, falls short of offering future prospects for the young generation. Lack of certification, despite successfully passing exams, can dangerously act as a source of frustration and impact individual choice away from intended self-reliance outcomes when this bars the road to higher education and livelihood opportunities. When refugees are able to gain a set of capabilities through continued studying of their home country curricula, the current political context limits refugees' agency and the substantive freedom they have to be and do what they have 'reason to value' (Sen, 1999). The segregation of learners by nationality automatically instils a sense of otherness in young people and jeopardises peaceful coexistence of refugee and local communities. The case of Tanzania shows that while capabilities can be formed to a limited extent, the restrictive protection environment does not enable conversion into achieved functionings.

Chad

Chad is a low-income country of 15 million with its economy on a downward trend since 2014 after a sharp fall of oil prices as the government's main source of revenue. Ranking 186 on the Human Development Index, Chad is followed only by Niger and the Central African Republic. While being one of the poorest countries in the world, Chad has been one of the largest refugee host countries globally with nearly 450,000 refugees as of mid-2018 (UNHCR, 2018f) due to ongoing crises in neighbouring countries. The country has ratified the 1951 Convention.

Refugees from Sudan's Darfur region have been living along the country's eastern borders since the early 2000s. With the intensifying socio-political crisis in the Central African Republic, refugees have been settling along the southern borders. Effects of the crisis in neighbouring

Nigeria have caused internal displacement and refugee flows around the Lake Chad region in the West.

Refugees mostly live in camps in extremely resource-scarce and remote border regions where the provision of basic social services such as education are limited. Chad's education system, in addition to being under-resourced and low-performing yielding a youth literacy rate of only 31% (UIS, 2018), has seen its fair share of challenges. Teacher strikes for several months due to suspension of subsidy payments for community teachers owing to the country's financial situation, led to the shutdown of schools including in refugee hosting areas in 2015. The following year, civil servant teachers joined the strike demonstrating against cutting bonus pay-outs and salary arrears. Public schools serving both refugee and host community students remained closed for four months (UNICEF, 2017).

Despite an overall challenging economic and socio-geographic environment, contextual conversion factors for refugee education seem positive on the outset. Chad has been making steady progress in creating an enabling environment for refugee education and has made high-level commitments towards the inclusion of refugees in the national education system. The new Interim Education Plan[16] envisions the development of a more inclusive education system specifically mentioning refugees, returnees and host populations (République du Tchad, 2017: 110).

While refugee schools had been set up for Sudanese refugees at their arrival, due to the absence of local school infrastructure and differences in language and curriculum, the maintenance of parallel home-country education service provision was no longer viable after more than ten years and ever decreasing humanitarian funding levels. In 2012, a switch to the Chadian curriculum was agreed between the government and humanitarian actors which was part of a broader national move towards developmental approaches.

Refugees, still hoping for peace and imminent return to Darfur, were not in favour of this switch fearing it would present a loss of their culture, religion and identity as well as present challenges for recognition upon return to Sudan, besides setting their children back in their academic progress when having to learn French (UNHCR, 2015b). In 2014, the curriculum transition was nevertheless carried out starting with French immersion courses, and while parents were initially reluctant to send their children to Chadian schools, enrolment levels have steadily climbed since.

Chad's developmental policy was explained in the QCA by high issue visibility in the form of relatively high refugee numbers in combination with a generally favourable refugee protection environment and the availability of land as well as a high degree of external intervention. The QCA solution formulas explain the switch to developmental practice by relatively high refugee

[16] The plan was not yet available at the time of policy research for part 1 of this chapter.

numbers and security threats, which might act as a deterrent to parallel education systems on the nation-state's territory. In addition, high sufficiency levels were found for refugees' opportunities to integrate socio-economically, relatively high levels of targeted support to refugee education as the country benefits from several well-funded programmatic interventions and grants (EAC, 2018; ECW, 2016b; GPE, 2017b).

Case insights show that despite these inputs, resources remain extremely limited. Less than one third of teachers are qualified. Many teachers are recent graduates of the camps' secondary schools who have received little training. The refugee education situation varies greatly across the country being slightly more stable in the longer established eastern camps than in the emergency operation around Lake Chad, where some schools have a student-teacher ratio of 103:1, text book ratios of 1 to 36 students at lower grades, to 1 book to 142 students at higher grades. An additional challenge is related to the fact that more than 81% of Nigerian children had never been to school before settling in the camps and many parents have a preference for Koranic schools (UNHCR, 2018i).

Individual conversion factors for girls are lower due to a variety of factors including small numbers of female teachers who can act as role models, cultural practices of child marriage so that they represent only 30% of learners at secondary school level. Transition to secondary schools is challenging for both boys and girls due to fewer schools which are also further away from camps. Students with special educational needs cannot be catered for due to lacking facilities and specially trained teachers.

Enrolment rates in 2016 were 43% for primary and below 8% at secondary level for refugees, leaving more than two thirds of school-age refugees out of school. Low enrolment rates were explained by the QCA through relatively low levels of domestic refugee hosting capacity, low educational levels in the host country as well as low socio-economic capacity amongst refugees resulting in low supply and demand despite relatively higher targeted support which seems insufficient in the face of relatively high refugee numbers.

Upon closer look, these results can be confirmed and need to be evaluated against the extremely challenging contextual conditions of resource shortage in a stretched national education system where less than one third of students complete primary school and the mean years of schooling are 2.3 (UIS, 2018).

While the four cases do not lend themselves to test assumptions on linguistic and cultural similarities between refugee and host communities working favourably towards refugee inclusion, as language barriers are found in all four, the case of Chad shows that francophone Central African refugees were immediately included in the national education system in contrast

to Sudanese refugees who continued studying their home country curriculum in English and Arabic for their first decade in francophone Chad.

Learning outcomes for refugees in Chad appear positive in end-of-year-examinations organised by teachers with passing rates up to 90%, however, national exam results reveal that only 29% of students passed the Grade 11 exam in June 2012, and only 56% of students passed the Grade 8 exam (UNHCR, 2013b). Sudanese refugees, three school years after the switch to the Chadian curriculum, achieved a pass rate of 91% in 2017 against 85% in 2016 in the Basic Education Exam, and a success rate of 49% against 29% in 2016 for the Baccalaureate (UNHCR, 2018i).

The low access levels, lack of resources and frequent teacher strikes constrain opportunities for quality teaching and learning and present thus a form of capability deprivation. While the limited capability set is met with relatively favourable conversion factors in terms of refugee protection, the challenging environmental factors impede conversion into achieved functionings. There are few opportunities in the formal job market in areas surrounding refugee camps, but even in urban areas access to internships or formal employment remains extremely low also for refugees who have graduated from Chadian universities.

Chad is one of 15 CRRF roll-out countries where a more comprehensive response to refugee movements is implemented (UNGA, 2016). In line with policy commitments, in June 2018, some 108 schools located in 19 camps and refugee sites across the country became official Chadian schools. The Government had already allocated teachers to these schools and has facilitated training for refugee community teachers to become qualified teachers (UNHCR, 2018a). Turning refugee community schools into public institutions indeed marks an important step towards full inclusion of refugees in the national education system, and facilitating access to adult refugees to join the national teaching force presents a crucial stride towards promoting self-reliance.

Even if the government has been accused of using humanitarian aid to keep refugees in remote camps (Chauvin, 2015), and the move towards developmental approaches can be seen as strategic in that it means larger pots of aid that are channelled more directly via government accounts than humanitarian funding, the move has meant an opening up of public schools for refugees and presents increased opportunities for marginalised host communities. More empirical evidence would be needed to draw clear conclusions on the impacts of the curriculum switch on both refugee and Chadian learners.

The case of Chad highlights the challenges of the developmental approach in resource-scarce contexts, where, despite considerable targeted support to refugee education, it can lead to capability deprivation. Domestic socio-economic conditions act restrictively on the way towards self-reliance, but the relatively more favourable refugee protection environment has the potential to work favourably towards conversion into achieved functionings.

Zambia

After a decade of economic growth, Zambia was upgraded from low- to lower-middle income status in 2011 (World Bank, 2011) and ranks 139th on the Human Development Index. The country of 16 million has remained peaceful and stable since independence and has been a safe haven for refugees from the wider region for several decades, juggling responses to both protracted caseloads as well as recurrent emergency inflows due to conflict in neighbouring countries. As of mid-2018, Zambia was host to nearly 23,000 Rwandan and Angolan former refugees as well as more than 46,000 refugees mainly from the DR Congo, whose numbers have been on a sharp upward trend. Most refugees live in one of three official settlements where they are allocated plots of land, and a minority reside in urban areas or self-settle in rural areas (UNHCR, 2018c).

The refugee protection environment in Zambia presents its challenges but is to be evaluated rather positively in regional comparison and has evolved favourably in the recent past. The new Refugee Act (Republic of Zambia, 2017b) presents a positive shift from its predecessor Refugee Control Act (Republic of Zambia, 1970) in widening refugee rights, including further integration into national systems.

Like Chad, Zambia is rolling out the CRRF. On the occasion of the 2016 Leaders' Summit on Refugees, Zambia made high-level commitments to locally integrate Rwandan and Angolan former refugees for whom refugee status was ceased, as well as to eligible Congolese refugees from protracted caseloads. Zambia committed to allowing more freedom of movement, ensuring refugees' access to legal documentation, to promoting self-reliance and access to work as well as to ensuring access to education (UNHCR, 2018c).

Contextual conversion factors for education seem enabling at first sight although the country made reservations to education-related Article 22 of the 1951 Convention. Refugees have access to basic education studying in public schools in refugee settlements where they can obtain Zambian certificates. With post-primary education opportunities limited in the settlements, refugees' access to secondary and tertiary education outside the settlements requires costly study permits that are issued by the Department of Immigration, which acts as a restrictive conversion factor. Falling short of full inclusion in the spirit of Article 22 according the same rights to refugees as to nationals, the Refugee Act states that refugees with study permits shall "be treated in the same way as nationals of a foreign country in the same circumstances" (Republic of Zambia, 2017b: 41.2).

Zambia's developmental approach was explained by the QCA through its more favourable refugee protection environment despite its reservations to Article 22. In direct contrast to Chad, high sufficiency levels for Zambia were observed for configurations of relatively low refugee numbers in combination with low levels of security threats, but also for relatively – and

comparably – higher domestic education capacity coupled with targeted support to refugee education.

While a closer look at Zambia, in comparison to Chad, indeed reveals more favourable baseline conditions for the inclusion of relatively fewer refugees in a relatively better-equipped and better-functioning education system that has allowed the country's youth literacy rate to climb to 89% (UIS, 2018), it also brings to light challenges of refugee education in Zambia where inputs and resources are limited.

While some government primary schools are located in refugee settlements, there are a greater number of community schools – which might not fulfil all requirements to be registered as public schools – as well as a limited number of government secondary schools which cannot cater to all primary graduates. Community schools are entirely dependent on humanitarian funding for payment of teacher incentives, supplies and general school operations. With humanitarian funding on a downward trend in particular for protracted caseloads, this approach is unsustainable and ways have been sought to support schools' upgrading through infrastructure improvements to national standards and allocation of qualified teachers to come under national responsibility (Zeus, 2017).

Teachers in community schools mostly are grade 12 school leavers without any formal teaching qualifications. They receive about two days of trainings per year provided by qualified teachers on pedagogy and specific issues such as inclusive education. The lack of qualified teachers in community schools is a cause of concern in terms of quality education. The rate of qualified teachers in all settlement schools stands at around 73%. Poor learning infrastructures coupled with poor accommodation for teachers and more challenging working conditions does not attract qualified teachers to settlement schools, some teachers have highlighted the lack of phone network coverage as an important deterrent (Zeus, 2017).

Despite these challenges, net enrolments for refugees in Zambia are above global average, at 78% at primary and 42% at secondary level. Primary enrolments stand in comparison to national enrolments of 86% (UIS, 2018). However, it also needs to be acknowledged that despite steady economic growth, remote regions hosting refugee settlements remain below national average for education indicators (Republic of Zambia, 2017a).

Relatively higher enrolment rates were explained by the QCA through refugees' relatively higher socio-economic capacity and a higher level of education in a favourable protection environment in the host country on the demand side as well as relatively higher education provision and refugee hosting capacity on the supply side coupled with targeted support to refugee education, although Zambia has received much less attention from high-profile grant programmes compared to Chad.

A closer look at refugee education in Zambia reveals high drop-out rates, especially amongst girls at upper-primary and secondary levels. Many cases are traced back to child marriage and teenage pregnancy, and girls are also reportedly absent during menstruation for lack of adequate sanitary facilities. Generally high levels of poverty amongst refugees force children and adolescents into economic activities that result in long-term absence and eventually drop-out. For those who manage to remain in school through to secondary education, graduation rates are high at 92% for lower secondary and 87% for upper secondary education in 2017 (UNHCR, 2018i).

School fees are a major obstacle. While primary education is free of charge, there are indirect costs such as for uniforms, textbooks, and extra-curricular activities that present an access barrier to many families and vulnerable learners such as orphans. Fees are of particular concern for the urban population, where there are also higher levels of discrimination and priority is given to Zambian children at the time of enrolment leaving refugees with the option only to enrol in community or fee-paying private schools (UNHCR, 2015e).

Language barriers exist for newly arriving refugees as English is the official teaching language in all Zambian schools in addition to an indigenous local language of the area where the school is located, which are a major obstacle for refugee learners. Performance rates remain low with 51% scoring below minimum in Maths, 34% in English, and 54% in Science in secondary school end-of-term exams in one of the settlements in 2016. Individual conversion factors for girls seem lower with girls' performance rates being consistently lower (UNHCR, 2018i).

The fact that refugees attend school alongside Zambian students, who represented approximately 30% of the total student population in the settlements as of 2015, presents a strong enabler for social cohesion along with local integration intentions, for at least part of the population, which might facilitate future projections for individuals, even though the wish for repatriation remains dominant amongst refugees (Zeus, 2017). The fact that the Zambian education system is better performing than those of many of the refugees' countries of origin, presents a strong capability forming element for refugees.

Despite its shortcomings, the developmental approach in Zambia allows refugees to build their capability set and convert it into achieved functionings albeit to a limited extent. Zambia has made commitments towards enabling refugees to contribute to development locally by promising stronger integration into national systems, however, practically many challenges remain. While overall, refugees enjoy basic rights, their self-reliance prospects are limited with plots of land allocated in settlements being small and agricultural outputs insufficient beyond basic subsistence levels, and access to formal employment and financial services remains limited.

The case of Zambia highlights that developmental approaches can lead to relatively better education outcomes for refugees contributing positively to conversion into achieved functionings where there is a better-performing national education system and a more favourable refugee protection environment that enables refugee self-reliance.

3.4 Conclusions on refugee education access: under what conditions can developmental approaches lead to better outcomes?

This analysis was interested in establishing refugee education access outcomes and identify factors that can produce differing outcomes to understand whether different policy and practical approaches to education can facilitate access and subsequently enhance conversion into achieved functionings considering the heterogeneity and complexity of frequently resource-scarce refugee settings.

The analysis into access outcomes brings to light challenges to refugee education data collection, compilation and analysis that are related to refugees' liminality in the nation-state system, where data capture is complicated by fluctuating numbers and frequent onward movements but also by political questions on which systems should capture refugee education data. With the theory of change moving towards inclusion of refugees in national education systems, including in national EMIS, data and monitoring challenges are expected to increase with responsibility shifts to national entities and without appropriate levels of disaggregation in place in national statistical systems.

The overall net enrolment rate for refugees across the 41 cases stands at 39% with 55% enrolment at primary level and 14% at secondary level. The 41 low- and middle-income countries hosting 82% of the world's school-age refugee population, offer access levels far below the global average where 61% of primary school-age refugees are enrolled in primary education and 23% of secondary school-age refugees are enrolled in secondary education.

The analysis points to disparities in access levels not only across the cases, but also within the cases at sub-national level where certain groups of refugees have more opportunities to access education than others. Notably, the wide gap between primary and secondary school access for refugees poses challenges in terms of motivation and retention levels in primary education, but also presents protection concerns where young refugees have few opportunities for continued learning and for developing the kind of life skills and critical thinking skills that are necessary to reach the proclaimed self-reliance goals.

Qualitative Comparative Analysis finds this gap is even higher where humanitarian approaches of parallel education systems have been adopted as these systems cannot supply this more resource-intensive level of education and keep up with demand from refugee students completing their primary education. This delivers a strong argumentation element in favour of the theory of change towards inclusion in established and accountable national systems which will be better equipped to offer such levels of education than a parallel system set up by humanitarian actors with incrementally decreasing resource levels.

To understand how better access outcomes can be produced, the QCA was particularly interested in the role of developmental policy and practice, i.e. testing the REPI and REI conditions that were generated as outcome for the previous two research questions. The QCA highlights that neither developmental policy nor practice are necessary or sufficient by themselves for relatively higher education access outcomes. It reveals that in just under half of the cases where refugees are included in national education systems, enrolment rates are actually low. Where refugees are not included, external targeted support to refugee education as well as certification are key ingredients to reach higher access levels.

However, developmental practice, i.e. inclusion in national systems can be sufficient for higher enrolments in combination with supply-based factors indicating relatively high levels of internal capacity of that system. Where there is no such internal capacity, supply cannot be substituted by specific external support to refugee education, but such support can work sufficiently in combination with existing internal capacity. This goes in contradiction to the theory of change that assumes for additional external support to be able to make up for lacking internal capacity to include refugees in national education systems.

High sufficiency levels are also reached when availability expressed as internal capacity on the supply side is combined with a favourable protection environment that goes to positively influence the affordability of education for refugees. In defining affordability of education on the demand side, solution pathways suggest sufficiency for refugees' socio-economic capacity alone or in combination with availability on the supply side, highlighting that in countries with higher socio-economic capacity, refugees' socio-economic capacity always produces higher enrolments. This is explained by higher affordability effectively reducing opportunity costs and increasing demand for education where refugees can more clearly see future livelihood opportunities for their families.

The case study largely confirms findings from the QCA and strengthens these in underlining the importance of capacity-related supply- and demand-side factors. It also makes clear that refugee education is not simply a humanitarian issue, for instance, when schools serving both refugee and host community students close due to teacher strikes as a result of the country's overall socio-economic situation, it clearly becomes a development issue.

While the cases once again highlight that the simple fact of having ratified the 1951 Convention does not guarantee better education access rights for refugees, which presents an important insight given the dearth of literature on the practical effects ratification, they do highlight the importance of the overall refugee protection environment which goes beyond conventional obligations looking at refugees' socio-economic rights in practice. In particular, refugees' socio-economic capacities and opportunities for socio-economic integration are key factors on the demand side.

Where refugees can project themselves more easily in the host country, can move freely and access social services and employment, they are more likely to send their children to school and support them to complete their education. In restrictive protection environments, opportunity costs for schooling will be too high and young refugees are more likely to be sent to work instead of to school.

The four cases show that attention needs to be paid to both capabilities and functionings. While in Malaysia both capabilities and achieved functionings are severely limited for refugees, the case of Tanzania highlights that while capabilities can be formed to a limited extent, the restrictive protection environment does not enable conversion into achieved functionings. In developmental approach cases, the example of Chad demonstrates that while conversion into achieved functionings is made possible by a more favourable protection environment, the low-performing education system limits the formation of capability sets, while the case of Zambia shows that a stronger education system allows refugees to build their capability sets and convert these into achieved functionings if only to a limited extent.

The Capability Approach offers a useful framework for the case study analysis in taking it beyond input and output measures, instead considering capability sets and wider contextual conversion factors on the way towards intended self-reliance outcomes. While resources are important, the opportunities each person has to convert their bundle of resources – their capability sets – into valued doings and beings are what matters in the end. This serves as an important reminder that it is not only inputs and resources that need to be increased. It is imperative to create circumstances, i.e. favourable protection environments, in which refugees can increase their effective opportunities to undertake the actions and activities "they want to engage in, and be whom they want to be" (Robeyns 2005: 95).

This points to the importance of humanitarian and development actors coming together. Refugee education outcomes will not improve with increased humanitarian funding unless development stakeholders join efforts to ensure the creation of more favourable protection environments in host countries. The cases of Chad and Zambia are vivid examples. At similar population size as Chad, and with higher economic power, Zambia is hosting only around one seventh of refugees hosted by Chad. With a better-performing education system in place and

with higher rates of qualified teachers, refugees can form their capability sets in Zambia, while the resource-scarce environment and low performing education system plagued by frequent strikes acts as a form of capability deprivation for refugee and host community learners in Chad.

The case study shows refugees' preferences often are for continuation of home country schooling which keeps their hopes of return alive, but which also translates into more immediate returns in terms of more seamless continuation of studies for children as well as teaching opportunities for adult refugees, than the long-term benefits accreditation from an accountable host country education system can offer in an as-of-yet unknown future. Access to a non-certified system outside of the national system might be immediately of more value in that it corresponds to learners' needs at local level, but it will be of limited value in the long-term if it does not lead to other rights through education such as further learning opportunities and employment and will thus have reduced returns to education.

Against this backdrop, the theory of change discourse clearly is an example of a top-down big plan imposed on those at the receiving end who are attributed little agency of their own. The planners, in Easterly's conceptualisation (2006), decide for refugees that their inclusion in host country education systems is what is ultimately going to enable their participation in development. To take up Saito's application of Sen's Capability Approach (1999) to children, in the theory of change refugees are likewise treated as children for whom it is the "freedom they will have in the future rather than the present that should be considered" (2003: 26).

Seen pragmatically, the nation-state system is here to stay. If refugees are being excluded from this system, education within the host nation-state education system might open up pathways for their progressive inclusion. If mainstreaming into these systems however does not come with access to socio-economic rights and concrete livelihood opportunities, the inclusion approach is not going to fulfil education's enabling role but will lead to disillusionment ending up as counterproductive for the theory of change towards self-reliance by jeopardising fragile layers of social cohesion.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that offering home country schooling can create frustration in a world where only around three percent of refugees have the opportunity to repatriate (UNHCR, 2018e), so that learning the curriculum of a country the young generation might never see also raises false hopes and expectations and does not foster linkages of refugees with host communities. Refugees' systemic exclusion and lack of certification prevent refugees from making use of their acquired skills, which can lead to frustration and a risk of violence and extremism (Magee & Pherali, 2017; Urdal, 2006).

Findings from this research project strongly point to internal capacity and refugees' socio-economic opportunities as conditions under which inclusion in national education systems can lead to higher access outcomes as a first step towards conversion into achieved functionings and eventually lead to the proclaimed self-reliance goals. It is important to consider the broader socio-political and economic environment in which refugees access education and for this to facilitate subsequent participation in development as self-reliant agents. This points to humanitarian and development actors having to work together more closely, with either side making strides towards the other.

Chapter V
Towards developmental approaches in refugee education

This study takes place in a context of increasing and more protracted forced displacement, where young refugees have few opportunities to go to school and prepare for a self-reliant future. Education plays a key role for the refugee regime's self-reliance goals, and it is hoped for the shift towards developmental approaches that see refugees included in national education systems, to deliver on these goals. The study was premised on a lacking baseline to guide and support this shift to developmental approaches in refugee education. It aimed to make key contributions at three levels in terms of methodology, theory and substance.

1. Contributions, limitations and outlook on areas for further research

Methodologically, the use of QCA presents an innovation in the field of refugee education. It has allowed for the analysis of configurations of conditions which had not been systematically explored before such as refugee education policy, implementation pathways and access outcomes. Empirical findings show that there are no easy, clear-cut answers to complex questions on social phenomena. For instance, having ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention does not guarantee refugees' access to the national education system, nor do higher levels of economic capacity or a more effective education system. To account for this complexity, QCA has proven an invaluable approach. Given that so far no large-scale cross-country analyses of refugee education policy and practice in regions of origin had been carried out, QCA enables the formulation of parsimonious solutions while not overlooking contextual specificities and multidimensional complexities.

Through QCA it has been shown that a condition can have opposing effects in different configurations, such as the effect of external influence in combination with internal capacity and targeted support to refugee education in a favourable protection environment towards developmental practice, versus its effect towards humanitarian practice in combination with lack of such capacity and support in unfavourable environments. Such findings could not have been readily made with conventional statistics where variables are analysed in isolation. The approach developed can certainly be adapted and further improved by future research into refugee education as more and better quality data become available.

Conceptually, the study builds missing theoretical bridges between education and refugee studies. Critically examining the inherent assumptions and dynamics of the development discourse towards the inclusion of refugees in national education systems by tracing out dominant approaches in refugee education policy over the past decades, it builds theory on

drivers and interests guiding refugees' inclusion at the policy level. It takes an interdisciplinary approach to discussing normative questions about what should be the best approach to refugee education in practice and thus sheds light on the conceptual challenges to providing education for refugees in a world of nation-states. This discussion has enabled the creation of a typology of refugee education – between humanitarian and developmental approaches and within or without the nation-state which can serve as reference for future studies.

The conceptual framework takes a critical approach to self-reliance and development outcomes, and through the adoption of the Capability Approach takes a novel slant to refugee education which serves as a reminder to the importance of the equity dimension and the contextual conversion factors that are available to individuals. The study thereby makes a number of contributions to theorise refugee education between humanitarian and developmental assistance offering theory as a guide for its empirical analysis.

Empirically, the study contributes the REPI index showing a cluster of countries at the humanitarian end of the policy spectrum. In contrast to this, the applied typology of refugee education implementation pathways reveals countries grouped around developmental approaches offering education within the nation-state although disparities in implementation arrangements are great. The study also contributes refugee education enrolment data which has not previously been available, thereby offering a baseline. Through analysis and discussion of variation between host countries, it contributes to the missing middle of the 'non-theory' of change towards refugee self-reliance to be summarised in section 2 below.

There are obviously limitations to this research, and only some can be discussed here. One of these relates to the lack of quality data on refugee education. Data challenges differ across hosting contexts from limited data availability where refugees' strategies are to remain invisible and blend in, to limited data comparability and coherence where a host of actors are involved in emergency camp settings, to inability to disaggregate where refugees are included in national education data systems.

It is due to data challenges, that this study is limited to enrolment rates as access outcome variable at the cross-national level. This is reflective of humanitarian approaches where concern and data reach does not go beyond counting numbers of children enrolled. Analysis into quality and equity dimensions, that would be more reflective of developmental approaches, has not been possible for lack of comparable data. These are crucial puzzle pieces towards creating a more robust evidence base for developmental approaches in refugee education. Refugees and learners in communities hosting them have so far not been included in international learning assessments. While these alone will not be sufficient to measure quality (Tikly & Barrett, 2011), they can provide important insights and allow trends analysis in the future.

The equity dimension deserves more attention in future research to understand capability sets and conversion factors affecting different groups of refugees in various settings, but also how the focus on refugees affects other vulnerable and marginalised groups within the host population. This might be looking at whether and how core education indicators have been impacted by the presence of refugees, how resources are allocated between refugee and host communities where humanitarian and developmental approaches are pursued, and specifically at the nature of responsibility shifts from the international refugee regime to host states.

So far, there is limited and mixed evidence on outcomes for host community children where refugees are included in national education systems. While some studies point to children living close to refugee camps having better schooling outcomes such as in Zambia (Black, 1994), in Rwanda (Bilgili et al., 2018) or in Kenya (Enghoff et al., 2010), other studies find reduction in schooling outcomes for host communities (Baez, 2011) and point to increased challenges especially where large numbers of refugees arrive in relatively short periods of time such as in Lebanon where double shifts have reduced school hours in public schools, or Jordan where schools are overcrowded (Devictor, 2016; Francis, 2015).

Limitations due to unavailability of data on marginalised groups links in with challenges resulting from 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). The study relies on national-level data using the nation-state as the unit of analysis when it would be important to also look at refugee and host community-specific data, which are rarely available, and if they are, not readily comparable across refugee settings.

Availability of data ultimately poses challenges for QCA that requires consistently available data across cases, so that some conditions needed to be coded as bivariate crisp-set conditions which limited data diversity between cases, but at the same time allowed for adding parsimony to complex results. Qualitative Comparative Analysis is a methodology with challenges and limitations in itself. Critics point to confirmation bias and sensitivity to minor manipulations of model specifications and threshold setting. To offset these risks, this research project has strived to practise transparency in research steps, threshold justifications and presentation of results and robustness checks.

As a method, QCA does not account for the time dimension (Boswell & Brown, 1999) which would have been a useful addition to the analysis and deserves closer attention in further research. While it was not confirmed that more recent policy documents were overwhelmingly more developmental in their outset, this seems relevant as indeed the latest global policy and programmatic efforts appear to be turning the tide (ECW, 2016a; GPE, 2018; World Bank, 2018). With efforts leading towards the Global Compact still relatively fresh, it remains for future studies to assess their effects on national policy adoption and practical change.

More refugee education data and analyses need to be generated at local, national, regional and international levels. There is need for in-depth and longitudinal educational research to understand how refugees navigate new curricula in host countries (Meda, 2018) to draw the analytical bow from refugees' systemic inclusion to inclusive classroom practice. Once more and better quality data exist, cross-national analyses into refugee education should employ community-level data and pay attention to data disaggregation by gender and diversity factors. This requires a systematic approach, and a series of comparable field-level studies in a range of refugee hosting contexts with an overall research framework would prove useful.

2. A theory of change towards developmental approaches in refugee education

The study set out to offer baseline understanding for the ToC. Empirical findings on policy and practice set this baseline rather low. Despite a strong policy push from the global level and expectations of conformity and compliance amongst low- and middle-income host states, developmental approaches in refugee education have so far been adopted to a very low extent at national policy level by only 16 out of 41 countries.

National development plans do not represent the kind of progressive rights framework recognising mobility and de facto integration of refugees as envisioned at global refugee policy level. Instead, refugees are assigned the role of non-citizens living outside the nation-state system supported through humanitarian mechanisms. The few education sector plans that do refer to refugees remain stuck in access challenges without taking the kind of long-term view towards institution- and capacity-building that would be necessitated by developmental approaches towards including refugees and expanding opportunities for all.

While the majority of LMIC have not adopted developmental policy and do not envision refugees as part of national education systems, most countries do not actively restrict their access to public schools. It is however not actively facilitated either. Empirical findings on implementation pathways place 31 of the 41 cases inside the nation-state system and at the development end of the education approach spectrum offering host country schooling for the majority of refugees. When this suggests a clear trend towards the inclusion of refugees in national education systems, the findings also uncover great disparities within and across cases and gaps at the level of implementation to achieve inclusion in a more holistic sense at classroom level. Stark differences in implementation arrangements and practical adaptations of the host schooling approach show that refugees continue to "provide an unusual challenge for understanding the relationships imagined between school curriculum and modern citizenship" (Waters & Leblanc, 2005: 130).

In terms of access outcomes, the study finds that in the 41 low- and middle-income countries in refugee regions of origin that hosted 82% of the world's school-age refugees in 2016, only 39% of school-age refugees were enrolled in school. This highlights the immense challenges at policy and practice levels for refugees to reach proclaimed self-reliance goals and presents an extremely low, but a very concrete baseline on which the theory of change must be built.

The analysis points to inequalities in access levels not only across the cases, but also within the cases at sub-national level where certain groups of refugees have more opportunities to access education than others by virtue of their place of origin or residence in exile, their time of arrival, or social group. Inequalities are also found between girls and boys in certain contexts. Notably, the wide gap between primary and secondary school access for refugees poses challenges in terms of motivation and retention levels in primary education, but also presents protection concerns where young refugees have few opportunities for continued learning and for developing the kind of life skills and critical thinking skills that are necessary to reach the proclaimed self-reliance goals.

Qualitative Comparative Analysis finds this gap is even higher where humanitarian approaches of parallel education systems have been adopted as these systems cannot supply this higher, and more resource-intensive, level of education and keep up with demand from refugee students completing their primary education. This delivers a strong argumentation element in favour of the theory of change towards inclusion in established and accountable national systems which are better equipped to offer such levels of education than a parallel system set up by humanitarian actors with incrementally decreasing resources.

It was found the ToC made a number of implicit assumptions that required testing at the levels of policy and practice to contribute to the missing middle. The ToC was found to assume that through the adoption of developmental approaches, i.e. the inclusion of refugees in national education systems, better quality teaching and learning can be ensured leading to certification and post-education opportunities. National education systems assumedly can provide education, and in the absence of such capacity will receive the required support to do so. Refugees are assumed to accept, participate and succeed in schooling in host country systems and be able to afford it.

This study finds that developmental approaches in policy and practice are no recipe for better education access and self-reliance outcomes. There certainly is no linear outcome path from the inclusion of refugees in national education systems to education access and on to presumed self-reliance. What emerges is that developmental approaches towards inclusion are a helpful ingredient, but not sufficient by themselves. They can indeed have positive access outcomes when they take place in a favourable protection environment where refugees enjoy socio-economic rights so that conversion into self-reliance outcomes can be enhanced.

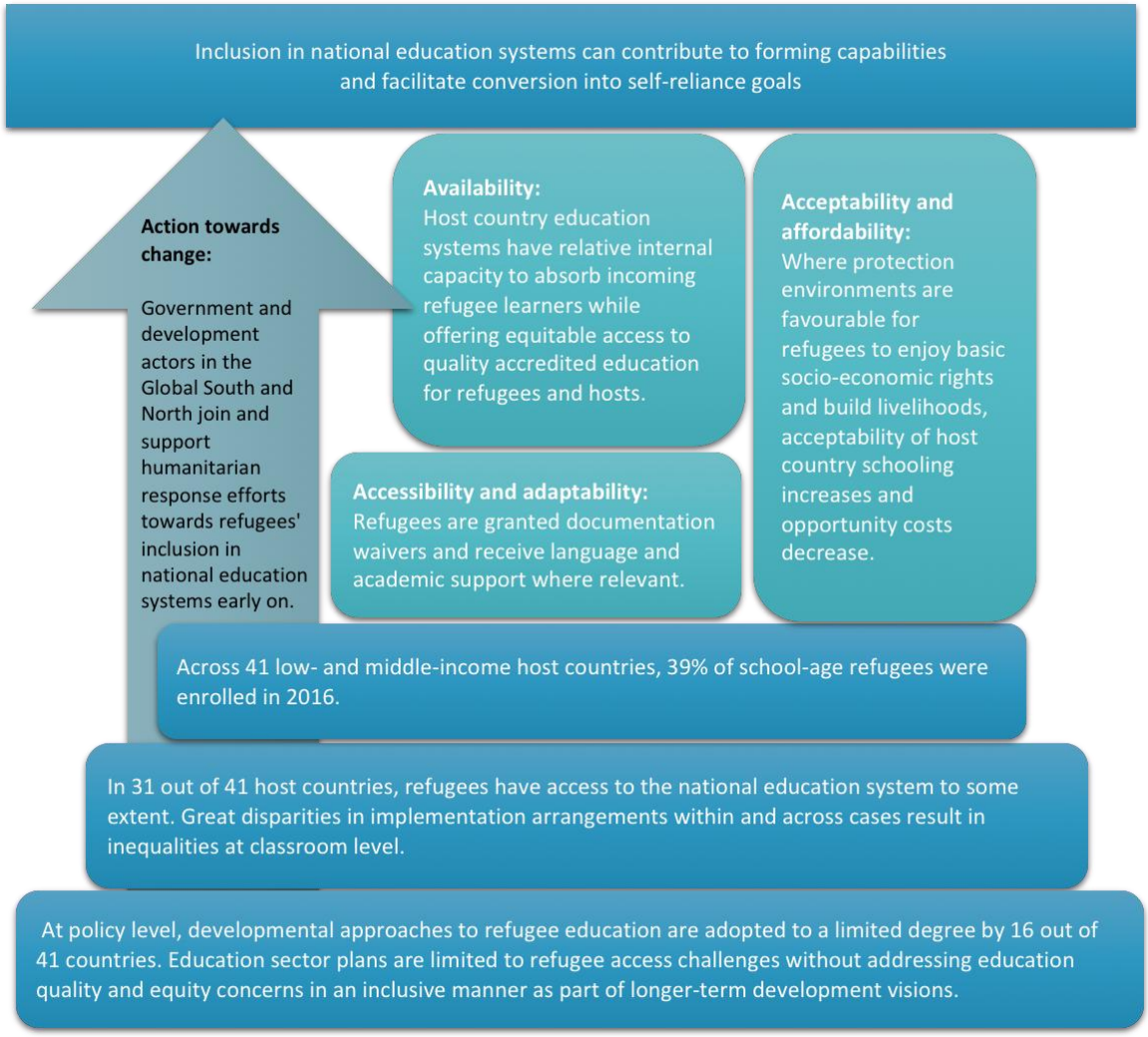
As part of such favourable environments, the right to work and build livelihoods emerges as crucial as it not only defines refugees' ability to afford education for their children, but also affects the acceptability of schooling that can prepare for such opportunities towards self-reliance. In support of the ToC, certification indeed is most likely ensured through host country schooling and emerges as a driver for higher enrolments, which is interpreted as both a marker of quality education on the supply side and a motivating factor on the demand side, especially for transitions from primary to secondary education and on to further opportunities.

When acceptability is shaped by the future value of education, case knowledge and case study insights highlight that since this future often remains uncertain, refugees might prefer home country schooling clinging on to hope of eventual repatriation. While acceptance of host country schooling varies across contexts depending on system capacities between home and host countries, cultural, curricular and linguistic differences, this points to the importance of the protection environment. Where refugees can project themselves more easily in the host country, can move freely and access social services and employment, they are more likely to send children to school and support them in completing their education. In restrictive protection environments, opportunity costs for schooling will be too high and young refugees are more likely to be sent to work instead of to school.

Empirical findings highlight the importance of internal education capacity in combination with developmental approaches. Significantly, where there is no such internal capacity, supply cannot be substituted by specific external support to refugee education to either work towards the inclusion of refugees or towards higher access outcomes within national systems. Such support is essential and improves outcomes where it is combined with existing internal capacity. This goes in contradiction to the theory of change that assumes for additional external support to be able to make up for lacking internal capacity to include refugees in national education systems.

To answer the main research question, developmental approaches can lead to better access outcomes where there are more favourable protection environments and where relative internal capacity is combined with targeted support.

Figure 20: Baseline for developmental approaches in refugee education and conditions for inclusion and access



While the research design and data availability for this study has not allowed for empirical testing of learning outcomes or assumptions of better quality teaching and learning within national education systems in contrast to parallel systems, the case studies provide insights on the formation of capability sets that then face limited opportunities of conversion into achieved functionings of self-reliance in more restrictive environments.

It results that the theory of change towards developmental approaches can be supported in that certification and post-primary education opportunities can in principle be enabled. This study makes clear however that it can only lead to better access outcomes, as a first step on the way towards self-reliance, where national education systems have relatively high levels of internal capacity which cannot be compensated for by targeted humanitarian assistance to education. Depending on contexts, refugees do not readily accept host country schooling, but their enrolments are higher under conditions of a more favourable environment where their parents can work and thus afford and accept to send their children to school.

3. Education for refugees at the heart of the humanitarian-development nexus

Beyond providing a baseline understanding and testing assumptions towards greater access outcomes, empirical findings from the QCA bring to light conditions under which developmental approaches are adopted. These have a number of implications for refugee education policy and practice.

At the policy level, findings on Research Question 1 show that relatively high refugee numbers act as a necessary condition for the adoption of developmental approaches. These approaches are not produced by the existence of such a policy challenge alone, but in combination with internal capacity and the increasing political autonomy this brings along that work towards the avoidance of humanitarian policy. In aid-dependent countries, it can be of strategic interest to uphold protection norms which in turn enable the adoption of developmental policy.

It results that building capacity in large host countries is required, which can only be achieved in collaboration with developmental actors. Pathways towards refugee-inclusive policy also require the support of the development sector to ensure the creation and maintenance of favourable protection environments. It is vital for national development policy tools to integrate existing, and provide for contingency mechanisms to ingrate eventual, humanitarian response plans, which in turn need to be aligned with national plans.

Overall in written policy, a tendency towards mixing up refugees with high-risk and vulnerable groups has come to light. This does not provide for a sound basis on which to build a discourse of refugees as socio-economic actors and to tap into the developmental potential that the inclusion of refugees in national development visions and planning could offer. If refugees are to contribute positively to their host communities' development, a first important step at policy level will be to portray refugees not as trouble makers nor as victims in need of humanitarian assistance, but as agents in the development process.

When it can be argued that there is no need to single out refugees where policy frameworks are inclusive applying to all children regardless of their legal status, this study suggests it might be smart for countries facing inclusion challenges to align their policy with their developmental practice to benefit from increased support promised by the Global Compact by highlighting gaps in education provision not only for locals but also for refugees, thereby appealing to international responsibility sharing in the spirit of the New York Declaration (UNGA, 2016). Since findings suggest that the overall protection environment facilitates adoption of developmental policy, the Global North needs to be held accountable and support the South in its refugee-hosting efforts to ensure the creation of such enabling environments.

Conditions under which developmental policy works favourably towards the adoption of more inclusive approaches to refugee education in practice (Research Question 2) include first and foremost capacity-related factors on the host country side, as is the case for higher enrolments (Research Question 3). Without such capacity, additional targeted financial support to refugee education from the international community alone cannot ensure refugees' inclusion in national education systems. When in some countries it is the favourable protection environment in itself that can sufficiently produce inclusion, some large host countries practise inclusion due to security interests in avoiding exclusion.

For low capacity cases, this implies that humanitarian assistance to education alone is unlikely to be fruitful, but that joint efforts with developmental actors are required to enhance capacity and create circumstances in which access to education becomes affordable, acceptable and worthwhile for refugees. It implies moving beyond good-intentioned but empty-handed advocacy towards more developmental approaches to ensure refugees' inclusion in national education systems of overstretched host countries. What is required beyond offering loans is predictable and sustainable financial and technical support given persistent asymmetrical power relations between the global South and North.

Without dedicated international cooperation, without operational integration of humanitarian clusters into national coordination mechanisms including in Local Education Groups, effective inclusion of refugees in national education systems is unlikely to occur as host governments will not perceive developmental approaches as the solution pathway that can offer self-reliance outcomes for the most vulnerable, refugee and host communities alike.

This study strongly points towards the need for humanitarian and developmental actors coming together and to holistic cross-sectoral interventions where inclusion of refugees in national education systems is accompanied by progressively greater socio-economic opportunities.

This implies for humanitarian actors to approach the development sector and take an active seat in development coordination to ensure refugee education issues are built sustainably into education sector planning from the start of an influx. Even if refugee education has received attention within the evolving field of education in emergencies, it is for this community to acknowledge that refugee education goes beyond emergency intervention. But it also means for development actors to recognise that refugee education is not purely a humanitarian issues, but a developmental issue that is of immediate concern in any humanitarian response.

The question humanitarian actors are frequently faced with when responding to a refugee emergency is 'inclusion in what?' in a remote host region where there are no schools and no teachers, maybe not even a functioning education system at local level. The need to respond quickly and to avoid children being left idle for too long can easily result in the set-up of a parallel system especially when there is a lack of capacity and resources at the local or national level.

What is important to realise is that it is precisely in such contexts that opportunities open up for the humanitarian and development sectors to come together to work on a joint and strategic response that can address refugees' immediate educational and protection needs with their socio-economic rights and their long-term developmental aspirations in mind. Refugee education outcomes will not improve with increased humanitarian funding unless government and development stakeholders join efforts early on, to ensure the creation of more favourable protection environments in host countries. This calls for more flexible financing models and complementary programming tools that can facilitate and boost work at the heart of the nexus.

While inclusion in national education systems is no recipe towards improved education access and eventual self-reliance outcomes, it does make sense to support existing systems in fragile and low-capacity host countries and tap into the development potential of remote host regions. What needs to be kept in mind though is that it is no easy undertaking to reach a win-win situation (Betts, 2009a), let alone a triple win situation including the refugee regime, hosting states and refugees themselves (Krause, 2016a). One of the first lessons upon the creation of UNHCR was that including refugees in low-capacity contexts is challenging as "local schools are often incapable of adequately absorbing refugees in addition to indigenous children" (UNHCR, 1955).

This study highlights that inclusion in national host education systems remains an ambitious goal in a world where refugee status continues to be "an intergenerational carrier of civic and social exclusion" (Costello, 2017: 718). Where refugees continue to occupy liminal positions within host nation-states, inclusion might actually jeopardise proclaimed self-reliance goals if educational attainment does not open up "possible pathways to the rights that enable post-education work and civil and political participation" (Dryden-Peterson, 2016b: 480).

When low- and middle-income refugee host countries have been struggling to provide education for refugees, recent history shows how suddenly larger and more diverse classrooms pose challenges and put strains on resources and pedagogy even in high-income settings (Crul, 2017). This should be a reminder of the sort of amplified challenges faced by host countries with significantly fewer resources but relatively higher refugee numbers.

The push towards developmental policy and practice undoubtedly is implemented from the top down and from aid-providing North to refugee-hosting South. It comes in response to increasing global challenges in the face of missing global solutions driven by the desire to control migration in the Global North and against the backdrop of past failures with the humanitarian approach in the context of increasingly protracted displacement. This is precisely why it needs to be critically monitored.

At the same time, it can be seen as a realist move that has refugees' long-term needs and rights at heart, implemented in the hope for a revolution from the bottom up where more educated refugee communities understand and strive to claim their rights towards progressively improving socio-economic opportunities in places of exile, instead of lingering on, receiving humanitarian handouts and waiting for one of three traditional durable solutions to materialise.

While refugees have the capacity and willingness to become self-reliant actors (Zetter, 2014), what must not be forgotten is that presently, they might not be able to successfully claim socio-economic rights and often cannot develop to their fullest potential due to restrictive policies that prevent them from attaining citizenship rights. Beyond the macro-lens, there might be marginalised groups of refugees with particular protection needs who require additional and context-specific support beyond development programming.

It is imperative to account for these. For education to be able to contribute to breaking out of the relief-cycle in offering a way to development and self-reliance, it needs to be of good quality and address equity concerns. Including refugees in national education systems is no guarantee for this, especially when their particular protection needs in addition to specific language and curricular support needs go unaddressed and when it does not come with socio-economic opportunities and civic rights.

What is important is to understand the implications of the shift towards developmental approaches. It should not be understood as a move away from humanitarian principles nor downplay individual refugees' legal and protection needs (Macrae, 1999), but it should be conceptualised and practised as a widening of opportunities for all. Opportunities for refugees and host communities towards increased self-reliance, and at the operational level also for better joined-up, more strategic and holistic planning, programming and monitoring.

With shifting responsibilities to national authorities come weakening oversight functions, such as decreasing grip on monitoring and data on refugees by humanitarian actors. It is clear that improvements need to be made on refugee education data if refugees are to be sustainably included in national education systems. National EMIS need to be capacitated and equipped to include refugees at meaningful disaggregation levels and these data need to be complemented by household-level surveys and regular monitoring of quality and equity aspects at the

classroom level. While sensitive approaches to data collection are required to avoid protection risks, it is only through disaggregated data that education sector planning can be refined to ensure resource allocation for the disadvantaged, including refugees and host communities, to develop targeted programming and support mechanisms, and to ensure adequate monitoring of refugees' inclusion and progress in national education systems.

There is great momentum in the current context between the Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Global Compact on Refugees to redefine the rules of engagement, to include refugees in national planning, programming and monitoring, and to finally find the final key stone to bridge the long-standing humanitarian-development divide moving towards a nexus.

Education sits at the heart of the humanitarian-development nexus. Education is a human right that needs to be addressed as part of humanitarian response, but it is also of developmental significance for individuals and for societies. Investing in education during emergencies yields returns in the longer term going beyond individual learning achievements, but contributing to accelerating progress across other sectors, including building livelihoods and propelling economic growth, fostering social cohesion and building peace.

It is through the inclusion of refugees in national education systems, that are effectively capacitated towards providing equitable quality teaching and learning, that capabilities can be formed in environments that favour conversion into achieved functionings towards opportunities for self-reliance for refugees and the communities hosting them.

Appendices

A) Data set

The following tables present key data used for QCA models. For space and formatting limitations, the complete data set, including QCA model output reports, robustness checks and metadata, is available in Excel format.[17] Conditions and country codes are referenced in Appendix B below.

Table 15: Dichotomous data set for csQCA, Research Question 1.2

Case ID	NGP	ISE	IGP	REFI	CSEC	REPI
AFG	1	1	1	0	0	0
ARM	1	0	0	1	1	0
BDI	1	1	1	0	0	0
BFA	1	0	1	0	0	0
BGD	0	1	0	0	1	0
CAF	1	1	1	0	0	0
CMR	1	1	1	1	1	1
COD	1	1	1	1	0	1
COG	1	1	1	1	1	1
DJI	1	1	1	1	0	1
DZA	0	0	0	0	1	0
EGY	0	1	0	0	1	0
ETH	1	1	1	1	0	1
GMB	1	1	1	0	0	0
GNB	1	1	1	0	0	0
IRN	1	1	0	1	1	1
IRQ	1	1	1	1	1	0
JOR	0	1	1	1	1	1
KEN	1	1	1	1	1	1
LBN	0	1	1	1	1	1
LBR	1	1	1	0	0	0
MLI	1	1	1	0	0	0
MRT	1	1	1	1	0	0
MYS	0	0	0	0	1	0
NER	1	1	1	1	0	1
NPL	1	1	0	0	1	0
PAK	0	1	1	1	1	1
PNG	1	0	0	0	1	1
RWA	1	1	1	1	1	1
SDN	1	1	1	1	0	1
SEN	1	1	0	0	0	0
SSD	0	1	1	1	0	0
TCD	1	1	1	1	0	1
TGO	1	0	0	0	1	0
THA	0	0	0	0	1	0
TUR	1	0	0	1	1	0
TZA	1	0	0	1	0	0
UGA	1	1	1	1	0	1
YEM	1	1	1	1	1	0
ZAF	1	0	0	0	1	0
ZMB	1	1	0	0	1	1

[17] http://bit.ly/ZeusDPhilData (last updated: 04/10/2018).

Table 16: Fuzzy-set data for fsQCA sufficiency analysis, Research Question 1.2

Case	REPI	NSEH	REFI	RHH	CSED	ECINQ	HUMR	LIB	VAC	RPE	EXGS	EVI	GRI	EXT	SEC	DEM	LAN	HDI	RCAP	PBS	GOV	PMY
AFG	0.05	0.2	0.08	0	0.638	0.632	0.277	0.167	0.255	0.56	0	0.616	0.68	1	1	0.911	0.37	0.28	0.468	0.05	0.317	0.91
ARM	0.23	0.574	0.55	0.652	0.851	0	0.569	0.418	0.49	0.51	0.76	0.562	0.196	0.552	0.167	0	0.174	0.98	0.586	0.95	0.657	0.68
BDI	0.05	0	0.49	0.727	0.872	0.553	0.213	0.084	0.045	0.77	0	1	0.58	0.948	0.8	0.911	0.109	0.1	0.046	0.14	0.262	0.19
BFA	0.37	0.746	0.08	0	0.585	0.816	0.708	0.585	0.767	0.73	0.61	0.713	0	0.69	0.72	0.911	0.538	0.1	0.479	0.1	0.523	0.23
BGD	0.39	0.59	0.08	0.132	0.702	0.35	0.508	0.502	0.517	0.193	0.19	0.348	0.74	0.385	0.56	0.589	0	0.68	0.727	0.13	0.479	0.94
CAF	0.12	0	0.13	0	0.382	1	0.021	0	0.235	0.414	0.04	0.549	0.82	1	0.84	0.857	0.594	0.05	0.366	0.05	0.149	0.64
CMR	0.95	0.32	0.89	0.742	0.713	0.658	0.489	0.167	0.285	0.4	0.56	0.238	0.66	0.741	0.62	0.696	0.457	0.42	0.2	0.1	0.457	0.52
COD	0.78	0	0.53	0.803	0.485	0.868	0	0.084	0.105	0.88	0.62	0.469	1	1	0.84	0.929	0.065	0.17	0.254	0.06	0.229	0.8
COG	0.78	0.18	0.72	0.697	0.787	0.789	0.277	0.167	0.22	0.501	0.96	0.397	0.435	0.621	0.481	0.696	0.087	0.72	0.393	0.06	0.354	0.85
DJI	0.78	0.22	0.95	0.742	0.456	0.737	0.426	0.167	0.14	0.407	0.96	0.712	0.283	0.897	0.352	0.75	0	0.25	0.296	0.15	0.393	0.4
DZA	0.04	0.516	0.12	0.474	0.894	0.3	0.631	0.251	0.36	0.279	0.58	0.053	0.413	0.212	0.481	0.269	0.261	0.98	0.905	0.35	0.527	0.95
EGY	0.26	0	0.12	0.105	0.883	0	0	0.167	0.185	0.379	0.02	0.153	0.76	0.759	0.66	0.518	0	0.94	0.891	0.55	0.488	0.46
ETH	0.6	0	0.64	0.848	0.691	0.25	0.17	0.055	0.075	0.63	0.01	0.589	0.82	0.897	0.72	1	0.196	0.19	0.252	0.09	0.494	0.88
GMB	0.15	0	0.3	0	0.585	0.45	0.085	0.112	0.16	0.67	0.59	1	0	0.603	0.315	0.732	0.348	0.19	0.327	0.16	0.433	0.94
GNB	0.05	0.533	0.48	0	0.553	1	0.489	0.39	0.45	0.7	0.7	1	0	0.828	0.82	0.786	0.217	0.13	0.333	0.07	0.189	0.79
IRN	0.87	0	0.81	1	0.894	0	0.064	0.112	0.105	0.75	0.47	0.243	0.86	0.517	0.54	0.231	0.261	0.99	0.483	0.74	0.64	0.8
IRQ	0.31	0.2	0.6	0.606	0.723	0.579	0.234	0.167	0.295	0.53	0.75	0.84	0.92	1	1	0.786	0.152	0.89	0.624	0.13	0.305	0.52
JOR	0.93	0.508	1	1	0.894	0	0.404	0.39	0.42	0.143	0.79	0.212	0.6	0.707	0.204	0.436	0	0.98	0.064	0.85	0.753	0.91
KEN	0.67	0.656	0.71	1	0.787	0.737	0.569	0.502	0.688	0.51	0.09	0.476	0.78	0.793	0.7	0.839	0.13	0.55	0.374	0.14	0.603	0.15
LBN	0.92	0.574	1	1	0.691	0	0.508	0.446	0.533	0.164	0.95	0.135	0.7	0.966	0.78	0.321	0	0.98	0.014	0.4	0.53	0.82
LBR	0.21	0.705	0.34	0.636	0.338	0.868	0.646	0.556	0.708	0.67	0.53	1	0.13	1	0.333	0.857	0.087	0.15	0.306	0.07	0.287	0.28

Case	REPI	NSEH	REFI	RHH	CSED	ECINQ	HUMR	LIB	VAC	RPE	EXGS	EVI	GRI	EXT	SEC	DEM	LAN	HDI	RCAP	PBS	GOV	PMY
MLI	0.24	0.623	0.05	0	0.456	0.605	0.523	0.446	0.675	0.85	0.51	0.556	0.478	1	0.84	0.768	0.575	0.17	0.716	0.09	0.387	0.94
MRT	0.04	0.34	0.93	0.667	0.606	0.4	0.404	0.167	0.385	0.271	0.82	0.766	0.391	0.776	0.426	0.804	0.087	0.38	0.119	0.08	0.448	0.6
MYS	0.04	0.574	0.18	0.421	1	0	0.383	0.502	0.554	0.093	0.98	0.193	0.283	0	0.315	0.282	0	0.99	0.986	0.85	1	0.88
NER	0.98	0.656	0.65	0.026	0.553	0.895	0.646	0.502	0.608	0.86	0.23	0.668	0.6	0.793	0.78	0.857	1	0.05	0	0.06	0.51	0.79
NPL	0.05	0.631	0.04	0	0.936	0.35	0.447	0.556	0.654	0.429	0.02	0.418	0.88	0.586	0.352	0.786	0	0.59	0.733	0.21	0.442	0.34
PAK	0.75	0.533	0.6	1	0.574	0.25	0.383	0.446	0.455	0.436	0.01	0.283	1	1	0.86	0.75	0.196	0.55	0.423	0.17	0.494	0.23
PNG	0.64	0.697	0.06	0	0.851	1	0.468	0.613	0.829	0.6	0.99	0.542	0.239	0.569	0.481	0.643	0	0.42	0.937	0.08	0.466	0.28
RWA	0.4	0.28	0.84	0.561	0.926	0.842	0.538	0.112	0.195	0.84	0.11	0.734	0.88	0.69	0.296	0.679	0.065	0.35	0.04	0.19	0.743	0.12
SDN	0.64	0	0.74	1	0.294	0.605	0.043	0	0	0.65	0.01	1	1	1	0.84	0.911	0.585	0.31	0.432	0.09	0.259	0.52
SEN	0.05	0.885	0.05	0	0.66	0.605	0.723	0.889	0.904	0.73	0.68	0.552	0.261	0.552	0.296	0.696	0.326	0.31	0.79	0.18	0.55	0.74
SSD	0.13	0	0.96	0.894	0	1	0.064	0	0	0.407	0.01	1	0.94	1	1	1	0.435	0.13	0	0.05	0	0.74
TCD	0.9	0	0.99	1	0.564	1	0.149	0.084	0.13	0.54	0.71	1	0.6	0.828	0.92	1	0.557	0.1	0	0.06	0.235	0.86
TGO	0.12	0.631	0.08	0	0.84	0.816	0.615	0.502	0.538	0.58	0.88	0.599	0	0.423	0.352	0.643	0.566	0.31	0.477	0.13	0.36	0.85
THA	0.07	0.24	0.07	0.289	0.915	0	0.383	0.167	0.25	0	0.99	0.328	0.7	0	0.84	0.423	0.391	0.98	1	0.78	0.82	0.15
TUR	0.39	0.549	1	1	0.84	0	0.447	0.446	0.485	0.66	0.55	0	1	0.308	0.7	0.231	0.435	0.99	0.462	0.78	0.723	0.74
TZA	0.26	0.721	0.501	0.788	0.564	0.526	0.738	0.556	0.675	0.501	0.26	0.446	0	0.638	0.167	0.804	0.413	0.46	0.39	0.1	0.523	0.64
UGA	0.99	0.38	0.98	1	0.681	0.605	0.426	0.167	0.445	1	0.27	0.55	0.7	0.828	0.463	0.857	0.239	0.31	0	0.12	0.517	0.4
YEM	0.39	0	0.72	0.758	0.638	0.816	0.021	0.055	0	0.379	0	0.612	0.86	1	1	0.911	0	0.28	0.281	0.06	0.134	0.1
ZAF	0.19	1	0.08	0.894	0.84	0.632	1	0.889	1	0.64	0.71	0.313	0.326	0	0.278	0.536	0.348	0.92	0.986	0.23	0.797	0.8
ZMB	0.8	0.615	0.08	0.395	0.606	1	0.508	0.502	0.625	0.62	0.82	0.817	0.152	0.638	0	0.946	0.37	0.68	0.678	0.15	0.488	0.4

Table 17: Additional fuzzy-set data for fsQCA sufficiency analyses, Research Questions 2.2 and 3.2

CaseID	REI	REFS	RCSE	RISE	RLEG	C51	RNER	RPNER	RSNER	ACC	CUR	ACT	BUD	CER	EMIS	DOC	EDI
AFG	0.09	0.04	0	0.76	0	1	0.04	0.14	0.05	0.27	0.27	0.05	0.05	0.27	0.05	0	0.18
ARM	0.95	0.08	1	0.87	1	1	0.99	0.98	0.98	0.95	0.95	0.95	0.95	0.95	0.95	1	0.97
BDI	0.19	0.73	1	0.42	1	1	0.65	0.93	0.39	0.27	0.27	0.05	0.05	0.73	0.27	0	0.17
BFA	0.83	0.63	0	0.95	1	1	0.03	0.14	0.01	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	1	0.03
BGD	0.06	0.07	0	0.01	0	0	0.01	0.08	0.02	0.05	0.73	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0	0.34
CAF	0.14	1	0	0.79	0	1	0.499	0.84	0.499	0.73	0.73	0.05	0.05	0.27	0.05	0	0.08
CMR	0.83	0.24	0	0.94	1	1	0.17	0.44	0.03	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	1	0.47
COD	0.7	0.37	0	0.94	1	1	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.95	0.95	0.27	0.27	0.95	0.27	0	0.41
COG	0.86	0.63	0	0.97	0	1	0.23	0.36	0.54	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.73	0.95	0.73	1	0.57
DJI	0.05	0.97	0	0.14	0	1	0.05	0.23	0.01	0.05	0.05	0.27	0.05	0.05	0.05	0	0.05
DZA	0.83	0.74	1	0.56	0	1	0.71	0.98	0.05	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	0	0.91
EGY	0.65	0.91	0	0.31	0	1	0.99	0.98	0.99	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.27	0.73	0.73	1	0.82
ETH	0.75	0.87	0	0.23	1	1	0.09	0.32	0.01	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.27	0	0.06
GMB	0.83	0.9	1	0.94	1	1	0.499	0.75	0.54	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	1	0.11
GNB	0.86	0.51	1	0.94	1	1	0.23	0.36	0.54	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.73	0.95	0.73	1	0.1
IRN	0.86	0.1	0	0.45	1	1	0.86	0.82	0.9	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.73	0.95	0.73	1	0.96
IRQ	0.7	0.42	1	0.13	1	0	0.54	0.82	0.33	0.95	0.95	0.27	0.27	0.95	0.27	0	0.501
JOR	0.83	0.03	1	0.64	0	0	0.84	0.95	0.64	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	0	0.95
KEN	0.83	0.87	0	0.42	1	1	0.25	0.57	0.11	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	0	0.57
LBN	0.83	0.91	0	0.33	0	0	0.23	0.35	0.01	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	0	0.91
LBR	0.26	0.91	0	0.74	1	1	0.23	0.66	0	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.05	0.73	0.27	0	0.24
MLI	0.7	0.45	0	0.97	1	1	0.25	0.36	0.54	0.95	0.95	0.27	0.27	0.95	0.27	0	0.06
MRT	0.33	0.42	0	0.84	0	1	0.57	0.84	0.28	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.73	0.27	0	0.14
MYS	0.05	0.43	0	0.03	0	0	0.19	0.36	0.28	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0	0.95
NER	0.83	0.29	1	0.88	1	1	0.05	0.23	0.05	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	1	0.01

CaseID	REI	REFS	RCSE	RISE	RLEG	C51	RNER	RPNER	RSNER	ACC	CUR	ACT	BUD	CER	EMIS	DOC	EDI
NPL	0.55	0.81	0	0.07	1	0	0.95	0.98	0.85	0.27	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.73	0.27	0	0.41
PAK	0.501	0.16	0	0.28	0	0	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.27	0.73	0.73	0.27	0.73	0.27	0	0.17
PNG	0.86	0.04	1	0.97	1	1	0.95	0.92	0.95	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.73	0.95	0.73	0	0.23
RWA	0.79	0.97	0	0.83	1	1	0.79	0.9	0.79	0.73	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	1	0.25
SDN	0.501	0.73	0	0.28	1	1	0.47	0.82	0.33	0.27	0.73	0.73	0.27	0.73	0.27	0	0.06
SEN	0.83	0.69	1	0.83	1	1	0.57	0.66	0.54	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	1	0.1
SSD	0.75	0.98	0	0.35	1	0	0.14	0.36	0.05	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.27	0	0.05
TCD	0.75	0.78	0	0.85	0	1	0.07	0.27	0.03	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.27	1	0.04
TGO	0.83	0.57	0	0.94	1	1	0.3	0.36	0.54	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	1	0.46
THA	0.05	0.17	0	0	0	0	0.03	0.2	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0	0.89
TUR	0.92	0.04	0	0.85	1	1	0.3	0.8	0.05	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.73	0.95	0.95	0	0.93
TZA	0.06	0.4	0	0.07	1	1	0.499	0.82	0.14	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.27	0.05	0	0.29
UGA	0.83	0.58	1	0.92	1	1	0.21	0.53	0.03	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	1	0.38
YEM	0.83	0.51	0	0.85	0	1	0.12	0.23	0.54	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	0	0.1
ZAF	0.86	0.03	1	0.93	1	1	0.77	0.95	0.54	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.73	0.95	0.73	0	0.96
ZMB	0.83	0.85	1	0.27	1	1	0.88	0.93	0.84	0.95	0.95	0.73	0.27	0.95	0.73	1	0.76

B) References

1. Abbreviations

CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
csQCA	Crisp-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EiE	Education in Emergencies
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ESP	Education Sector Plan
FSI	Failed States Index
fsQCA	Fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
GPI	Gender Parity Index
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
LMIC	Low- and middle-income countries
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
QCA	Qualitative Comparative Analysis
REPI^2	Refugee Education Policy Inclusion Index
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
ToC	Theory of Change
UN	United Nations
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics

2. Country codes

Case ID	Country
AFG	Afghanistan
ARM	Armenia
BDI	Burundi
BFA	Burkina Faso
BGD	Bangladesh
CAF	Central African Republic
CMR	Cameroon
COD	Democratic Republic of the Congo
COG	Republic of Congo
DJI	Djibouti
DZA	Algeria
EGY	Egypt
ETH	Ethiopia
GMB	The Gambia
GNB	Guinea Bissau
IRN	Islamic Republic of Iran
IRQ	Iraq
JOR	Jordan
KEN	Kenya
LBN	Lebanon

Case ID	Country
LBR	Liberia
MLI	Mali
MRT	Mauritania
MYS	Malaysia
NER	Niger
NPL	Nepal
PAK	Pakistan
PNG	Papua New Guinea
RWA	Rwanda
SDN	Sudan
SEN	Senegal
SSD	South Sudan
TCD	Chad
TGO	Togo
THA	Thailand
TUR	Turkey
TZA	United Republic of Tanzania
UGA	Uganda
YEM	Yemen
ZAF	South Africa
ZMB	Zambia

3. Conditions

The below table references conditions employed in the QCA models. Complete metadata is available in Excel format (see footnote 17 above).

Condition ID	Condition Name	Definition	Source
ACC	Access to public schools	Extent to which refugees have access to public schools of the host country national education system	author's thesis
ACT	Refugee education actors	Type of actors supporting refugee education	author's thesis
BUD	Refugee education budgets	Type of funding mechanisms supporting refugee education	author's thesis
C51	1951 Convention	indicates whether a country has ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention; yes:1, no: 0	(UNHCR, 2010b; UNTC, 2017)
CER	Recognised certification	Extent to which refugees can obtain certification recognised by any national education system	author's thesis
CGP	Geo-political capacity	Super condition composed of: REN, GOV, POLS, FSI single-weighted	see composites
CONV	1951 Convention without reservations	indicates whether a country has ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention without reservations to relevant articles on education, employment, freedom of movement, or travel documentation	(UNHCR, 2010b; UNTC, 2017)
CSEC	Socio-economic capacity	Super condition composed of: GNIC, HDI, RCAP single-weighted	see composites
CSED	Education capacity	Super condition composed of: EXG, NPNER, NPGER, HAI single-weighted	see composites
CUR	National curriculum	Extent to which refugees study national curriculum of host country	author's thesis
DEM	Demographic Pressures	The Demographic Pressures Indicator considers pressures upon the state deriving from the population itself or the environment around it. For example, it measures population pressures related to food supply, access to safe water, and other life-sustaining resources, or health, such as prevalence of disease and epidemics. The Indicator considers demographic characteristics, such as pressures from high population growth rates or skewed population distributions, such as a "youth or age bulge," or sharply divergent rates of population growth among competing communal groups, recognizing that such effects can have profound social, economic, and political effects. Beyond the population, the Indicator also takes into account pressures stemming from natural disasters (hurricanes, earthquakes, floods or drought), and pressures upon the population from environmental hazards.	(FFP, 2017)
DOC	Documentation requirement waivers	indicates whether refugees' access is facilitated through documentation waivers (1) or restricted through such requirements (0)	author's thesis
ECD	Economic Decline	The Economic Decline Indicator considers factors related to economic decline within a country. For example, the Indicator looks at patterns of progressive economic decline of the society as a whole as measured by per capita income, Gross National Product, unemployment rates, inflation, productivity, debt, poverty levels, or business	(FFP, 2017)

		failures. It also takes into account sudden drops in commodity prices, trade revenue, or foreign investment, and any collapse or devaluation of the national currency. The Economic Decline Indicator further considers the responses to economic conditions and their consequences, such as extreme social hardship imposed by economic austerity programs, or perceived increasing group inequalities. The Economic Decline Indicator is focused on the formal economy – as well as illicit trade, including the drug and human trafficking, and capital flight, or levels of corruption and illicit transactions such as money laundering or embezzlement.	
ECINQ	Economic Inequality	The Uneven Economic Development Indicator considers inequality within the economy, irrespective of the actual performance of an economy. For example, the Indicator looks at structural inequality that is based on group (such as racial, ethnic, religious, or other identity group) or based on education, economic status, or region (such as urban-rural divide). The Indicator considers not only actual inequality, but also perceptions of inequality, recognizing that perceptions of economic inequality can fuel grievance as much as real inequality, and can reinforce communal tensions or nationalistic rhetoric. Further to measuring economic inequality, the Indicator also takes into account the opportunities for groups to improve their economic status, such as through access to employment, education, or job training such that even if there is economic inequality present, to what degree it is structural and reinforcing.	(FFP, 2017)
EDI	Education Index	Education index is an average of mean years of schooling (of adults) and expected years of schooling (of children), both expressed as an index obtained by scaling with the corresponding maxima.	(UNDP, 2017)
EMIS	EMIS inclusion	Extent to which refugees are included in national Education Management Information Systems	author's thesis
EVI	Economic Vulnerability	The EVI is the simple arithmetic average of 2 sub-indexes: The exposure sub-index, which is a weighted average of 5 component indexes: population size (25%), remoteness from world markets (25%), exports concentration (12.5%), share of agriculture, forestry and fishery in GDP (12.5%) and the share of population living in low elevated coastal zone (25%). The shocks sub-index, which is a weighted average of 3 component indexes: the victims of natural disasters (25%), the instability in the agricultural production (25%), and the instability in exports of goods and services (50%). Components are built on different kinds of primary data (number, percent, index), which are normalized through a min-max procedure, to get component indices ranging from 0 to 100, with high scores corresponding to a high level of vulnerability. The sum of components' weights equals 1 so that the EVI is also lying between 0 and 100.	(Feindouno & Goujon, 2016)
EXG	Education expenditure	Government expenditure on education, total (% of GDP)	(UIS, 2018)
EXGS	Exports of goods and services	Exports of goods and services represent the value of all goods and other market services provided to the rest of the world. They include the value of merchandise, freight, insurance, transport, travel, royalties, license fees, and other services, such as communication, construction, financial, information, business, personal, and government services. They exclude compensation of employees and investment income and transfer payments.	(World Bank, 2017a)
EXT	External Intervention	The External Intervention Indicator considers the influence and impact of external actors in the functioning – particularly security and economic – of a state. On the one hand, External Intervention focuses on security aspects of engagement from external actors, both covert and overt, in the internal affairs of a state at risk by governments,	(FFP, 2017)

		armies, intelligence services, identity groups, or other entities that may affect the balance of power (or resolution of a conflict) within a state. On the other hand, External Intervention also focuses on economic engagement by outside actors, including multilateral organizations, through large-scale loans, development projects, or foreign aid, such as ongoing budget support, control of finances, or management of the state's economic policy, creating economic dependency. External Intervention also takes into account humanitarian intervention, such as the deployment of an international peacekeeping mission.	
GINI	Gini index	Gini index measures the extent to which the distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. A Lorenz curve plots the cumulative percentages of total income received against the cumulative number of recipients, starting with the poorest individual or household. The Gini index measures the area between the Lorenz curve and a hypothetical line of absolute equality, expressed as a percentage of the maximum area under the line. Thus a Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality.	(World Bank, 2017a)
GNIC	Gross national income per capita	Aggregate income of an economy generated by its production and its ownership of factors of production divided by its population	(World Bank, 2017a)
GOV	Government Effectiveness	Government Effectiveness captures perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies. Estimate gives the country's score on the aggregate indicator, in units of a standard normal distribution, i.e. ranging from approximately -2.5 to 2.5. It "captures perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies" (Kaufmann & Kraay, 2017a: 1). The methodology is further discussed by Kaufmann et al. (2010).	(Kaufmann & Kraay, 2017b)
GRI	Group Grievance	The Group Grievance Indicator focuses on divisions and schisms between different groups in society – particularly divisions based on social or political characteristics – and their role in access to services or resources, and inclusion in the political process. Group Grievance may also have a historical component, where aggrieved communal groups cite injustices of the past, sometimes going back centuries, that influence and shape that group's role in society and relationships with other groups. This history may in turn be shaped by patterns of real or perceived atrocities or "crimes" committed with apparent impunity against communal groups. Groups may also feel aggrieved because they are denied autonomy, self-determination or political independence to which they believe they are entitled. The Indicator also considers where specific groups are singled out by state authorities, or by dominant groups, for persecution or repression, or where there is public scapegoating of groups believed to have acquired wealth, status or power "illegitimately", which may manifest itself in the emergence of fiery rhetoric, such as through "hate" radio, pamphleteering, and stereotypical or nationalistic political speech.	(FFP, 2017)
HCR	UNHCR influence	Simple weighted composite ranking constructed out of three separate rankings each reaching from 1 as the case with the least influence, to 41 as the highest amongst the cases. 1) The first component considers UNHCR country-	(UNHCR, 2017g, 2017j; World Bank, 2017a)

		level expenditures in relation to the country's GDP as an average over the past five years from 2012 to 2016. 2) UNHCR country-level expenditures in relation to the number of refugees as an average over the past five years from 2012 to 2016 . 3) UNHCR country-level expenditures per refugee as an annual average of the past five years from 2012 to 2016 in relation to the country's GDP based on the aforementioned data sources. It is hypothesised that with higher UNHCR influence at country-level, the more its policies will be adopted, thus the higher the REPI[2].	
HDI	Human Development Index	A composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development—a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.	(World Bank, 2017a)
HUMR	Human Rights	The Human Rights and Rule of Law Indicator considers the relationship between the state and its population insofar as fundamental human rights are protected and freedoms are observed and respected. The Indicator looks at whether there is widespread abuse of legal, political and social rights, including those of individuals, groups and institutions (e.g. harassment of the press, politicization of the judiciary, internal use of military for political ends, repression of political opponents). The Indicator also considers outbreaks of politically inspired (as opposed to criminal) violence perpetrated against civilians. It also looks at factors such as denial of due process consistent with international norms and practices for political prisoners or dissidents, and whether there is current or emerging authoritarian, dictatorial or military rule in which constitutional and democratic institutions and processes are suspended or manipulated.	(FFP, 2017)
IGP	Geo-political interest	Super condition composed of: HCR, EXT, ODAG, SEC, DEM single-weighted	see composites
ISE	Socio-economic interest	Super condition composed of: EVI, ECD, GRI single-weighted	see composites
LAN	Availability of land	Availability of physical inclusion space measured as modified population density by hectares of arable land per inhabitant, where arable land is defined by the UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation	(World Bank, 2017a)
LIB	Political Rights and Civil Liberties	The average of a country's or territory's political rights and civil liberties ratings is called the Freedom Rating, and it is this figure that determines the status of Free (1.0 to 2.5), Partly Free (3.0 to 5.0), or Not Free (5.5 to 7.0). Political Rights and Civil Liberties are measured on a one-to-seven scale, with one representing the highest degree of Freedom and seven the lowest.	(FH, 2017)
LOC	Refugee residence location	indicates whether refugees reside in rural or urban self-settled (1), or managed camp (0) settings	(UNHCR, 2017c)
NGP	Geo-political norms	Super condition composed of: RPE, RAT, SLG single-weighted	see composites
NPGER	National primary gross enrolment rate	Number of students enrolled in a given level of education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the official school-age population corresponding to the same level of education.	(UIS, 2018)
NPNER	National primary net enrolment rate	Total number of students in the theoretical age group for a given level of education enrolled in that level, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that age group.	(UIS, 2018)
NSEC	Socio-economic norms	Super condition composed of: GINI, ECINQ single-weighted	see composites

NSEH	Human rights norms	Super condition composed of: LIB, HUMR, VAC single-weighted	see composites
ODAG	ODA as a ratio to GNI	Net official development assistance (ODA) consists of disbursements of loans made on concessional terms (net of repayments of principal) and grants by official agencies of the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), by multilateral institutions, and by non-DAC countries to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in the DAC list of ODA recipients. It includes loans with a grant element of at least 25 percent (calculated at a rate of discount of 10 percent).	(World Bank, 2017a)
PBS	Public Services	The Public Services Indicator refers to the presence of basic state functions that serve the people. On the one hand, this may include the provision of essential services, such as health, education, water and sanitation, transport infrastructure, electricity and power, and internet and connectivity. On the other hand, it may include the state's ability to protect its citizens, such as from terrorism and violence, through perceived effective policing. Further, even where basic state functions and services are provided, the Indicator further considers to whom – whether the state narrowly serves the ruling elites, such as security agencies, presidential staff, the central bank, or the diplomatic service, while failing to provide comparable levels of service to the general populace – such as rural versus urban populations. The Indicator also considers the level and maintenance of general infrastructure to the extent that its absence would negatively affect the country's actual or potential development.	(FFP, 2017)
PMY	Policy Mean Year	Mean year of policy issuance across the four policy documents considered in Refugee Education Policy Inclusion Index	author's thesis
POLS	Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism	Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism measures perceptions of the likelihood of political instability and/or politically-motivated violence, including terrorism. Estimate gives the country's score on the aggregate indicator, in units of a standard normal distribution, i.e. ranging from approximately -2.5 to 2.5.	(Kaufmann & Kraay, 2017b)
RAT	Ratification of treaties	Status of ratification of the 18 international human rights treaties and optional protocols	(OHCHR, 2017)
RCAP	Refugee hosting capacity	Host country's economic capacity to host refugees as the number of refugees relative to Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	(UNHCR, 2017g)
RCSE	Refugee socio-economic capacity	based on close reading of narrative year-end reports and analysis of related indicators (UNHCR, 2016i, 2017k). Due to limited data quality and inconsistency in data availability across cases as well as lack of comparability with data from previous years, it is not possible to adequately estimate refugees' socio-economic capacity, so that the condition is created as a binary variable where 0 refers to relatively lower capacity and 1 to relatively higher capacity within the set of 41 cases.	author's thesis
REFI	Refugees per inhabitants	Importance of refugee populations in host countries as a proportion of the national population	(UNHCR, 2017g)
REFS	Refugee education financial support	estimated by calculating the five-year average of UNHCR budget support to refugee education per school-age refugee (UNHCR, 2017i). It is dichotomised and coded 1 when this value is greater than 40 USD per child, and 0 if it is lower.	author's thesis

REI	Refugee Education Implementation	Calculated by multiplication of average of the coded values for ACC, CUR, ACT, BUD and average of CER, EMIS.	author's thesis
REN	Refugee bureaucratic entity	Indicates whether a country has a particular bureaucratic entity dealing with refugees as part of civilian administration; yes:1, no: 0	(UNHCR, 2016a)
REPI	Refugee Education Policy Inclusion	Index created by author for RQ 1.1 indicating degree of refugees' explicit inclusion across four types of national development policy documents	author's thesis
RHH	Refugee Hosting History	Degree of complexity of a country's refugee hosting history: a measure developed with the help of historical refugee hosting data by country of asylum and country of origin from 1951 to 2016. A ranking was created as a cumulative of four components each ranked individually: the cumulative sum of all refugees hosted since 1951, the annual average of refugees hosted relative to the current population size, the cumulative sum of all refugees hosted between 2012 and 2016, the annual average of refugees hosted between 2012 and 2016 relative to the current population size. The hypothesis here would be similar as for the REFI.	(UNHCR, 2017g)
RIDP	Refugees and IDPs	The Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons Indicator measures the pressure upon states caused by the forced displacement of large communities as a result of social, political, environmental or other causes, measuring displacement within countries, as well as refugee flows into others. The indicator measures refugees by country of Asylum, recognizing that population inflows can put additional pressure on public services, and can sometimes create broader humanitarian and security challenges for the receiving state, if that state does not have the absorption capacity and adequate resources. The Indicator also measures the Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) and Refugees by country of origin, which signifies internal state pressures as a result of violence, environmental or other factors such as health epidemics. These measures are considered within the context of the state's population (per capita) and human development trajectory, and over time (year on year spikes), recognizing that some IDPs or refugees for example, may have been displaced for long periods of time.	(FFP, 2017)
RISE	Refugee socio-economic integration	created by combining the means of two sets of indicators considering refugees' integration in policy and in practice. For one, it looks at the mean of three indicators: the extent to which socio-economic integration has been achieved, the extent to which local communities support the presence of refugees, and the extent to which refugees have access to work (UNHCR, 2017j). Secondly, it considers the mean of coded responses from a recent survey on questions relating to refugees' freedom of movement, access to banking services and loans, freedom to choose the place of residence, access to rent or own land, and whether refugees' right to work is upheld in practice (UNHCR, 2017b). Missing values are estimated through the analysis of qualitative information as well as by comparison with similar context values with the help of case knowledge.	author's thesis
RLEG	Refugee Legislation	Indicates whether a country has adopted specific refugee-related legislation; yes:1, no: 0	(UNHCR, 2016a)
RNER	Refugee net enrolment rate	Total number of students in the theoretical age group for a given level of education enrolled in that level, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that age group.	author's thesis

RPE	Refugee protection environment	Single weighted composite index that includes the following six elements: 1) Ratification of the 1951 Convention, its 1967 Protocol and absence of reservations to key articles 17.2 on employment, 22 on education, 26 on freedom of movement and 28 on travel documents; whereby a value of 1 is assigned to a 'State party' and 0 otherwise on the first to elements; 1 is assigned where no reservation exists, and 0 in case a reservation is in place. Subsequently, the sum is divided by the six potential maximum points. 2) The existence of domestic refugee law or policy coded 1, its absence 0. 3) The existence of a dedicated bureaucratic entity (within the ministry of interior or other ministry) dealing with refugee affairs, with or without support from UNHCR, coded 1, its absence 0. 4) Type of refugee settlements: encampment (0) versus self-settled in urban or rural areas (1). 5) The normalised average of 45 indicators relating to the protection environment from UNHCR's 2016 year-end report. 6) The assessment of the protection environment by close reading of key passages of UNHCR's narrative operations plans from 2016, coded from 0 as 'extremely unfavourable', to 1 as 'rather unfavourable', 2 'rather favourable', to 3 'extremely favourable'.	(UNHCR, 2010b, 2016a, 2017k; UNTC, 2017)
RPNER	Refugee primary net enrolment rate	Total number of students in the theoretical age group for a given level of education enrolled in that level, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that age group.	author's thesis
RSNER	Refugee secondary net enrolment rate	Total number of students in the theoretical age group for a given level of education enrolled in that level, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that age group.	author's thesis
SEC	Security Apparatus	The Security Apparatus indicator considers the security threats to a state, such as bombings, attacks and battle-related deaths, rebel movements, mutinies, coups, or terrorism. The Security Apparatus also takes into account serious criminal factors, such as organized crime and homicides, and perceived trust of citizens in domestic security. In some instances, the security apparatus may extend beyond traditional military or police forces to include state-sponsored or state-supported private militias that terrorize political opponents, suspected "enemies," or civilians seen to be sympathetic to the opposition. In other instances, the security apparatus of a state can include a "deep state", that may consist of secret intelligence units, or other irregular security forces, that serve the interests of a political leader or clique. As a counter example, the indicator will also take into account armed resistance to a governing authority, particularly the manifestation of violent uprisings and insurgencies, proliferation of independent militias, vigilantes, or mercenary groups that challenge the state's monopoly of the use of force.	(FFP, 2017)
VAC	Voice and Accountability	Voice and Accountability captures perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media. Estimate gives the country's score on the aggregate indicator, in units of a standard normal distribution, i.e. ranging from approximately -2.5 to 2.5.	(Kaufmann & Kraay, 2017b)

4. List of tables

Table 1: Six-point REPI² coding scale ... 83
Table 2: Operationalisation of potential explanatory factors ... 87
Table 3: Detailed mapping to situate cases in the two-dimensional space ... 100
Table 4: Operationalisation of potential explanatory factors for RNER outcome ... 106
Table 5: Interactive coded policy database ... 120
Table 6: Dichotomous truth table for 35 cases (produced with Tosmana) ... 129
Table 7: Analysis of necessary conditions at consistency level ≥ 0.8 for REPI outcome compared to ~REPI (produced with fs/qca) ... 137
Table 8: Summary of REPI solution pathways ... 153
Table 9: Detailed analysis of refugee education typology components ... 168
Table 10: Analysis of necessary conditions at consistency level ≥ 0.8 for REI outcome compared to ~REI (produced with fs/qca) ... 176
Table 11: Overview of REI parsimonious solution pathways emerging from Model 13 ... 185
Table 12: Analysis of necessary conditions at consistency level ≥ 0.8 for RNER outcome compared to ~RNER (produced with fs/qca) ... 210
Table 13: Seven groups of refugee education cases ... 214
Table 14: Overview of outcomes and key crisp-set conditions for the four cases ... 224
Table 15: Dichotomous data set for csQCA, Research Question 1.2 ... 255
Table 16: Fuzzy-set data for fsQCA sufficiency analysis, Research Question 1.2 ... 256
Table 17: Additional fuzzy-set data for fsQCA sufficiency analyses, Research Questions 2.2 and 3.2 ... 258

5. List of figures

Figure 1: Theory of Change – from problem to envisioned end goal ... 11
Figure 2: An incomplete Theory of Change; simplified model following Keystone (2009) ... 13
Figure 3: Humanitarian and developmental approaches to refugee education adapted from Dryden-Peterson (2016a: 198) ... 19
Figure 4: A simplified typology of systems of education provision and accreditation for refugees ... 49
Figure 5: A simplified representation of the Capability Approach following Sen (1999), Robeyns (2005) and Chiappero Martinetti (2006), subsequently applied to refugee education theory of change towards self-reliance ... 68
Figure 6: Supply and demand factors determining access to education for refugees: free adaptation and expansion of Tomasevski (2006a) ... 71
Figure 7: Map of 41 country cases ... 80
Figure 8: Operationalised fourfold typology of systems of education provision and accreditation for refugees ... 98
Figure 9: REPI² ... 123
Figure 10: Venn diagram explaining outcome 1 and considering logical remainders (adapted from Tosmana output) ... 132
Figure 11: Venn diagram explaining outcome 0 and considering logical remainders (adapted from Tosmana output) ... 134
Figure 12: X-Y Plot for REFI condition and REPI outcome ... 138
Figure 13: Broad typology of refugee education ... 164
Figure 14: Detailed typology of refugee education (marker size relative to number of cases) ... 171
Figure 15: Policy-practice gap in refugee education (X-Y Plot for REPI condition and REI outcome) ... 177
Figure 16: Illustrative subset relations between REI and REPI ... 180
Figure 17: Refugee enrolments at primary and secondary school level ... 205
Figure 18: Refugee inclusion and enrolments (X-Y Plot for REI condition and RNER outcome) ... 211
Figure 19: Refugee education policy, practice and net enrolments across the 41 cases (fuzzy scores) ... 212
Figure 20: Baseline for developmental approaches in refugee education and conditions for inclusion and access ... 247

6. List of hypotheses

Hypothesis	***Empirical analysis results***
Hypothesis 1: When aligned with states' interests, the respect for refugee protection norms are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches.	*confirmed*
Hypothesis 2: High relative refugee numbers are necessary but insufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches.	*confirmed*
Hypothesis 3: High relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of external intervention are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches even in the absence of political or socio-economic capacity.	*rejected: high relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of external intervention are sufficient only in combination with either socio-economic capacity or with political capacity.*
Hypothesis 4: High relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of socio-economic and / or political capacity are sufficient for the adoption of developmental policy approaches.	*confirmed*
Hypothesis 5: High relative refugee numbers in combination with high levels of geo-political interest-based factors resulting from security threats or demographic pressure on land and resources are sufficient for the non-adoption of developmental policy approaches when combined with low levels of government capacity.	*confirmed*
Hypothesis 6: Developmental policy approaches are not necessary for the inclusion of refugees in national education systems, but sufficient, where there is a favourable refugee protection environment, in combination with either socio-economic capacity or with targeted financial support to refugee education.	*partly confirmed: developmental policy is not necessary; sufficient in combination with capacity and support*
Hypothesis 7: A favourable normative environment where refugees have opportunities for socio-economic integration is sufficient for the inclusion of refugees in national education systems.	*confirmed*
Hypothesis 8: High relative refugee numbers combined with interest-based factors resulting from security threats are sufficient for the inclusion of refugees in national education systems.	*confirmed*
Hypothesis 9: High relative refugee numbers combined with interest-based factors resulting from demographic pressure are sufficient for the exclusion of refugees from national education systems.	*not confirmed for the set of cases as high relative refugee numbers in combination with demographic pressure do not sufficiently produce the exclusion of refugees from national systems*
Hypothesis 10: Humanitarian policy combined with an unfavourable protection environment is sufficient for the exclusion of refugees from national education systems.	*confirmed*
Hypothesis 11: Developmental policy or practice are not necessary for high enrolment rates, but they can be sufficient in combination with factors defining the supply of education, either host country education-specific socio-economic capacity or specific targeted support to refugee education.	*partly confirmed: developmental policy or practice are not necessary; sufficient only in combination with capacity and support*
Hypothesis 12: Certification is necessary for high enrolments and in combination with demand-side affordability and acceptability is sufficient.	*confirmed*
Hypothesis 13: Low demand- or supply-side factors are sufficient for low enrolments, particularly low affordability (lack of refugees' socio-economic capacity) and low accessibility and availability (lack of host country capacity without additional support).	*confirmed*
Hypothesis 14: Relatively few refugees combined with higher education capacity and a favourable protection environment are sufficient for higher enrolment rates in national education systems.	*not confirmed for the set of cases*
Hypothesis 15: Relatively high refugee numbers in an unfavourable protection environment are sufficient for lower enrolment rates in parallel education systems.	*rejected: lack of capacity combined with high relative refugee numbers produces low enrolment rates regardless of the type of education system in use*

7. Bibliography

Agamben, G. (1994). Au-Delà des Droits de L'homme: Exil et Citoyenneté Européenne. *Tumultes, 5 Figures de l'étranger : Immigrés, Nomades, Exilés*, 123-131.

Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 21*(2), 166-191.

Aguilar, P., & Retamal, G. (1998). *Rapid Educational Response in Complex Emergencies: A Discussion Document*. Geneva: International Bureau of Education.

Akyeampong, K., Djangmah, J., Oduro, A., Seidu, A., & Hunt, F. (2007). *Access to Basic Education in Ghana: The Evidence and the Issues*. Brighton: Centre for International Education, Sussex School of Education, University of Sussex.

Alix-Garcia, J., & Saah, D. (2008). *The Effects of Refugee Inflows on Host Country Populations: Evidence from Tanzania*. San Francisco: University of San Francisco.

Amenta, E., & Poulsen, J. D. (1994). Where to begin: A survey of five approaches to selecting independent variables for Qualitative Comparative Analysis. *Sociological Methods and Research, 23*(1), 22–53.

Amnesty International. (2017). *Amnesty International Report 2016/17*. London: Amnesty International.

Anderson, B. R. O. G. (1983). *Imagined Communities - Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anderson, M. B., & Woodrow, P. J. (1988). *An approach to integrating development and relief programming : an analytical framework*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, Graduate School of Education.

Appiah, E. N., & McMahon, W. (2002). The Social Outcomes of Education and Feedback on Growth in Africa. *The Journal of Development Studies, 38*(4), 27-68.

Apple, M. W. (1990). *Ideology and Curriculum*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Arnot, M., & Pinson, H. (2005). *The education of asylum-seeker and refugee children: A study of LEA and school values, policies and practices*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, Faculty of Education.

Babbie, R. (2012). *The Practice of Social Research*. Andover, Hampshire: Cengage Learning.

Baez, J. E. (2011). Civil wars beyond their borders: The human capital and health consequences of hosting refugees. *Journal of Development Economics, 96*(2), 391-408.

Bailey, K. D. (1994). *Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences: Typologies and taxonomies*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc. (electronic version).

Bakewell, O. (2008). Keeping Them in Their Place: The ambivalent relationship between development and migration in Africa. *Third World Quarterly, 29*(7), 1341-1358.

Ball, S. (1994). *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-Structural Approach*. Bristol, PA: Open University Press.

Barnett, L. (2002). Global Governance and the Evolution of the International Refugee Regime. *International Journal of Refugee Law, 14*(2 & 3), 238-262.

Bartlett, L., & Ghaffar-Kucher, A. (Eds.). (2013). *Refugees, Immigrants, and Education in the Global South: Lives in Motion*. New York: Routledge.

Baschieri, A., & Falkingham, J. (2009). Staying in school: assessing the role of access, availability, and economic opportunities – the case of Tajikistan. *Population, Space and Place, 15*(3), 205-224.

Becker, G. S. (1964). *Human capital : a theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Befani, B. (2016). *Pathways to change: Evaluating development interventions with qualitative comparative analysis (QCA)*. Stockholm: Expert Group for Aid Studies.

Bemma, A. (2018). Malaysia: a refugee conundrum. *The Lancet, 391*(10116), 107-108.

Bengtsson, S., & Naylor, R. (2016). *Education for Refugees and IDPs in Low- and Middle-Income Countries - Identifying Challenges and Opportunities*. London: Health & Education Advice & Resource Team (HEART) and Department for International Development (DFID).

Bennett, C. (2015). *The development agency of the future: Fit for protracted crises?* London: ODI.

Benson, C. (2004). *The Importance of Mother-Tongue Based Schooling for Educational Quality*. Paris: UNESCO.

Berg-Schlosser, D., & Cronqvist, L. (2009). Multi-Value QCA (mvQCA). In C. C. Ragin & B. Rihoux (Eds.), Configurational comparative methods: qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) and related techniques (chapter 4). Thousand Oaks, California; London: SAGE (electronic version).

Berg-Schlosser, D., & De Meur, G. (2009). Comparative Research Design: Case and Variable Selection. In C. C. Ragin & B. Rihoux (Eds.), Configurational comparative methods: qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) and related techniques (chapter 2). Thousand Oaks, California; London: SAGE (electronic version).

Betts, A. (2003). Public Goods Theory and the Provision of Refugee Protection: The Role of the Joint-Product Model in Burden-Sharing Theory. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 16*(3), 274-296.

Betts, A. (2009a). Development assistance and refugees - Towards a North-South grand bargain? *Forced Migration Policy Briefing 2*. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford.

Betts, A. (2009b). *Protection by persuasion : international cooperation in the refugee regime*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Betts, A., Bloom, L., Kaplan, J., & Omata, N. (2017). *Refugee Economies: Forced Displacement and Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (electronic version).

Betts, A., Bloom, L., & Omata, N. (2013). Humanitarian innovation and refugee protection. *RSC Working Paper No. 85*. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford.

Betts, A., Costello, C., & Zaun, N. (2017). *A Fair Share: Refugees and Responsibility-Sharing*. Stockholm: Delmi.

Betts, T. F. (1966). *Refugees in Eastern Africa: A Comparative Study*. London: Oxfam.

Betts, T. F. (1967). Conference on the Legal, Economic, and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 9–18 October 1967. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 5*(4), 561–564.

Bilgili, Ö., Fransen, S., Loschmann, C., & Siegel, M. (2018). *Is the education of local children influenced by living nearby a refugee camp? Evidence from host communities in Rwanda*. Helsinki: United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research.

Bird, L. (2003). *Surviving School: Education for Refugee Children from Rwanda 1994-1996*. Paris: UNESCO - International Institute for Educational Planning.

Black, R. (1994). Refugee Migration and Local Economic Development in Eastern Zambia. *Journal for Economic and Social Geography, 85*(3), 249–262.

Bloch, A., Chimienti, M., Counilh, A., Hirsch, S., Tattolo, G., Ossipow, L., & Wihtol de Wenden, C. (2015). *The children of refugees in Europe: aspirations, social and economic lives, identity and transnational linkages*. Geneva: Swiss Network for International Studies.

Boissiere, M. (2004). *Determinants of Primary Education Outcomes in Developing Countries*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Boswell, T., & Brown, C. (1999). The Scope of General Theory: Methods for Linking Deductive and Inductive Comparative History. *Sociological Methods & Research, 28*(2), 154-185.

Bradshaw, S. (2016). *The humanitarian-development divide*. Paper presented at Solutions Alliance Roundtable, 9-10 February 2016, Brussels, Belgium.

Bretthauer, J. M. (2014). *Pathways to Peace - Pathways to Conflict: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Social, Economic and Political Conditions in Situations of Resource Scarcity* (PhD), VU University Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Browne, E. (2016). *How does education affect migration from fragile and conflict-affected areas?* London: Health & Education Advice & Resource Team (HEART).

Buckland, S. (2006). *Making Assessment Count - A Look at Certification and Validation of Refugee Learners' Attainments.* (MA), University of Sussex, Sussex.

Buckland, S. (2011). From policy to practice: The challenges to educational access for non-nationals in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development, 31*(4), 367-373.

Buckner, E., Spencer, D., & Cha, J. (2017). Between Policy and Practice: The Education of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, fex027.

Burde, D., Guven, O., Kelcey, J., Lahmann, H., & Al-Abbadi, K. (2015). *What Works to Promote Children's Educational Access, Quality of Learning, and Wellbeing in Crisis-Affected Contexts. Education Rigorous Literature Review.* London: Department for International Development.

Bush, K. D., & Saltarelli, D. (2000). *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*. Florence: UNICEF.

Castles, S. (2008). *Understanding Global Migration: A Social Transformation Perspective*. Paper presented at Conference on Theories of Migration and Social Change, St Anne's College, Woodstock Road, Oxford.

CDG, & IRC. (2017). *Refugee Compacts: Addressing the Crisis of Protracted Displacement - Final Report of the Forced Displacement and Development Study Group*. Washington, DC & New York: Center for Global Development & International Rescue Committee.

Chauvin, E. (2015). L'aide humanitaire au Tchad : une ressource pour l'enclavement des réfugiés dans des camps ? Le cas des réfugiés de Centrafrique. In M. Redon, G. Magrin, E. Chauvin, L. Perrier-Brusle, & E. Lavie (Eds.), *Ressources mondialisées. Essais de géographie politique* (27-46). Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.

Chiappero Martinetti, E. (2006). Capability approach and fuzzy set theory: description, aggregation and inference issues. In A. Lemmi & G. Betti (Eds.), *Fuzzy Set Approach to Multidimensional Poverty Measurement*. New York: Springer.

Chimni, B. S. (1993). The Meaning of Words and the Role of UNHCR in Voluntary Repatriation. *International Journal of Refugee Law, 5*(3), 442-460.

Chimni, B. S. (1998). The Geopolitics of Refugee Studies: A View from the South. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 11*(4), 350-374.

Chrostowsky, M., & Long, D. E. (2013). Transnational Educational Capital and Emergent Livelihoods: Cultural Strategies Among Repatriated South Sudanese. In L. Bartlett & A. Ghaffar-Kucher (Eds.), *Refugees, Immigrants, and Education in the Global South: Lives in Motion* (85-98). New York: Routledge.

Church, C., & Rogers, M. M. (2006). *Designing for Results: Integrating Monitoring and Evaluation in Conflict Transformation Programs*. Washington, D.C.: Search for Common Ground.

Clemens, M. (2016). Development Aid to Deter Migration Will Do Nothing of the Kind. *Refugees Deeply* (31/10/2016). Retrieved from: https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/community/2016/10/31/development-aid-to-deter-migration-will-do-nothing-of-the-kind (Last accessed: 31/10/2016).

Clemens, M. A. (2014). Does Development Reduce Migration? *Discussion Paper No. 8592*. Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).

Cohen, E. (2017). *Education for inclusion? Refugee education policy in Jordan*. Paper presented at Beyond Crisis: Rethinking Refugee Studies, Keble College, University of Oxford.

Collier, P. (2007). *The Bottom Billion: Why The Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Collier, P., & Betts, A. (2017). *Refuge : transforming a broken refugee system*. London: Allen Lane.
Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers, 56*, 563-595.
Comim, F. (2001). *Operationalising Sen's Capability Approach*. Paper presented at Justice and Poverty: examining Sen's Capability Approach, Cambridge.
Comim, F., Qizilbash, M., & Alkire, S. (2008). *The capability approach : concepts, measures and applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cooper, B., & Glaesser, J. (2016). Analysing necessity and sufficiency with Qualitative Comparative Analysis: how do results vary as case weights change? *Quality & Quantity, 50*(1), 327-346.
Cooper, H. (2011). Prospects for the governance of refugee protection: Exploring the effect of an unbalanced level of asylum recognition rates amongst European countries. *Migration Studies Unit Working Papers No. 2011/10*. London: London School of Economics and Political Science.
Cordova, S. (2016). The reality of transitions. *Forced Migration Review*(52), 8-9.
Costello, C. (2017). On Refugeehood and Citizenship. In A. Shachar, R. Bauböck, I. Bloemraad, & M. Vink (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (717-741). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Crawford, N., Cosgrave, J., Haysom, S., & Walicki, N. (2015). *Protracted displacement: uncertain paths to self-reliance in exile*. London: Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute.
Crisp, J. (2001). Mind the gap! : UNHCR, humanitarian assistance and the development process. *New issues in refugee research, Working Paper 43*. Geneva: UNHCR.
Crisp, J. (2003). Refugee livelihoods and self-reliance: a brief history. *UNHCR Policy Development Evaluation Service Background Document*. Geneva: UNHCR.
Cronqvist, L. (2003). *Presentation of TOSMANA: Adding Multi-Value Variables and Visual Aids to QCA*. Paper presented at COMPASSS Launching Conference, 16-17 September 2003, Louvain-La-Neuve and Leuven.
Cronqvist, L. (2017). Tosmana [Version 1.54]. University of Trier. Retrieved from: http://www.tosmana.net (Last accessed: 04/10/2017).
Crul, M., Keskiner, E., Schneider, J., Lelie, F., & Ghaeminia, S. (2016). *No lost generation: Education for refugee children. A comparison between Sweden, Germany, The Netherlands and Turkey*. Paper presented at EUI Forum on Migration, Citizenship and Demography, Florence.
Crul, M. R. J. (2017). Refugee children in education in Europe: How to prevent a lost generation? *SIRIUS Network Policy Brief Series, 7*.
Crush, J., & Tawodzera, G. (2013). The Perilous Trek: Zimbabwean Migrant Children and Teachers in South Africa. In L. Bartlett & A. Ghaffar-Kucher (Eds.), *Refugees, Immigrants, and Education in the Global South: Lives in Motion* (54-69). New York: Routledge.
CTOC. (2016). What is Theory of Change? Retrieved from http://www.theoryofchange.org/what-is-theory-of-change/ (Last accessed: 09/09/2017)
Cuenod, J. (1989). Refugees: Development or Relief? In G. Loescher & L. Monahan (Eds.), *Calculated Kindness: Refugees and America's Half Open Door* (219-254). New York: Free Press.
Culbertson, S., & Constant, L. (2015). *Education of Syrian Refugee Children: Managing the Crisis in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
Czaika, M., & De Haas, H. (2013). The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies. *Population and Development Review, 39*(3), 487-508.
Dale, R. (1999). Specifying globalization effects on national policy: A focus on the mechanisms. *Journal of Education Policy, 14*(1), 1–17.

DARA. (2017). Refugee Response Index (RRI). Retrieved from http://daraint.org/2017/01/25/5420/refugee-response-index-rri/ (Last accessed: 08/02/2017)
Davies, L., & Talbot, C. (2008). Learning in Conflict and Postconflict Contexts. *Comparative Education Review, 52*(4), 509-517.
Davies, R. (2012). Blog post on the criteria for assessing the evaluability of a theory of change. Retrieved from http://mandenews.blogspot.co.uk/2012/04/criteria-for-assessing-evaluablity-of.html (Last accessed: 31/07/2017)
De Haas, H. (2007). Turning the Tide? Why Development Will Not Stop Migration. *Development and Change, 38*(5), 819-841.
De Meur, G., Rihoux, B., & Yamasaki, S. (2002). *L'analyse quali-quantitative comparée (AQQC-QCA) : approche, techniques et applications en sciences humaines*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia-Bruylant.
Deardorff, S. (2009). How long is too long? Questioning the legality of long-term encampment through a human rights lens. *Working Paper Series No. 54*. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford.
Demusz, K. (1998). From Relief to Development: Negotiating the Continuum on the Thai-Burmese Border. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 11*(3), 231-244.
Dercon, S. (2016). *Inequality, poverty and global development*. Paper presented at Oxford Martin School Michaelmas Term Lecture Series: Inequality, Oxford.
Devictor, X. (2016). *Forcibly Displaced - Toward a development approach supporting refugees, the internally displaced, and their hosts*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Devictor, X., & Do, Q.-T. (2016). How Many Years Have Refugees Been in Exile? *Policy Research Working Paper 7810*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Dewey, J. (1929). *Democracy and education: an introduction to the philosophy of education*. New York: The Macmillan company.
Dick, S. (2003). Changing the equation: Refugees as valuable resources rather than helpless victims. *The Fletcher Journal of International Development, 18*, 19-30.
Dodds, T. (1986). *Refugee education: the case for international action*. Cambridge, London: International Extension College; World University Service (UK).
Drèze, J., & Sen, A. K. (1995). *India : economic development and social opportunity*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Dryden-Peterson, S. (2011). *Refugee Education: A Global Review*. Geneva: UNHCR.
Dryden-Peterson, S. (2015a). *The Educational Experiences of Refugee Children in Countries of First Asylum*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
Dryden-Peterson, S. (2015b). Refugee education in countries of first asylum: Breaking open the black box of pre-resettlement experiences. *Theory and Research in Education*, 1-18.
Dryden-Peterson, S. (2016a). Policies for Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. In K. E. Mundy, A. Green, B. Lingard, & A. Verger (Eds.), *The handbook of global education policy* (189-205). Chichester, UK ; Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.
Dryden-Peterson, S. (2016b). Refugee Education: The Crossroads of Globalization. *Educational Researcher, 45*(9), 473–482.
Dryden-Peterson, S. (2017). Refugee education: Education for an unknowable future. *Curriculum Inquiry, 47*(1), 14-24.
Dryden-Peterson, S., Adelman, E., Bellino, M., & Chopra, V. (2018). *The Purposes of Refugee Education: Policy and Practice of Integrating Refugees into National Education Systems*. (under review).
Dryden-Peterson, S., Bellino, M. J., & Chopra, V. (2015). Conflict: Education and Youth. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (2nd edition ed., Vol. 4. 632–638). Oxford: Elsevier.
Dryden-Peterson, S., Dahya, N., & Adelman, E. (2017). Pathways to educational success among refugees: Connecting local and global resources. *American Educational Research Journal*.

Dryden-Peterson, S., Davison, L., Flemming, J., Kim, P., Lander, J., Lee, A., . . . Winters, M. (2015). *Harvard Graduate School of Education Refugee Education Policy Lab: Policy memos on access, quality and integration*. Cambridge: Harvard Graduate School of Education.

DuBois, M. (2016). Don't blur the lines between development and humanitarian work. *The Guardian* (12/05/2016). Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/may/12/dont-blur-the-lines-between-development-and-humanitarian-work (Last accessed: 10/09/2017).

Duffield, M. (2007). *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Duffield, M. R. (2001). *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*. London ; New York: Zed Books.

Dye, T. R. (1972). *Understanding Public Policy*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.

EAC. (2018). Chad country programme. Retrieved from https://educateachild.org/our-partners-projects/country/chad (Last accessed: 01/07/2018)

Easterly, W. (2006). *The white man's burden : why the West's efforts to aid the rest have done so much ill and so little good*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Easton-Calabria, E. E. (2015). From Bottom-Up to Top-Down: The 'Pre-History' of Refugee Livelihoods Assistance from 1919 to 1979. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 28*(3), 412-436.

ECW. (2016a). *Case for investment*: Education Cannot Wait - A Fund for Education in Emergencies.

ECW. (2016b). Global And National Organisations Announce $42 Million Investment In Education For Children Affected By Crises. Retrieved from http://www.educationcannotwait.org/global-and-national-organisations-announce-42million-investment-in-education-for-children-affected-by-crises/ (Last accessed: 01/07/2018)

Ellerman, D. (2005). *Helping people help themselves*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Ellis, S., & Barakat, S. (1996). From Relief to Development The Long-Term Effects of 'Temporary' Accommodation on Refugees and Displaced Persons in the Republic of Croatia. *Disasters, 20*(2), 111-124.

Enghoff, M., Hansen, B., Umar, A., Gildestad, B., Owen, M., & Obara, A. (2010). *In search of protection and livelihoods: socio-economic and environmental impacts of Dadaab refugee camps on host communities*. Nairobi: Danish International Development Assistance, Government of Norway.

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. (2018). *Education Statistics Annual Abstract, 2009 E.C. (2016/17)*. Addis Ababa: Federal Ministry of Education, Education Management Information System (EMIS) and ICT Directorate.

Federal Government of Malaysia. (2006). *Malaysia: Immigration Act, 1959-1963 (Incorporating all amendments up to 1 January 2006)*. Kuala Lumpur: The Commissioner Of Law Revision, Malaysia Under The Authority Of The Revision Of Laws Act 1968 In Collaboration With Percetakan Nasional Malaysia Bhd.

Feindouno, S., & Goujon, M. (2016). The retrospective economic vulnerability index, 2015 update. *Working Paper P147*. Clermont-Ferrand: Fondation pour les Etudes et Recherches sur le Développement International.

FFP. (2017). *Fragile States Index and CAST Methodology guide*. Washington DC: Fund for Peace.

FH. (2017). *Freedom In The World 2017: Populists And Autocrats - The Dual Threat To Global Democracy*. Washington DC: Freedom House.

Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E. (2011). Paradoxes of Sahrawi Refugees' Educational Migration: Promoting self-sufficiency or renewing dependency? *Comparative Education, 47*(4), 433-447.

Flores-Crespo, P. (2007). Situating Education in the Human Capabilities Approach. In M. Walker & E. Unterhalter (Eds.), *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education* (45-65). New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.

Fonchingong, C. C., & Fonjong, L. N. (2003). The Concept Of Self-Reliance In Community Development Initiatives In The Cameroon Grassfields. *Nordic Journal of African Studies, 12*(2), 196–219.
Francis, A. (2015). *Jordan's Refugee Crisis*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
Fransen, S., Siegel, M., & Vargas-Silva, C. (2016). *The Inter-Generational Impact of Conflict and Forced Displacement on Education: Evidence from Burundi*. Maastricht: UNU-MERIT, Swiss Development Cooperation.
Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
Fresia, M., & Von Känel, A. (2015). Beyond Space of Exception? Reflections on the Camp through the Prism of Refugee Schools. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 29*(2), 250–272.
Galtung, J., O'Brien, P., & Preiswerk, R. (Eds.). (1980). *Self-Reliance: a Strategy for Development*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture publications.
Glewwe, P. (2002). Schools and Skills in Developing Countries: Education Policies and Socioeconomic Outcomes. *Journal of Economic Literature, 40*(2), 436-482.
Glick, P., & Sahn, D. E. (2000). Schooling of girls and boys in a West African country: the effects of parental education, income, and household structure. *Economics of Education Review, 19*(1), 63-87.
Goodrick, D. (2014). Comparative Case Studies. *Methodological Briefs: Impact Evaluation 9*. Florence: UNICEF Office of Research.
Goodwin-Gill, G. (2008). The Politics of Refugee Protection. *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 27*(1), 8-23.
Gorman, R. F. (1993). *Refugee Aid and Development: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Greenwood.
Gouvernement de Djibouti. (2010). *Schema Directeur 2010-2019 du Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de l'Enseignement supérieur*. Djibouti: Ministère de l'éducation nationale et de l'enseignement supérieur, Inspection générale de l'éducation nationale.
Government of Kenya. (2011). *Strategic Concept Note on Refugee Education in Kenya (draft)*. Nairobi: Ministry of Education Directorate of Policy and Planning, UNHCR, UNESCO, UNICEF
Government of Papua New Guinea. (2010). *Papua New Guinea Medium Term Development Plan 2011-2015 - Building the foundations for prosperity* Port Moresby: Department of National Planning and Monitoring.
Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. (2003). *The National Refugee Policy*. Dar es Salaam: Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Home Affairs.
Government of Turkey. (2016). YOBIS. Retrieved from https://yobis.meb.gov.tr/ (Last accessed: 24/04/2018)
GPE. (2017a). Global Partnership for Education country pages. Retrieved from http://www.globalpartnership.org/about-us/developing-countries (Last accessed: 18/09/2017)
GPE. (2017b). How UNHCR and GPE support education in the Lake Chad Basin crisis. Retrieved from https://www.globalpartnership.org/blog/how-unhcr-and-gpe-support-education-lake-chad-basin-crisis (Last accessed: 01/07/2018)
GPE. (2018). *GPE's Work in Countries Affected by Fragility and Conflict*. Washington DC: Global Partnership for Education.
Grant, H. (2015). UN agencies 'broke and failing' in face of ever-growing refugee crisis. *The Guardian* (06/09/2015). Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/06/refugee-crisis-un-agencies-broke-failing (Last accessed: 10/09/2017).
Greer, S. (2016). John W. Kingdon, Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies. In M. Lodge, E. C. Page, & S. J. Balla (Eds.), The Oxford handbook of classics in public policy and

administration (chapter 29, 417-432). Oxford: Oxford University Press (electronic version).
Haddad, E. (2003). Refugee Protection: A Clash of Values. *The International Journal Of Human Rights, 7*(3), 1-26.
Hammerstad, A. (2017). *Global refugee policymaking in a time of resurgent nationalism*. Paper presented at Beyond Crisis: Rethinking Refugee Studies, Keble College, University of Oxford.
Handa, S. (2002). Raising primary school enrolment in developing countries: The relative importance of supply and demand. *Journal of Development Economics, 69*(1), 103-128.
Harild, N. (2016). Forced displacement: a development issue with humanitarian elements. *Forced Migration Review*(52), 4-7.
Harrell-Bond, B. E. (1986). *Imposing Aid: Emergency Assistance to Refugees*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Harrell-Bond, B. E. (1989). Repatriation: Under What Conditions Is It the Most Desirable Solution for Refugees? An Agenda for Research. *African Studies Review, 32*(1), 41-69.
Harrell-Bond, B. E., & Henry, C. J. K. (1989). *Beyond relief and rehabilitation : towards sustainable development in the North East Province of Sri Lanka*. Oxford: University of Oxford. Refugee Studies Programme.
Hathaway, J. (2005). *The Rights of Refugees Under International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hathaway, J. C. (1990). A Reconsideration of the Underlying Premise of Refugee Law. *Harvard International Law Journal, 31*(1), 129-184.
Hoffmann, A. M. (2006). The Capability Approach and Educational Policies and Strategies: Effective Life Skills Education for Sustainable Development. In V. Reboud (Ed.), *Amartya Sen : un économiste du développement?* Paris: Agence Française de Développement.
Hovil, L., & Kweka, O. (2008). Going Home or Staying Home? Ending Displacement for Burundian Refugees in Tanzania. *Citizenship and Forced Migration in the Great Lakes Region, Working Paper No. 1*: Centre for the Study of Forced Migration (CSFM), International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI), Social Science Research Council (SSRC).
Hyndman, J. (2000). *Managing displacement: refugees and the politics of humanitarianism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
IGAD. (2017). *Djibouti Declaration on rergional conference on refugee education in IGAD member states and Plan of Action*. Djibouti: Intergovernmental Authority on Development.
IIEP. (2018). *10th Medium-Term Strategy (2018-2021)*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning.
IIEP, & GPE. (2015). *Guidelines for education sector plan preparation*. Paris & Washington DC: International Institute for Educational Planning & Global Partnership for Education.
IMF. (2010). *Pakistan: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*. Washington DC: International Monetary Fund.
IMF. (2017a). International Monetary Fund Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers repository. Retrieved from http://www.imf.org/external/np/prsp/prsp.aspx (Last accessed: 18/09/2017)
IMF. (2017b). *Poverty Reduction Strategies in IMF-supported Programs* Washington DC: International Monetary Fund.
INEE. (2004). *Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises and Early Reconstruction*. Paris: UNESCO - Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies.
INEE. (2010). *Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response, Recovery* (2nd ed.). New York: Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies.
IOM, & UNHCR. (2011). *Protecting Refugees and Other Persons on the Move in the ECOWAS Space*. Dakar: IOM & UNHCR.
Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. (2017). *Afghanistan National Peace and Development Framework (ANPDF) 2017 to 2021*. Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

Jacobsen, K. (1996). Factors Influencing the Policy Responses of Host Governments to Mass Refugee Influxes. *The International Migration Review, 30*(3), 655-678.
Jacobsen, K. (2001). The forgotten solution: local integration for refugees in developing countries. *New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper No. 45*. Geneva: UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit.
Kagan, M. (2011). "We live in a country of UNHCR": The UN surrogate state and refugee policy in the Middle East. *New Issues in Refugee Research, Research Paper No. 201*. Geneva: UNHCR Policy Development and Evaluation Service.
Kaiser, T. (2005). Participating in Development? Refugee Protection, Politics and Developmental Approaches to Refugee Management in Uganda. *Third World Quarterly, 26*(2), 351-367.
Kaufmann, D., & Kraay, A. (2017a). Government Effectiveness. *Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) project.* Retrieved from http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/ge.pdf (Last accessed: 12/11/2017)
Kaufmann, D., & Kraay, A. (2017b). *Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) project*. Washington DC: World Bank Development Research Group, Natural Resource Governance Institute (NRGI) and Brookings Institution.
Kaufmann, D., Kraay, A., & Mastruzzi, M. (2010). The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 5430*. Washington DC: World Bank.
Kaur, A. (2007). Refugees and Refugee Policy in Malaysia. *UNEAC Asia Papers, 18*, 77-90.
Keystone. (2009). *Developing a theory of change: A guide to developing a theory of change as a framework for inclusive dialogue, learning and accountability for social impact (IPAL Guide 2)*. London: Keystone Accountability.
Kibreab, G. (1987). *Refugees and development in Africa : the case of Eritrea*. Trention, N.J.: Red Sea Press.
Kibreab, G. (1993). The myth of dependency among camp refugees in Somalia 1979-1989. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 6*(4), 321-349.
Kibreab, G. (1999). Revisiting the Debate on People, Place, Identity and Displacement. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 12*(4), 384-428.
Kingdom of Jordan. (2014). *Jordan 2025 - a national vision and strategy*. Amman: Kingdom of Jordan.
Kingdom of Jordan. (2017). *Jordan's Way to Sustainable Development - First national voluntary review on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda*. Amman: Kingdom of Jordan.
Kingdon, J. W. (2013). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* Pearson new international edition, 2nd ed. Harlow, United Kingdom: Pearson, (electronic version).
Kirk, J. (Ed.) (2009). *Certification Counts - Recognising the Learning Attainments of Displaced and Refugee Students*. Paris: UNESCO, IIEP.
Klees, S. J. (2016). Human Capital and Rates of Return: Brilliant Ideas or Ideological Dead Ends? *Comparative Education Review, 60*(4), 644-672.
Krasner, S. (1999). *Sovereignty: Organised Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Krause, U. (2013). *Linking refugee protection with development assistance : analyses with a case study in Uganda.* Nomos, Baden-Baden.
Krause, U. (2016a). *Entwicklungsorientierte Flüchtlingsarbeit: Aus der Vergangenheit lernen und für die Zukunft planen*. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
Krause, U. (2016b). Limitations of development-oriented assistance in Uganda. *Forced Migration Review*(52), 51-53.
Krogslund, C., Choi, D. D., & Poertner, M. (2015). Fuzzy Sets on Shaky Ground: Parameter Sensitivity and Confirmation Bias in fsQCA. *Political Analysis, 23*(1), 21-41.
Kroll, C. (2011). *Measuring Progress and Well-Being - Achievements and Challenges of a New Global Movement* Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Kroll, C. (2013). Global Development and Happiness: How can Data on Subjective Wellbeing Inform Development Theory and Practice? *: Vol. 2013. IDS Working Paper No 432*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
Kuch, A. (2017). Naturalization of Burundian Refugees in Tanzania: The Debates on Local Integration and the Meaning of Citizenship Revisited. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 30*(3), 468-487.
Küchenhoff, L., & Lourie, K. (2016). *The Education and Integration of 16- to 25-Year-Old Refugees and Other Humanitarian Migrants - Examples from Policy and Practice in IGC Participating States*. Geneva: Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees (IGC).
Kuhlman, T. (1994). *Asylum or aid? The economic integration of Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees in the Sudan*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Kupfer, M. (2016). Accessibility and Quality of Education for Refugees: A Case Study of Kyangwali Refugee Settlement. *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection, 2346*.
Lee, M. N. N. (1999). Education in Malaysia: Towards Vision 2020. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 10*(1), 86-98.
Little, A. (2000). Development Studies and Comparative Education: Context, Content, Comparison and Contributors. *Comparative Education, 36*(3), 279-296.
Loescher, G. (2001a). UNHCR and the erosion of protection. *Forced Migration Review, 10*, 28-30.
Loescher, G. (2001b). *The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Loescher, G., & Milner, J. (2005). *Protracted refugee situations : domestic and international security implications*. Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge for the International Institute for Strategic Studies.
Long, K. (2010). *Home Alone? A review of the relationship between repatriation, mobility and durable solutions for refugees*. Geneva: UNHCR.
Long, K. (2013). Back to where you once belonged - A historical review of UNHCR policy and practice on refugee repatriation. Geneva: UNHCR Policy Development and Evaluation Service.
Machel, G. (1996). *UN Study on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*. New York: UNICEF.
Mackie, J. (1974). *The Cement of the Universe: a Study of Causation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Mackintosh, K. (2000). *The Principles of Humanitarian Action in International Humanitarian Law*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
Macrae, J. (1999). *Aiding peace ... and war : UNHCR, returnee reintegration, and the relief-development debate*. Geneva: UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit.
Macrae, J. (2012). The continuum is dead, long live resilience. *NGO Voice*(15), 8-9.
Magee, A., & Pherali, T. (2017). Freirean critical consciousness in a refugee context: a case study of Syrian refugees in Jordan. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 1-17.
Mahoney, J. (2000). Strategies of Causal Inference in Small-N Analysis. *Sociological Methods & Research, 28*(4), 387-424.
Malkki, L. H. (1995a). *Purity and exile: violence, memory and national cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press.
Malkki, L. H. (1995b). Refugees and Exile: from 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 24*, 495-523.
Mas-Colell, A., Whinston, M. D., & Green, J. R. (1995). *Microeconomic Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Maystadt, J.-F., & Duranton, G. (2014). *The Development Push of Refugees : Evidence from Tanzania*. Lancaster: Lancaster University Management School.
McConnachie, K. (2012). Rethinking the 'Refugee Warrior': The Karen National Union and Refugee Protection on the Thai–Burma Border. *Journal of Human Rights Practice, 4*(1), 30-56.

McGrath, S. (2010). The role of education in development: an educationalist's response to some recent work in development economics. *Comparative Education, 46*(2), 237-253.
McMahon, W. (2004). The social and external benefits of education. In G. Johnes & J. Johnes (Eds.), *International handbook on the economics of education* (211-259). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Meda, L. (2018). Refugee Learners' Experiences of Curriculum Transition in South Africa. In T. Sequeira (Ed.), *Immigration and Development* (137-147). London: IntechOpen Limited.
Medina, I., Álamos-Concha, P., Castillo Ortiz, P. J., & Rihoux, B. (2017). Análisis Cualitativo Comparado (QCA). *Vol. 56. Cuadernos Metodológicos*. Madrid: CIS- Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
Mendenhall, M., Dryden-Peterson, S., Bartlett, L., Ndirangu, C., Imonje, R., Gakunga, D., . . . Tangelder, M. (2015). Quality education for refugees in Kenya: Pedagogy in urban Nairobi and Kakuma refugee camp settings. *Journal on Education in Emergencies, 1*(1), 92–130.
Mendenhall, M., Russell, S. G., & Buckner, E. (2017a). *Urban Refugee Education: Strengthening Policies and Practices for Access, Quality and Inclusion (Insights and recommendations from a 16-country global survey and case studies in Beirut, Nairobi, and Quito)*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University (Study funded by State Department Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration).
Mendenhall, M., Russell, S. G., & Buckner, E. (2017b). *Urban Refugee Education: Advocacy Priorities for Policies and Programs*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University (Study funded by State Department Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration).
Meyer, S. (2006). The 'refugee aid and development' approach in Uganda: empowerment and self-reliance of refugees in practice. *New Issues in Refugee Research, Research Paper No. 131*. Geneva: UNHCR.
Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (Eds.). (2010). *Encyclopedia of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.
Milner, J. (2013). Two steps forward, one step back: understanding the shifting politics of refugee policy in Tanzania. *New issues in refugee research, Research Paper 255*. Geneva: UNHCR.
Milner, J. (2014). Introduction: Understanding Global Refugee Policy. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 27*(4), 477-494.
Montenegro, C. E., & Patrinos, H. A. (2014). Comparable Estimates of Returns to Schooling Around the World. *Policy Research Working Paper 7020*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Moyo, D. (2008). *Dead aid : why aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa*. London: Allen Lane.
Naidoo, J., & Montoya, S. (2015). A Data Revolution for Education 2030. Retrieved from https://gemreportunesco.wordpress.com/2015/11/02/a-data-revolution-for-education-2030/ (Last accessed: 16/04/2018)
Napier-Moore, R. (2005). *Entrenched relations and the permanence of long-term refugee camp situations*. Brighton, Sussex: Sussex Centre for Migration Research.
Nicolai, S. (2016). *Education Cannot Wait: proposing a fund for education in emergencies*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
Nicolai, S., & Triplehorn, C. (2003). *The Role of Education in Protecting Children in Conflict*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
Nilsson, J., & Bunar, N. (2016). Educational responses to newly arrived students in Sweden: understanding the structure and influence of post-migration ecology. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 60*(4), 399-416.
Novelli, M., Higgins, S., Ugur, M., & Valiente, V. (2014). *The political economy of education systems in conflict-affected contexts: A rigorous literature review*. London: Department for International Development.

Novelli, M., & Smith, A. (2011). *The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: A synthesis report of findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone*. New York: UNICEF.
Nussbaum, M. C. (2006). Education and Democratic Citizenship: Capabilities and Quality Education. *Journal of Human Development, 7*(3), 385-395.
O'Neal, C. R., Gosnell, N. M., Ng, W. S., & Ong, E. (2018). Refugee-Teacher-Train-Refugee-Teacher Intervention Research in Malaysia: Promoting Classroom Management and Teacher Self-Care. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation, 28*(1), 43-69.
Obura, A. P. (2003). *Never again: educational reconstruction in Rwanda*. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.
OCHA. (2018). Financial Tracking Service. Retrieved from https://fts.unocha.org (Last accessed: 05/03/2018)
Ochel, W., & Rohwer, A. (2009). Reduction of Employment Protection in Europe: A Comparative Fuzzy-Set Analysis. *CESifo Working Paper Series*(2828).
OECD. (2008). *Handbook on Constructing Composite Indicators - Methodology and User Guide*. Paris: OECD Publications.
OECD. (2017). *Development Assistance and Approaches to Coherent Programming in Contexts of Forced Displacement - Guidance And Good Practice (DRAFT version)*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development - Development Assistance Committee.
Ogata, S. (1992). *Statement by Mrs. Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*. Paper presented at International Management Symposium, St. Gallen, Switzerland.
OHCHR. (2017). *Status of ratification of the 18 international human rights treaties and optional protocols*. Geneva: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.
Papademetriou, D., & Fratzke, S. (2016). *Beyond Care and Maintenance: Rebuilding Hope and Opportunity for Refugees*. Berlin: Migration Policy Institute.
Perumal, J. (2015). Responding with hospitality: Refugee children in the South African education system. *Education as Change, 19*(3), 65-90.
Pherali, T. (2013). Schooling in violent situations: the politicization of education in Nepal, before and after the 2006 peace agreement. *Prospects, 43*(1), 49-67.
Pherali, T., & Turner, E. (2018). Meanings of education under occupation: the shifting motivations for education in Palestinian refugee camps in the West Bank. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 39*(4), 567-589.
Prasertsi, S. (1983). *Education for Indochinese refugees : a programme for cultural revitalization and durable solutions*. Bangkok: Rural Friends Association.
Preston, R. (1991). The Provision of Education to Refugees in Places of Temporary Asylum: Some Implications for Development. *Comparative Education, 27*(1), 61-81.
PRIO. (2018). *Refugee Education: Building Durable Futures (REBuilD)*. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)
Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M. E., Cheibub, J. A., & Limongi, F. (2000). *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Psacharopoulos, G. (1994). Returns to Investment in Education: A Global Update. *World Development, 22*(9), 1325-1343.
Psacharopoulos, G. (2004). Returns to Investment in Education: A Further Update. *Education Economics, 12*(2), 111-134.
Psacharopoulos, G. (2014). *Benefits and Costs of the Education Targets for the Post-2015 Development Agenda - Post-2015 Consensus*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Consensus Center.
Ragin, C., & Davey, S. (2014). fs/QCA Version 3.0. Irvine: University of California. Retrieved from: http://www.socsci.uci.edu/~cragin/fsQCA/software.shtml (Last accessed: 24/10/2017).
Ragin, C. C. (1987). *The comparative method : moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies*. Berkeley ; London: University of California Press.

Ragin, C. C. (2008). *Redesigning social inquiry : fuzzy sets and beyond*. Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press.
Ragin, C. C., & Rihoux, B. (2009). *Configurational comparative methods: qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) and related techniques*. Thousand Oaks, California; London: SAGE (electronic version).
Republic of Djibouti. (2015). *SCAPE - Strategy of Accelerated Growth and Promotion of Employment 2015-2019*. Djibouti: Republic of Djibouti.
Republic of Kenya. (2014). *National Education Sector Plan, Volume One: Basic Education Programme Rationale and Approach 2013/2014 – 2017/2018*. Nairobi: Ministry Of Education Science And Technology.
Republic of Rwanda. (2010). *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010 – 2015*. Kigali: Ministry of Education.
Republic of the Sudan. (2012). *2nd Five-Year Plan (2012-2016) Vision, Mission, Challenges and Strategic Concerns, Objectives and Priorities plus Indicators*. Khartoum: Ministry of the Presidency Affairs, The General Secretariat of the National Council for Strategic Planning (NCSP).
Republic of Zambia. (1970). *The Refugees Control Act*. Lusaka: Republic of Zambia Retrieved from: http://www.parliament.gov.zm/sites/default/files/documents/acts/Refugees%20%28Control%29%20Act.pdf (12/07/2018).
Republic of Zambia. (2017a). *Educational Statistical Bulletin 2016*. Lusaka: Ministry of General Education, Directorate of Planning and Information.
Republic of Zambia. (2017b). *The Refugees Act, 2017*. Lusaka: Republic of Zambia Retrieved from: http://www.parliament.gov.zm/sites/default/files/documents/acts/The%20Refugees%20Act%20No.%201%20of%202017.pdf (12/07/2018).
République du Tchad. (2017). *Plan Intérimaire de l'Education au Tchad (PIET) 2018- 2020*. N'Djamena: Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Promotion Civique et Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Recherche et de l'Innovation.
RET. (2012). *La réintégration socio-scolaire des jeunes rapatriés au Burundi - Etude d'impact et des leçons apprises*. Bujumbura: RET - Protecting Through Education.
Rhodes, E., & Mansbach, R. (2007). The National State and Identity Politics: State Institutionalisation and "Markers" of National Identity. *Geopolitics, 12*(3), 426-458.
Rihoux, B., & De Meur, G. (2009). Crisp-Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (csQCA). In C. C. Ragin & B. Rihoux (Eds.), Configurational comparative methods: qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) and related techniques (chapter 3). Thousand Oaks, California; London: SAGE (electronic version).
Rihoux, B., & Ragin, C. C. (2009). Qualitative Comparative Analysis using Fuzzy Sets (fsQCA). In C. C. Ragin & B. Rihoux (Eds.), Configurational comparative methods: qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) and related techniques (chapter 5). Thousand Oaks, California; London: SAGE (electronic version).
Robertson, S. L., & Dale, R. (2008). Researching Education in a Globalising Era: Beyond Methodological Nationalism, Methodological Statism, Methodological Educationism and Spatial Fetishism. In J. Resnik (Ed.), *The Production of Educational Knowledge in the Global Era*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
Robeyns, I. (2005). The Capability Approach: a Theoretical Survey. *Journal of Human Development, 6*(1), 93 - 117.
Robeyns, I. (2006). Three models of education: Rights, capabilities and human capital. *Theory and Research in Education, 4*(1), 69-84.
Rostow, W. W. (1960). *The stages of economic growth : a non-communist manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Rutter, J. (2006). *Refugee children in the UK*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Sachs, J. (2005). *The end of poverty : economic possibilities for our time*. New York: Penguin Press.
Sachs, J. (2009). *Common wealth : economics for a crowded planet*. London: Penguin.
Saito, M. (2003). Amartya Sen's Capability Approach to Education: a Critical Exploration. *Journal of Philosophy of Education, 37*(1), 17-33.
Salinas, M. I. (2013). Exploratory Analysis of the Patterns of Missing Data in the UIS Education Database. *Statistical Journal of the IAOS: Journal of the International Association for Official Statistics, 29*(1), 3–10.
Sawade, O. (2007). *Towards a Future: Educational Certification for Refugees from Burma living in Thailand.* (MA), Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam.
Schäferhoff, M., Evans, D., Burnett, N., Komaromi, P., Kraus, J., Levin, A., . . . Jamison, D. T. (2015). *Estimating the costs and benefits of education from a health perspective*. Oslo, Berlin: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation – NORAD, SEEK Development – Strategic and Organizational Consultants GmbH.
Schneider, C., & Wagemann, C. (2012). *Set-Theoretic Methods for the Social Sciences: A Guide to Qualitative Comparative Analysis (Strategies for Social Inquiry)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Schneider, C. Q., & Rohlfing, I. (2013). Combining QCA and Process Tracing in Set-theoretic Multi-method Research. *Sociological Methods & Research, 42*, 559-597.
Schneider, C. Q., & Rohlfing, I. (2016). Case studies nested in fuzzy-set QCA on sufficiency: formalizing case selection and causal inference. *Sociological Methods & Research, 45*(3), 526-568.
Schultz, T. W. (1963). *The Economic Value of Education*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Seawright, J., & Gerring, J. (2008). Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options. *Political Research Quarterly, 61*(2), 294-308.
Sen, A. K. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Shields, R., & Paulson, J. (2015). 'Development in reverse'? A longitudinal analysis of armed conflict, fragility and school enrolment. *Comparative Education, 51*(2), 212-230.
Sinclair, M. (2001). Education in Emergencies. In J. Crisp, C. Talbot, & D. B. Cipollone (Eds.), *Learning For a Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries* (1-83). Geneva: UNHCR.
Sinclair, M. (2004). *Learning to live together : building skills, values and attitudes for the twenty-first century*. Paris: UNESCO, IBE.
Skaaning, S.-E. (2011). Assessing the Robustness of Crisp-set and Fuzzy-set QCA Results. *Sociological Methods & Research, 40*(2), 391-408.
Slaughter, A. (2009). *A surrogate state? The role of UNHCR in protracted refugee situations*. Geneva: UNHCR.
Smawfield, D. (1993). A Comparative Study of the Provision of Primary Education for Mozambican Refugees in Malawi and Zambia. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 6*(3), 286-295.
Smith, K. B. (2002). Typologies, Taxonomies, and the Benefits of Policy Classification. *Policy Studies Journal, 30*(3), 379-395.
Smith, M. (2004). Warehousing Refugees: A Denial of Rights, a Waste of Humanity. *World Refugee Survey 2004* (38-56). New York: U.S. Committee for Refugees.
Sommers, M. (2003). *The Education Imperative: Supporting Education in Emergencies*. Washington, D.C., New York: Academy for Educational Development and Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.
Soroos, M. (1990). A Theoretical Framework for Global Policy Studies. *International Political Science Review, 11*(2), 309–322.
Souter, J. (2014). Durable Solutions as Reparation for the Unjust Harms of Displacement: Who Owes What to Refugees? *Journal of Refugee Studies, 27*(2), 171-190.
Sperling, G. B., & Winthrop, R. (2016). *What Works in Girls' Education*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Spiegel, P. B. (2017). The humanitarian system is not just broke, but broken: recommendations for future humanitarian action. *The Lancet, Health in humanitarian crises 4*, 45-52.
Stein, B. (1994). *Returnee aid and development*. Geneva: UNHCR.
Stein, D., & Valters, C. (2012). *Understanding Theory Of Change In International Development*. London: Justice and Security Research Programme, International Development Department, LSE.
Steiner, N. (2000). *Arguing about asylum : the complexity of refugee debates in Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2016). New directions in policy borrowing research. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 17*(3), 381-390.
Stewart, F. (Ed.) (2008). *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict - Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Stiglitz, J. E. (2007). *Making globalization work*. London: Penguin.
Stiglitz, J. E., Sen, A., & Fitoussi, J.-P. (2010). *Mismeasuring Our Lives : Why GDP Doesn't Add Up*. New York: New Press.
Stilhoff Sörensen, J. (2012). The Failure of Statebuilding – Changing Biopolitics and the Splintering of Societies. *Development Dialogue*(58), 49-66.
Stone, L., & Winterstein, S. (2003). *A Right or A Privilege? Access to Basic Education for Refugee and Asylum-seeker Children in South Africa*. Pretoria: National Consortium for Refugee Affairs.
Stubbins Bates, E. (2015). Sophisticated Constructivism in Human Rights Compliance Theory. *European Journal of International Law, 25*(4), 1169-1182.
Suhrke, A. (1998). Burden-sharing during Refugee Emergencies: The Logic of Collective Action versus National Action. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 11*(4), 396-415.
Svevo-Cianci, K. A., Hart, S. N., & Rubinson, C. (2010). Protecting children from violence and maltreatment: A qualitative comparative analysis assessing the implementation of U.N. CRC Article 19. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 34*(1), 45-56.
Tan, T. M., Spiegel, P., Haskew, C., & Greenough, P. G. (2016). Does spending on refugees make a difference? A cross-sectional study of the association between refugee program spending and health outcomes in 70 sites in 17 countries. *Conflict and Health, 10*(28).
Tao, S. (2009). Applying The Capability Approach To School Improvement Interventions In Tanzania. *EdQual Working Paper, Quality No. 11*. Bristol: EdQual RPC.
Taylor, H. (2013). Refugees, The State and The Concept of Home. *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 32*(2), 130-152.
Taylor, S., & Sidhu, R. K. (2012). Supporting refugee students in schools: what constitutes inclusive education? *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 16*(1), 39-56.
The Sphere Project. (2004). *Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response*. Geneva: The Sphere Project.
Thiem, A., & Dusa, A. (2013). QCA: A Package for Qualitative Comparative Analysis. *The R Journal, 5*(1), 87-97.
Thomas, M. (2017). Turning the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework into reality. *Forced Migration Review, 56*, 69-72.
Thompson, S. (2013). *Delivery of education at scale to large refugee and conflict affected populations: What evidence exists regarding how to deliver education at scale to large refugee and conflict affected populations?* London: Health & Education Advice & Resource Team (HEART).
Thomson, S. (2017). Introduction to Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). *Qualitative Methods HT 2016*. Oxford: University of Oxford.
Tikly, L., & Barrett, A. M. (2011). Social justice, capabilities and the quality of education in low income countries. *International Journal of Educational Development, 31*(1), 3-14.
TKF. (2017). *Improving Education in Refugee Camps*. Klosters: The Klosters Forum.

Tomasevski, K. (2006a). *Human Rights Obligations in Education: The 4-A Scheme*. The Netherlands: Wolf Legal Publishers.
Tomasevski, K. (2006b). *The State of the Right to Education Worldwide: Free or Fee: 2006 Global Report*. Copenhagen.
Torres, C. A., Arnove, R. F., & Franz, S. (Eds.). (2012). *Comparative Education: the dialectic of the global and the local*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Türk, V., & Garlick, M. (2016). From Burdens and Responsibilities to Opportunities: The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework and a Global Compact on Refugees. *International Journal of Refugee Law, 28*(4), 656-678.
UIS. (2009). *Education Indicators: Technical guidelines*. Montreal: UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
UIS. (2016). *The Data Revolution in Education (Background Paper for the Learning Generation: Investing in education for a changing world)*. Montreal & New York: UNESCO Institute for Statistics & International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity.
UIS. (2018). UIS.Stat. Retrieved from http://data.uis.unesco.org/ (Last accessed: 16/06/2018)
UN. (1948). *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York: United Nations General Assembly.
UN. (2011). *United Nations Development Assistance Framework Republic of Yemen 2012-2015*. Sana'a: United Nations Country Team & Government of Yemen.
UN. (2012). *The South Africa-United Nations Strategic Cooperation Framework (UNSCF) 2013-2017*. Pretoria: Department of International Relations and Cooperation and United Nations Country Team.
UN. (2014). *United Nations Development Assistance Framework for Iraq 2015 – 2019*. Baghdad: United Nations Country Team & Government of Iraq & Kurdistan Regional Government.
UN. (2015). *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015 (A/RES/70/1)*. New York: United Nations.
UN. (2016a). *One humanity: shared responsibility - Report of the Secretary-General for the World Humanitarian Summit (A/70/709)*. New York: United Nations.
UN. (2016b). President Ismail Omar Guelleh addresses the Leaders Summit on Refugees on 20 September 2016. *Leaders' Summit on Refugees.* Retrieved from https://www.un.int/djibouti/news/president-ismail-omar-guelleh-addresses-leaders-summit-refugees-20-september-2016 (Last accessed: 27/05/18)
UN. (2016c). *United Nations Development Assistance Framework Republic of Uganda 2016-2020 - Delivering Together for a Nation on the Move*. Kampala: United Nations Country Team & The Republic of Uganda.
UNDG. (2017a). *United Nations Development Assistance Framework Guidance*. New York: United Nations Development Group.
UNDG. (2017b). United Nations Development Group Information Management System. Retrieved from https://ims.undg.org/public/countriesByStatusMap (Last accessed: 18/09/2017)
UNDP. (2017). *Technical notes - Human Development Report 2016*. New York: United Nations Development Program.
UNEG. (2016). *The Humanitarian-Development nexus: What do evaluations say about it?* : United Nations Evaluation Group (UNEG) Humanitarian Evaluation Interest Group (HEIG).
UNESCO. (1990). *World Declaration on Education for All and Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs*. Jomtien, Thailand: World Conference on Education for All.
UNESCO. (2008). *Mother Tongue Matters: Local Language as a Key to Effective Learning*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO. (2015). *Education 2030 Incheon Declaration: Towards inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning for all*. World Education Forum, Incheon, Korea: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2016a). *Global Education Monitoring Report: Education for people and planet: Creating sustainable futures for all*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO. (2016b). *Leaving no one behind: How far on the way to universal primary and secondary education?* Paris: UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report.
UNESCO. (2017a). *Global Education Monitoring Report: Accountability in education: Meeting our commitments*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO. (2017b). Planipolis. Retrieved from http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/ (Last accessed: 18/09/2017)
UNESCO, & UNHCR. (2016). *No More Excuses: Provide Education to All Forcible Displaced People*. Paris, Geneva: UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report, UNHCR.
UNGA. (1989). *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. New York: United Nations General Assembly.
UNGA. (2016). *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 19 September 2016: 71/1. New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants*. New York: United Nations.
UNHCR. (1953). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Addendum, 1952, General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session Supplement No. 16 (A/2126 and Addendum)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1955). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Ninth Session, Supplement No.13 (A/2648)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1966). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Twenty-first Session, Supplement No.11 (A/6311/Rev.1)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1968). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Twenty-second Session, Supplement No.11 (A/6711)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1969). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Twenty-third Session, Supplement No.11 (A/7211)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1970). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No.12 (A/7612)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1971). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No.12 (A/8012)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1985a). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Fortieth Session, Supplement No.12 (A/40/12)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1985b). *Review of upper level education: Assistance in four African countries*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1986). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Forty-first Session, Supplement No.12 (A/41/12)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1994). *Refugee Children: Guidelines on Protection and Care*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (1995). *Revised (1995) Guidelines for Educational Assistance to Refugees*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2003a). *Agenda for Protection*. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
UNHCR. (2003b). *Education Field Guidelines*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2004). *Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers - A Displacement Perspective*. Geneva: UNHCR.

UNHCR. (2007). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Sixty-second Session, Supplement No. 12 (A/62/12)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2010a). *Concept Note - Transitional Solutions Initiative UNDP and UNHCR in collaboration with the World Bank*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2010b). *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2011). *The 1951 Refugee Convention: Reservations and Declarations*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2012a). *Education Strategy 2012-2016*. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
UNHCR. (2012b). *UNHCR Uganda Strategy for Refugee Education 2013-2016*. Kampala: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2013a). *Egypt Refugee Education Strategy 2013-2016*. Cairo: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2013b). *Finding our Way: The Education Strategy for Refugees in Chad 2013-2016*. N'Djamena, Chad: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2013c). *Stratégie de l'éducation pour les réfugiés au Burkina Faso 2013-2015*. Ouagadougou: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2014a). *Lebanon Refugee Education - Strategic Notes*. Beirut: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2014b). *Strategic Orientation on the Education Response for Burundian Refugees in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2014c). *UNHCR Ethiopia National Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018*. Addis Ababa: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2014d). *UNHCR Malaysia Education Strategy 2015-2016*. Kuala Lumpur: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2014e). *UNHCR South Sudan Refugee Education Strategy 2014 – 2016: Enhancing the future of refugee children in South Sudan*. Juba: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2015a). *Alternatives to Camps: Making It Work. Good Practice and Guidance Series: Key Action #1: Settlement and Shelter Response*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2015b). *Chad Curriculum Transition Overview*. N'Djamena, Chad: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2015c). *Diagnostic Tool for Alternatives to Camps - 2015 Global Results*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2015d). *UNHCR Djibouti Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2017*. Djibouti: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2015e). *Zambia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2019*. Lusaka: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2016a). *2016 Narrative Operations Plan*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2016b). *The Data Manifesto - The data revolution and UNHCR (draft)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2016c). *Diagnostic Tool for Alternatives to Camps - 2016 Global Results*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2016d). *Education Programme Outreach Country Survey*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2016e). *Education Technical Mission Report Bangladesh*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2016f). *History of general food ration cuts in the refugee camps in Chad*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2016g). *Missing Out: Refugee Education in Crisis*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2016h). *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees covering the period 1 July 2015 - 30 June 2016 (A/71/12)*. New York: United Nations.
UNHCR. (2016i). *Year-end reports 2015*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017a). *Country operations plans 2018*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017b). *Diagnostic Tool for Alternatives to Camps - 2017 Global Results*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017c). *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017d). *Left Behind: Refugee Education in Crisis*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017e). *Note on International Protection: Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme Standing Committee 69th meeting*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017f). *Persons in need of international protection*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017g). Population Statistics. Retrieved from http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview (Last accessed: 12/10/2017)

UNHCR. (2017h). *UNHCR's Strategic Directions 2017–2021*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017i). *Update on education (EC/68/SC/CRP.20 Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme - Standing Committee 69th meeting)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017j). *Year-End Indicator Export Report 2016*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2017k). *Year-end reports 2016*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2018a). 108 schools located in refugee camps and settlements now declared official Chadian schools. Retrieved 18/07/2018, from UNHCR http://www.globalcrrf.org/crrf_highlight/108-schools-located-in-refugee-camps-and-settlements-now-declared-official-chadian-schools/
UNHCR. (2018b). *2017 Global Strategic Priorities Progress Report*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2018c). CRRF Global Digital Portal. Retrieved from http://www.globalcrrf.org/ (Last accessed: 12/07/2018)
UNHCR. (2018d). *The global compact on refugees (Final Draft as at 26 June 2018)*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2018e). *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2017*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2018f). Operational Portal. Retrieved from http://data.unhcr.org/ (Last accessed: 12/07/2018)
UNHCR. (2018g). *Tanzania Refugee Education Response Plan 2018-2019*. Dar es Salaam: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2018h). *Turn The Tide: Refugee Education in Crisis*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR. (2018i). *Year-end reports 2017*. Geneva: UNHCR.
UNHCR, & GPE. (2016). *Memorandum Of Understanding between The Office Of The United Nations High Comissioner For Refugees and The Global Partnership For Education Secretariat on Cooperation and Partnership*. Geneva and Washington DC: UNHCR and GPE.
UNHCR, & OPM. (2017). *Evaluation of UNHCR's implementation of three of its protection strategies: the Global Education Strategy, the Updated SGBV Strategy, and the Child Protection Framework*. Geneva: UNHCR Evaluation Service and Oxford Policy Management.
UNHCR Pakistan. (2016). *Mapping of Education Facilities and Refugee Enrolment in Main Refugee Hosting Areas of Pakistan*. Islamabad: UNHCR Pakistan.
UNICEF. (2017). *Chad: Rethinking Education in Emergencies Interventions to Break the Vicious Circle of Underdevelopment and Humanitarian Crisis*. N'Djamena: Chad Education Cluster.
United Republic of Tanzania. (2018). *Note Verbale on the Government's position on refugee matters*. Dar Es Salaam: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and East African Corporation.
UNTC. (2017). *Status of Treaties. Chapter V Refugees and Stateless Persons, 2. Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Geneva, 28 July 1951*. New York: United Nations Treaty Collection.
Unterhalter, E. (2003). Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries: the Potential of Sen's Capability Approach for Sociologists of Education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 24*(5), 665-669.
Urdal, H. (2006). A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence. *International Studies Quarterly, 50*, 607-629.
Vaughan, R., Unterhalter, E., & Walker, M. (2007). The capability approach and education. *Prospero, 13*(3), 13-21.
Verdirame, G., Harrell-Bond, B. E., Lomo, Z., Garry, H., & Sachs, A. (Eds.). (2005). *Rights in exile: Janus-faced humanitarianism*. New York: Berghahn Books.
Vis, B. (2007). States of welfare or states of workfare? Welfare state restructuring in 16 capitalist democracies, 1985–2002. *Policy & Politics, 35*(1), 105–122.
Vogel, I. (2014). *Review of the use of 'Theory of Change' in international development*. London: UK Department of International Development.

Wagemann, C., & Schneider, C. Q. (2010). Standards Of Good Practice In Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) And Fuzzy-Sets. *Comparative Sociology, 9*(3), 397-418.
Walker, M. (2005). Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Education. *Educational Action Research, 13*(1), 103-110.
Walker, M., & Unterhalter, E. (2007). *Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*. London/New York: Palgrave.
Waters, T., & Leblanc, K. (2005). Refugees and Education: Mass Public Schooling without a Nation-State. *Comparative Education Review, 49*(2), 129-147.
Weber, M. (1949). *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
Weiss-Yagoda, J. (2017). The Difficulty with Data. Retrieved from http://www.ineesite.org/en/blog/the-difficulty-with-data (Last accessed: 17/01/2017)
Whitaker, B. (2002). Refugees in Western Tanzania: The Distribution of Burdens and Benefits among Local Hosts. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 15*(4), 339-358.
Wigley, S., & Akkoyunlu-Wigley, A. (2006). Human Capabilities Versus Human Capital: Gauging the Value of Education in Developing Countries. *Social Indicators Research, 78*(2), 287-304.
Wimmer, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation–state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks, 2*, 301-334.
Winthrop, R., & Matsui, E. (2013). *A New Agenda for Education in Fragile States*. Washington DC: Brookings.
World Bank. (2011). Changes in Country Classifications. Retrieved from https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/changes-country-classifications (Last accessed: 01/07/2018)
World Bank. (2015). *Forced Displacement in the Great Lakes Region - A development approach*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group, Korea Trust Fund, UNHCR.
World Bank. (2017a). DataBank. Retrieved from http://databank.worldbank.org/data/home.aspx (Last accessed: 11/10/2017)
World Bank. (2017b). World Bank online searchable document repository. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/ (Last accessed: 18/09/2017)
World Bank. (2018). IDA18 Regional Sub-Window for Refugees and Host Communities. Retrieved from http://ida.worldbank.org/financing/replenishments/ida18-overview/ida18-regional-sub-window-for-refugees-host-communities (Last accessed: 08/09/2018)
Yamasaki, S., & Rihoux, B. (2009). A Commented Review of Applications. In C. C. Ragin & B. Rihoux (Eds.), Configurational comparative methods: qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) and related techniques (chapter 6). Thousand Oaks, California; London: SAGE (electronic version).
Zetter, R. (2014). *Reframing Displacement Crises as Development Opportunities (Prepared for the Roundtable on Solutions, Copenhagen, 2-3 April 2014)*. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre.
Zeus, B. (2011). Exploring Barriers to Higher Education in Protracted Refugee Situations: The Case of Burmese Refugees in Thailand. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 24*(2), 256-276.
Zeus, B. (2017). *Refugee education field notes from Bangladesh, Burundi, Chad, DR Congo, Kenya, Thailand and Zambia 2004-2016*. (Unpublished)
Zolberg, A. R., Suhrke, A., & Aguayo, S. (1992). *Escape from violence conflict and the refugee crisis in the developing world*. New York Oxford: Oxford University Press.