

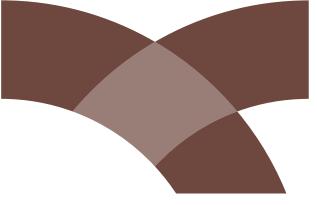
A programme of **education above all**[™]

ENSURING HIGH QUALITY PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN FROM MOBILE POPULATIONS

A DESK STUDY

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Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development





FOREWORD

Mobility is a complex social, political and economic phenomenon. For many, including nomadic pastoralists, mobility is a livelihood strategy that is used to help manage livestock in environments of scarcity. For refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs), in contrast, mobility is primarily a strategy for survival. For seasonal migrants, mobility falls somewhere in between, as a means of accessing vital income-generating opportunities. While the reasons for their mobility differ widely, and from context to context, these groups share the common characteristic of being amongst the world's most economically, politically and educationally marginalised populations.

Of the more than 60 million primary school-aged children who are not currently attending school, a significant number are children from mobile populations. The services that policy makers and planners design rarely match their needs, because they focus by default on sedentary populations. As a result, children of mobile populations face enormous challenges in even accessing an education in the first place. If access becomes possible, consistent participation in relevant, good quality education provision is a further challenge: these children are, also, overrepresented amongst the millions of children actually in school who have not acquired basic literacy and numeracy skills. In countries and regions where mobile populations constitute large minorities or indeed the majority of the population, developing high-quality, innovative, relevant, cost-effective and sustainable strategies of education service provision is a pre-requisite for meeting their needs and achieving the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) ambition of quality, equitable and inclusive primary education.

It is with this in mind that the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) – on behalf of BMZ (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) – and Educate A Child (EAC) commissioned this desk study to review the literature concerning primary education for children from mobile populations and investigate experiences from ongoing or past education programmes for primary-school children. Amongst its many recommendations, the study points to the need for comprehensive, contextualised policies and targeted resource optimisation strategies. It recommends increased inter-sectoral and cross-sectoral collaboration, and multi-sectoral solutions that recognise and capitalise on the links between different development sectors and actors. The study also calls for the nurturing of strong relationships between government and other stakeholders, the bolstering of knowledge-sharing platforms that support reciprocal learning, the willingness amongst a range of stakeholders to consider vulnerable groups beyond organisational mandates, and the use of existing policy frameworks and networks to leverage support and develop strategies for collective action.

We hope that the study's findings inform programming, contribute to knowledge building and feed into policy dialogue and advocacy. The authors extend their thanks to the interviewees who shared their experience and offered many valuable insights; and to GIZ/BMZ (Dr Maria Rockenfeller) and EAC (Said Yasin) not only for commissioning the study and giving feedback, but also for providing opportunities to enrich the report by sharing findings along the way with a wide range of stakeholders.

Educate A Child

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit/ German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABEK	Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (Uganda)
ABET	Alternative Basic Education for Turkana (Kenya)
AE	Accelerated Education
AEP	Accelerated Education Programme
ALP	Accelerated Learning Programme
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
BMZ	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
BRAC	Building Resources Across Communities
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CPR	Chronic Poverty Report
CRC	Cluster Resource Centre
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DARET	Developing Appropriate and Relevant Education and Training
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
EAC	Educate A Child
ECCE	Early Childhood Care and Education
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EFA	Education for All
EGRA	Early Grades Reading Assessment
EiE	Education in Emergencies
EMACK	Educational for Marginalised Communities Kenya
EMIS	Educational Management Information System
EU	European Union
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
HIC	High Income Countries
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IASFM	International Association for the Study of Forced Migration
ICDS	Integrated Children Development Service
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
	International Non-Governmental Organisation Instant Network Schools
INS IPCC	
IPEC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IRC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour International Rescue Committee
	Low and Middle Income Countries
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MDG	



M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MOE	Ministry of Education
NACONEK	National Council for Nomadic Education Kenya
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OBC	Other Backward Class
ODA	Overseas Development Agency (now DFID) UK
OOSC	Out of School Children
OPT	Occupied Palestinian Territory
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PEP	Pastoralist Education Programme (Sudan)
SC	Scheduled Caste
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SMC	School Management Committee
SRGBV	School-Related Gender-Based Violence
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
ST	Scheduled Tribe
TEP	Teacher Education Pack
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
YEP	Youth Education Pack
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Quality education is an enabling right and an effective means through which other rights can be accessed. While significant global progress has been made towards enrolment in primary education, continuing problems with both access and quality disproportionately affect children from mobile populations. Children from these populations are often poorly visible in education policies – and in datasets that inform development policies in general. The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) agenda's intentions of 'leaving no one behind' and attempting to 'reach the furthest behind first' require a concerted effort to understanding the challenges of access, participation and retention for mobile children, and to developing cost effective and sustainable strategies that provide them with high-quality primary education opportunities.

This study focuses on provision for primary school-aged children amongst communities of refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDPs), mobile pastoralists and seasonally migrating workers. For refugee and IDP children, policy, coordination and implementation challenges include: inconsistent ratification and enforcement of conventions and agreements protecting refugees and IDPs; the disproportionate impact of forced displacement on low and middle income countries (LMICs); the lack of a shared agenda among a wide range of stakeholders with differing mandates; and inadequate forced displacement terminology. Promising and emerging policy, coordination and implementation strategies include: expanding existing rights documents and agreements and building policy from the ground up; enshrining forcibly displaced people's rights to education in national laws and policy; genuine engagement with affected communities; utilising the Education Cluster and other existing multi-stakeholder networks for knowledge sharing and collaboration; and collaborating across sectors to address the needs of the whole child. Financing challenges include: unpredictable and low funding for refugee and IDP education; weak capacity to absorb funds at the national and local level; an over-reliance on short-term financing mechanisms; donor dependence and a lack of funding sustainability; and inappropriate distribution of funds within education programming. Financing strategies include: harmonising financial support; developing common financing platforms for education in crisis contexts and mobilising support from the private sector; transitioning from short-term to long-term funding mechanisms and funding based on holistic systems analysis; and working with existing national institutions/mechanisms and communities. Access and participation challenges include: inconsistent and incomplete data on enrolment, retention and completion rates; huge variations in barriers to enrolment and continued attendance and enrolment rates globally; double disadvantage for certain groups, including girls and children with disabilities; and self-exclusion by children from school because opportunity costs are too high, benefits are inadequate or quality is too low. Access and participation strategies include: removing access barriers through policy innovation; diversifying education models and supporting accelerated education; addressing equity issues and targeting the doubly disadvantaged; expanding and improving infrastructure and employing mobile schools/temporary infrastructure; using technology to expand education access; addressing safety and establishing a 'culture of psychosocial support'; and building communities' confidence in education provision and ensuring the benefits of education are higher than costs. Quality and relevance challenges include: problems with collecting



data on education quality; difficulties in ensuring that what refugees and IDPs learn is meaningful, useful and accessible; un- or under-qualification of teachers; lack of research on how to recruit, support and retain highly qualified and motivated teachers; lack of access to effective accreditation/certification mechanisms; and limited opportunities for both formal and formative assessment. **Quality and relevance strategies** include: balancing host and home curricula; learning to differentiate/modify curriculum to support a diverse range of learners; training effective teachers through context-responsive programming and ongoing professional development and addressing teacher well-being, motivation, support and remuneration; and supporting quality assessment and certification systems by building on effective past and current practice.

For children of pastoralist and seasonally migrating families, **policy, coordination and** implementation challenges include: low policy visibility; a legacy of mis-recognition in policy for pastoralists; policy and implementation gaps; and inadequate legal frameworks. Policy, coordination and implementation strategies in response include: advocacy, visibility-raising and establishing focused policies and institutions; leveraging rights and other relevant forms of legislation to promote education inclusion; and promoting and strengthening capacities for effective context-specific governance. Financing challenges include: generally insufficient funds and dependence on external sources; limitations of making education fee-free; and opportunity costs. Financing strategies include: developing flexible financing strategies at scale that respond to community demand; recognising community-level provision and inkind contributions; using social protection to cushion households in poverty. Access and participation challenges are numerous and include: significant weaknesses of evidence on rates of enrolment, retention and achievement; poor systemic accountability for ensuring good quality learning opportunities and contextualising programming; limitations of both schooling network and enabling infrastructure; absence of the requisite flexibility to accommodate mobility; informal mechanisms of exclusion at the school level; and a wide range of issues concerning how to expand delivery modalities (residential schools, mobile schools, Alternative Basic Education, distance/ICT-supported education) at scale with due and consistent regard for both quality and equity. Access and participation strategies include 'mainstream' innovations focusing on making the formal schooling system more flexible, which include learner tracking, support mechanisms for learners, and promotion of effective decentralised working through capacity development and awareness raising amongst both providers and users of education services; and 'alternative' approaches that attempt to accommodate mobility, such as mobile schools and distance provision. Quality and relevance challenges often cross-cut access and participation challenges: additional issues identified include the often poor relevance of curricular content to livelihood sustainability, lack of a shared language for classroom communications, difficulties with teacher retention and widespread absence of the necessary multi-sectoral approach to planning. Quality and relevance strategies include curricular innovation, generally based on participatory consultations with services users, language support and provision of contextualised learning materials, providing mobile camel or donkey libraries and providing specialist inputs to teacher education.

The study recommends that more resources are focused on **supporting the generation of strong, country-specific evidence** that is missing and/or poorly accessible. It points out that,



while all children from mobile populations are at high risk of marginalisation within education, there is a **skew in policy and financial attention towards the refugee crisis**. Consequently, children who are **internally displaced** or from **pastoralist and seasonally migrating families are at risk** of being left even further behind. The study cautions that **attempts to improve access** for 'hard-to-reach' children at scale may **perpetuate social and structural inequalities** unless **community engagement and quality and relevance of provision** are carefully considered. Its final recommendation is for inter-sectoral collaboration and cross-sectoral working based on the following principles:

- Building/maintaining strong relationships between government and other stakeholders.
- Establishing knowldedge-sharing platforms that support reciprocal learning.
- Demonstrating a willingness to consider vulnerable groups beyond organisational mandates.
- Using existing policy frameworks and networks to leverage support and develop strategies for collective action.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of problem

Education was recognised as a human right by the global community in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Since then, education researchers and practitioners have advocated for education as a key element of development, citing evidence of the value of quality education as an enabling right or an effective mechanism through which other rights can be accessed. Universal Primary Education (UPE) is now an international priority, enshrined in former and current global agendas, including the Education for All (EFA) movement, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and, most recently, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). While rapid and significant progress has been made towards primary enrolment, it has flat-lined at around 90 per cent in low and middle income countries (LMICs). The last 10 per cent of primary school-age children are proving very hard to reach. Further, half of the world's children who have not mastered basic literacy or numeracy are actually in school, which suggests there are major problems with educational quality (UNESCO 2014). These problems with access and quality disproportionately affect children from mobile populations, including those who have been forcibly displaced as a result of conflict or natural disaster, and the children of pastoralists and seasonally migrating families. Such children are often invisible in national and global data (UNESCO 2010) and largely unaccounted for in development policies, which are implicitly designed for people who are mostly sedentary and/or who have a legal, permanent residential claim to the area in which they live (Danaher et al. 2009).

The ambitious SDG agenda, with its 17 goals, explicitly pledges in its framing documents to 'leave no one behind' and to attempt to 'reach the furthest behind first' (UN 2015). Within education, this requires a concerted effort to understand the many challenges faced by mobile children in accessing education, and to develop innovative, relevant, cost-effective and sustainable strategies and interventions to provide high-quality primary education opportunities for these children. Such efforts are imperative in order to prevent the emergence of so-called 'lost generations' or children who miss out on an entire formal school cycle. While efforts to extend educational services to children from mobile populations have expanded during the EFA period, there remains a paucity of analysis on the effectiveness of past and current programmes and methodologies used to deliver education services to mobile children. Without an extensive survey of existing and emerging research and detailed analysis, there is a gap in the evidence, which prevents the identification of quality and cost-effective approaches that are worth investment in terms of time, money and human resources, and that can be modified and/or scaled up to meet specific demands from mobile populations.



1.2 Aim of study

The aim of the study is **to review literature concerning education for children from mobile populations** and **investigate experiences from ongoing or past education programmes for primary-school children from mobile populations** through semi-structured interviews with a range of education professionals around the world. Commissioned by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) – on behalf of BMZ (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) – and Educate A Child (EAC), the study intends to inform programming, contribute to knowledge building and feed into policy dialogue and advocacy. Its main intended audiences are education practitioners, who are looking for a summary of some of the many challenges faced by mobile children and/or examples of effective and cost-effective strategies and approaches. The study is also likely to be useful for researchers, education experts and political decision makers.

1.3 Methodology

The study consists of two main components:

- **1.** An extensive (but not systematic) **literature review** of scholarly and so-called 'grey' literature.
- **2.** A **set of semi-structured interviews** with a range of education stakeholders around the world.

The authors' significant experience in researching education and development issues for mobile populations enabled them to conduct an initial purposive literature search, based on prior research and a keyword search of academic and practitioner databases, including Education Research Complete, Eldis, EBSCOHost, etc. In consultation with EAC and GIZ/ BMZ colleagues, a set of guiding questions was developed to support literature analysis and a semi-structured interview guide used with practitioners working on education for children from mobile populations (Appendices A, B).

Using a combination of convenience and snowball sampling (drawing from the authors' own contacts and contacts recommended by EAC and GIZ/BMZ), 29 education stakeholders were identified and interviewed (Appendix C). EAC and GIZ/BMZ were interested in capturing a range of perspectives, so the final interview list included local, national and international NGO representatives, donor representatives, academics, consultants, local and national government representatives, UN representatives and educators. To ensure that participants felt free to respond openly and minimise the risk that they might feel inclined to provide responses that would be viewed favourably by readers of the study, participants were informed that data collected from interviews would be de-identified, and interviews were framed in such a way as to highlight both challenges and strategies from a 'shared agenda' perspective.

As convenience/snowball sampling was used, and because there are many context-dependent variations in relation to education and the study's target populations, it should be noted that



it is **not possible to generalise from the interview findings**. However, the interviews provide an opportunity to capture a range of different examples and ideas (including at the global, regional, national and local level), in order to demonstrate the complexity of the topic, and maximise opportunities for learning amongst readers of this study. In sum, while this study is based on an extensive review of the literature and a range of interviews, it is not comprehensive or systematic, and therefore **its findings/lessons can be transferred, but cannot be generalised to all mobility contexts**.

1.4 Scope of study

This study focuses on **education service provision for mobile children of primary school-age** (i.e., the **nationally defined ages range from about 6-14**). The provision discussed includes variants of formal schooling as well as alternative¹ basic programming for this age group. The populations of concern are:

- 1. **Refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDPs)**: These are people who experience forced displacement.² Forced displacement is a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine or development projects.³ Refugees are people who have been displaced across national borders; IDPs within national borders.
- 2. Mobile pastoralists and seasonally migrating workers: Mobile pastoralists are people who derive a substantial portion of their livelihood from raising domestic livestock, moving animals to natural resources as they become available (Blench 2001). Their livelihood is a 'complex [...] system seeking to maintain an optimal balance between pastures, livestock and people in uncertain and variable environments' (Nori, Taylor and Sensi 2008, p.3).⁴ Seasonally migrating workers are migrant workers 'whose work by its character is dependent on seasonal conditions and is performed only during part of the year'.⁵ Such workers circulate between their village and various destination areas for labour work, and spend a significant part of the year away from home. The population in focus for this study is 'seasonal/temporary with family migrants' (Roy et al. 2015, p.20) migrating within one country.

Many of these definitions benefit from **further elaboration** (see Appendix D) and it should be noted these **population categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive** (for example, mobile pastoralists may be displaced by drought and development projects).

As noted at 1.1, children from these populations are disproportionately represented amongst the 'hard to reach'. It is of note that out of school children (OOSC) surveys lack definitional and methodological clarity on the status of mobile children amongst OOSCs (Hadley 2010, Dyer 2016).⁶ They typically **do not take into account seasonal variations in enrolment and attendance** rates caused by migration, which raises concern that they provide **a misleadingly**

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¹ During 2017, the INEE Alternative Education working group will be collaborating to provide definitions of alternative education and non-formal education: http://toolkit.ineesite.org/term-bank/en/terms/accelerated_learning

 ² For discussion, see: http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/3/56e95c676/refugees-migrants-frequently-asked-questions-faqs.html
 ³ See: http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html



static snapshot of a variable and dynamic process on the ground. OOSC counting tends to replicate the tendency of national enumeration to count **population stocks** (number of children at one specific time), even though **population flows** (number of children over a given interval of time) are at least as **important for policy** on educating children from mobile populations (Deshingkar & Aktar 2009). Overall, it is to be assumed that **mobile populations are often over-represented amongst OOSC**, yet paradoxically **not very visible in current OOSC reporting**. This wider scenario is captured in UNICEF's 2014 South Asia regional study:

Due to data limitations the analysis did not pick up some specific groups of marginalised children which other studies suggest are disproportionally excluded from school. Such groups include: children living in urban slums and on the street, children from families who migrate seasonally for work, child refugees and internally displaced children, children with disabilities, and children who do not speak the national or official language(s). These groups merit further research to understand the multitude of barriers they face in attending school so that they can be effectively targeted with interventions.

UNICEF 2014, p. 10

1.5 Organisation of study

Following this introductory Section One, the study is organised into four further sections. Section Two identifies three cross-cutting themes: (1) context and political economy; (2) lifelong learning and alternative learning pathways; and (3) protection and well-being. Section Three focuses on children from forcibly displaced populations (refugees and IDPs) and Section Four focuses on children from pastoralist and seasonally migrating families. Sections Three and Four each explore four themes: (1) policy, coordination and implementation; (2) financing; (3) access and participation; and (4) quality and relevance. For each theme, the challenges are presented first, followed by strategic responses. Discussion of each theme draws on both findings from the literature review and from interviews. Section Five offers a conclusion and broad recommendations.

http://www.epdc.org/sites/default/files/documents/Out_of_school_children_data_challenges.pdf

^{4.} Randall (2015) and IIED (2009) provide discussion of the complexities of defining 'pastoralists'

⁵ As defined by the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families,

Article 2 (b) (UN 1990, p.2.)

There are multiple data challenges in respect of OOSC reporting, see for example:

2 CROSS-CUTTING THEMES

2.1 Context and political economy

There are **extreme variations across different mobility and displacement contexts** in terms of numbers of children, enrolment rates, numbers of qualified teachers, learning outcomes, etc. (Dryden-Peterson 2011, UNHCR & UNESCO GEMR 2016, UNICEF 2016a). For this reason, every interview for this study highlighted the importance of understanding local context. Indeed, a UN-agency representative described how they had begun working with anthropologists and ethnographers in Somalia in order to better understand the complex political economy and cultural context to inform their education work with IDPs, the urban poor, pastoralists and returnee refugees (Interview F). Further, a respondent working in Kenya and several in India mentioned the importance of understanding the cultural backgrounds of children when designing and implementing education interventions (Interviews K, 1, 5). An NGO representative working with children in earthquake- and flood-prone areas in Pakistan pointed out that **populations there are 'not fixed... always fluctuating'** and that mobility patterns vary, depending on whether the groups are nomadic (Randall 2015), refugees, IDPs or seasonal labourers, or, in fact, a mixture (Interview H). This was a common refrain across interviews.

Recent research has revealed how much variation there is in terms of policy and programming challenges across different contexts (Mendenhall et al. 2017). To illustrate, with an example of refugees: while most countries and agencies have shifted to a mainstreaming policy (i.e., attempting to integrate refugees into national host country systems), Malaysia does not allow refugee students into public schools. In Kenya, there are significant numbers of overage refugee students, as older students will be placed in primary school if that is considered to be the appropriate grade level to reflect their prior learning; but Lebanon does not allow overage students and implements Alternative Education instead (ibid).

It is important to interrogate the concept of 'mobility' and how this term is used. For refugees and IDPs, paying attention to context can help highlight that **displacement does not necessarily imply mobility** – while some children are born into camps and grow up there, others are more transient, often 'on the move' from place to place, and still others may technically be in one place (for example in a city), but because they are living on the street, their lives are characterised by almost daily mobility. Amongst pastoralists, while **mobility is utilised as a livelihood strategy** directed towards ensuring animal welfare and managing contexts of uncertainty, and is highly responsive to local contexts and variations in resource availability, it is inaccurately and pejoratively seen by some researchers, policymakers and practitioners as wilful movement. **Seasonal labour mobility** generally involves an annual cycle of out-migration (referred to as 'circular' migration in some literature), with relative stability at 'home' and 'on site' locations; but variations can and do occur.

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2.2 Lifelong learning and alternative learning pathways

While this study focuses on primary education, it is important to consider what comes before and what comes after this period of schooling. One interviewee wanted to emphasise:

[...] the lifelong learning aspect because that is in the SDGs! It's always mentioned with education, and yet when we talk about education, we keep talking within age brackets. And in displacement we have a much more blurry situation, where for example you have kids in disruptive situations who are not necessarily the age of their school year... What happens later on? So a lot of the work I do is with the kids who missed out earlier on. And how can you bridge that?

Interview B

There is a burgeoning body of research on the **importance of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE)**⁷ not only in terms of child well-being, but also because of the role it plays in ensuring that children get the most out of primary school (Raikes & Shaeffer 2016). **Learning inequalities begin early** (Rose & Alcott 2015). Even in countries with relatively good access to ECCE opportunities, children from mobile populations are often excluded, putting children from mobile populations who are able to access primary education globally already at a significant disadvantage to their peers. A UN official in Sudan emphasised that addressing this would be a top priority:

The challenge is pre-primary education for nomads. If we had a chance to provide pre-primary with mobile schools it would be very useful, it would prepare a child to start education strongly and that's good from a protection point of view. Psychologically too – if a child's mother or father knows they have a right to claim or enjoy it would be a good start.

Interview 6

Even where there is quality primary education provision, there can be problems with retention when there is **no formal recognition of that learning**, or when there are **limited opportunities at secondary and higher education levels** or when there are **no job prospects**, leading children and their families to lose hope (Oh 2012, UNHCR DAFI 2014; Interviews B, G, K, M, 3, 14).

Designing and implementing effective primary-education interventions is particularly challenging when considering how **complex the life trajectories of children from displaced populations are**. For many, instability, uncertainty, disruptions and disjunctions are common (Dryden-Peterson 2015, Bengtsson & Dryden-Peterson 2016); and the education that most children receive in exile 'is not a stop-gap measure but their main shot at education' (Dryden-Peterson 2011, p.9). For most forcibly displaced children, a consistent, high-quality education is therefore completely out of reach, and they find themselves having to rely on their peers and individual teachers and community members to help them navigate the 'ever-changing and ever-challenging terrain' of displacement, which can span the entire 0-18-year period of

⁷ Following UNESCO: Early childhood is defined as the period from birth to eight years old. A time of remarkable brain growth, these years lay the basis for subsequent development. Early childhood care and education (ECCE) is more than a preparatory stage assisting the child's transition to formal schooling. It places emphasis on developing the whole child – attending to his or her social, emotional, cognitive and physical needs – to establish a solid and broad foundation for lifelong learning and well-being (http://en.unesco.org/themes/early-childhood-care-and-education).



their childhood/adolescence (Bengtsson & Dryden-Peterson 2016, p.327). Making informed decisions about a child's educational future in such a terrain can be difficult, as an NGO representative working with refugees in Zimbabwe pointed out:

Some of the parents are now reluctant to send their children to primary school because they are saying that there is no need to do that because after some time we are going to be resettled to a country, to go there to live permanently.

Interview A

Thinking about **children as agents of change for development** leads to a questioning of the emphasis on access to primary provision. A highly experienced INGO representative, delighted at the SDG framing of lifelong learning, cautioned:

Secondary has been much neglected by major donors over the last 30 years and there is barely one INGO that specialises in it. Yet it's potentially really important, and opens up opportunities for vocational training and skills.

Interview 3

Much recent research and practice has centred on provision of **Accelerated Education (AE)**, which can provide mobile learners with **Accelerated Learning**⁸ and pathways for (re-)entry to the formal education system, or an alternate pathway to acquiring the skills and knowledge learned at primary/basic education levels (Shah 2015a). Accelerated Education is broadly:

A flexible age-appropriate programme that promotes access to education in an accelerated time frame for disadvantaged groups, overage out of school children and youth who missed out or had their education interrupted due to poverty, marginalisation, conflict and crisis. The goal of AEP is to provide learners with equivalent certified competencies for basic education and learning approaches that match their level of cognitive maturity.

IAEWG 2016, p.2

2.3 Protection and well-being

Advocates for education in emergencies and displacement, including the International Rescue Committee (IRC), have long emphasised the role that **education can play as a stabilising, normalising, protective force**, particularly for younger children (Winthrop & Kirk 2005; Interviews H, I, K, M, 2). Research with displaced populations has demonstrated that they will often prioritise education for themselves and their families because it brings with it 'hope' and 'stability' (Dryden-Peterson 2015). An NGO representative who works on providing training and mentoring support for refugee-led initiatives described how primary schools were high on the agenda for the refugees with whom they work (Interview O).

^{a.} Shah (2015a, 12) defines Accelerated Learning as 'a pedagogical approach based on principles and practices of teaching and learning that result in better, deeper learning and more rapid acquisition of education content'.



From a more pragmatic perspective, other stakeholders have recognised the potential **primary schools have to serve as a delivery platform or channel for essential services**, including psychosocial support (Tyrer & Fazel 2014). This idea has informed two recent initiatives for Palestinian refugee children, the Better Learning Programme (BLP) supported by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), and the Eye to the Future Programme (E2F) administered by CARE International, which were both found to have positive short-term benefits in terms of returning a sense of normalcy and building resilience (Shah 2015b).

While education can play a positive role in development and conflict mitigation, it can also play a negative role, for example, if it is distributed unevenly, or if it is used as a weapon of material or symbolic repression or segregation (Bush & Saltarelli 2000). Even when education is not deliberately being used for negative purposes, if it is of **low quality, it loses its protective dimension** (Dryden-Peterson 2011). One NGO representative interviewed for this study, who works with vulnerable children in Zimbabwe, described how the quality of primary education provision at the schools was so low (e.g., poor infrastructure, demotivated teachers) that children stopped going entirely (Interview D). In situations of conflict, even if the education is of high quality, **primary schools can be targeted** because they are perceived to be vulnerable, **'easy' targets, with great symbolic value** (GCPEA 2016), and children can be abducted and recruited into fighting forces, thus rendering them unaccompanied IDPs (Cohen 2008, Watkins 2012).

Another dimension of ensuring that learners are healthy, secure and able to concentrate is **school feeding** (Burbano & Gelli 2009, COMESA 2009). Escalating conflict, repeated droughts and unsympathetic governance have led to displacement and undermined livelihoods for many of those who stay, contributing to food insecurity. School feeding is a large-scale policy response aiming to promote school attendance and protect nutrition and eventual cognitive functioning (Bundy et al. 2009). **Using schools as distribution points for emergency food aid encourages children to attend**, although doing so can disrupt formal learning; interruptions to supplies of food aid, on the other hand, may lead to school closure. **School feeding in some places is under threat** as a result of reduced WFP funding (WFP 2014) which has led to cutting back supplies or changes to what is supplied. The impact on vulnerable children is obvious:

If food is not readily available either at home or at school, the impact on school attendance is inevitably negative.

Interview 10

3 PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR REFUGEE AND IDP CHILDREN

3.1 Policy, coordination & implementation

3.1.1 Challenges

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CHALLENGE: Conventions and agreements protecting refugees, migrants and IDPs are not universally ratified or enforced and do not provide universal, consistent protection. While there are a number of conventions protecting refugees, migrants and IDPs, these are not universally ratified and are often not enforced, either because of a lack of state capacity or a lack of political will (see Appendix E for the number of countries that have ratified instruments by region as of July 2016). By far the most widely ratified human rights document relating to the rights of refugee and IDP children is the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).9 Article 28 of the CRC protects the rights of all children to education. Despite nearuniversal ratification, many countries have failed to give the force of domestic/national law to the CRC, meaning that violations of Article 28 regularly go unaddressed (Tait & Tambyah 2016). In addition to the CRC, the other key convention relating to refugee children is the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) and Protocol (1967). Article 22 of the Convention protects the rights of refugees to education. The Convention is quite widely ratified,¹⁰ but, as with the CRC, many countries do not adhere to it. In fact, some countries that are not party to this Convention (e.g., Jordan and Lebanon) are often cited as good practice examples for their work with refugees (Raheb et al. 2017). Technically, Palestinian refugees are not included in this convention (largely because a separate UN entity, UNRWA, exists to protect Palestinian refugees and UNRWA predates the convention by two years).

CHALLENGE: There are significantly fewer conventions and agreements protecting the rights of IDPs, despite the fact that there are far more IDPs in the world than there are refugees.

While the global refugee crisis has made its way to the top of the current international political agenda (Cosgrave et al. 2016), the **rights of IDPs continue to be neglected** by the international community. At the first ever high-level UN Summit for Refugees and Migrants on 19 September 2016 (UN 2016), member states agreed to the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, which makes special mention of IDPs:

We recognise the very large number of people who are displaced within national borders and the possibility that such persons might seek protection and assistance in other countries as refugees or migrants. We note the need for reflection on effective strategies to ensure adequate protection and assistance for internally displaced persons and to prevent and reduce such displacement.

Paragraph 20

⁹ In 2015, Somalia and South Sudan ratified the CRC, leaving the U.S. as the only country not to have ratified it.

¹⁰ LMICs that have not signed the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol include Guyana, Cuba, Western Sahara, Libya, Eritrea, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, U.A.E., Oman, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma/Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan, North Korea, Mongolia, and the Solomon Islands. Madagascar is only party to the 1951 Convention. Venezuela is only party to the 1967 Protocol.



However, the Declaration as a whole seems more directed at external migration: it only mentions IDPs three times and provides no concrete agenda for action for internal displacement, aside from the call for 'reflection on effective strategies' above. There are **no global legal instruments specifically protecting the rights of IDPs** (Bengtsson & Naylor 2016). The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) has developed the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998, revised 2004), but this is not a legally binding document. The 2009 Kampala Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa is a rare example of a regional legal instrument specifically developed to protect IDPs in Africa (African Union 2009). As of 2016, this convention had been signed by 40 and ratified by 25 of the member states of the African Union.

CHALLENGE: The burden of forced displacement is disproportionately borne by LMICs.

In the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, summit participants acknowledged their shared responsibility to take a 'humane, sensitive, compassionate and people-centred' approach to managing refugees and migrants through international cooperation, which recognises countries' 'varying capacities and resources to respond' (UN General Assembly 2016, para.11). To date, it is clear that many LMICs have had their capacities and resources to respond extremely overstretched. According to UNHCR data, 86 per cent of the world's refugees are hosted by LMICs, with the poorest countries providing asylum to approximately 26 per cent of the global total (UNHCR 2016); and a recent UNHCR report reveals that some of the world's poorest communities and countries bear the biggest burden relative to GDP and population size (UNHCR 2017). It should also be noted that the majority of the world's 40.8 million IDPs are found in LMICs, often in the same contexts as refugees, placing a further strain on institutions and resources in LMICs, particularly in education, as the global trend is towards mainstreaming children into host community schools. In other words, there is an uneven distribution of the forced displacement burden, which is compounded by the limited resources and capacities of poorer countries and communities to respond. As such, there is rising concern amongst scholars and policymakers of an emerging 'double standard', which reinforces the boundary between high income countries (HIC) and LMICs (ODI 2016), leading to tensions and reduced cooperation.

CHALLENGE: The wide range of stakeholders with different mandates and inadequacies of current forced displacement terminology lead to major problems with coordination and accountability.

Numerous stakeholders are involved in provision of primary education for refugees and IDPs: host national and local governments, UNHCR,¹¹ UNRWA,¹² organisations known as implementing partners (IPs), NGOs, multilateral organisations, inter-agency groups and networks, university researchers, and in some instances, civil society, refugees and IDPs themselves. These stakeholders form **a complex web of agendas and activities, synergies and tensions**, with certain stakeholders better positioned to exert influence than others. For example, many of the more well-known, larger INGOs and multilateral organisations have ended up acting as 'pseudo nation-states' in certain contexts where governments have been

¹¹ In the case of refugees ¹² In the case of Palestinian refugees



perceived to be unwilling or unable to facilitate the provision of education for the forcibly displaced (Waters & LeBlanc 2005). According to one participant in this study, in these types of contexts, it is sometimes difficult for smaller NGOs, civil society and displaced persons themselves to find a seat at the table (Interview E). It is also important to note that much of the **terminology around forced displacement is contested**. For example, there is no clear official definition of IDPs and there are disputes around refugee recognised processes, particularly in the case of children without proof of age seeking refugee status (Bhabha 2014).¹³ Without clear communication strategies and common terminology, humanitarian crises can be compounded by **communication crises**, as different stakeholders struggle to agree on a shared agenda (KYNE 2015).

3.1.2 Strategies

STRATEGY: Expanding existing rights documents, conventions, agreements and building policy from the ground up.

The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants calls for increased 'people-centred' cooperation and for states to respond according to their capacity and resources, which is a promising development. Though the declaration is focused on refugees and migrants, special mention is made of IDPs (although, as discussed earlier, more concrete guidelines/ commitments are needed). Taken together with the Incheon Declaration Education 2030: Towards Inclusive and Equitable Quality Education and Lifelong Learning for All, the SDG agenda and the World Humanitarian Summit, significant global agendas/events which all highlight the special needs of the forcibly displaced, there seems to be **a positive international legal and political space emerging** for stakeholders to work towards ensuring that the right to quality primary education is met for the world's forcibly displaced populations.

While these advances in the global agenda are encouraging, they will remain at the level of 'policy talk', unless a concerted effort is made to **understand the complexities at the local and national level**. One educator working with Syrian refugees in Lebanon said that her organisation 'would love to influence policy, but the reality is, we don't (Interview M). Most of the interviewees working with NGOs at the local level said that they did not know much about the SDGs and expressed some embarrassment that they were not very informed. Given **the importance of context** that is stressed throughout this study, it does seem that **local and national voices need to be incorporated into global agendas**. As one NGO representative working with refugees in Zimbabwe put it:

So, I think that what these guys need is to even come down here and look at the situation. Because when they look at the situation, I think it will be an eye-opener for them, what is there on the ground. Because when you look at the refugee camp, there is no electricity and to talk about internet... Ah... that would be something else! What we need for now is perhaps just new classroom blocks and furniture... I think if we do that for now, they will be very happy. And then the aspect of internet... For now, when you look at most of the African schools, it is not a priority.

Interview A

¹³ The focus of this study is on refugees and IDPs, but It should be noted that there is little in the way of formal guidance for working with the millions of undocumented migrants who often reside alongside refugees in camps and settlements across the world, but are not officially recognised as refugees themselves.

STRATEGY: Enshrining forcibly displaced people's rights to education in national laws and policy.

There is a significant gap between the near universal ratification of the CRC and its translation into national laws and policy around the world. However, there are **some positive examples of countries that have made an effort to enshrine forcibly displaced people's rights to education in national laws and policy**. For example, Colombia has made significant progress in developing a legal framework for protecting the rights of IDPs: it is now made explicit in the state legislature that the state must provide access to education for all IDP children between the ages of 5-15 (Espinosa 2012). While enrolment rates for IDP children were slightly lower than for the general population in 2007, pre-displacement data indicated that enrolment rates amongst IDP children actually improved in displacement (Ferris & Winthrop 2011). In Zimbabwe, while schools still charge fees, there is a policy which makes it illegal for schools to send children away for failing to pay their school fees (Interview D). In Yemen, the government is trying to implement a new policy solution to ensure that those students with no documentation (particularly IDP and refugee children) are still able to access primary school (Interview J). In Kenya, a UN representative described how they were working together with the government and other partners to:

[...] share with them and also learn from them. And now we are also participating in the consultation on the SDGs, and we hope to use this platform to support the government in aligning policies with SDG4, to ensure that all children are included and accounted for in national planning.

Interview K

STRATEGY: Genuine engagement with affected communities.

Even in situations where the right to education is enshrined in national policy, interventions are likely to fail unless efforts are made to understand the cultural, economic and political complexities at the local level. In Kenya, for example, there are some 'deeply embedded cultural practices amongst diverse nationalities, including early marriage, forced marriage, female genital mutilation' that need to be addressed when planning education (Interview K). This need for a deeper understanding has led to a UN-agency strategy of hiring anthropologists to help build an in-depth understanding of the cultural context and political economy of a place, in order to anticipate and overcome challenges and identify opportunities for effective education (Interview F). The importance of taking an inclusive approach and considering whole communities (displaced children and host communities) in education planning is gaining recognition. A government representative from Yemen described a promising initiative where UNHCR would provide textbooks for all children, not just refugees and IDPs (Interview J). Such initiatives may help to ensure that there is less resentment towards incoming learners. On a related note, a donor representative working in Honduras discussed the importance of identifying the most vulnerable communities (who may or may not be displaced or on the move) and targeting them with the best teachers and educational resources (Interview I). For him, this would help boost social cohesion and prosperity and would serve as an important 'preventative strategy' to prevent forced migration in the first place.14

¹⁴ In the Honduran context, many children would flee gang violence in these communities and try to seek refuge in the United States, though many return as their asylum claims were unsuccessful (Bhabha, 2014).



This strategy should not stop at attempts to understand a community better: successful interventions require **genuine engagement with the whole community**. A careful analysis of the whole community can reveal **existing community-based approaches** that, with additional support, could be expanded to support more learners, both displaced and non-displaced. For example, in Turkey, Syrian and Turkish mothers worked together to start a preschool for Syrian refugee children named 'Keramat' (which means 'generosity') (Ackerman 2015). An NGO representative with experience advocating for and working with refugees at the global level described how, for most community-based organisations (CBOs) that her organisation has worked with, education is a priority, as many communities want to avoid a 'lost generation' (Interview O). She described how CBOs had identified the need for a school for Afghani refugee children, who currently had to attend schools run on a volunteer basis with no recognised curriculum. With support, they could open a community school, using funding to train teachers and pay their salaries (ibid). On the Thai-Myanmar border, Karen education initiatives are seen as a high quality community-based response (Oh 2012; Interviews B, C, G). As one donor representative put it:

I think the most sustainable approach is to identify local initiatives and help germinate and grow the community-based schools. There's already that commitment and motivation and skills, and we're able to grow and build on that foundation. And it's more resilient to the shocks. The local communities have created and understand the values and norms and know how to sustain those services in this context in times of displacement or through other shocks and are able to more quickly reorganise, and are able to sustain that learning, even if the IP pulls out or if they have to move to another location, they have a way of sustaining and being more resilient.

Interview C

In a global survey of 190 international education practitioners and policymakers, identifying and supporting community initiatives in this way was one of the most common recommendations given by the survey participants (Brehm 2016). For forcibly displaced children, **it is important to consider the home community as well**, even if that community has been displaced and/or dispersed. For example, recent research suggests that networks of resettled refugee diaspora also attempt to support education for other refugees through remittances, advice and other means (Lindley 2007, Dryden-Peterson & Dahya 2016). With additional support, such refugee networks could prove to be a valuable mechanism for supporting primary education for refugees.

STRATEGY: Utilising the Education Cluster and existing multi-stakeholder networks for knowledge sharing and collaboration.

Several of the interviewees described their organisation's participation in their country's **Education Cluster** (Interviews C, D, K, L). The Global Education Cluster was established in 2007 by the IASC as a central coordination mechanism to uphold education as a basic human right and core component of humanitarian aid, including for displaced populations. The cluster system has led to **increased integration of education into the humanitarian response**, and in some cases, **facilitated better coordination with national governments**. (The Education Cluster Handbook recommends that the national Ministry of Education act as



co-lead for the country-level cluster). However, in some contexts, because of the high profile of and strong, well-established relationships between certain cluster participants, **it can be difficult for smaller local NGOs (and even governments) to participate** in meaningful ways, if at all (Interview E). Smaller organisations also face problems when attempting to network and collaborate with each other, as noted by an education practitioner working in Lebanon:

We try to share with other NGOs... We love to share with other NGOs, although other NGOs don't seem to like to share with us. When we have workshops, we try to invite other NGOs – some come, some don't. We have been asked by other informal schools to do some training for their teachers and we share what we've learned with them. We've shared our modified curriculum with other NGOs, but this is sadly mostly one-sided.

Interview M

She pointed out that some organisations can be a bit over-protective of their ideas and that learning to collaborate with others in a respectful way, where ideas are shared and acknowledged and **people learn from the experiences of others**, instead of reinventing the wheel, can be an important **time-saving measure**, as she has learned from experience. It is here that networks, such as INEE can be useful platforms: INEE's membership figures from July 2016 suggest that 38 per cent of members are representatives from NGOs (INEE July 2016). However, most of these are international NGOs, rather than local, and while 190 countries are represented amongst the 12391 members, over a quarter of the members are from the United States and the United Kingdom, suggesting that **smaller organisations from underrepresented countries will still have trouble finding a voice**.

STRATEGY: Inter-sectoral collaboration to address the needs of the whole child.

In addition to collaborating with other education stakeholders, a burgeoning body of literature highlights the importance of **collaborating across sectors**, an idea that was reflected in interviews. The educator supporting Syrian refugees in Lebanon explained that while attempts to work with other education NGOs were not always successful (see above), **reaching out to non-education experts** for support in addressing the **overall well-being of the child** had proved relatively successful:

Because our expertise is in education, we stick to that. But if we need to have an event or something which is outside our expertise, we ask others to come in. So, for example, with hygiene, we invite an NGO who works on hygiene twice or three times a year and they have lessons for students and demonstrations, and give out various items like toothbrushes, towels, soaps and loofahs.

Interview M

Conversely, a UN-agency representative working with mobile populations in Somalia pointed out that while the SDG agenda was influencing work on the ground in Somalia, there was a **missed opportunity in terms of education demonstrating its relevance to other development sectors**:



The big weakness with the SDG4, with the SDG Education Targets, is that they remain largely compartmentalised from other SDGs, arguably. [...] So what there needs to be in Somalia is a recognition not just about the education-related SDG, but how a focus on achieving targets around SDG4 can lead to the achievement of SDG5 on Gender and 10 on Equity and 16 on Peace and Security, and SDG4 clearly contributes to those others as well. I think that argument needs to be made, so that people can see that investing in education is investing in multiple SDG targets. We're still – and I see this in Somalia – isolating SDG4 from other SDG targets and as a result, losing our pull power to get increased investment in education, which is something we need to address.

Interview F

3.2 Financing

3.2.1 Challenges

CHALLENGE: Funding for refugee and IDP education is unpredictable and low and the capacity to absorb funds that do come in at the national and local level is weak.

The emergence of networks and coordination mechanisms, such as the INEE and the Global Education Cluster in the last 15 years has been emblematic of increased coordination of support for the education of children in emergency and crisis contexts (Winthrop & Matsui 2013). Research shows that displaced children and their families regularly prioritise education as a critical emergency need (Dryden-Peterson 2011, Save the Children 2014). Yet **funding for refugee and IDP education has been erratic and low** because of inadequate international financing and reduced absorptive capacity and financial resources of conflict-affected and/ or host countries and communities (Education Commission 2016). From 2000 to 2014, the annual percentage of global humanitarian aid allocated to education was inconsistent and never above 5 percent (Nicolai et al. 2015). Only a fraction of the humanitarian education aid budget is directed at refugee and IDP education. Indeed, the Education Commission refers to the existing system of financial support for refugees and IDPs as a **'voluntary "begging bowl"** (ibid, p.113), where no party is obligated to contribute. In 2013, appeals for education accounted for only 3.2 per cent of total humanitarian appeals and less than 2 per cent of actual funds received (Nicolai et al. 2015).

CHALLENGE: The relative invisibility of IDPs on the global agenda and the political and logistical complexities of the Palestinian refugee situation lead to chronic underfunding of education for these groups in particular.

The voluntary 'begging bowl' effect is amplified for IDPs and Palestinian refugees. As IDPs remain within their own countries' borders, they are often less visible than refugees and vulnerable migrants, and consequently often neglected by international agendas and public discourse. There are **few situations where funds are explicitly earmarked for IDP education** (with funds generally falling under a broader umbrella of support for EiE), and even in those instances, the capacity and/or political will of national governments to channel those funds into education for IDPs may be weak (Bengtsson & Naylor 2016). When it comes to education for Palestinian refugees (who number 5.2 million and represent approximately one-quarter of the world's refugees), **funding is greatly dependent on an often hostile global political**

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climate. In the past, UNRWA was accused by some donors of compounding the global displacement crisis and teaching extremist views in schools, allegations that have proven false (Shabaneh 2012). Such claims, even when unsubstantiated, have an extremely negative impact on the ability to attract funds for Palestinian education.

CHALLENGE: The short-term financing mechanisms typically used to fund refugee and IDP education are limited, particularly in protracted crisis situations.

Historically, funding of education for refugees and IDPs has come out of humanitarian/ emergency funds. In other words, short-term financing mechanisms are used to attempt to respond quickly to crisis in a cost-effective manner. However, research has pointed to the existence of a relief-to-development gap, or the humanitarian-development divide, where populations who find themselves in the 'in-between' area (of not being in a direct emergency, or 'ready' for development) are left without adequate support (Crisp 2001). While there has been some blurring of the boundaries between the humanitarian and development spheres in recent years (Slim & Bradley 2013), some vulnerable groups continue to fall into the gap. As recently as 2007, international development donors stated that they were unable to support any education initiatives at all for IDPs in Darfur, as they considered it to be a humanitarian situation (Penson & Tomlinson 2009). On the flip side, when Myanmar began to be seen as more 'democratic' and 'back on track' in terms of development a few years ago, humanitarian agencies pulled their support, leaving a number of refugee communities in a void (Interviews B, G). In 2014, 90 per cent of countries with a Humanitarian Response Plan have had an appeal for three years or more, which signals a need for improved coordination between development and humanitarian aid and more predictable, long-term (multi-year) financing (Education Commission 2016). These inadequacies of traditional short-term financing mechanisms in protracted crisis situations are compounded by the problem of **donor fatigue** (Oh 2012) and a change in focus by larger donors at the global level (Interview C).

CHALLENGE: Donor dependence and lack of funding sustainability emerge as related problems.

Donor fatigue would not be such a problem if it were not for the related phenomenon of **donor dependence**, as summarised by a Zimbabwean NGO representative:

There is an aspect of donor dependence – if the donor decides to pull out then there will be a disaster at these schools. And I think it is a problem, not just at schools for mobile populations, but at most schools in the developing world. That is this aspect of sustainability... major source of funding is school fees, and if parents or donors don't pay school fees then there will be disaster in these schools because in terms of the daily operational activities, the schools will not be able to meet such needs.

Interview A

In many displacement contexts around the world, the inability to generate sustainable funding sources emerges as a major problem.



CHALLENGE: How funds are spent within education programming is a cause for concern. Finally, how money is spent is at times a cause for concern. One of the best investments that can be made in primary education is in supporting teachers in terms of professional development, well-being and compensation (Reeves Ring & West 2015). Teacher salaries have been shown to have a significant impact on recruitment, retention, morale and class size - factors which all shape the quality of education provision (Dolan et al. 2012). Yet human resource investment takes time, and in humanitarian situations, teachers often have to compete for funds that seem to have a more immediate pay-off, are more sustainable and/ or a one-off investment. In 2010, a survey of primary schools with IDP learners in Darfur found that 84 per cent of schools had received NGO funding for buildings/infrastructure, 28 per cent to support annual costs and only 19 per cent for teachers' salaries (Lloyd et al. 2010). Further, payment practices for teachers and other education support staff may actually exacerbate conflict and/or displacement dynamics, as teachers move to government-controlled areas in order to be paid, or leave the country or transfer to a different sector of work (Bengtsson & Naylor 2016). A government representative from Yemen talked about the negative impact a salary freeze was having on key education administration support staff (Interview J). While there is growing recognition of the problems associated with ad-hoc, short-term, stopgap programming and a gradual drive towards improving education programming through better planning in the international education community, some would argue that funds are now being concentrated in the area of planning, and that **not enough funds are channelled** towards more holistic approaches, including implementation, monitoring, process evaluation and evidence building (Interview I).

3.2.2 Strategies

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STRATEGY: Harmonising financial support, developing a common financing platform for education in crisis contexts and mobilising support from the private sector.

One promising recent development in terms of financing for education for children impacted by crisis, including the forcibly displaced is the new Education Cannot Wait platform, the first global fund to prioritise education in humanitarian action. The platform has identified a need to close the US\$8.5 billion funding gap to meet the educational needs of the 75 million children and youth aged between 3-18 affected by crises around the world, over one-fifth of whom are refugees, IDPs or migrants (Nicolai et al. 2016). While the fund has been designed to support the provision of education for all children affected by crises, crises with large-scale refugee, internally displaced and affected host populations will receive particular consideration' (ibid, p.14). The Global Business Coalition for Education (GBCE) has emerged as a key partner in the Education Cannot Wait platform. Amongst its recent accomplishments, GBCE has listed the development of an emergency database (a registry of the resources, assets, expertise and innovations that can be deployed immediately in support of education at the onset of crisis/emergency) as part of its broader efforts to mobilise US\$100 million in private sector commitments for the fund (GBCE 2016). Further, they have identified the Syrian crisis as a priority and have pledged to support Syrian refugees, IDPs and others affected by the crisis. While the private sector is well placed to mobilise funds, a donor representative explained that she was concerned that our current approach to the private sector is not optimal:



That's how we're approaching the private sector. We're asking them: 'What can you provide and how can you squeeze us in?' versus 'These are the challenges we have, help us find the solutions'.

Interview C

In other words, those within the global education sector should be responsible for identifying the key challenges and setting the agenda, and then collaborating with the private sector to develop solutions.

STRATEGY: Transitioning from short-term to long-term funding mechanisms.

There is an urgent need to move away from short-term educational responses for displaced populations (such as the Child Friendly Spaces for IDPs and Temporary Education Centres in Turkey) to **longer-term plans for development and resiliency, that are carefully costed**, so that donors can respond with more predictable, sustained funding (Jalbout 2015). For this reason, several donors, including BMZ, have stepped up their funding and started exploring opportunities for increasing **transitional aid** and support to displaced communities; and new global partnerships have emerged in recent years (alongside the Education Cannot Wait platform), which have the potential to deliver **more predictable, multi-year financing**, as required. The Global Partnership for Education (GPE),¹⁵ for example, works to develop effective, sustainable education systems, mobilise resources (financial and technical), and ensure that resources are coordinated and used efficiently, and has started increasingly financing refugee education. For such initiatives to be most effective, they need to support **planning, implementation and evaluation** (Interview I).

STRATEGY: Funding based on systems analysis.

Within education aid, primary (or basic) education has long been prioritised by the international community, largely due to a body of research from the 1960s through to the 1990s, which suggested higher returns to primary education than to other levels of education (Colclough et al. 2009). However, more recent evidence suggests a much more complex picture: not only is **the relationship between level of education and its returns dependent on context**, it is also dependent on what is happening at other levels in the system (ibid). There is also a strong case to be made for considering how to maximise returns beyond individual, economic returns when financing education interventions. Taking **a systems approach to financing primary education** for displaced children would lead to investment in other levels of education, in order to maximise both the individual, economic returns and the community, non-economic returns. Research suggests that **increasing access to ECCE** for both Turkish and refugee children in Turkey would contribute to **social adaptation and learning readiness** of all children (Jalbout 2015). Providing secondary schooling and vocational training opportunities and access to the job market will increase primary-enrolment and -completion rates. Investment in higher education is particularly important because it:

¹⁵ The Global Partnership for Education comprises 65 LMICs, more than 20 donors, and international organisations, the private sector and foundations, educators, and civil society/NGOs. It was founded in 2002.



[...] nurtures a generation of future change-makers that can take the lead in identifying sustainable solutions to refugee situations. It provides young refugees and their families with an opportunity for increased self-reliance through gainful employment. The hope of participation in higher education contributes to greater enrolment and retention throughout primary and secondary school.

UNHCR DAFI 2014, p.4

Within the higher education sector, **teacher education** has been highlighted as one of the most effective ways of ensuring the provision of high-quality primary education for forcibly displaced children, because an **investment in the education of one primary-school teacher is an investment in the primary education of dozens of learners a year** (Mendenhall et al. 2015, Reeves Ring & West 2015, INEE 2016). For example, the newly-launched Teachers for Teachers Initiative in Kenya is targeting 120 teachers and anticipates reaching 10,000 students by mid-2017 (Interview N). Further, UNRWA has a long history of supporting pre-service and in-service teacher education for Palestinian refugees and has thus been able to expand access for school-aged children to quality primary education, as evidenced by a recent study which revealed high learning outcomes in UNRWA schools relative to national public schools (World Bank 2014).

STRATEGY: Working with existing local and national institutions/mechanisms and directly funding communities.

There is emerging evidence from Turkey that **unrestricted direct budgetary support (DBS)** to governments through **coordinated donor mechanisms** is one of the most effective ways of improving Turkey's refugee education response (Jalbout 2015). Collaborating directly with governments to **set clear targets and making use of local institutions** with which there are pre-established relationships, **maximises accountability** between different partners (ibid). In Zimbabwe, the Ministry of Finance had a scheme whereby they would make funds available to the Ministry of Education to support orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) through the Basic Education Assistance Model (BEAM) (Interview D). Unfortunately, in recent years the Ministry of Finance failed to avail funds because of fiscal challenges, thus many OVC were unable to continue their education (ibid). Had the government had access to direct and unrestricted support they could potentially have continued the BEAM initiative.

However, in situations where relationships between donors and governments are strained and/ or accountability is low, **DBS is not always feasible**. In such cases, it is important to explore other financing options. According to a donor representative with significant experience at the global level, one of the more effective approaches is to **identify and support existing Community Based Education (CBE) programmes directly**:

We know from the literature that CBE is one of the most sustainable programmes we can support during conflict and crisis. Not only has it been able to fill this gap when schools may not be serving all children, but also by looking at a long-term plan for system reform and institutional capacity building, we are able to build an education system from the ground up that has the reach and can serve a wide variety of students and be able to bring the national systems or the subnational regional support to meet those community-based service providers. And I think that bridging, where we're working both bottom up and top down, is important for the peacebuilding process in these settings.

Interview C



Some would argue that while improving donor financing mechanisms is important in the present, **more sustainable financing mechanisms** are needed in order to combat donor dependency and mitigate the loss in income should donor fatigue set in, or a donor remove support. For this reason, two interviewees felt it was important to maximise sustainability by building the capacity of schools and communities to be involved in **income-generating activities** that could be used to pay teacher salaries, purchase educational resources and address other needs (Interviews A, D).

3.3 Access and participation

3.3.1 Challenges

CHALLENGE: It is difficult to put together a comprehensive, accurate picture of the current state of enrolment, retention and completion rates amongst refugee and IDP children. There is a lack of rigorous research on delivering primary education at scale to forcibly displaced populations (Thompson 2013, Burde et al. 2015). While collecting data on education for refugees and IDPs in official organised camps can be relatively straightforward, the **majority of refugees and IDPs live outside camps** (UNHCR 2014c, IDMC 2015a), where data collection can prove difficult. Refugees usually need to register to access local services, but there is no guarantee that those outside of regular accommodation will do so. When it comes to IDPs, they may choose not to register as they do not wish to be identified as coming from conflict-affected areas or the government may be implicated in their displacement, meaning that they will be absent from enrolment data (Bengtsson & Naylor 2016). Unfortunately, **age-disaggregated data are not readily available** in most cases of forced displacement, particularly for IDPs (ibid). Without reliable systems to gauge, for example, the number of overage learners in need of additional support, it can be difficult to plan effective education interventions.

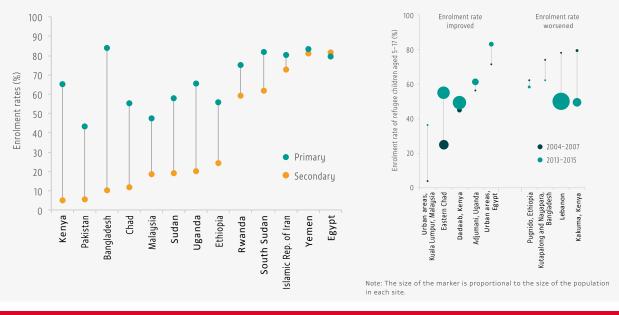
CHALLENGE: There are huge variations in estimated enrolment rates globally, depending on context, meaning that there is not a one-size-fits-all approach to improving enrolment.

UNHCR estimates that only 50 per cent of refugee children are attending primary school, compared with the global enrolment rate of 91 per cent. There are no good global estimates for IDP children, but most researchers would suggest similar (if not lower) rates for this group, given the particular challenges many IDPs face.



Primary-enrolment rates for refugees vary widely according to context, and different sites in different contexts have followed different trajectories in getting refugee children and adolescents into schools, as demonstrated in the Figures below:

Figures: Primary- and secondary-enrolment rates, selected refugee sites in selected countries, 2014 & Enrolment rates of refugees (5-17), selected refugee sites and countries, 2004-2007; 2013-2015



Source: UNHCR & UNESCO GEMR (2016, p.4) (Analysis based on 2014 UNHCR data)

As with refugees and other mobile populations, **access to primary education for IDPs is highly context dependent**: for example, in Colombia, which has a long history of working with IDPs, enrolment rates amongst internally displaced children are quite high, whereas in Somalia, enrolment rates are relatively low. Even within countries, enrolment rates amongst primary school-age children can vary by region, as is the case in Nigeria, where some schools and communities have proven more successful in dealing with an influx of IDP children than others (IDMC 2014; Interview C).

CHALLENGE: The barriers to enrolment and continued attendance amongst refugee and IDP children are numerous and context-dependent.

A search of the literature and the interview responses revealed a number of barriers to enrolment and continued attendance. First, displacement crises can lead to **shortages of teaching staff, space and poor infrastructure**. Within Syria, 20 per cent of all Syrian teaching staff and counsellors have been lost, and one in five schools in Syria has been repurposed, damaged or destroyed (UNICEF MENA 2015). In Iraq, many schools are being used as housing for IDPs, likely delaying the start of the school year for many children and granting the right to shelter at the expense of the right to education (UNICEF Iraq 2016). While education provision in government-controlled regions is of a decent standard, the relative stability of these regions attracts students, including IDPs, so classrooms are often



overcrowded, even in schools running double shifts (Al Hessan 2016). In some areas of Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan hosting Syrian refugees, overcrowding is a major problem, which is compounded in certain areas due to the sectarian division of funds and/or weakened government capacity to absorb funds (Culbertson & Constant 2015). Two Zimbabwean NGO representatives described how a shortage of classrooms and low-quality infrastructure (or, in some cases, lacking infrastructure) led to restricted enrolments, overcrowding and increasing drop-out rates (Interviews A, D). In fact, one of the Zimbabwean interviews described how:

[...] some of these students when they reach Grade 5, they decide to leave the school and enrol at a more distant school, citing poor infrastructure. They choose to walk to a school maybe 10 km away because if they end up writing their Grade 7 exams at a school with poor infrastructure, they believe they might not end up doing well. The pass rate of those schools with poor infrastructure is under 10 per cent.

Interview D

Even when the infrastructure exists, **threats to the safety and security of students** (particularly younger students) on their way to and from school has been a major factor preventing them from staying in school (Interviews C, K, M). This is an issue that has consistently been raised by the GCPEA (GCPEA 2016). Even when the routes to and from school are relatively safe, in many situations the distance to school (and no available transport) is prohibitive to attendance on its own.

Both refugee and IDP children can face **significant language barriers** when attempting to access primary schooling. For example, in Kurdish areas in Syria, some schools have introduced Kurdish as the language of instruction, meaning that many non-Kurdish speaking IDPs are unable to access primary education (UNICEF 2015a). In camps along the Thai-Myanmar border, Karen schools have acquired a reputation for providing good quality primary education to refugees, but this education is often inaccessible to non-Karen refugees (Oh 2012). There are also examples in the literature of displaced students who encounter multiple languages of instruction throughout their education career as they move to a different context or as policies change around language of instruction (Bengtsson & Dryden-Peterson 2016).

An oft-cited problem for refugee and IDP children in accessing primary education is a **lack** of necessary documentation (including birth certificates and certification of past learning), which may have gone missing on their journey, preventing them from enrolling in formal schools (UNHCR 2015a, 2016a). Interviews also revealed that children arriving after the start of the school year face challenges when enrolling in schools. According to an NGOrepresentative working with refugees in Zimbabwe interviewed for this study, refugees would arrive in a steady stream throughout the year, mostly from the DRC, and would then find it difficult to integrate into a mainstream class with their age cohort upon arrival (Interview A). A donor representative working on global issues related to the education of children affected by crisis pointed out that displacement does not follow the school year, and so often students find themselves having to enter a classroom halfway through the year (Interview C).



CHALLENGE: Some groups within refugee and IDP populations are doubly disadvantaged, making primary-school participation even more of a challenge.

Many of the barriers to education access faced by refugee and IDP children, including shortage of space, restrictive legal/policy frameworks, lack of documentation, language barriers and discrimination, are magnified for certain vulnerable groups, who can be termed **doubly disadvantaged** (UNHCR 2016a). These groups include separated or unaccompanied children, girls, children with disabilities and ethnic minorities. **Girls are exposed to an additional range of gender-related barriers** to school participation, with inadequate WASH facilities, early marriage, pregnancy (which recent research suggests increase with displacement as a response to crisis [Rose et al. 2016]) and risk of gender-based violence at school (Interview K), and so for every 10 displaced boys enrolled in primary education, there are only eight girls (Naylor 2016). Even amongst non-displaced populations, **children with disabilities often find themselves marginalised within a school setting**, bullied and/or feeling out-of-place and less capable than their peers without disabilities (Cologon & Salvador 2016). For displaced students with disabilities, this marginalisation can be so severe that it is deemed better for them not to enrol at all. An educator working with Syrian refugees in Lebanon explained that this was the reason she would turn learners with disabilities away (Interview M).

CHALLENGE: Children and their families sometimes exclude themselves from primary education because opportunity costs are too high, benefits are inadequate or quality is too low.

Primary-enrolment rates tend to be higher amongst refugees and IDPs than for other education levels, partly due to the prioritisation of basic education by the global education aid community. However, this means that there are very **few options available for primary-school leavers who wish to further their education**. Also, in many countries, refugees do not have the right to work and IDPs face discrimination by prospective employers, so many would question the relevance of primary education opportunities that build foundations for entering **a labour market they are not able to access**.

There is limited literature on the actual decision-making processes amongst children and their families around excluding themselves from schools, though interview data from a number of different contexts revealed some of the reasons that families deliberately chose to keep their children away from school. An NGO representative in Pakistan talked about a **'lack of awareness' amongst children, parents and families about the importance and relevance of education** (Interview H): a recent survey of the families of 18,203 out of school children in one district in Pakistan, including mobile populations, revealed that there was no interest in education amongst these children and their families. For many of these families, the **opportunity costs of participating in education were considered to be too high**, particularly as the primary education offered did not seem to have any real benefits attached. This problem was not confined to Pakistan. One educator providing Syrian refugees with NFE to help them catch up and enrol in Lebanese formal schools said that they often had trouble convincing parents to send their children to public schools (Interview M). 'Why do they need more? I only have a Grade 5 education. They should work!' were some of the responses she would hear from Syrian parents.



The quality and relevance of available education programmes are key factors in determining whether or not children will enrol. The introduction of Child Friendly Spaces (which combine elements of structured play with NFE) in IDP contexts in Darfur, Timor Leste, Ingushetia and Sri Lanka was sometimes not well received by IDP children and their families, **who wanted access to formal education opportunities** instead (Cohen, 2008, Kirk 2009, Penson & Tomlinson 2009). In fact, in Darfur, staff would have to work hard to encourage children not to try to escape from the Child Friendly Spaces (Penson & Tomlinson 2009). It is particularly troubling to consider that children who do have the opportunity to participate in education would actively choose to exclude themselves, as the education is not meeting their needs. In Zimbabwe, children whose parents had crossed the border to South Africa for work were so disillusioned by the **low quality of education** (poor infrastructure, limited resources, demotivated teachers) that they would drop out to pursue other, gender-specific options:

And, if you look at the demographics pyramid at enrolment it's huge at the base and it is very low as you go to higher grades... because girls enter into early marriages and boys, they drop out, sometimes to cross the border into South Africa or there is a process of herding cattle, because these are cattle-growing areas, so the boy would leave school to go and herd cattle with a payment until at least the end of the year.

Interview D

The example of refugee parents in Zimbabwe choosing to exclude their children from classes in favour of waiting for resettlement opportunities discussed previously (Interview A) highlights **the importance of understanding perceptions in relation to decision making** – in that case, the quality of provision was actually relatively good, but parents decided that it would be better to wait until they had access to what they perceived as better opportunities than to enrol in Zimbabwean educational programmes.

3.3.2 Strategies

STRATEGY: Removing access barriers through policy innovation.

Of the three durable solutions to displacement, the first – to return home – has dominated the discourse for decades, primarily because it is the solution often preferred by displaced people themselves. However, given recent research that suggests the average time spent in displacement is on the increase,¹⁶ the possibility of repatriation has become increasingly remote for many. This is partly what has led to **a global policy shift towards the mainstreaming of refugees and IDPs into national systems/host communities**, an approach which has some advantages over attempting to sustain parallel/alternative programmes, including accountability and standardisation (Bengtsson & Naylor 2016).

Integration is easier when only a handful of students come into a community at a time; if there are large groups coming in, especially at different points after the start of the school year, it is not always feasible. For example, the enrolment rate in primary and secondary schools inside Syrian refugee camps in Turkey was almost 90 per cent, while outside, only 25 per cent of school-age Syrian children were enrolled in school (Human Rights Watch 2015).

¹⁶ Over the past decade, 40 per cent of refugees worldwide were displaced for three or more years at any given time (Crawford et al. 2015). When it comes to IDPs, at least 50 per cent of all IDPs in two-thirds of all countries monitored for conflict-induced displacement in 2014 had been displaced for over three years (ibid).



As most of the 708,000 school-age Syrian children in Turkey live outside camps, the majority are therefore receiving no formal education. Back in Syria itself, many IDPs are unable to enrol in host community schools because of a lack of available learning spaces, or a lack of official documentation or both (UNICEF 2015). These examples demonstrate the **significant role played by context in terms of determining the level to which mainstreaming is attempted/ allowed and to what extent it is successful** (Mendenhall et al. 2017).

As already highlighted, identifying and supporting community-based schools is one of the most effective, sustainable ways to support the provision of primary education for displaced learners, as these already have community 'buy in'. Here, national governments can play an important policy role by **providing official recognition to these community initiatives**, thus preventing the situation that exists for Karen refugees along the Thai-Myanmar border, who participate in quality primary education, but are unable to translate that education into formally recognised credentials (Oh 2012).

STRATEGY: Diversifying education models and supporting accelerated education.

There is increasing recognition in the literature of the importance of flexibility in terms of the education models and approaches adopted when working with displaced children. A thorough understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of formal education and NFE can be enormously helpful in designing interventions. For example, the informal nature of education interventions for Syrian children in Lebanon and Turkey means that there is a much greater degree of flexibility to respond to the special educational needs of these children as they are not constrained by formal structures/logistics (Interviews M, E). In the case of Syrian children at certain informal schools in Lebanon, according to one of the coordinators interviewed, the end point was for them to transition into the formal system, and they had had some success with this (Interview M). However, as these schools are not officially recognised, if the child does not progress into the Lebanese formal system (which happens quite often), there is no way to officially recognise her/his learning. Two educators with experience working in Thailand and Myanmar described the advent of Montessori approaches in Myanmar as a very positive development (Interview G) - not because they felt that Montessori was the best approach, but because they felt that it represents an attempt to 'diversify the types of education available, because diversity adds strength'.

Several interviewees talked about the importance of providing some form of AE to support the future integration of children into primary schools and host communities, including an NGO representative working with primarily DRC refugees in Zimbabwe (Interview A), a donor representative, when describing the experiences of IDPs in Nigeria (Interview C) and an educator working with Syrian refugees in Lebanon (Interview M). A recent metaevaluation of the NRC's AE programmes found that **AE can make a significant contribution in providing education access** to many who would otherwise not have had such an opportunity, **particularly girls in contexts where achieving gender equity is challenging** (Shah 2015a). However, it is important to note that the **specific context plays a role** in the long-term success of these types of programmes, for example, in terms of being able to respond to the hidden and actual costs of formal schooling for those who integrate into it.



STRATEGY: Addressing equity issues and targeting the doubly disadvantaged.

As previously discussed, certain equity groups amongst displaced populations are doubly disadvantaged when it comes to educational access (UNHCR 2015). Even if they are able to enrol in primary school, retention and completion rates amongst these groups remain low. Both an educator working with refugees in Lebanon and a UN-agency representative in Kenya highlighted the numerous challenges girls face to stay in school, such as early marriage and school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) (Interviews M, K), challenges which are often best overcome through special targeted measures. For example, in Kakuma Camp, a girlsonly primary boarding school was set up in 2005 to provide a safe learning environment for girls deemed either particularly vulnerable by child protection partners and teachers and/or academically gifted (Interview K). All girls who attend the primary school can transition to the secondary boarding school, which was set up in 2014. This school has excellent facilities (in comparison with the other refugee schools), with sufficient number of teachers and access to learning materials. The girls have access to sanitary materials, solar lamps, uniforms and other resources. So far, the school has been successful in retaining girls and in raising learning outcomes, with students performing consistently well on national examinations (ibid). Indeed, in 2014, one girl received one of the top marks in the country on the primary-completion exam. Dadaab refugee camps have none of these boarding schools and there is a large performance differential between girls in Dadaab and in Kakuma. While the boarding school is proving to be effective, it is very expensive and thus **not a cost-effective way** to improve enrolment, retention and completion amongst girls.

With sufficient resources and investment, it is also **possible to include learners with disabilities**. For example, two educators with experience working in Thailand and Myanmar described how VSO had set up and supported a range of initiatives for learners with disabilities, including the development of sign language and introduction of Braille. Not only had these initiatives proven to be effective but:

...special needs education interventions had helped change mindsets, from a view of children with disabilities as throwaways to one of children as being more able.

Interview G

In other words, these interventions had helped **shift community perspectives from a deficit approach to an inclusive one**. In Zimbabwe, an NGO representative working with refugees described his first-hand experience of the **potential of inclusive education to support all learners**. Not only does the refugee camp school have a unit that caters to students with mild disabilities, but there are also multi-purpose resource centres that cater to more complex needs (Interview A). Interviews for this study thus confirm the findings of a growing body of global research, which suggest that inclusive education has a range of benefits for both children who do and who do not have a disability (Cologon & Salvador 2016).

Special mention should be made of the **importance of responding to the needs of overage learners** for the benefit of all learners. According to one donor representative:



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I think we see a problem in places like Liberia where we have a huge overage population because we weren't able to support the children to age through the system... the remnants of that are going to take another decade to work out of the education system. And the policymakers there are really struggling to continue to cope with such an overage population. And there's no room for six year olds to come into the system. And so I think that Accelerated Education can dislodge this bottleneck in the wake of crisis, conflict or displacement settings.

Interview C

STRATEGY: Expanding and improving infrastructure, utilising existing structures more efficiently and employing mobile schools/temporary infrastructure.

Speaking from his experience of schools in refugee camps in Kenya, a UN-agency representative described how not only can **expanding and improving infrastructure reduce congestion** - thereby improving quality for children already in school, it can also **encourage out-of-school students to enrol**:

I've been here for three years and what I've seen is that there is no short cut... to improve access, you have to expand the provision. Whenever we expand our education infrastructure, we also attract more children to come to school. So for me, what I always say is that we need to have additional infrastructure so we can reduce congestion, to make it better for children, but also reach those who are not coming to school.

Interview K

It should be noted, however, that expanding or improving infrastructure is not always feasible, given resource constraints (Interviews A, D, K, M). One popular strategy for dealing with lack of space when expanding infrastructure is not possible is the practice of doubleshifting (Dryden-Peterson & Adelman 2016), though the evidence of the effectiveness of this strategy is limited and mixed (Burde et al. 2015). In Kenya, stakeholders have had some success reducing congestion at the primary level through their double-shift strategy (which they call '2-in-1 schools') and they are now exploring the potential for expanding this strategy to support students' transition into secondary school, as there is a major shortage of secondary schools (Interview K). From a purely numerical standpoint, double shifting has resulted in increased enrolments amongst displaced primary children around the world. However, it should be noted that emerging research suggests that this strategy can negatively impact quality, particularly if resources are limited and/or the same teachers teach both shifts, which is very common (Interviews E, K; Ackerman 2015, Burde et al. 2015). Further, students in the second shift can experience feelings of alienation, and tensions can emerge between these students and the students who attend school during regular hours (Dryden-Peterson & Adelman 2016). These factors in turn can lead to a decrease in attendance and retention at schools.

There is a **long history of the setting up of temporary and/or mobile learning spaces** in refugee education and education in crisis contexts. Examples include tent schools (see Jusoor's Tent School for Syrian refugees in Jarahieh, Lebanon), boat schools (see the boat schools run by EAC and BRAC in Bangladesh) and pre-fabricated (prefab) classrooms, which



are easy to set up and dismantle (see the pre-fab school structures set up by UNICEF in Iraq in 2016 benefitting 42,000 displaced children). There are significant advantages to temporary and mobile structures, as they can be **brought directly to the learners in need**.

STRATEGY: Using technology to expand education access.

Given the disjuncture in time and space experienced by many refugees and IDPs, many have come to see a range of technologies as promising solutions to education provision. However, a couple of major recent reviews stress the importance of understanding technology as a tool, rather than the solution to improving access and quality of primary education for refugees and IDPs (Dahya 2016, GBCE 2016). In some contexts, such as Kakuma in Kenya, ICT approaches are proving reasonably successful (Interview K), while in particularly resourcepoor environments, such as South Sudan and certain parts of Zimbabwe, where there is a lack of familiarity with ICT in addition to poor infrastructure, successful implementation and uptake of these types of interventions are highly unlikely (Interviews L, A). In such contexts, 'finding creative ways to make and use low- or no-cost teaching aids' will likely prove far more effective in the long term (Mendenhall et al. 2015, p.114). The concept of technology as a tool, rather than the solution is a useful one and was elaborated on by a number of interviewees who talked about the importance of putting human interaction and relationships at the centre of educational interventions (Interviews G, L, M). Two educators working in Myanmar referred to this as 'human-centred design' (Interview G). This type of approach starts from an analysis of the context, needs, resources and capacities of the target displaced populations, and then determines how to best respond to the short-term and long-term learning needs through a wide range of no-, low- and high-tech approaches as appropriate (Bengtsson et al. 2016). In fact, in many contexts, ICT may be more useful as a tool to support teachers in doing their jobs (e.g., through online teacher training and mobile mentoring) or to improve assessment, rather than as a way to deliver educational content to students.

One example of a relatively successful use of ICT with displaced learners is Eneza, a forprofit, social enterprise based in Nairobi, Kenya. Eneza creates all its content and technology locally and has it approved by the regulating curriculum authority (Eneza Education 2016). Through an online platform called Mwalimoo, Eneza upper-primary students can access Kenyan curriculum-related content, including lessons, tips, assessments, leader boards and live teacher chats. There is also a teacher refresher course available through the platform. Eneza also has an SMS platform called Shupavu291, which allows Eneza students to access lessons, assessments, Wikipedia and an 'ask-a-teacher' function. Teachers also have access to teacher development through this platform and parents can enrol in a basic business course. Eneza claims to have reached over 1,100,000 learners across Africa with its mobile certificate courses. A UN-agency representative working in Kenya reported that Eneza, in collaboration with the Xavier Project, had a positive impact on refugee learning (Interview K). He explained that children have been able to access exam revision materials, which has raised motivation amongst students who have felt empowered by the opportunity for self-learning (one student had reportedly taken over 2,800 Eneza guizzes) and seems to have helped raise overall achievement. Emerging research shows that Eneza mobile phone modules, when connected with other support structures through Xavier (e.g., language learning, vocational training, scholarships), can help to enrich the educational experience of participating students

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(Dahya 2016). The Teachers for Teachers initiative based in Kenya utilises Eneza and supplements this technology with What's App and other ICT tools to **support teachers through mobile mentoring, coaching and peer learning**.

Recently, many initiatives employing ICT to support the learning of displaced children have emerged, though not many of them have yet been rigorously evaluated. A former INGO representative interviewed for this study mentioned that she had heard of the UNHCR & Vodafone Foundation's Instant Network Schools (INS) and wondered if it may have some potential for helping to reach marginalised learners. The programme launched in October 2014 with the opening of the first school and there are currently 20 schools in Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania and South Sudan. The pilot is still ongoing, but anecdotal evidence suggests that INS has had a positive impact on primary-enrolment and retention rates, which suggests that it can be upscaled to other countries in Africa (GBCE 2015). More information is available at the UNHCR Innovation page, along with information about other promising initiatives, including Skype in the Classroom, Connected Learning, Ideas Box and Worldreader. Other examples of ICT-education interventions include Open Learning Exchange (an online collaborative educational platform for people affected by conflict), TIGER (These Inspiring Girls Enjoy Reading) (a tablet-based reading programme for adolescent Syrian girls in Jordan), Can't Wait To Learn (an intervention teaching mathematics to out of school children in Sudan through tablet games developed by War Child Holland), RACHEL (Remote Area Community Hotspot for Education and Learning) (a popular educational resources made available offline) and Funzi (mobile phone app for teaching of key skills). As many of these resources are relatively new/still in pilot phase, there is little formal research evidence on their effectiveness. Further, it should be noted that, particularly when it comes to primary-school learners, appropriate scaffolding is required to ensure that fact-based content is successfully applied to local contexts, thus teacher training and ongoing programme support is fundamental to the long-term effectiveness of such programmes (ibid).

STRATEGY: Addressing safety of learners and teachers and establishing a 'culture of psychosocial support'.

While quality education can be protective for displaced children (Dryden-Peterson 2011), it is also **important to protect learners from attack and other threats to their safety** (GCPEA 2016). There is emerging research on how to protect schools from attack, for example by **having them meet in non-traditional settings** or constructing them from **non-traditional structures** (Burde et al. 2015). This burgeoning recognition of the need to protect education from attack is behind the GCPEA's Safe Schools Declaration (GCPEA 2015), which has so far been endorsed by 56 nations, as well as the recent Education Above All initiative, the Protect Education in Insecurity and Conflict (PEIC) programme.

The boarding school for at-risk, vulnerable girls in Kakuma Refugee Camp described above attempts to address the safety concerns that prevent girls from enrolling, completing or succeeding at school by removing them from threatening situations and providing a protective learning environment for them (Interview K). While proving to be effective for enrolled girls, it was considered to be a very expensive intervention. A donor representative described a protection initiative in South Sudan she had heard about which she felt might



have some relevance for education for displaced children (Interview C). The initiative is known as the Non-Violent Peace Force and it provides unarmed accompaniment for people seeking services while in displacement, building on the principle that **if there is an external actor monitoring service provision, fewer abuses will occur**. She explained:

I was thinking about this in relation to our education programmes. If you have community monitors, going into schools during displacement, checking the quality of education and doing a review of safety parameters of the learning environment, checking on the safety of children on the path to and from school, what would that change in terms of a community's commitment to making the learning

Interview C

It is crucial to address the protection and psychosocial support needs of displaced children in a **consistent and sustained way**. An educator working with refugees in Lebanon described how they had attempted to bring in experts on psychosocial support, as they did with other sectors (e.g., hygiene), but that they came to realise that this was not sufficient and that what was needed was the building of a 'culture of psychosocial support' (Interview M). Their strategy involves building psychosocial support into the daily routines of the school, encouraging students to speak up about their feelings and experiences. Such a culture is dependent on the capacity of teachers and administrators to respond to these needs on a daily basis and is the principle behind the IRC's Healing Classrooms Initiative (Winthrop & Kirk 2005). Further, it is important to note that even when learners have access to quality primary education and psychosocial support, which offer protection and help to build some resilience in the short term, as is the case with Palestinian refugees in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, this can be unproductive in the long term (Shah 2015b). Teaching children resilience and building their knowledge and skills with no end in sight for the day-to-day violence they experience and limited future livelihood opportunities, may have devastating psychological impacts in the long term (ibid). Earlier research suggests that children's exposure to continuous direct violence and indirect trauma may sustain stress despite treatment (Thabet et al. 2005).

STRATEGY: Building communities' confidence in education provision and ensuring the benefits of education are higher than costs.

As previously mentioned, one major barrier to primary-school enrolment and attendance amongst refugee and IDP children is **self-exclusion**, as children and their families often do not see the relevance or importance of education for their lives and livelihoods, and/or find the education to be of poor quality, and/or consider the opportunity costs to be too high. A few of the interviewees highlighted solutions that had been attempted to address some of these issues. On the issue of relevance, a former INGO employee in South Sudan described **attempts to create a relevant life-skills curriculum**, based on the idea that there is a 'bigger, or different, purpose for education to better respond to the needs of children affected by conflict' (Interview L). However, the success of this initiative was limited as the hundreds of teachers intended to teach this curriculum had very little training (many of them having not completed secondary school). In other words, **the relevance of the education children would receive was overshadowed by the poor quality**. In Lebanon, an educator working with Syrian refugees described how they were constantly working on solutions to the problem of parents



removing their children from school or some not enrolling altogether (Interview M). Some of these solutions included double shifts (which would allow children to work), providing transportation, shifting the school calendar to accommodate the potato season (when many children would be required to help their families with picking the potato crop). Unfortunately, many of these strategies were not as successful as the educator had hoped. Double shifts proved strenuous for teachers and learners, transportation was costly and difficult to maintain, and shifting the school calendar did little to support the steady stream of refugees who would arrive at different points in the year.

Training and sensitisation programmes for parents and teachers can lead to the reduction of stigma around certain learners, particularly female and overage learners, and the active mobilisation of the wider community in supporting education programming and the recruitment and retention of both teachers and students (Shah, 2015a). In this vein, interviewees from Zimbabwe (Interviews A, D) and Pakistan (Interview H), described how they were also working with community leaders, teachers, parents and children to sensitise them to the importance of education. However, these **community-sensitisation interventions are limited in their effectiveness if they are not accompanied by efforts to reduce the opportunity costs of education**, particularly in contexts where refugees and IDPs are not legally allowed to work. In such contexts, children may be required to take on incomegenerating activities in the informal sector or girls may be married off to reduce the economic burden on the family. There is emerging evidence to suggest that both unconditional and conditional cash transfers, school vouchers, and working with parents on alternative livelihood opportunities are effective in increasing access and decreasing child labour (Lehman & Masterson 2014, Shah 2015a).

3.4 Quality and relevance

3.4.1 Challenges

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CHALLENGE: It is difficult to collect data on education quality in displacement contexts.

While it is challenging to collect data on education access, it is even more challenging to collect data on education quality and therefore, **much of the data available is from small-scale, short-term projects or collected through anecdotal evaluations** (Brehm 2016). There is a particular **dearth when it comes to longitudinal scientific research** in crisis and displacement contexts: for example, accelerated learning programmes (ALPs) are a popular intervention for refugees and IDPs who have had their learning interrupted and yet, according to a rigorous review, while there was a lot of grey literature about ALPs (including project evaluations), there were no experimental or quasi-experimental studies and no longitudinal studies (Burde et al. 2015). Research on educational quality is challenging in part because **quality is a contested term**¹⁷ and there have been numerous debates and discussions about how to measure (and ultimately improve) educational quality, particularly when it comes to vulnerable populations, including mobile populations (Onwu & Agu 2010).

¹⁷ Many scholars will look at education quality in terms of three dimensions, asking questions about (1) what to teach (curriculum questions), (2) how to teach (pedagogy) and who is teaching and (3) how to measure if quality learning/teaching is taking/has taken place (assessment). For the purposes of this study, challenges described in the remainder of this section have been organised around these three dimensions.



CHALLENGE: It is difficult to ensure that curriculum content is meaningful, useful and accessible for refugee and IDP learners and draws from learners' past experiences, particularly for mixed populations.

Given the widely recognised preference for the first of the three durable solutions to displacement,¹⁸ those working with displaced children have tended to teach the home curriculum, so children are able to repatriate quickly upon return. However, in recent years, given the increasingly protracted nature of displacement crises, many stakeholders now favour using host curriculum (alongside mainstreaming efforts), since many of **these** displaced children are unlikely to return home, at least not before they have finished a full formal cycle of schooling (Mendenhall et al. 2017). Research with refugees in Kenya found that refugee schools followed the Kenyan curriculum as recommended by UNHCR, as it is believed that this will promote greater integration, certification of learning and the opportunity to learn English, which was overwhelmingly described by learners as a key asset in securing productive livelihoods (Mendenhall et al. 2015). Host versus home curriculum may seem less of an issue for IDP children if one assumes that there is one single national curriculum, but in many countries there are regional variations around what is taught, and in what language. When it comes to the uncertain futures associated with displacement, ensuring that the curriculum is meaningful and linked to recognised forms of accreditation and certification for children who may or may not return home, and who may or may not have to move again, is a pressing challenge (Bengtsson & Naylor 2016).

Research tracing the educational histories of refugee learners from a range of contexts before their resettlement to the United States found that **language of instruction is a serious** issue: in a refugee class, it is often the case that the learners do not have a single language in common, which slows educational progress, as curriculum materials and other instructional content have to be translated multiple times (Dryden-Peterson 2015). To complicate matters further, as UNHCR and other stakeholder policies relating to curriculum have changed over time, so too have their policies on teaching children in host or origin language, so refugee learners are exposed to different languages, but are not able to master any of them (Bengtsson & Naylor 2016). This puts a strain on teachers, who feel limited in being able to respond to students' language needs in the classroom, particularly when language education programmes are lacking (Mendenhall et al. 2015) and can compound the problem of overage learners, who may have content knowledge, but do not have the linguistic skills to keep up with their peers (Bunar 2017). Refugee teachers also struggle when they are expected to teach curriculum content that is unfamiliar to them or does not seem relevant to the lives of their students. In contexts where curricula are linked closely with formal national examinations, it is not possible to simply ignore this content, as students will be tested on it (Mendenhall et al. 2015). With students from different cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds, it can be difficult to work with certain curriculum documents, as questions around selection of content have important implications for what refugees learn (ibid). For example, as with learners from minority language groups in multilingual societies around the world, if no mother tongue curriculum materials are available, not only do young refugee learners find it difficult to learn basic literacy and numeracy, but they will also learn that their

¹⁸ The three durable solutions for both refugees and IDPs are: (1) repatriation, (2) absorption/integration in host communities and (3) settlement in third locations.



language is not as valued as the language of instruction. Alongside academic knowledge and skills, the curriculum also transmits to children lessons about **power relationships and their position in the society** they live in (Dryden-Peterson 2015).

CHALLENGE: Many teachers of refugee and IDP children are un- or underqualified or do not have their qualifications recognised.

The quality of teaching staff is recognised as a key factor in determining variation in learning outcomes (Reeves Ring & West 2015), thus the proportion of teachers who hold the required academic gualifications and the proportion of teachers trained to teach are, according to established standards, the two most frequently used indicators to measure overall quality of the teaching personnel in primary schools (Onwu & Agu 2010). In displacement contexts, traditionally the standards for what constitutes 'trained' have been quite low. In 2011, the UNHCR defined a trained teacher as one who had participated in at least 10 days of training (Dryden-Peterson 2011). Even by that definition, levels of training amongst teachers working with refugee students were found to be low, with a majority of teachers classified as untrained (ibid). There is limited research on teachers of displaced students in LMICs, particularly **IDPs**, though this is an area gaining increasing research interest. Existing data suggest that, as with access, duration and quality of teacher education varies significantly from context to context. Global data from 2009 on percentage of trained teachers ranged from 0 per cent in Djibouti to 100 per cent in Eritrea (Dryden-Peterson 2015). There can be significant variation in training levels within country contexts and different population groups as well, as was revealed during an interview with a UN representative working across a range of contexts in Somalia (Interview F). While the percentage of professionally qualified teachers working with displaced children around the world has increased, progress is uneven, with some countries and regions showing little to no gains. Finally, many refugee and IDP teachers who are trained by NGOs or UN agencies in camps and some refugees who have qualified as teachers under a host country system rarely find this training recognised when they return home or move to a different context, no matter how high the quality of the training they received, nor how much experience they have had teaching (Baxter & Bethke 2009).

CHALLENGE: There is an urgent need to determine how best to recruit, support and retain highly qualified and motivated teachers who teach well.

There are **very few studies that have explored the factors that motivate or demotivate teachers** in crisis and displacement contexts (Reeves Ring & West 2015). In the Zimbabwean context, where many primary teachers have the requisite training and qualifications, lack of motivation emerges as a serious issue, according to an NGO representative from Zimbabwe interviewed for this study:

It's not necessarily an issue of qualified teachers, it's an issue of passionate teachers, because the system of enrolling teachers has standards, but what happens is, is that where you go teaching matters. So if you are teaching at such a school with no infrastructure and no teacher accommodation, all the passionate, good teachers will tend to leave, and the school will remain with a certain group of teachers who are there just because it is close to their rural village or they want a place where there isn't a lot of workload or a lot of activities to be assigned, which is kind of peculiar with these kinds of schools in these remote areas.

Interview D



Teachers working in overcrowded classrooms and/or on double shifts are often left exhausted and unable to do their jobs well, particularly if they have little to no training and/ or support. The level of **remuneration for teachers of refugees and IDPs is often low and/ or undependable**, particularly in camp contexts where teachers are often refugees or IDPs themselves, leading many qualified teachers to pursue opportunities further afield or leave the teaching sector altogether (Sesnan 2012). This was a common problem in refugee camps along the Thai-Myanmar border according to interviewees (Interviews B, G).

On a related note, while many teachers of refugee and IDP children are themselves from displaced communities, the focus of research and practice tends to be on addressing equity issues and vulnerabilities amongst students only. Very **rarely have teachers been considered as a target group for support**, with the focus instead being on improving their quality as service providers to support vulnerable children. Working with displaced populations, particularly if the teacher in question is themselves a displaced person, can take a **significant toll on a teacher's own well-being**. More research is urgently needed on (1) how displacement and emergency settings influence female teachers, who often face gender-based obstacles; (2) working conditions for teachers in various contexts; (3) potential impacts of recruiting and deploying volunteer, contract and/or professionally certified teachers; (4) differences in motivating factors for different groups of teachers; and (5) effective models for coordinated leadership, security and management structures to support teachers to do their jobs well (Reeves Ring & West 2015). Fortunately, there have been some promising recent developments on this front, which will be discussed later in this study.

CHALLENGE: There is a lack of research on effective accreditation/certification mechanisms for refugee and IDP children.

Learning certification (and accreditation of relevant administrative bodies) has long been recognised as a critical issue when it comes to programme quality, impact and sustainability (Kirk 2009). However, there is a lack of research and documentation on effective mechanisms for accreditation and certification, and while there are some examples of promising initiatives, including cross-border and regional examinations that are widely recognised, these initiatives remain few and far between, and are under-researched (ibid). In the case of refugee camps along the Thai-Myanmar border, while it is widely perceived that Karen refugee primary-education programmes are of higher quality than many Thai ones, the former only have currency in refugee contexts, as they are not formally accredited and thus do not lead to official certification (Oh 2012; Interview B). A lack of recognition of former learning, particularly NFE, is a problem for displaced learners across the board (Kirk 2009). Even when formal assessment opportunities leading to certification are available, these are often tests of rote learning and fail to capture broader ways of teaching and learning that build sustainable literacy and numeracy, comprehension and key life skills that are evaluated by more independent assessments, such as the Early Grades Reading Assessment (EGRA) (Dryden-Peterson 2011).

CHALLENGE: Opportunities for both formal and formative assessment of learning are often inadequate or inappropriate for refugee and IDP children.

There are **numerous reasons that both refugee and IDP children are unable to sit formal national examinations**, from being formally excluded by the government (Kirk 2009), to not



having the correct documentation, including birth certificates (UNICEF 2015), to inaccessible examination sites (UNICEF 2016c), to prohibitive examination schedules (Chelpi-den Hamer 2011). In contexts where refugee learners are able to access national/formal assessment opportunities, these often do not allow students to demonstrate their knowledge and skills, particularly when the student comes from a different linguistic or cultural background. Recent research with refugee learners in Sweden found that every examination refugee learners had to sit became a test of their linguistic skills, rather than their content knowledge in different subjects (Bunar 2017). In the Kenyan context, many refugee students would have to spend additional time building basic knowledge about Kenyan cultures and the Swahili language in order to have a chance at passing the national examinations and obtaining the necessary primary education certification (Mendenhall et al. 2015). Generally, formal national assessments leading to certification are summative or cumulative and measure proficiency they signify whether or not students have met the learning requirements for a given course of study, and represent important milestones for displaced learners who rely on certification to help them progress to the next stage of their educational journey or to the job market. Unfortunately, there is even less guidance to date on formative assessment for learners in crisis and displacement contexts, which means that it is difficult to capture the ongoing learning needs of learners and the progress of their learning (Dryden-Peterson 2011).

3.4.2 Strategies

STRATEGY: Finding a balance between host and home curricula for displaced learners. As previously discussed, recently there has been a trend towards mainstreaming displaced learners into host schools, and consequently teaching the host curriculum. While there is emerging evidence to suggest the value of this approach, the **curriculum debate needs to be contextualised**. In some contexts, for example, in a refugee camp in Zimbabwe, teaching the Zimbabwean curriculum has not led to any major issues, according to one interviewee (Interview A).

In other contexts, however, the curriculum question becomes a far more complex, political one. A researcher who had worked extensively as an education consultant along the Thai-Myanmar border pointed out that **decisions around curriculum, including language of instruction, need to be made with the overall purpose of education in mind** (Interview B). For example, she described how the Karen refugees wanted to be taught in Karen, so the Karen Education Department developed and provided its own curriculum in response. Interestingly, the second language choice for the Karen people is English, not Thai or Burmese. While the Karen education programme is considered quite successful, for many child refugees along the border, their educational experiences are not as positive, because they find themselves moving between different schools with different focuses, with some working on the premise that the children will return to Myanmar and some working on integrating the children into Thailand. She explained:

For the kids to be sort of ping-ponged between those different agendas and languages I think is very hard. So I'd like to design something that's a bit more consistent in that sense. And also, in terms of what then gets taught, obviously that would depend on who those kids are.

Interview **B**

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Even if the reality is that most refugees and IDP children will not return 'home', that does not mean they should not be able to learn about home. An educator working with Syrian refugees in Lebanon described how they had introduced an 'Identity Programme' for their students, through which they can address feelings of exile and learn to feel pride about their country (Interview M). She described how the Identity Programme has been very well received to date: 'The students love it. It helps to counteract the negative press they keep hearing' (ibid). Increasingly, there are calls to look beyond host and home curriculum, towards a more international curriculum that is recognised everywhere. An NGO representative now based in Kuala Lumpur who has spent several years working with refugee communities and advocacy pointed out that 'education needs to link to certification', that it 'needs to be tied to an official curriculum that is recognised' (Interview O). She described an initiative in Jakarta, which had, for this reason, chosen to follow the U.S. curriculum. In Turkey, the Syrian curriculum is not officially recognised, and given the vast numbers of children outside of the formal education system, there is a very real risk that a whole generation of Syrian refugees living in Turkey will not have their learning experiences recognised, which will have a knock-on effect, the higher up in the education system they get. In response to this problem, one donor representative working with Syrian children in Turkey described how they are currently trying to work with the MOE at the policy level to develop 'ad hoc curricula, which can be certified, and which can target out of school and overage children' (Interview E).

STRATEGY: Learning to differentiate/modify curriculum to support a diverse range of learners.

It is very important to be able to **differentiate curriculum** (or provide different entry points to learners depending on their different levels in knowledge, skills and abilities), in order to ensure 'a quality learning experience for displaced learners, because often they come to the classroom with a broad range of learning needs' (Bengtsson & Naylor 2016, p.79). This can happen at the level of the classroom or the school system. The educator working with Syrian refugees in Lebanon described how she had specifically set up her group of schools to operate a kind of 'differentiated Lebanese curriculum' to help Syrian children to acquire the skills they needed before moving into the Lebanese public school system (Interview M). Every year, she and her team would modify the Lebanese curriculum for use in their NFE programme. They operate at four levels - beginner, 1, 2 and 3 - preparing Syrian students to enter the Lebanese system at about Grade 3. One donor representative in Turkey described how some of the Temporary Education Centres for refugees had begun teaching in Arabic to respond to the learning needs of Syrian refugees (Interview E). A collaboration between UNICEF, UNRWA and the Syrian MOE to develop self-learning materials for Syrian children shows how other curricula (in this case, UNRWA materials) can be modified to line up with the official curriculum, rather than vice versa. One final example of curriculum modification is a collaboration between UNHCR Chad (2015) and the Government of Chad, who, based on a participatory assessment amongst Sudanese refugees in 12 camps in 2012 on transitioning to the Chadian system, worked to adapt the bilingual national curriculum (French and Arabic) to be used with refugees from Sudan and train teachers to deliver that curriculum effectively to Sudanese learners.



STRATEGY: Ensuring that the curriculum is meaningful and relevant.

The challenge of building a meaningful and relevant curriculum to respond to the diverse needs of displaced learners is well documented in the literature. A donor representative in Turkey explained how for curriculum to be truly meaningful, it is important to look **beyond a 'curriculum only for formal learning' approach**:

I would say there is no strategy to promote social cohesion within the formal school system, both in terms of curriculum (academic performance), but also in terms of promoting more opportunity for intercultural activities and community-based involvement.

Interview E

According to recent research, what is required is an **integrated**, **interactive curriculum** that encourages **active learning and engagement** (Mendenhall et al. 2015). Two educators working in Myanmar talked about the importance of **bringing art back into the curriculum** and exploring possibilities for **research-based learning**, even at the primary level (Interview G). They also highlighted the importance of building **critical-thinking skills**, which was echoed by a former INGO representative who had worked in South Sudan and an educator working with Syrian refugees in Lebanon (Interviews L, M). The former also emphasised the importance of students learning **life skills** in a protective, psychosocially supportive space for learning, while the latter described the importance of embedding learner enjoyment in the curriculum: 'If learning is fun, then the students don't know that they're studying' (Interview L).

It should be noted that it is impossible to develop a curriculum of a high enough quality that the impact of the quality of teaching of that curriculum is close to negligible. A researcher who had consulted on curriculum issues along the Thai-Myanmar border had the following to say:

I was working in curriculum programmes, I remember one person I was working with said that the textbook had to be teacher-proof, which to me is such a horrible idea! But the point was simply that you don't know who is going to pick up the material, you don't know who the teacher is going to be – it might be a newly arrived refugee who has never been a teacher before, who is the right sort of age... they get put in the classroom. So they wanted materials that could just be picked up... That's not a great way to run a school.

Interview B

The following section will elaborate on this idea by discussing the effective approaches to teachers and teaching uncovered in this study. (For further information on the relationship between curriculum, pedagogy/teaching and assessment, see Appendix F).

STRATEGY: Training effective teachers through context-responsive programming and ongoing professional development.

As previously mentioned, often teachers of refugee and IDP children have been forcibly displaced themselves. While some of them are qualified, significant numbers are not. For this reason, **many NGOs and other stakeholders deliver their own teacher training and courses**, including the IRC Healing Classrooms Initiative, the Sudan Open Learning



Organisation's Teacher Assistance Course, the Be a Better Teacher materials for Somalia and the Teacher Emergency Package (Bengtsson & Naylor 2016). More recently, a Working Group at INEE has produced a Training Pack for Primary School Teachers in Crisis Contexts to build basic teaching competencies for un- or under-qualified teachers to teach in settings, such as refugee/IDP camps, conflict-affected areas, post-natural disasters and/or with highly vulnerable populations. The Training Pack has been field-tested in Iraq and Kenya and externally reviewed by a range of education in emergencies specialists. (See Appendix G for examples of current teacher training/education programmes.) It should be noted that while many of these programmes are of high quality, they are **not universally recognised as formal teaching qualifications**. There is a strong argument to be made for the development of an **internationally transferable competency-based framework** for teacher professional standards covering both formal and non-formal teacher training, particularly for teachers from mobile populations (Penson et al. 2012).

Many of these training programmes, while comprehensive, are **offered over a short space of time**, which can make it difficult for pre-service teachers to acquire the necessary skillset to become effective teachers. This issue has been recognised and there are several examples of the provision of **continuing professional development opportunities** for teachers teaching displaced learners and/or in displacement contexts. UNRWA, for example, launched a continuing professional development programme known as School Based Teacher Development (SBTD) in 2012, which was cited as one of the reasons for the relatively high quality of teaching in UNRWA schools in a recent evaluation (World Bank, 2014). In an evaluation of NRC programmes, the ones that were deemed the most effective were the ones that emphasised ongoing classroom-based support for teachers, including regular supervision, classroom observations, micro-teaching opportunities, workshops and refresher courses (Shah 2015a). The Teachers for Teachers initiative discussed earlier is another example: alongside pre- and in-service training, teachers participating in the initiative also have access to coaching and mobile mentoring.

STRATEGY: Addressing teacher well-being, motivation, support and remuneration based on more holistic conceptualisations of teachers and teaching.

The following Figure is taken from the INEE Training Pack and illustrates the five interconnected core competencies for primary teachers.

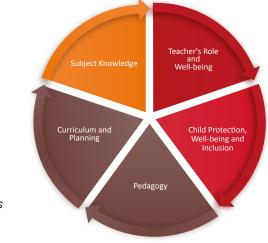


Figure: The Core Competencies for Primary Teachers

Source: INEE (2016)



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The Figure provides a more **holistic conceptualisation of teachers and teaching** that goes beyond subject knowledge, curriculum and planning, and pedagogy, and includes the components of child protection, well-being and inclusion, and the teacher's role and wellbeing. In other words, effective teaching requires a certain amount of care and self-care. Teachers need to feel supported to do their jobs well. UNRWA's mechanism for teacher management provides a good example of a more holistic approach to teachers that has been relatively successful to date. Despite significant resource constraints, UNRWA students outperform students from public schools in Jordan and the West Bank and Gaza by a year's worth of learning and this was partly due to the quality of teaching (World Bank 2014). According to the evaluation: (1) UNRWA is able to attract and recruit high-quality teachers, because they run free teachers' colleges and guarantee employment, provided the prospective teacher passes an exam and interview; (2) clear expectations are set for UNRWA teachers and they are given guidance on how to use time effectively in classrooms; (3) UNRWA schools have more mandated opportunities for orientation and CPD; (4) UNRWA teachers are supported by qualified, experienced principals; (5) UNRWA teachers show more confidence, use a more diverse range of teaching methods and rely more on interactivelearning activities, discussions and assignments; and (6) as UNRWA teachers come from the same at-risk population as the students themselves, they are better placed to serve as role models and more effectively provide psychosocial support and address learning needs (ibid).

It is clear from the literature and from the interviews that, despite the difficulties of maintaining high levels of motivation amongst teachers and compensating them adequately for their work, these must be prioritised in order for quality teaching to happen. Interviewees in Zimbabwe (Interviews A, D) and in Yemen (Interview J), for example, brought up the problem of a lack of accommodation for teachers. Interviewees who had worked with education along the Thai-Myanmar border (Interviews B, G), witnessed well-trained teachers leaving for better opportunities. Further, they noted that in the rural areas, it was difficult to keep good government teachers, who had been posted there by the government, because they felt no real connection to these places. Local teachers, on the other hand, were highly motivated. Teacher compensation is also strongly linked with teacher motivation and wellbeing. In 2009, INEE released Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-Crisis Recovery, which are organised around the themes of Policy and Coordination, Management and Financial Aspects and Teachers' Motivation, Support and Supervision as Non-Monetary Compensation. UNHCR has also published a brief on Refugee Teacher Management, which provides basic planning and programming recommendations for managing refugee teachers. The more successful examples of highquality teaching tend to come from areas where these principles are put into practice. For example, in 2015, when over 4,000 Syrian refugee volunteer teachers in Turkey started to receive monthly incentive payments (between 130 and 190), their levels of morale and sense of professional value increased and they were thus better equipped to support quality learning in their classrooms (UNHCR & UNESCO GEMR 2016). Conversely, where there are issues around conditions of employment (e.g., refugee teachers are restricted to short-term contracts) or funding gaps due to short-term financing (leading to limited funds for teacher salaries or incentive pay), retention of teachers is challenging.



STRATEGY: Supporting quality assessment and certification systems for displaced learners. One of the more extensive, recent studies on accreditation and certification for displaced students is the UNICEF regional study on Curriculum, Accreditation and Certification for Syrian Children in Syria, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Irag and Egypt (UNICEF 2015). But, given the dynamic nature of the Syrian crisis, a number of the findings from the study are already outdated. Promising strategies emerging from the study within Syria include: (1) the opportunity to sit **placement exams** and access **remedial education** for displaced children and children directly affected by the conflict; (2) the development and maintenance of a national education database, which includes certification records for all Syrian students and teachers within Syria, so certificates can be re-issued and redistributed to students who have lost them; and (3) as courses conducted in IDP shelters or non-state centres are not officially recognised by the government, certain NGOs will provide their own report cards and local teacher unions administer their own examinations resulting in certificates from the Syrian Opposition Coalition (based in Turkey). From countries hosting Syrian refugees, the following promising strategies emerged: (1) allowing refugees to sit for both end-of-year and official leaving examinations, culminating in an official certificate; (2) awarding attendance certificates to refugees not enrolled in host country schools; and (3) offering Syrian students the opportunity to follow the Syrian curriculum and awarding certificates regardless of the curriculum followed. However, these strategies have been limited in their success to date and significant challenges remain, including loss of proof of identity documents and school records, equivalence of learning/transcripts and limited resources to ensure that students are able to sit and/or pass examinations.

Again, UNRWA's education programme provides a good example of positive strategies for developing and maintaining a 'world-class assessment system' (World Bank 2014). The system is characterised by a number of factors: to begin with, the system has a **high degree of multi-stakeholder accountability**, with students, parents, teachers, local governments and society all held accountable for learning outcomes. All **formal examinations are prepared centrally and are common across all schools** and overall assessment data are **monitored by UNRWA policymakers**. UNRWA have recognised the importance of connecting curriculum, pedagogy and assessment: data from assessments are used to inform curriculum (lesson plans) and pedagogy (support in terms of instructional practice). **Teachers are seen to play a key role in assessment**: new UNRWA teachers are trained to assess student achievement as part of their orientation (and learn about both formal assessment and formative assessment) (ibid).

The following strategies have also been used to address challenges with assessment and certification for displaced learners:

- Host and home governments collaborating to jointly offer exams. See, for example, the collaboration between the Turkish MOE and the Syrian interim government to offer school-leaving exams (Ackerman 2015).
- Cross border and regional examinations, which allow refugees to sit the exams of the host country (Kirk 2009).
- Development of recognition agreements between host and origin governments (Kirk 2009).



- Providing logistical support, school supplies, meals and toilets to enable IDP children to attend examination centres, as was the case in Sudan (UNICEF 2016c).
- Shifting examination dates to accommodate refugee and IDP children (UNICEF 2016c).
- Providing opportunities for displaced students to revise for their formal exams. See, for example, the revision support provided by Eneza in Kenya.

While the focus of discussions on assessment in displacement tends to be on formal, official assessment and certification, it is important to note that teachers must be equipped to conduct **day-to-day formative assessments** (as covered in the UNRWA SBTD programme described earlier). In fact, educators in Myanmar pointed out that schools need to 'focus on more than memorisation or students end up with certificates but no skills' (Interview G). Also, even when it is not possible to award official certificates, it may still be **important for children to feel that someone is recognising their learning**. As an educator in Lebanon put it:

When they arrive, we test them, we give them reports, etc., even though from an official point of view, these things have no value. But, you cannot underestimate the importance of having children feel that they're being taken seriously in education.

Interview M

4 PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN IN PASTORALIST AND SEASONALLY MIGRATING FAMILIES

4.1 Policy, coordination & implementation

4.1.1 Challenges

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CHALLENGE: Low general visibility of these groups in education policy has been slow to change.

The **need to focus on flexible forms of education** for children in pastoralist and seasonally migrating families was clearly articulated in the 1990 World EFA Declaration (WDEFA 1990). Since then, for **mobile pastoralists**, stakeholder discussions, conferences and outputs have contributed to an emerging global literature on progress and challenges of their education inclsusion (e.g., Krätli 2001, de Souza/MOEK/UNICEF 2006, Dyer 2006, Krätli & Dyer 2009, Downie 2011, Dyer 2016). **Progress on appropriate policy recognition is stronger where it is acknowledged that pastoralists form significant population segments** (e.g., Horn of Africa, Afghanistan) and slow where such acknowledgement is lacking or the 'migrant' categorisation is oversimplified (e.g., India, see SSA [2005]).



Children of seasonal migrants have not been 'on the radar' of government or development agencies, reflecting a widespread neglect of seasonality in development thinking and analysis (Interviews 1, 4; Hadley 2010, Van De Glind 2010, Devereux, Sabates-Wheeler & Longhurst 2011, Chambers 2012). A 'stark absence of policy debate' on the general situation of migrant labourers and "highly limited" research on this subject' are reported from India (Deshingkar & Start 2003, Smita 2008, Roy et al. 2015): as UNICEF (2012) points out, 'Fragmented references to migrants exist in some legislation and policies [...] but they inadequately address the nature and complexities of internal migration in India'. Much the same is reported from Turkey (Beleli 2013) and Mexico (Urbieta 2013). Turkey, for example, has no official estimates of the number of local workers or immigrants employed in seasonal agricultural work, nor any official estimates of how many children are part of seasonal migration for agricultural work (Beleli 2013, pp.16-17); but this country is not alone - several interviewees commented on this (Interviews 2, 4; see also Harttgen & Klasen 2009). Seasonal labour migration finds some policy recognition in various post 2000 national education policy frameworks which make explicit reference to 'migrant children'.¹⁹ But unless the homogenising 'migrant' policy category is sufficiently differentiated to recognise the vast range of seasonal livelihoods and associated mobility patterns, some children's education needs will be missed. An NGO representative in India explained:

In India, there are three types of [recognised] migration. But there are also families who go away from their village to a nearby locality for just 15-20 days at a time, say, gathering wood for charcoal burning. They are not categorised as 'migrant' children. That's where their [authorities'] understanding was very poor. That obviously affected kids' education.

Interview 1

CHALLENGE: For pastoralists, a legacy of mis-recognition in policy is difficult to overcome. It is well established in the literature that formal schooling is caught up in **tensions** surrounding the legitimacy of mobile pastoralism as a sustainable contemporary livelihood (Naimir-Fuller 1999, Krätli 2001, IIED 2010, Dyer 2014). In many countries, there is a history of policy communities promoting formal education as an instrument to promote 'modernisation' and leave pastoralism (Krätli 2001) that stretches back to colonial times (Dyer 2014). This legacy implicitly encourages 'sedentarisation', both as an aspect of modernity and to enable mobile pastoralists to use a service that is, fundamentally, designed for sedentary populations (Krätli and Dyer 2009). Formal education, thus, has long been geared towards offering a route for exiting pastoralism. It comes in 'terms of inclusion' (Dyer 2013) that typically force families to choose between schooling or the mobility, situated learning and labour organisation that are integral to becoming a successful pastoralist (Krätli 2001, Krätli & Dyer 2009). A second, linked mis-recognition is of pastoralism as a form of work that undermines children's right to education. This is also very problematic, as it **negates** the value and dignity of children learning livelihoods through an apprenticeship model of education. Failure to recognise informal learning gives rise to a notion of 'education deficit' (e.g., UNESCO 2010) that undermines indigenous or other knowledge acquired outside a school setting. These forms of mis-recognition of the relationship between education and

¹⁹ Examples include China's 2006 revisions to the Education Law and India's 2005 Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan framework (SSA 2005) and 2009 Right to Education Act (SSA-RTE 2010).



sustainable livelihoods need to be addressed because, as the Africa Education Trust points out, 'the right to education should never come at the expense of someone's livelihood'.²⁰

CHALLENGE: Gaps between education policy and its implementation are widely observed. While the need for flexible approaches to education provision for the 'hard to reach' is increasingly recognised at the global and national levels (WDEFA 1990, UNESCO 2010 and 2015), **translating policy ideals into effective strategies lags behind**. This gap is very widely felt and was a strong focus of concern for many interviewees for this study (Interviews 1, 2, 6, 14, 16).

If we claim we have a policy and strategy yet see no remarkable change on the ground, one factor may be a gap in terms of policy and strategy.

Interview 2

Implementation is often seen as a follow up to the more prestigious work of policy development, rather than as an integral aspect of it (Dyer 2000). This approach contributes to a further **gap**, again widely remarked upon in interviews for this study, **between policy intentions and community needs**. In discussions about pastoralists' inclusion in Ethiopia, for example, it was argued that these two gaps seem to be mutually reinforcing in how they constrain progress on attracting children to enrol:

The government is trying to develop tuned strategies that address the needs of those pastoralist children although it has its own limitations and gaps in implementation. It is fine on paper but implementation is not that good. So there is a policy focus. But it is not sure to what extent policy and strategy address the needs of children to come to school, which may be why we are not as successful as expected.

Interview 2

Implementation gaps often manifest themselves in problematic service quality and relevance which have many impacts on enrolment, retention and achievement, as discussed throughout this Section.

CHALLENGE: Legal frameworks supporting the right to education, where they exist, are not necessarily either adequate or enforced.

As discussed in Section Three, despite the widely ratified CRC, **legislation around the right to education is often weak and/or poorly enforced**. Education inclusion should be supported by laws outside the education sector too, for example, to protect migrant workers' basic rights to housing and other entitlements. While such laws do exist, **legal frameworks are often inadequate** and replete with loopholes, unenforceable regulations and 'rules with no teeth' (Beleli 2013, p.16). For seasonal labourers, the need for legal protection reflects a larger reality, in which both their poverty and policy invisibility leave them 'vulnerable to spending half of their lives in testing conditions where basic services, civic amenities, safe environments, entitlements and rights are lacking' (Daniel 2013, p.27; Macours & Vakis 2007, Donohoe



2013). As the persistence of what is described here shows, the mere presence of legislative frameworks is not nearly enough. Interviewees for this study working with children from seasonally migrating families called for a tougher stance (Interview 4):

We need better enforcement of existing legislation and agreements that support education and human rights, especially for girls.

Interview 16

4.1.2 Strategies

STRATEGY: Advocacy and visibility-raising about the particular needs of mobile children.

Tackling the low visibility of children in pastoralist and seasonally migrating families to authorities was a core concern for civil society actors interviewed for this study. (I)NGO representatives all described extensive and sustained advocacy of children's rights (often with a focus on girls, who are seen to be doubly disadvantaged in terms of visibility) and effort to raise the profile of educational needs that are specific to these communities yet poorly recognised by decision makers. **Working in partnership with government is seen as essential to achieving results at scale** and despite acknowledged constraints to making this work, for reasons of both scale and equity, emerges as an important operating principle.

STRATEGY: Addressing pastoralists' mis-recognition in policy with newer, more accurate and focused policy strategies and institutions.

Many African countries have developed specific education policies for pastoralist groups,²¹ which are beginning to reflect – although not always consistently or fully - accurate, recent scientific research from outside the education sector on drylands livelihoods (IIED 2010). This research, which challenges and is helping to displace outdated science and dominant myths about pastoralism, is beginning to enable a re-positioning of formal education as having a role in sustaining mobile pastoralism for the next generation, rather than functioning primarily as an exit route into an alternative livelihood. In the education sector, some countries have also established dedicated government departments and commissions or councils (e.g., Sudan's Department of Education for Nomads, Ethiopia's Federal Special Directorate, Nigeria's Nomadic Education Commission [NCNE] and the National Council for Nomadic Education Kenya [NACONEK]). In Afghanistan, at the topmost policy level, and unusually (Dyer 2016), nomads' right to education is recognised in the 2004 Afghani Constitution.

STRATEGY: Leveraging rights and other available forms of legislation to promote education inclusion.

Many interviewees pointed out that for both advocacy and accountability, and despite implementation gaps **the existence of a facilitating policy/legislative framework around the right to education is an essential starting point** (Interviews 1, 4, 5, 6, 10). India's 2009 RTE Act, for example, has provided the legislation for civil society actors to take out public interest litigation and fight for rights (Interview 5), recalling that public interest litigation in

²¹ See, for example, Kenya's 2010 Nomadic Education Policy and Ethiopia's 2008 Pastoralist Education Strategy, updated 2016/17.



the Unnikrishnan case was the catalyst for the national right to education legislation in this country (CRG 2012). But a cross-sectoral orientation is crucial, because legislation and policy frameworks outside the education sector also play important roles in promoting and protecting education. For pastoralists, for example, a key African Union development policy contains strong advocacy for education's key role in improving pastoralists' well-being (African Union 2010, p.2). Legislation that integrates labour regulation and education provision is proving helpful in India: an NGO reported, for example, making use of the Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996 which advocates for crèches on construction sites (Interview 4).

In respect of leverage and the continuing effort to interpret the right to education in ways that challenge the dominant tendency to assume this is merely a right to schooling (Dyer 2014), the **new global education agenda of SDG4 is emerging as of great importance**. International actors are seeking to leverage the potential of the new lifelong learning approach: interviewees widely lamented the narrow framing of the MDG agenda on primary schooling and welcomed the potential of the SDG **focus on lifelong learning**. One INGO representative explained:

I'm delighted the SDG has moved away from primary. Some may see international goals as a complete waste of time but for me raising funds will be shaped by those agendas. For example, quality education was not in the MDG. Broadly, the SDG is useful as a lever for things I wanted to do anyway.

Interview 3

STRATEGY: Promoting context-specific governance and strengthening state capacities for effective decentralised working.

Non-state actors interviewed for this study gave many examples of their work to develop stronger decentralised governance capacity and join up different tiers of government, in order to **improve systemic working and enable much needed contextualised responses** (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). A UN representative in Sudan remarked that:

In relation to education programmes the basic challenge is the government, but at the same time, what enables you to implement programmes is also the government! Decentralisation gives the opportunity to work with local government departments on arrangements. The framework is the same for all. Dealing with each has specific requirements, which you can accept or negotiate so a programme can be successful.

Interview 6

The need to generate a **holistic, systems approach to promoting education inclusion** was widely noted. An example of the sheer scale of doing this on the ground is captured by a representative of an NGO working with children from seasonally migrating families in India:

From CRC, BRC, village education committee, district primary education officer and state project director – all are involved.

Interview 5



An effective strategy this NGO has pursued is to **develop community confidence** in providing evidence and articulating their needs, and then to bring community members and state representatives to workshops to reflect and plan together. This practice also helps planners identify innovations and practices that could be more widely adopted, as a means of **addressing the challenge of scale**:

People can't access government programmes, that is why NGO work is so important, to motivate people. We are talking about 20-30 villages, we can't go beyond that, only the government can help, so the best way is to call them for a workshop with the government and the people, where the people should present... then government planners can understand this is right and it can be replicated more widely.

Interview 5

Many (I)NGOs exploit 'traditional' civil society strengths in community development work and **focus on School Management Committees (SMCs) as the point where communities and schools intersect**. In many countries, SMCs are responsible for micro-planning for primary school-aged children's education inclusion: in India, for example, the RTE Act makes this is a legal responsibility (SSA-RTE 2010). Yet **SMCs often have limited capabilities to fulfil the functions expected of them**. Several interviewees described working with SMCs to develop their capacities (Interviews 1, 2, 5) to generate data about the numbers of children in their village who migrate, for how long and to which destination. In one case in India, this advocacy and skills-building work has enabled SMCs to submit to education authorities the detailed plan that is required to access budgetary allocations for migrant children under the national SSA scheme (Interview 5). While this is an excellent achievement, it **underlines the continuing difficulties disadvantaged communities experience in making government services work for them and their dependence on intermediaries to make this happen.**

4.2 Financing

4.2.1 Challenges

CHALLENGE: Funds are generally insufficient and there is often heavy dependence on external funding sources.

The global funding mechanisms developed to support forcibly displaced children discussed in Section Three **have no parallel to those whose education marginalisation is a routine part of the landscape**. **Insufficient financing is a chronic problem**. Many interviewees affirmed that it is difficult to attract funding for educating children from pastoralist and seasonally migrating families (Interviews 1, 2, 5, 6).

State finances are stretched thinly in 'remote' rural regions where pastoralists live and in areas of high seasonal out-migration. A UN representative in Sudan explained that in relation to what they had wanted to do for pastoralists, little had been possible and made important points about what underpins the difficulty of making sure that education is understood as a development activity and priority:



The key and root cause is low funding. Government as a whole spends less than 3 per cent GDP on education so it is not allocating any specific proportion or making this a priority issue. Unlike security or the development sector, education is seen as a service sector. It is a political issue also, as most of the government is not stable, they see education has no quick return, so it's not a funding priority. So we can't implement the proposed structure for education properly.

Interview 6

In pastoralist regions, analysis has shown that student per capita funding and other **state funded financial allocations do not reflect** harsh and **challenging ground realities** (Ruto et al. 2009). When extending facilities in sparsely populated regions, it is difficult to achieve an economy of scale using standard parameters and norms for provision; and if effort is then rewarded by poor user take-up of services – because the services are of poor quality or lack relevance – a perceived lack of service user engagement can act as a disincentive for investment (Krätli and Dyer 2009). **Decentralisation** is recognised as **important for improving context-sensitive governance**, but **devolution of education financing is a risk**, as it can highlight limited ability of local government to raise revenue for education provision through taxation (Oxfam 2005, p.4).

Financial incentives for formal teachers aiming to boost recruitment of people who will teach in challenging settings have not proved conclusively successful and Kenya and Ethiopia are two countries that no longer use this strategy. In some countries, fiscal constraints combined with dissatisfaction over teacher performance (Kremer et al. 2005) have given rise to the **controversial strategy of recruiting para teachers**, at lower rates of remuneration, to ease shortages.

Across Africa, there is **high dependence on development partners** to assist in rolling out policy initiatives, although aid budgets are themselves suffering from the impacts of the global economic downturn (UNESCO 2014, Education Commission 2016). Interviewees recognised the **issues of donor fatigue and short-term priorities** discussed earlier in this report (Interviews 3, 6). Oxfam (2009, p.3) comments on the damage that has been caused for pastoralists by well-intentioned aid, pointing out that across Africa, 'While most aid was meant to be temporary and short term, it became permanent as a result of **a lack of clear exit strategies**, often linked to **an incomplete understanding of pastoral livelihoods**'. Some interviewees were concerned also that **dependence on external funding via time-bound projects in state-civil society partnerships leads to unsustainable provision** (Interview 3). Such arrangements in general **raise ethical issues** around 'inclusion' that makes marginalised learners dependent on what may be only temporary provision (Dyer 2014).

Extensive reliance on civil society actors as implementing partners to enable states to 'reach' children of pastoralist and seasonally migrating families is, then, shown by the literature and interviews to be widespread. Civil society engagements may boost the inflow of funds, but provision dependent on external funding tends to be transitory in nature; the scale of investment is difficult to determine (Oxfam & Basic Education Association 2006 cited in Anis 2008, Rose 2009; Interview 14) and returns on investment are difficult to establish. The costs of reaching children in under-served pastoralist regions, in particular, can be prohibitive. A range of factors constrain investment and accurate cost-benefit ratios are hard to establish:



The expense ... cost per beneficiary is a big driver, it puts a lot of organisations as service providers off. We need some work to capture the return on investment in a pastoralist child – like a long-term tracking study. That would help to make that case, there is competition for resources, we can get education there but it is more expensive and difficult to deliver. So it falls to niche organisations and impact at scale is a challenge.

Interview 8

In a complex funding landscape, it is **important not to overlook community contributions** to funding education initiatives (e.g., materials and human labour/time given to build and manage learning centres) (Anis 2008).

CHALLENGE: Making education fee-free is important but insufficient to secure enrolment; and education participation is vulnerable to sudden shock.

Making education fee-free is an important step towards enabling all children to be able to afford to participate. However, Kenyan experience in 2003 showed that the rise in GER that followed national **fee abolition** in other parts of the country was not replicated in pastoralist districts. **Making schooling free is crucial, but does not address other significant barriers** to participation, such as hidden costs, mobility and, for girls in particular, absence of sanitation facilities (Oxfam 2005, Ruto et al. 2009, Raymond 2014).

Although seasonal poverty is generally overlooked in debates on education's affordability, it has many effects on school enrolment, even when schooling is free. For example, seasonal poverty may lead to reducing expenditure on food, which may in turn increase malnutrition and have negative impacts on cognitive functioning and capacity to concentrate at school. Responses to scarcity are not gender neutral and social preferences may favour ensuring full nutrition for boys. **Sudden financial shocks**, brought about for example by illness, can impose costs on precarious household finances from which it is difficult to recover and place expenditure on school-related costs (uniform, books) out of reach.

But constraints to enrolment do not stem from economic poverty alone. Investments in basic education tend to reach more privileged social groups and as the Global Task Force on Child Labour and EFA point out, **social exclusion mechanisms** are a strong factor in keeping children out of school and pushing them into work.²² Further, some children are only able to attend school because they work to pay fees, where applied, or associated costs.

As reported throughout this study, the quality of school education itself is a consideration, as communities consider the **opportunity cost** of investing in the context of the quality of the schooling opportunity.

²² More details at: http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Action/Education/Formaleducationandthepreventionofchildlabour/lang--en/index.html

4.2.2 Strategies

STRATEGY: Developing flexible financing strategies that enable coherent responses to community-driven demand.

An example of an attempt to develop flexible financing strategies at scale is provided by India's SSA, which offers **draw-down funding within a national state programme**. This responds to proposals submitted from lower tiers of government and SMCs, but depends on capacity/political will at individual state levels to provide the necessary resourcing. Although in practice, as noted earlier, NGO involvement in capacity building is often needed for communities to secure this funding, the principle of **responsive state-funding for communitydeveloped plans** is important, because it forges a bond between the state and communities in delivering on the right to education. Further, there is some evidence that using this funding mechanism **within a closely managed partnership of NGO, local communities and state authorities enables a systemic approach** that goes some way towards mitigating the fragmentation of individual NGO efforts:

With micro-planning and coordination facilitated at state level, different organisations in different areas could get allocations for support and seasonal provision in their areas.

Interview 1

STRATEGY: Communities develop provision and support it from their own resources.

Community-level self-help is at best anecdotally reported. A rare example of a somewhat documented, entirely community-led and supported programme is provided in Pattison's (2010) account of pastoralists in Kenya self-financing their own early childhood provision using community members as teachers. Koranic schools (see below) are also directly supported by community contributions, which can be in cash and/or in kind (Interview 6).

STRATEGY: Using forms of social protection to cushion households in poverty.

Stipends and scholarships can have a significant impact on enrolling and retaining children at risk of drop-out due to financial shock, but they have little traction in overcoming barriers caused by learner mobility. If forms of social protection are offered on a conditional basis – for example on specified achievement scores and/or levels of attendance – those conditions are recognised to have a possible undermining effect (MGP 2009) even amongst sedentary populations. For these reasons, it is **important to keep raising service provider awareness of the intersecting dynamics of poverty and seasonality**: this would help to ensure, for example, that school schedules avoid requiring household expenditure on larger school expenses during the hunger season (Hadley 2010).

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4.3 Access and participation

4.3.1 Challenges

CHALLENGE: There are significant weaknesses of evidence about the current state of enrolment, retention and completion rates amongst children from pastoralist and seasonally migrating families.

Lack of political commitment to counting the marginalised (Green & Hulme 2005), definitional ambiguities (de Weijer 2007, Krätli & Swift 2014, Randall 2015) and methodological weaknesses of enumeration mechanisms that omit many mobile populations by design (Carr-Hill 2012) are all factors that contribute to limited data about educational participation by children in these communities. Across Africa, pastoralists are prominently represented amongst populations 'likely never to be in school' (UNESCO 2010 and 2015). Where their rates of enrolment are recorded in these country contexts, they consistently fall far below national averages (Ruto et al. 2009) (Interviews 2, 3, 6). Even if they do enrol in the first place, interrupted learning for children who migrate during the school year poses significant challenges for retaining learners, but the evidence base in relation to numbers and patterns of drop-out is very slim. A key reasons for this is that monitoring arrangements by the state are often particularly weak in the areas where these children live. Weaknesses of information gathering and monitoring compromise the generation of accurate and reliable official data about enrolment, retention and completion rates (UNESCO 2010). It is worth noting that this is not only a problem of state actors; non-state providers are found to be equally poor at reporting on learner retention and achievements (Anis 2008, Rose 2009).

CHALLENGE: Systemic accountability for ensuring good quality learning opportunities and contextualising programming is weak.

Current EMIS and other reporting mechanisms are largely still **unable to disaggregate learner data in ways that support contextualised planning**. On the ground, **logistics** play a part: children from pastoralist and seasonally migrating families often live in places known by others as 'interior' or 'remote rural' areas. These are typically characterised by geographical distance from urban centres where administrative offices are located and often also by security threats. Interviewees pointed out that these are **disincentives for state officials to visit** (Interviews 1, 2, 5). Lack of budget and/or vehicles for monitoring is also a common barrier (Interview 14). **Information deficits and absent relations between state agencies and communities** leave wide gaps in accountability for children's right to education and learning outcomes (Anis 2008, Smita 2008; Interviews 1, 5, 6). At the same time, authorities have a tendency to adopt a **stance that is orientated to problems of supply, rather than problems of demand and recognition of learners' needs and aspiration**: this orientation is reflected in a lack of co-planning and limited community ownership of state-provided education (Dyer 2014). NGO representatives felt that it often **takes an external organisation to close gaps**, as one explained:



Government alone will not attempt, we are a democratic NGO from civil society trying to demonstrate what is happening in illiterate, backward areas. We call them in to see what is actually happening. The government has its own agenda so may not have so much motivation or be dedicated towards development, officers will not visit interior pockets, activists are there, so interior pockets are neglected.

Interview 5

CHALLENGE: The network of education facilities is too thin in some regions to ensure that an education service is available at all or of sufficient quality if it does exist.

Poor school quality is typical in areas of high out-migration (MGP 2009) and pastoralist regions. The network of schooling facilities is thin; schools are often understaffed, poorly resourced and struggle to deliver the basic curriculum (Krätli 2001, Krätli & Dyer 2009, UNESCO 2010 and 2015). This means that it cannot be taken for granted that a functioning school is necessarily available for children to attend. While, as noted earlier, policies themselves are not necessarily adequately sensitive to learner needs, a further set of challenges arise from how implementing actors interpret their remit. This can lead to informal policy practices that undermine policy intentions: for example, when authorities post under-performing teachers to serve communities that have limited voice, as has been recorded amongst pastoralist communities in western India (Dyer 2014). Evidence is now beginning to emerge from within pastoralist and seasonally migrating communities that **poor** quality provision impacts negatively on parents' perceptions of immediate and longer-term gains from investing in schooling (Rao 2009, Scott-Villiers et al. 2016). Interviewees affirmed this and also pointed out that **parental judgements** about the value of initial enrolment are influenced by whether there is any likelihood of progression (Interview 14. Such judgements are likely to be negative when a limited schooling infrastructure fails to offer such opportunity (Interviews 2, 6).

CHALLENGE: The requisite flexibility to accommodate mobility is typically absent in formal, place-based provision and even if initial enrolment is possible, it can be difficult to sustain.

This is a fundamental challenge for children of pastoralist and seasonally migrating families. There is evidence that **fluctuations in enrolment** of children from pastoralist and seasonally migrating populations are common and predictable, **reflecting both time of year and location** (Kadzamira & Rose 2003, Hadley 2010). Typically, the **formal school calendar is poorly adapted** to the calendar of seasonal movement and the need for it to be adapted to suit local circumstances has long been noted (Watkins 2000). Improving flexibility of the calendar avoids the clash of the schooling and migratory cycle timings. It has been done in Bangladesh within the BRAC non-formal system (Schapiro 2009), but is a challenging option for the formal system, not least because it would create 'knock-on' effects. For example, teachers are usually given professional development opportunities during school vacations, so changes at the school level would require changes to how teacher CPD is organised. For pastoralist children, **the organisation of the school day** is often also a barrier as **children need to be able to attend to livelihood-related duties at specific times of the day** and inflexible arrangements may mean they cannot combine this with going to school.

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If learners do manage to enrol at the beginning of the school year, mobility subsequently interrupts attendance and compromises retention (Coffey 2013). Policy attention has tended to focus on barriers to initial access and on the challenge of initial enrolment; but how to sustain participation and ensure **retention demand equal attention**. **The SDG pledge to leave no one behind and focus of SDG4 on lifelong learning, may be helpful in addressing this challenge**.

CHALLENGE: A range of informal mechanisms of exclusion operate at the school level and are difficult to tackle directly.

The 'hidden curriculum' of schooling, like the informal policy practices noted earlier, has many impacts on mobile children's retention and is not amenable to public scrutiny. **Arrangements to support children to make up missed work are usually lacking**. Teachers are often reluctant to re-enrol children who have temporarily left and may not consider taking extra measures for migrating children as their responsibility. Absence prevents children from developing the relationships with teachers and classmates that help them progress (Coffey 2013). If a child is successfully re-enrolled, **missed learning may lead to low performance and demotivation**, and often it is the **student who is blamed**, explicitly or implicitly, for falling behind (Smita 2008, UNESCO and UNICEF 2010). Insufficient prior learning and attendance gaps may mean that, regardless of age, learning needs or formal policies stating the opposite, **inflexible school procedures enforce grade repetition** (UNESCO and UNICEF 2010).

CHALLENGE: Limitations of the enabling infrastructure may constrain school participation in arid regions.

Reflecting the general paucity of multi-sectoral approaches to public service delivery planning and of participatory planning with education service users, **schools and water points in arid regions are not routinely co-located** (Interview 14). Apart from the general discomfort for all children, schools without water raise particular issues for girls by depriving them of the benefits of WASH facilities to use during menstruation. Co-locating water points and schools also reduces the time girls spend carrying water (Oxfam 2005), which frees them for school. A UN representative in Sudan called for authorities to:

Go inside schools to improve the learning environment – ensure water and sanitation first, as one of barriers especially for girls.

Interview 6

Schools are **not necessarily positioned along pastoralist migratory routes**, which leaves facilities un- or under-used at predictable times of the year. **Teachers who rely on public transport** to reach their workplace may find their attendance dictated by timings of rural bus schedules, which may undermine the intentions of more flexible provision.

STRATEGIC CHALLENGES: Expanding the range of delivery modalities has sought to improve access for mobile children, but it is difficult to do this at scale and effort so far in many cases raises both quality and equity concerns.

In recognition of the difficulties of initial access for mobile children, many countries have experimented with a range of modalities of service provision. The most common delivery



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formats used to extend access opportunities have been making provision mobile and offering residential schools and hostels. More recently, extending alternative basic education at scale has emerged as a response to challenges of inaccessible provision. Ethiopia's ABE system and community-based schools in temporary structures in Afghanistan are two recent examples, although like other fixed-place schools, such provision struggles to respond to learner mobility. Approaches outside the 'mainstream', however, **raise issues of social integration**, so while alternative-delivery strategies are important, **due attention needs to be paid to status equivalence and quality**. The following discussion examines challenges associated with these strategies of delivery.

CHALLENGE: Residential schools offer the opportunity to pursue formal education without interruption, but their quality is often problematic.

Addressing children's mobility by providing boarding/residential schooling is a wellestablished access strategy, but these schools have often been of low quality (Krätli 2001, Rao 2006). Children from marginalised communities attending such schools often experience **ethnic and cultural discrimination, limited support and even physical and sexual exploitation** (Hailombe 2011). Setting up boarding schools specifically for these children may be well intentioned, but **can perpetuate rather than address social segregation** (Rao 2006) and are also not necessarily effective. In Kenya, for example, in boarding schools for pastoralists, experience has shown that places intended for pastoralist children have been unor underused and taken up by other communities (Krätli 2001). It should be remembered that **such schools are orientated towards providing an exit route out of pastoralism** (Carr Hill 2006, Rao 2006, Krätli & Dyer 2009); thus, enrolment in them will be an attraction for some and a reason not to enrol for others. In this regard, Mongolia **had uniquely effective boarding schools for pastoralists** because these were offered as an integral component of state support for pastoralism during the socialist regime. When this integration collapsed in the transition to a market economy, boarding schools went into decline (Demberel & Penn 2006).

CHALLENGE: Mobile schools appear a logical modality for mobile pastoralist learners but the evidence base is very thin and ensuring continuous, quality provision appears highly challenging.

Making schools mobile so learners can **combine formalised education with mobile livelihoods** is commonly conceived as a good strategy for pastoralists. A key difficulty for policymakers here is the **remarkable scarcity of detail about quality, relevance and impact of mobile schooling**. Nevertheless, experience has shown that it is **very difficult to recruit mobile teachers, retain learners and monitor quality** (USAID 2008, Ngugi 2016; Interviews 3, 14). In Iran, tent schools have formed a systemic response since the 1950s (Shahbazi 2006), but elsewhere, provision has tended to be small-scale. Outside Iran, mobile schooling has typically been provided as a small component within larger programmes for marginalised learners (notably, in Kenya's ABEK, Uganda's ABET, Kenya's EMACK) and **has not subsequently been scaled up as a state-owned initiative**. Representing a decline since a vigorous period of INGO-led activity in Africa in the mid-2000s, **very sparse mobile provision is currently reported** from Chad, where just one school was recorded as operational in 2010 (Swift et al. 2010), Namibia, Kenya and Ethiopia (Interviews 6, 14). From Nigeria, Aderinoye et al. (2007, sect.4) summarise: 'The current mobile school system in the strictest sense remains sparingly used, primarily due to the **enormity of problems associated with this model**'.



Schools claiming to be mobile rarely actually are: they have usually focused on temporary settlements (Manyire 2011). Concentrations of truly mobile learners are temporary (Krätli & Dyer 2009), as pastoralists disperse rapidly in response to fodder/water availability and/ or insecurity. This makes consistent face-to-face delivery extremely difficult. Aspirations for enrolment have often proved difficult to match with actions on the ground, due to limitations of the model adopted, difficulties of identifying teachers willing to move, impacts of insecurity and insufficient funding. Namibian experience points towards challenges of ensuring learning materials can withstand rough handling, poor storage and being inadvertently spoiled by children having to work on the ground (Hailombe 2007). Equipping mobile schools with donor-provided tents that were too heavy to move on camel back undermined an INGO initiative in Ethiopia. Ngugi (2016) reports from Kenya that the functionality of mobile schools was highly dependent on the availability of water and food and attendance dropped significantly when these could not be ensured.

CHALLENGE: Expanding the network of Alternative Basic Education makes a service available for many more children, but is raising significant quality and equity issues.

Alternative Basic Education (community based provision) is emerging as a key access strategy for 'hard to reach' children. ABE aims to tackle the historical neglect of remote rural areas through systemic expansion of 'alternative' provision and tends to rely on civil society partnership with the state to support the financing, and in some cases, such as Afghanistan, the delivery of the service. It is **placing an education facility within reach** for the first time for many children and in that respect could be a game-changer for pastoralist children. Despite its name, ABE is **a mainstream approach that relies on low-cost infrastructure and facilitators with minimal training**, and there are significant concerns (Interview 14) that it amounts to little more than an under-resourced version of formal education.

ABE is **justified on the grounds of its presumed advantage of the flexibility** that is associated with non-formal education (Rogers 2005), but this flexibility is being increasingly questioned (Onwu and Agu 2010; Interview 14). **The potential of the 'alternative' is easily lost in mass systemisation**. Interviews (2, 14) corroborated the findings of a 2012 study on ABE and pastoralists in northern Kenya, where 80 per cent of respondents said ABE did not appropriately accommodate herding and mobility; over 90 per cent viewed ABE as inferior to formal education and 80 per cent complained that ABE remained static like the formal system, but without matching its quality expectations (Lanyasunya, Ogogo and Waweru 2012; Maxwell, Gelsdorf and Santschi 2012). Both the literature and interviewees are concerned that typically:

- **Timing lacks the requisite flexibility**. Teachers reliant on public transport do not find it easy to attend at times when pastoralist children are free from other tasks to attend.
- The condensed version of the national curriculum ABE offers lacks recognition of, and relevance to, pastoralist culture and livelihoods.

Significant **concerns are also emerging about equity**, if marginalised learners have to rely on provision that is of lower status and often lower quality than its formal counterpart (Dyer 2014). India, a country with long experience of state-provided non-formal provision (Rose 2009) is discontinuing its Alternative and Innovative Education programming for this reason,



while other countries, including Ethiopia and Afghanistan, are rolling out ABE/communitybased education programmes as the best current option available to reach children who cannot access formal mainstream provision. Experience so far calls for **stronger government direction, coordination, resource input and funding (Interviews 2, 14) to ensure ABE reaches quality thresholds**.

CHALLENGE: The strong potential of distance/ICT-supported education is recognised, but programming has been very limited and focused on adults rather than children and/or family learning.

Distance/ICT-supported education has excellent potential for mobile communities because it can remove the barriers of both space and time, which are prominent (but not the only) constraints to their enrolment in place-based provision. **Distance education** using radio has so far **targeted only adults**: Mongolia's Gobi Women's Project (Robinson 1990) and Somalia's SOMDEL (Brophy & Page 2010) are leading examples. Challenges associated with the models used to date include ensuring learner availability to listen to broadcasts at fixed times, providing gender differentiated content; training teachers in distance methods; and an over-reliance on voluntary teachers that compromises long-term sustainability. Experience from Nigeria points to the need to **avoid using radio didactically as a teacher substitute** (Aderinoye et al. 2010). There is very strong potential for ICT-supported education to offer provision that is not spatially fixed and offers learners the option of participating at times that enable them to combine learning and animal husbandry/related activities. Nevertheless, it is vital to remember, as noted earlier in this study, that technology is a tool, rather than the solution.

Mobile phones are already in use to help authorities monitor learner movements and support learner tracking. Individuals use mobile phones widely to support livelihoods, for example, to identify and respond to work opportunities, receive information about resources and advance weather warnings, or trends in market prices that impact on when sale of animals is likely to be more or less profitable (Interview 14). There is potential to use them for education inputs, although mobile signals are not necessarily reliably available across pastoralist regions.

Experimentation with these modalities for children in pastoralist families has been limited so far but **there is strong potential for investment**. Finding funds to do this is very challenging and **policymakers may perceive the risk of failure as higher than the potential for success** (Dyer 2014).

4.3.2 Strategies

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STRATEGIC RESPONSES to these challenges fall broadly into two types: 'mainstreaming' and 'alternative'.

The first response type responds to the needs of mobile learners from whom mainstream schooling could be a suitable form of provision by developing interventions and innovations to improve the systemic flexibility needed to enable and sustain their participation in formal day schools. Mainstreaming is seen as a positive strategy for social integration for learners with low socio-economic standing, such as seasonally migrating families in India (Smita 2008, Rao 2009; Interviews 1, 5):

For children ages 6-14, we focus on mainstreaming them in formal schools, We are very sure we are not running parallel schooling.

Interview 4

The second response type is to develop 'alternative' responses, such as mobile schools for those learners for whom formal schools are unlikely to be suited.

STRATEGY: Changing the concept of being enrolled in a single school into a concept of being enrolled in a schooling system – 'networked schooling' - with appropriate support, including learner tracking.

For many mobile children, **sustaining a presence in a single school all year is precluded by mobility and structural barriers of service supply**. For such children, **the conventional notion of 'school' needs to be adjusted** to reflect the realities of their lives by tackling the convention of primary education being delivered to an enrolled learner by a single school. Various (I)NGOs reported in interviews on a new approach that does just this. An INGO interviewee in the Horn of Africa explained the basic concept:

A school is not just as a building you go to every day, but more of a network of schools where you can move in and out and exit at any point.

Interview 7

Variations on this theme were reported from Ethiopia (for pastoralist children) and India (seasonally migrating children). From interviewees' reports, it is apparent that **this strategy can only succeed if extra support is mobilised to support quite challenging learning trajectories**, making success largely dependent on (I)NGO support. Whether in the 'home' location or at the site of out-migration, **migrating children need help if they are to remain in school – and this help supports teachers in receiving schools too**. An Indian NGO representative, reflecting on mainstreaming at the site of in-migration from a different state, said:

Language and distance can be a problem – considering all those things we help them get enrolled in school then provide after school support, additional nutrition, educational and financial assistance. And we help with studies if the child is at school in the school's morning session, they can continue with the centre after school.

Interview 4

Enrolling in a schooling system rather than in a single school **requires children and their learning to be tracked and monitored**. A **migration register or card** enables the education system to know migration trends (direction, destination, duration, timings, who goes, etc.) Dyer (2014) reports that state officials in western India found this useful but **labour intensive** for state authorities. (I)NGOs have been successful in **generating information by social mapping in the school catchment area** (identifying migration-sensitive households) and community consultation (Interviews 1, 5, 7). An INGO working in Ethiopia has seen success with piloting a network card, which **takes its cue from how pastoralists communicate**



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information about their own livelihood-related movements. A representative explained:

More than just a card, it's a network embedded in communities, how they transfer information about seasonal drought and where to migrate to. Migration is very well systematised, they move to where their people are, their own ethnicity or clan; it is embedded within the drought-management cycle which is broader than just the community. They use the network to start preparing support for the move.

Interview 7

A migration register needs to be combined with a **learning register or card** that tracks each child's progression until completion of lower secondary schooling and travels with the migrating child, so that information is passed from school to school. In combination, these registers or cards **enable all actors to know and anticipate where learners will be and what provision they need and track learning progression**: 'You have to have to have all the necessary information that can lead to continuation of learning' (Interview 2). The INGO's 'network card' informs state monitoring of end-of-year grade completion and is a **good example of how a non-state pilot can lead to innovation in the mainstream system**:

The networking component will be incorporated into the existing state grade completion card at the end of year and used to help monitor learning performance.

Interview 8

The innovation of networked schooling is applicable to both pastoralist and seasonally migrating children, but it is somewhat **easier for the school system to accommodate children in seasonal labouring families**, as there is a relatively less complex transition from the place of out-migration to the seasonal site (provided a school is accessible). **Movement is typically more variable for mobile pastoralists** with shorter stays in a single place. These innovations have good potential to address the points made by another INGO representative in Ethiopia:

One challenge I feel is smooth transition of children in mobile communities from one school to another. You need a link in the system, from school to school and community, a smooth transition. Learner tracking is not fully implemented. There is unpredictable mobility of children – a school cluster works well when you are in highland areas but in mobile communities, that is the difficult part.

Interview 2

These innovations are modelling how education systems can sustain participation and learning for mobile children. Emerging issues reported by interviewees (Interviews 1, 2, 5, 7) include:

- In some areas the network of schools is still too sparse to ensure a school is always close enough.
- Basic infrastructure of host schools is weak, with inadequacies of water supply, toilets, electricity and learning materials.
- Additional pressure of numbers on the host school compounds existing issues of high student-teacher ratio and creates issues because of fluctuating intensity of studentteacher ratio.



Adjusting funding formulae to enable the system to cope with ebbs and flows is challenging. Numbers of children enrolled normally trigger teacher deployment to meet stipulated student-teacher norms. Learner mobility means this ratio is not constant throughout the year in either host or receiving schools.

Scaling up an NGO-led innovation into state provision is usually the eventual aim, for reasons of equity and scale, as noted earlier. Experience has shown, however, that **state capacity to sustain all facets of making networked provision work for every learner is generally insufficient**. In that case, **scale-up may not meet either the state ambition or the (I)NGO's expectation for effective systemic take up** innovations it has piloted (Interview 1; Jowett and Dyer 2012). Reduction in quality resulting from scale-up raises ongoing issues regarding equity for 'left behind' children.

This innovation is very promising for children who have been able to overcome the barrier of initial enrolment; but it does not target out of school children. However, it may have a positive influence on that too, since improving prospects of retention is likely to incentivise enrolment.

STRATEGY: Focusing on preventing out-migration by providing residential facilities that enable children to attend school without interruption for the whole year.

Enrolment and retention can both be facilitated by establishing a **seasonal hostel** or residential care centre, at the point of departure, in order to help children remain at school rather than accompany parents on migration. An effective model from eastern India is a hostel that **works on a cluster basis**, serving several villages (Interview 5) to generate scale, momentum and community involvement. Provision has been scaled up using draw-down funding from the national SSA programme and external partner support. Training and working through SMCs has enabled nearly 20,000 children to receive such support since 2013. Considering that these arrangements serve the most socio-economically disadvantaged communities, interviewees for this study emphasised the importance of their **positive effect on social integration**. An NGO representative from a different Indian region also reported positively on how seasonal hostels can **be instrumental in improving social integration** for migrating low caste/Adivasi communities and explained their approach:

So we decided to open 'seasonal hostels' where the idea was to keep the children in their own villages, hire a female worker form their own village and own community. In the hostels they had daily routines and then they went to the school for education. When a child came back in the evening we had other educational activities. We also involved other village children with the scheme so the kids could interact and not feel isolated. We wanted them to have ownership so we also organised village committees who supervise these hostels and look after them too. Migrant children as well as non-migrating children came for morning and evening activities – it was focused on what kids wanted – games, education and our 'shikshakarmi' [education worker] looked after them.

Interview 1

Versions of the care-giver approach are widely reported and found amongst pastoralist and seasonally migrating communities. For example, the **'care-giver' system** found in Ethiopia is a **community-based system of support** that enables pastoralist children to stay in relatives'



homes so they can take their education in the local school. This strategy is also reported from urban settings, including Mongolia after the collapse of pastoralist boarding schools: rural relatives seek to draw on kinship networks to enable the children to access better education (and future labour) opportunities available in cities. **Household splitting is a common strategy amongst pastoralists** to enable some children to take up schooling while others remain in pastoralism, but as the larger collective then breaks down into smaller domestic units, this is a strategy that can help boys enrol but **may impose greater domestic burdens on girls that preclude their school attendance** (Dyer 2014). For all its merits, a downside of caregiving that several study respondents noted was:

This can put a burden on poorer families and also create expectations about reciprocating which might burden them too.

Interview 2

STRATEGY: Providing on-site crèche provision for children of seasonally migrating families to enable older siblings to attend school in the place of out-migration.

Children who are below school-age are often found unoccupied on or near their parents' work site in conditions that are unconducive to their well-being (Interviews 1, 4, 5). Keeping them occupied/safe may fall to older siblings and hence, impose a barrier to these carers' school enrolment. **On-site crèches take care of small children and free up siblings for schooling**. Provision of all-round day care and a focus on the well-being of the whole family are combined to address needs holistically:

We offer comprehensive day care. The problem of malnutrition is a major issue, we have fresh meals cooked on site. And health and hygiene – we get doctors to visit and sort out referrals if needed for specialised intervention. We work to improve parents' awareness as well – not only about health, but general concerns related to children too.

Interview 10

But it is recognised that **not all children who need this support receive it** and that NGO capacity has limitations that leave many children in need:

We could at least ensure all sites where children are living have crèche facilities, but that is not yet achieved.

Interview 4

STRATEGY: Using forms of Accelerated Learning, such as bridging courses and learning enrichment to help learners to catch up or enable overage learners to be integrated into mainstream provision.

Accelerated Learning may tak several forms (see Appendix F). **A 'bridging' course** helps children make up missed learning by providing accelerated learning of formal curriculum content for a short period when children return from migration. This strategy relies on non-state actors, who work with both children and schools to support progression and integration



(Interview 1). In eastern India, an NGO has run **bridge camps and learning enrichment** for returning seasonally migrating children in grades 3-5: from 2009-2016, over 14,000 learners received their support (Interview 5).

More formalised AL programmes offer completion of a recognised course of learning in a shortened time frame (see Appendix F). These include the **Speed Schools** run by Plan International with EAC support, which provide an intensive nine-month course that covers year 1-3 of the primary-school curriculum and are community-supported. There are promising new start-up Speed Schools and an ambitious target of enrolling and mainstreaming 181,000 OOSC within five years under the partnership's Primary (School) Access through Speed Schools + (PASS+) Project in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger.²³ These are all countries with significant pastoralist populations. **ALPs have good potential to fill a gap for those pastoralists who are experiencing worsening stress to their livelihoods**, for whom their intention of facilitating school enrolment **may help provide a pathway out of pastoralism**.

Further and more focused attention needs to be paid, however, to tailoring this model to mobile pastoralists seeking to sustain a livelihood within pastoralism.

STRATEGY: Ensuring residential schooling is of good quality.

Successful residential schools in Oman (Chatty 2006), western India (Dyer 2014), Ethiopia and Somaliland (Interview 14) have shown success in **retaining pastoralist learners, including girls**, to completion of higher-secondary education. Key lessons are:

- > The school is managed by community members.
- Teachers are members of pastoralist communities (even if not the immediate community).
- Parents trust that their children will be safe and well-looked after.
- Schools respect community values and parental visits are welcomed.
- Careful attention is paid to the security and well-being of girls, with appropriate residential facilities and female wardens.

Unambiguous advocacy of residential schools for girls is difficult, as there is evidence of sexual exploitation (Interview 14). However, in contexts of insecurity and where there are adverse effects on girls of social customs, good quality boarding facilities are emerging as an important strategy. Girls may feel safer at school and can be protected from negative social practices, such as female genital mutilation (FGM) and early marriage which put them at risk of poor (reproductive) health, sexual abuse, risk of teenage pregnancy and difficulties at childbirth (Faughnan 2016; Interview 14). In Uganda's Karamoja region, an affirmative action programme has, unusually, permitted making boarding facilities available in several primary schools serving pastoralist communities and results appear to be positive (Faughnan 2016; Interview 10). It is important to remember, however, that these schools offer a national curriculum that is orientated towards accreditation for employment outside pastoralism (which may be a reason to choose it, just as it may be a reason not to).



STRATEGY: Working on models of mobile schools for pastoralist populations that can overcome persisting challenges of teacher recruitment and sustainability.

Teacher recruitment and retention are, as noted, huge challenges for mobile service delivery. A strategy an Ethiopian NGO is adopting is to **side-step the educational qualification that is normally a key eligibility criterion for teacher recruitment and focus instead on a contextualised strategy of teacher identification and preparation** (Interview 12). The NGO identifies potential 'teachers' by finding people in local communities who are willing and already have the necessary abilities to work effectively in local conditions, manage the pack animals and speak the local language. Then, their skills as teachers are progressively built:

What we do is find them, in really remote communities, you have to walk for 12 hours to get there, then invest in developing their skills to deliver basic literacy and numeracy skills and curricular content. We do face-to-face training on the job. Later we develop them more by supporting participation in distance learning by correspondence.

Interview 12

In Somalia, the Africa Education Trust similarly supports local communities in identifying local people who are willing to become teachers and deliver skills that communities request – basic literacy, numeracy and life skills.²⁴ An important point highlighted here is that, since many pastoralists missed the opportunity for such skills development as a child, there is demand for provision at all levels: the project's **family-orientated responsive provision satisfies demand for education from early childhood through to adults**. This, again, is an approach that is consistent with SDG4's emphasis on lifelong learning and addresses the challenges of age-grade education provision that, as noted elsewhere in this study, is problematic for many children of mobile populations.

A model of mobile education that has been consistently successful is the **Koranic 'duksi' school**: these schools, for example, serve Muslim pastoralists in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya. A teacher from the community moves with pastoralists, delivering Koranic instruction; and parents pay the teacher in cash and/or kind. The duksi only offers religious education, but does so successfully; extending it with a wrap-around secular component is being discussed (Interview 14). It is recognised that not every Koranic teacher is suitable; **rigorous selection and training of teachers working around the Koranic duksi model is needed**; and **policy commitments to a secular education require a clear public understanding** that it is the duksi approach rather than its religious content that is being replicated.

The rather less-than-hoped-for legacy of INGO-driven provision of mobile schools in Kenya in the first EFA decade underlines the importance of **considering scale-up through the formal system** when pilot innovations are designed:

We worked in terms of making education popular and attractive to lots of kids, there was no compulsion. But perhaps we should have engaged the education office more and linked to more formal systems.

Interview 3

²⁴ Making teachers mobile so they can follow pastoral communities: http://africaeducationaltrust.org/pastoralist-teachers/

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Linked to this, despite rich historical experience on the ground, **a continuing difficulty for** scale-up is the constraint of generally very limited documentation on the detail of what has been attempted, to provide the insights about the mobile schooling modality that policy communities need in order to replicate success and avoid mistakes.

STRATEGY: Addressing barriers of fixed place and time by developing an integrated radio programme with digitised lesson content to ensure flexible delivery of national curricular content.

A radio-based distance programme designed in 2010 for learners in Kenya's northern and arid lands (MDNKOAL 2010) is currently being reconsidered after earlier implementation stalled. This state-run national programme, equivalent to place-based provision and delivering recognised national qualifications, combines 'lessons' on a SIM card/equivalent that a learner can listen to at any time, supplemented by radio programmes provided via a sturdy radio with inbuilt card reader. Programme feasibility was established with pastoralists by INGO-led scenario planning (Cavanna & Abkula 2009). This strategy aimed also to depart from the age-grade approach of formal schooling to enable family members to learn together which, as previously noted, is an important strategy for promoting education inclusion in keeping with SDG4. Certification equivalence of distance learning is essential to recognition of alternative pathways to learning, as discussed in Section Three. ICT can certainly improve access to learning, but interviewees were concerned that this does not necessarily address the challenge of improving the relevance of a national curriculum for pastoralists.

4.4 Quality and relevance

4.4.1 Challenges

CHALLENGE: Formal education does not have the universal value that policy discourses presume.

Investing time in school attendance can be a risk, particularly when quality is lacking and opportunities for progression are limited/absent. This plays out in different ways according to context and community. For pastoralists, **modern schooling and pastoralism 'represent two different worlds'** (Swift et al. 2010, p.21). Some pastoralist parents perceive schooling as importing an alien culture while also largely failing to equip children with useful knowledge and skills (Scott-Villiers et al. 2016). **Pastoralists may use formal schooling selectively for some children** to help diversify household income generating capabilities (Chatty 2006) and mitigate the risk of over-dependence on animal rearing-although poor school quality may curtail this expected benefit. Sophisticated decision making linked to livelihood sustainability belies a common refrain amongst decision makers that pastoralists are unaware of the benefits of formal education.

Research on **children in seasonally migrating families** shows that **perceptions of the value of formal schooling**, and its relationship to economic productivity and social status **vary significantly according to context** (Rao 2009, Chiang, Hannum, & Kao 2012). Processes of modernisation are opening channels – such as consumption – that may more effectively and quickly deliver gains to social status and incomes than schooling, if local labour markets are conducive (Rao 2009). In sum, where the informal labour market structure provides



children with good opportunities for employment and sale of produce, **working can be more attractive than schooling** (Ping and Pieke 2003, Ananga 2013) – particularly when schooling is of poor quality and/or a return on investment is not immediate.

CHALLENGE: Curriculum content is far removed from the daily realities of children's lives.

Neither the languages nor the discourses of teaching and learning are necessarily compatible with mobile children's own languages and prior experience. The values of their communities are usually tacitly undermined for children in pastoralist and seasonally migrating families, who **rarely see their own social identities reflected in curricular materials** (Krätli 2001, Dyer 2014, Scott Villiers et al. 2016). At the very least, the inclusion of relevant illustrations, examples and stories from community traditions is important to validate marginalised children's social identities, both to themselves and to other learners; as is presenting positive gender role models. The **poor relevance of the formal school curriculum to pastoralist livelihoods and social values, and resulting negative impact on enrolment and retention**, is consistently raised in the literature and was highlighted by several interviewees. An INGO representative working with pastoralist communities in the Horn of Africa said, for example:

The curriculum issue... if it doesn't fit the needs of that locality they might not have the appetite to attend such kinds of education if it is not directly related to their daily life. The curriculum is not adapted to specific locality.

Interview 2

At issue for pastoralists in particular, with their specialised livelihoods, are two key challenges, which are especially acute because of the historical misuse of schooling to 'modernise' pastoralists:

- 1. How to interrupt the orientation of the formal school curriculum towards providing knowledge suited for livelihoods outside pastoralism?
- 2. How can educational subject content become better able to promote well-being and resilience in the face of contemporary challenges?

These challenges require a livelihood-oriented, multi-sectoral perspective that adopts notions of educational quality and relevance that respond to these specific needs.

Regarding **curriculum adaptation**, a interviewee remarked on limitations of both capacity and political will:

The government has different conferences and workshops claiming they are doing adaptation – but this is not something simple, who is doing that? If there not enough educated persons from that locality to take it forward or expertise from other areas dedicated to work on that and stay long time, understanding livelihood of that society, how can you imagine that kind of adaption can be successful. I can still can see a gap in that respect.

Interview 2



Recent research in Kenya (Scott Villers et al. 2016) argues for a need **to balance provision that helps those who learn herding to learn formal subjects that offer value added while enabling those in formal schools to learn subjects relevant to life in the arid lands** - and points out how **political** all of this is. Rather than traditional measures of learning achievement, it suggests adoption of different **criteria of success**, including that education helps children stay in their communities with improved, sustainable knowledge and skills; and that the curriculum everywhere helps build values of inclusive citizenship.

CHALLENGE: The language of learning and teaching is often not the language that children and their families speak.

Research shows that **children's first language is the optimal language for literacy and learning** throughout primary school (UNESCO 2008), but more research is needed into **how best to prepare children for the mix of language(s)** that will be used (GPE 2014). Both marginalisation and mobility raise numerous issues around the language used as the medium of instruction, and the barriers presented by using an unfamiliar language in educational settings. As an INGO interviewee pointed out:

I can't understand why language is so seriously overlooked as an obstacle to effective learning. Almost invariably across East Africa a European language is used and most kids don't have the level of knowledge and understanding of spoken language or reading in it to make the most of the educational opportunity.

Interview 13

Language is also a challenge when teacher shortages require teachers from different regions to be brought in. In the plurilingual South Omo region of Ethiopia, for example:

Teachers and children cannot communicate. Teachers often come from the highland region, they don't share a language, at first they just stand and look at each other in the classroom.

Interview 14

CHALLENGE: It is very difficult to recruit and retain suitably qualified teachers and to train them to be successful in difficult circumstances.

Teacher education is closely linked to wider concerns of quality and equitable provision, but in general has received less policy attention than it deserves (UNESCO 2014). Recruiting teachers to the regions where children from pastoralist and seasonally migrating families live is, in general, an exacerbation of a wider systemic issue. As an INGO respondent said, in a discussion about improving education in pastoralist regions across East Africa:

The quality of education is really quite poor and the only way to make education more interesting, more relevant and so on is by working with teachers.

Interview 3

Specific effort was made in Nigeria under a DFID (then ODA)-funded project to **identify** and train teachers from pastoralist backgrounds (McCaffery et al. 2006) by providing an



extended, tailored pre-service programme. This saw a progressive increase in the (still very small) numbers of women recruited and the project claimed **some success in addressing the persisting gender imbalance in education participation amongst girls and women**. Amongst the many insights on the challenges of this proactive programme, the authors report that: 'The most mobile, least accessible and least well-educated and resourced nomadic groups were the ones least easy to include in the training [...]. The **most 'deserving' cases were the very communities where the educational level of candidates was lowest** [...] The extent of support and training needed to provide adequate education and training was greater than originally provided for. [...] The costs and opportunity costs of training and education remain very significant' (McCaffery et al. 2006, p.250).

Difficulties of these sorts point towards the many challenges of recruiting and preparing teachers from populations who have historically been excluded from formal education, although it is widely expected that doing so would bring significant benefits. That teacher education is in urgent need of targeted intervention was widely recognised by interviewees. An INGO representative reflecting on this emphasised that teacher education requires specific technical expertise; high government demand for technical support and financial inputs to promote access and quality can draw non-state actors into activities that fall beyond their remit:

Teacher training is quite route specific... in X INGO we focused on girls, PTA strengthening, construction – improving communities' awareness of ownership. That takes you towards dealing with system issues of quality and you face the dilemma of teacher training. Then it is more difficult for NGOs to define their niche. So they get into a role of providing per diems for the ministry which is providing the service – i.e., filling a gap for funding for a service that the ministry should be providing anyway. To add value with something that is quite technical and specific is difficult.

Interview 9

CHALLENGE: A multi-sectoral approach to planning is needed to enable context-sensitive responses in the education sector.

It is an ongoing difficulty to encourage sectoral Ministries of Education to adopt the multisectoral approach to education planning that meeting pastoralist and seasonally migrating families' needs calls for. A UN representative working in the Horn of Africa remarked:

Line ministers work as isolated islands, there are many actors but they are not really working together.

Interview 2

Without this, education responses struggle to know and respond to community development needs (Scott-Villiers et al. 2016). The need for context-specific, integrated and livelihood-sensitive approaches to education service provision is highlighted across the relevant literatures and most interviewees for this study emphasised it too. An INGO representative, who has long experience of programming amongst pastoralist communities in the Horn of Africa, said, for example:



Intervention for education programmes shouldn't necessarily be sectoral – intervention should be integrated, because when you call them education programmes they don't prioritise education first, they might bring issues related to livestock or health. You need to make it according to local community priorities. Strategic documents from government are for an integrated approach otherwise you will not be successful to run any of these programmes, because the need is for all these kinds of interventions. The degree might vary from one sector to another depending on locality, but as a programme you have to think of this integration. One locality might give more priority to education, another to health or livestock – as a programmer you have to think in an integrated manner.

Interview 2

4.4.2 Strategies

Several of the strategies identified in Section 4.3.2 on access and participation also address aspects of quality and relevance. Further strategies that contribute to improvements are identified below.

STRATEGY: Effecting curricular innovation in non-formal provision to offer livelihood-related vocational-skills training for pastoralists.

A strategy which falls slightly outside the age remit of this study is included here as it is a very good example of what many interviewees called for: co-designed provision that links provision to community livelihoods and aspirations. This is particularly relevant for pastoralists for whom the formal curriculum lacks relevance to sustaining their livelihood; and whose children are often unable to attend school at the age-appropriate time owing to structural and relevance challenges outlined in previous sections. The Africa Education Trust has exploited the space for innovation that opens up through non-formal provision under two iterations of its Developing Appropriate and Relevant Education and Training (DARET) project. In Somalia, Puntland and Somaliland, AET identified with pastoralists the resources and skills necessary to tackle the problems confronting their own lives and communities (AET 2010). This informed a demand-driven vocational skills building programme launched in 2010 (DARET 2). DARET 2 builds on earlier collaboration with 15 local NGOs across Somalia on a nine-month literacy course, which was followed by 8-12 months of vocational-skills training and explicitly aimed to identify the skills relevant to nomadic pastoralist communities in different contexts, and takes in gender/age differences, as well as aspirations to remain within pastoralism or move to urban centres. As it was more practical for trainers to travel, rather than the students, trainers then visited communities in rotation, each spending up to four days a month with one community before moving to the next. Trainees requested an examination to mark successful acquisition of practical skills at the end of the course.

STRATEGY: Providing language support through teachers and supplementary materials to help learners adjust to a different linguistic context or where materials in their languages do not yet exist.

When families move to work in a region where a different language is used, as is common for seasonal labour migrants, the school networking response outlined in 4.3.2 can be compromised. **NGO-NGO support** used in western India **invites teachers from the home**



state, who speak the same language as the migrating children, to the place of out-migration to support learners in schools:

They can only go ahead if the teachers are from their community with that dialect. We worked with them, but those children spoke only Marathi. So an organisation working in Maharashtra joined us and brought teachers from there. Their education continued – they studied in Gujarat and got transfer certificates so they can give exams in their schools to go into the next level/class.

Interview 1

(I)NGOs interviewed for this study reported that they have developed a **primer in the language of origin** for use in the in-migration school and/or **other learning aids**, which help incoming children adapt quickly. An example of how an INGO is responding to the space opened up by state recognition of some communities' invisibility in learning materials comes from Ethiopia's Afar region, where the INGO is working with pastoralist communities to write down **stories and narratives from oral history** for use in schools (Interview 7). Two positive effects of this initiative are that it:

- Improves the availability of contextualised teaching-learning materials in the relevant language.
- Counteracts the absence of representations of the learners' community in existing textbooks, promoting learner identification with textbook content and indirectly encouraging retention.

STRATEGY: Enriching the literate environment by providing mobile camel or donkey libraries.

In many remote rural regions, school textbooks are amongst the few reading materials available to read. A 'literate environment' (UNESCO 2006) is largely absent and expansion of internet throughout such areas is still a distant promise. Mobile libraries that use pack animals to transport books are being used to **enhance the literate environment in remote rural regions and support schools**. Kenya has a well-established **state-run camel library service** for pastoralist regions, for example. In Ethiopia's Somali region, an INGO runs a mobile camel library that comprises a two man delivery team: a 'teacher' who guides people to read and a herder who supervises the whole programme. This library moves across ABE centres, spending three days in each before moving on:

The aim is to promote reading culture in the community, because they have an oral tradition, they don't have that kind of experience. So it is mainly to promote such kinds of culture so they can engage in programmes and support children. When library moves from one centre to another, the targets are not necessarily children; even adults around can sit next to children and read or learn how to read. The good thing is the adaptation of oral traditions into reading materials, they are full of pictures that can easily give information for children and be more attractive. Also, children know the story orally, but don't have experience of reading it. The programme gives links from what they know and support to read it.

Interview 13



To highlight the importance of context, it is useful to contrast this model with a **donkey library operating in non-pastoralist areas of Ethiopia**, which is used to enrich peri-urban schools. Each library covers five schools (one per day) taking books and using them to support a reading lesson in the school. Each has a 'donkey librarian' who is increasingly being encouraged to 'take a proactive role in working with schools and making lessons interesting, rather than simply delivering books' (Interview 13). The donkey library operates in conditions where temperatures do not exceed 30 Celsius and the librarian does not walk more than 20 km per day, which accounts for the difference in coverage from the camel library serving pastoralist areas.

Operational considerations for mobile libararies are similar to those of mobile schools and include: ensuring that both the books themselves and the panniers in which books are carried are of good quality; that books are available in the languages spoken locally; and that the library is considered as an additional resource where teachers and librarians work together, rather than as a lesson substitute.

STRATEGY: (I)NGOs provide inputs to teacher education and forge partnerships with training colleges.

As noted in several places in this study, **teachers would benefit from having much more attention paid to their professional development and all-round well-being**. Preparing future teachers for the specific contexts in which they will work needs a much more sustained focus and a differentiated approach, and is critical to improving the quality and relevance of schooling (UNESCO 2014). The kinds of language/curricular interventions described above are more effective if done **in partnership with teacher education colleges** and this was widely recognised by interviewees for this study. For example, an INGO representative in Ethiopia pointed out that developing teaching materials in the local language:

...was a challenge but thanks to the opening of a teacher training college and university we could do it in partnership with them. The design was a partnership with the college and university to ensure sustainability and also to give inputs to teacher training.

Interview 2

This INGO was unclear, however, as to whether the innovation had subsequently been sustained. Several NGOs reported positively on providing **short training courses for teachers** to boost pedagogical abilities (Interviews 2, 4). In India, an NGO models its Montessoribased approach to early childhood education in a 'model school' in crèches on building sites; the state regularly calls on its expertise for teacher-training interventions in the national Integrated Children Development Services (Interview 4). Interviews for this study point towards the short-term nature of some partnerships in the area of teacher education, with sporadic interventions that are project-driven, as well as much more enduring partnerships between state and non-state institutions. The quality and sustainability of partnerships notwithstanding, interviewees raised **many concerns over the quality of teacher education** in general. At the top of their list of worries was the **recruitment and preparation of facilitators**, such as those working in Ethiopia'a rapidly expanded ABE - for whom **training tends to be sporadic and unsystematic** (Interview 14) - and the **training of para-teachers** in India (Interview 1).

5 CONCLUSION

This study has collected and presented evidence about a range of issues around mobile populations in primary education. One of the key recommendations arising from it is **to focus resources on supporting the generation of strong, country-specific evidence that is missing and/or poorly accessible**. This is an **urgent priority to support more effective, strategic policy initiatives** that build on past experience and develop insights into the impact of innovative practices. As one UN representative from Sudan pointed out:

Availability of evidence-based research is one of the weaknesses – Sudan lacks a strong literature to guide and inform policy. There is a lack of baseline to measure changes and advocate for our own issues. It needs financial and technical investment to help us move ahead.

Interview 6

At present, the refugee crisis is receiving more attention than internal displacement and the situation of pastoralist children and children from seasonally migrating families. While international conflict and displacement can be powerful triggers to action, many of the populations on which this study focuses remain relatively invisible in policy, and are dealing with exclusion or attendance in poor-quality schooling in situations that do not grab resources and headlines in the same way. This is troubling, not only because **these overlooked groups risk being left further behind**, but also because, in a globalising world, there are few situations which can be viewed as 'refugee-only', or 'IDP-only' or 'nomad-only'. A representative of an NGO working with refugees and other vulnerable children usefully described a promising approach of looking beyond categories and labels in order to determine which children are most vulnerable and in need of support in a given context, and then building programming around those children (Interview A). This approach can be adopted to meet needs even if children are not identified as immediately vulnerable, for example, to meet challenges of rapidly changing livelihood contexts in dryland regions.

The importance of inclusive, flexible, responsive mechanisms, networks and relationships for effective education responses cannot be underestimated. In Kenya, an interviewee working with refugee children described how it has been difficult to attract direct support from the Kenyan government because it faces significant capacity constraints, where many local Kenyan children, including pastoralists, are still not able to access quality education (Interview K). However, for the first time, this international agency is participating in the County Education Board, alongside national government and county government, which is an exciting opportunity to share knowledge and build approaches that will support both Kenyan and non-Kenyan children:

We hope to use this platform to share some of the work we do with our government counterparts... because some of the challenges we face are similar also for local children, especially in a pastoral or nomadic context. For some of these Kenyan children, their education participation levels are even lower than children in the camps. So these are things we must share with them and also learn from them. And now we are also participating in the consultation on the SDGs, and we hope to use this platform to support the government in aligning policies with SDG4, to ensure that all children are included and accounted for in national planning.

Interview K

In 2013, Kenya established a Council for Nomadic Education (NACONEK) which, although – perhaps inevitably – underfunded, is a further step towards providing a **focal point of contact for a national and international focus on pastoralists to feed into national strategy development**. The Kenyan example highlights a number of key dimensions of collaboration for effective interventions for all children from mobile populations:

- Building/maintaining strong relationships between government and other stakeholders.
- Establishing knowledge-sharing platforms that support reciprocal learning.
- Demonstrating a willingness to consider vulnerable groups beyond organisational mandates.
- Using existing policy frameworks and networks to leverage support and develop strategies for collective action.

Inter-sectoral collaboration, to address the needs of the child holistically and in context, is a crucial approach in educating mobile children. This study has underlined that **meaningful education cannot afford to be narrowly focused on sectoral preoccupations**: innovations and good practices are driving towards much stronger connection with learner aspirations and the realities of their lives. The need for **cross-sectoral working, which can enable this is both stressed and recommended** across all the literature reviewed for this study, and called for by many interviewees. An INGO representative, now working outside the education sector, was one of many who endorsed cross-sectoral collaboration and concerning the consequences of not moving towards this approach he pointed out that education is needed:

[...] to prepare for life, not even livelihoods, how to successfully raise a family, be part of a community. This view is in contrast with the view of government of education as a right. There is a conflict between what community members said they would find useful versus the government's convention of what education is.

Interview 8

The newly launched **UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report (GEMR)**, Education for People and Planet: Creating Sustainable Futures for All provides an extensive review of the synergies between education and other development sectors and is a potentially useful resource in strategising across sectors (UNESCO GEMR 2016).

Finally, children from mobile populations often experience social exclusion and some experience complex trauma as well. Holistic educational approaches responding to the needs of all learners contribute to inclusion and social cohesion, and can help students who experience complex trauma to overcome its effects. This study has identified numerous



education strategies that aim to improve inclusion and integration, but at the same time it has cautioned that **some attempts to improve access for 'hard-to-reach' children at scale perpetuate social and structural inequalities by providing inferior quality provision**. An NGO representative in Zimbabwe made the important observation that when planning an education initiative:

[...] it is important to ensure that the school becomes part of the community, rather than an extension of the community.

Interview D



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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Guiding Questions for Literature Review

- 1. How are the learners in question defined and framed in the relevant policy/practice/ academic literatures? If there have been shifts in discourses, what directions have those shifts taken?
- **2.** How have the challenges of including these specific learners in the Education for All movement been framed in the relevant policy/practice/academic literatures?
- **3.** What features of education systems have been changed in recognition of the need to be flexible in approach (e.g., capitation fees, teacher-recruitment qualifications, curricular innovations, formulation and measurement of learning outcomes)?
- 4. Who are the main actors when it comes to provision for these learners? Do non-state providers appear to be able to advocate for change beyond their own provision and thus have any systemic impact?
- 5. What innovative programmes/policies are found? What makes them innovative? At what scale do they operate? Do they appear to have potential for scaling up via non-state and/or non-state state partnership?
- **6.** Does the change of emphasis accompanying the new SDG framework have identifiable implications for these learners, and if so what are they?
- 7. Other issues/trends of relevance?

Appendix B: Interview Guide

- What organisation do you work with?
- What is your job title?

- How long have you been in your current job?
- What population groups does your organisation work with? (location, age, gender, defining characteristics, including mobile populations)
 - If more than/beyond primary, how much emphasis is placed on primary education in your work?
 - Have there been any changes in the populations your organisation has been working with over the years. If so, what kind of changes have you noticed? Terminology? Scope? Scale?
- Does your organisation work primarily with advocacy, policy, practice (programming) or research?
 - Can you comment on any links between the work of your organisation and the other dimensions? (i.e., if you primarily work with policy, what links does your organisation have with advocacy, practice and/or research?)
- What are some of the key challenges faced by mobile populations in accessing and participating in high-quality, meaningful and relevant primary education opportunities?

- Can you give any examples of how your organisation attempts to address these challenges?
 - Can you comment on the relative success/failure of these attempts?
- How do you document your activities and share your knowledge and learning both within and beyond your organisation?
- Can you think of any other major actors involved in the provision of primary education for these mobile groups?

- In particular, are there any (other) civil society/community organisations working in this capacity?
- Have you worked with these organisations before or do you currently work with them now?
 - If so, in what capacity?
- Can you highlight 1-2 examples of innovative/effective approaches to primary education for mobile populations? (This does not have to be from your own organisation)
 - What makes these approaches innovative/effective?
- If you had unlimited financial means and you could design your own project to provide primary education for mobile children, what would the project look like?
- How familiar are you with the new SDG agenda?
 - If you are familiar with it, can you comment on your organisation's relationship with the SDG agenda and what implications this agenda might have for primary education for mobile populations?
- Is there anything else about primary education for mobile education you would like to mention that hasn't come up during our conversation today?

Appendix C: List of Interviewees

Refugee and IDP Stakeholders

Code	Description of Interviewee(s)	Location
A	NGO representative working with refugees in a camp setting and other vulnerable children	Zimbabwe
в	Researcher, education consultant and educator with significant experience working with refugees, migrants and seasonal labourers	Thai-Myanmar border
с	Donor representative working on EiE	Global
D	NGO representative working with the children of economic migrants who have been left behind	Zimbabwe
E	Education advisor for a donor agency working with refugees	Turkey
F	UN-agency representative working with out of school children, IDP children and children from pastoralist families	Somalia
G	Two educators (programme design, training and community development) with experience working with refugees and vulnerable communities	Myanmar
н	NGO representative working on a number of grants (government, UN and donor-sponsored) to support children and young people from mixed population groups	Pakistan
1	Donor representative working on basic education at the country level	Honduras
J	Ministry of Education representative	Yemen
к	UN-agency representative working with refugees in Kenya	Kenya
L	INGO representative with experience working on basic education for children affected by conflict	Ethiopia, South Sudan
м	Educator running NFE programmes for refugees to help them transition into host mainstream schools	Lebanon
N	Academic researcher and teacher trainer working on supporting refugee teachers	Kenya (Global)
0	NGO representative who advocates for refugee voice and supports refugee-led initiatives	Global

.



Pastoralist and Seasonal Migrant Stakeholders

Code	Description of Interviewee(s)	Location
1	NGO representative working with seasonally migrating families and local communities	India
2	INGO representative working with pastoralists	Ethiopia, Sudan
3	INGO representative working with pastoralists	Horn of Africa
4	NGO representative working with seasonally migrating families and local communities	India
5	NGO representative working with seasonally migrating families (urban)	India
6	UN representative	Sudan
7	INGO representative working with disadvantaged children, particularly girls and marginalised communities	UK/Horn of Africa
8	INGO representative working with pastoralists	Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan
9	INGO representative working with pastoralists	Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan
10	INGO representative working with disadvantaged children	Global
11	Pastoralist girl attending residential school	Ethiopia
12	NGO representative working with pastoralists	Ethiopia
13	INGO representative working with disadvantaged children	Ethiopia
14	National academic researcher working with pastoralists	Ethiopia

Appendix D: Defining 'Mobile' Populations

Key Definitions for Refugees and IDPS

The situations leading to forced displacement are complex and reflect interrelated factors including political instability, conflict, inequality, poverty, natural disasters, health emergencies and environmental instability (Forced Migration Online 2012). The emphasis in the literature tends to be on populations displaced by conflict, persecution and natural disasters, though development-induced displacement is a growing phenomenon that affects millions of people the world over.

Term	Definition
Refugee	The 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as an individual who 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his or her nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail him or herself of the protection of that country'. To officially be recognised as a refugee, an individual has to go through a process referred to as Refugee Status Determination (RSD), the administrative, legal process by which states determine whether a person seeking international protection is a refugee (under international, regional or national law). In situations where states are unwilling or unable, UNHCR will handle this process (UNHCR 2016). As it is not always possible to carry out individual RSD (for practical reasons), there is a process of 'group determination' of refugee status, whereby each member of the group is considered a refugee prima facie (i.e., in the absence of evidence to the contrary) (UNHCR 2011).
IDP	In 1992, the UN Secretary-General defined IDPs as 'persons who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who are within the territory of their own country' (Forced Migration Online 2012). This is the most common definition of IDPs in use today.
Asylum seeker	An individual who is making a claim to international protection is known as an asylum seeker. While not every asylum seeker will be recognised as a refugee, every refugee was once an asylum seeker (UNHCR 2006).
Palestinian refugee	The term Palestinian refugee refers to someone whose residence was Palestine for at least two years before losing their home and livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict or a descendant of such a person. This definition is more operational than legal, as it exists to identify people living in Gaza, West Bank, Jordan, Syria or Lebanon who are eligible for services from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) (Feldman 2012). While male UNRWA refugees can pass on their refugee status to their children if they marry a non-refugee, this is not the case for women (Bocco 2010).
Returnee	This term refers to a person who was forcibly displaced (refugee or IDP) who has now returned to their country of origin (refugees) or place of origin (IDPs) (UNHCR 2006).
Separated children	Separated children are children who have been separated from their parents or primary caregivers, but not necessarily other relatives (ICRC 2004).
Unaccompanied children	Unaccompanied children are children who have been separated from their parents or primary caregivers and are not being cared for by a responsible adult (ICRC 2004).

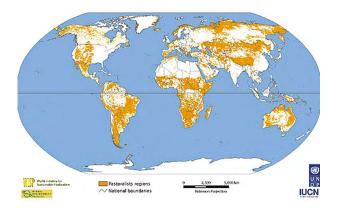


Economic migrants	Particularly in High Income Countries (HICs), it has become increasingly common to distinguish between 'genuine' refugees and so-called economic migrants. According to UNHCR (2006), economic migrants are 'persons who leave their countries of origin purely for economic reasons not in any way related to the refugee definition or in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood. Economic migrants do not fall within the criteria for refugee status and are therefore not entitled to benefit from international protection as refugees'.
Persons of concern	UNHCR (n.d.) refers to a person of concern as someone 'whose protection and assistance needs are of interest to UNHCR'. This includes refugees, asylum-seekers, stateless people, internally displaced people and returnees.

Key Definitions for Mobile Pastoralists

Mobile pastoralists are a specific sub-grouping of 'nomadic' people, all of whom deploy spatial mobility as an integral strategy of particular livelihoods (Danaher et al., 2009; Dyson-Hudson & Dyson Hudson 1980; Galaty & Johnson, 1990; Rao & Casimir, 2003, IIED 2010, Randall 2015). They use resources of drylands and the sea, and their activities cover about one-quarter of the Earth's land surface (FAO, 2003) as well as sea areas (e.g., Chou, 2010). Notable 'nomadic' populations include:

Term	Definition
Foragers, hunter gatherers	People who deploy mobility to hunt for and collect wild food.
Peripatetics	People who deploy mobility to assist in offering specialised services to sedentary or indeed other nomadic people (Rao 1987).
Sea nomads	People who deploy mobility to exploit marine resources (Chou 2010).
Fisher folk	People who deploy mobility to exploit marine and riverine resources (Ezeomah 1998).
Mobile pastoralists	People who derive a substantial portion of their livelihood from raising domestic livestock, moving animals to natural resources as they become available (Blench 2001). Their livelihood is best understood as a 'complex [] system seeking to maintain an optimal balance between pastures, livestock and people in uncertain and variable environments' (Nori, Taylor and Sensi 2008, 3). There is high dependence on resources of the commons.



Few pastoralists nowadays survive entirely on animals and their products, but there are differences between those who are **'pure' pastoralists** (high dependence on animals, high mobility – also known as 'customary' pastoralism) and **'agropastoralists'**, who combine sedentary agriculture with animal holdings and limited mobility. **Mobility is not a standalone characteristic**: mobile pastoralism



depends equally on effective labour organisation and herd management. Many pastoralists are transhumant, and migration may be 'vertical' in mountainous areas (moving from plains to access high summer pastures) and 'horizontal' (moving across plains/ranges to access resources) in drylands. Globally, numbers of pastoralists are not clear and distribution is poorly mapped: this widely used map of pastoralist activities (UNEP 2016), for example, omits pastoralist populations of at least 10 million across the length and breadth of India.

Key Definitions for Seasonal Migration

According to the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, Article 2 (b) (UN 1990, 2), *The term 'seasonal worker' refers to a migrant worker whose work by its character is dependent on seasonal conditions and is performed only during part of the year.*

Seasonal labourers are most commonly people living in rural areas who move in search of seasonally available labouring opportunities including crop-harvesting, brick-making, etc. They may be landless or have very small landholdings which are dependent on a rainfed crop. Poverty is endemic amongst these populations, many of whom are caught in an intergenerational cycle of chronic poverty (CPR 2008) and is a major driver of migration. Those with the fewest assets are also referred to in the literature as 'distress' migrants (Smita 2008). Roy et al. (2015, 20) categorise seasonal workers by family association and nature of move as: i) seasonal/temporary without-family migrants; ii) semi/permanent with family migrants; and iii) seasonal/temporary with family migrants.

Counting Seasonal Labour Migration

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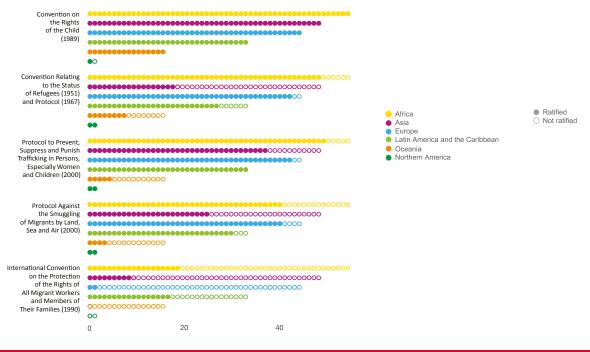
Difficulties of poor evidence and vague statistics are a characteristically widely cited constraint in analyses of seasonal labour migration. Six major shortcomings of official data generation about seasonal migration in India (Deshingkar and Aktar 2009) have wider implications:

- 1. Underestimation of short-term movements and hence underestimating/missing seasonal and circular migration, which accounts for most migratory movements for work.
- 2. Women's migration is not adequately captured owing to nature of survey questions.
- **3.** Migration streams that are illegal or border on illegality are not captured.
- **4.** Rural-rural circulatory migrants working on commercial farms/plantations or ruralurban migrants migrating for a few months to work in very small industries are not captured.
- 5. The poverty-migration relationship is misrepresented with a bias towards showing migration amongst better off groups, as surveys mainly cover permanent migration and miss lower income groups.
- 6. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people figure disproportionately highly amongst these populations: high-mobility levels amongst these groups are documented, but not reflected as surveys fail to measure short-term migration.



Appendix E: Key Human Rights Instruments Relating to Migrants

Figure: Number of countries that have ratified key human rights instruments by region, July 2016



Source: UNICEF (2016, p.47)

Appendix F: Different Types of Accelerated Education Programmes

Type of Programme	Definition
Bridging	Bridging Programmes refer to short-term targeted interventions to facilitate out of school children and youth's re-entry into the education system. The intervention can take various forms, such as language acquisition and/or other existing differences between home and host education curricula and systems.
Catch-up	Catch-up programmes refer to short (in some cases medium term) transitional- education activities that focus on the resumption of formal education for children and youth who missed out or had their education interrupted. Catch-up programmes ensure that key learning components are acquired to support re- entry to the formal system.
Alternative Basic Education	Alternative Basic Education programmes refer to longer-term educational programmes that enable learners to complete a full course of basic education within the programme, often in an accelerated fashion.

Source: Shah (2015a, pp.12-13)

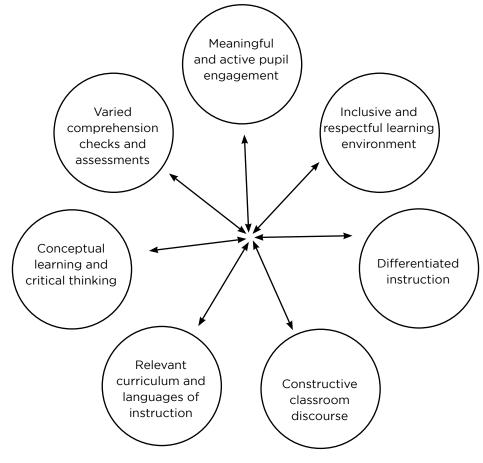


The proliferation of this approach is raising questions around governance, quality and equality: the inter-agency Accelerated Education Working Group (AEWG) points out that there is no existing standard at present. It has identified global good practices and made available guidelines which will inform an eventual global standard (AEWG 2016).

Appendix G: Curriculum, Pedagogy, Assessment and the Core Elements of Learner-Centred Education

In their work examining the quality of primary education for refugees in Kenya, Mendenhall et al. (2015) have drawn from the best practice literature to come up with a framework for quality learner-centred education.

Figure: Core elements of learner-centred education



Source based on Schweisfurth (2013), Wagner et al. (2012), Alexander (2008), MeTighe and Wiggins (2005)

(Source: Mendenhall et al. 2015)

Each core element from the figure above links to the dimensions of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment.

Table: Linking core elements of learner-centred refugee education to the dimensions of curriculum, assessment and pedagogy

Element	Dimension	Link to Dimension
Meaningful and active pupil engagement	Pedagogy	Teachers do not just transfer knowledge and rely on rote learning, but work with pupils to ensure that they are active participants in the learning process.
Inclusive and respectful learning environment	Pedagogy	Teachers work to create a classroom climate that is welcoming to and safe for all learners and thus conducive to learning. (This includes the use of non-violent discipline and classroom- management strategies).
Differentiated instruction	Curriculum/ Pedagogy/ Assessment	Differentiated instruction refers to the process by which different entry points are available to learners according to differences in knowledge, abilities, skills, etc. It happens at the level of curriculum (what all students learn, what most students learn, what some students learn), at the level of pedagogy (the variety of teaching methods employed by teachers to ensure all students are learning) and assessment (a range of opportunities for students to demonstrate what they have learned). Differentiated instruction is particularly important for ensuring a quality learning experience for refugee learners, because often they come to the classroom with a broad range of learning needs.
Constructive classroom discourse	Pedagogy	Teachers enable students to engage in the active co- construction of knowledge and work on building positive classroom discourse.
Relevant curriculum and language(s) of instruction	Curriculum	For quality learning experiences to happen, what is taught in classrooms needs to be relevant to learners, not only in terms of building on knowledge and experience they already have, but in ensuring that lessons learned are applicable for their current and future lives and contexts. For refugees, the curriculum question involves decisions around using the host curriculum or the curriculum from the country of origin (or a combination), etc. Often these choices are determined based on availability of officially recognised assessment opportunities. When it comes to language of instruction, research has demonstrated that mother tongue instruction tends to be more effective, particularly for younger learners. The UNICEF EAPRO Language, Education and Social Cohesion (LESC) initiative provides some key ideas about multilingual and mother tongue learning and research (UNICEF EAPRO 2016).
Conceptual learning and critical thinking	Curriculum	According to the proposed model, curriculum should not just contain key facts and figures for students to memorise, but should provide ample opportunities for learners to engage in more abstract and conceptual learning and develop critical- thinking skills that will serve them in real life beyond the classroom.



Varied comprehension checks and assessments	According to the proposed model, learners should have the opportunity to demonstrate what they have learned in a number of meaningful ways. Where possible, assessment should be formative – i.e., contributing to the overall learning process. Further, while 'teaching to the test' should be discouraged, key national and international assessments should be considered to ensure that refugees' educational achievements are officially recognised through formative, summative and inclusive processes.
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Source: Bengtsson and Naylor (2016)

Appendix H: Current Teacher Education/Training Programmes

Name of Programme	Description
IRC Healing Classrooms	The Healing Classrooms Initiative aims to support teacher development for student well-being through research into the experiences of students and teachers in school and their perceptions and beliefs about teaching and learning.
IDP NRC Teacher Emergency Package (TEP)	This resource consists of a kit of materials and a methodology of teaching basic literacy and numeracy in the mother language of the pupils. It covers grades 1-4 and is designed for a six-month span of learning that then phases into the formal textbook-based curriculum. According to Midttun (2009), the TEP led to the training of 3,188 teachers and the enrolment of 212,000 children in a one-year catch-up programme over 12 years.
Training Pack for Primary-School Teachers in Crisis Contexts	This is an open-source training pack available for anyone to use. It aims to build basic teaching competencies for un- or under-qualified teachers who are often recruited to teach in crisis contexts, including displacement settings. The materials can also be used to support qualified teachers with refresher training, or to develop capacities in key areas, such as child protection. Finally, they can be used by teachers in both crisis-affected environments and in host communities that are attempting to integrate displaced children.
UNRWA Teacher Education	Having opened in 1964, the UNRWA Institute of Education has a long history of providing teacher education and development across UNRWA's areas of operation. It offers in-service training, pre-service training, basic and enrichment training, and both long- and short-term training for thousands of teachers, principals and supervisors.
Returnee Tailor- made Training in Lebanon	An educator working with Syrian refugees in Lebanon described how they had set up their own teacher-training programmes to work with the modified curriculum they had developed (Interview M). She found that previously untrained teachers often ended up becoming the 'star teachers' because they were motivated by the opportunity to support students and the community.
Teachers for Teachers	Teachers for Teachers is a recent innovative initiative by Teachers College (Columbia University) and Finn Church Aid (FCA), in partnership with UNHCR and the Lutheran World Federation to support refugee and other teachers in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya to improve their teaching practice and student learning. It is based on an evidence-based model of building expertise, knowledge and motivation of teachers through a combination of training, coaching and mentoring.



