JOURNAL ON EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES

Special Issue on Refugees and Education, Part I

JEiE

Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies

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EDITORIAL NOTE

By Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Jo Kelcey, and S. Garnett Russell[1]

This issue of the *Journal on Education in Emergencies (JEiE)* is dedicated to Dr. Caroline Waruguru Ndirangu, who passed away in September. Dr. Ndirangu, a beloved member of the education in emergencies (EiE) community, was dedicated to expanding access to quality education for refugees and other marginalized young people. A lecturer at the University of Nairobi in Kenya, Dr. Ndirangu was a cofounder of the world's first EiE master's program. Her warmth, quick smile, and habit of humming songs throughout the day were characteristic of her approach to life and to her work, as was her unwavering hope of bringing educational opportunities to all children. Dr. Ndirangu was a model of the kind of researchers we strive to be. She observed students and teachers closely, talked with children in ways that made them feel free to be themselves, and, with her open and kind way of listening and understanding, always asked hard but important questions. We know that Dr. Ndirangu would have delighted in the focus and content of this issue of *JEiE*.

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With the highest number of displaced people since the aftermath of World War II, the world is currently witnessing an unprecedented refugee crisis. At present there are 70.8 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, including 25.9 million refugees who have crossed international borders and thus are entitled to protection from international agencies (UNHCR 2019). In this special issue on refugees and education, the first of two parts, we showcase research on important developments in the field of refugee education across several regions, including the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa.

In this first part of the special issue, we present four research articles, one interview, two field notes, and three book reviews. Three themes emerge within this range of contributions that are central to the current state of the field of refugee education. First is an emphasis on historical analysis as a method for understanding contemporary efforts in refugee education more fully. Second is attention to the actions and decisions of organizations, teachers, and bureaucracies,

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1   Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Jo Kelcey, and S. Garnett Russell served as special guest editors for this issue of *JEiE* and contributed equally to its development and production. They are listed in alphabetical order.

and how they mediate the schooling experiences of refugee children and young people. Third are the efforts made in the research articles and field notes to address how responsibility for the education of refugees is shared (United Nations 2018). The contributing authors describe and analyze who guides the structures and content of the education of refugees, both historically and in the present, and how they came to these roles. In so doing, they begin to untangle the essential questions of who shares responsibility for meeting refugees' educational needs and how they do so, both of which are central to current developments in the global governance of refugees and have immediate and long-term implications for how refugee education is designed and experienced.

The first two articles directly address the history of refugee education in two distinct geographic locations and conflict contexts. In "'Incredibly Difficult, Tragically Needed, and Absorbingly Interesting': Lessons from the AFSC School Program for Palestinian Refugees in Gaza, 1949 to 1950," Jo Kelcey examines the origins and experiences of a school program for Palestinian refugees in Gaza that operated from 1949 to 1950. With access to archival records from multiple actors, Kelcey identifies key ways this early example of formalized refugee education confronted dilemmas that are similar to refugee education today. She focuses in particular on the short-term humanitarian thinking that guided education planning; the consistent funding shortfalls that left actors vulnerable to donors' political objectives; and the contentious and ever-evolving nature of the relationships between educational approaches and the political context in which education takes place—in this case, between Palestinian refugees, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, and the Israeli state—including its geopolitical position. Through these examples, Kelcey demonstrates that, while rhetoric in the field of refugee education often situates Palestinian education as "exceptional," it offers many lessons for contemporary approaches to refugee education.

In her article, "Asking 'Why' and 'How': A Historical Turn in Refugee Education Research," Christine Monaghan similarly explores historical lessons for policy, practice, and research in refugee education. Monaghan considers the history of education in Kenya's Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps through her interviews with refugee teachers and students, and with UNHCR staff members. She gives particular attention to why various policies and practices were designed and implemented in different time periods and how they were understood by various actors, both at the time and upon later reflection. While this form of analysis is common in refugee studies more broadly, Monaghan posits the value of historicizing education. She encourages conducting more of this kind of historical

analysis to promote lasting change in refugee education, in particular critical and transformative teaching and learning in refugee settings.

The next two articles in this issue examine the roles of various actors in the global refugee regime and how they shape the experiences of refugees across different contexts. In her article, "Bureaucratic Encounters and the Quest for Educational Access among Colombian Refugees in Ecuador," Diana Rodríguez-Gómez analyzes data from her interviews with civil servants, NGO staff members, and Colombian refugees living in Quito, Ecuador, to uncover barriers to school access. She finds that, despite progressive national-level policies and a constitution that guarantees the right to education regardless of migratory status, the enactment of official and unofficial rules by civil servants working in bureaucratic state systems have stymied access to education. By focusing on how Ecuadorian public servants and refugees navigate education systems and administrative structures in order to implement policies, Rodríguez-Gómez underscores the persistent yet largely hidden barriers refugees face when trying to access quality education.

In "When the Personal Becomes the Professional: Exploring the Lived Experiences of Syrian Refugee Educators," Elizabeth Adelman explores the identities and pedagogies of Syrian teachers working with Syrian refugee students in Lebanon. Situated within her broader analysis of 42 interviews with Syrian educators, Adelman provides a detailed portrait of two Syrian teachers working in non-formal schools in Lebanon. Her findings demonstrate the tensions inherent in how teachers negotiate their personal identities and professional experiences, and how these negotiations impact the goals of the education they provide to their students, as well as their own sense of well-being. Adelman demonstrates that, while teachers are expected to provide academic and psychological support to refugee students, including "teaching hope," they are "personally experiencing hopelessness" and must reconcile the challenges of displacement as they navigate their dual roles as refugees and educators.

In an interview titled "Teachers in Forced Displacement Contexts: Persistent Challenges and Promising Practices in Teacher Supply, Quality, and Well-Being," Ozen Guven talks with Mary Mendenhall, Sonia Gomez, and Emily Varni about the challenges faced by teachers of refugees.[2] Drawing from their background paper for the 2019 Global Education Monitoring Report, they present a typology

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2   *JEiE* introduces the interview article format in this issue. This new section enables EiE scholars and practitioners to share valuable observations and insights from their work in a pared-down and highly accessible format. Readers who would like to suggest an idea for a published interview are encouraged to email their proposal to the Editorial Office.

of teachers that can help guide professional training and support. After outlining the different needs of host community/national teachers, internally displaced teachers, and refugee teachers, they identify practices and policies that could strengthen support for teachers working in displacement contexts. This includes adding more teachers to reduce overcrowding in classrooms, providing training on instructing in multi-age classrooms, and building social cohesion, as well as addressing teachers' own psychosocial needs while supporting their work with students on the same issues.

In the two field notes for this issue, the authors highlight refugees' educational experiences at two different stages, early childhood education and higher education. Kelsey A. Dalrymple, in "Mindful Learning: Early Childhood Care and Development for Refugee Children in Tanzania," shares findings from an assessment of the Little Ripples program for Burundian refugee children ages three to five who were living in Tanzania. The program used mindfulness techniques as part of an integrative approach to supporting refugees' social and emotional well-being. Through a mixed-methods data analysis, Dalrymple finds that the program was an effective tool for managing students' behavior and creating a supportive learning environment. However, more research is needed to understand whether and how these approaches can be sustained over the long term. In "Access to Higher Education: Reflections on a Participatory Design Process with Refugees," Oula Abu-Amsha, Rebecca Gordon, Laura Benton, Mina Vasalou, and Ben Webster share their findings from the participatory design process of a program to support access to higher education for Syrian refugees. Findings from the participatory process highlight the challenges of inclusion and of ensuring full participation across participants' different characteristics and genders, as well as the difficulties of sustainable and long-term engagement in education programs. However, the results also showcase the benefits of using a participatory design process to design programs for beneficiaries.

The book reviews in this issue provide an inspiring glimpse into current scholarship in the EiE field that resonates with the theme of this special issue, and with ongoing dilemmas in the field of refugee education. Aislinn O'Donnell reviews *Muslims, Schooling and Security: Trojan Horse, Prevent and Racial Politics* by Shamim Miah. She explores the book's analysis of the "Trojan Horse controversy" in Birmingham, UK, and demonstrates how Muslims have been "othered" and securitized in schools. O'Donnell appreciates the deep discursive analysis of the book, which surfaces the ways state-sponsored counter-terrorism interacts with education governance and what the consequences are for teachers and students. Rachel D. Hutchins reviews *International Perspectives on Teaching*

Rival Histories: Pedagogical Responses to Contested Narratives and the History Wars, edited by Henrik Åström Elmersjö, Anna Clark, and Monika Vinterek. She explores how the book addresses the perennial question, "How do, or should, teachers pedagogically engage with rival histories?" The book includes ten case studies, which are bounded by theoretical introductions and conclusions that connect pedagogic approaches with epistemological orientations to history. Hutchins appreciates the use of Seixas' typology of history teaching—a "best story" approach, a "disciplinary" approach, and a "post-modern" approach— throughout the volume, which offers a productive framework for scholars and educators. In the final book review, Caroline Ndirangu—whose life we celebrate in this special issue—reviews *Developing Community-Referenced Curricula for Marginalized Communities* by David Baine. Ndirangu demonstrates that the book provides a needed foundation for the field of refugee education, which is grappling with how refugee youth experience education in national education systems. Ndirangu points in particular to the role Baine's "community-referenced curriculum" approach could play in meeting the individual and collective needs of refugee youth through what they are taught in school.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

anonymous peer reviewers who give generously of their time and expertise. We will acknowledge them by name in a future issue.

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OPEN SOCIETY
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The Early Childhood Program, Education Support Program, and Higher Education Support Program of the Open Society Foundations are pleased to partner with the editorial team at New York University and the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies to produce this special issue of the *Journal on Education in Emergencies,* which focuses on refugee education. The Open Society Foundations are long-time supporters of work that promotes the equitable inclusion of refugees in the national education systems of their host countries and provides refugees with opportunities to pursue their education in safety, dignity, and equality of opportunity. We hope that this special issue will contribute to refugee education research and to building communities of practice in this field.

"INCREDIBLY DIFFICULT, TRAGICALLY NEEDED, AND ABSORBINGLY INTERESTING": LESSONS FROM THE AFSC SCHOOL PROGRAM FOR PALESTINIAN REFUGEES IN GAZA, 1949 TO 1950

Jo Kelcey

ABSTRACT

This article examines a school program operated by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) for Palestinian refugees in Gaza in 1949 and 1950. Drawing on historical records from organizations involved in the broader relief effort, it examines why the school program was set up and how it operated, and considers the lessons it offers for contemporary refugee education efforts. I argue that, while AFSC adopted an atypical approach to humanitarian relief that prioritized education from the outset of the crisis, the school program it developed was invariably constrained by the overarching humanitarian paradigm within which it operated. Funding for education was limited, which left the schools vulnerable to competing political objectives. This article underscores the importance of understanding the history of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East in order to understand its present, and to inform contemporary education efforts for other refugee populations. The article also highlights the need for a critical appraisal of attempts to align refugee education programs with the generally accepted principles of humanitarianism.

INTRODUCTION

Established in late 1949, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) today provides education for more than half a million refugee students in Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the West Bank. The U.S. government has been a major funder of UNRWA, consistently contributing one-third or more of its budget. However, in 2018, the Trump administration cut this funding, describing the agency as an "irredeemably flawed operation."[1] Since education accounts for over half of UNRWA's program budget and two-thirds of its 21,000-member staff, these funding cuts effectively threaten the education of half a million Palestinian refugees in a region where 700,000 Syrian refugee children are already out of school.[2]

UNRWA officials described the funding cuts as creating an "existential crisis" for the agency and expressed particular concern about the future sustainability of its education program.[3] Much criticism of the U.S. decision to cut funding focused on the immediate humanitarian consequences and the security implications of a large number of children being out of school.[4] This article considers UNRWA's financial susceptibility from a historical perspective. Drawing from extensive archival research, I examine an early response to the need for education for Palestinian refugees who fled the Arab-Israeli war that began in 1948. In 1949 and 1950, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker organization that works to promote just and durable peace in the United States and abroad, initiated a school program for Palestinian refugees in Gaza.[5] Since the AFSC program served as a prototype for the UNRWA education program, this history offers important insights into UNRWA's current situation. It also sheds light on the complexities inherent in setting up education services in contexts of large-scale displacement.

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1   Peter Beaumont and Oliver Holmes, "US Confirms End to UN Funding for Palestinian Refugees," *The Guardian,* August 31, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/31/trump-to-cut-all-us-funding-for-uns-main-palestinian-refugee-programme.

2   UNRWA, "What We Do," https://www.unrwa.org/what-we-do/education; Ana V. Ibáñez Prieto, "Four Million Refugee Children Out of School Worldwide, Over 70,000 in Jordan," *The Jordan Times,* August 30, 2018, http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/four-million-refugee-children-out-school-worldwide-over-70000-jordan.

3   UNRWA, "UNRWA Statement on Implications of Funding Shortfall on Emergency Services in the OPT," July 26, 2018, https://www.un.org/unispal/document/unrwa-statement-on-implications-of-funding-shortfall-on-emergency-services-in-the-opt/.

4   Colum Lynch, "U.S. to End All Funding to U.N. Agency That Aids Palestinian Refugees," *Foreign Policy,* August 26, 2018, https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/28/middle-east-palestinian-israel-pompeo-trump-kushner-u-s-to-end-all-funding-to-u-n-agency-that-aids-palestinian-refugees/.

5   AFSC, "About Us," July 10, 2019, https://www.afsc.org/about-us.

This article asks and answers two main questions: Why did AFSC establish a school program for Palestinians in Gaza? How did the AFSC school program operate? I argue that AFSC supported education in Gaza in keeping with its mission to promote peace and justice. However, the United Nations' (UN) overarching view of humanitarian relief as a temporary and apolitical intervention limited funding for the school program, resulted in heavy dependence on host states' education structures, and left the schools susceptible to political manipulation. I draw two important lessons from this history. First is the need to understand UNRWA's contemporary situation in light of its past, in particular the conditions that shaped its establishment. Second is the importance of learning from the Palestinian case when designing and implementing education responses to contemporary large-scale displacement crises. I argue that the decisions made in the months following the Palestinian refugee crisis of 1948 have had an enduring impact on UNRWA's education program. This history points in particular to the need to reflect critically on the implications of initiating education programs for refugees under conditions imposed by humanitarianism, which, by claiming to be neutral and impartial, obscures the highly political and politicized role of education.[6]

The article is organized as follows. In the next section I provide background on the Palestinian case and discuss its wider significance, followed by a description of my methods and analytical approach. I then examine the establishment and development of the AFSC school program in light of the two most persistent claims of humanitarian aid: that it is temporary and apolitical. I conclude by reflecting on the relevance of this history for understanding UNRWA's current situation and the challenges facing refugee education initiatives more broadly.

THE RELEVANCE OF THE PALESTINIAN CASE

Between 1947 and 1949, approximately 800,000 Palestinians were forced to leave Palestine due to the raging conflict. Most sought asylum in neighboring countries and territories.[7] Humanitarian support initially was provided by families, religious

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6   International Committee of the Red Cross, "The Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement," October 31, 1986, https://www.icrc.org/en/document/fundamental-principles-red-cross-and-red-crescent. For a more detailed discussion of these claims and their centrality to humanitarian action, see Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011). For a discussion of the short-term horizons of humanitarianism, see Cathrine Brun, "There Is No Future in Humanitarianism: Emergency, Temporality and Protracted Displacement," *History and Anthropology* 27, no. 4 (2016): 393-410, https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2016.1207637.

7   Ilan Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

organizations, and host governments. In July 1948, these efforts were supplemented by the United Nations Disaster Relief Programme (UNDRP), which delivered basic supplies to the refugees. In November 1948, UNDRP was replaced by the United Nations Relief for Palestinian Refugees (UNRPR), which contracted three organizations to administer aid on its behalf: AFSC in Gaza, the League of Red Cross Societies in Lebanon and Syria, and the International Committee of the Red Cross in Jordan and the West Bank. These organizations were contracted to deliver food, shelter, and basic medical aid for the refugees for an eight-month period, but they remained for 18 months. Their programs were transferred to UNRWA when it began operations in May 1950. Among the projects handed over was a burgeoning network of schools.

Although studies have highlighted the key role the refugees themselves played in setting up these schools, less attention has been paid to how international aid actors shaped the education efforts.[8] A better understanding of the dynamics and practices of aid provision during the formative period of 1948-1950 is important to understanding what came after. While the politics of aid have been examined in conflict-affected contexts, less attention has been paid to the ways aid shapes education for refugees whose displacement and exile are protracted and for whom education is often a priority.[9] Aid is never apolitical, not least aid to education, and the history of AFSC's work in Gaza provides a valuable lens through which to view this topic.[10] Refugees have outnumbered locals in Gaza since 1948, accounting for around 70 percent of the territory's population. Most refugees in Gaza are dependent on the aid and services UNRWA provides.[11] Although schools for Palestinian refugees were established across UNRPR's area of operation, the Gaza program was the largest. When UNRWA started work on May 1, 1950, it inherited 33,000 refugee students studying in 62 schools in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, the West Bank, and Gaza; more than half were in Gaza.[12]

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8   Anne E. Irfan, "Educating Palestinian Refugees: The Origins of UNRWA's Unique Schooling System," *Journal of Refugee Studies* fez051 (2019): 1-23, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fez051.

9   Sarah Dryden-Peterson, "Refugee Education: Education for an Unknowable Future," *Curriculum Inquiry* 47, no. 1 (2017): 14-24, https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2016.1255935.

10   Dana Burde, *Schools for Conflict or for Peace in Afghanistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

11   UNRWA, "Where We Work," https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/gaza-strip.

12   UNESCO, "Report on Educational Assistance to the Refugee Children in the Middle East, 1 January 1949 to 31 July 1950," UNESDOC, 5, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000128047_eng. Of the 33,000 students UNRWA inherited across Gaza, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan (including the West Bank), approximately 18,000 students were located in 22 schools in Gaza. AFSC, "Report on Educational Assistance to the Refugee Children in the Middle East, 1 January 1949 to 31 July 1950," 5.

In taking over AFSC's work in Gaza, UNRWA didn't just inherit schools, it inherited an education program with specific policies. Records suggest that the AFSC program was the most systematized of the education efforts developed for those in exile.[13] Moreover, the role AFSC played in ensuring that the refugee schools continued under UN administration and the fact that UNRWA hired former AFSC volunteers to run the schools are indicative of the influence this early education model had on the model developed by UNRWA.

UNRWA: Exceptional or Indicative?

Initially conceived as a temporary organization, UNRWA has now been in operation for seven decades. It currently serves five million "Palestine refugees" to whom it is mandated to provide relief, human development, and protection services.[14] Education is UNRWA's largest activity, accounting for more than half of the agency's core operational budget and around 70 percent of its staff.[15] The field of refugee studies has tended to treat the Palestinian case as an exception, which reflects the partial exclusion of Palestinians from the 1951 Refugee Convention and the different ways UNRWA and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) operate.[16] The Palestinian case is also distinguished by its longevity, its high proportion of refugees relative to the overall Palestinian population (refugees account for three-quarters of the Palestinian population worldwide), and the entrenched political impediments to finding a just and durable solution to the refugees' situation.[17] These differences have been reified

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13   AFSC, report on education activities, November 1949, Folder 60, Foreign Service Section, Palestine 1949, "Refugee Projects: Projects School Program" (Philadelphia: AFSC). "It is a pleasure to note that the refugee schools in the Southern Palestine area are an integral part of the AFSC program with refugees, operating with regular hours, administration and curriculum. Attendance of both teachers and students is regular."

14   Palestine refugees are "persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict." UNRWA, "Palestine Refugees," https://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees. Although this is an administrative definition endorsed by the UN General Assembly, Palestine refugees are also recognized as refugees as per the 1951 Refugee Convention. See Francesca Albanese, "Current Issues in Depth: UNRWA and Palestine Refugee Rights. New Assaults, New Challenges" (Washington, DC, Institute for Palestine Studies, 2018).

15   UNRWA, "What We Do: Education," https://www.unrwa.org/what-we-do/education.

16   UNHCR statute states that UNHCR services should not extend to refugees who receive protection or assistance from other UN agencies. Article 1D of the 1951 Refugee Convention notes, however, that whenever the assistance and protection provided to the refugees served by other agencies ceases they should then come under UNHCR's mandate. For an in-depth discussion of this, see Albanese, "Current Issues in Depth."

17   These impediments include Israel's raison d'être as a Jewish and Zionist state, the lack of Palestinian sovereignty over historic Palestine, the fact that a large number of refugees within UNRWA's areas of operation continue to demand repatriation, and the associated denial of citizenship rights to the refugees by several host states. Michael Dumper, "Palestinian Refugees," in *Protracted Refugee Situations, Political, Human Rights and Security Implications*, ed. Gil Loescher, James Milner, Edward Newman, and Gary G. Troeller (New York: United Nations University Press, 2008), 189-213.

in policy discourse, which creates a tendency to avoid comparisons between the Palestinian case and other refugee contexts, or even to highlight shared aspects.[18]

Certainly, the Palestinian case evolved in a distinct way. In July 1948, the UN established UNDRP, which was replaced by UNRPR in November of that year. Just one month later, in December 1948, the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP) was created to negotiate a political solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict. When UNRWA was established in late 1949, it took over UNRPR's relief portfolio while its operational and supposedly apolitical mandate was intended to complement, rather than reproduce, the efforts of UNCCP. Although UNCCP still exists in name, its operations stopped in the early 1950s, leaving UNRWA as the only UN agency actively working with Palestinian refugees in Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the West Bank. Thus, by the time the 1951 Refugee Convention was drafted, a distinct two-part regime, consisting of UNCCP and UNRWA, was already in place for the Palestinian refugees.

The different purposes assigned to UNRWA and UNHCR and their separate historical trajectories have resulted in marked differences in how the two agencies operate. These differences are especially apparent in education. Fifty-four percent of UNRWA's program budget is spent on education, which is used to operate schools and hire and train thousands of staff members, the overwhelming majority of whom are Palestine refugees.[19] In the 1960s, the agency achieved nearly full enrollment in basic education for Palestine refugees. UNHCR, in contrast, does not operate schools; it coordinates efforts between various service providers (public, private, and NGO) to provide education for the refugees under its mandate. Education accounted for 9 percent of UNHCR's global programs budget in 2017, and only 50 percent of the refugees under UNHCR's mandate currently have access to primary education.[20]

While UNRWA fares comparatively well in terms of providing refugees with access to education, the role and purpose of its education program are contested. Scholars have questioned whether the agency can meet the needs and aspirations of stateless Palestinians for whom national liberation and the preservation of

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18   Michael Kagan, "The (Relative) Decline of Palestinian Exceptionalism and Its Consequences for Refugee Studies in the Middle East," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 22, no. 4 (2009): 417-38, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fep023.

19   UNRWA, "How We Spend Funds," https://www.unrwa.org/how-you-can-help/how-we-spend-funds.

20   UNHCR, "Biennial Programme Budget 2018-2019 of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees," August 31, 2017, http://www.unhcr.org/excom/excomrep/59c276a27/biennial-programme-budget-2018-2019-office-united-nations-high-commissioner.html; UNHCR, *Turn the Tide: Refugee Education in Crisis* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2018).

cultural identity are paramount.[21] Moreover, UNRWA's use of host state curricula has been criticized for suppressing Palestinians' historical narrative and violating their right to a culturally relevant education.[22] Another critique of the agency is that it breeds dependency on aid and promotes anti-Israel bias, including through its schools.[23] This last critique was cited by the U.S. government in 2018 when it withdrew its funding. In announcing this decision, the state department declared that it was "no longer willing to shoulder the disproportionate burden of UNRWA's costs." It further objected to UNRWA's "business model and fiscal practices," which, it argued, resulted in an "endlessly and exponentially expanding community of entitled beneficiaries."[24]

The particulars of the Palestinian case notwithstanding, the protracted nature of contemporary displacement and the many debates about UNRWA's education program highlight the common challenge facing refugee education programs;[25] namely, the tensions that arise when education—which is conventionally understood as a long-term activity that helps foster sociocultural belonging, political community, and economic development—occurs within the framework of humanitarianism, which posits temporary and apolitical interventions.[26] The history of the AFSC program sheds light on these contradictions and offers valuable insights into the subsequent development of UNRWA, and the inherent challenges of initiating education efforts in contexts of large-scale displacement.

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21   Ibrahim Abu Lughod, "Educating a Community in Exile: The Palestinian Experience," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 2, no. 3 (1973): 94-111, https://doi.org/10.2307/2535750.

22   Rosemary Sayigh, "Where Are the History Books for Palestinian Children?" *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 145-75, https://doi.org/10.3366/hlps.2017.0163.

23   Adi Schwartz and Einat Wilf, "How UNRWA Prevents Gaza from Thriving," *Ha'aretz,* June 6, 2018, https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/palestinians/.premium.MAGAZINE-how-unrwa-prevents-gaza-from-thriving-1.6155143.

24   U.S. Department of State, "On U.S. Assistance to UNRWA," August 31, 2018, https://www.state.gov/on-u-s-assistance-to-unrwa/.

25   A protracted refugee situation is 25,000 refugees or more who have been in exile for a minimum of five years. This figure *excludes* Palestine refugees in UNRWA's areas of operations. In 2018, 78 percent of refugee situations were protracted accounting for 15.9 million refugees. UNHCR, *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2018.* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2019).

26   See, for example, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Emile Durkheim, *Education and Sociology,* trans. Sherwood D. Fox (New York: The Free Press, 1956); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983).

DATA AND METHODS

History is a contested social process, as different groups and individuals have uneven access to the means for producing and narrating history.[27] As such, historical approaches are especially relevant in uncovering the politics and power dynamics of aid interventions. However, historical research on responses to forced displacement is relatively rare. Several factors explain this. Bakewell argues that the trend toward policy-relevant research can render certain groups of refugees invisible to scholars.[28] A preoccupation with the relevance of policy may also favor research on newly emerging crises, rather than on cases of longstanding displacement. Moreover, humanitarianism, which continues to dominate responses to refugee situations, is rooted in the idea that the provision of aid is apolitical, which in turn implies a significant degree of ahistoricism. Finally, displacement and conflict often are not conducive to record-keeping or to preserving historical sources, which limits the possibility of conducting historical research.[29] Fortunately, rich historical sources were found to support this examination of the Palestinian case.

Historical Records

This study is part of a larger research project for which I consulted seven archives and several online collections between 2016 and 2018. Three archives were especially relevant in reconstructing the history of the AFSC school program: the AFSC archive in Philadelphia, the UNESCO archive in Paris, and the United Nations Archives and Records and Management Section (UNARMS) archive in New York City.

AFSC meticulously documented its work in Gaza; six boxes of files cover the period from 1948 to 1950. Typical documents include program reports sent from Gaza to colleagues in Philadelphia, correspondence between the AFSC team and the UNRPR staff, internal memos, and meeting minutes. The AFSC records were especially valuable in understanding this period because of the leading role AFSC played and because of the self-reflective nature of Quakerism, which lends itself

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27   Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*: *Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), xix.

28   Oliver Bakewell, "Research beyond the Categories: The Importance of Policy Irrelevant Research into Forced Migration," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21, no. 4 (2008): 432-35, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen042.

29   Jérôme Elie, "Histories of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies,* ed. Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 23-35.

to rich and critical political commentary.[30] I reviewed all the AFSC files related to its Gaza program during this period.

UNESCO and UNARMS offer finding aids that help researchers identify and locate files that are relevant for their studies. The UNESCO archive was an important source of information. UNESCO has been involved in providing education for Palestine refugees since November 1948, when the Lebanese government requested support during the agency's Third Annual Conference, held in Beirut. Between 1948 and 1950, UNESCO provided funding and technical advice to the agencies contracted by UNRPR and offered fellowships for Palestinian teachers to study abroad. When UNRWA was established, the UN secretary general asked UNESCO to continue providing technical support to the agency on education matters. However, few studies have considered the role UNESCO played in shaping UNRWA's education program or have drawn from UNESCO's rich archives. The UNARMS records in New York offer insights into the administrative and logistical dimensions of UNRPR's work. I took detailed notes while in the archives and scanned the most relevant documents for further analysis. I supplemented these records with the memoirs of aid workers, oral histories of former AFSC volunteers, and other relevant literature.

Interpretative Approach

To understand the contested social processes that shaped the establishment and operation of the AFSC school program and precipitated its transition to UN administration, I sought to identify the motivations and influences that informed the establishment and operation of the program. Since the AFSC program was initiated first and foremost as a humanitarian intervention, I interrogated these motivations and influences in light of two aspects of the humanitarian paradigm: that the nature of emergencies is temporary, and that humanitarian interventions are apolitical. I thus sought to understand how the discursive environment of humanitarian aid shaped the provision of education for Palestinian refugees.

By analyzing the records of different organizations and a wide range of document types, I sought to balance organizational perspectives and mitigate gaps in the historical narrative. However, limitations must be acknowledged. Archival records are necessarily incomplete, and the criteria for preserving documents are not

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30   Julie Peteet, "The AFSC Refugee Archives on Palestine: 1948-1950," in *Reinterpreting the Historical Record: The Uses of Palestinian Refugee Archives for Social Science Research and Policy Analysis*, ed. Salim Tamari and Elia Zureik (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2001), 109-28. See also, Ilana Feldman, "The Quaker Way: Ethical Labor and Humanitarian Relief," *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 4 (2007): 689-705, https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2007.34.4.689.

always clear. Archives also privilege particular perspectives, in this case those of foreign aid workers and Western government officials. Thus, the history presented here by no means comprehensively reflects the refugee experience. Rather, it sheds light on why and how the AFSC school program was established and provides insight into the limitations that shape education programs for refugees.

SETTING UP THE SCHOOLS

By 1948, AFSC had amassed extensive experience working in the United States and abroad. Grounded in the Quaker approach to conflict resolution, the AFSC's work differs from traditional models of humanitarianism, in that it focuses not only on saving lives but also on creating conditions for peace through education and community development.[31] During the 1930s, AFSC won the admiration of Eleanor Roosevelt, and when the Arab-Israeli war broke out in 1948, she recommended to UN Secretary General Trygve Lie that AFSC be involved in relief efforts for Palestinian refugees. Lie considered AFSC a good fit for the UN relief efforts: it had the requisite experience, had worked with Jewish refugees in Europe, and had been engaged in early efforts to secure a ceasefire in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Conscious that the UN was a new organization that needed to prove itself, Lie was also keen not to subcontract the entire aid effort to the Red Cross.[32]

However, AFSC had reservations about working with the UN. It was largely a volunteer-based organization, and senior staff members were concerned about their ability to manage such a big operation. They also worried that, by working through the UN, AFSC would "have to face some compromises away from their traditional ways of working."[33] To address these concerns, AFSC officials agreed to work with the UN only if certain operational criteria, known as the 19 points, were met. These criteria established the scale and scope of the planned relief efforts, articulated AFSC's operational autonomy, and underscored AFSC's expectation that its relief efforts would be accompanied by concerted political efforts by the UN to address the refugees' predicament.[34] To the surprise of AFSC officials, the UN agreed to these terms, and a contract between AFSC and UNRPR was

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31   Nancy Gallagher, *Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Dilemmas of NGO Humanitarian Activism* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 7-8.

32   Gallagher, *Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* 51.

33   AFSC, Minutes of the Foreign Service Executive Committee meeting, November 17, 1948, Folder 174, Foreign Service Section, Palestine (Philadelphia: AFSC).

34   Minutes of the Foreign Service Executive Committee meeting, November 17, 1948.

signed in November 1948. The project was to last eight months, which UN officials assumed would be enough time to get a political resolution in place.

AFSC was contracted to provide food, shelter, and basic medical care for the refugees—a huge task. More than 200,000 people had sought refuge in Gaza, far outnumbering the local population of 80,000. Moreover, fighting between the Egyptians and Israelis continued, causing fear among the refugees and tensions between AFSC and the Egyptian army. In journal entries from January 1949, Clarence Pickett, then CEO of AFSC, described the difficult conditions the agency faced in its aid efforts:

> I watched them bury a man, a baby born, hundreds of malnourished children, a local farmer angry because the refugees are burning up his trees and sands would soon shift again. Also we saw the problem of the surrender of authority by the army and our assuming it. This project is incredibly difficult. Tragically needed, and absorbingly interesting.[35]

By March 1949, however, AFSC was not only providing food, shelter, and basic medical care to the refugees; it also had launched a school program.

Schools for the refugees preceded AFSC's arrival in Gaza. An AFSC report from February 1949 describes, for example, how refugee teachers in the Al Maghazy camp in central Gaza had established three classes in an old kitchen. Students lacked desks and there were only a few copy books to go around. The instruction was repetition-based, and teachers illustrated lessons by drawing on the stone wall with rocks.[36] Refugees had also sought placement in local public schools, but demand far exceeded supply. The Egyptian authorities, who had assumed effective control of Gaza during the Arab-Israeli war, were overwhelmed, and the UNRPR plans did not include provisions for education.

External support for education was initiated in January 1949, when Pickett visited Gaza and Egypt to set up the relief program. Pickett had an expansive vision that included all 70,000 school-age children in Gaza having access to education.[37] Egyptian officials were receptive to the idea but stressed that these schools should

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35   AFSC, Journal entry of Clarence Pickett, undated, Folder 133, Foreign Service Section, Palestine, 1949 Refugee Projects: Reports, Pickett trip (Philadelphia: AFSC), 4-5.

36   AFSC, Background material on Maghazy, February 16, 1949, Folder 116, Foreign Service Section, Letters to the United Nations (Philadelphia: AFSC).

37   AFSC, Report on Educational Activities, August 1, 1949. Folder 60, Foreign Service Section, Palestine, 1949, Refugee Projects (Philadelphia: AFSC), 13.

be kept separate from their country's education system. Although the records do not give a clear reason for this, there was general resistance among Arab states to integrating the refugees into the public sector through the burgeoning aid projects, lest this commit them to the long-term care of the refugees and prejudice the resolution of their situation.[38] The Egyptians also asked AFSC to work closely with the Palestinian education authorities in Gaza to develop a hybrid program that supported both Gazans and the refugees.

The AFSC school program was officially launched in March 1949. It sought to integrate refugee children into public schools to the greatest extent possible; they did this by increasing the number of students per class and using two school shifts. Schools that had been established by the refugees and local Gazans were brought under the auspices of the AFSC school program and additional schools were created, all staffed by volunteers. The Palestinian inspector of education for Gaza supervised and kept records on all of these schools, thus providing a measure of standardization between the refugee and local school systems. Despite resistance from the Egyptian administration, AFSC also insisted that the schools accommodate girls and boys.

The school program grew quickly; by June 1949, 16,000 refugees were studying in dedicated refugee schools where they were taught by 400 teachers. Five thousand of these students were girls.[39] A further 6,000 refugees were studying in public schools. However, UNRPR's vision of humanitarian relief was of a short-term intervention that addressed the biological necessities of life, and it did not allow its funds to be used for the schools, despite the refugees' clear demand for education. Financially unable to expand their program, the AFSC team spent much of late 1949 and early 1950 consolidating the existing schools. They sought donations of paper, books, maps, and pens from UN agencies, diplomatic missions, and religious and charitable societies in Egypt and further afield. In carpentry workshops run by AFSC, refugees made classroom benches and cabinets. Finally, the decision was made to direct surplus tents and food rations to the school program to create a basic classroom infrastructure and a feeding program.

As time wore on, AFSC grew concerned about the future of the school program. The UNRPR mandate was set to expire in April 1950, but political negotiations led by UNCCP regarding the refugees' return had stalled. By late 1949, it was clear

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38   Letter from Sir Raphael Cilento, Director of the Division of Social Activities to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, September 26, 1949, Folder, S-0369-0034-002 (New York: UNARMS).

39   AFSC, Letter from Howard Wriggins to Colin Bell, re. Educational Programme, June 2, 1949, Folder 60, Foreign Service Section, Palestine, 1949, Refugee Projects: Projects School Program (Philadelphia: AFSC).

that UNRPR would be replaced by a new initiative. Plans for this follow-up were heavily influenced by the U.S. government, which dispatched an economic survey mission (ESM) to the region. The ESM recommended replicating large-scale public works projects of the type implemented in the United States during and after the Great Depression. U.S. officials reasoned that schemes of this type would create jobs for the refugees and promote the economic development of the host states. There also was an ulterior motive; Elmore Jackson, director of the Quaker UN office, wrote to Pickett, "Although the [ESM] report itself and no one here says that this is a first step towards the 'resettlement' of the refugees in Lebanon, Syria and Trans-Jordan, everyone tacitly admits that this is the case."[40] U.S. officials assumed that economic development and jobs would distract the refugees and host states from their resistance to resettlement, thus bypassing the political stalemate and any corresponding obligation to facilitate large-scale repatriation for the refugees. The ESM did recognize the need for ongoing humanitarian assistance, but it stated that these efforts should be on a smaller scale than before and only last until December 1950. By this time, U.S. officials reasoned, the refugees would be self-sufficient and the need for relief obviated.[41] The ESM's recommendations formed the basis for UN General Assembly Resolution 302(IV), which spelled out plans for the creation of a UN agency to carry this vision forward.[42] This agency was UNRWA. Interestingly, these plans made no reference to the primary education that would come to characterize UNRWA's programming.

The AFSC was committed to ensuring that the schools continued. However, staff members found themselves unacceptably constrained by the UN's humanitarian vision and structures, which prevented them from pursuing programming that promoted peace and justice.[43] Staff members were especially uncomfortable with the idea of providing long-term relief in the absence of meaningful political engagement around the refugees' future.[44] AFSC briefly considered transferring the schools to Egyptian authorities, which made sense practically, as operation of the schools already required the Egyptians' agreement. By early 1950, it was AFSC policy to use the Egyptian curriculum where possible.[45] However, AFSC

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40   AFSC, Memo from Elmore Jackson to Clarence Pickett, November 29, 1949, Folder 123, Foreign Service Section, Palestine, 1949, Refugee Projects: Reports, United Nations, Economic Survey Mission (Clapp Mission) (Philadelphia: AFSC).

41   Benjamin N. Schiff, *Refugees unto the Third Generation: UN Aid to Palestinians* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

42   UN General Assembly, 1949, December 8, "Resolution 302(IV)—Assistance to Palestine Refugees." A/RES/302(IV).

43   Feldman, "The Quaker Way."

44   Letter from Clarence Pickett to Trygve Lie, May 5, 1949, File S-0369-0034-001 (New York: UNARMS).

45   Operational report of the AFSC, February 1950, Folder 132, Foreign Service, Projects, school program 1950 (Philadelphia: AFSC).

was concerned that the Egyptian authorities would make the schools selective and charge fees, and that they would be used to promote government propaganda.[46] Consequently, the team focused on persuading the UN to assume administration of the schools. Between January and April 1950, they approached the UN secretary general, the U.S. State Department, UNESCO, the British foreign office, and even U.S. oil companies in the hope that one of these could financially or politically secure the future of the schools, but none would commit to such support.[47] In the meantime, AFSC funded the school program by selling empty containers that had been used to deliver relief supplies.[48]

In March 1950, UN officials expressed interest in continuing the schools under UN administration.[49] However, in early April, just weeks before UNRPR was set to dissolve, a representative from the U.S. State Department informed AFSC that it was unlikely UNRWA would receive the full funding it was promised, leaving the future of the schools unclear.[50] Finally, on April 21, 1950, just nine days before UNRWA officially began operations, AFSC received confirmation that the schools could continue, financed by UNRWA's relief budget.[51]

With these historical contours in mind, the next section examines the establishment of the AFSC school program in light of the two central impulses of conventional humanitarianism: its assumed temporary and apolitical character.

The "Emergency Imaginary"[52]

Definitions of humanitarianism are central to the provision of education in conflict-affected contexts. Burde distinguishes between maximalist and minimalist

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46   Memo from Corrine Hardesty to Bronson Clark on the future of the schools, March 1, 1950, File 132, Foreign Service Projects, School Program 1950 (Philadelphia: AFSC).

47   Although records show that the AFSC— by and large—supported repatriation, it also issued a memo in January 1949 stating that its vocational and training projects in no way prejudiced the chances of refugee resettlement. Clarence Pickett, Memorandum regarding work possibilities in the Gaza area, January 26, 1950, File 132, Foreign Service Projects, School Program 1950 (Philadelphia: AFSC).

48   Operational report of the AFSC, March 1950, Folder 151, Foreign Service Reports to UNRPR, OPS (Philadelphia: AFSC).

49   AFSC operational report, March 1950.

50   Letter from Bronson Clarke to Colin Bell, April 18, 1950, Folder 244, Administration Transition from AFSC to United Nations (Philadelphia: AFSC). See also, Confidential memo from James Keen on the ending of direct international responsibility for Palestine refugees, May 13, 1950, File S-0369-034-04 (New York: UNARMS).

51   Correspondence from T. Barton Akeley to Bronson Clarke, April 21, 1950, File 132, Foreign Service Projects, School Program, 1950 (Philadelphia: AFSC).

52   Craig Calhoun, *The Emergency Imaginary: Humanitarianism, States, and the Limits of Cosmopolitanism*. In University Professorship Inaugural Lecture, November 15, 2006 (unpublished).

approaches to humanitarianism.[53] Minimalists adhere to definitions that are consistent with the "emergency imaginary"—that is, the idea that emergencies are sudden, temporary problems that suspend populations in a "state of exception."[54] This in turn shapes the organization of humanitarian interventions and the type of aid provided. Minimalist aid tends to focus on biological needs for survival and assumes that, once a crisis is over, longer-term activities like education can resume. Maximalists, on the other hand, recognize that crises are often protracted and they question the usefulness of aid that simply keeps people alive. They favor a more expansive definition of humanitarianism that recognizes the centrality of education in influencing and potentially transforming the inequities that often contribute to conflict.[55]

The history of the AFSC school program in Gaza highlights the centrality of the "emergency imaginary" in the emergent post-world war refugee regime. Whereas the Palestinian refugees immediately set about establishing schools, UNRPR was guided by a minimalist understanding of humanitarianism as a temporary life-saving measure and it did not fund education. Moreover, the political arm of the UN actively sought to avoid providing education, fearing it would "unwittingly make the refugees a long-term UN responsibility."[56] AFSC had different motivations. Its approach to humanitarian service was grounded in the principles of Quakerism and a desire to work toward reconciliation and peace. Schooling was seen as essential to achieving this purpose.[57] Due to the high demand for education among the refugees and its belief that education offered the refugees hope for the future, AFSC continued to support the schools, even as the UN did little to promote the refugees' repatriation.

However, while AFSC had the operational autonomy to set up schools, it did not have a budget to do so. This heavily influenced how the school program was set up. It was supported through ad hoc donations and in-kind resources, which limited expansion of the school program and resulted in its punctuated development. The viability of the school program was contingent on adopting practices that kept costs to a minimum—for example, by using the Egyptian

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53   Burde, *Schools for Conflict,* 40.

54   Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception,* trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

55   Burde, *Schools for Conflict,* 40.

56   Correspondence from John Reedman to Martin Hill, Executive Office of the Secretary General, October 28, 1949, File S-0369-0034-002 (New York: UNARMS). In the letter, Reedman notes the reluctance of the ESM team to recommend education as a potential activity for UNRWA and the need to convey this tactfully to the Specialized Agencies (most likely a reference to UNESCO).

57   Gallagher, *Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* 55.

curriculum examination structure and volunteer teachers.[58] These practices were not sustainable, and their use created tensions between the AFSC administration and the refugee community. In October 1949, for instance, teachers in three camps in Gaza resigned over lack of pay, and they only returned to work when AFSC, with some difficulty, secured financial contributions that enabled them to pay the teachers a modest stipend.[59]

Nevertheless, the early initiative taken by the refugees and AFSC's continued reliance on the refugee community to run the schools likely facilitated their transition to UN administration. UNRWA was unprepared to begin operations in May 1950, although it had already delayed its start date by a month. It still needed to negotiate its terms of operations with governments that were clearly hostile to its mission, and it was under pressure to calm an increasingly tense political situation as the refugees grew frustrated that their return to Palestine was not materializing. By contrast, the schools were operated, were staffed, and, crucially, were supported by the refugees. It seems likely that this favored their continuation, even though the original plans for UNRWA did not provide for this level and type of education.

The transition of the schools to UN administration did not signal an end to the financial challenges facing UNRWA or its burgeoning education program. Although UNRWA had a budget for education, it inherited UNRPR's debt and was accorded only a temporary mandate and voluntary funding structure. These structural impediments, which were inextricably linked to the temporary and instrumental purpose Western donors ascribed to the agency, contribute to the agency's chronic underfunding to this day. Addressing the UN General Assembly in October 1950, UNRWA's first director, Howard Kennedy, warned:

> I wish to emphasize the difficulties and frustrations of attempting to operate a multi-million-dollar enterprise without working capital. The Agency has rarely had in hand finance for more than a few weeks ahead, and at times the cash available has only been adequate for a matter of days. Unless there is no other solution feasible, I strongly urge that Agencies such as UNRWA be not required to operate on voluntary donations provided

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58   Prior to 1948, Gaza schools taught a Palestinian curriculum that was heavily circumscribed by British Mandate authorities. After 1948, the supply of books dwindled and it became impossible to accredit exams based on the Palestinian curriculum. The AFSC did explore creating its own curriculum but ultimately decided to align refugee schools with the Egyptian system, in spite of resistance from the refugee community.

59   Report on Education Activities, August 1-October 15, 1949, Folder 60, Foreign Service Section, Palestine, 1949, Refugee Projects (Philadelphia: AFSC), 28.

in unknown amounts at unknown times and sometimes in commodities that are difficult to fit into the program.[60]

Kennedy's concerns were never addressed, and UNRWA's financial situation has remained precarious for the last seven decades, as voluntary donations have often failed to keep pace with the refugee community's population growth.[61] Lacking a systematic and sustainable solution to its financial situation, the agency has responded to successive financial crises by reallocating, realigning, and reprioritizing the money it does have. Early on, it switched funding for education from its relief budget to the more expansive rehabilitation budget.[62] However, this budget is still based on voluntary contributions that are subject to renewal every few years. To save money for primary education during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, UNRWA shut down vocational education centers and discontinued adult education and secondary education, as well as its practice of subsidizing host states to accept refugees in their schools. In the 1980s, general food rations were also eliminated to save the education program. The agency relies increasingly on extra-budgetary funding to maintain its services, but funding of this sort tends to "focus on short-term results, which also come with increased donor control and alignment to their strategic objectives, [which] may not support the purpose global public goods are supposed to serve."[63] Moreover, UNRWA's adaptation to its unreliable and unpredictable funding structure has contributed to what Al Husseini refers to as the agency's "incremental and distorted administrative and institutional development."[64] The result is a bare-bones education program where few savings can be made. This financial precarity has left UNRWA vulnerable to the competing political stratagems of its stakeholders, as I discuss next.

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60   Remarks on Report of UNRWA by Howard Kennedy, 1950, File S-0369-034-04 (New York: UNARMS). Moreover, although it was prepared to offer technical support, UNESCO was "very cautious about giving UNRWA any money of its own." Memo from Malcolm Adiseshiah, Head of Technical Assistance Service to UNESCO Director General re. Notes on Mr. Kennedy of UNRWA, TA Memo 1.227, October 10, 1950, File, X 07.21(5-011) TA/UNRWA (Paris: UNESCO).

61   In August 2017, the UN secretary-general proposed making UNRWA's budget more "sustainable, sufficient and predictable." However, Danny Danon, the Israeli vice president of the General Assembly, dropped this item from the agenda of the General Assembly. See UN General Assembly, Resolution A/71/849, "Operations of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East Report of the Secretary-General," March 30, 2017, cited in Jaber Suleiman, "The Ongoing UNRWA Crisis: Context, Dimensions, Prospects and Responses," *Policy Dialogues Series, Lebanese-Palestinian Relations/06* (Beirut: Common Space Initiative for Shared Knowledge and Consensus Building, August 2018).

62   Report of the UNESCO Director General on the Education of Arab Refugees in the Middle East, May 26, 1952, UNESDOC, 12.

63   Maya Rosenfeld, "From Emergency Relief Assistance to Human Development and Back: UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees, 1950-2009," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28, nos. 2-3 (2010): 286-317, https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdp038; "Fulfilling Our Collective Responsibility: Financing Global Public Goods in Education," UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report, March 2018, Policy Paper 34.

64   Jalal Al Husseini, "An Agency for the Palestinians?" in *Land of Blue Helmets: The United Nations and the Arab World,* eds. Karim Makdisi and Vijay Prashad (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 304.

Political Dilemmas

Whereas a core principle of humanitarianism is its apolitical nature, the essence of mass education is to create conditions of political belonging. Thus, attempts to initiate education under conditions of humanitarianism are fraught with tension. This is especially true in contexts where large numbers of refugees are hosted, as multiple stakeholders share responsibility for refugees' education, which greatly complicates decision-making. The history of the AFSC program and the transition of the schools to UNRWA administration brings to the fore the political contests that undergird refugee education efforts. Former AFSC volunteer Lee Dinsmore recalled how the refugees and Egyptian authorities jostled for influence over the school program, in particular which textbooks were used. "One of the problems with education," he astutely reflected, "was whose education is it going to be?"[65]

From the outset, refugee politics played a key role in shaping the school program. As Irfan argues, demand for education among the refugees was driven by implicit and explicit political concerns.[66] Implicitly, education was a means of empowerment. Explicitly, it was a tool to facilitate a return to Palestine. By 1949, teachers had gone on strike to demand pay and better resourcing for education, and this was just the beginning of decades of political activism in which UNRWA teachers played a key role. In 1957, for example, UNRWA teacher and renowned Gazan poet Mu'in Bseiso was fired by UNRWA's Gaza office after writing a poem protesting the alleged collusion between the king of Jordan and the Israeli government. In coded cables, the UNRWA management noted that the poem not only was being played on the radio but was accompanied by recordings of demonstrations in schools and protest messages from teachers and pupils in Gaza.[67] Subsequent teacher activism during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990) and the First Intifada (1987-1993) further underscores the ongoing political purpose education serves for the refugee community.

Western donors also viewed the schools with a political calculus. By 1949, the U.S. and British governments were largely aligned with Israeli interests in supporting resettlement of the refugees outside of Palestine. This ignored the wishes of the host states and the refugees who sought repatriation. These differences of opinion were reflected in the initial plans for UNRWA, which was ambiguously tasked

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65   Lee Dinsmore, "Oral History Interview #610," interview by Joan Lowe, AFSC, September 20, 1992, https://www.afsc.org/sites/default/files/documents/AFSC%20Oral%20Histories%20600%20Series%20Palestine%20Relief.pdf.

66   Irfan, "Educating Palestinian Refugees."

67   J. Lalive, Incoming code cable Beico 122, November 15, 1957, File, S-0169-0011-01 (New York: UNARMS); Henry Labouisse, Outgoing code cable number 429 from New York to Lalive in Beirut, November 16, 1957, Folder S-0169-0010-07 (New York: UNARMS).

with addressing the refugees' "economic dislocation" and supporting their "reintegration" in the region.[68] The refugees' resistance to resettlement outside of Palestine also created security concerns for donor governments. In 1949, UNRPR staff reported that the prevailing situation in Gaza was "ideal for the works of agitators who preach the gospel of unrest."[69] Then, in October 1950, UNRWA director Howard Kennedy warned the UN General Assembly that, "after more than two years of enforced idleness living under uncertain and trying conditions, more than 800,000 of these refugees constitute a serious threat to the peace and stability of the Near East countries."[70] The U.S. government, at the time in the throes of McCarthyism, was receptive to these concerns. In 1950, a U.S. State Department report noted that the potential for communist activity and unrest among the refugees meant that it was in the best interests of the United States "to alleviate the refugee problem, and to improve the lot of these people."[71] Humanitarian motivations and security considerations thus went hand in hand to influence U.S. support for UNRWA.

Egyptian authorities also viewed the refugees as a destabilizing force and a threat to their legitimacy.[72] Consequently, they kept a close eye on the teachers and sought to retain a heavy influence over what happened in the schools. AFSC staff members expressed concern about the Egyptian authorities' tendency to disseminate propaganda through the schools. Security considerations continued to motivate Egypt's support for the schools after the program transitioned to UNRWA. In a letter from the UNRWA director of education to his counterpart at UNESCO in 1958, the former complained that "the Egyptian authorities still demand for security reasons that every child has to be accepted in our secondary schools, thereby occupying classrooms originally built for elementary schools."[73]

As this last example suggests, these opposing purposes shaped the structure and policies of UNRWA's emerging education program. Initially, UNRWA

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68   U.S. Department of State, November 1949, United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East, First interim report, Folder 123, Foreign Service Section, Palestine 1949, Refugee Projects: Reports UN Economic Survey Mission (Clapp Mission) (Philadelphia: AFSC).

69   Memo by Dillon Meyer to Martin Hill, November 9, 1949, File, S-0369-034-04 (New York: UNARMS).

70   "Interim Report of the Director," A/1451/Rev.1, October 6, 1950, https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/EC8DE7912121FCE5052565B1006B5152.

71   The Palestine Refugee Program, Publication 3757, Near and Middle Eastern Series 3, U.S. Department of State, February 1950, Folder 248, Foreign Service Reports General (Philadelphia: AFSC), 4.

72   See, for example, Open letter protesting the Egyptian military occupation of Gaza, sent to Captain Waheed Bey, the Egyptian military official in charge of refugee affairs in Gaza, Folder 8, Foreign Service Section, Government, Egypt (Philadelphia: AFSC). The letter signed off: "Refugees and non-refugees! Fight for the establishment of an Arab State and tell the occupying tyrants 'Evacuate our country and let us live free!' Down with the Anglo-American imperialism and all those who assist it!"

73   Letter from R. Van Diffelen to W. Van Vliet, April 3, 1958, Box 37.362.92, File (5.011) UNRWA "66" part 3 (Paris: UNESCO).

and UNESCO formalized many of the practices and policies AFSC and other voluntary agencies had adopted. Perhaps the most significant decision was to teach the refugees the host state curriculum.[74] Inspection of the schools, which in Gaza had been entrusted to local education authorities, also became a core function of the UNRWA education program, although the agency often collaborated with the host state security apparatus when teachers were suspected of involvement in political activities.

The practice of hiring teachers from the refugee population was also continued in order to meet the high demand for education. In accordance with AFSC and UNESCO recommendations, teachers' salaries were increased and teacher training introduced, decisions that helped cement the autarkic nature of the education program. Western donors, however, continued to pursue the refugees' resettlement in host states, including through the education program. In 1960, for example, UNRWA director John Davis sought to expand the education program in order to achieve the full enrollment of eligible refugees. U.S. officials tacitly agreed to the expansion but reminded Davis that "UNRWA must be operated so as to stimulate the resettlement of the refugees in every way possible."[75] Practically speaking, this required ongoing alignment with host state education systems to "facilitate the eventual phasing in of the Agency's programme with its counterpart in each country once a solution to the refugee problem has been finalized."[76]

From the outset, therefore, education for the refugees was imbued with political meaning and purpose. This likely supported the continuation of the schools and UNRWA's unplanned reorientation toward education, despite the fact that the ESM and UN officials overlooked the need for it. However, the refugees, Western donors, and host states ascribed different and at times opposing purposes to the schools. The contested foundations of the education program underscore the inevitable and unavoidably political dimensions of aid, especially in contexts of protracted humanitarianism, of which the Palestinian case is exemplary. Of note: Feldman writes of the politics *of* humanitarianism, which shape subjects, societies, and systems, and the politics *in* humanitarianism, by which people living within

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74   See, for example, UNESCO, "Report of the Director General on the Education of Arab Refugees in the Middle East," 12. This policy was qualified, however, with the recommendation that the refugees be taught Palestinian history and geography.

75   Memorandum of a Conversation, Department of State, Washington, October 5, 1960, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960, Arab-Israeli Dispute; United Arab Republic; North Africa, Volume Xiii, Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, cited in Jalal Al Husseini, "An Agency for the Palestinians?" 306.

76   Bi-annual report, education and training division, August 1-December 31, 1960, UNESDOC, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0017/001785/178573eb.pdf.

humanitarian systems seek to affect their circumstances.[77] Both phenomena have shaped and been shaped by education efforts for Palestine refugees, which provides further evidence that politics are not only unavoidable in humanitarian aid efforts but that humanitarianism is instrumentalized in the pursuit of political goals. The schools were established and developed around contested visions of the refugees' future that by and large persist to this day. This reflects both the tenacity of the humanitarian paradigm in contexts of protracted displacement and highlights the limitations that humanitarianism imposes on education's potential to promote meaningful social and political transformation for refugee populations.

CONCLUSION

In considering the questions that guide this study—Why did AFSC establish a school program for Palestinians in Gaza? How did the AFSC school program operate?—it's clear that AFSC viewed the schools as a way to counter the limitations of humanitarianism, as conventionally understood. Contrary to UNRPR's vision of humanitarianism as encompassing only food, shelter, and medical aid and reflecting its longstanding commitment to local-level peace-building and reconciliation efforts, AFSC viewed the systematization of education as a necessary step to ensure a just and durable resolution to the refugees' situation. However, as AFSC volunteer Cassius Fenton complained, operating conditions in Gaza profoundly challenged these goals:

> Our inability to show success toward an ultimate goal has enabled us with little hesitation to turn back our work to the UN. We had found that contrary to our early high hopes for achieving "friendly services", very little was possible within the framework with which we had to operate. In fact, even now, the staff has little to suggest in the way of concrete proposals for furthering "Friends" concerns in that territory.[78]

Despite these setbacks, and notwithstanding the refugees' ongoing efforts to set up their own schools, AFSC's systematization of the schools and their lobbying for the continued provision of education appear to have played an important role in ensuring that education was an integral part of UNRWA operations. But the AFSC vision could not overcome the discursive limitations of humanitarianism. The

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77 Ilana Feldman, *Life Lived in Relief: Humanitarian Predicaments and Palestinian Refugee Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018).

78 A Palestine Report by Cassius Fenton, June 7, 1950, Folder 247, Foreign Service Reports, Evaluative, 1950 (Philadelphia: AFSC).

temporary and teleological view of humanitarian crises evoked by the "emergency imaginary" excluded education from the UNRPR budget and shaped the practices and policies of the AFSC school program. Two lessons from this history stand out.

First is the relevance of UNRWA's past to understanding its present. The history presented in this article shows how the decisions made in the weeks and months immediately following a refugee crisis can have an influence on education programs for decades to come. The conditions under which the first refugee schools in Gaza were started shaped education policies and practices and informed the structure of the UNRWA education program. Of particular note are the schools' alignment with the host state education systems, the retention of a separate UN administration for the schools, and the autarkic nature of the education program. These features have persisted, largely owing to the tenacity of the humanitarian paradigm in shaping responses to protracted displacement. Over the last 70 years, the UNRWA education program has been invoked under the labels of humanitarian relief, rehabilitation, welfare, protection, and development programming. However, the relentless need to fundraise and persistent critiques that the schools are politicized underscore the implicit humanitarian logic attached to the agency and its schools. This provides an alternative perspective on the U.S. government's recent defunding of the agency. In announcing its decision, the state department stated that "Palestinians, wherever they live, deserve better than an endlessly crisis-driven service provision model. They deserve to be able to plan for the future."[79] This is a valid critique. History shows that the agency's financial volatility has resulted in ad hoc programming and an inability to align the schools with a just and durable vision for the refugees' future. The precarious balance of opposing stakeholder interests also heightened the education program's susceptibility to being manipulated for politically expedient objectives. But the continued existence of UNRWA and the intergenerational dependency on its services by millions of Palestinians in no small part reflect the inherently political context in which the agency is embedded. U.S. policies have persistently characterized the refugees as a temporary economic problem, continue to objectify them as a security threat, and seek to resettle them against their will.

The second and related lesson, therefore, is the importance of learning from the Palestinian case when designing and implementing education responses to large-scale displacement crises. Many of the features that currently distinguish the UNRWA education program from the UNHCR approach—features that have tended to exclude or make an exception of the Palestinian case and obviate the

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79   U.S. Department of State, "On U.S. Assistance to UNRWA," https://www.state.gov/on-u-s-assistance-to-unrwa/.

lessons it offers for contemporary academic and policy debates—in fact reflect the limitations that come with initiating education efforts for refugees within the humanitarian paradigm, in particular the vision of a crisis as a temporary state and the assumption that political interests can be bypassed. The Palestinian case has been exceptionally protracted and is compounded by Palestinians' statelessness. However, most displacement situations now last for decades and durable solutions are often elusive. Moreover, responsibility for refugees is increasingly shared among an array of actors.[80] The history of the Palestinian case therefore exemplifies a growing trend in refugee situations and highlights the implications of humanitarian logic over education policy and practice for refugees.

Indeed, aligning education with the principles of humanitarianism is fraught with contradictions. Education is necessarily oriented to the future, requires stable financing, and is never politically neutral. Attempts to justify education within the context of humanitarianism mask these realities and, as this historical account suggests, can create and entrench political dynamics of their own. Although the politics of and within humanitarianism are well established in scholarship, education policies and interventions for refugees continue to operate within the bounds of a humanitarianism that posits that politics can be practically and analytically isolated from programs and policies.[81] One of the most recent iterations of this assumption is the ongoing discussion about the need to bridge the humanitarian-development divide. Implicit in these discussions is the assumption of a linear and teleological transition away from a temporary state of emergency. But, as the protracted Palestinian case highlights, education initiatives for refugees need to be conceived of free from the limitations of the humanitarian paradigm and in ways that are flexible enough to support at least the full gamut of durable solutions: voluntary repatriation, resettlement, and local integration. These solutions are neither mutually exclusive nor spatially and temporally consistent. Rather, they behoove a more flexible ideology that allows education programs to respond to the myriad transnational, national, and local challenges that refugees face and, as AFSC originally intended, refugees' ongoing need for justice.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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80   UN General Assembly Resolution A/Res/71/1, "New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants," September 19, 2016.

81   Brun, "There Is No Future."

ASKING "WHY" AND "HOW":
A HISTORICAL TURN IN REFUGEE
EDUCATION RESEARCH

Christine Monaghan

ABSTRACT

History has much to offer education in emergencies scholars and practitioners. Most research in this field comprises qualitative case studies and, to a lesser extent, quantitative experimental studies, both of which tend to focus on either the impact of interventions or whether education processes or structures are a cause or effect of conflict. I argue that historical approaches enable researchers to ask different questions, to construct a narrative that establishes why specific policies and programs for refugee education were developed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or in particular refugee camps or settlements, and to determine why and how the field has changed over time. This enables the researcher to consider why and how policy and programmatic changes often have not brought lasting change to the challenges of refugee education, and to critically consider what future changes might be possible. In this article, I make the case for a turn to historical approaches in refugee education research by providing an example of how I used historical methods to reconstruct the education narrative of Kenya's Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps.

INTRODUCTION

There is a growing amount of research on education in countries affected by armed conflict, but few studies focus specifically on refugee education. Most of the existing refugee education literature is comprised of qualitative case studies conducted by scholars or analytic reports commissioned by United Nations (UN) agencies or international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs). These studies

and reports predominately explore "what" rather than "why" or "how" questions, as they describe a range of education interventions (e.g., peace education, non-formal vocational education); the number of refugees enrolled in schools in camps, settlements, or urban areas; student-teacher ratios; annual per-pupil expenditures; and opportunities for refugees to access secondary or higher education. They then situate these issues within certain practical or conceptual constraints.

"What" questions of course are important, as they can help policy-makers determine whether certain education policies or programs work. This knowledge is critical in determining how to direct the scarce resources available in refugee contexts most effectively, as need almost always exceeds supply. However, I suggest that "why" and "how" questions are of equal, if not greater, significance to this same agenda. Asking why and how as well as what enables researchers to reconstruct a historical narrative that establishes why specific policies and programs were implemented in particular refugee camps or settlements and why some were not, why and how the field has changed over time and what forces were behind these changes, and why and how policy and programmatic changes often have not brought lasting change to the challenges of refugee education.

In this article, I make a case for a turn to historical approaches in refugee education research by providing an example of how I used historical methods to reconstruct the education narrative of Kenya's Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps. I argue that taking such a turn could shed light on three interrelated areas in ways other methods fail to do. First, these methods use deep contextual and contemporaneous data that help to explain persistent challenges in education in and across refugee contexts, including low enrollment rates, high rates of student attrition, high student-teacher ratios, and consistently low education funding from the wider pool of humanitarian aid.[1] They also can increase our knowledge of why an array of policies and programs for refugee education have not effectively addressed these challenges and help to reveal what broader changes might be necessary to ensure better outcomes. Lastly, historical narratives can reveal puzzles inherent in refugee education that continually confront UN agencies, primarily the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the agency mandated to protect and assist refugees, and the community services and education officers in its employ.

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1   That is, 39 percent of primary school aged refugees remain out of school worldwide; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), "Turn the Tide: Refugee Education in Crisis," Division of International Protection, 2018, 13, http://www.unhcr.org/5b852f8e4.pdf.

I historicize and contextualize refugee education in the post-Cold War era by reviewing and integrating education in emergencies (EiE), international development studies on education, and the UNHCR literature, and initiate a mutually beneficial cross-disciplinary dialogue among them. Most of the studies included point to the many practical and conceptual constraints of refugee education. In reviewing these distinct literatures, I aim to identify some of the remaining gaps, particularly how broad ideas about global education policy and EiE were shaped from "above" (i.e., by UN agencies and INGOs) and "below" (i.e., by refugees). I suggest that narrative reconstruction can help to address these gaps, and I discuss specific historical methods, including oral history, archival research, and narrative, that I used to this end in a separate historical study.[2] I demonstrate the application of these methods by reconstructing the education histories of Kenya's Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps, from their founding in 1992 up to 1997. Reconstructing the history of these refugee camps beyond education is important, as so few such studies exist. Despite the rise of global and transnational histories, the discipline of history, like the institution of education, is a state-centric enterprise.[3] As such, transnational spaces such as refugee camps are without documented history, despite some of them having hosted refugees for decades.[4] For example, there is no dedicated archive for the Dadaab or the Kakuma camp, only ad-hoc records kept at the UNHCR archive in Geneva, Switzerland.

I conclude this article by discussing why and how education policies were developed, implemented, and changed over this five-year period in both camps and at UNHCR headquarters, and why and how, despite these changes, challenges in refugee education have persisted.

BRIDGING THE GAP

Education in Emergencies

Although refugee education is foundational to the EiE field, historical methods have rarely been used to understand it. In 1999 and 2000, a handful of practitioners who had worked in refugee camps throughout the world gathered with practitioners

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2   Christine Monaghan, *Educating for Durable Solutions? Histories of Schooling in Kenya's Dadaab and Kakuma Refugee Camps* (London: Bloomsbury Press, forthcoming).

3   See Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301-34, https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00043.

4   Amy K. Levin, ed., *Global Mobilities: Refugees, Exiles, and Immigrants in Museums and Archives* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

who had worked in conflict and postconflict settings to establish what would become the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies. Also in 2000, at a strategy session held at the second Education For All (EFA) Forum in Dakar, Senegal, participants concluded that multiple emergencies occurring throughout the 1990s (e.g., intrastate wars throughout sub-Saharan Africa, the Balkans, and Central and Southeast Asia) had significantly impeded the realization of universal basic education for all—a global policy priority set forth ten years earlier at the first World Conference on Education For All in Jomtien, Thailand. EiE thus became central to achieving EFA—a claim that education and community services officers employed by UNHCR, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (the three UN agencies providing education in emergency situations) could and did call on when advocating for education to be included in emergency responses.[5] However, to justify their requests, these officers sought out studies that focused narrowly on education policies or programs, rather than studies that critiqued the agencies developing policy or implementing programs, or that explored the challenges of refugee education programming.[6] A subsequent wave of critical and empirical research offered different understandings of education, including the fact that it was far from protective and in many cases had contributed to or exacerbated conflicts.[7] Although it was apparent that new theoretical and

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5   See Pilar Aguilar and Gonzalo Retamal, "Rapid Educational Response in Complex Emergencies: A Discussion Document," UNICEF, 1998; see also Mary Joy Pigozzi, "Education in Emergencies and for Reconstruction: A Developmental Approach," UNICEF, 1999.

6   See Susan Nicolai and Carl Triplehorn, "The Role of Education in Protecting Children in Conflict," Network Paper, Humanitarian Practice Network 42, 2003, 1-36; Margaret Sinclair, *Planning Education in and after Emergencies* (Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, 2002); Marc Sommers, *The Education Imperative: Supporting Education in Emergencies* (Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development, and New York: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2003)

7   See Kenneth Bush and Diana Saltarelli, "The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peace-Building Approach to Education," UNICEF Innocenti Center, 2000; see also Dana Burde, *Schools for Conflict or for Peace in Afghanistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Lynn Davies, *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Lynn Davies, "Schools and War: Urgent Agendas for Comparative and International Education," *Compare* 35, no. 4 (2005): 357-71, https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920500331561; Lynn Davies, "Educating against Extremism: Towards a Critical Politicisation of Young People," *International Review of Education* 55, nos. 2-3 (2009): 183-203, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11159-008-9126-8; Lynn Davies, and Christopher Talbot, "Learning in Conflict and Postconflict Contexts," *Comparative Education Review* 52, no. 4 (2008): 509-18, https://doi.org/10.1086/591295; Tony Gallagher, *Education in Divided Societies* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Elisabeth King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Jackie Kirk, "Education and Fragile States," *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 5, no. 2 (2007): 181-200, https://doi.org/10.1080/14767720701425776; Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo, "Sri Lanka: In Peace or in Pieces? A Critical Approach to Peace Education in Sri Lanka," *Research in Comparative and International Education* 3, no. 1 (2008): 19-35, https://doi.org/10.2304/rcie.2008.3.1.19; Tejendra J. Pherali, "Education and Conflict in Nepal: Possibilities for Reconstruction," *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 9, no. 1 (2011): 135-54, https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2010.513590; Ritesh Shah, "Goodbye Conflict, Hello Development? Curriculum Reform in Timor-Leste," *International Journal of Educational Development* 32, no. 1 (2012): 31-38, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2011.04.005; Alan Smith, "Education in the Twenty-First Century: Conflict, Reconstruction and Reconciliation 1," *Compare* 35, no. 4 (2005): 373-91, https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920500331397; Alan Smith, and Tony Vaux, "Education, Conflict and International Development," UK Department for International Development, 2003.

methodological approaches were needed to explain the complex and dynamic relationship between education and conflict, the resultant research focused little on refugee education.[8]

However, a few studies did describe and analyze specific challenges in the content, structure, and provisioning of education in refugee camps. They highlighted, for example, the fact that non-state actors (i.e., UNHCR) face challenges in selecting curricula and pedagogical approaches, particularly because the traditional purposes of schooling, such as the cultivation of citizenship and economic development, simply do not exist in refugee camps.[9] Waters and LeBlanc, commenting on the statelessness of refugees, note that refugees are by definition "outside both the modern economy and modern society." As a result, "creating education systems for refugees is always embedded in this paradox, which is the root cause of why it is difficult to implement or . . . to 'imagine' such programs."[10]

Drawing from ethnographic research conducted in refugee camps in Thailand, Banki clearly articulates one of the central challenges of refugee education:

> In the context of education the lack of incentives stems from the uncertainty of the resolution of protracted refugee situations, making it difficult to develop original and creative ways to think about what students should learn and how they might put it to use in the future. Simply put, neither external education planners nor refugees themselves (as students or planners) know where they will be in the future, making systemic and curriculum design very difficult.[11]

Banki's ethnographic approach, which is similar to the descriptive case studies widely used in EiE scholarship, asks and answers "what" questions through detailed descriptive analysis. For example, Banki concludes her analysis by stating that, "over the course of protracted refugee situations, education is shaped

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8   See Mario Novelli and Mieke T. A. Lopes Cardozo, "Conflict, Education and the Global South: New Critical Directions," *International Journal of Educational Development* 28, no. 4 (2008): 473-88, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2008.01.004; see also Dana Burde, "Assessing Impact and Bridging Methodological Divides: Randomized Trials in Countries Affected by Conflict," *Comparative Education Review* 56, no. 3 (2012): 448-73, https://doi.org/10.1086/664991.

9   Tony Waters and Kim LeBlanc, "Refugees and Education: Mass Public Schooling without a Nation-State," *Comparative Education Review* 49, no. 2 (2005): 129-47, https://doi.org/10.2307/3542160.

10   Waters and LeBlanc, "Refugees and Education," 140.

11   Susan Banki, "Refugee Camp Education: Populations Left Behind," in *Refugees, Immigrants, and Education in the Global South: Lives in Motion*, eds. Lesley Bartlett and Ameena Ghaffar-Kucher (New York: Routledge, 2013), 133-48.

by negotiations among camp administrators, humanitarian agencies, the host country, the international refugee regime, and refugees."[12] Yet, her ethnography does not reveal what those negotiations were, why and how they took shape, and what changes did (or did not) occur in refugee education as a result.

Finally, an in-depth case study of the education programming provided to refugees in seven camps along the Thai-Burmese border, including the challenges, notes that UNHCR and its partner INGOs made fraught policy choices about the curriculum and language of instruction, which facilitated the inclusion or caused the exclusion of a large number of school-aged children in the camps.[13] For example, the Burmese curriculum they chose was taught in a particular dialect of the Karen language that many refugees didn't know. They also did not provide special education programming for disabled refugee children, which left many of them without access to formal schooling. While this study illustrates some of the nuances and complexities of refugee education in camp settings, it sheds no light on why or how UNHCR and its partner INGOs made these particular decisions. A brief study conducted by the same scholars at the same sites examined changes in the education provided over the 20 years since the camps were founded.[14] They concluded that, "after years of trial, error, and practice, educational services are now provided in a relatively effective and efficient manner."[15] However, they did not examine what those changes were or how and why they came about, thus the mechanisms and processes that accounted for these changes remain unknown.

In contrast to the work described above, Dryden-Peterson periodizes key shifts in the purposes and provision of refugee education from World War II to 2016. Using her research in the UNHCR archives and key informant interviews she conducted with UNHCR and UNICEF policy-makers, Dryden-Peterson examines "the tension between the global right to education for refugees and the local implementation of this right."[16] She concludes that, despite discursive and normative change over time, there is continuing tension because refugees "are both within and outside nation states."[17] Dryden-Peterson's use of archival research helps to demonstrate the promise of using a historical approach to refugee

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12   Banki, "Populations Left Behind," 139.

13   Su-Ann Oh and Marc van der Stouwe, "Education, Diversity, and Inclusion in Burmese Refugee Camps in Thailand," *Comparative Education Review* 52, no. 4 (2008): 589-617, https://doi.org/10.1086/591299.

14   Marc van der Stouwe and Su-Ann Oh, "Educational Change in a Protracted Refugee Context," *Forced Migration Review* 30 (2008): 47-49.

15   Van der Stouwe and Oh, "Educational Change," 47-48.

16   Sarah Dryden-Peterson, "Refugee Education: The Crossroads of Globalization," *Educational Researcher* 45, no. 9 (2016): 473-82, 476, https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x16683398.

17   Dryden-Peterson, "Refugee Education," 479.

education research. This approach includes identifying persistent institutional and ideational tensions and areas of further inquiry that would provide contemporary historical examples of when and how UN agencies and national governments negotiated "age-old tensions between the sovereignty of the nation-state and global responsibility (e.g., banning of chemical weapons, the landmine treaty)."[18] In the section below, I employ similar historical methods to illuminate new dimensions of social phenomena that previously have been hidden from view.

UNHCR

Almost three decades ago, at the end of the Cold War, many refugee camps were rapidly established throughout the world in response to a large influx of new refugees. The quest to find answers to questions about what to teach, to whom, and for how long was contentious and contingent, and it differed from one camp to the next, due to community services officers' and refugees' particular interests and initiatives, and to the ways policy-makers capitalized on opportunities to establish or reshape education policy in humanitarian contexts at key moments (e.g., The World Education Forum in 2000). Understanding and explaining how these questions were answered in specific camps over time, in this case Dadaab and Kakuma, and why documents, tools, and frameworks were developed in particular ways can help clarify the inherent institutional and ideational challenges that continue to confound UNHCR's education programming in refugee contexts. In this article, I focus on UNHCR rather than on other UN agencies such as UNICEF or the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) because UNHCR was the primary developer of refugee education policy during the period surveyed (1992-1997).[19] Moreover, UNHCR and its INGO partners implemented education programming for refugees in most camps and informal settlements throughout the world.[20]

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18   Dryden-Peterson, "Refugee Education," 479.

19   For additional detail, see Monaghan, *Educating for Durable Solutions?*

20   UNRWA also has a long history of developing and implementing education for Palestinian refugees. See Husein Abdul-Hamid, Harry Patrinos, Joel Reyes et al., "Learning in the Face of Adversity: The UNRWA Education Program for Palestine Refugees," The World Bank, 2015; Ghassan Shabaneh, "Education and Identity: The Role of UNRWA's Education Programmes in the Reconstruction of Palestinian Nationalism," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 25, no. 4 (2012): 491-513, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fer055; Saba Arafat, "Formal Education in UNRWA," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 2, no. 1 (1989): 108-12; Jalal Al-Husseini, "UNRWA and the Palestinian Nation-Building Process," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29, no. 2 (2000): 51-64, https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2000.29.2.02p0030x; Maya Rosenfeld, "From Emergency Relief Assistance to Human Development and Back: UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees, 1950-2009," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28, nos. 2-3 (2009): 286-317, https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdp038.

UNHCR's founding statute stipulates that all of its operational costs, which are 98 percent of its total budget, must be funded by bilateral organizations or the private sector (e.g., corporations, philanthropic organizations, or individuals) for discrete, one-year funding cycles.[21] Thus, funding for refugee education is dependent on donor states (e.g., the United States, Norway, Sweden) or private organizations, which historically have tended to view refugee education as a non-essential need. Additionally, under UNHCR's founding mandate, three durable solutions are available to refugees: third country resettlement, local integration, or repatriation to their country of origin.[22] Yet, for almost 30 years, while protracted conflicts have become the norm, third-country resettlement and local integration into host countries have been significantly restricted.

Throughout the 1990s, chronic or recurrent intrastate conflicts resulted in the establishment of long-term refugee camps. In these protracted refugee situations, UNHCR came to operate as a surrogate state with minimal or no oversight or assistance provided by host states.[23] The average length of stay in a camp is now 17 years; during this time, most refugees are restricted from seeking wage-earning employment or moving freely outside the camps.[24] As a result, the three durable solutions have limited viability. Nevertheless, UNHCR continues to frame education as both a durable solution and critical to achieving durable solutions.[25] Critically engaging with why and how this is so could reveal what broader changes might be needed to ensure better education outcomes.

In the 2000s, faced with a growing number of responsibilities, a large increase in the number of refugees under its care and protection, and challenges in funding its operations, UNHCR began to reframe the significance and scope of its work. Protracted refugee situations were increasingly presented as urgent matters of international peace and security, and UNHCR successfully situated refugee movements as central elements of numerous UN Security Council resolutions.[26] "Education for repatriation" and "education for durable solutions" were terms devised by a handful of UNHCR program officers in response to host states'

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21   See Gil Loescher, Alexander Betts, and James Milner, *UNHCR: The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection into the 21st Century* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

22   See Gil Loescher, "The UNHCR and World Politics: State Interests vs. Institutional Autonomy," *International Migration Review* 35, no. 1 (2001): 33-56, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2001.tb00003.x.

23   Amy Slaughter and Jeff Crisp, "A Surrogate State? The Role of UNHCR in Protracted Refugee Situations," UNHCR, Policy Development and Evaluation Service, 2009.

24   See Slaughter and Crisp, "A Surrogate State?"

25   UNHCR, "Education Strategy 2012-2016," Division of International Protection, 2012, 7, http://www.unhcr.org/5149ba349.html.

26   See Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher, and James Milner, *UNHCR: The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

increasingly restrictive asylum policies and threats of refoulement.[27] On the one hand, framing education in these ways highlighted its role as a protective, life-saving service and thus progressively aligned the provision of education services with UNHCR's core mandate. On the other hand, the education policies and programs implemented in camps under the guise of "education for repatriation" have seldom aligned with the needs of refugees trapped in protracted situations, particularly those (numbering in the millions) for whom "the end of their exile is nowhere in sight."[28]

UNHCR scholarship provides a historical context for why and how the agency has come to operate as a surrogate state. It also describes the constraints it faces in doing so because of the ways states continue to control the scope of UNHCR's work as a non-state actor in transnational spaces. These constraints are particularly evident when considering the conceptual and practical challenges of providing education to refugees in protracted crisis situations. They include a one-year funding cycle, while the provision of education services requires multi-year commitments; sustained questions at UNHCR of whether and how education aligns with the institution's mandate; and answers from those endeavoring to show the ways it does so, such as "education for repatriation," that have lasting implications for the education services provided in camps. The fact that historical analyses of UNHCR have been reconstructed primarily using UNHCR archival documents and have not included the lived experiences of those residing in the camps it manages is a notable gap this paper seeks to address.

When considered collectively, descriptive case studies, ethnographies, and institutional histories reveal the numerous interrelated challenges of providing refugee education in protracted situations. These include the ways states constrain UNHCR from functioning effectively as a surrogate state; how attempts to loosen these constraints (e.g., reframing the scope of its work to focus on repatriation and security) have in turn shaped and constrained UNHCR's provision of education services in camps (e.g., education for repatriation); how, via EFA, basic education became a global policy priority considered central to state- and nation-building in the concomitant eras of globalization and the post-Cold War; and the fact that education is necessary for wholly different purposes in the transnational spaces of refugee camps. What these accounts do not reveal but historical reconstruction can make known is how different actors at different moments in time endeavored to navigate and change some of these challenges, why they were successful in some

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27   See Betts et al., *Politics and Practice*.

28   Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Understanding the Challenge," *Forced Migration Review* 33 (2009): 9-11, 37.

cases, how changes to global refugee education policies did or did not impact education programming in camps, and vice versa. Such knowledge is significant for current and future policy-makers and program officers as they consider how to develop and implement policies and programs for refugee education that will be beset by fewer challenges and better able to serve refugees' educational needs.

FROM EMERGENCY EDUCATION TO EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES

Methods

In the work presented below and the study this article is based on, I asked and answered three interrelated questions: (1) Why and how were education policies and programs developed, implemented, and changed in Kenya's Dadaab and Kakuma camps? (2) What drove changes when they occurred? (3) How were the lived educational experiences of refugee students, their families, and teachers impacted by the range of education policies and programs implemented during the period from 1992 to 1997? Embedded in the above are additional questions about concrete schooling policies for refugees: (a) What curriculum and language of instruction should be used? (b) Who should teach? (c) How many grade levels should be offered? (d) How much funding should be allocated to education, relative to other services? (e) How might that funding be secured? I answered these questions by collecting oral histories from refugee teachers and students in Kakuma and Dadaab, conducting research at the UNHCR archives in Geneva, and interviewing current and former UNHCR policy-makers.

Oral history and archival research are particularly well-suited to making a historical turn in refugee education research. So, too, is the use of narrative to present data or findings, to document what happened over time, and to explain how and why. Of the historian's tools, it is narrative that "reveals [sic] the meaning, coherence, or significance of events."[29] To historicize refugee education—that is, to interpret events as a product of historical development—is to contextualize these events as part of wider phenomena. This requires integrating separate literatures, including the EiE literature and international development studies in education, as well as the literature on UNHCR.

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29   Hayden White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," *History and Theory* 23, no. 1 (1984): 1-33, 30.

Oral Histories

Oral history is "an in-depth account of personal experience and reflections."[30] Recording traditional oral histories that focus on participants' life experiences often takes several hours. My questions focused only on participants' educational experiences in the camps, thus many of the interviews were significantly shorter; however, some participants did recount stories from their lives before Dadaab or Kakuma. I spent approximately one month in Kakuma, but only one week in Dadaab, due to security concerns.[31] The interviews varied from fifteen minutes to more than four hours; the length depended on a variety of factors, including security at the interview site, the length of time participants had spent in the camps (generally, the longer the tenure, the longer the interview), and the amount of time participants were able to allocate for the interview (many were conducted during the school day).

In Kakuma, I conducted oral histories with teachers, administrators, and students at all twenty-six primary schools, six secondary schools, the vocational school, and the higher education learning center. I conducted approximately eighty interviews with individuals and ten with groups of three to six people. I also conducted oral histories with the current education officers of UNHCR and the implementing partner for education, Lutheran World Federation. In Dadaab, I conducted oral histories with teachers, students, and administrators at primary and secondary schools and in vocational and higher education programs in each of the five sub-camps, and with education officers at all implementing partners involved in education service provision. In total, I gathered oral histories from 67 teachers, students, administrators, and education officers in Dadaab.

In Kakuma, I conducted four to six interviews per day at schools that were within a 10- to 15-minute ride by motorbike taxi, as the month I spent in the camp allowed for a leisurely pace and in some cases time for follow-up interviews. In Dadaab, given the limited time I had in the camp, I conducted about 15 interviews per day, beginning at 7 AM and concluding after 7 PM. It took about 20 minutes to drive between sub-camps, but the schools I visited within the sub-camps were typically separated by less than one mile. In both camps, I generally began by

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30   "Principles and Best Practices," Oral History Association, 2009, https://www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices-revised-2009/.

31   In 2011, the group Al-Shabaab infiltrated Dadaab and has maintained a steady presence there since, detonating a number of bombs in heavily trafficked marketplaces and kidnapping or killing several aid workers. As a result, researchers, INGO staff members, and journalists are advised to limit the time they spend in the camp.

asking participants to describe their educational experiences in the camp schools as a student, teacher, or administrator. I also asked questions about changes to the curriculum, or to education programming more broadly, that they had witnessed over time. I tried to hone in on the precise dates of changes and on what and who caused them. I also asked participants about their educational aspirations.

Finally, I conducted 20 oral histories, in person or by Skype, with current and former senior and mid-level UNHCR community service, education, protection, and program officers. These interviews lasted between one and six hours. I asked participants to describe significant moments they had witnessed or experienced that impacted or changed refugee education policies or programs, both in Kakuma or Dadaab and globally, as well as policies or programs that had been proposed and discussed but never implemented, and why they had not.

Archival Research

I spent three weeks in the UNHCR archives in Geneva reviewing approximately one thousand memorandums, policy briefings, mission reports, white papers, curricular materials, and meeting minutes. The majority of these had been drafted and circulated in the UNHCR Education Unit. However, more than two hundred documents came from the UNHCR Finance, Fundraising, and Executive Management Committee units, which offered insights into the internal workings of the UNHCR Headquarters (HQ), particularly where the Education Unit is situated relative to other units. In short, units are prioritized according to their relative relation to UNHCR's core mandate: to protect. Between 1992 and 2012, the Education Unit was located within various units (e.g., Division of Program Support and Management; Division of Emergency, Security, and Supply; Division of International Protection); each move impacted UNHCR's education policies and programs, particularly in terms of the financial and human resources devoted to education.

Narrative

With hundreds of hours of interviews and thousands of pages of documents in hand, I proceeded to reconstruct the educational histories of both camps. I did so by chronologically ordering the events described in these documents and transcripts, reviewing and analyzing this chronology for emergent themes, and further coding and ordering the events within each year by one of seven emergent

themes (e.g., idea-development in EiE, institutional change in UNHCR).[32] Narrative strands quickly appeared as I considered developments at the UNHCR HQ in Geneva alongside those occurring at the same time in the Dadaab and Kakuma camps. For example, the publication in 1996 of Graça Machel's seminal report, "The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children," also known as "The Machel Report," led to a stream of funding for UNHCR that officers at UNHCR HQ used to pilot peace education programming in Dadaab and Kakuma.[33] I determined whether to include or exclude particular events or to draw connections between them based on careful, critical sensitivity to the information gathered. It is the purview of historians to frame and reframe understandings of the past, and another historian might have made different interpretive choices that put a different relative onus on events or people.[34]

In the following section, I reconstruct the education histories of Dadaab and Kakuma over the five-year period from 1992 to 1997.

FINDINGS OF "EDUCATING FOR DURABLE SOLUTIONS?" 1992-1997

1992: The Founding of Kakuma and Dadaab

"I was not that big when I was in the army—I was still small," Samuel recalled.[35] "In Sudan I had been an army officer with an SPLA [Sudan People's Liberation Army] faction. Then I had a problem with my eyes because of operating a machine gun. So I was released for treatment with all of the minors who came here. That

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32   Historical analysis and narrative reconstruction are akin to mapping plot points in a story and connecting those points with exposition. Each historian or narrator will make sense of events differently. In reviewing and analyzing my master chronology comprised of data from archival research and oral interviews, I identified seven emergent themes that to me made sense in organizing my data and reconstructing a coherent narrative across place and time. The unit levels are as follows: (1) a broad idea related to state and non-state actors in the post-Cold War era; (2) a broad idea related to EiE; (3) an institutional feature related to UNHCR; (4) an institutional feature related to UNHCR's Education Unit; (5) an institutional feature related to the UNHCR Nairobi Branch Office; (6) an institutional feature related to Dadaab camp; and (7) an institutional feature of Kakuma camp. I had a master chronology of events that was not organized by theme, and a chronology of events within each theme. Doing so allowed me to look across institution, idea, and time to see, for example, how ideational developments in the field of EiE corresponded with institutional developments at UNHCR HQ and in Dadaab or Kakuma camp.

33   Graça Machel, "The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children," United Nations, 1996; UNHCR, Global Community Services/Education Workshop, October 26-November 1, 1997, 33.

34   Carlo Ginzburg, "Checking the Evidence: The Judge and the Historian," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991): 79-92, https://doi.org/10.1086/448624.

35   Here and throughout the narrative, names and identifying details have been changed to protect the privacy of individuals.

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was until February 17ᵗʰ, 1992. There was nothing when we came here. It was bare without people. Without anything." Samuel was one of 12,000 unaccompanied minors, mostly boys, transported by UNHCR from hastily established makeshift camps in the small town of Lokichogio, Kenya, to Kakuma refugee camp 90 kilometers to the southeast, in Kenya's Great Rift Valley. "Kakuma means 'nowhere' in Swahili," a UNHCR program officer remarked. "And it was not so much a camp then, more a long, narrow expanse of land" between forks of the Tarach River. Some of the children had been orphaned during the Second Sudanese Civil War, an ongoing internecine conflict between the central government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army—a rebel group seeking to establish an autonomous Southern Sudan.[36] Others had been child soldiers who were forced or voluntarily conscripted into the SPLA. They had first walked more than one thousand miles east to refugee camps in Ethiopia in 1991, most of them fleeing conflict or escaping induction into the SPLA. When war broke out in Ethiopia later that same year, they walked another five hundred miles southwestward to Kenya, arriving in Lokichogio in early 1992. A few, like Samuel, had been released by the SPLA to seek medical treatment for injuries sustained while fighting.

UNHCR was overwhelmed in 1992 with the arrival of an average of nine hundred refugees daily in Kenya.[37] In a report submitted to UNHCR HQ in February, a UNHCR social services officer wrote the following:

> While the number of refugees has increased tenfold, [UNHCR] staff and facilities have not increased with corresponding rapidity . . . Influxes into camps and the lack of food and water as well as other facilities have caused malnutrition and innumerable deaths. Lack of staff to coordinate and put things in place has compounded the problems. Inexperienced staff have been deployed with very few senior staff to supervise and give direction. Forgery of documents, alleged bribery, and corruption have increased difficulties.[38]

By December of that year, more than 427,000 refugees were being hosted in twelve camps and four border sites, mainly in the semi-arid desert regions of Rift Valley, which borders Sudan, and the North Eastern Province, which borders Somalia.

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36   See J. Millard Burr, "Quantifying Genocide in Southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains, 1983-1998," in *Conflict in the Nuba Mountains: From Genocide-by-Attrition to the Contemporary Crisis in Sudan*, eds. Samuel Totten and Amanda Grzyb (New York: Routledge, 2015), 89-111.

37   UNHCR, "Kenya Information Bulletin," UNHCR, 1993.

38   Marie Lobo, "Kenya Social Services Mission January 20-February 16, 1992," UNHCR, 1992, 4, 7.

The UNHCR officer's report was primarily referring to Liboi and Ifo camps; both were established in 1991, and by the beginning of 1992 they were providing asylum to more than 50,000 Somali refugees, the majority of them women and children.[39] Because of the comparative security offered further inland, UNHCR established two additional camps adjacent to Ifo in 1992—Hagadera in March and Dagahely in June.[40] These three sub-camps camps comprised the Dadaab camp complex, which was designed to host approximately 90,000 people—just half the number of refugees UNHCR had registered by the end of the year.[41] "It was ad hoc as more and more people came across and there was no thought given to the layout of the camp," a former UNHCR community services officer recalled. "I think there was a failure reading the context . . . there was no indication that Somalia was a political situation that would be solved. There was every indication that this would be long term. And yet the planning was 'let's see what happens tomorrow.'"

By mid-1992, it became clear to senior staff at the UNHCR Branch Office in Nairobi that the refugee situation in Kenya would require the mobilization of implementing partners to assist with camp management and the provision of basic services. In Dadaab, UNHCR contracted with Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE) to serve as the implementing partner for all services, and it partnered with a number of INGOs in Kakuma, including the International Rescue Committee, Médecins Sans Frontières, and Rädda Barnen, the Swedish section of Save the Children International.[42]

More than 50 percent of the refugee population in Dadaab and 70 percent in Kakuma were school-aged children.[43] However, as a former UNHCR community services officer explained, "initially it was very much a focus on water, sanitation, and health . . . at that point there was very little attention to the education sector. It was much more 'if there is time.'" Many within UNHCR viewed the provision of education services as a potential "pull factor"—that is, a service highly valued by refugees that was not widely accessible in Somalia or Sudan and thus might "pull" people into Kenya to seek asylum, even if there was no imminent threat to their life in their home countries.

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39   Nyrovia Whande, "Kenya: An Assessment of the Situation of Women and Children, August 8-September 7, 1991," UNHCR, 1991.

40   UNHCR, "Kenya Information Bulletin," 1993.

41   UNHCR, "Kenya Information Bulletin," 1993.

42   CARE, International Rescue Committee, Médecins Sans Frontières, and Save the Children International are humanitarian aid agencies that deliver a broad range of emergency and long-term relief international development projects in more than 90 countries throughout the world.

43   Lobo, "Kenya Social Services Mission."

Meanwhile, others argued that refugees in the camps were demanding education and that educational activities "should be initiated as soon as possible."[44] This debate played out in a series of reports published by officers from the UNHCR Protection and Community Services units. One report recommended that "educational programs should be organized in the camps," and noted that "the Branch Office [in Nairobi] is developing a comprehensive education system for the new caseload."[45] However, another report circulated three months later indicated that the Branch Office was supposedly "no longer contemplating the development of a comprehensive education program as had been stated in the cabled clearance of the program, but only to support those educational activities which had already been started."[46] These activities included a limited number of scholarships awarded to refugees so they could complete vocational higher ed training through the DAFI Program, which had been established earlier that year, and the distribution of reading materials in the camps.[47]

1992: Formal Education Programming

The matter of education in the camps was not officially settled, but by May, CARE had begun converting a former UNHCR compound in Dadaab into a school; by July, International Relief and Rehabilitation Services (IRRES) was officially contracted to be the implementing partner for education in Kakuma.[48] In both camps, refugees had already organized classes for school-aged children and were holding lessons each morning under acacia trees. The teachers were the refugees who had attained the highest level of education in their home countries. Al Nuur, one of the first teachers in Dadaab, recalled that "at the beginning it was one teacher to two hundred students—it was emergency education."

1992: Choosing the Curriculum and Language of Instruction

When CARE and IRRES began to formalize education programming in the camps, questions of language of instruction and which curriculum to implement were discussed at length in a series of consultations with the refugee communities

44   Lobo, "Kenya Social Services Mission," 17.

45   Kenneth Lutato, "Kenya Education Mission," UNHCR, 1992, 14.

46   Nyrovia Whande, "Registration and Needs Assessment of Southern Sudanese Minors," UNHCR, Program and Technical Support Section, 1992, 7.

47   The Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative Fund (DAFI) provides a limited number of scholarships that enable refugees to attend universities and polytechnic institutions. DAFI has distributed approximately 30 scholarships per year to refugees residing in Kenya since 1992.

48   Whande, "Registration and Needs Assessment."

in Dadaab and Kakuma. UNHCR's "1992 Guidelines for Educational Assistance to Refugees," developed and issued following the 1990 World Conference on Education For All, offered no clear answers.[49] UNHCR's previous policy guidelines for education, issued in 1988, focused heavily on post-primary education and outlined selection criteria for awarding scholarships to refugees to attend universities in countries of asylum.[50] However, the "1992 Guidelines" departed significantly from the previous policy and emphasized implementing primary education. They noted further that, if the situation was thought to be temporary, the refugees' home curriculum and language of instruction should be used to help facilitate repatriation. If the duration of asylum was expected to be longer, then a "mixed curriculum that faces both ways and incorporates lessons from refugees' home and host countries should be utilized." Finally, the "1992 Guidelines" recommended that, if the situation was long term, the host country's national curriculum should be implemented.[51] Thus, from a policy standpoint, the choice of curriculum and anticipated duration of exile were closely linked.

Of course, no one knew for sure how long refugees would remain in the Dadaab and Kakuma camps and speculation varied. In Dadaab, leaders from the refugee community indicated to CARE that schools should follow a Somali curriculum and that the language of instruction should be a combination of Somali and English. In Kakuma, refugees advocated strongly for the Kenyan curriculum with English as the language of instruction. UNHCR consulted with the Kenyan ministry of education, but beyond stating that it would be easiest to acquire the Kenyan curriculum and that UNHCR would have to register the schools in Kenya if students were to receive certification of primary and secondary school completion, the ministry remained uninvolved. While community services officers considered possibilities for vocational education programming and accelerated learning courses in both camps, they were not widely supported in the Nairobi Branch Office, as these programs were not included in the "1992 Guidelines." And so it was that CARE took up the task of acquiring curricular materials from Somalia, while IRRES ordered copies of the Kenyan curriculum. Ultimately, CARE was unable to get hold of the Somali curriculum and UNESCO was contracted to write a mixed curriculum, which covered grades one to four, using a handful of rescued Somali textbooks and inputs from Somali teachers.

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49   UNHCR, "1992 Guidelines for Educational Assistance to Refugees," UNHCR, Program and Technical Support Section, 1992.

50   UNHCR, "1988 Guidelines for Educational Assistance to Refugees," UNHCR, Program and Technical Support Section, 1988.

51   UNHCR, "1992 Guidelines," 18.

1992: Incentive Wages

An education mission conducted in Dadaab and Kakuma by an officer from UNHCR HQ in May 1992, prior to the start of formal schooling activities, recommended that "the structures constructed to house schools be simple, temporary ones; that the teaching force for the camp schools be recruited from the refugee communities; and that 'incentive wages' rather than 'salaries' should be offered to encourage refugees to teach."[52] Regardless of their qualifications, all refugee teachers received the same "incentive" of 500 Ksh per month. Equivalent to US$15, incentive wages were the source of "a lot of conflict between the implementing partners and the refugees," according to Abdulahi, a former refugee teacher in Dadaab. The "1992 Guidelines" stipulated that refugee teachers should be given "incentives" (in cash or in kind), not formal salaries, "since they receive relief assistance for helping their communities . . . also because of the constraints of humanitarian funding."[53] These twin rationales—that refugee teachers were not "real" teachers because they lacked formal certification and that they were not in need of "salaries" because their needs were met by UNHCR—were used time and again by UNHCR and implementing partner staff members when negotiating with refugees who regularly advocated for increases in pay. Reports indicating that low wages led to substantial teacher turnover also maintained that "the concept of salary should [nevertheless] be avoided since this leads to comparisons with home or host country levels . . . which is simply not sustainable."[54]

In July and August, CARE and IRRES began five-day teacher-training courses that covered basic content, lesson planning, and behavior management. Formal schooling commenced in both camps in September in split-shift sessions—morning and afternoon—to accommodate more learners; classes were still held under trees. In Dadaab, reports indicated that about a quarter of school-aged children residing in the camp enrolled in school, while in Kakuma the number was closer to half.[55] Boys outnumbered girls in the schools in both camps "at least ten to one," recalled Abdulahi. "Girls were generally prohibited from attending by parents who wanted them to remain in the home—there was a lot of cultural interference back then."

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52   Lutato, "Kenya Education Mission," 16.

53   UNHCR, "1992 Guidelines," 43.

54   Margaret Sinclair, "Education Mission to Tanzania and Kenya July 4-30," UNHCR, Program and Technical Support Section, 1994, 8.

55   Sinclair, "Education Mission," 22.

1992: EFA and Primary Schooling

In Kakuma, many of the unaccompanied boys remained out of school to seek work, earning a couple of shillings for collecting firewood or transporting bags of food from distribution centers to refugees' homes. "It was also a challenge because we had to support ourselves—we had no parents to cook meals or do any of the work of taking care of a household. We were just living together in groups of ten or so," explained Samuel, the Sudanese refugee who had migrated to Kakuma seeking medical treatment for his eyes. While the majority of students were going to school for the first time, those who had previous access to education in their home countries had to decide whether to start over in lower primary school (grades 1-4) or forego schooling altogether, as upper primary (grades 5-8) and secondary school were not offered. Many chose not to enroll.

That the schooling consisted solely of lower primary classes reflected "EFA goals, which emphasized basic primary education. So that's what UNHCR offered—the absolute minimum," a UNHCR community services officer explained. "Education was a box to check off on the form submitted to HQ. Primary education—available? Tick. Yes. That's it. And because it was an add-on, there were no UNHCR education officers. It fell to community services to liaise with the implementing partners. I fought for education, but I wasn't an educationist." CARE and IRRES also had limited experience with the provision and management of education services, "though CARE had an education officer looking after the running of education activities and there was some structure," the same officer stated. Al Alrahman, an Islamic organization, also provided structured schooling in the form of *madrassas* (alternately called *doksis*) in Dadaab. Abdulahi explained that "they [doksis] had very good foundations—every student had school books and they offered a midday meal. This alone was enough to attract many children."

1993: Teacher Strikes

In early 1993, CARE and IRRES had begun to distribute textbooks and notebooks to students, as well as construction materials, primarily wood posts and chicken wire, to parents who were taking charge of building the schools. "Early on the agencies asked parents to form parent teacher associations [PTAs] in Dadaab and school management committees in Kakuma to assist with building, maintenance, and other management issues," explained Al Nuur. Abdulahi recalled that "these parent groups became very influential—they were the go-between from agencies to the community." In Dadaab, parents held weekly meetings with teachers to review students' progress and any issues teachers might be having. Incentive

wages were frequently discussed. In February, with parents' support, teachers met with CARE to demand an increase in wages. When wages were not increased, the teachers went on strike. "This lasted for months—all schools closed down," Abdulahi explained. "It completely paralyzed the school system. Most teachers and parents supported it, though as weeks turned into a month and then two, people started saying, 'We have to get the kids back in school.' And then the incentive wage was raised to 1500 Ksh."

1994: Refugee Education Working Group and Change in Implementing Partners

In January 1994, UNHCR's Education Unit—comprised of the senior education officer and two assistants, as well as a DAFI scholarship officer—participated in a series of meetings over the course of four days with education officers from UNESCO. Given the number of conflicts and subsequent refugee crises that had occurred in the preceding years, it was decided that these two organizations, along with UNICEF, would revise a previously established UN/NGO Working Group on Refugee Education. Education officers from UNESCO and UNICEF were to meet every two months in Geneva with UNHCR's senior education officer and make arrangements for joint activities in the field. In Dadaab, UNESCO assisted CARE with teacher training and continued printing and distributing copies of the mixed Somali curriculum they had previously written.

UNESCO did not undertake similar operations in Kakuma, where reports indicated growing challenges with IRRES as the implementing partner for education. According to a UNHCR report,

> [IRRES] have refused to share records with the Nairobi Branch Office that account for how education funds are being spent. They are running a program where there is a shortage of textbooks and blackboards, classes are being held only between 8 AM and 11 AM, and new teachers are not receiving training. Finally, while [only] alleged, there are indications that IRRES has purposely burned down the warehouse storing textbooks and other supplies to cover up theft of materials that presumably were sold for profit in Loki or Lodwar.[56]

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56   Sinclair, "Education Mission," 10.

In May of that year, IRRES was asked to cease its work in Kakuma and the Branch Office began considering possibilities for a new implementing partner for education.[57] They decided on Rädda Barnen, Save the Children Sweden.

1994-1995: Building Education Infrastructure and Devising Minimum Standards

Under the new management of Rädda Barnen, the fall school term began in Kakuma with the distribution of new textbooks and the addition of teacher aides, and classes took place under newly constructed *makutti* structures—four poles arranged in a rectangle connected by plastic sheeting, with a roof made of palm fronds. Arrangements were made for students enrolled in the recently established Don Bosco vocational program to build desks and benches, and to assist with the construction of new classrooms. Meanwhile, PTAs in Dadaab had undertaken the construction of the more permanent makutti buildings, "even pouring cement floors in all the new schools for foundation and updating the schools previously built," Al Nuur recalled. A handful of Kenyan national teachers were also hired in Kakuma to teach newly added upper primary (grades 5-8) courses, particularly Swahili, Kenya's national language. "Swahili was disastrous for us," Samuel recalled. "We had grown up speaking Arabic, had been studying in the camp in English, and now we had to learn Swahili, which was a real challenge."

Despite incremental improvements across both camps in terms of education infrastructure, teacher training, and distribution of school materials, education funding remained precarious. Problems releasing funds from the Branch Office to the sub-offices in Dadaab and Kakuma were the result of a shortfall in funding that stemmed from "donor fatigue for Somalia as well as the shifting of funding priorities towards Central Africa to more than one million Rwandese refugees," detailed an end-of-year review of Kenya's operations.[58] "The Rwandan genocide and resulting refugee crisis in Zaire changed the whole humanitarian field, including emergency education," remarked an implementing partner program officer. "Inside the UNHCR, there was serious dialogue about what emergency operations were and were not doing; 40,000 people had died of cholera in the camps for Rwandese refugees in the first month. There was a real push for minimum standards in all sectors."

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57   Sinclair, "Education Mission," 11.
58   UNHCR, "Kenya Information Bulletin," UNHCR, 1995, 6.

In the education sector, a handful of unofficial minimum standards were introduced in early 1995 as the "Revised Guidelines for Educational Assistance to Refugees," which replaced the "1992 Guidelines."[59] In the "1995 Guidelines," a class size of no more than 40 was recommended, as was offering refugee teachers a basic incentive wage that would help to ensure the sustainability of programming.[60] Additionally, all education programs were to receive at the minimum a temporary shelter, writing materials, and blackboards. Increasing importance was also placed on using refugee education to meet "psychosocial needs after trauma and to convey life-saving skills for survival, including landmine awareness, peace education, and environmental awareness."[61] Like the "1992 Guidelines," the updated version recommended that the curricula offered in camp schools match the "durable solution" deemed most viable (i.e., curriculum of the home country for temporary asylum, mixed curriculum for medium term, and curriculum of the host country for long-term situations).[62]

1995-1996: Changes to the Curriculum and Including Education in Community Services

In Dadaab, refugees as well as UNHCR and partner staff members were increasingly coming to view the situation as long term. "PTAs had begun discussing the implementation of the Kenyan curriculum in the camp schools," Al Nuur explained. "Some parents said their children would never go home and they needed to be able to sit for the Kenyan national exams that might lead to opportunities for secondary schooling. Other parents argued that Somali history and culture would be lost." In a series of subsequent meetings with CARE, it was decided that children in lower primary grades would still use the UNESCO mixed curriculum and receive instruction in Somali, while those in upper primary would use the Kenyan curriculum taught in English and Swahili. Implementation was gradual; it began with the hiring of a handful of Kenyan national teachers and in-service training provided by CARE and UNESCO for current teachers.

A regional education workshop held in Nairobi in March had recommended that, "in large education programs [such as Dadaab and Kakuma], the job description for community services officers should clearly outline education functions and in

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59   UNHCR, "Revised Guidelines for Educational Assistance to Refugees," UNHCR, Program and Technical Support Section, 1995.

60   UNHCR, "Revised Guidelines," 1995, 8.

61   UNHCR, "Revised Guidelines," 1995, 11.

62   UNHCR, "Revised Guidelines," 1995, 15.

addition the position title should be 'Community Services/Education Officer.'"[63] As a former UNHCR program officer explained, "while education had fallen to Community Services for a long time, there was no real incentive for Community Services to focus on education in addition to all of the other things they were tasked with. So education had to become part of what people were hired to do and what they were held accountable for." While this recommendation was not incorporated by the Branch Office that year, a CARE community services officer took up a post as education officer in Dadaab in 1996, "which forged a strong link between community services and education," stated Matthew, a former teacher writing his own history of education in Dadaab camp. He explained that

> the "can schools" are an example of why this link was important. We needed more schools built but we didn't have the materials. However, there was a community services officer who had a stock of USAID tins and told the education officer he could use them if he wanted. So the education officer met with parents and they came up with a plan to cut the tins and hammer them flat so they could be used as sheeting for school walls. CARE provided some timber, so all the new schools were made of USAID cans and many of the mukatti schools were eventually replaced by the can schools as well.

1996-1997: Child Protection and Peace Education

In July 1996, at a global representatives meeting held at UNHCR HQ, participants from UNHCR, UNESCO, UNICEF, and a number of other INGOs reflected on the nature of humanitarian work in the post-Cold War era. The resulting report signaled a decisive shift from the early 1990s regarding the scope of UNHCR's operations, concluding that "the initial euphoria generated by the end of the Cold War has dissipated and given way to a more sober appreciation of constraints imposed upon multilateral action: a lack of consensus regarding the protection of civilians in countries affected by armed conflict and the limited capacity of UNHCR in relation to the responsibilities it has been asked to assume."[64] One month later, UNICEF published "The Machel Report."[65] Examining the ways children and youth had been mobilized, sensitized, and traumatized across multiple conflicts in the five years since the end of the Cold War (e.g., the Bosnia and Yugoslav wars, Rwanda), the report concluded that international organizations must undertake

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63   Dominique Rabiller, "Revised Guidelines," UNCHR, Regional Education Workshop, 1995, 12.

64   UNHCR, "Global Representatives Meeting Report," UNHCR, 1996, 3.

65   Machel, "Impact of Armed Conflict."

activities that strengthen the protection of children and youth. The report also identified education as a primary protective activity in conflict-affected states and in refugee camps, and "advanced the notion that child protection was a core responsibility of the UNHCR," an education officer explained.

In the first months of 1997, in response to "The Machel Report," UNHCR set up a Children's Trust Fund administered by the senior coordinator for refugee children. "The coordinator, who saw education as a fundamental right for children, suddenly had more of an impact because there was funding behind the post," a former UNHCR program officer explained. A report summarizing outcomes from a global community services/education workshop held later that year detailed that, "in response to an internal follow-up strategy to the 'Machel Report,' the UNHCR has established a Trust Fund to strategically reorient protection and programming for children and adolescents. For the first two years, this fund will support pilot projects to address critical protection concerns and promote peace."[66] Dadaab and Kakuma were to serve as the pilot sites for UNHCR's Peace Education Program.

In May of that year, two peace education officers were initially hired in the Branch Office to develop the program. "One was an education specialist, the other was a peace specialist," a former UNHCR program officer recalled. "From the UNHCR's standpoint, put the two together, you have 'peace education.' But the peace specialist had absolutely no field experience—didn't last more than a month." The peace education officer who remained spent several weeks in each camp, holding focus group interviews with a range of groups within the refugee community (e.g., women, elders, different clans and tribes) to discuss whether or not a peace education program should be implemented and, if so, how it might be structured:

> Over the course of those meetings, refugees would say that it's not enough that our kids just learn this . . . we need to learn this for ourselves. In Kakuma, they would refer to the eight refugees who had died the previous year in clashes between Nuer and Dinka, and in Dadaab to the large number of women who reported being raped in the camp. So we developed a community program as well.

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66   UNHCR, "Global Community Services/Education Workshop," 33.

It initially was thought that the school program would be implemented in the regular curriculum as part of civics or social studies. "However, we decided we needed to be able to call it PE [peace education] so kids knew what they were learning," explained the peace education officer. "There was a subject called pastoral care and it was a single period once a week where kids did absolutely nothing. And so we said, 'well, this is the best substitute for pastoral care you could get.' And that's where we wound up putting it."

The school-based peace education program was comprised of a series of activities covering 14 concept areas arranged in a "spiral" curriculum, where new lessons built on those of the previous weeks. In each camp, 40 peace education teachers were hired and trained in "pedagogy that was really student-centered and experiential," remarked a former program officer. "It didn't require reading or writing but rather facilitation skills. Like the environmental education teacher training had done, this helped to improve the quality of instruction in the camp because teachers utilized these approaches in the other classes they taught." In Dadaab, CARE placed peace education in the mid-morning on Thursday where pastoral care had previously been slotted. However, in Kakuma, Lutheran World Federation, the new implementing partner for education, relocated pastoral care to Monday morning during the first period. The peace education officer remarked that "it would seem as though [Lutheran World Federation] made a conscious effort to put peace education where it would be least effective. That was often when school assembly was held, so students would miss first period." Nevertheless, 42,000 students across the two camps participated in the program in the pilot year.[67]

DISCUSSION

Since the founding of the Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps, several events have shaped the development and implementation of refugee education policy and programming. Many of these changes are described in the EiE and UNHCR literature as a means of explaining the myriad conceptual and practical constraints of refugee education. Asking why and how questions and representing the answers in narrative form fills an important gap in these literatures by revealing how, over time, UNHCR and INGO staff members and refugees navigated certain ideational and institutional constraints—or, rather, how they exercised agency to make positive changes to refugee education policies and programming within certain structural challenges.

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67   Margaret Sinclair, "Education Mission to Kenya March 8-15," UNHCR, Program and Technical Support Section, 1997, 20.

The narrative snapshot above offers several examples of why and how, between 1992 and 1997, certain education policies and programs, rather than others, were developed and implemented. In those five years, staff members at UNHCR HQ developed and strengthened policy frameworks, strategies, and standards for refugee education in response to the expanse and protraction of armed conflict; revised job descriptions to include refugee education specifically; and further aligned education with UNHCR's core mandate to "provide international protection to refugees"—all of this at the global level. UN and INGO staff members leveraged EFA to advocate for the inclusion of primary schooling in camps; at the same time, this constrained education programming, leaving large populations of refugee youth without access to secondary, vocational, or higher education. In Dadaab and Kakuma, students who were initially taught under trees by other refugees without any curriculum were eventually taught the Kenyan national curriculum in semi-permanent and, later, permanent school buildings. PTAs and school management committees made decisions regarding the curriculum and language of instruction and built school infrastructure. In Dadaab, refugee teachers went on strike, successfully, to increase their incentive wages. Supplemental education programming (i.e., peace education) was piloted in both camps because, following a report that helped make the case for education as protection in emergency situations, a UNHCR coordinator was able to access additional funds. Similar changes have continued to the present day. For example, by the late 1990s, secondary schools were established in both camps, largely due to refugees' advocacy efforts, and many Kenyan national teachers were employed in camp schools (however, there is a considerable degree of tension between refugee teachers and Kenyan national teachers). Many current refugee teachers in Dadaab and Kakuma were former students who completed K-12 and even higher ed in the camp schools.

Nevertheless, the challenges of refugee education have continued, in Dadaab and Kakuma and worldwide. These challenges include the limited number of personnel who are tasked with overseeing education programming at UNHCR or its implementing partners, the high number of children and youth who are out of school, a lack of textbooks, overcrowded classrooms, and high rates of attrition from lower primary to upper primary and from upper primary to secondary. Persistent questions remain regarding the purposes of refugee education and its relationship to durable solutions, including choices about curriculum and language of instruction. We might well ask why, beyond resource constraints, changes to refugee education policies and programs haven't brought more significant change to these challenges. History allows us to ask and answer this question literally, rather than rhetorically. It might not seem surprising that there are persistent

challenges to refugee education despite multiple changes, but these challenges were not and are not inevitable. Indeed, this is one of the central revelations of history—that nothing is predetermined, that there are contingencies.[68]

CONCLUSION

Making a historical turn in refugee education research allows scholars and practitioners to help map the car's route while driving it. Little has been documented about the development and implementation of refugee education; it lives primarily in the memories of those who were part of it. Dadaab and Kakuma have rich education histories, as do countless other camps around the world. The more narratives we have of the history of education in different camps, the more we can understand why and how actors made the choices they did in moments of contingency, whether about curriculum or supplemental education programming, or in framing the purposes of education to justify its provisioning; why and how different actors in different camps made similar or different choices; and what different choices could lead to more substantive changes. Camps have and will continue to be established throughout the world and choices will be made about providing education services. While historical narratives cannot provide comprehensive answers to what choices should be made, they can show how individuals—community services and education officers and refugees—previously made decisions that were shaped by institutional and ideational constraints, used agency to loosen these constraints, and capitalized on opportunities for change. Stated differently, narratives can help us understand the present by focusing a more holistic lens on the past, and in so doing make it possible to go in a new or different direction in the future—something akin to driving forward with the help of the rearview mirror.

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68   Isaiah Berlin, *Historical Inevitability* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1954).

BUREAUCRATIC ENCOUNTERS AND THE QUEST FOR EDUCATIONAL ACCESS AMONG COLOMBIAN REFUGEES IN ECUADOR

Diana Rodríguez-Gómez

ABSTRACT

Ecuador's innovative approach to social policy and human mobility is reflected in its education policies, specifically those pertaining to access to school. Under Ecuador's constitutional notion of universal citizenship, youth are not required to have previous academic records to enter the equivalent of K-12 education, regardless of their migratory status. Grade placement is based on a free test, and any identification documents a future student provides are officially deemed valid and sufficient for school registration. Despite these constitutional guarantees, refugee youth still have great difficulty enrolling in school in Ecuador. Drawing from semi-structured interviews with civil employees, NGO staffers, and Colombian refugees conducted in Quito, Ecuador, in 2013 and 2014, I analyze how access to school for Colombian refugee youth is shaped by the official and unofficial rules that regulate the formal education system. Situating policy as practice relative to the daily workings of the state bureaucracy, I analyze how public servants and refugees interpret and enact policy within the state's administrative structure. I argue that, in this context, the appropriation of education policy and, therefore, access to education are mediated by the workings of bureaucracy. This implies that universal definitions of access to school obscure the contingent and unpredictable character of educational access for refugees. By delving into the manifold interpretations of education policy, this analysis suggests that an inconsistent bureaucracy has the potential to amplify social inequalities among refugees.

INTRODUCTION: THE BUREAUCRATIC DIMENSION
OF EDUCATIONAL ACCESS

With a heavy dossier of 13 documents under her arm, Karla and her two children traversed Quito, Ecuador, and arrived in Tarqui, at the school registration office closest to their home. She was determined to secure school placements for both children, Daniela and Edwin. After queuing for one hour, a civil servant dismissed her application because of her migratory status as an asylum seeker—her petition for refugee status had yet to be processed. Aware of her rights and knowledgeable about current education regulations, Karla decided to change her strategy and make use of the only resource she had in abundance at that moment: time. She left the registration office, then returned and got back in the queue. After a two-hour wait, a different employee accepted her application and her two children gained access to school. However, Karla's abundant free time is a luxury employed migrants cannot afford. Although no official statistics on refugee children's access to school are available, a recent survey of 150 youth in Quito showed that more than a quarter of the sample did not attend school (Donger, Fuller, Bhabha, and Leaning 2017).

Ecuador has a long history as a sending country because of its successive economic crises, but it recently has become the Latin American country hosting the largest number of people in need of international protection. The most recent official estimates are that 145,333 persons of concern have arrived in Ecuador since the 1990s (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] 2019); this includes 66,288 refugees (Cancillería del Ecuador 2019), 97.6 percent of whom are Colombians fleeing the ongoing armed conflict between left-wing guerrillas, right-wing paramilitary groups, dissident armed forces, and Colombia's national army (Cancillería del Ecuador 2019). Ecuador's dollar economy, relative political stability, and compliance with avant-garde international migration law has attracted migrants from Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa (Cancillería del Ecuador 2019). Additionally, 1,154,000 Venezuelans have arrived in Ecuador since 2015, driven there by the extreme political and economic instability in their country (UNHCR 2019).

Inspired by progressive social policies, Rafael Correa's presidency (2007-2017) undertook major institutional and state regulatory reform. According to the World Bank Worldwide Bureaucracy Indicators, Correa's transformation of the public sector moved Ecuador's government effectiveness—measured in terms of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and its independence

from political pressures, the quality of policy design and implementation, and the government's commitment to such policies—from 40 percent to 50 percent (World Bank 2018).[1] As part of this transformation, the Correa administration adopted an education policy that, drawing from a human rights framework and emphasizing non-discrimination, established that all children, regardless of nationality or migratory status, can attend public school. The administration also overhauled the education system's administrative structure: between 2006 and 2014, the Ecuadorian state added 223,880 new civil servants, more than 10 percent of whom (26,000) were appointed to the education sector (*El Telégrafo* 2015). Public officials working in education were dispersed among 9 education zones, 140 education districts, 1,117 education circuits, and 28,590 public schools. Although there is a tendency to think that providing greater resources and more civil employees would expand school access to all students, it has not guaranteed access for those with refugee status.

The role the administrative structure of the state or bureaucracy plays in shaping school access for refugees is rarely discussed in documents produced by multilateral agencies and international organizations. One recent exception is "Turn the Tide," a 2017 UNHCR report that presents bureaucracy as a barrier to schooling: "Not recognizing refugees' unique situations and barring them from the next level of their education because of bureaucracy is callous and counterproductive" (25). Usually, non-political phrases such as "registration in the national education system," "ID documents and certificates detailing previous education," and "lack of documents" populate reports about access to school (see, for example, UNHCR 2008, 2010, 2011; Bacakova 2009; Dryden-Peterson 2009). By maintaining a "rhetoric of individual responsibility" (Preston 1991, 61) that avoids any designation of institutional or state responsibility, these expressions limit our ability to understand and engage critically with the conditions that complicate access to school for refugees. To state that this population has difficulty enrolling in school due to a lack of documents subtly reifies refugees as being in a constant state of deficiency and normalizes bureaucratic demands as the natural order of things.

This article is part of a larger ethnographic study of Colombian refugee youth living in Ecuador conducted in 2013 and 2014. In this paper, I draw attention to the processes of policy appropriation in bureaucratic environments as a potential hurdle to school access. The purpose of this paper is to highlight areas

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1   As a comparative measure, neighboring Colombia and Peru reached 70 percent and 60 percent, respectively, in the same period.

of school access that are ignored by prescriptive approaches. To do so, I address the following questions:

- How does educational access for refugee children and youth become a policy issue?

- What bureaucratic practices shape access to school for this population in Quito?

- How do state agents and people with refugee status participate in and interact with the provision of access to school?

- What resources do refugees use to guarantee educational access?

In this paper, I analyze the vertical elements of policy appropriation across national, municipal, and district levels (Bartlett and Vavrus 2014, 2016), drawing from semi-structured interviews to examine how education bureaucracy unfolds and to shed light on the processes of governance and power (McCarty and Castagno 2018) that affect refugees' experiences of an alien state.

I also draw from debates in the field of education in emergencies (EiE) and anthropological studies of bureaucracy to examine how policy appropriation shapes refugee youths' access to school. I approach policy as a social practice wherein agents constantly interpret, enact, and negotiate normative content (Levinson, Winstead, and Sutton 2018; McCarty and Castagno 2018). My aim in analyzing how education stakeholders interpret and enact policy in bureaucratic settings is to foreground the roles and practices of state agents. I embrace Lipsky's (1969, 2010) definition of "street-level bureaucrats" as civil employees who interact directly with the public—both migrant and non-migrant populations—and use their own discretion to allocate state benefits and distribute resources. Rather than conceptualize access to school as a cohesive and linear sequence of procedures with universal barriers, I define it as a localized and relational process framed by spoken and unspoken rules that are negotiated between public officials and those seeking an education. From this perspective, refugees' efforts to access school emerge as a series of actions whereby non-citizens experience the state as the main regulatory authority that determines whether they will be allowed to enter school.

My main argument is that, while the Ecuadorian legal framework aims to universalize and standardize the procedures for school access for those between 5 and 18 years of age, street-level bureaucrats interpret policies in ways that create only partial and individualized opportunities for the most marginalized children

to access education. This article shows that policy appropriation in bureaucratic settings can be unpredictable and is dependent on many factors, including street-level bureaucrats' technical capacity and their own subjective desire to help others. The workings of a bureaucracy vary according to the will of civil employees, and therefore so do refugee children's and youths' opportunities to access school.

This paper suggests that the ways education policy is appropriated in bureaucratic settings mediates access to school for refugees in Quito, Ecuador, and presents three key findings to support this view. First, there is a gap between representations of the state at the highest levels and the way it actually operates on the ground, particularly in the education system. Second, given the exceptional character of the procedures that frame educational access for refugees as compared to those for other populations, education policy tends to be interpreted in unpredictable and even fragmented ways. Third, although refugee students and their families display great resilience and resort to a number of strategies to cope with the bureaucratic demands of gaining access to education, their efforts to comply with bureaucratic requirements often fall short and prevent them from gaining the desired access.

With data collected in Quito, an understudied area of the Global South, the vertical comparative component of this research across national, municipal, and district levels offers empirical evidence of the challenges refugee populations face in gaining school access amid the expansion of Ecuador's education sector. By positioning the street-level bureaucrat as a key education stakeholder and bureaucracy as a key area of concern for the EiE field, this study contributes to debates that tackle the gap between policy design and policy implementation (see Karpinska, Yarrow, and Gough 2007; UNHCR 2012; Buckner, Spencer, and Cha 2017; Mendenhall, Russell, and Buckner 2017). It shows how the social inequality refugees encounter can be produced and sustained by the state, even though it explicitly mandates universal access to school.

In this article, I first review key studies on refugee populations' access to school and introduce policy as a social practice. I then describe Ecuador's legal and institutional framework for school access, including the procedures the Ministry of Education designed for the 2013-2014 academic year. I then explain how I collected and analyzed the evidence presented. I next integrate the perspectives of individuals seeking educational access, street-level bureaucrats, and high-ranking public officials into my analysis. Finally, I discuss the research findings and present my conclusions.

ACCESS TO SCHOOL AND EDUCATION POLICIES
AS A BUREAUCRATIC PRACTICE

Current Debates about Access to School

The fact that empirical evidence shows a correlation between out-of-school youth and conflict has positioned access to school at the core of the EiE field (Burde, Kapit, Wahl, Guven, and Skarpeteig 2017). According to Burde et al. (2017), discussions about this issue follow two trends: whereas some analyze the links between educational access and conflict (see Barakat, Karpinska, and Paulson 2008; Davies 2005, 2011; Kirk 2011; Pherali 2013; Dryden-Peterson and Mulimbi 2016), others target the barriers that prevent students from entering and staying in school (Burde, Kapit, Wahl, and Guven 2011; Dryden-Peterson 2011; Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack 2014; Bartlett 2015; Burde and Khan 2016; Zerrougui 2016; Gladwell 2019).

Building on this extended understanding of school access, the field has distinguished several barriers faced by children and youth affected by armed conflict and natural disasters. Refugees face a broad range of barriers to schooling: long distances to school, increased opportunity costs, systematic discrimination, a lack of female teachers, security threats, forced displacement and recruitment by armed groups, older students in the classrooms, latrines unsuited to girls, gender-based violence, irrelevant curricula, trauma, and overcrowded schools (O'Malley 2010; Burde et al. 2011; Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack 2014; Burde 2014; Burde and Khan 2016; Zerrougui 2016; Gladwell 2019).

Refugees are especially vulnerable to exclusion and violence at the hands of a state in which they are strangers. Although they are protected by international and regional legal instruments, such as the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, and, in Latin America, the 1984 Cartagena Declaration, the disconnect between written policy and "lived" policy may reduce the practical impact of their legal status. As they adjust to a new life in unfamiliar territory, refugees are strangers who are forced to navigate unknown rules and rely on the decisions of the foreign state in which they now reside. In many cases, their non-citizen status forces them to endure poorer access to social services, compete less effectively in the marketplace, and be subjected regularly to harassment and detainment by state forces (Landau 2016), all of which expand the barriers they face in trying to access school.

Debates over school access for refugee youth mention the absence of official documents as a barrier to schooling (Bacakova 2009; Church World Service 2013; Mendenhall et al. 2017), which normalizes the role of the state as a bureaucratic authority and obscures the far more revealing issue of how refugee populations actually navigate the system. In the particular case of urban refugees and asylum seekers in the Global South, scholars have identified bureaucracy as an obstacle to school access. Studies by Grabska (2006), Karanja (2010), and Goździak and Walter (2012) argue that bureaucratic procedures have the potential to make access to school impossible. For instance, Karanja (2010) maintains that "proper documentation does not necessarily guarantee access to education by urban refugee children" (148). Based on the case of urban refugees in South Africa, Buckland (2011), Sobantu and Warria (2013), and Meda, Sookrajh, and Maharaj (2013) argue that not having official documents, including refugee and asylum-seeker certificates, birth certificates, academic reports, and immunization cards, is an obstacle to enrolling in school. Buckner, Spencer, and Cha (2017) similarly describe how confusion over documents, procedures, and decrees have created barriers to school access for self-settled Syrian refugees in Lebanon.

In Ecuador, despite a legal framework that guarantees universal education for all, the Observatory of the Rights of Children and Adolescents (Observatorio de los Derechos de la Niñez y Adolescencia 2010), reports sponsored by the U.S. Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (Feinstein International Center 2012; Mendenhall et al. 2017), and UNHCR (Donger et al. 2017) all identify the lack of official documents as a key barrier to school access for Colombian refugees.[2] A study of 1,200 Colombian refugees living in Quito and Guayaquil conducted in 2010 argues that 20 percent of potential primary school students and 40 percent of potential secondary school students were not attending school because of a lack of official documents (Ospina and Santacruz 2011). More recently, Donger et al. (2017) reported that school enrollment was 65.2 percent among the 150 refugees between 15 and 19 years old that they surveyed in Quito, and that those with refugee status were more likely to enter school than those whose asylum applications were still in process or who were undocumented. Even though challenges to educational access in Ecuador's capital have noticeably decreased in the last five years, this same report claims that "documentation requirements are a challenge for enrollment and graduation" (29).

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2   "Education is a fundamental human right and it is the unavoidable and inexcusable duty of the State to guarantee the access, permanence and quality of education for the entire population without any discrimination. It is tied to international human rights instruments" (Registro Oficial: Órgano de la República del Ecuador 2011, 4).

Although these studies highlight a gap between policy and practice, they fail to provide an in-depth analysis of how bureaucratic practices shape and limit access opportunities for those with refugee status. A dearth of qualitative accounts detailing the everyday social practices of state agencies and state beneficiaries limits our current understanding of the multiple dimensions of enacting education policies. To guarantee education for all, we need to learn more about the challenges refugees and public officials face when dealing with bureaucratic requirements.

Access to School, Education Policy, and Bureaucracy

There is a tendency in the literature to focus on administrative barriers to educational access while losing sight of the daily experiences of those who navigate the bureaucratic arena. This perspective neglects the relational dimension of access to school and the key role street-level bureaucrats play in guaranteeing refugees' right to education. I draw from studies on the anthropology of education policy and bureaucracy to define policy as a processual and interactive social practice whereby actors with different levels of agency and power define the terms in which social problems are defined, and behaviors and resources are organized and allocated (Levinson et al. 2018). In this paper, I approach social practice as the everyday activities that situate individual behaviors within broader social forces (Bourdieu 1972). From this perspective, I conceptualize refugees, street-level bureaucrats, and policy-makers as creative agents with different levels of knowledge and experience who use policy as a vehicle to secure their goals.

Even though policy as practice shapes public and private spheres of life, I focus on the bureaucratic realm of policy. Whereas Weber (1946) characterizes bureaucracy as an ordered and cohesive form of organization, I appeal to its unpredictable, indeterminate, and even irrational dimensions (Hoag 2011; Gupta 2012; Graeber 2015). Unpredictability manifests not only in the ways local bureaucracies enact policies but also in street-level bureaucrats' responses to the demands of individuals, and in the strategies those seeking access to school employ to overcome bureaucratic hurdles. In this arena, social practices are shaped by state regulations, organizational constraints, and the discretion bureaucrats have in deciding when and how to apply those regulations (Lipsky 1969, 2010; Hoag 2011; Alpes and Spire 2014; Hoag and Hull 2017). Bureaucracies thus emerge as "terrains of lived experience" (Hoag 2014, 411) mediated by habits, emotions, and personal needs that orient how individuals behave (Hoag 2011).

In contrast with the stable apparatus of Weber's ideal bureaucracy, this study demonstrates that the uses and interpretations of a given policy are contingent upon unregulated interactions among a diverse set of actors. From this perspective, an analysis of policy appropriation in bureaucratic settings provides great insight into the mechanisms by which the supremacy of the state and its public officials are constantly negotiated.

BACKGROUND: FOR A NEW FATHERLAND, A REFURBISHED EDUCATION SYSTEM

The election of Rafael Correa Delgado as president transformed Ecuador's education landscape. Before Correa's election, the country's school system was obsolete (Cevallos and Bramwell 2015). The lack of a solid public expenditure system, coupled with an outdated legal framework, meant there were insufficient funds to guarantee school access for all. The state's weak educational capacity was particularly evident in its inadequate school infrastructure, disparate school distribution across the nation, an irrelevant national curriculum, lack of accountability mechanisms, and a devalued teaching profession (Cevallos and Bramwell 2015; Baxter 2016; Schneider, Cevallos, and Bruns 2019). Access to education was simply out of reach for many Ecuadorians.

Correa's politics of redistribution, which were based on a nationalist platform, were evident in his vision for a strong education system capable of dictating and implementing policy across the nation. Taking advantage of favorable economic conditions, particularly the surge in the price of Ecuador's oil exports, Correa's political agenda prioritized education reform that positioned education as both a human right and a public service (Cevallos and Bramwell 2015; Schneider et al. 2019).

One of the first measures Correa's education team took was to endorse the *Plan Decenal,* the Ten-Year Education Plan that was the product of consultations with various civil society organizations and confirmed by popular vote in 2006 (Ministerio de Educación 2007; Luna Tamayo 2014). After decades of short-term mandates, Correa's education plan finally offered the nation a long-term vision for the sector and a new role for the Ministry of Education. With the Plan Decenal, the ministry shifted from being a mere administrator of public funds to a generator of education policy (Baxter 2016). Of the eight policies proposed in the Plan Decenal, four prioritized educational access. The public commitment to school access for all regardless of national status was added to the principle

of universal citizenship instituted in Ecuador's 2008 constitution. This created a public dialogue about the promise of educational access for all children and youth between ages five and eighteen.[3] Data show that a dramatic increase in school enrollment across ethnic lines and geographic location was a direct result of the public commitment to school access (Araújo and Bramwell 2015; Schneider et al. 2019). According to Ecuador's National Survey on Employment, Unemployment, and Underemployment (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos 2017), the gross enrollment rates for primary schooling, basic education, and secondary education during Correa's presidency surged more than five percentage points each, while the average years of schooling completed rose from 9.3 to 10.17.[4]

In contrast to other countries in the region, Ecuador's constitution grants immigrants the same political rights as nationals, including access to education (Góngora-Mera, Herrera, and Müller 2014); in this context, migratory status does not create differential opportunities to enter school. This perspective on universal access to education was institutionalized through two ministerial accords signed in 2007 and refined in 2008 by then-minister of education Raúl Vallejo. The accords stated that all migrants, regardless of status, could enroll in primary, basic, and secondary education at the level corresponding to their knowledge, skills, and age (see Rodríguez-Gómez 2018). To reduce the cost of education, the 2008 accord abolished the authentication of academic report cards and stated that all bureaucratic procedures related to education should be free of charge. A child needed to provide only two documents to register: an identification card and proof of their residential address, usually a utility bill. Schools were required to grant temporary enrollment even if a potential student had no documentation.[5]

Ecuador's education system underwent an extreme reform in 2010 to modernize the education sector with a new model of education management. The main goal of the reform was to "renovate processes and automate procedures to improve the service to the public" (Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador n.d.). Underpinned by principles of "efficiency, promptness, and coverage," the education ministry

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3   Compulsory education in Ecuador has three levels: early childhood (from 3 to 5 years old), basic education (from 5 to 15 years old), and secondary education (from 15 to 18 years old) (Registro Oficial: Órgano de la República del Ecuador 2011).

4   In this period, the gross enrollment rates for primary education surged from 93.17 to 97.45 percent, basic education from 91.39 to 96.06 percent, and secondary education from 51.18 to 70.80 percent (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos 2017).

5   In July 2019, Ecuador's president Lenín Moreno Garcés established a new visa for Venezuelans, but this change in migratory policy has not affected education policies or procedures to access to school. To obtain a humanitarian visa, as it was coined in Presidential Decree No. 826, applicants must create an online profile before their arrival, fill out a form, provide a criminal record report, attend an interview in Caracas, Bogotá, or Lima, and pay a US$50 fee (Registro Oficial: Órgano de la República del Ecuador 2019).

opted to decentralize education management. In the new model, public officials were distributed at four national levels: two vice ministries, five coordinators, eight sub-secretariats, and thirty-seven boards. There also were four regional and local levels: education zones, districts, circuits, and public schools. In the new model, the national level retained control of policy-making, while the zone, district, circuit, and school levels delivered education services.

Following the principles of the New Management Model launched during the 2013-2014 academic year, the enrollment process had three successive steps: registration, allocation, and verification. Understanding this sequence enables us to comprehend more fully how refugee youth and their families navigated educational access. During registration, the *Coordinación Zonal* (Zone Coordination) provided enrollment services across the country, normally at schools listed on the Ministry of Education website. This process was mandatory for all students entering the public education system for the first time, which included children ready to attend early childhood classes and the first year of basic education, those who wished to transfer from private to public institutions, those who had dropped out of school, and recently arrived migrants. Proof of residential address and identity were required; a national identity card or passport was valid identification for the children of migrants. Street-level bureaucrats were responsible for uploading students' personal information onto the system platform, which automatically assigned students to a school near their home address. Students and their families were expected to look online to find out which school they had been assigned to.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS IN CONTEXT

Methods and Participants

This article draws from an extended case study (Burawoy 2009) based on 13 months of fieldwork carried out in 2013 and 2014 in two public schools and at two NGOs in Ecuador, specifically in Quito and in La Misericordia, a small town on the northern border between Colombia and Ecuador. Because of the extensive network of governmental and non-governmental organizations that provide educational access at the various levels of public administration, I focus on the data I collected in Quito. More specifically, I analyze the interviews I conducted with parents, out-of-school youth, students with diverse migratory status, and public employees from the education sector.

I chose as my site the Antonio Garzón School, a public middle and high school with capacity for 650 students, which is located on the top of a hill in central Quito and is surrounded by stunning views of the Andes. I selected this site because it was identified by government authorities and UNHCR as a school with a large number of refugees. Recognizing the high risk of dropping out of school associated with young people between ages 12 and 16, coupled with the lack of studies on this age group, I conducted in-depth interviews with students enrolled in the ninth and tenth grades who had refugee status.

Aware that interviews in a school setting would not give me information about youth who could not access school, I volunteered with two international NGOs engaged in refugee education, where I co-led two informal educational workshops for migrant and non-migrant youth. To capture multiple experiences with the education bureaucracy, I interviewed parents and youngsters of the age noted above who represented a broad range of educational backgrounds, including a lack of access to education, intermittent access to education, and access to accelerated learning programs.

To gain a better understanding of encounters between youth, their families, and street-level bureaucrats, I interviewed civil employees directly involved in educational access. At the municipal level, I interviewed the key person responsible for school access in the district that oversaw the Antonio Garzón School. At the Ministry of Education, I interviewed two education policy-makers well known for their roles in universalizing education access. In this paper, I focus on the interviews I conducted with an undocumented youth living in Quito who was born in Colombia, two Colombian youth who had applied for refugee status (asylum seekers), eight Colombian youth with refugee status, ten parents of refugee students, two street-level bureaucrats, and two policy-makers.

Before every interview, I obtained written and oral consent, showed participants how to stop the digital audio recorder if they did not feel comfortable with something they said being recorded, and put the recorder in a visible, accessible place. All names included in this article are pseudonyms, some selected by the participants. During the interviews I asked questions that would enable me to understand how different actors conceptualized and experienced access to school. In interviews with parents and youth, I gathered detailed accounts of their trips to and interactions at different bureaucratic institutions. I took time to learn about the incongruent instructions they received and the amount of time and money they invested during the process of gaining access to school. In my interviews with street-level bureaucrats, I focused on the inconsistencies between written policies

and bureaucratic practice. I also paid careful attention to the bureaucratic devices that mediated interactions between the different actors, such as certifications, stamps, letters, and the Ministry of Education's enrollment platform.

Data Analysis

I conducted all interviews in Spanish, and they were then transcribed by a native Spanish speaker and myself. During the data analysis, I established and engaged in a comparative analysis across levels (institutional, municipal, and national) and type of educational access (in school, out of school). I coded my interview transcripts in NVivo by combining the etic codes from my research proposal with the emic codes that emerged while reading my data. The focus on these two comparative dimensions throughout the analytic process was not accidental, and it reflected my own preoccupation with the tension between the promises made in written documents and the many ways individuals across the education system made use of them.

Positionality

During my time in Quito, my Colombian nationality became a salient aspect of my identity. Due to my nationality, Ecuadorians across the socioeconomic strata perceived me as a natural ally to Colombian asylum seekers and refugees, whereas adult Colombians initially approached me with distrust. My position as a researcher from an elite U.S. university emphasized the distance between my experience and the past and present experiences of Colombians living in Quito. This was evident in such things as my ability to travel back home without restrictions and to speak face-to-face with high-ranking government and UNHCR officials. Despite this profound gap, I committed myself to building trust by offering to mediate between participants and the education bureaucracy when barriers to school registration and retention emerged. To reduce this social distance, I also actively sought to establish durable relationships with participants through extended fieldwork at the three main field sites. This long-term commitment not only enhanced my understanding of participants' daily struggles but also made them feel at ease when sharing their experiences with me. The Ecuadorian interviewees, particularly principals and teachers, did not refrain from sharing their biases against Colombian students and their families. During interviews with civil employees and policy-makers, my experience as a bureaucrat in Colombia's Ministry of Education opened new avenues for exploring shared practices and struggles.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is that, during the 13 months of fieldwork, I did not meet with or seek out refugees of any nationality other than Colombian. This is because, despite the recent arrival of refugees and migrants from many countries, the Colombian refugees constituted the vast majority of Ecuador's total refugee population (Cancillería del Ecuador 2019). Whether refugees from different backgrounds might have different bureaucratic encounters is a question that deserves consideration.

Even though recent research shows that gender plays a key role in mediating interactions between street-level bureaucrats and the general public (Alkadry and Tower 2014; Goodsell 2015), none of the seven mothers or three fathers I interviewed suggested that they had experienced gender bias in their encounters with public officials. Despite efforts to include all policy levels in my fieldwork, this study prioritizes the district level because access to the Ministry of Education headquarters was highly restricted, except for high-ranking public officials. This prevented me from interviewing public officials across the seven levels mentioned, which of course is a serious limitation when discussing the many processes that mediate policy appropriation. However, this paper makes a significant contribution to understanding how bureaucratic encounters shape access to school for refugee populations.

FINDINGS

In this section, I foreground the experiences of four groups of actors—high-ranking public officials, street-level bureaucrats, and parents and youth concerned with educational access—to highlight how people interpret and use policy. Three aspects of the mundane processes of policy-making emerge: (1) the tension between bureaucrats' representation of the education system and its daily workings, (2) the random and fragmented nature of policy interpretation in bureaucratic settings, and (3) the convergence of the various strategies and resources refugees employ with respect to education policy.

Organization Charts versus Reality

"Well, my responsibility was to execute the decisions that were made at the national policy level and to roll them out on the ground. I was—how would you say?—the bridge between the policy-makers and the rest of the system. I was connected

with those on top and with the rest of the system; that is, to the schools, colleges, and other educational institutions." This is how Elías, a high-ranking official at the Ministry of Education, described his responsibilities. His response aligned well with the blue-and-white poster hanging next to the ministry headquarters' elevator that depicted the education sector hierarchy. This vertical representation (Ferguson and Gupta 2002) showed that a high-level group does the thinking, a middle-level group creates the programs and tools to operationalize the policy, and a third group implements it.

As a result of the New Management Model, education policy was appropriated by civil employees across the aforementioned seven layers before it reached its beneficiaries. The distance between high-level policy-makers and civil employees was manifested when the former agreed that the latter should not have any trouble following the procedures of the new model. According to those at the top, access to education had not only been established as a right in the Constitution and the Organic Law of Intercultural Education (LOEI), it also was included in Ecuador's General Education Regulations. High-ranking public officials I interviewed reported that they trusted in the power of explicit rules and training workshops to shape civil employees' interpretation of policy content. They assumed that neoliberal managerial guidelines, which included flowcharts, standards, and indicators (Robertson 2012), could map and homogenize bureaucratic practices, yet both of the street-level bureaucrats I interviewed had little or no knowledge of the 796-page manual that condensed all the processes civil employees in the education sector were to undertake in implementing the New Management Model. Furthermore, when I read the manual, I realized that it failed to spell out the access procedures relevant to those with refugee status (see Ministerio de Educación 2013).

Faced with hierarchical demands to implement the policy without proper guidelines, street-level bureaucrats improvised when adapting their practice to the regulatory frameworks discussed at the ministry headquarters. In this context, civil employees appeared to be overwhelmed by the need to provide hasty solutions to problems they did not foresee. The perspectives of high-level public officials on how policy was put into practice contrasted with the daily struggles of civil employees and the difficulties individuals with refugee status encountered in trying to gain access to school. I highlight some of these tensions as revealed in the testimony of Camilo, the person responsible for providing school access in the district where the Antonio Garzón School was located.

Contrary to Weber's (1946) ideal model of bureaucracy, wherein officials are appointed according to strict criteria and credentials, conversations with education stakeholders showed that the expansion of the education system during Correa's presidency created a new professional path that took many teachers out of the public schools and into governmental offices. For instance, the Ministry of Education transferred Camilo from a school computer laboratory in central Quito to an education district. Even though he saw the promotion as an opportunity for professional growth, he felt frustrated by the broad range of responsibilities that fell on his shoulders and the lack of training to prepare him for the position. Camilo's office responsibilities in many ways did not map onto the processes defined by the official flowcharts that made high-ranking public officials proud. He had 84 schools and approximately 20,600 students under his jurisdiction and his daily tasks covered a broad range of activities, including fixing colleagues' computers, developing software solutions with the national team at the Ministry of Education headquarters, and helping parents register and transfer their children from one institution to another.

Camilo was knowledgeable about the general steps that were meant to guarantee access to school, as they were spelled out in the LOEI. Nevertheless, he expressed some doubt when we discussed the procedures for those with refugee status. "To be honest with you," he said, "I do not know how the situation is under the new procedures. It is a delicate procedure, given the lack of official documentation." Then, in an attempt to offer more information, he added,

> but we try to allocate schools the best we can, we try to guide them, we try to help people, but the lack of documents is an inconvenience. For example, the old procedures accepted passports, but many migrants came without a passport. They only brought the refugee identification card. With the refugee identification card you cannot confirm the person's information and enroll him.

This testimony evidences a tension between Camilo's willingness and personal commitment to facilitate access to school for all and how he interacted with individuals with refugee status who did not have a passport. Even though he acknowledged his limited understanding of education policy, he did not foresee that he could be the one who prevented a potential student from entering the education system. Despite the fact that official policy allowed students to register using the refugee ID card issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human

Mobility, Camilo felt that this ID did not establish the holder's identity and he therefore did not see it as an official document. When I asked if he had received any training in providing access to school for immigrants, he responded that he had not, which contrasted with high-ranking officials' assumptions. He acknowledged that he received some emails with instructions but did not read them.

Piecemeal Interpretations of Educational Access Policies

The daily drawbacks Camilo reported align well with the experiences shared by parents in this study. Although education policies had a comprehensive approach to providing educational access, its interpretation by public officials was fragmented. Street-level bureaucrats' imprecise policy interpretations implied that the processes those with refugee status had to follow to secure access to education were costly and rarely straightforward.

In 2013, the Ministry of Education decided to carry out a massive information campaign for the broad public about gaining access to school. The campaign included broadcast media, print media, and the internet. While high-level public officials said the communications strategy was successful, parents with limited access to public media were left behind. Karla, for example, who was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, did not own a TV or radio, subscribe to newspapers, or have a computer. Since arriving from Buenaventura in the Colombian Pacific region, her family had lived in Quito in dire poverty. Their lack of knowledge about the Ecuadorian education system prevented them from accessing the list of institutions that provided reliable information about school enrollment. Instead, to obtain a place in school for both of her children, Karla learned about the intricacies of school enrollment through an unofficial source: her Colombian neighbor. This person took Karla to the school where she enrolled her own children, introduced Karla to the school principal, and helped her collect what she thought were all the necessary documents, 13 in total. With that dossier and her two children in tow, Karla went to the Ministry of Education headquarters, which her neighbor had recommended she do. When Karla arrived, the receptionist continued to put on her makeup as she informed Karla that she was at the wrong institution. In narrating what she went through, Karla emphasized that "she did not look at my face, she did not even check the documents." Karla's home address meant she had to go to the enrollment center in Tarqui, almost one hour away from the ministry headquarters. It was late in the day when Karla finally arrived in Tarqui, and the civil servants there told her she should come back the next day, as they were closing soon. Karla, who was unemployed, had spent a full day of her time and US$10 on transportation and lunch for herself and her two children.

Karla arrived in Tarqui early the next day, again with her children. The first civil servant Karla spoke to rejected all the documents in her dossier based on her migratory status as an asylum seeker. In so doing, the employee displayed the authority of the state and diminished the value of the documents as a means to gain access to school. Aware that arguing with a civil servant would not be productive, Karla decided to take advantage of the free time her unemployment gave her and to spend as much time as necessary to enroll both of her children in school. She left the office, then returned and got in line again. On her second time through the line, another civil employee greeted her with a friendly, "Welcome to my country," and reviewed each document she presented. This time the documents served as mediators between Karla and the Ecuadorian state and the employee recognized the documents' validity as a means to access school. When the first employee noticed that Karla was back, he told his colleague that he could not register Karla's children because she did not have a valid identification card. After a short dispute, the second employee told Karla not to worry, "This is just bureaucracy," and he promised to process her paperwork that day. The tension between the two street-level bureaucrats demonstrates that access to education can depend on individuals' discretion.

In the end, Karla noticed that the second bureaucrat used only some of the documents to enroll her children—her own asylum-seeker identification card, the children's birth certificates and academic reports, and her paid water bill. Before issuing the document certifying that Karla's children had been enrolled, the employee used an informal tone to ask Karla, "Which grade should we send her to?" He felt that Karla's daughter was too tall for her age and grade level, and he decided that both children, despite the authenticity of their Colombian academic reports, had to take placement exams. In this case, the civil employee selectively obeyed different sections of the regulations, which shows the unpredictable character of encounters with civil employees.

In such encounters between civil employees and refugees, the latter are socialized as beneficiaries of the Ecuadorian state. In this context, gaining access to school implies having a series of unpredictable interactions with civil employees. In her encounters, Karla experienced indifference, negligence, solidarity, camaraderie, and distrust. Her testimony reveals not only the uncertainties she endured throughout the process but also the vertical power relations between street-level bureaucrats and the public they serve. Her case illustrates how two interpretations of the same policy can yield opposite results.

For Access: All Resources Are Valid

In contrast to Karla, who only spent two days navigating the system, Octavia, the mother of two middle schoolers with refugee status, spent 13 days and about US$50 travelling between different offices of the education system. The fact that institutions operating at the national, municipal, and district level are all found in Quito makes the procedure more confusing. Octavia's experience reveals the amount of time and money people with refugee status spend in big cities like Quito to guarantee that their children have access to school. Here is her story:

> It was very hard. I was like a puppet. First I went to the school, but they couldn't give me a place because first I had to be registered. They said that that was something new, so I told them to give me the document to present, and the answer was that they couldn't do that. From the school I was sent to the district offices located in La Carolina to register. From the district office they sent me to Pomasqui, but from Pomasqui they sent me to the Ministry of Education because I was Colombian, and from the ministry I was sent back once again to Pomasqui. I spent about 13 days on that. When at Pomasqui they finally realized that they had to register me, they told me that I had to present the citizen's ID card of an Ecuadorian person to register because I was Colombian. But how was I to provide an Ecuadorian citizen's ID card if I am my daughters' representative? I have a refugee's ID card that I always use here, but the answer was no, the system does not accept it. So I went to [an NGO], and Lucero lent me her citizen's ID card number, and the issue was settled.

According to written policy, neither nationality nor migratory status should limit access to school, but in practice they do. There was a mismatch between the number of digits on the refugee identification card and the Ministry of Education's online enrollment platform, which made it difficult for refugee ID cardholders to access school. Some Ecuadorian citizens lent their ID number to individuals with refugee status so they could register their children. Octavia's experience demonstrates the consequences of poorly trained street-level bureaucrats and a non-aligned system, but it suggests most importantly that she had to put together a wide range of resources to guarantee her two daughters a place in school. This made her comfortable enough to ask an NGO staffer for the personal favor of

using her national identification number. Her testimony alludes to the time, money, and considerable amount of social capital she invested in guaranteeing her children educational access.

Of the eight parents I interviewed who had refugee status, six managed to guarantee access to school for all of their children. Carolina, an undocumented mother of two, explained that she was able to register her youngest child because the school principal helped her with the registration process but that she did not have the same luck with Juan, her eldest son. Carolina's fruitless travels to the education district made the search for a school economically unsustainable, as every journey meant forgoing earnings and incurring costs. After three months of bureaucratic roundabouts and feeling desperate about her lack of success, Carolina asked her mother in Cali, Colombia, to take Juan back from Quito to Cali so he could enter school in his hometown. Her lack of financial resources and weak support network compelled her to send him back to the same region from which they had been forcibly displaced a few months earlier.

For Milena, the mother of 16-year-old Wilson and four other children, the experience of trying to enroll her children in school was very disappointing. While she was able to enroll her three youngest, her two older sons, Wilson and Cristiano, were still without access to school after nine months in Ecuador. According to Milena, their ethnic background as Afro-Colombians and their age (both were teenagers) added layers of exclusion to the bureaucratic process. Milena agreed that street-level bureaucrats had shown little willingness to help her process their documents and also claimed that the schools did not have space to accommodate them. For migrants like Karla, Octavia, Carolina, and Milena, who have little or no experience with Ecuadorian education institutions and only modest financial resources, obtaining access to school for their children proved difficult and resource consuming.

Toward the end of my fieldwork period, I visited five registration sites established for the 2014-2015 enrollment process, accompanied by refugee parents. The civil employees we encountered answered parents' questions cordially and shared a brochure printed by the Ministry of Education and the Sub-Secretariat of the District of Quito. In contrast to the information the ministry had published on its official website for the 2013-2014 enrollment period, this brochure included the access requirements for migrants, now broadly defined as "those who had entered or returned to the country." However, the list of requirements included a report of the last academic year completed and specified that the report had to

be notarized with an official stamp. The brochure did not specify that citizens of signatory countries of the Andrés Bello Covenant—an international agreement on educational, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation between eight countries, including Colombia—did not have to certify their academic reports (Article 166, LOEI; Registro Oficial: Órgano de la República del Ecuador 2011). One of the five public servants we talked with had advised one mother to visit a notary public to get an official signature on her son's academic reports. He could not give any information about the cost; he suggested that she inquire directly at the Ministry of Education. This is a common example of the new bureaucratic hurdles future families with refugee status will likely face.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Policy is often defined as a set of official guidelines. By obscuring how education stakeholders understand and enact (or don't enact) a set of rules, this definition separates policy content from policy appropriation. In this study, to avoid this fallacy and highlight the ways policy-makers, street-level bureaucrats, and those with refugee status interact with education policy, I situated policy as an everyday activity whereby actors with diverse and sometimes contradictory interests meet in bureaucratic arenas to achieve their own purposes. This study illustrates that education policy does not take shape in a social vacuum; on the contrary, it is molded at the intersection of education reform, legal frameworks and regulations, institutional arrangements, official documents, and human interests. As refugees interpret policy content and interact with street-level bureaucrats, they assess their chances of success and use a wide range of strategies to push policy in their favor.

By revealing the intricacies of gaining school access for refugees in Quito, this paper explores the gap between how high-ranking officials think the education system works and how it actually operates outside the Ministry of Education headquarters. Those at the top of these hierarchical bureaucratic systems tend to have the illusion that their guidelines will be followed down the chain, but this is not always the case. To compound the problem, the greater the distance between high-ranking officials and street-level bureaucrats, the greater the potential for misunderstandings, tensions, and incongruities. In keeping with new contributions from anthropological studies of the state, the cases of Karla, Olivia, Carolina, and Milena point out the limitations of Weber's (1946) ideal model of bureaucracy as a highly rational entity where activities required by the state and its beneficiaries "are distributed in a fixed way as official duties" (196). The

testimonies of public officials and the four women highlight the tensions between representations of bureaucracy as a rational, neutral, and efficient apparatus and the indeterminacy, unpredictability, and opacity of its daily workings. The data presented in this paper show that the recent education reform in Ecuador is experienced in manifold ways; whereas some felt confident that the changes in policy would trickle smoothly down the tiers of the education system, testimonies from street-level bureaucrats and those in search of access to education provide evidence that they did not.

Despite Ecuador's comprehensive education policy, which promises access to school for all regardless of migratory status, at the street level this policy is not interpreted as such. Distrust of refugees was clearly manifested in school enrollment procedures; despite the regulations and procedures framing access to school, the actual scrutiny of the four women's documents was not objective or impersonal. The street-level bureaucrats, including school administrators, interpreted the documents according to their own understanding of policies and regulations. Public officials can arbitrarily prioritize some documents over others, and those from official institutions, such as the Ministry of Education, were perceived as more trustworthy than others, which directly shaped refugee children's opportunities to enter school. In addition to their lack of proper training, time constraints, and insufficient information, the discretion these bureaucrats used was mediated by their poor understanding of the reasons and conditions of forced migration, all of which limited their capacity to respond to individual cases correctly and efficiently. Therefore, migratory status and a lack of documents are not in themselves barriers to school access in Ecuador. Rather, they became barriers when high-ranking officials and those doing the work on the ground missed the opportunity to align the state's technical tools at all levels and fully implement its inclusive legal framework.

Knotty bureaucracies are costly for users in terms of time, money, and effort. Participants in this study alluded to the various resources they invested in their search for educational access, including knowledge of the system, time, money, and social relationships—resources that were not equally available to all. In using these resources, they displayed great agency in creating opportunities for their children to enter school. However, their commitment to their children's education was constrained by factors beyond their control. The data from this study illustrate that, in addition to street-level bureaucrats' discretion, factors linked to socioeconomic status (for Carolina) and age, gender, and race (for Milena) defined and limited the opportunities of young people with refugee status to enter

school. Their cases illustrate how migratory status intersects with poverty, race, age, and gender to limit educational opportunities. Clearly, the unpredictability of bureaucracies has the potential to exclude the most marginalized children from the education system.

This research has two implications for the EiE field. First, it invites practitioners and scholars to examine the actors, spaces, and practices behind the barriers to education faced by displaced children and youth. To do so, however, it is necessary to go beyond a list of obstacles and pay careful attention to the everyday bureaucratic practices that prevent children from gaining access to school. In-depth interviews are useful in this endeavor, as they interrupt assumptions of access to education as a universal path and reveal the localized and nuanced nature of efforts to enroll in school. This research also positions street-level bureaucrats as key education stakeholders and demonstrates through interviews that refugees living in Quito experienced access to school as an unpredictable space where rules were enforced according to bureaucrats' individual interpretations. In the EiE field, references to the government tend to foreground policy-makers, but this study highlights the central role street-level bureaucrats can play in the interpretation and implementation of education policy.

By analyzing different facets of state bureaucracy—education policy reform, the structure of the education system, bureaucratic documents, and, of course, street-level bureaucrats—this study illustrates how education policies that promise free access to school for all are not enough. Policy frameworks need well-aligned bureaucracies that are capable of fulfilling their promises and street-level bureaucrats who have a clear understanding of the conditions that cause forced migration and the procedures that frame access to school for this population. To achieve this, policy "check-ins," where civil employees across multiple layers of public administration meet to verify the consistency of the procedures put in place and assess their relevance to potential state beneficiaries, including refugees, could be helpful. Laws, decrees, manuals, process maps, flowcharts, software, and public materials should all convey well-aligned information, and training programs should be mandatory for incoming and current civil employees so they can hone their judgment without jeopardizing any children's opportunity to access school. These two initiatives should be supported by strong documentation and communication practices that reach not only those in government offices but also those who, because of their life circumstances, perceive the state and the services it provides as beyond their reach.

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WHEN THE PERSONAL BECOMES THE PROFESSIONAL: EXPLORING THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF SYRIAN REFUGEE EDUCATORS

Elizabeth Adelman

ABSTRACT

Teachers play a central role in supporting students whose lives have been disrupted by crisis, yet the teachers providing education to refugee students often are refugees themselves. This article explores how being a teacher influences the experience of being a refugee and, conversely, how the experience of being a refugee influences the teacher's role. I present portraits of two Syrian educators living as refugees in Lebanon who are working to educate refugee students. I find that that these two educators struggle to balance their teaching obligations with the realities of living as refugees themselves. While global frameworks depict refugee educators as having the power to prepare a new generation of Syrian students, these educators feel powerless to transcend the social, economic, and political barriers constructed around them in Lebanon. In their personal lives, these educators struggle with a loss of hope and psychological exhaustion, yet they are expected, and expect themselves, to project hopefulness and psychological strength in the classroom. While the educators welcome the opportunity to reclaim a professional identity, their work often leaves them with a sense of frustration and loss. These findings support the need to improve the support provided refugee teachers.

INTRODUCTION

Dalia, a soft-spoken 26-year-old, appears many years older as she recounts the exact moment her family decided to leave Syria, due to the ongoing conflict.[1] "A rocket landed right next to our house . . . The glass was scattered and everyone was screaming; I will never forget the scene." Since arriving in Lebanon as a refugee, Dalia has worked as a teacher in a non-formal school for Syrian refugee students.[2] Dalia knows her experiences of being a refugee and being a teacher of refugees are intertwined, and she describes how she tries to separate her work from the personal difficulties of her past and her present. "When I enter the class, I leave everything behind and enter with the mentality that we are coming to school to learn, have fun, and play," she explains. Dalia has chosen this approach, as it gives her a necessary respite from the personal challenges she struggles with as a refugee. However, Dalia also realizes that her refugee experiences guide the pedagogical decisions she makes in the classroom and enable her to make a strong connection with her students. Framed within the concept of teacher identity, this paper explores the ways teachers like Dalia negotiate the tensions inherent in the experience of teaching while being a refugee, and how this process influences their work and their well-being.

Teachers play a central role in supporting students whose lives have been disrupted by crisis (Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies [INEE] 2010; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] 2012; Winthrop and Kirk 2008). However, the teachers providing education to a refugee population often are refugees themselves (Kirk 2010; Penson 2013; Sesnan et al. 2013). Being both refugees and teachers, these individuals negotiate a continual tension between the expectations of their professional roles and the limitations inherent in their position as refugees. As educators, they are figures of authority and knowledge who are expected to support students' academic and social development and emotional recovery (INEE 2010; UNHCR 2012; Winthrop and Kirk 2008). As refugees, their positions in their host communities in a country of exile are often marginalized. Teachers face many of the same difficult realities of living in exile as their students, including loss of home and family, economic stress, and continued uncertainty about their future (Sesnan et al. 2013).

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1   Schools and participants have been given pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

2   In this paper, non-formal schools refers to programs implemented outside of the formal public school system (Coombs and Ahmed 1974).

Much of the literature related to refugee teachers focuses on system-level challenges, such as the supply and retention of teachers, and on classroom-level challenges, including language of instruction and pedagogical approaches (Burde et al. 2015; Mendenhall et al. 2015; Richardson, MacEwen, and Naylor 2018; West and Ring 2015). Overlooked within the research on refugee teachers is an exploration of teacher identity formation, a crucial element in the way teachers define and develop their work (Day et al. 2006). This paper considers how tensions between their personal and professional experiences shape refugee teachers' identities and, as a result, influence their abilities in the classroom, their commitment to the profession, and their emotional well-being. This research draws from interviews with 42 Syrian educators who are living as refugees in Lebanon and educating refugees enrolled in non-formal schools. For the teachers in this study, experiences of displacement and loss of identity, tensions between professional agency and personal powerlessness, and the dissonance between teaching hope while personally experiencing hopelessness had important bearing on how they approached their responsibilities and imagined their own futures. I present the main findings from this research through the narratives of two of these educators, Alma and Haroun. These portraits provide a nuanced understanding of the processes through which refugee educators reconcile their different personal and professional identities as refugees and teachers, and the specific contextual circumstances that shape their teaching.

This research extends the study of teacher identity, explored most often in Western settings, into the context of refugee education, where educators' personal experiences as refugees often collide with the professional expectations they face as teachers. By exploring the relative importance of professional identity formation in circumstances significantly different from those in which these themes have traditionally been studied, it also adds to the existing theoretical perspectives on occupational identity formation, wherein the influence of sociocultural contexts and other primary identities such as gender, religion, and nationhood is recognized but has never been studied relative to the refugee experience (Phinney and Baldelomar 2011). Furthermore, understanding how refugee teachers' identities are shaped and formed, and how these identities are tried and tested, suggests that there are more effective ways to support refugee teachers in their work and in their personal lives.

TEACHER IDENTITY: PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONAL

Teacher identity is a key influence on how teachers work, learn, and develop within their profession (Day et al. 2007; Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, and Bransford 2005). However, scholars have yet to agree on a precise definition of teacher identity (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009; Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop 2004; Sfard and Prusak 2005). Instead, most research on teacher identity focuses on how it is constructed. Identity formation collapses boundaries between the personal and the professional (Alsup 2006), suggesting that professional identity is influenced by and constructed from "personal histories, patterned behavior, and future concerns" (Akkerman and Meijer 2011, 316). Expanding on this understanding, Sachs (2005) argues that teacher identity is "negotiated through experience" as teachers develop "their own ideas of 'how to be,' 'how to act,' and 'how to understand' their work and their place in society" (15). Experience and emotion are essential components of the discussion of professional identity in general. However, key to teacher identity formation in particular is the interaction of experiences and emotions situated both within and outside the professional sphere. This framing suggests two different aspects of teacher identity, one entwined with professional responsibility and one related to personal experience. Considering teacher identity formation through the lens of refugeehood unearths more complex ways these two spheres may interact. Furthermore, situating teacher identity within the dynamic relationship between professional and personal experiences aligns with the important influence this construct has on teachers' practice and development.

In the last few decades, extensive research has sought to understand teacher identity formation as an essential mechanism for improving individuals' preparation for the teaching profession, for supporting professional growth and motivation, and for strengthening connections and relationships across the profession (Akkerman and Meijer 2011; Rodgers and Scott 2008). The ways teachers develop and form their identities as educators also have an impact on their effectiveness in the classroom, particularly in terms of how they relate to their students and how they adjust their practice and their beliefs to meet the diverse and changing needs of learners (Day et al. 2006). Teacher identity is also linked to teacher agency, understood here as an educator's ability to pursue the goals they value in their classroom and in their profession (Day et al. 2006). Feeling confident and comfortable in "how to be," "how to act," and "how to understand" empowers teachers' sense of agency and enhances their ability to implement new ideas, bring positive change to the classroom, and continue their professional growth (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009; Olsen 2008).

Teacher identity also is strongly related to their personal development, particularly in terms of emotional well-being. Developing a positive professional identity supports a teacher's self-esteem, self-efficacy, and ability to adapt and persevere in the face of challenging and changing circumstances (Day et al. 2006; Gu and Day 2007). However, when a teacher's well-being is jeopardized or simply not prioritized, their investment in and commitment to their professional identity, and thus to their work, is weakened (Day and Leitch 2001). The importance of teacher well-being relative to their professional practice has been well documented in Western contexts (see, for example, Lam 2019; Duckworth, Quinn, and Seligman 2009; Collie et al. 2015), and various interventions have been designed to foster teacher development, including professional learning communities, mentoring opportunities, and stress management support (Naghieh et al. 2015; Wenger 1998).

In contrast, research on mechanisms to support teachers' well-being in contexts of conflict and forced migration, where the stress and strain they experience is arguably heightened, is limited (Falk et al. 2019). Studies in these settings suggest that strengthening social support, working conditions, and professional development opportunities for teachers can have a positive influence on their well-being (Falk et al. 2019; Frisoli 2014; Kirk and Winthrop 2008; Wolf, Torrente, McCoy et al. 2015; Wolf, Torrente, Frisoli et al. 2015). Yet, there is a scarcity of studies exploring the specific experience of refugee teachers' identity formation (see, for example, Kirk 2010; Penson 2013; Sesnan et al. 2013). What data are available suggest that refugee teachers face challenges that impact both their personal and professional identity formation. These include personal difficulties such as struggles with poverty, discrimination by members of the host community, and the psychological strain of managing loss and displacement (Falk et al. 2019; Sesnan et al. 2013). Refugee teachers also are often unable to work in host country schools, due to social, political, or language barriers. They instead find positions in non-government schools or schools serving only refugees, which may mean lower pay, longer hours, and less job security (Mendenhall, Gomez, and Varni 2018; Sesnan et al. 2013). Refugee teachers' personal and professional circumstances may also interact with their pedagogical and ideological approaches, which can influence what and how they teach (Lopes Cardozo and Shah 2016). Some teachers' refugee experiences serve as a resource for teaching tolerance and understanding to students who are living in a society divided by conflict. In other settings, however, their backgrounds mark them as outsiders, restrict their agency in class, and hinder their ability to progress professionally (Perumal 2015; Kirk 2010).

TEACHER IDENTITY: TENSIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS

Regardless of geographic location, developing a professional identity is complicated when a teacher feels personally marginalized or like a social outsider. Individual and collective experiences and assumptions related to race, gender, class, and, in this case, refugee status impact the ways teachers experience their work. This points out the importance of considering how broader contextual settings and social relationships influence teachers' personal and professional identities (Alsup 2006). The tension and discord inherent in pairing the identity of teacher with the identity of woman have been deeply explored in the North American and European literature (see, for example, Acker 1989; Casey 1993; Dillabough 1999; Munro 1998). Walkerdine (1990) suggests that female teachers in Western society embody an "impossible fiction" (19), a contradiction between the identity of teacher, which is associated with power, authority, status, and respect, and the position of woman, which is often seen as secondary, subservient, powerless, and marginalized. Kirk (2004) extends the concept of impossible fiction beyond Western settings to explore the personal and professional experiences of female teachers working in Pakistan. The author argues that impossible fiction describes not a state of irreconcilable differences but "a constant tension between possibility and impossibility," as well as the "fact and fiction" (379) inherent in the work of women teachers relative to broader policy aims and expectations. Kirk demonstrates the considerable disconnect between what she refers to as the official conceptualization of the role of women teachers in general and the lived experiences of women teachers in Pakistan.

For refugee teachers working with refugee students, the tension between possible and impossible, powerful and powerless is often magnified. In their professional roles as teachers of refugees, these educators are considered important members of the school community: individuals who have the knowledge, power, and agency to ensure the growth and development of a generation of children (Kirk and Winthrop 2008; Vongalis-Macrow 2006; Winthrop and Kirk 2008). They also are expected to impart academic knowledge, bring a sense of stability and normalcy to children's lives, promote peace-building and ideals of citizenship, nurture students' psychosocial well-being, and embody a promise of a better future (INEE 2010; United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] 2006; UNHCR 2012; Winthrop and Kirk 2008). Yet, outside of school, in the eyes of the host community, these educators are bound by the "master status" (Gonzales 2015, xix) of refugee, a status that supplants all other experiences and identities. As refugees, these educators are temporarily in a state of limbo and uncertainty, and they often are powerless to alter the structures, policies, and

practices that so sharply mark their experiences of displacement (Penson 2013; Sesnan et al. 2013). How, then, do the experiences of being a refugee and being a teacher intersect? How do refugee teachers navigate the impossible fictions inherent in these identities?

REFUGEES IN LEBANON

Since 2011, Syria has experienced devastating violence and destruction. Between 2011 and 2018, more than 400,000 individuals lost their lives on account of the civil war (Human Rights Watch 2018). Lebanon currently hosts close to one million registered Syrian refugees (UNHCR 2018); the exact number is unknown and is likely higher, as the government suspended the registration of new refugees in May 2015 (UNHCR, United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], and World Food Programme [WFP] 2017). In Lebanon, refugees face political, social, and economic barriers that significantly impact their ability to live and work in the country. Because the Government of Lebanon (GoL) is not a signatory to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Syrians residing in Lebanon are not legally recognized as refugees under international law. The GoL permits individuals seeking safety to reside in the country, but it exercises its right to implement laws that restrict their legal and living conditions. For example, Syrian refugees must obtain a legal residency permit to remain in Lebanon. Due to the relatively high cost of applying for and renewing residency permits, only 26 percent of Syrian adult refugees have legal residency in Lebanon (UNHCR, UNICEF, and WFP 2017).[3] Many Syrians who lack legal papers limit their movement within the country to avoid military checkpoints and possible deportation (Lebanese Center for Human Rights 2016).

Employment opportunties for Syrian refugees in Lebanon are also severely restricted. They may obtain legal work permits, but only for jobs in construction, agriculture, and cleaning services (Khater 2017). Syrian refugees who are educators are effectively banned from working in official schools. Due to the complexity and cost of obtaining a work permit and the restrictions on the types of positions available, most Syrian refugees work in the informal sector (Errighi and Griesse 2016). For example, refugee educators who want to continue in their profession are allowed to work only in non-formal education centers, where the salaries and job security are often poor.

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3   In 2017, the GoL decided to waive the yearly $200 fee to renew legal residency papers, and it is expected that a greater number of Syrian refugees will now be able to obtain legal status.

Syrian refugees in Lebanon also confront discrimination and xenophobia in public and private spaces (El Gantri and El Mufti 2017). Politicians and media outlets often blame Syrian refugees for Lebanon's worsening economy and continued security concerns, rhetoric that has exacerbated tensions and increased the likelihood of violence toward refugees (Geha and Talhouk 2018; Yahya, Kassir, and El-Hariri 2018). Some municipalities have chosen to close all Syrian-run businesses and implement curfews for the Syrian refugees. Others have forced Syrian refugees out of the community altogether. In addition to systemic discrimination, Syrian refugees commonly report negative encounters with Lebanese citizens, including incidents of harassment, bullying, and physical abuse (Yahya et al. 2018).

METHODOLOGY

In this paper, I explore how being a teacher influences the experience of being a refugee and, conversely, how the experience of being a refugee influences the teacher's role. I demonstrate these influences by presenting portraits of two Syrian refugee educators, Alma and Haroun, who work in different non-formal schools in Lebanon. Portraiture is a qualitative social science methodology that seeks to "capture the richness, complexity, and dimensionality of human experience in social and cultural context" (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis 1997, 3). The portraits of Alma and Haroun provide an intricate understanding of how two individuals make sense of their experiences as refugees and as educators, how they make decisions relative to these experiences, and how the specific social, cultural, and political environments in which they are situated influence these processes.

To construct these portraits, I drew from multiple data sources, including two semi-structured interviews with Alma and three with Haroun, ten full-day visits to Alma's school and twelve to Haroun's. The school visits provided the opportunity to engage in informal conversations with both participants about their work and their lives, and to make seven observations of Alma during meetings with students, teachers, and program staff and eight observations of Haroun teaching. Though I focus on Alma's and Haroun's narratives, this analysis is informed by 42 interviews with refugee educators and 116 school and classroom observations across four non-formal schools, including the two schools where Alma and Haroun worked. I collected data for this research from January 2015 to December 2016, which included 18 months of fieldwork in Lebanon. When I was not in Lebanon, I maintained virtual contact with participants using electronic media such as Skype and WhatsApp. The teachers came from a wide variety

of backgrounds and experience. They had an average of five years of teaching experience. Some (19 percent) had taught for more than ten years, and others (34 percent) started teaching upon becoming a refugee in Lebanon. Almost all the teachers had either graduated from university (74 percent) or completed some higher education (22 percent). The majority of teachers (71 percent) had been living in Lebanon for three to four years, while the rest (29 percent) had arrived one to two years before our contact. Alma's and Haroun's experiences encapsulate the most prevalent themes found across my interviews with educators (a term I use to refer to both teachers and principals): tensions regarding identity, agency, power, and hope. Alma and Haroun also represent the two important demographic groups in my data: educators with families and children to tend to, and educators with no family commitments in Lebanon. In the discussion section below, I draw from the larger set of interviews in order to integrate the voices of other teachers into my findings.

I selected schools based on physical location and educational structure, and with consideration for my safety. Three schools, including where Alma taught, were located in Lebanon's rural Beqaa Governorate, where the majority of Syrian refugees reside. The school where Haroun taught was located in the urban capital of Beirut, which is host to the second largest number of Syrian refugees worldwide (UNHCR 2018). Within these governorates, I focused on locations that my network of friends, family, and colleagues in Lebanon believed were safe enough for me, a woman from the United States, to travel through alone. I also purposefully sought out non-formal schools that aimed to provide a structured education program, as the role of the teachers in these settings was more clearly defined. This criterion significantly reduced the number of possible sites, as most educational programing provided to Syrian refugees outside the public school system does not re-create a formal academic environment. The four non-formal schools in this study followed the Lebanese curriculum using Lebanese textbooks, taught the same core subjects as the Lebanese public schools, and had structured academic goals for each grade level, which students were required to pass. The schools were managed by two nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that had no religious or sectorial affiliations. At each school, I interviewed every teacher and principal interested in participating in this study. I conducted most interviews in Arabic with help from a local translator, while some educators, including Haroun, spoke fluent English. I audio recorded, transcribed, and, when necessary, sent these interviews out for translation. I coded transcripts and field notes using the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti. The final set of codes I used for this analysis included "personal journey," "professional identity," and "envisioning the future."

As this research reflects the experiences of a select group of Syrian refugee teachers working in Lebanon, it is not possible to draw broad generalizations from the findings. The insights these teachers provided are directly related to the conditions they are facing, conditions that may be quite different from refugee teachers working in other countries or even in other settings in Lebanon. However, this research is an important starting point for documenting the relationship between the personal and professional experiences of refugee teachers, and for building a broader understanding of the complexities of their work.

FINDINGS

In this section, I present the portraits of Alma and Haroun. Alma's narrative sheds light on the life-altering event of becoming a refugee and how returning to the role of educator has helped her reestablish an identity lost. Haroun's narrative affords a direct view into the classroom and illuminates the complex interplay between teaching refugee students and being a refugee.

Alma: On Becoming a Refugee Educator

From Beirut, the journey to Lebanon's Beqaa Valley entails a twisting, harrowing drive along the Damascus Highway, up and over the steep Daher Al Baydar mountain range. The highway continues across Lebanon's border and into Syria's capital city of Damascus. The road, an essential artery between the hearts of these neighboring countries, pulsates with a constant stream of cars and trucks, people and goods. Historically, Syrian laborers traveled across the border on a seasonal basis to cultivate the many crops this region produces. However, when the conflict in Syria began, the porous border became an important corridor for flight. Syrians with and without ties to the valley crossed into Lebanon and settled into neighboring communities, staying for years instead of weeks.

Tanmia School is one of a handful of non-formal schools in the Beqaa Valley, all recently opened to serve the sudden influx of refugee students. A long, uneven dirt road runs from the surrounding community to the school, a path that seems to mark separation as opposed to connection. On this morning, four blue-and-white buses bounce along the route and into the school parking lot. Children spill out of the vehicles, their voices infusing the serene surroundings with new energy. Teachers and staff members are careful observers of the ensuing disorder. Alma, the school's principal, is a notable presence among the gathered adults, her broad, strong frame wrapped in a long dark housecoat, her hair hidden under

a soft brown scarf. Students quickly notice her stern glare and within moments are standing single file behind their teachers, waiting their turn to be ushered into the school building.

Alma may be strict with her students, but each time I walk into her office she envelops me in a large embrace, as if our last encounter took place many months ago. Hidden behind Alma's quiet demeanor is an engine of energy and persistence that she continues to fuel, regardless of the challenges set in her path. At the age of 43, she has many professional accomplishments, including earning a degree in electrical engineering, managing a successful family construction business, and working as a teacher in multiple educational settings. This is her second year as the principal of Tanmia School and her fourth year as a refugee in Lebanon.

Today is one of the first times I see Alma's smile melt away, albeit briefly, as she recounts her experience of becoming a refugee in Lebanon, a harrowing tale of back-and-forth migration as she sought to protect the lives and the futures of her children and family. On their first flight, Alma, her husband, their two teenage sons, and young daughter left their home in a Damascus suburb after being informed that the area would soon be raided by local militia. "We were told that we were going to be pulled out of our houses and killed if we did not leave. In half an hour, I left the house that I had been living in for six years." They fled to a family home in a neighborhood a few hours away, not realizing that area was also under attack. After a rocket passed by the kitchen window, Alma took the risky decision to bundle her three children back into the car and flee yet again. "I felt that, at any minute, a rocket was going to hit the house and we were going to die. My son Ahmed put his fish in a glass and my other son brought his birds as well, because he did not want to leave them behind . . . We were in the car in 30 seconds." Together they moved to yet another temporary home.

Despite the escalating violence throughout Syria, Alma struggled with the decision to move her family to Lebanon, as it meant choosing between the need for safety and continuing her children's education. "For me, learning is sacred. I am willing to lose everything, but I want my sons to be educated." After an armed militant pulled her eldest son from their taxi and tried to kill him as she pleaded for his life, Alma finally decided that Syria was simply too dangerous for her children. Alma's husband and younger son crossed the border first while she stayed to enroll her eldest child at a university, the only way to postpone his forced enlistment in the Syrian army. But then, in the middle of the night, her house was raided and the neighborhood bombed. Alma forsook all her family's important paperwork in a terrifying scramble for her life, narrowly escaping down the back steps of the

apartment building, hands tightly entwined with those of her daughter and son, as armed militiamen stomped up the front steps. Alma and her children found shelter that evening and left the next day for Lebanon, knowing they would not be returning to Syria for a long time.

In her flight across the Lebanese border, Alma abandoned more than just documentation. Her identities of electrical engineer, businesswoman, and teacher were left behind in Syria, replaced in Lebanon by the label of "refugee." A combination of national policies prohibiting Syrians from entering the workforce and anti-Syrian discrimination made it difficult for Alma to find decent employment. She first worked in various NGOs, getting a "volunteer" salary of less than US$100 a month from each organization. Her salary in each position was a fraction of what her Lebanese counterparts were earning—a fact Alma found emotionally demeaning. "This used to affect us psychologically because we were working very hard, yet being paid so little." Although she received little economic reward, Alma continued to work, as her identity had for so long been defined by her professional activity.

Navigating the tensions between professional aspirations and societal limitations was not a new experience for Alma. Back in Syria, Alma initially moved into teaching after realizing that, as a woman, her accomplishments as an electrical engineer in her husband's business would always be overlooked. "People only recognize[d] that my husband was the one working. I was invisible." Becoming a teacher brought Alma recognition and personal and professional satisfaction. "I loved teaching . . . I felt that I left a mark by making children happy." Unwilling to abandon the professional identity she had established in Syria, Alma searched for teaching opportunities in Lebanon, despite national labor laws banning her from working in public schools. Looking around her own community, Alma quickly realized that, like her own sons, a high number of refugee children had no access to school. Alma remembered thinking, "Who is going to teach those students?" Appointing herself as the solution, Alma decided to open a school in her living room for out-of-school refugee youth. Her landlord eventually blocked her efforts and closed the school, but, not long after, Alma was contacted by an NGO that was establishing a new non-formal school in the area. She interviewed to be a teacher, but after multiple conversations with the education team, the organization finally convinced Alma to accept a position as the first principal of Tanmia School.

Returning to the role of educator has given Alma a renewed sense of professional accomplishment. Instead of offering classes to a handful of children in her living room, Alma now oversees the education of around 700 refugee students a year, which means, she notes, that "the number of people who are benefiting from my work and expertise is more." Outside school, Alma continues to feel unwelcome in Lebanon, yet inside the school her efforts are appreciated and recognized, even though her salary still is not enough to cover her family's expenses. "I am happy [at school] because I am working with people who respect us . . . Huda [my Lebanese supervisor] is very kind and respectful towards us. She never makes us feel the way other Lebanese people make us feel. Many make us feel humiliated." Alma says that as a refugee she often feels powerless, mistreated, and rejected. Working at Tanmia School has given Alma a sense of professional purpose, a reason to command respect and appreciation, and, in the eyes of some Lebanese, an identity above and beyond that of refugee.

However, the school is also a place that reinforces Alma's refugee status, as it ties her to a space where students, parents, and staff all share this label. At the school, Alma is constantly reminded of the detrimental impact conflict and displacement have had on her community. Teachers have moments of emotional distress, due to their past and present circumstances, at times lashing out at Alma to release their frustration. Many of the families who send their children to Tanmia School face extreme poverty. At harvest time, parents consistently pull their children out of school to work in the fields to augment the family's income, which causes these students to fall far behind in their studies.

In Syria, Alma would never have permitted such treatment by her colleagues or such disregard for the importance of education, but as a refugee in Lebanon she forgives this behavior, as she too struggles to keep control of her emotions and to keep her family clothed and fed. Alma tries to remain hopeful about the future of all her students but finds it difficult to imagine that they will be successful, given the difficult circumstances they face as refugees. Alma is aware of the tension between the hopelessness she feels and the hopefulness she wants her students to experience. Alma worries about the future of her more accomplished students: "I am not 100 percent sure that they will continue their education. To be honest, there are always doors getting closed in their faces." She notes how difficult it has been for Syrian refugees to enroll in secondary school in Lebanon, due to missing documents and the challenges of dealing with English as the language of instruction.

Alma has watched doors close on the future of her own children. While she was able to enroll her daughter in elementary school, Alma has not found space in a secondary school for her younger son and cannot afford university tuition for her elder son. Seeing her sons' education stalled is what Alma says is "bothering me the most in our situation in Lebanon," more than the discrimination she experiences or her strained financial status. As if to compensate for her inability to alter the circumstances facing her own family, Alma works tirelessly to meet the needs of the students in her school, including visiting refugee settlements to encourage families to send their children to school and working closely with parents to support children who show signs of neglect or psychological strain. Many times a year, in order to accommodate the large number of children who return to school after being absent for the harvest, Alma reorganizes the students' classrooms and shifts the teachers to different grade levels. Alma admits that teachers often complain loudly and forcefully when she changes their schedules, frustrated that their own professional agency has been overpowered. These administrative struggles have often left Alma feeling ostracized by the other adults at Tanmia School, a community she would like to look to for support, given their shared experience of refugeehood. However, Alma is willing to accept her circumstances if it means she can provide schooling to more students, which she sees as a personal and professional responsibility. "There are students outside waiting for the chance to be given a pen and paper and be told to come to school. My main mission is to get these students educated, even if it means that my feelings get hurt because of what teachers say. We are grown-ups and can tolerate difficult situations; however, those students have a right to learn and should be educated."

Surrounded by the stress of dealing with teachers and families, Alma admits that, "every once in a while, I feel psychologically tired." At those times, she draws personal strength from her professional accomplishments, finding fuel in her role as an educator to continue supporting those who depend on her both inside and outside the school. "If I am not strong, my family will fall apart, and [so will] all the people who depend on me over here [at the school]." Alma says that she "feel[s] responsible for" the teachers in her school and therefore makes an effort to support them as they process the difficult circumstances they are experiencing. However, there are times when she too wishes "to find a person to listen to my concerns," briefly acknowledging the great emotional strain she hides behind a wall of professionalism.

In my final conversation with Alma, I asked if there was anything more she would like to share regarding her experiences working with refugee students. The question elicited a reflection on her feelings not about her work but about refugeehood. Alma explained, "Even though I have been [in Lebanon] for four years, I do not feel at home. I do not feel comfortable. I feel that we are still suffering from the difficulties" carried from Syria. Despite her efforts to re-establish some semblance of her professional identity, the difficulties she carries from the past alongside the complexities of the present are what define her current experience as a refugee educator. Alma again returned to her struggle of finding hope within hopelessness, noting that, like her students, her own future "is not clear." While she feels great pride in and dedication to her role as an educator, life in Lebanon only continues to become more difficult. Her husband wants to migrate west, a move that would have her yet again negotiating her personal and professional identities. Alma is resigned to this fate, as she knows it is the only opportunity for her children to continue their education. "I think I got my chance out of life," she explains, pointing to her professional accomplishments. Now she must dream for her children.

Haroun: On Teaching Refugees

Irada School is buried deep in the heart of Beirut in one of the most congested and impoverished sections of the city. The area is a maze of narrow streets, packed tight with crumbling apartment buildings, tiny bakeries offering fresh *manoushe* pastries, and small grocery shops stuffed to the ceiling with cans of powdered milk, jars of Nescafé, and other daily necessities. The neighborhood, home to a major Palestinian refugee camp, carries the dark memory of the 1982 massacre of Palestinian civilians during the Israeli invasion of Beirut—arguably the bloodiest episode in Lebanese history. The population in this section of the city has grown significantly since Syrian refugees began entering the neighborhood in search of inexpensive housing, adding additional stress to overcrowded buildings, overstretched public services, and overstrained relationships.

Irada School is housed in a long, narrow cement building in the complex of a well-established NGO. Irada's students and staff members are expected to come and go through the back door so as not to interrupt the classes held for Lebanese students in the other buildings. The first floor of Irada is a large open room, where students line up in the morning and afternoon for general assembly before marching off to class. School staff members and volunteers spent their weekends transforming the space into a place that embraces children and adults alike. The walls are decorated with big, bright, graffiti-style writing; the name "Irada" is

proudly splashed across one, "Syrians forever together" across another. Paintings of flowers, hearts, and peace signs dance around the space. Beirut's familiar soundtrack of honking cars and screeching motorcycles is inaudible here.

Today I knock on the door of Haroun's classroom, and within moments I am greeted with a warm smile. Waving his hands next to his ears, Haroun ushers me into the classroom with a loud, excited, high-pitched "Yaaah! Welcome!" Haroun is in his first year of teaching English in Lebanon. He is in his early twenties, has a wiry build and unkempt curly brown hair. His pale cheeks are stained with a few angry patches of red skin that, according to Haroun, have recently developed due to stress. In class, Haroun's energy is infectious; students buzz around the room and hop in place as they tackle the day's task. Haroun has split his 18 students into two teams; whichever team fills out the worksheet first wins. The children work avidly, huddled over worksheets in deep secrecy, debating the answers in excited whispers, popping up to murmur a question directly into Haroun's ear. One girl sits silently in the middle of the commotion, completely unengaged, watching with a blank, empty expression. Haroun leaves her alone, as do the other students. From my vantage point, she looks like a small statue whose garden has been invaded by a flurry of starlings. Her expression and position remain transfixed, despite the ruffling and chirping surrounding her.

The happy, boisterous personality Haroun projects in the classroom is, as he explains, "a performance" he puts on for his students, with the goal of providing them at least one positive experience among so many difficult ones. Outside of class, as this act falls away, Haroun often appears distracted and on edge, nerves rubbed raw by the ongoing battles and concerns he faces outside of school. Haroun moved to Lebanon from Syria in 2011 to escape the violence encroaching on his city and his impending conscription into the Syrian army. In Lebanon, Haroun may not face the same level of physical danger as he did in Syria, but he carries with him the accumulated stress of past memories and the continual frustrations of present challenges.

As a Palestinian refugee from Syria, Haroun suffers from two tiers of discrimination in Lebanon, one rooted in more than 60 years of history and one triggered by current events. Although he considers himself Syrian, due to complex global politics his travel documents only refer to his Palestinian origins. As such, he shares the same status as any longstanding Palestinian refugee in Lebanon, a group that has been consistently marginalized since they first arrived in the country in 1948 seeking safety from an open-ended conflict. Haroun describes becoming a refugee in Lebanon as living "one disappointment after the other,

after the other, after the other, after the other." He knew leaving Syria "wasn't going to be easy," yet he never anticipated the difficulties he would confront in Lebanon, especially those related to his nationality. Each time Haroun has tried to make plans for his future, such as continuing his education, finding a job, or immigrating to another country, he has found his choices and opportunities blocked by his status as a Palestinian refugee from Syria. He recently had to turn down a scholarship to a university in Malaysia, as Lebanese national security would not let him exit the country without a proper visa, one he could not obtain due to his refugee status. Feeling trapped by his own identity, Haroun has taken to speaking English when interacting with Lebanese people to hide his Palestinian accent and avoid discrimination.

For Haroun, the classroom is one of the few places where he can "mentally disconnect" from the barriers he faces as a refugee and focus on the possibilities he identifies in his role as a teacher. Haroun admits that learning English "is not really the purpose all the time" in his classroom. He focuses instead on providing his students with a sense of structure, consistency, and dependability that, through personal experience, he knows is often absent from their lives as refugees. He regularly strays from the English curriculum to focus on lessons related to self-esteem, self-empowerment, and students' ability to determine their own future. For example, when students complained about the paint peeling from the walls of the classroom, Haroun turned the problem into an opportunity for learning. He told his students, "if a wall is dirty and depressing you . . . just paint over it." His students spent a day pasting large sheets of paper to the wall and decorating them as they wished. Haroun continued to use the wall as an example for months, with the goal of teaching students that they have the power to change things for the better in their own lives. Similarly, after feeling overwhelmed by the experiences of violence and poverty his students told about in the classroom, Haroun began designing activities to help students identify positive aspects of their lives. Recently, he sent his students home with sticky notes and instructions to label five things a day around their homes that made them happy. In an environment where so little is under their control, Haroun wants his students to realize that they do have some power over their own happiness.

In the classroom, Haroun has learned to take his own lessons to heart. He describes how training himself to see "everything in the classroom [as something] that we can control and change . . . is helping me to look at the positive things" in his own life. This change in mindset has brought him a greater appreciation for the community he has around him, for the safety he has found in Lebanon, and for the opportunities he has to grow as a professional at Irada School. Haroun also

describes the strong sense of hope he gleans from just seeing his students smile. The happiness on their faces reminds him that "life will go on . . . there's always going to be challenges that can always be overcome because we can still smile, we can still be here to learn." Haroun reflects, "when they learn a new word, I just feel like I own the world." His students' progress gives Haroun a sense of professional accomplishment and reminds him he actually has something important to contribute to the society around him.

However, Haroun admits that, as the roadblocks in his own life have grown higher, he has found it harder to maintain his positive perspective in the classroom. Lately, he has begun questioning the purpose behind his teaching. "What I'm doing is just insane. It's going nowhere. It's spinning wheels." Haroun cannot help but see that all the cards are stacked against his students and, by extension, himself. "I need to believe that they have a bright future, but then there [are] so many, so many overwhelming factors" that stand in the way of their happiness. While the school, the classroom, and the teachers may offer momentary protection, the fact remains that Haroun's students are poor Syrian refugees who, with little support at home, are struggling to learn. Regardless of the skills he develops or the community he creates, Haroun will never be able to live or work freely in Lebanon. He initially thought their shared refugee background equipped him to teach his students, but after spending time in the classroom, he now feels "sometimes it's too much of a burden." Haroun finds it hard to assume the responsibility of so many lives when he is struggling to assert any control over his own future. In these moments, Haroun talks about feeling exhausted, explaining how hard it is to "exert any positive energy" in his professional sphere when circumstances in his personal life feel so daunting. Sometimes, he admits, "I cannot give anymore . . . I just feel completely drained."

Back in Syria, before the civil war erupted, Haroun saw his life as simple and linear—it was laid out for him in a straight line. But since the violence began, Haroun has started to feel that this line has been "interrupted . . . cut into pieces," with the "loose ends all over" the map. Outside of school, Haroun has lost a sense of who he is and where he is going. "I used to identify myself with my surroundings, and as my surroundings changed, so did I. But they changed much faster than my ability to process everything [so] that I literally don't know where I am in life." Yet, in his position as a teacher, Haroun is grounded in a sense of purpose and belonging and a role that he says gives "my life a meaning," despite the shadow of uncertainty that falls just outside the classroom door. However, even his identity as an educator feels precarious, and Haroun continually struggles to believe in and work for a new future for himself and his students.

DISCUSSION

Navigating the Impossible Fiction of Teacher and Refugee Identities

The narratives of Alma and Haroun demonstrate how the identity of educator and the identity of refugee merge, diverge, and shift in relation to cultural, social, situational, personal, and professional experiences. Alma's and Haroun's experiences illuminate a number of impossible fictions inherent in the work of refugee teachers: tension between teachers' professional responsibilities and personal powerlessness, dissonance between the hope they are expected to impart and the hopelessness they continually experience, and the psychological toll taken by their challenging past and present circumstances. These tensions are captured in the two teachers' narratives, which echo many experiences shared by educators across the larger sample of individuals interviewed for this research. Below I incorporate the perspectives of other teachers to highlight their similar experiences.

Powerful or Powerless?

Considering the narratives of Alma and Haroun through a broad contextual lens highlights the contradictions they experience between their status and the agency they have as professionals at their schools and their marginalized, constrained positions as refugees. From this perspective, we see how the tension between power and powerlessness experienced by refugee educators mirrors the "impossible fiction" Walkerdine (1990) identified for female teachers in Western settings, where the workplace offers a level of agency and authority not available in personal settings.

Alma and Haroun described experiencing a sense of daily purpose and belonging as members of their school and the Syrian community. At school they had the power to make decisions that impacted their students and their colleagues and were identified as educators, individuals whose efforts were respected and valued by the children who returned to school each day and the parents who chose to send them there. Yet outside the school walls, Alma's and Haroun's identities were restricted to the "master status" (Gonzales 2015, xix) of refugee. Global and national structures, policies, and practices circumscribed their professional and personal possibilities. Despite their seemingly important role in the education of Syria's next generation, Alma and Haroun continually felt powerless to transcend the social, economic, and political barriers constructed around them in Lebanon,

a contradictory state experienced by refugees across the sample. Batoul, an elementary school teacher and Syrian refugee, quit a better paying teaching position at a Lebanese school because "the looks of pity" and superiority she felt coming from the staff left her "tired emotionally and very stressed," feelings that impacted her effectiveness in the classroom. Though she experienced greater support working at a non-formal school with students and staff from her own community, Batoul still felt the weight of her refugee status all around her. She described how she could connect with her students because "we share the same misery, the same problems."

The financial constraints Alma faced in Lebanon were particularly devastating. She moved her family to Lebanon to ensure that her children could continue their education, but without access to a better paying job she was unable to afford university tuition for her son. When Haroun left Syria, he left behind his family, his home, and his sense of citizenship. In Syria, his Palestinian heritage had had a minimal impact on his daily life, yet in Lebanon it exacerbated his position as a refugee and further restricted his rights.

Locating the Hope in Hopelessness

The tension between the agency Alma and Haroun experienced in their jobs and the limitations they were subject to in their daily lives was replicated and reinforced by their roles in their schools. Given their collective identity as refugees, the educators participating in this study had an intimate understanding of the challenges facing their students, knowledge that influenced their beliefs about their students' accomplishments. While the label of refugee shared by these educators and their students afforded a feeling of solidarity and connectedness, it simultaneously accentuated the impossibility of having a meaningful and productive present and insecurity about the future. Thus, the second impossible fiction emerging from these narratives is the contradictory position in which refugee teachers find themselves. As teachers, they are expected to instill in their refugee students a sense of agency and a hope for the future, goals that are central to education. Yet, as refugees, they and their students share insecurity about the future and the freedoms they will be able to enjoy.

Alma oversaw the educational development and advancement of hundreds of students, yet she noted the clear contradictions in her work. Her students faced continual barriers to their academic future; as she put it, her students were "always getting doors closed in their faces." In Lebanon, these same doors were closing

around Alma's own family as her children struggled to continue with their education or find meaningful employment. Haroun tried to imagine a "bright future" for his students, but at times he felt that the challenges present in their homes, their communities, and the broader Lebanese society were too momentous to contend with. While Haroun felt frustrated and hopeless on account of the barriers he and his students faced, he drew motivation and inspiration from his students' dedication to their studies. Their belief in the future helped propel him forward. Other educators in the study vacillated between feelings of hope and hopelessness, between the emotions of their personal and their professional circumstances, and between varying images of the future. In her classroom in a non-formal school, Farah purposefully fostered conversations about the future, encouraging her refugee students to "take advantage" of any opportunity presented in Lebanon and to work toward future success. Privately, however, Farah felt the future was only "becoming darker" for herself, noting that her dreams of building a life and a family seemed "far away" as she struggled to imagine when or where those dreams would materialize. Across the sample, teachers were committed to helping students imagine a more positive future, but the tension these educators experienced between their personal feelings of hope and hopelessness made this work much more difficult, leading them at times to question the purpose of their efforts and jeopardizing their ability to effectively support their students.

Psychological Strains of Past, Present, and Future

In applying the concept of impossible fictions, Kirk (2004) explores the contradictions experienced by female teachers in reestablishing their own lives, tending to their own and their families' psychosocial needs, and developing their own vision for the future. What supports are needed to foster teacher identity among refugee educators and, by extension, to ensure that these individuals continue in their efforts to educate some of the most marginalized populations?

Providing teachers opportunities within their schools to build community with fellow teachers and staff members is one step toward both building teachers' professional identity and mitigating the psychological stress they experience. While Alma, Haroun, and the other educators in the sample shared many of the same personal frustrations and professional concerns, there were no structured mechanisms in their schools to encourage shared problem-solving or provide community support, particularly relative to teachers' personal challenges. These educators also had no opportunity to reflect on their practice or their professional goals. Research on teacher professional learning communities (PLCs) in conflict-affected settings is limited. However, studies set in more stable contexts

suggest that participation in PLCs can support teachers' professional growth and development and lead to their greater well-being (Wenger 1998; Vescio, Ross, and Adams 2008). Implementing PLCs in schools and providing educators with time, training, and support to foster their success may prove an effective mechanism for helping refugee teachers manage stressful events and find ways to use their personal experiences as refugees to strengthen their pedagogy.

In conflict-affected countries, aid organizations focused on child protection sometimes provide counseling to refugee children, often using schools as a convenient location to identify and support children in need of these services. However, refugee teachers are rarely offered the same psychological support services provided to refugee students, despite the fact that, in both stable and fragile contexts, improving teachers' emotional well-being can have a significant impact on how they implement their role, how they persevere in the profession, and how well they meet their students' complex needs (Collie et al. 2015; Duckworth et al. 2009; Lam 2019; Gu and Day 2007; Torrente et al. 2015; Wolf, Torrente, Frisoli et al. 2015). Three of the schools included in this study began offering counseling to educators after this research was concluded. Although the evidence is anecdotal, educators reported feeling less depressed or anxious and more capable of managing stress after these sessions. The counseling also influenced their work, as they reported having greater patience with their students and more confidence about the emotional support they could offer. Participants also saw improvements in their relationships with co-workers and found it easier to talk about and resolve problems that arose in school (education director, Irada School, personal communication, April 6, 2018).

Financial stability was one source of stress shared by all refugee educators interviewed for this research. While almost all participants had advanced degrees, they were unable to access the formal labor market in Lebanon and instead had to settle for lower pay in the informal sector, in this case non-formal schools. Although participants felt fortunate to have an income, their earnings were often not enough to cover basic expenses. Like Alma, many female educators noted that their salaries were the only stable source of income for the family, which created an additional level of complexity in their households as they tried to manage traditional gender roles along with the need to provide financially for the family. Across settings of displacement, investment in salaries for refugee educators is often poor, which leads to challenges in recruitment and retention (West and Ring 2015). For refugee educators who stay in their jobs, low pay may lead to heightened stress and a lack of motivation and investment in the work, factors that negatively impact teacher identity formation (Richardson, MacEwen,

and Naylor 2018). Ensuring that teachers earn a salary that reflects their efforts and the financial reality of their current location is a necessary step in supporting and legitimizing the work of these professionals, whose efforts are vital to the provision of education in complex contexts.

Teachers' experiences as refugees outside the classroom have an important impact on their work as teachers of refugees. Haroun's and Alma's own personal frustrations were compounded by the difficulties they witnessed each day among their students at school. If they are to foster quality education for refugees, global frameworks and funding mechanisms must consider the personal and professional needs of teachers of refugees, who provide the lens through which students see the world around them and the future ahead.

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TEACHERS IN
FORCED DISPLACEMENT CONTEXTS: PERSISTENT CHALLENGES AND PROMISING PRACTICES IN TEACHER SUPPLY, QUALITY, AND WELL-BEING

Interview with Mary Mendenhall, Sonia Gomez, and Emily Varni

Interviewed by Ozen Guven

Teachers are essential to any education system. For millions of refugee and internally displaced children and youth, teachers play an especially important role. With comprehensive training and ongoing support, teachers can help these children navigate unfamiliar settings and new curricula, thereby creating a protective educational environment in which all students can thrive. In this interview, Dr. Ozen Guven talks to Dr. Mary Mendenhall, Sonia Gomez, and Emily Varni about their research on teachers and teaching practices in contexts of forced displacement.[1] Mendenhall, Gomez, and Varni recently authored "Teaching Amidst Conflict and Displacement: Persistent Challenges and Promising Practices for Refugee, Internally Displaced, and National Teachers," a background paper for the 2019 Global Education Monitoring Report on the challenges and opportunities available to teachers working in forced displacement settings.[2] Drawing from their paper, which includes case studies from countries as diverse as Germany, Kenya, Chad, and Iraq, the authors discuss such topics as education planning, teacher professional development, teacher well-being and motivation, and teacher agency. Throughout the discussion, they highlight practices and policies that could be leveraged to strengthen support for teachers working in displacement contexts.

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1   Dr. Mary Mendenhall and Emily Varni are from Teachers College, Columbia University. Sonia Gomez works at the Norwegian Refugee Council. Dr. Ozen Guven is a consultant with American Institutes for Research.

2   A link to the full background paper is available at the end of this interview.

Mendenhall, Gomez, and Varni are scholar-practitioners whose work focuses on the challenges faced by teachers in crisis contexts, and on the policies and practices that provide these teachers with comprehensive support. Guven's work examines teaching practices among Syrian refugees in Turkey.

Guven: *Why is it important to focus on teachers working in forced displacement contexts?*

Mendenhall: All global education agendas, including the UN Sustainable Development Goals, talk about the right to education and how to get children and youth back into school and keep them learning. Yet, these agendas tend to overlook the role teachers play in accomplishing these goals. While the needs of teachers will vary depending on their own backgrounds, the contexts in which they teach, and the profiles of the learners in their classrooms, we have to pay attention to teachers and how they are recruited, remunerated, and supported if we care about improving access to safe and quality education.

Varni: Besides providing academic support, teachers in forced displacement contexts play a critical role for their students by supporting their psychosocial well-being, helping them develop social-emotional skills, and facilitating their transition to a new schooling environment. These teachers, many of whom have themselves been displaced or experienced traumatic events, are expected to play a wide range of roles for their students. Therefore, they need a lot of support and training to do their jobs and to be well themselves while involved in these efforts.

Guven: *When you say "teachers in displacement contexts," to whom are you specifically referring?*

Mendenhall: In our paper, we presented profiles of three different groups of teachers working in displacement contexts. The profiles centered on teachers' backgrounds, displacement status, and the employment conditions under which they worked, which dictated to some extent what type of support they needed. One category is host community teachers or national teachers (working in host state public or private schools) who have displaced learners in their classrooms in the countries or communities of asylum. They typically have been trained in national teacher training programs and are usually registered with the national teachers service. It is important to think about the types of support these teachers need in terms of accommodating refugee students who have different needs (e.g.,

language acquisition, psychosocial support). The second category is internally displaced teachers, who have been displaced but have not crossed a border and who are working in a host community school or internally displaced persons (IDP) camp in their country of origin. They may have gone through formal teacher training channels or, because of displacement, are being given the opportunity to become teachers. The third category is refugee teachers, who have been displaced across a border and are now in a host country. Some of these teachers may have worked as teachers prior to displacement and now find themselves in another country with the skills required to teach. Those who do not have prior teacher training or experience may now find opportunities to become a teacher. There are great differences in the teachers' profiles and in their needs from one context to another. For instance, in the Syrian context, a number of displaced teachers were formally trained and highly skilled, whereas most of the teachers in sub-Saharan Africa only finished high school or secondary education and became teachers through a more ad hoc approach. The question is, what types of support does each teacher profile require, and what policies and practices will enable us to address their short-term and long-term education and training needs most effectively?

GUVEN: *In your background paper for the 2019 Global Education Monitoring Report, you used data from both academic and practitioner resources to identify challenges and promising practices for these teachers. What teacher data are available and accessible for conflict-affected and displacement contexts? Does this vary across contexts?*

GOMEZ: We had a lot of difficulty finding and accessing data for our paper, as there is a massive gap in the data on teachers in displacement contexts. There is also a difference between refugee and IDP settings. We have some data on teachers and students in refugee contexts, particularly in camp settings, but fewer data are available for urban refugee settings. We also tend to have more information on refugees who are registered with UNHCR or government refugee management agencies, but the data gap is especially noticeable in IDP settings. For example, we have global data on the number of refugee children who are out of school, but we don't have such data from IDP contexts. We also found that the data on teachers are highly fragmented in many emergency situations; although various organizations collect teacher data, having a centralized database is not common. Education partners in a few countries—Uganda is a good example—have centralized teacher data and identified the teacher gap for the refugee education response, but that's still not happening on a routine basis across emergency contexts.

MENDENHALL: We reached out to some of the major institutes like the UNESCO Institute for Statistics to request information for our paper, and they made it clear that this is a huge gap in their work and in the field in general. Efforts are under way for refugees to be included more fully in national education sector plans. There are no great examples of that yet, but there's a real push for it in Kenya, for example. So, there is some promising momentum but still quite far to go. As members of one of the INEE Working Groups, we've been doing some work on a set of education indicators. For example, we looked at the Global Education Cluster indicators, and there were very few indicators about teachers at all.[3] What was included were simple things like how many people came to a training, but the indicators don't capture information about teacher profiles, backgrounds, and needs. The field as a whole has quite a few gaps to fill in terms of how we're capturing and interpreting teacher data, which is critical for both the humanitarian response side of things and long-term planning across the humanitarian-development nexus.

VARNI: Teachers really are missing in global education indicators related to conflict-affected and displacement settings, which is detrimental to our understanding of teacher profiles and the quality of education being delivered in different contexts. It's important to think not only about having more indicators for teachers but also what type of data we're collecting—not just the number of teachers but disaggregating teachers by profile, background, and professional development needs, and by their own perception of the professional development they are receiving or the type of professional development they desire.

GUVEN: *Drawing from the existing data and your own experiences, what major challenges do teachers face in displacement settings, and how do these challenges vary across the three categories of teachers that you mentioned previously?*

GOMEZ: One major issue we see in displacement contexts is the need to increase the supply of teachers, given the large influx of children who are either IDPs or refugees. Whether these children are accommodated in national schools or in schools set up by NGOs or UN agencies, we see a huge spike in demand for teachers and the need to pay their salaries. In Uganda, for example, the education ministry estimates that providing salaries for a sufficient number of teachers to reach the primary and secondary school populations will cost more than US$92 million for the period 2018-2021. This number takes into account the need to hire more

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3   The Global Education Cluster and related country-level clusters consist of groups of humanitarian organizations that are responsible for improving the quality of education responses in humanitarian crises, such as better coordination.

teachers to address shortages and reach displaced children living in settlements. Providing regular contracts with adequate remuneration is a serious problem in these settings, and we see a wide variety of contracts and hiring modalities. As Mary described, some of these teachers are qualified and experienced, while others have little teacher training and just sort of jump into teaching. The shortage of teachers causes overcrowding in classrooms, which puts extra pressure on teachers. Poor working conditions in many contexts where teachers are volunteers or earning a very low stipend, what we often call "incentive teachers" in refugee camp situations, are another challenge. There are also issues related to the student population that are common to all teachers working in displacement contexts. These include multi-age classrooms, in which learners have diverse needs, and classrooms that often are overcrowded and under-resourced. Some children come into the classroom having never been to school or having missed a significant amount of schooling, and many have psychosocial or trauma issues. Supporting social cohesion and second language acquisition among learners from diverse national, cultural, and religious backgrounds is very challenging, especially for national teachers or displaced teachers in countries providing asylum.

MENDENHALL: It's also important to highlight that, in addition to the support teachers need to tend to their students' psychosocial well-being, they need support for their own psychosocial needs. Teachers have issues managing their own stress, due to what is happening both inside and outside of the school environment. Teaching and learning resources, such as textbooks and other materials, are incredibly limited in many cases, and refugee students are often moved to the host country curriculum, which is likely different from the one they are used to.

VARNI: Another challenge in these settings is that teacher professional development is fairly ad hoc. The multiple organizations involved sometimes provide contradictory training or teach different pedagogical styles. It can be difficult for teachers to manage these different inputs from different professional development providers. Another thing I would emphasize, particularly for internally displaced and refugee teachers, is that these teachers face a host of challenges outside the school setting in addition to the difficulties they experience in the classroom. For example, displaced teachers may have issues related to social cohesion and belonging in their host community, or they may be facing challenges related to fulfilling their own basic needs, like accessing food or clean water. These and other contextual challenges impact teachers' ability to do their job and ultimately affect their ability to provide a quality education to their students.

GUVEN: *We know that the humanitarian community is paying a good deal of attention to student well-being, and teacher training programs therefore try to address the question of how to interact with and help students whose psychosocial well-being has been negatively affected. But, as you all mentioned, teachers themselves may have been through traumatic events, so they may need support for their own well-being. What are some of the psychosocial issues among displaced teachers, and what factors affect their well-being?*

GOMEZ: We see a lot of psychosocial issues or needs among both children and teachers who have experienced extreme violence, rights violations, and the extreme stress of displacement. Additionally, living in displacement settlements, in refugee or IDP camps, and even in urban settings puts enormous stress on families, and the whole social fabric of refugees is very damaged. Support for teacher well-being is an area that has not received enough attention or programmatic response.

VARNI: Displaced teachers are often affected by their own experiences of violence and displacement, and their psychosocial and social-emotional well-being affects their work in the classroom. Teacher well-being is influenced by many individual and contextual factors. The individual factors include teachers' self-efficacy, their job satisfaction, and their own social-emotional competence. Contextual factors are found at the school, community, and national level and include teachers' relationships with their students and peers, the social cohesion within their community, the respect or recognition they receive (or don't receive) from community members, and teacher management and pay. In our paper, we included a 2016 study from the International Rescue Committee on teacher well-being in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The study found that teacher well-being was influenced by a range of factors: from stress around supporting IDP students to inconsistent or nonexistent salaries, and even teachers' perceptions of a lack of respect for them in their communities. Teacher well-being is something the field is still grappling with, but it's really important to consider when we're thinking about how to provide more quality and equitable education for children in these settings. I agree with Sonia that the subject has been sidelined in terms of programmatic support and policy.

GOMEZ: Aside from all the problems we've told you about regarding teacher well-being, it's important to also highlight teacher agency and resilience. It's become very clear from both our research and our personal experiences that, in many situations and settings, teachers have extraordinary resilience. They are able to find creative ways to solve problems at the classroom level while being very sensitive to the problems their students bring to the classroom. Teachers

are heroically rising to challenges with very few resources. Despite the terrible compensation, teachers are still doing really great work with an amazing sense of commitment. So, as we emphasized in our paper, the policy-level changes we advocate for need to be made in consultation with teachers and must consider lessons learned at the classroom and school level. I say this because the practical truth is that teachers in many difficult situations figure out interesting ways to resolve the issues we've described.

GUVEN: *To what extent are teachers included in the process of policy-making and program design?*

GOMEZ: There are a few examples, as discussed in our paper, where teachers participate in decision-making around teacher development and teacher support, but generally we're still doing quite a poor job of consulting with teachers.

MENDENHALL: Yes, I agree, but I also would like to mention one promising example from our experience, which we wrote about in the background paper. The Teachers for Teachers initiative is a multi-modal teacher professional development program that I and a team from Teachers College implemented in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya. We could have done far more than we did, but I think there are some interesting examples in that particular approach that really tried to authentically engage teachers. For example, we did an initial quasi-needs assessment study, including interviews with teachers, and they were able to tell us what they thought they needed in terms of professional development. We used the findings in the design of the larger program, which ultimately consisted of face-to-face training, peer coaching, and mobile mentoring. Throughout that process, some of the teachers from the early training cohorts gradually took on more leadership and facilitation roles and helped to inform and influence the continued programmatic work. We were keen on doing that from the beginning, and we quickly saw the benefits of teachers' participation because they knew the context better than we ever would. They worked in those classrooms every day, so they were able to offer critical perspectives about the challenges teachers face in Kakuma. Also, they were able to help bring teachers together to overcome some of those challenges. Through peer-to-peer support, they were able to harness the voices of those teachers, which they then shared with UNHCR and other operating partners about additional changes that might need to be made to both policy and practice. These are examples of how to involve teachers more and why it's so important. We need to see how we can mainstream some of these approaches more effectively in our work.

GUVEN: *Are there coordination and collaboration challenges related to the multiple actors involved in teacher professional development?*

MENDENHALL: In refugee contexts, the initial teacher professional development is primarily run and facilitated by international organizations that are setting up programs, recruiting teachers, and trying to implement their programmatic interventions. The same is also true in some IDP contexts. Ideally, teacher training colleges or institutes in the host countries would be actively engaged in that space. Lots of collaborations and partnerships form over time, but it probably takes longer than it should to connect all of the relevant actors.

GOMEZ: Yes, there is quite a lot of fragmentation among the different actors. There are coordinating mechanisms in most refugee and humanitarian contexts—for example, the Education Cluster or UNHCR education working groups—that bring humanitarian actors together. But there are also many government divisions and education ministry departments that need to be engaged, such as teacher services commissions and teacher education services. It's difficult to bring together the diverse set of actors who need to solve these problems. A promising example is the INEE Teachers in Crisis Contexts Collaborative, which is a global inter-agency working group where a wide variety of NGOs, UNHCR, UNICEF, and academic institutions have come together to coordinate teacher professional development efforts. The group has since produced a couple of major teacher development packages for primary school teachers in crisis contexts: one is a training package, and one is a peer coaching package. The working partners pool their resources and train teachers using one package of tools. That's very good to see, but there's still a lot to be done in terms of bringing together disparate actors from both the national and international levels to solve teacher and displacement issues.

GUVEN: *You have already mentioned a number of promising practices that address the issues we have discussed. Are there other programs or practices you would like to highlight that may help support teachers?*

GOMEZ: I would like to highlight six states in Germany that have mainstreamed second language acquisition in the basic teacher education institutions, so all teachers in those states now have training in language acquisition. I believe this is the way we need to go in preparing teachers to deal with more diverse classrooms. It's critical for teacher education systems (e.g., policies, programs, institutes) to mainstream some of the key areas that we've discussed, such as second language learning, multi-level learners, and dealing with students with psychosocial issues.

MENDENHALL: Something we strongly advocate for in the Teachers in Crisis Contexts Collaborative is to move away from one-off teacher training workshops and think about more comprehensive professional development through continuous in-service support and teacher collaboration. For instance, evidence from "stable contexts" shows that teacher collaboration is critical for teachers' self-efficacy, preparation, and competence in the classroom. The question is, what does that look like in coaching or mentoring activities carried out in crisis-affected settings? It can take various forms, of course, but finding ways for teachers to collaborate is incredibly beneficial for improving their performance and well-being. While research on teachers' experiences in conflict-affected and displacement settings is thin, the evidence that does exist from these settings shows the benefits for teachers of coaching and mentoring, and it offers useful lessons that can be applied across a range of displacement contexts. Another important need is to make policy and practice changes that will provide pathways to more formal recognition and certification of teacher credentials. In our paper, we highlight the promising example of Chad, where refugee teachers are now able to become fully certified and work in public schools. From 2012 to 2016, more than 300 Sudanese refugee teachers were certified in Chad through a two-year training course. The Chadian government also signed a joint agreement with the Sudanese government, UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNHCR to ensure that certification and equivalency are recognized if and when Sudanese teachers are able to return home. Chad is one of a few promising examples of this, but there is quite a long way to go. Finally, cross-pollination between national and international actors could be critical. On the one hand, we have teacher training colleges that might be particularly well-equipped to handle the curriculum and pedagogical training of teachers. On the other hand, there are the NGO actors who are maybe more innovative in terms of addressing the psychosocial needs of displaced students and supporting their well-being. To improve sustainability and the humanitarian-development transition, we need to find a way through our global, regional, and national work to combine the strengths of these two groups of actors. We need to look at how we can ensure that the important work of NGOs feeds into national systems, and how the important work the national systems are already doing can feed into and supplement what NGOs are doing most effectively. Overcoming some of the coordination quagmires and figuring out how to collaborate and share lessons learned are critical to making significant improvements to the field of teacher professional development.

Varni: On the point of policy and practice, I'd like to add that, even in settings where there are more "inclusive" education policies for displaced teachers and students, it's critical to understand if and how these inclusive policies are translating into practice and what they actually look like for teachers and students on the ground. For example, the Djibouti Declaration (signed by Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda) is an example of a promising regional policy. The Declaration calls for including refugees in national education systems, and specifically mentions the need to include refugee teachers in national systems as well. It addresses professional development, certification, and equivalency for refugee teachers. The Declaration is being operationalized now, and it will be important to follow that process to see how countries are translating it into practice and what the effects are for teachers and their students. Finally, we've talked about teacher engagement and participatory approaches to programming and policy-making. I want to add that, when we do research to build the evidence base on the teachers in these settings, we need to include teachers in the research process. For example, right now I'm working on a desk review on teacher well-being in displacement contexts with a colleague at Teachers College, and we include interview data from teachers working in Uganda and Kenya that reflect teachers' own conceptualizations of their well-being. It is important to include teachers' perspectives and voices in the research process whenever possible, to co-author with them, and also to make sure we're doing that on all fronts of research, policy, and programming.

HELPFUL RESOURCES

The full 2019 Global Education Monitoring Report background paper, "Teaching Amidst Conflict and Displacement: Persistent Challenges and Promising Practices for Refugee, Internally Displaced, and National Teachers," is available at http://gem-report-2019.unesco.org/background-papers/.

For more information about the INEE Teachers in Crisis Contexts Collaborative, including the open-source training and coaching packages, please visit https://inee.org/collaboratives/ticc.

MINDFUL LEARNING: EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND DEVELOPMENT FOR REFUGEE CHILDREN IN TANZANIA

Kelsey A. Dalrymple

ABSTRACT

This field note presents findings from an assessment conducted on the Little Ripples program, which was piloted with Burundian refugee children ages three to five in Tanzania. The aim of the assessment was to understand the general progress of the program, attitudes and perceptions about the use of mindfulness in the classroom, and the perceived effects on students and teachers who participated in the pilot. This field note provides an overview of the Little Ripples program approach; the gaps the program is aiming to address in emergency early childhood care and development services; the concept of mindfulness and its use as a teaching tool; the Little Ripples program assessment methodology and results; and recommendations for ways forward.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD

The earliest years of life are a critical time for individual growth and development. Experiences during this period can have a long-lasting effect on a child's future. Consequently, early childhood experiences can impact the future economic and social prosperity, productivity, and sustainability of entire communities and societies (Gertler et al. 2014; World Health Organization et al. 2018). Multidisciplinary research conducted over the last few decades shows that, by the time a baby is born, the brain contains almost all the neurons it will ever have, and that, by age two, a massive number of neuronal connections are made in response to interactions with caregivers and environments (World Bank Group, United Nations Children's Fund, and Inter-American Development Bank 2018).

In keeping with these findings that brain development is influenced by early life experiences and surroundings, research has established that nurturing care in particular areas, including health, nutrition, early learning, responsive caregiving, and safety and security, can help children become healthier, more productive, and more successful members of society (World Bank Group et al. 2018). Conversely, children who do not receive this essential care, or who experience intense stress or trauma such as extreme poverty, violence, displacement, or nutritional deprivation during their early years, can suffer from poor brain development, which can have developmental consequences well into adulthood.

An estimated 250 million children under age five in low- and middle-income countries are at risk of not reaching their developmental potential due to inadequate nurturing care (Black et al. 2016), and an estimated 87 million children under age seven have spent their entire lives in conflict zones (Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies [INEE] 2017). Poverty, conflict, and humanitarian crises often exacerbate already difficult conditions, weaken normal support systems, and make children more vulnerable to harm or neglect. In emergency situations, children often are separated from their parents and caregivers, may lose their sense of stability and comfort, and are at risk of not having their basic needs met.

Early childhood care and development (ECCD) in emergencies is commonly defined as providing immediate, life-saving, comprehensive care for children from conception to age eight (Plan International 2013). Humanitarian approaches to providing ECCD in emergencies are often rooted in the Nurturing Care Framework (World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund, and World Bank Group 2018). These programs aim to provide essential multi-sectoral support for children in the areas of early learning and stimulation, health and nutrition, and safety and security through organized academic and recreational activities in safe spaces, while also encouraging parents and caregivers to engage and interact regularly with their children at home.

Nevertheless, there is a critical gap in ECCD in emergencies programs. Simply providing access to basic early learning activities during emergencies is not enough; these activities must be safe, fun, and engaging, as this is key to helping children develop important social-emotional skills for lifelong learning and healthy psychosocial well-being (Bouchane, Curtiss, and Ellis 2016; UNICEF 2012; Bouchane et al. 2018). Few ECCD in emergencies programs—at least few that have been documented—incorporate non-traditional social-emotional teaching techniques such as mindfulness, which promote executive functioning and self-regulation skills and can help create peaceful classrooms and communities, which

is incredibly important for refugee communities that have experienced extreme violence and trauma. The following pages describe Little Ripples, a program that aims to address this gap.

LITTLE RIPPLES: A MINDFUL APPROACH

Little Ripples is an innovative early childhood education program that trains refugee men and women to support the comprehensive needs of refugee children ages three to five. The program was developed and piloted in 2013 with Darfuri refugees living in the Goz Amer camp in eastern Chad. Initially, 14 refugee mothers and female caregivers were trained and employed to support 250 refugee children. The program has since expanded into four refugee camps in eastern Chad, where it has trained 97 Darfuri refugee teachers and reached 3,000 Darfuri refugee children. The program has also been adapted and implemented with refugees from the Central African Republic in Cameroon and Burundian refugees in Tanzania, where it has trained 92 teachers and reached more than 7,000 children. The program intends to continue to expand to serve additional communities affected by humanitarian crises.

Little Ripples uses an evidence-based (Harvard University Center on the Developing Child 2018) early childhood education framework developed by iACT, a U.S. humanitarian non-governmental organization (NGO) that focuses on early learning, leadership, and sports initiatives for refugee communities. The Little Ripples curriculum was developed in consultation with experts in early childhood development, education, trauma recovery, and mindfulness, and is designed for use in various contexts, including refugee and non-refugee situations. The curriculum also trains early childhood teachers with any level of education and experience to use positive behavior management techniques to deliver play-based learning activities that foster social-emotional development.[1] The curriculum is designed to be used with any existing academic or pre-primary curricula by trained teachers, parents, or caregivers, and it can be adapted as needed. Those trained to deliver the curriculum are encouraged to do so using activities, stories, music, and games that are unique and relevant to their respective cultures, languages, and contexts.

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1   Sometimes referred to as positive discipline.

A key aspect of the Little Ripples curriculum is the incorporation of mindfulness. Mindfulness is a type of awareness that is cultivated by paying attention to the present moment in a way that is open, curious, and non-judgmental; it teaches individuals how to regulate their attention and energy by encouraging them to focus on the present moment (Foundation for a Mindful Society 2017; Kaiser Greenland 2010; Kabat-Zin 2003). Young refugee children face numerous challenges that can negatively affect their psychosocial well-being and ability to learn. Incorporating mindfulness into the Little Ripples curriculum helps these young learners find stability and comfort in the chaos of displacement, nurtures their internal peace so they can become resilient, helps them develop executive functioning and self-regulation skills, and teaches them mindfulness practices they can carry with them as they transition into adolescence and adulthood.

In a Little Ripples classroom, mindfulness is not practiced as a stand-alone activity. Teachers are encouraged to incorporate mindfulness activities throughout their lessons to help promote positive learning outcomes, as well as individual growth and development. Teachers guide their students in practicing mindfulness exercises in daily "welcome" and "goodbye" circles. They also lead mindful moments throughout the day if they feel their students would benefit from a calming exercise. On any given day in a Little Ripples classroom, you might see children sitting with their hands on their stomach as they feel it rise and fall with their breath, lying down as they do a mental body scan, or swaying slowly back and forth to the soft sound of a drum.

MINDFULNESS AND EARLY LEARNING

In the last two decades, there has been immense interest in and research on social and emotional learning (SEL), particularly in an education context (Byrd 2019; Jones and Bouffard 2012; Weissberg 2019; Zins and Elias 2006). SEL programs are currently used in thousands of schools and learning spaces around the world. They often are based on the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) framework, which promotes the development of competencies in self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making (CASEL 2018).

Much of the current discussion on SEL is focused on the importance of executive functioning and self-regulation, two mental processes that enable individuals to plan, focus their attention, remember instructions, and multi-task (Harvard University Center on the Developing Child 2018). Growing evidence suggests that

developing these skills can promote better academic outcomes, altruistic behavior, and social-emotional competence, all of which influence long-term success and well-being (Schonert-Reichl et al. 2015). Individuals are not born with executive functioning and self-regulation skills, but all have the capacity to learn and develop them. Adverse conditions that affect children, particularly in their early years, can severely delay or impair the development of these skills. Therefore, providing the comprehensive care children need in the earliest years of life is crucial, and it is particularly important for children affected by humanitarian crises, as they are at much higher risk of experiencing neglect, trauma, and toxic stress (INEE 2016).

Mindfulness is currently recognized as a valuable component of SEL, as it can enhance executive functioning and self-regulation skills and reduce stress and anxiety (Rocco 2012). While definitions of mindfulness vary, it is commonly understood to be a trait or state of mind that can be developed through a set of practices such as meditation, slow breathing, or intentional movement. Mindfulness also can be developed and practiced through informal everyday activities that use the senses to anchor the attention, such as walking, listening to music, cooking, and eating. By intentionally paying attention to the present in a way that is open, curious, non-reactive, and non-judgmental, individuals can develop the ability to focus on thoughts, feelings, and perceptions that arise from moment to moment (Kaiser Greenland 2010; Stahl and Goldstein 2019).

Although empirical mixed-methods research has been done on the effects of mindfulness in adults, research on the effects of mindfulness in children, specifically in the educational context, has gained momentum only in the last decade (Burke 2009). While some research studies argue that mindfulness has not yet shown any significant effect on child behavior or academic outcomes (Maynard et al. 2017), others suggest that mindfulness may be a promising classroom tool for both teachers and students (Meiklejohn et al. 2012). Recent studies on pre-primary and primary school students have shown that using mindfulness practices in the classroom significantly increases social and emotional competence and well-being; it can also improve cognitive skills, working memory, the capacity to plan and organize, classroom behavior, as well as scores on standardized literacy, vocabulary, and mathematics assessments (Schonert-Reichl et al. 2015; Thierry et al. 2015; Razza, Bergen-Cico, and Raymond 2015; Black and Fernando 2014; Kinder 2017).

There is little available research or documentation specifically on the effects of using mindfulness practices in a humanitarian response. Most available documentation on mindfulness in humanitarian response is on its use with aid workers (Ravelo 2017; Solanki 2015; Byrne 2016), rather than with those directly affected by emergencies. Some initiatives and studies have been conducted or are currently in progress on the use of mindfulness with refugees, such as the Mindfulness-Based Trauma Recovery for Refugees program in Greece and Israel (University of Haifa Observing Minds Lab 2018), the Inhabited Studio program in Hong Kong (Kalmanowitz and Ho 2016), the Mindfulness Without Borders project in the UK (Oxford Mindfulness Center 2016), and mindfulness mental health services offered to refugees and migrants in Australia (Beck 2018; Way Ahead 2016). However, most of these initiatives aim to treat post-traumatic stress among adult refugees residing in countries where they have found final asylum. This gap in research and documentation reinforces the need to test and document mindfulness practices with young learners in humanitarian crises.

LITTLE RIPPLES IN TANZANIA

The Situation

In April 2015, Tanzania experienced a major influx of Burundian refugees. As of January 2018, Tanzania was hosting just over 360,000 refugees (76 percent Burundian, and 24 percent Congolese from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, who arrived earlier); of this population, 56 percent were children (UNHCR 2018b). To date, the refugee population continues to be housed in three refugee camps—Nduta, Mtendeli, and Nyarugusu—in the Kigoma Region of Tanzania; the camps are governed by the Tanzanian Ministry of Home Affairs, coordinated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and supported by local and international NGOs.

In the process of being forcibly displaced, many Burundian children and families experienced extreme violence and distress (Human Rights Watch 2017). Through post-arrival interviews and focus group discussions conducted by UNHCR, many refugees reported that family members were murdered, that they had witnessed or experienced physical violence, and/or that they were separated from family members, all of which caused extreme psychosocial distress for individuals of all ages. Moreover, once individuals were assigned to refugee camps in Tanzania, they suffered from extremely poor living conditions and a lack of critical services. Thousands of children arrived in Tanzania as separated and unaccompanied

minors, which resulted in their being placed in foster care with refugee families that had limited capacity and resources to care for them (Child Protection Working Group, personal communication 2018; Plan International 2016).

While the influx of Burundian refugees into Tanzania slowed significantly in the beginning of 2018, a large school-age population (145,052) existed across the camps (23 percent ages 3 to 5, 56 percent ages 6 to 14, and 21 percent ages 15 to 18; UNHCR 2018a). Though there was a structured education system in the camps, a high number of refugee children (44 percent) remained out of school in early 2018 (79 percent at the pre-primary level, 22 percent at the primary level, and 97 percent at the secondary level; Education Working Group, personal communication 2018). As there were not enough classrooms to accommodate all learners, many lessons took place outside and were supplemented with non-formal or alternative education support from NGOs, including accelerated learning, early childhood education, technical and vocational training, and adult literacy and numeracy. An interagency assessment conducted at the end of 2017 found that other challenges significantly affected the quality of education offered in the camps at all levels. This included a shortage of teaching and learning materials, lack of access to updated curricula, a lack of qualified teachers, and issues related to exams and recognized certification.

The critical lack of services for the refugees during this period increased the risks they faced, particularly for children ages three to five. The number of child-friendly spaces (CFS) and pre-primary classrooms across the camps could not accommodate all young learners, and many learning spaces were located far from the newer camp zones, making the walking distance too great for young children. Parents and caregivers also put little value on the importance of ECCD, which resulted in low registration and participation rates. Young children who did not participate in early learning programs also often did not receive adequate stimulation or learning support at home, due to their parents' and caregivers' overwhelming domestic responsibilities (e.g., standing in long distribution lines, fetching water or firewood, cooking, doing laundry) and due to the difficulty of adjusting to life in a refugee camp. When these children were kept at home, teachers and social workers were unable to monitor their need for protection or refer them to other support services, such as health and nutrition services, case management, and psychosocial support. Many Burundian refugee children were at risk of falling through the cracks.

The Partnership

In mid-2017, Plan International Tanzania (PLAN) began delivering an ECCD program for Burundian refugee children ages three to five in the Nduta and Mtendeli camps.[2] The goals of this program were to provide safe and inclusive spaces in which young refugee children could learn and grow, and to prepare them to enter and thrive in Grade 1 of the Burundian formal school system. However, in late 2017, attendance and participation in PLAN's ECCD program was steadily decreasing. Program staff members attributed this decrease to a lack of training and professional development for ECCD teachers, few community outreach activities to recruit students, and a lack of knowledge among parents and the wider community about the importance and impact of ECCD.

In early 2018, observing the high number of young refugee children in need of services and the steady rise of risks to children in the camps (e.g., child labor, sexual exploitation and abuse, child trafficking; Child Protection Working Group, personal communication 2018), the PLAN education team decided that they needed a new approach to increase attendance and participation in its ECCD program. Having identified the Little Ripples approach as a contextually relevant and useful model that could help strengthen the quality of its ECCD program, PLAN reached out to iACT to propose bringing Little Ripples to Tanzania. PLAN dedicated funding to support the rollout of a Little Ripples teacher training and to implement the program in Tanzania, while iACT provided trainers, training content, and program materials.[3]

Implementation

In April 2018, iACT sent two trainers to Tanzania to deliver a Little Ripples teacher training to 40 Burundian refugee ECCD teachers in the Nduta and Mtendeli refugee camps. PLAN selected which teachers would be trained, arranged the logistics, and coordinated the training activities. The goals of the training were to prepare these teachers to deliver the Little Ripples curriculum, improve their teaching skills and the learning environment, and enhance the academic, social, and emotional learning experience for young refugee children in the camps.

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2   Both Congolese and Burundian refugees were housed in the Nyarugusu refugee camp, but only Burundian refugees were housed in the Nduta and Mtendeli refugee camps. As PLAN was only working in the Nduta and Mtendeli refugee camps at the time it was implementing its ECCD program, the program only reached Burundian refugee teachers and children.

3   While iACT supplied physical trainers, training content, and program materials, PLAN covered all associated costs for these services and materials.

While PLAN required all of its ECCD teachers to have at least a secondary school education, most of the teachers who participated in the Little Ripples training had no official teacher certification and only very limited teaching experience, and they had received little or no training since arriving in Tanzania.[4] The training, which lasted for one week in each camp, covered child development, classroom organization, play-based learning, positive behavior management, emotional literacy (i.e., the ability to understand and express feelings and empathize with others), and how to create a daily routine. The trainers used a participatory method that provided numerous examples of pedagogical techniques (e.g., verbal, written, and role-play) and gave the participants ample time to practice the techniques discussed and modeled.

The training also incorporated practical mindfulness exercises, such as deep breathing, body scanning, thinking of happy things, and active listening. Teachers were encouraged to use these exercises with their students as fun stand-alone activities, for classroom management, as transition exercises between main classroom activities—and to manage their own stress.[5] The trainers also discussed the unique needs of young learners affected by displacement and how mindfulness and other techniques could help them build coping mechanisms.

iACT provided boxes of teaching and learning materials for each CFS, including alphabet blocks, building blocks, animal counters, foam puzzle mat pieces, balls, and Kirundi-language picture books and story books. These items were meant to stay in the classroom and be used only for the Little Ripples program. iACT collaborated with the teachers about how to use the items for both free and guided play. Teachers were encouraged to keep inventory of the items to ensure that they did not get lost, broken, or taken, and they were instructed to clean and maintain the materials regularly. The materials introduced basic literacy and numeracy, and teachers were encouraged to think about how they could use the materials to encourage mindfulness, helping, sharing, and peace within the classroom.

Following the teacher training, PLAN conducted a large ECCD registration campaign, coupled with efforts to raise community awareness about the importance of education and early learning. This was done using a public announcement system and by holding town hall meetings with parents and community members.

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4   Teacher education levels were recorded and tracked by PLAN internally and response-wide by UNHCR and implementing partners.

5   Parents of Little Ripples students were informed of this training and of the Little Ripples program, but they were not participants in the training or trained in mindfulness.

From May to June 2018, average monthly attendance in PLAN's ECCD activities increased by 42 percent, from 4,825 individuals to 6,841.[6]

In the Nduta and Mtendeli refugee camps, Burundian refugee children ages three to five participated in PLAN's CFS from 8 AM to 11 AM. Each day began the same way: after greeting children and taking attendance, the ECCD teachers and students formed a circle and the teachers led a mindfulness activity. This routine was intended to build the group's sense of community and set a calm and reflective tone for the day. Teachers then delivered lessons that used academic content from the Burundian pre-primary curriculum that included a variety of engaging activities, including free and guided play, storytelling, games, and songs. These activities incorporated the principles of peace, helping, sharing, hygiene, and emotional literacy, thus encouraging teachers to integrate hand-washing into the daily routine, provide positive verbal feedback when they observed children sharing toys, ask students how they were feeling throughout the day, and use mindfulness activities to help refocus the class and create a peaceful learning environment. Each lesson ended with classroom clean-up, a mindfulness activity, and a goodbye song. After the day's lessons, children returned home for lunch and rest. Some children returned to a CFS in the afternoon for recreational and psychosocial support activities. PLAN also ran a mobile CFS for children living in outer camp zones that were far from the permanent CFS. ECCD teachers and child protection staff members travelled to the different camp zones once a week to deliver ECCD and recreational activities to children.

In addition to planning and delivering lessons, teachers were responsible for conducting community outreach and engaging parents. They regularly encouraged parents to support their children's participation in the program, conducted home visits, and offered strategies to help parents foster their children's physical, cognitive, social, and emotional development at home (e.g., reading with them, ensuring proper hygiene, not using corporal punishment, asking children about their feelings). Teachers and parents interacted through CFS oversight committees (similar to a parent-teacher association), and parents served as volunteers to support the program, such as by monitoring outside play, conducting community outreach, supporting the registration and enrollment process, walking groups of children to and from the CFS, and helping with CFS maintenance.

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6   Percentage increase was calculated using the difference between increased average attendance and original average attendance, divided by the original average attendance figures reported in PLAN's May 2018 and June 2018 internal monthly monitoring reports.

Challenges

While PLAN's ECCD activities were running relatively well in eight different CFS across the Nduta and Mtendeli refugee camps at the time this paper was drafted (2018-2019), they also faced implementation challenges. One example was food security and nutrition. While the Little Ripples approach in other contexts includes providing meals or nutrition support for students, all education actors working in the Burundian refugee response in Tanzania agreed that no agency would provide food through its education programming unless all agencies could do so equitably and sustainably, to avoid causing an imbalance in the delivery of services or turning learning spaces into potential targets of violence due to general food insecurity in the camps. As a result, children were often hungry by mid-morning, which resulted in ECCD activities being run for only three to four hours, Monday through Friday.

Another challenge was the lack of teachers and classrooms. After the Little Ripples teacher training, which raised community awareness and resulted in robust student enrollment, teacher-student ratios fluctuated between 1:20 and 1:125, depending on the CFS and the students' ages and class levels. To address this, more ECCD teachers were hired to keep up with the increase in registered children and reduce teacher-student ratios. After new teachers were recruited, teacher-student ratios decreased slightly, to between 1:20 and 1:80.[7] However, the ratios remained higher than desired and classroom space was significantly limited.[8] To reduce crowding and provide adequate space for quality learning and physical activities, PLAN education staff members worked with ECCD teachers to split the students by age group and rotated different ECCD activities that took place in the shaded areas just outside the classrooms.

Finally, the work conditions and incentives for ECCD teachers also posed a large challenge. While efforts were made to ensure that the CFS were clean, colorful, inclusive, and safe, teachers had few resources available to plan and deliver their lessons; even basic scholastic materials such as notebooks, pens, pencils, etc., were difficult to provide.[9] Furthermore, teachers were paid according to an interagency

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7   In comparison, the required teacher-student ratio in Tanzania is 1:40 (Letea 2018)

8   At the time this article was drafted, the Tanzanian government had put into effect a policy stipulating that no further structures could be built in the camps unless they were permanent structures, which were costly and time-consuming to build.

9   For example, no electricity flowed to the CFS, and computers and tablets were not provided due to limited funds. Teachers also regularly requested items such as bags to carry their lesson plans and teaching materials, branded t-shirts or other clothing to wear while teaching, solar lamps so they could work at night, bicycles to travel to and from the CFS, phones to better communicate with each other, and rainboots and umbrellas to help them get to and from the CFS during the rainy season.

compensation scale, which resulted in ECCD teachers being paid approximately US$21 per month—hardly an adequate living wage in any context.[10] To address some of these issues, PLAN intended to procure more teaching and learning materials and to increase teachers' monthly stipends.

Assessment Methodology

Implementation of the Little Ripples program in Tanzania was not originally intended to generate significant research data. However, due to the positive feedback about the program from parents, students, teachers, and other NGOs, combined with the rollout of a new interagency pre-primary academic student assessment, the PLAN education team decided to collect data to document the progress and the perceived effects of the program, and the innovative use of mindfulness. In September 2018, five months after the initial teacher training, PLAN conducted an assessment of the Little Ripples program. The timing of this assessment was due not only to the timing of the new academic student assessment a few weeks prior but to PLAN wanting to take advantage of full staff capacity to conduct the assessment before an impending period of staff turnover.

PLAN staff conducted the assessment using survey questionnaires and focus group discussions (FGD) with teachers, parents, and students. The questionnaires were developed by the PLAN education staff and the monitoring, evaluation, accountability, and learning (MEAL) staff. The questionnaires for parents and teachers were comprised of ten "yes or no" questions, while the parent and teacher FGD allowed participants to provide more in-depth answers to the same questions. Students who participated in FGD were given five questions based on contextually appropriate child-development assessments provided by PLAN's child psychologist.[11] While there was some uncertainty about the possibility of obtaining meaningful qualitative data from very young children, PLAN's child psychologist, who had had success with this approach on another project, provided support and recommendations for this assessment, which enabled PLAN to obtain feedback from Little Ripples students.

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10   In comparison, primary school teachers of community-based schools in Afghanistan earn approximately US$140 per month (Molina et al. 2018).

11   A more rigorous and established social-emotional assessment tool, such as the Ages and Stages Questionnaires, was not used, as the aim of the assessment was not to measure the individual social-emotional development of each student but to gauge teacher, parent, and student perceptions of student improvement and overall attitudes toward the Little Ripples program, and specifically toward its use of mindfulness.

All surveys and FGD were administered or supervised by PLAN's education and MEAL staff members, who had been oriented to the questionnaires, FGD questions, and methodology by PLAN's education in emergencies specialist and MEAL advisor. All individuals who collected the assessment data and facilitated FGD had participated in previous education program assessments and had experience in data collection and FGD facilitation. While all survey questionnaires were written in English, they were orally translated into Kiswahili and Kirundi by data collectors in the field; all FGD were conducted in Kiswahili and Kirundi.

Upon completing their work, the data collectors entered all the data from student, teacher, and parent surveys, as well as detailed notes from the FGD, on an Excel spreadsheet; these data were then validated and verified by PLAN's MEAL team. The teacher and parent survey data were recorded using clear "yes or no" indicators. The method of grounded coding for all FGDs was used to extract main themes from the detailed notes taken by the facilitators. Once the main themes were extracted, they were reviewed and validated by all FGD facilitators and by members of the MEAL team to ensure accuracy and integrity. The data analysis and drafting of findings were completed by PLAN's education in emergencies specialist and shared with the education, MEAL, and senior management teams for final review and validation.

Assessment Results

Student Perspectives

PLAN's ECCD teachers conducted student FGD, with supervision and guidance from PLAN's education officers and child psychologist. Approximately 70 five-year-old children from the two camps participated. When asked to raise their hands if they enjoyed coming to ECCD lessons, most children did so; many children reported that they enjoyed singing, playing games, learning new things, and making friends with other students. Students also reported feeling safe in CFS and ECCD lessons. They said that the teachers were friendly, so they were not worried about being beaten or hurt while there. Most of the students reported that they felt relaxed during lessons and that interacting with other students made them feel happy. When asked what they were learning in their ECCD lessons, the students were able to recall the lesson content (e.g., the alphabet, numbers counting, body parts, animals, colors, shapes, etc.); some were even able to demonstrate a mindfulness meditation exercise. The information reported by the children in these FGD is an interpretation that was translated by the PLAN

ECCD teachers, education officers, and child psychologist. To ensure that the children understood, the FGD facilitators rephrased questions as needed and asked students to clarify answers that were confusing or if they were not sure the students fully understood the question in the first place.

Teacher Perspectives

While all of PLAN's 40 ECCD teachers participated in the Little Ripples teacher training, only 36 were still in the camps at the time of the assessment, due to voluntary repatriation.[12] All remaining teachers completed a survey questionnaire, and 33 teachers (55 percent male, 45 percent female) participated in FGD.

Since the training, the vast majority of teachers surveyed (93 percent) were incorporating mindfulness exercises they learned during the teacher training into their teaching practice. In FGD, teachers acknowledged the psychosocial value of mindfulness, mentioning that it makes students feel more comfortable and fosters a safe, enjoyable learning environment. Teachers also saw the value of mindfulness in behavior management; they felt more connected to their students' moods and feelings and could use mindfulness exercises to refocus children when needed. Teachers reported that the most effective exercises with their students were those that did not require too much narration, such as focused breathing, while exercises such as body scans were more difficult to use, due to students' limited language and vocabulary skills. Teachers reported in the FGD that the training increased their understanding of teaching methodologies and strengthened their behavior management skills, and that the training increased their confidence, which enabled them to bring more energy and enthusiasm to their students.

All teachers surveyed reported having seen an improvement in their students' academic performance and behavior. While they did not give uniformly positive responses, teachers participating in the FGD generally felt that the improved academic performance was due to students' increased confidence, their ability to focus better on lessons, and greater participation. Teachers also noticed a more peaceful and cooperative feel to their classrooms, reported fewer student conflicts, and saw an improvement in student hygiene. All reported improvements were based on teachers' personal observations of their students and their ongoing assessments, rather than on a formal comparison of baseline and endline summative assessment data.

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12   More teachers have been hired since this time.

Fewer than half of the teachers surveyed (39 percent) reported using mindfulness techniques for themselves. This was attributed to their busy schedules and to their desire to have someone talk them through a mindfulness exercise, which suggests their interest in incorporating these practices into their personal lives if they could receive further guidance.

Parent Perspectives

To understand the perceived effects of the Little Ripples program on children outside of the classroom, a group of parents of ECCD students was selected at random and asked to complete a questionnaire and participate in FGD. A total of 38 parents (47 percent male, 53 percent female) participated.[13]

The majority of parents surveyed (85 percent) reported that their children who participated in ECCD had experienced some form of extreme distress or hardship.[14] Most (72 percent) saw this as having a negative impact on their children, including poor academic performance and a decline in their physical and mental health and well-being. Parents reported that their children had witnessed or experienced violence, and some had witnessed the death of a parent or other family member. Parents also mentioned that many ECCD students lived in either single-parent households or in situations where domestic violence was common. Many parents also reported that, before participating in ECCD, their children had seemed sad or stressed, appeared lonely, had trouble sleeping, found it difficult to make friends, and would cry for no particular reason. Parents also highlighted the adverse influence violence and displacement had on their own stress levels.

The vast majority of parents surveyed reported seeing an improvement in their children's behavior (98 percent) and learning (93 percent) since participating in ECCD; most parents (95 percent) attributed these improvements to the ECCD lessons. In FGD, many parents reported that their children were now more talkative and energetic, more comfortable with other children and adults, had happier dispositions, and displayed positive attitudes. Parents also reported that their children sang songs they learned in ECCD lessons and that their children were now able to count, say the alphabet, and greet others appropriately. All improvements reported were based on parents' personal observations and their perceptions of their children.

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13   The low participation of parents is due to busy schedules related to standing in long distribution lines and doing domestic chores.

14   Many parents had multiple children participating in ECCD at the same time.

Almost all the parents surveyed (98 percent) were familiar with the mindfulness techniques the ECCD teachers were using, and most (86 percent) felt that these techniques were helping their children deal with stress and enabled them to learn better. Most parents (87 percent) said they saw their children using mindfulness techniques at home or elsewhere outside the classroom. In the FGD, parents credited the mindfulness techniques with improving their children's ability to listen, concentrate, and stay calm in ECCD lessons and at home. Some parents (43 percent) reported that they were considering using mindfulness exercises themselves.

CONCLUSION

Young Burundian refugee children in Tanzania who have been affected by violence and displacement continue to face numerous risks and challenges that could negatively affect them well into adulthood. However, some of these negative effects can be mitigated by participating in safe, inclusive, and engaging learning and recreational activities. ECCD programming can help restore these children's sense of safety, routine, and comfort in an otherwise chaotic and unpredictable environment. Participating in ECCD enables these children to exercise their right to receive an education that provides the stimulation and support they need for healthy growth and development.

The ECCD programming provided in the Nduta and Mtendeli refugee camps in Tanzania has yielded perceived positive changes in student learning outcomes and behavioral development. Burundian refugee teachers and parents alike have reported seeing positive changes in ECCD students, both during and outside their ECCD lessons, including better retention of academic content, happier dispositions, and increased confidence and comfort when participating in lessons and interacting with others. While we are unable to definitively demonstrate that this initiative established a clear route for the participating refugee children to enter Grade 1 of the Tanzanian formal school system, their parents report that they increasingly value education and early learning for their children, which is a promising indicator.

Based on teacher and parent reports, the Little Ripples approach, including the specific focus on social-emotional learning through mindfulness, may be a significant factor in strengthening PLAN's ECCD program in Tanzania. While it is difficult to establish a direct correlation between the use of mindfulness in the classroom and the positive changes perceived in ECCD students' academic

performance and social-emotional well-being, it can be posited that the incorporation of mindfulness has enhanced the students' overall ECCD experience. The fact that students report enjoying mindfulness exercises, that parents see their children doing mindfulness exercises at home, and that teachers report that students respond positively to mindfulness exercises during their ECCD lessons supports the inference that children are consciously or unconsciously gaining mindfulness skills that they will be able to rely on as they grow.

As previous low participation and attendance in ECCD was attributed to refugee parents' negative attitudes, it is vital to note the positive changes in their attitudes toward early learning. Many refugee parents report seeing positive changes in their children since the Little Ripples approach was introduced; they attribute these changes to their children's participation in ECCD and to their learning to manage stress through mindfulness. Parent-teacher relationships and parental involvement in ECCD appear to have been strengthened through community outreach, and both will likely have a positive influence on student learning, emotional well-being, and resilience going forward (Graham, Minhas, and Paxton 2016; Park and McHugh 2014).

It is important to acknowledge the perceived positive results from the use of mindfulness as a teaching tool. Based on feedback from ECCD teachers, mindfulness has proven to be an effective instrument for managing student behavior and in creating a more positive and peaceful learning environment. Teachers reported feeling more confident and happier in their work after receiving teacher training and said they were able to manage their students more effectively—a factor in improving the quality of teaching and learning (Jennings 2015; Flook et al. 2013). However, few teachers report using mindfulness to manage their own stress, which is a subject to explore going forward.

Finally, given that humanitarian funding for the education sector remains critically low, it will be important to further examine the incorporation of mindfulness in ECCD in emergencies as a low-cost and easily replicable intervention.[15] With some basic training, teachers can easily integrate mindfulness into learning spaces and deliver it to a large group of children without the need for physical materials. My hope is that this case study will provide critical evidence on the perceived positive effects mindfulness can have on young learners and teachers affected by humanitarian crises and encourage more practitioners to integrate, test, and document the use of mindfulness with young learners in emergency contexts.

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15   In 2017, the education sector received only 3.8 percent of all humanitarian funding, an increase from 1.7 percent in 2014.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION: REFLECTIONS ON A PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PROCESS WITH REFUGEES

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ABSTRACT

Refugees face significant challenges in accessing higher education. It is clear that new and diverse solutions are needed that both understand and address the contextual barriers to higher education access for refugees. In keeping with new approaches in the wider humanitarian community, which recognize the role communities can play in creating new education solutions, our organization sought to employ participatory design methods in the development of a new program to support access to higher education for refugees in the Middle East (mainly in Jordan and Lebanon). This note provides insights into the implementation of the participatory process and details the impact the participatory approach had on the design of our programs. Finally, we highlight the need for gender-balanced recruitment strategies through our reflection on the impact the design of the participatory process had on those participating.

INTRODUCTION

There is a crisis in providing refugees with access to higher education. It is estimated that only 3 percent of the global refugee population attends university (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] 2019). This is due in part to the circumstances of displacement, which significantly deplete families' finances, leave young people without valid documentation, impose residency restrictions, and offer only limited pathways into already crowded national education systems (Avery and Said 2017). Refugees also often lack the relevant skills or knowledge

to transfer and adapt to new education systems. A lack of language skills is also a serious barrier for those accessing online higher education courses and national education systems that predominantly use English (Talbot 2013).

The Syrian example is a compelling one. Pre-war Syria had an extensive higher education sector; estimates are that as many as 26 percent of Syrians (male and female) went on to vocational training or university studies prior to the current conflict (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] 2019). Although reliable statistics are hard to find, the most recent estimates suggest that 91,000 Syrian refugee youth are missing out on higher education (European Commission 2016). However, evidence from several locations demonstrates a high demand for university-level programs among refugee students (UNHCR 2017); meeting this demand will require new and diverse solutions.

Several organizations have attempted to leverage technology and external funding to open up higher education access for refugees. Most interventions targeting Syrian refugees focus on providing tuition scholarships and stipends, teaching key languages, and advocating for universities to be flexible about the documentation they require.[1] However, for those who have received scholarships, overcoming the initial barriers to access does not inevitably translate into academic success. The Connected Learning in Crisis Consortium (CLCC), cochaired by UNHCR, produced a "playbook" of effective practices and guidelines for implementing online courses that are adapted to local contexts and delivered through in-person support and tutoring (CLCC 2017). The "Learning Pathway Design" section of the CLCC playbook details the importance of employing a holistic development approach, which empowers learners and improves learning outcomes. We view participatory design (PD) as an innovative approach that involves refugees and other stakeholders in the program design process to help ensure that they have a contextualized curriculum that meets their needs, which resonates with the recommendations in the CLCC playbook.

The founding of our organization, Mosaik Education, stemmed from our conversations about using bottom-up and participatory innovation to address the challenges refugees face in accessing higher education (Moser-Mercer, Hayba, and Goldsmith 2016; Obrecht and Warner 2016), and from our desire to understand more fully how to implement contextualized, learner-centered program design. Our vision was that refugees and displaced people in conflict-affected communities would be able to access, shape, and lead the education they require to rebuild their

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1   Higher and Further Education Opportunities and Perspectives for Syrians (HOPES) is one of the projects funded by the Madad Fund. See http://www.hopes-madad.org/.

societies or integrate into new ones. In this field note, we reflect on how using a bottom-up PD process—a mechanism that enables crisis-affected communities to be involved in creative problem-solving, to address challenges, and to create opportunities (Betts, Bloom, and Weaver 2015)—informed our programming. This contrasts with the humanitarian sector's tendency to seek top-down innovations, such as new technologies or ways to improve organizational responses (Betts and Bloom 2013). We chose PD because it reflects the processes and benefits of the bottom-up approach used in humanitarian interventions. This note offers insights into the processes we followed and sheds light on the challenges of using this approach while working with refugees in the program design process. We note in particular the difficulty of providing inclusivity and gender balance in the workshops we held, and of ensuring participants' long-term involvement. Finally, we share the existing findings on using PD in these contexts, including the need for more resources and more time to develop programs.

UNDERSTANDING THE BARRIERS TO
HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE REFUGEE CONTEXT

Our organization was founded on our understanding of the barriers to higher education that Syrian refugees were facing. Their biggest challenge was tuition fees (Watenpaugh and Fricke 2013), as local and international higher education opportunities demanded fees that were disproportionately high, relative to potential students' income (Avery and Said 2017; Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere 2013). Moreover, scholarships for refugees do not always include livelihood support (Al-Abdullah and Papa 2019). Even students who do have ample funds may not have access to their previous school records, due to having fled conflict. For example, more than 150,000 college-age students in Jordan and Lebanon lack a certificate despite having completed their secondary education and qualified for higher education (Avery and Said 2017). Residency is another university admission requirement, but around two-thirds of the college-age refugees in Lebanon do not have residency papers, and obtaining residency is a complex and expensive process (El-Ghali, Berjaoui, and DeKnight 2017).

Syrian refugees often do not have information about the higher education opportunities available to them or know how to access these opportunities. Refugee youth frequently mention the distance to education sites and a lack of affordable transportation as a barrier to participation (Gladwell et al. 2016). Gender is another salient factor in access to higher education. A high proportion of young male refugees have been forced to contribute to their family's income

due to the death or absence of the father, to parents' inability to find work due to legal restrictions, or to the low amount of money they earn through illegal or humanitarian work. Early marriage has been identified as an urgent concern for girls, as families may be compelled to resort to this as a way to cope financially (Salem 2018).

While the literature has focused predominantly on barriers to higher education access for refugees, it often overlooks a number of factors that contribute to poor learning outcomes among those who are able to access higher education courses. Some studies looking at primary and secondary education found that many refugee students experienced violence and verbal harassment due to tensions with host-community students (Abu-Amsha and Armstrong 2018). Psychosocial barriers are also pervasive among refugee students as they struggle to cope with their memories of Syria, and with the financial and social repercussions of becoming a refugee (Salem 2018).

It is clear, therefore, that being mindful of these issues is essential in providing successful and relevant higher education programming for refugee students, and that engaging with the students' perspectives could provide insights that are critical to designing the most effective programs and learning environments.

MOVING TOWARD A PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PROCESS

Although various design methods and techniques are used in participatory design, depending on the context and goals, certain core epistemological dimensions underlie the PD tradition. These include democratic decision-making, empowerment of marginalized voices, mutual learning among participants, sustained engagement, and iterative actions (Duarte et al. 2018; Halskov and Hansen 2015). Recent research and education programming have identified the central role displaced communities can play in creating new solutions to accessing education (UNHCR 2017; Betts and Collier 2016). PD also acknowledges the crucial role users can play in designing programs and services by allowing users and designers to work together to explore local knowledge and uncover solutions (Brown and Wyatt 2010). Used across a wide range of domains and user groups, PD has been adapted to meet the needs and characteristics of different design contexts and target populations (Rogers, Sharp, and Preece 2011). Core features of the PD process include holding meetings and workshops to define a problem, focusing on ideas to solve the problem, and evaluating the proposed solutions together.

Recent work has explored the potential use of PD in refugee camps. For example, Fisher et al. (2016) held PD workshops in the Za'atari refugee camp in Jordan to explore how Syrian youth use technology to help others in their community. They concluded that PD methods can be used successfully in low-resource settings that lack a common language and internet access to generate creative designs that reflect the complex context. Alain et al. (2018) used a similar PD approach with Syrian children living in a refugee camp in Greece, and with their parents and adult social workers, to explore the process of designing education technology systems that led to the creation of an independent digital learning space.

These examples and the CLCC-UNHCR recommendations, particularly to provide a holistic development approach that includes learners and produces contextualized curricula, matched our desire to design relevant programs to address the specific needs of our target population. This motivated our adoption of a PD approach. Our work examines the potential for communities to design new education models using PD. We employed PD methods while designing a number of new education program components to support refugees' access to and success at university. Our motivation for using this approach was the opportunity it provided to empower displaced communities that are typically outside the formal education system, and to ensure that the proposed education programs would be relevant and would reflect the community's priorities, contextual barriers, and challenges.

We next describe the application of a PD process in the emerging area of refugee education. We reflect on how the participation of different refugee groups was facilitated by our process. Our aim is to characterize the opportunities and challenges of using PD in this context and, hence, to inform future efforts to develop higher education programs for refugees through PD.

THE PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PROCESS

Overarching Program

The basic structure of our education program was developed in 2017, during our early work with refugee students and community center partners following a pilot Java programming course we organized in 2016 through Mosaik Education, which was previously named the Jamiya Project (Aristeronas et al. 2018). This work included developing the initial specifications for a preparatory program, as depicted in Figure 1, that included four components to prepare students for higher education. At this stage, our team identified the need for support in

English proficiency and in gaining the skills necessary to succeed at university, for remedial support in subjects like math or physics, and for mentoring and advice.

Figure 1: The Initial High-Level Design of Our Program

Student Profile	Overall Program
A2 Level of English	English Skills and Proficiency
High School Certificate	Academic Skills for Higher Education
Working (Hours/Week?)	Remedial Subject Support (e.g., English for academic purposes, introduction to math for higher education)
Living in Urban Area/Camp?	
Currently Studying?	Mentoring and Advice

Proposed Modes of Study	
20 hours per week	25% with a teacher/facilitator
	75% independent and online study

Participants

The PD process took place in Jordan, as our organization was already operating there, and we had strong connections with local partners. The purpose of the process was to update the overarching program we were offering, based on some of the gaps we had become aware of (such as a lack of English language and academic skills) and the method of delivery (such as online, blended learning, face-to-face); we sought in particular to design programming that would provide the guidance and skills students needed to prepare for higher education. Participants were primarily recruited through partnerships with local community organizations in both refugee camps, and from host communities. We also advertised through relevant social media groups aimed at prospective students and recruited from networks we had worked with previously. Although the majority of refugees in

Jordan are Syrians, we wanted to involve refugee groups that were not likely to be involved in discussions and programs focused on access to higher education, such as the Sudanese and Somalis. We aimed for an equal split of male and female participants roughly between the ages of 18 and 30. The number of participants varied from 9 to 30 for each part of the program.

The Process

We used a PD approach that began with a clearly defined focus that concerned a gap that prevented refugee students with interrupted studies from accessing higher education in host countries, then moved on to develop ideas based on problems the participants themselves identified. Finally, we worked on developing prototypes based on participants' feedback (Sanders and Stappers 2008). PD is a flexible and iterative approach, which enabled us to select methods and tools that were appropriate for each part of the process and would support the participants' contributions, and that would fit within the various time/resource constraints of our particular context. The PD design phases were as follows:

- **Problem exploration and identification.** This phase included participant observations and design workshops of 2-4 hours each that presented the problem context, the background of our mission, workshop aims, our reasons for involving young people, and why their ideas were important. The workshops concluded with an exercise to prioritize the challenges participants identified according to their perceived importance.

- **Reflection and action.** This phase involved sessions held within our organization to develop the problem areas identified during the problem exploration and identification workshops into potential designs. We also adapted PD methods to overcome particular challenges with participation during the workshops.

- **Ideation and critique.** This phase also included 2-4-hour design workshops, in which we focused on the experiences and challenges identified by refugee participants during problem exploration and identification; these were related to the design plans our organization had developed during reflection and action. We encouraged participants to critique these ideas and suggest additions and alternatives.

- **Live prototypes.** In this last phase, we designed prototypes based on the final programming ideas developed during the ideation and critique workshops. Our organization then piloted these design ideas, evaluated their value and usefulness across program components, and then, after piloting certain parts of the new education programming plan, we refined them. One aspect of our programming developed during ideation and critique was to offer guidance workshops that would give students the tools they needed to access higher education. The ideation and critique workshops were held in community centers and as Facebook Live events. A small group of refugee students also took part in a pilot for the English language programming.

After the prototyping phase, our team reflected on the outcomes and challenges faced during the PD process, as discussed later in this note.

How Participatory Design Was Employed in Our Work

We used a number of design tools during the problem exploration and identification and ideation and critique workshops, including the following:

- **Personas.** A persona is a fictional yet realistic description of a typical program user. We created personas as a way to present a detailed picture, from the user's perspective, of their motivations and challenges. Personas also enabled workshop participants to project their challenges onto a fictional character, rather than having to discuss what they or their community had directly experienced. For example, participants at a youth center developed a persona of a young woman who was unable to take advantage of higher education opportunities due to her family's anxiety about her mixing with male peers. The barriers this persona faced were then brought into a journey-mapping activity.

- **Journey mapping.** Our team used a hypothetical journey to help refine a guidance program. The refugee workshop participants were asked to plot their persona's journey through four stages related to higher education access—awareness, understanding, applying, and enrolling. This tool provided a framework that participants could use to make the exercise

more tangible so they could contribute meaningfully to the design process. We asked them to prioritize the activities at each stage of their journey, which enabled us to see how they changed.

- **Storyboarding.** This tool uses a series of images or graphics to illustrate the unfolding of an activity or service, such as a new financial tool or software application. We used four storyboards describing four different learning activities to discuss the relative merits and challenges of different social learning models, the aim being to identify an activity to test. This was particularly instructive in revealing participants' perceived risks and anxieties, and in helping to gauge their interest in the different models.

- **Ranking prototype components.** To facilitate our interaction with different groups of participants, our team presented a prototype of the organization's proposed program in four workshops. The prototype summarized the proposed program activities and potential pathways to higher education. Participants were asked to match their needs and higher education ambitions to the proposed activities, and to rank the activities as essential, nice to have, or not important. The ranking helped program designers prioritize the activities and stimulated discussion among participants about why they ranked activities as essential or not important, and about the differences between their choices and others'. The discussion also helped designers understand how participants would engage with the different program components. For example, one workshop focused on the nature of possible financial support for those wishing to access higher education. As a result, program designers included multiple modes of higher education funding in the academic guidance activities, and Mosaik Education made designing programs around alternative funding methods a key part of its 2019-2021 strategy.

Participatory Program Design in Action

Below we present the goal of each part of the PD process, the design activities involved (see Figure 2), and the changes we made as a result of this work (see Figure 3). We note that some participants attended multiple workshops and thus were able to influence multiple components.

Figure 2: Overview of the PD Process

		PD TO DEVELOP OVERALL PROGRAM AND SPECIFIC PROGRAM COMPONENTS		
		PD to Develop the Overall Preparation Program	**PD to Develop Mentoring and Advice**	**PD to Develop English Skills and Proficiency**
PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PROCESSES	**Problem Exploration and Identification**	Four workshops (with 30 refugees of different nationalities) and in-depth interviews	Two workshops (one with 18 Syrian refugees, another with 22 Syrian refugees and Jordanians)	Observation of an English class for refugees in Amman and two workshops (with 25 Syrian and Sudanese refugees)
	Reflection and Action	Reflection sessions with program team	Reflection sessions with program team	Reflection sessions with program team
	Ideation and Critique	Workshop (with 9 refugees of different nationalities)	Ideation and prototyping workshops (one with 15 Syrian refugees, another with 18 Syrian refugees and Jordanians)	One workshop (with refugees of different nationalities)
	Live Prototyping	Design of new program component and alteration of existing component	Pilot activities (with 25 refugees of different nationalities)	Alteration of program component

PD to Develop the Overall Preparation Program

This part of the PD process aimed to improve the high-level program design described earlier. Problem exploration and identification at this stage comprised four workshops attended by 30 refugees of various nationalities in Amman, and in-depth interviews with two refugee youth. Reflection and adaptation led to ideation and critique, where we held a workshop with nine refugees of different nationalities. The participants demonstrated the difficulties they would face in paying for higher education, were they able to access higher education programs. This work led to the identification of a new component related to supporting higher education funding. Many students also noted that a lack of English skills was a primary barrier to accessing higher education, thus we decided to lower the level of English needed to enter our programs. We also found that there was

less support available for students seeking access to higher education than for those who already had access. This led us to change the participant profile for our overall programming to include youth who were still trying to access higher education and who had more urgent needs than remediating their subject-specific skills. This led us to remove the subject-specific (e.g., math) components of the program so we could focus on the more pressing barriers participants identified.

PD to Develop Mentoring and Advice

The aim of this part of the PD process was to design a meaningful and accessible guidance and mentorship program that helped refugees access higher education. Problem exploration and identification in this case was comprised of two workshops, the first with 18 Syrian refugees and the second with 22 Syrian refugees and Jordanians. Ideation and critique included ideation and prototyping workshops, one with 15 Syrian refugees and another with 18 Syrian refugees and Jordanians. We also held pilot activities with 25 refugees of different nationalities. Following problem exploration and identification, our original goal was refined to include identifying the psychosocial challenges of seeking access to higher education. Reflection and action and ideation and critique brought in new ideas and content for workshop activities and aligned this program with one co-created by current refugee students that provided advice and support for Syrian refugees seeking to access university.[2] Ideation and critique in this case prioritized specific topics for content planning based on their feedback. It also identified new methods of delivery (including Facebook Live) that could adapt to the time constraints participants had identified and reach participants effectively.

PD to Develop English Skills and Proficiency

This aspect of the PD process initially focused on support for the logistics of study (timing, location, transportation) and on helping the refugees themselves identify informal learning spaces where they could learn English. In problem exploration and identification, we observed an English class for refugees living in Amman, observed a British Council teacher delivering a conversation-based class, and held two workshops involving 25 Syrian and Sudanese refugees. Ideation and critique was comprised of one workshop with seven refugees of different nationalities. Based on participants' input, this component shifted its focus to pedagogy and providing opportunities for spoken English practice and conversation.

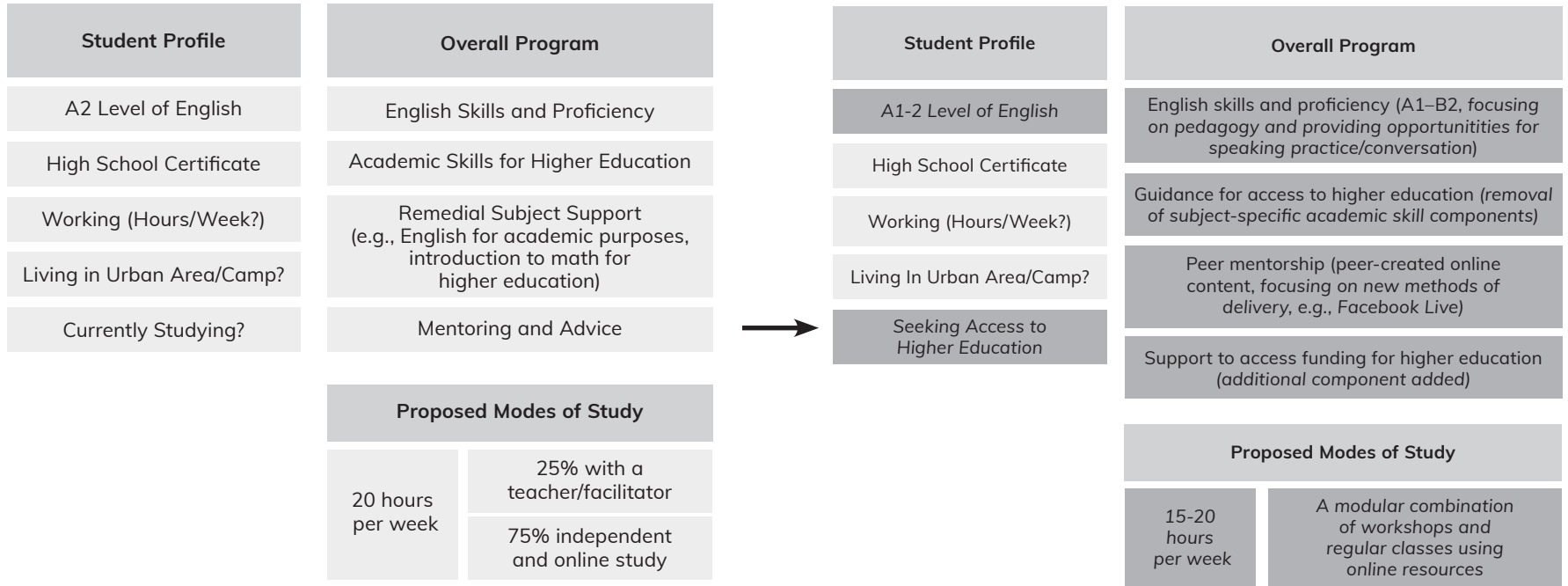2   See https://www.facebook.com/StudentDardachat/.

The changes made as a result of each stage of the PD process are shown in Figure 3. The profile of the type of students our program sought to support was refined to target youth seeking to access higher education and who lacked proficiency in English. Mentoring and advice became two separate components, one to provide guidance on how to access higher education opportunities in the participants' specific contexts, and one that involved peer mentoring and shared experiences. The delivery mode also was adapted, based on feedback from participants about time constraints. During problem exploration and identification, participants noted that they would find it difficult to attend programs for multiple hours but they wanted some face-to-face contact. Therefore, we decided to reduce the amount of in-person training, and to provide flexible face-to-face workshops and online material that were developed fully in Arabic with peer-created content.

BENEFITS, CHALLENGES, AND LESSONS LEARNED: HOW PD LED TO NEW IDEAS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

The second aim of this note is to reflect on the challenges and difficulties we faced in the program design process. We describe how these challenges led to new ideas for higher education and gave us greater insight into the complexity of using this innovative approach to program design. Facilitators took written notes during and after the workshops to document what happened and what the design outcomes were. These notes were subsequently reviewed and discussed by the team. Themes were formed from the bottom up, based on the refugee participants' prioritization in problem exploration and identification and ideation and critique. We paid particular attention to the key concerns previously identified by Vines et al. (2013), such as who initiates participation and how, what learning occurs, and what its mechanisms are.

Designing in partnership with learning communities requires critical reflection on key issues regarding specific practice contexts. Vines et al. (2013) argue that accounts of PD can sometimes lack transparency about the decisions and assumptions made, which makes it challenging to reflect on the forms of participation engendered. They use three lenses to bring attention to the explicit and implicit ways people participate in design, the role the initiators play in selecting particular people and shaping the benefits they experience, and the ways expertise shapes who has control over design decisions. Our experience of PD in the context of the refugees' difficulty accessing higher education naturally had similar dynamics and faced similar challenges, which we discuss below.

Figure 3: The Final High-Level Design of the Program (right) as Informed by the PD Process (changes highlighted in *italic* in the dark gray boxes)

Student Profile
A2 Level of English
High School Certificate
Working (Hours/Week?)
Living in Urban Area/Camp?
Currently Studying?

Overall Program
English Skills and Proficiency
Academic Skills for Higher Education
Remedial Subject Support (e.g., English for academic purposes, introduction to math for higher education)
Mentoring and Advice

Proposed Modes of Study	
20 hours per week	25% with a teacher/facilitator
	75% independent and online study

Student Profile
A1-2 Level of English
High School Certificate
Working (Hours/Week?)
Living In Urban Area/Camp?
Seeking Access to Higher Education

Overall Program
English skills and proficiency (A1–B2, focusing *on pedagogy and providing opportunitities for speaking practice/conversation*)
Guidance for access to higher education (*removal of subject-specific academic skill components*)
Peer mentorship (peer-created online content, *focusing on new methods of delivery, e.g., Facebook Live*)
Support to access funding for higher education (*additional component added*)

Proposed Modes of Study	
15-20 hours per week	*A modular combination of workshops and regular classes using online resources*

Inclusivity and Gender:
The Role of Initiating and Configuring Participation

Participatory projects are initiated and maintained by specific actors who often are the practitioners charged with leading the project using mechanisms they identify. The form this takes can have a profound impact on who participates and benefits (Vines et al. 2013). Given our inconsistent presence in refugee camps and local communities, we organized our participant recruitment largely in partnership with community organizations, the exception being the three problem exploration and identification workshops (across all components), for which participants were recruited via networks we had established with the refugee community.

Despite our efforts and those of our local partners to have gender-balanced workshops, we found this to be a persistent challenge throughout the PD process. We had unwittingly done some of our recruiting through men, which could have made some women uncomfortable about joining, particularly if they did not know the men well. Moreover, the workshops were mixed gender, which might have led to the gender imbalance, as some families might have been reluctant to let their female members participate. We also observed that, when women attended the workshops, gender inequality was repeated rather than transcended. For example, during one workshop where women were in attendance and creating a persona was an activity, all the personas created were men. When asked why this was, one woman replied that she did not feel comfortable highlighting the challenges women faced while in a class with men. She also said it was not that important because she lived in a "male dominated society anyway."

The gender imbalance in our workshops led us to reflect on families' possible reluctance to let their daughters pursue higher education, as described in a recent paper on barriers to girls' education in conflict-affected contexts (Pereznieto and Magee 2017). We also recognized that access to PD opportunities alone is not sufficient and that PD must engage with the complexity of gender identities to bring marginalized groups into the design of higher education. Aware of the cultural and social constraints on female participation in group activities, such as those in the PD process, we think that organizing separate all-female workshops and involving the parents of female students could increase women's chances of participating in the PD process by increasing their parents' confidence and understanding.

When Learning Becomes Mutual: Who Benefits and When

One defining characteristic of PD is mutual learning (Halskov and Hansen 2015; Vines et al. 2013). During the PD process, practitioners become able to understand and design for their participants' realities, while participants learn how they can foster their own empowerment by helping to shape programs. As noted above, this contrasts with more traditional approaches to program development, where participants' empowerment is a goal of the program rather than part of its design process. However, as Vines et al. (2013) explain, participants' experiences and expectations coming into the process often shape how they perceive this reciprocal relationship.

Unlike our own aims, most other communication about higher education for refugees on social media and elsewhere has focused almost exclusively on ads and rumors about scholarship opportunities. These prior expectations, alongside the multi-layered chain of communication involved in participant recruitment, meant that the clarity of the workshop aims were lost and many participants arrived at the workshops expecting to be informed about a scholarship opportunity. As a result, participants in one workshop were reluctant to engage fully in the design activities. After that workshop, we made steps to communicate the objectives of the workshops more effectively when trying to attract participants, and to ensure that they understood from the outset what the workshop would entail. Despite these challenges, our encounters with participants during the early design sessions, particularly during the ranking activities, gave our team new insights that informed our future direction. We identified a wide range of known and new challenges in helping refugees gain access to higher education. For example, during the guidance design workshop, one commonly cited challenge in accessing higher education was the psychosocial issues stemming from the discriminatory and depressing context of refugee status. Formative research has identified psychosocial issues as a challenge facing students already attending university (Gladwell et al. 2016). This has been taken up in some NGO programming—SPARK (2018), for example, provides psychosocial training to refugee students—but only limited programming directly addresses the psychosocial challenges refugees face while trying to access higher education.

The PD workshops highlighted the critical importance of psychosocial well-being for prospective students, and the ranking exercises enabled us to see the need to prioritize this in our programming. Participants also benefited from presentations

about the range of higher education options open to them, which were held at the start of the problem exploration and identification workshops. These presentations often highlighted pathways and opportunities the participants had not previously considered or evaluated together, which also suggested that we needed broader academic guidance activities.

Unlike the waning motivation we observed among participants during a few of the initial workshops, those who chose to attend the next set of workshops benefited from their familiarity with and commitment to the PD process. This resulted in numerous actionable insights that they were able to own. For instance, participants shared ideas about how to distribute guidance content on social media, how to approach people in rural communities, and whether we should lower the level of the planned English program, all of which contributed in tangible ways to improving the program design. This underlined the importance of stating the purpose of these workshops clearly from the outset and of informing those interested in participating what they might get out of the process.

The "Work" Involved in Making Learning Mutual

Moving participants from a passive, rewards-based orientation to becoming active participants with a vested interest in the process was not straightforward, and it contrasted directly with our knowledge of previous programming by NGOs in the area. In particular, for participants to participate meaningfully in our design process, which was the aim of our efforts to share control, it was important to guide their contributions and help them develop new expertise and skills. To this end, the process was structured to first identify challenges and needs and then to critique our proposed program design with respect to these needs. Participants at first tended to defer to the "experts" and facilitators, and the facilitators at times had to do a significant amount of scaffolding in order to identify a specific need a program could support from the many experiences participants shared. Nevertheless, these exchanges often demonstrated articulate understanding and offered insightful ideas. The time participants were given to engage fully with the process as co-designers and the richness of the insights and ideas they offered once they did engage were remarkable. The impact on their personal development of the scaffolding done during problem exploration and identification was evident during ideation and critique.

From a practitioner perspective, one way to address this tension and make sure the participants are fully involved and willing to provide ideas and constructive critics is to take time early in the process to build knowledge of the specifics of

engaging in PD culture and designing with refugees. This will help bring the PD process in closer alignment with the pragmatic constraints encountered at later stages. Moreover, rather than expecting refugees to have the skills needed to participate in PD right out of the gate, the process could begin with skills-focused workshops that prepare them to take on new roles. However, while it is important to help participants learn to engage with PD, the lack of sustainable long-term engagement with the process due to the volatility and uncertainty refugees face remains a challenge. Another challenge, in light of the important role local partners play in our context, is how to sustain and scale PD practices within our organization and between organizations.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS
FOR FURTHER PROGRAMMING AND RESEARCH

We believe that our experience has expanded understanding of the challenges and benefits of implementing PD to provide a contextualized and learner-centered design process—in our case, in the context of providing education in emergencies, as outlined in the CLCC playbook. PD enabled us to gain a much deeper understanding of the contextual barriers refugees face in accessing higher education, which we would not have achieved by relying solely on previous knowledge in this area. Our initial program design, based on a review of the literature, primarily identified economic barriers and those within higher education itself. Engaging with participants in the PD process confirmed the economic barriers, but it also broadened our understanding of the need to support students who had not yet accessed higher education. Furthermore, by understanding the extent of refugees' need for psychosocial support, we were able to ensure that support for students was integrated throughout the program we designed. This in turn led to a design that included both online components, which reduced worries about time constraints and the need to travel to program centers, and face-to-face workshops, which provided important support and opportunities for in-person interaction. This enabled us to support the students in our programs more effectively.

Another important lesson was the need to ensure equal gender participation in the PD process from the outset, which could be achieved by using recruitment strategies that recognized issues of gender and social inclusion. We also learned of the need to provide training to participants at the start of the workshops, which was critical in ensuring equal participation in the design process. While there are a few other examples of PD with refugee communities, our findings

provide some new insights into what is needed to build sustainable, long-term engagement with refugee communities. These insights advance the knowledge of what is needed most when providing education in emergency contexts, and in designing effective, gender-equitable PD programs.

Like other human-centered design approaches, PD requires sufficient resources and time to develop relevant and valuable programs. More PD experience and further reflection is needed to prove the greater effectiveness of this approach as compared with program designs that rely on previous experiences, piloting, and adjusting. Our PD process has shown how essential it is to align programming with the needs of the community, and that not doing so can prevent programs from reaching the intended audience and from overcoming the specific barriers they face. Therefore, taking advantage of the resources available for the PD process has enabled us to fully respect the aspirations of those we seek to support and to adapt to their specific needs.

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BOOK REVIEW

Muslims, Schooling and Security:
Trojan Horse, Prevent and Racial Politics
by Shamim Miah
Palgrave Macmillan, 2017. xi + 127 pages
$61.67 (hardcover)
ISBN 978-3-319-52334-7

Muslims, Schooling and Security, by Shamim Miah, focuses on the risk of approaching education questions through the lens of a preventative counter-terrorist agenda. The Trojan Horse controversy in Birmingham, UK, illustrates this risk. A letter sent to the Birmingham City Council in 2014, now widely agreed to be a hoax, claimed there was an organized plot to "Islamize" state schools in Birmingham. This precipitated a series of emergency Ofsted (inspectorate) investigations in schools with a majority Muslim population, in Birmingham and beyond. In the wake of an initial media furor and moral panic, inspections that used the criterion of British values as a key factor in assessingv (and failing) schools, the subsequent collapse of the case against teachers because of "serious procedural impropriety" by the National Council for Teaching and Leadership, and the conclusion that there was no evidence of widespread extremism in Birmingham schools—or indeed in schools elsewhere—it is important to reflect on the implications, as this book does, of the so-called Trojan Horse controversy.

The issues discussed in this book are complex, and they remain current. Miah's book represents a wide-ranging survey and discourse analysis of legislation, policy documents, media reports, and speeches tracing the genesis of Prevent, the counter-radicalization element of CONTEST II and III (the British counter-terrorism strategy), as well as the Trojan Horse affair. The latter is symptomatic of the ways in which education and governance are ill-served when a counter-terrorist agenda intrudes into the domain of schooling, and it shows some of the dangers of misinterpreting religious conservatism or even displays of faith as indicators of extremism. The book covers a good deal of discursive territory in order to argue that the racialized representation of Muslims in recent policy initiatives presents Muslims as an existential threat to "ontological security." The book addresses a range of contemporary issues relating to Prevent and the politics that surround it to show how they risk framing Muslims as a suspect community, or indeed as a fifth column. It explains how the discourse of values plays out

in the intersection of education and counter-terrorist policies. In this respect, *Muslims, Schooling and Security* maps a trajectory that has led, it is argued, to the increasing securitization of Muslims, in this case in the context of schooling. Miah claims that the racialized representation of Muslims in policy discourse and in the media has led to an "othering" of Muslims. He draws on colonial discourse and documentation to help reveal the shifts in discourse through which Muslims have historically been racialized, sexualized, and Orientalized. In addition, the role of the media in constructing the category of Muslims as a threat is described in detail, as are media failures to report with due care and impartiality on the facts of the Trojan Horse affair.

The detailed account offered of the Trojan Horse controversy helps to contextualize and understand some of the recent shifts in British counter-terrorist strategy, in particular the latest iteration of Prevent, with its focus on nonviolent extremism, and the responses to the controversy at the time. As Miah notes, it was disturbing to see that an unauthenticated document like the Trojan Horse letter could have such an impact on public discourse and the public imagination. These reactions are put into context through descriptions of then British prime minister David Cameron's 2011 speech in Munich. This speech introduced the rationale for subsequent shifts in counter-terrorist strategy from a focus on violent extremism to a more expansive remit, including nonviolent extremism, values, and ideology. Cameron argued that we have witnessed a failure of state multiculturalism, suggesting that (Muslim) communities have isolated themselves through voluntary self-segregation. "Muscular liberalism" was invoked as the antidote to the breakdown in the social fabric. Miah challenges the claim that spatial segregation constitutes evidence that Muslims are unwilling to integrate, in particular when there is no reflection on the endemic social exclusion of communities. He also argues that monocultural neighborhoods are viewed (without evidence) as problematic in a policy context where integration (*qua* assimilation) is seen as the antidote to radicalization.

This book provides a good introduction to a number of the key debates that have emerged at the intersection of counter-terrorism and educational policies, and that are likely to be of interest to the readers of the *Journal on Education in Emergencies*. It also implicitly raises the question of how and whether schooling and education can be approached through an educational lens in the contemporary context. It can be difficult to see how educational questions, including questions of values and ethos in schooling, can be openly discussed in a context of increasing securitization of education through preventative counter-terrorist measures.

Muslims, Schooling and Security is ambitious and fast paced. Some of the arguments, in particular in the latter chapters, could have benefited from further elaboration, in particular in examining the relationship between the politics of racialization, ontological insecurity, and legacies of empire in the public imaginary. A less condensed conclusion would have been welcome, and, unfortunately, the typographical errors proved to be somewhat distracting. However, the book is an important contribution to both the literature in this field and to wider public debate, in particular with respect to the racialization of Muslims and the ways in which the current policy discourse of British values has been engendered in opposition to multiculturalism. Much has been written about uncritical claims to an Enlightenment legacy that posited only certain raced and sexed subjects as exemplifying universal values. That story failed to engage with what Enrique Dussel has called the "underside of modernity," and it could be argued that this is also the case with this iteration of British values. Such a story also fails, as Miah points out, to acknowledge the role of minorities in the struggle against the prevailing forms of structural injustice that has led to the transformation of oppressive practices premised on subordination and exclusion.

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*The views expressed here are the author's
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BOOK REVIEW

International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories:
Pedagogical Responses to Contested Narratives
and the History Wars
edited by Henrik Åström Elmersjö, Anna Clark,
and Monika Vinterek
London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017. xxi + 292 pages
$119.99 (hardcover), $89.00 (e-book)
ISBN 978-1-137-55431-4

This edited volume, *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories: Pedagogical Responses to Contested Narratives and the History Wars,* presents a survey of various approaches used to teach competing histories. All the chapters address the same question—"How do, or should, teachers pedagogically engage with rival histories?" (p. 2)—and explore the epistemological implications of teaching more than one narrative in the history classroom. Editors Henrik Åström Elmersjö, Anna Clark, and Monika Vinterek frame these issues theoretically in their introduction, and Peter Seixas' epilogue offers a concluding discussion of the range of studies presented. The ten remaining chapters, which are divided into the three thematic sections detailed below, examine practices in geographically disparate countries.

The volume offers a unified theoretical approach to the topic of teaching history, as all the chapters draw on Seixas' three-pronged typology that distinguishes between a "best story" approach, a "disciplinary" approach, and a "post-modern" approach. The editors connect these pedagogical approaches to epistemological tendencies among historians, emphasizing similarities among a reconstructionist, constructionist, and deconstructionist stance. In the best-story/reconstructionist approach, history is viewed and taught as knowable and able to be conveyed accurately by a narrative. This traditional approach to history aims to transmit a (dominant) collective identity. With the disciplinary/constructionist stance, students learn to think like historians, which involves "doing" history by evaluating different sources and narratives. According to the editors, the post-modern/deconstructionist approach contains two strands—the moderate stance and the radical stance. The moderate stance, what we might call historiographical, seeks to understand how history is written, by whom, and to what (political) end.

Rather than focusing on narratives, this approach considers the power dynamics inherent in writing and teaching about history. The radical stance goes farther, in that it considers history completely unknowable and maintains that the chasm between narrative and the past as it actually happened is unbridgeable.

The book is separated into three sections, in addition to the theoretical framing provided by the editors' introduction and Seixas' conclusion. The chapters in the first part, "Historical Cultures and National Histories," explore how historical cultures can clash and how different actors have tried to bridge gaps within and across national boundaries. The approaches in this section, which vary from a case study to the more broadly theoretical, offer suggestions for how these divisions may be approached in the future. The second section, "Official Histories in Multicultural Societies," focuses on specific cases from a range of countries. These chapters evaluate tensions between or within official narratives. As the editors rightly point out, these varied case studies of pedagogical practice demonstrate similar findings, most notably that teachers' unexamined emotional investment in particular narratives has a powerful impact on their classroom practice. These chapters thus convey the conviction that teachers in multicultural societies must be made aware of their own bias if they are to teach effectively for conflict resolution. The third section, "Critical Thinking and Multiperspectivity," analyzes specific initiatives that promote more critical approaches to history teaching. These analyses combine the book's overarching theoretical focus with practical examples and critical assessments.

International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories will be of interest to scholars and practitioners in the field of education in emergencies, particularly regarding how societies in conflict can navigate competing historical narratives (see Paulson 2015). The theoretical coherence of the book, drawing consistently on Seixas' typology of history teaching, provides a useful framework for scholars, policy-makers, curriculum developers, and educators. The geographical and chronological diversity of the case studies present a wealth of contexts from which to draw models for practice. The editors and most of the authors employ a normative approach to the subject, thus offering guidance for practitioners of education in divided societies. There does appear to be some variation in how the authors interpret Seixas' categories and which models they advocate, leaving room for readers to consider the merits of different epistemological approaches. This volume presents a remarkable degree of coherence and readability, as the authors and editors have provided ample background for readers with various specializations to understand the context and issues in a wide range of situations.

This diversity of studies supports the editors' stated aim: to offer not one universal way of teaching rival histories but to develop a repertoire of approaches to meet the needs of various societies.

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BOOK REVIEW

Developing Community-Referenced Curricula for Marginalized Communities
by David Baine
Vector Baine, 2017. 257 pages
$27.25 (paper)
ISBN 978-0-9688701-3-6

Caroline Ndirangu, who enthusiastically authored a book review for this special issue, passed away in late September 2019. Caroline was a faculty member at the University of Nairobi's School of Education. Her research and teaching focused on education in emergencies (EiE) and curriculum studies. Her areas of expertise included the theory and practice of EiE, the protective role of EiE and policy, and research and advocacy in EiE and reconstruction.[1] Among her many partnerships, Caroline had recently collaborated with Elisabeth King and one of this issue's guest editors, Jo Kelcey, on a study of secondary education for youth affected by humanitarian emergencies and protracted crises in sub-Saharan Africa, and with former *JEiE* board member Mary Mendenhall and guest editor Sarah Dryden-Peterson on a study of refugee issues in Kenya. Caroline embarked on each of these projects as a meaningful contributor and team member and embraced the spirit of collaboration and learning that is at the core of the EiE field, and *JEiE* mission. Caroline's passing is an enormous loss to the EiE community and, moreover, a huge personal loss to all who knew her joyous spirit. We send our condolences and warmest wishes to Caroline's family and friends, and sign off in the way Caroline always concluded her Skype calls and emails: "Be blessed."

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Developing Community-Referenced Curricula for Marginalized Communities by David Baine offers insights into the field of curriculum that address a long-neglected area in curriculum development worldwide: curricula for marginalized communities. Baine offers innovative and systematic methods for developing curricula for marginalized people living in refugee camps, on indigenous reservations, in urban slums, and in rural areas of developing countries. This timely book is based on a strong empirical and theoretical foundation, which is important in the EiE context because it offers marginalized communities in emergency contexts the opportunity to seamlessly introduce essential individual

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1   More information about Dr. Ndirangu's scholarly contributions is available from her Google Scholar profile: https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=misT-E0AAAAJ.

community skills within the host country education curriculum. Baine rightly points out that a community-referenced curriculum can teach the knowledge, skills, and attitudes people require to function effectively in the communities in which they currently live and are most likely to need in order to thrive in their future lives (p. iii).

The book is organized into six chapters that offer a well-researched, in-depth, step-by-step development of a community-referenced curriculum. The content is enhanced by relevant case studies, some of which are almost ready for implementation. The first chapter of the book is an introduction to the meaning and concepts of this type of curriculum, as well as the rationale for developing a community-referenced curriculum. Baine observes that in developing countries, particularly in rural areas and indigenous communities throughout the world, the quality of education is typically defined in terms of the "performance of students on academic achievement tests without making reference to the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes to function effectively in their daily lives" (p. 5). Developing a community-referenced curriculum after analyzing the community in which the learners live would identify "functional tasks required for them to perform effectively in that community" (p. 19). Baine introduces five major stages in the development of community-referenced curricula, which he elaborates on in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2 details the first stage of developing community-referenced curricula. Baine starts by reviewing the minimum essential knowledge, skills, and attitudes in each subject-referenced curriculum in common areas such as science, literacy, numeracy, and health that students should be "taught [at the primary school level] to enable them [to] perform effectively in their current and future environments" (p. 30).

Chapter 3 details the second and third stages of developing community-referenced curricula. This is essentially the core of the book, which provides innovative and systematic methods of in-depth analysis of the community, such as mapping the community environment and identifying functional tasks in the current and future environment. Each step has a ready-to-use framework and well-researched practical examples from marginalized communities within the context of emergencies.

Chapter 4 provides details on developing instructional modules for a community-referenced curriculum. Recognizing the need for resources, Baine leaves nothing to chance; in a four-step guide on the preparation of instructional modules,

he provides a generic format (pp. 157-58) that shows how various elements are integrated into the community-referenced curriculum within the existing curricula. He also recognizes the need to offer a balanced curriculum; according to UNESCO (2015), curricula are too often overloaded, hence the need to blend the needs of the learners with their environment. For instance, Baine puts a special focus on functional skills in the early grades, which I believe would greatly benefit students who are likely to be in school for a short time. This is usually the case for marginalized groups in the context of EiE, where there is a high dropout rate among primary-level students.

Chapter 5 gives insights into innovative and rarely used alternative methods of instructional delivery that would benefit learners in the EiE context. Baine discusses these in two main sections: technological methods, and personal methods. The main methods are a talking book device, interactive radio, "Pikin-to-Pikin Tok Radio translation of child-to-child talk in Sierra Leone" (p. 170), mobile phones, computers, mentoring, peer tutoring, and cooperative learning. To promote further understanding, he also gives useful examples of best practices for these instructional methods in marginalized communities.

Finally, chapter 6 tackles the unique issues of implementing a community-referenced curricula and how to overcome them.

The book is well structured and an easy read, despite its length. It certainly keeps one engaged with the many practical examples from real-life contexts. It is a useful book for a variety of groups: undergraduates, graduates, curriculum development personnel, classroom teachers, international organizations involved in research, in funding and development, in training and development, and practitioners in the field of EiE. It also can serve as an important go-to reference/handbook that effectively opens up the world of *Developing Community-Referenced Curricula for Marginalized Communities*.

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*The views expressed here are the author's
and do not represent the University of Nairobi.*

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JOURNAL ON EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES

The *Journal on Education in Emergencies (JEiE)*, a scholarly, peer-reviewed journal, aims to fill gaps in education in emergencies (EiE) research and policy. Building on the tradition of collaboration between practitioners and academics in the EiE field, *JEiE*'s purpose is to improve learning in and across service-delivery, policy-making, and academic institutions by providing a space where scholars and practitioners can publish rigorous quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods research articles, and robust and compelling field notes that both inform policy and practice and stir debate. *JEiE* provides access to the ideas and evidence needed to inform sound EiE programming, policy-making, funding decisions, academic program curricula, and future research.

JEiE specifically aims to:

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2. **Stimulate research and debate** to build evidence and collective knowledge about EiE

3. **Promote learning across service-delivery organizations, academic institutions, and policy-makers** that is informed by evidence

4. **Define knowledge gaps and key trends** that will inform future research

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