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JOURNAL ON EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES

Special Issue on Refugees and Education, Part II

EDITORIAL NOTE

Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Jo Kelcey, and S. Garnett Russell

EiE RESEARCH ARTICLES

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Sarah Horsch Carsley and S. Garnett Russell

The Emerging Role of Corporate Actors as Policymakers in Education in Emergencies: Evidence from the Syria Refugee Crisis

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Are Refugee Children Learning? Early Grade Literacy in a Refugee Camp in Kenya

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EDITORIAL NOTE

BY SARAH DRYDEN-PETERSON, JO KELCEY, AND S. GARNETT RUSSELL¹

This issue of the *Journal on Education in Emergencies (JEiE)* is the second part of a two-part special issue on refugees and education. Reflecting the salience of this topic and its global impact, we were delighted to receive more excellent and rigorously reviewed submissions than could fit in a single issue. The first part of the special issue provided a historical analysis of refugee education and the actions and decisions made by various actors, such as teachers, organizations, and bureaucracies, in mediating refugee children's educational experiences. This second part complements the first with articles that focus on opportunities and outcomes in refugee education as they connect to rights, funding actors, literacy, belonging, and teacher development.

In this second part, we present five research articles and three book reviews. Three themes emerge across these contributions. First is the importance of multiscale understandings of refugee education. The contributing authors show the diverse ways that global laws, policies, and approaches are mobilized, interpreted, and experienced at a national and local level. They draw attention to the complex factors, which often are located at the intersections of these levels, that create critical gaps in the provision of refugee education and in refugee students' learning outcomes. Second, the contributors underscore the need to account for the diverse economic, social, and cultural dimensions of education. They demonstrate the ways in which laws, schools, teachers, and donors shape how these dimensions of education play out in the schooling experiences of young refugees. Third, building on the first part of this special issue, these contributions showcase how much methodologically diverse research can help to improve refugee education. The contributors employ a range of approaches, including narrative content analysis, interviews, and representative surveys, that together contribute to new theoretical and empirical insights that relate to opportunities and outcomes in refugee education.

The first two articles focus on global factors that shape the provision of education for refugees. In "Exploring the Enforceability of Refugees' Right to Education: A Comparative Analysis of Human Rights Treaties," Sarah Horsch Carsley and

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.

S. Garnett Russell examine international legal provisions for refugee education. In seeking a better understanding of why international human rights treaties do not necessarily translate into access to education for refugees, the authors find that the international treaties that form the backbone of refugees' legal right to education are some of the least enforceable treaties in international human rights law. Horsch Carsley and Russell suggest that this discrepancy reflects the historic underprioritization of economic, social, and cultural rights in international law. Their findings underscore the importance of legal and policy analysis in furthering understanding of the persistent gaps between policy objectives and the actual provision of education for refugees.

In "The Emerging Role of Corporate Actors as Policymakers in Education in Emergencies: Evidence from the Syria Refugee Crisis," Zeena Zakharia and Francine Menashy examine how the global phenomenon of education privatization has shaped the provision of education for Syria refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. Through a qualitative case study that draws from interviews and mapping, they analyze corporate involvement in refugee education and the motivations behind this involvement. Zakharia and Menashy argue that the trend toward corporate-supported provision of education for refugees has increased the influence of corporate actors in global policy circles to the extent that these corporations now need to be viewed as global education policymakers.

The next three articles focus on the overlooked but critically important issue of refugee students' learning. In their article, "Are Refugee Children Learning? Early Grade Literacy in a Refugee Camp in Kenya," Benjamin Piper, Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Vidur Chopra, Celia Reddick, and Arbogast Oyanga collect representative data to assess literacy outcomes among refugee children attending lower primary schools in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya. Their analysis reveals these students' very low literacy outcomes, even as compared to disadvantaged schoolchildren in the host community, Turkana County. The authors also identify important differences in learning outcomes among the refugee children, which vary according to their country of origin, language of instruction, languages spoken at home, and children's reported expectations of a return to their country of origin.

Jihae Cha's article, "Refugee Students' Academic Motivation in Displacement: The Case of Kakuma Refugee Camp," explores learning from the perspective of students' academic motivation. Using regression modeling to analyze survey data collected from more than six hundred students in nine primary schools in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, Cha examines the factors that help account for

refugee students' level of motivation. A student's sense of belonging at school emerged as the most important factor in predicting their academic motivation. This finding underscores the importance of creating school environments that foster refugee students' academic motivation.

In "Educators for Change: Supporting the Transformative Role of Teachers in Contexts of Mass Displacement," Tejendra Pherali, Mai Abu Moghli, and Elaine Chase explore how teachers of refugees in Lebanon understand their role in preparing refugee students for the future. Drawing from qualitative data collected from teachers, they find that teachers can support refugee students' future trajectories more effectively when their local knowledge, capacities, and creativities are mobilized. The authors present a transformative model of teacher professional development and point to the potential of critical approaches and digital technologies to support teachers and advance their professional development. The findings of these three articles underscore the importance of investing not only in creating access to education for refugees but in improving their opportunities for learning and their sense of belonging.

The three book reviews included in this issue cover important topics for the field of education in emergencies, including migration and education, peace education, and human rights education. Bethany Mulimbi reviews the "Global Education Monitoring Report 2019: Migration, Displacement and Education—Building Bridges, Not Walls" by the Global Education Monitoring Report Team. Mulimbi provides an overview of the report, including the multiple ways education and migration relate to each other. She notes that the text is highly accessible and relevant to a range of stakeholders, and that it has particular implications for teachers and school leaders in terms of curriculum and pedagogy, and for policymakers at all levels. Samira N. Chatila provides a review of *Peace Education: International Perspectives*, edited by Monisha Bajaj and Maria Hantzopoulos. Chatila provides an overview of the importance of peace education in supporting peacebuilding in emergencies and defines the link between peace education and violence as process, intervention, or outcome. The book includes 12 chapters by different authors who explore various dimensions of peace education relative to peacebuilding in postconflict societies, historical and critical pedagogy, and localized approaches. In the third book review, Amit Prakash provides an overview of Rachel Wahl's *Just Violence: Torture and Human Rights in the Eyes of the Police*. He explains how police officers in India draw from global human rights discourse to justify their own acts of violence and torture, and how human rights education is used to justify these actions in terms of security and justice

concerns. Prakash highlights Wahl's attempt to go beyond the binaries often associated with human rights and torture.

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We are grateful to Editor-in-Chief Dana Burde and *JEiE* Editorial Board members Carine Allaf, Ragnhild Dybdahl, Mark Ginsburg, Elisabeth King, Ruth Naylor, S. Garnett Russell, Sweta Shah, and James Williams for the opportunity to serve as the lead editors for this special thematic issue, and for the insight and direction they give to help develop high-quality scholarship in the EiE field. We extend many thanks to Heddy Lahmann, Senior Managing Editor, and Nathan Thompson, Deputy Managing Editor, for their leadership throughout the publication process. Editorial Assistants Sneha Bolisetty, Claudia Segura, and Deborah Osomo provided essential support. This issue was made possible through funding from the Open Society Foundations, for which we are very thankful. New York University hosts *JEiE* through the Department of Applied Statistics, Social Science, and Humanities and the International Education program and provides critical administrative services, meeting space, library services, and more. We acknowledge with gratitude the work of Dean Brooks, Sonja Anderson, Peter Transburg, Sarah Montgomery, Lindsey Fraser, and others at INEE to advance *JEiE*'s goal of curating and disseminating rigorous evidence within the EiE field. Dody Riggs, our copy editor, and Patrick McCarthy, our designer, also deserve our sincere thanks for their hard work. Last, we would like to thank the many anonymous peer reviewers who gave generously of their time and expertise. They will be acknowledged by name in a future issue.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

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.

EXPLORING THE ENFORCEABILITY OF REFUGEES' RIGHT TO EDUCATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES

SARAH HORSCH CARSLEY AND S. GARNETT RUSSELL

ABSTRACT

Three international treaties form the backbone of refugees' legal right to education: the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. Nevertheless, a wide gap persists between these favorable international laws and the actual school enrollment of refugee children. This paper presents an empirical analysis of the so-called policy-practice gap in refugee education in order to answer two fundamental questions: (1) What enforcement mechanisms are present in the three international treaties that form the backbone of refugees' right to education? (2) How do these enforcement mechanisms differ from the enforcement mechanisms in four other international human rights treaties that do not focus specifically on refugees or education? The authors find that the three treaties that address refugees' right to education are some of the least enforceable in international human rights law. We posit that this finding may be explained by the historic lack of priority given to economic, social, and cultural rights in international law and argue that the unenforceability of the right to an education contributes to the policy-practice gap in refugee education in a direct and significant way.

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INTRODUCTION

Under international law, all refugee children have the legal right to education, yet only 63 percent of refugee children worldwide attend primary school and only 24 percent attend secondary school (UN High Commissioner for Refugees 2019). Refugees' binding legal right to education is firmly rooted in three international human rights treaties, of which every UN member state has ratified or acceded to at least one: the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Refugee Convention), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).¹ Because they have been widely ratified, these three treaties, which contain the most comprehensive expressions of refugees' right to education, form the backbone of those rights under international law.² Furthermore, unlike nonbinding declarations or policy documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (NY Declaration), and the Global Compact on Refugees, these three treaties represent binding commitments under international law. As such, the ratifying countries can be held accountable if they violate the provisions of the treaty, at least in theory.³ However, despite the strong legal protections provided by these treaties, refugee students' school enrollment rates are abysmal compared to those of their nonrefugee peers.⁴ Recent studies in the field of education in emergencies (EiE) have revealed an extensive policy-practice gap in refugee education (Mendenhall, Russell, and Buckner 2017; Buckner, Spencer, and Cha 2017; Dryden-Peterson 2016), and researchers in the field have begun to explore the complex reasons for this disparity.

1 The United States is now the only UN member nation that has failed to ratify the CRC. Although the US has not yet ratified the CRC or the ICESCR and is therefore not bound to the terms of those treaties, its ratification of the 1951 Refugee Convention/1967 Protocol does give refugee children within its borders a legally binding right to a primary education. Therefore, between the CRC on the one hand and the Refugee Convention on the other, all current UN member nations—including the US—are covered by an international treaty that grants refugee children the legally binding right to a primary education.

2 Other binding laws also grant certain refugees the right to education. At the international level, these laws include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. At the regional level, they include the African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. We acknowledge the importance of these laws within the education in emergencies landscape but do not consider them part of the backbone of refugees' right to education because they either have not been widely ratified or only extend the right to education to a select group of refugees.

3 Some scholars argue that the UDHR has entered international customary law due to its widespread acceptance over the last 70 years and has thereby acquired binding legal status, but this argument is more theoretical than pragmatic, as most nations only accept select portions of the UDHR. It is unlikely that heavily polarized and politicized issues, such as the right to education as it applies to refugees, would be acknowledged as a portion of the UDHR that has entered international customary law (see Hannum 1998).

4 While 91 percent of children worldwide are enrolled in primary school and 84 percent are enrolled in secondary school, only 63 percent of refugee children are enrolled in primary school and 24 percent in secondary school (UNHCR 2019).

We hypothesize that refugees' right to education is less enforceable than other human rights enshrined in international law. We explore this hypothesis by conducting a content analysis that systematically reviews and compares the enforcement provisions of the Refugee Convention, CRC, and ICESCR with those of four other international human rights treaties that do not specifically focus on refugees or education: the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the Convention Against Torture (CAT). We find that the laws granting refugees the right to education in the three foundational treaties are some of the least enforceable international human rights laws in existence. We contend that the inability to enforce refugees' right to education under international law is an intrinsic weakness that contributes to the policy-practice gap in refugee education. In presenting this finding, we provide an analysis that is missing from the current literature in the fields of education, sociology, and law.

This article contributes empirical evidence to further understanding of the policy-practice gap in refugee education and attempts to reconcile the unambiguous legal rights that exist on paper with the negligible compliance rates in practice. We focus on what we believe is a key reason for the policy-practice gap: the unenforceability of the CRC, Refugee Convention, and ICESCR. We define unenforceability as the inability to enforce a law that has already been enacted, due to the absence or inadequacy of enforcement mechanisms in the legislation. Our research addresses two fundamental questions: (1) What enforcement mechanisms are present in the three international treaties that form the backbone of refugees' right to education? (2) How do the enforcement mechanisms in these three treaties differ from those in the four other international human rights treaties that do not specifically focus on refugees or education?

We employ neo-institutional theory, which asserts that globalization has contributed to the spread of cultural norms across the world (Meyer et al. 1997), to explain two distinct phenomena that arise in our study. This theory helps us understand how the phenomenon of certain language, such as that used in the UDHR, is diffused almost identically into international, regional, and local law in vastly different cultures around the globe. This isomorphism of language and ideas helps us conceptualize the importance of the similarity (or dissimilarity) of specific enforcement provisions used by the seven international human rights treaties we analyze here (see Meyer et al. 1997). The second phenomenon, the concept of decoupling—that is, the disconnect between intention and practice (Meyer and Rowan 1977; Bromley and Powell 2012)—contributes to our discussion

on the imparity of refugees' legal rights on the one hand, which are so optimistically protective, and the actual school enrollment figures of refugee children on the other hand, which are so decidedly grim.

We use the concept of decoupling to approach the policy-practice gap in refugee education from a new angle. Rather than attributing the gap to various problems that have prevented the law from trickling down to the implementation level (see, e.g., Schriewer 1990; Brunsson 2002), we argue that the law itself hampers implementation, thereby contributing extensively to the gap. Although a substantial body of prior research has investigated the general enforceability of human rights treaties (see, e.g., Hathaway 2002, 2007; Hafner-Burton, Tsutsui, and Meyer 2008; Essary and Theisner 2013; Koh 1996; McCrudden 2015), this study is one of the first to empirically investigate the enforceability of refugees' right to education.⁵ In this article, we focus exclusively on the provision of formal education, as that is what international treaties specifically refer to (see Appendix 1).

This article proceeds as follows. In the second section, we show how international law regulates the education of refugees and discuss the strengths and weaknesses of current regulations. In the third section, we discuss the literature from the fields of law, sociology, and education. In the fourth section, we discuss neo-institutional theory, isomorphism, and decoupling. The final three sections set out our methodology, findings, and discussion.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND REFUGEE EDUCATION

At present, three international treaties form the backbone of refugees' right to education and provide the legal basis for the EiE field.⁶ These three treaties—the CRC, Refugee Convention, and ICESCR—have been widely ratified, are legally binding in all ratifying nations or States Parties, and contain the most comprehensive expression of refugees' right to education.⁷ Like all international human rights treaties, these three are essentially contracts signed and ratified by countries around the world, which thereby committed to abide by the terms of

⁵ A handful of other papers or reports, such as the “UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education,” address the subject of enforcing refugees' right to education; however, these papers either contain little more than a tangential reference to enforceability or are not empirical. As an example of the former, see the report on urban refugees by Mendenhall et al. (2017). As an example of the latter, see the paper by Willems and Jonas (2017) that contains certain legal remarks about enforcing refugees' right to education under international law.

⁶ As mentioned in footnote 2, other international and regional laws also grant refugees the right to education.

⁷ “States Parties” refers to all entities that have ratified a given treaty.

the contracts (Henkin et al. 2009). Before signing on the proverbial dotted line and committing to the terms of the contract, a State Party has the opportunity to make certain exceptions; this is typically to ensure that ratifying the treaty will not create a conflict with their existing domestic laws (Henkin et al. 2009). In international human rights law, these exceptions are known as Reservations, Understandings, and Declarations, and they are published along with the ratifying nation's signature in the UN annals (Chung 2016). With or without such exceptions, the treaties are theoretically binding on States Parties, which means that any ratifying state can be held accountable if it violates the terms of contract.

Because international human rights treaties are legally binding, certain measures are taken to ensure that States Parties comply with the terms. One such measure is to form a treaty committee to monitor its implementation, which is usually formed at the time a treaty enters into force. While each treaty committee has slightly different powers, all are tasked with the general oversight of periodic reports the States Parties are required to submit, and with the publication of general comments that help clarify specific treaty provisions and resolve any confusion a State Party might have about their obligations under the treaty (Helfer and Slaughter 1997). The general comments give treaty committees the opportunity to clarify the provisions of the law and ensure that they remain relevant to modern geopolitical circumstances (Henkin et al. 2009). We argue that these committees' power has been particularly important in recent years, as the Committee on the Rights of the Child, a body of experts that monitors and reports on the implementation of the CRC, and the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families have worked together in unprecedented ways to bolster the rights of migrant and refugee children. Specifically, Paragraph 59 of Joint General Comment No. 4 (2017) of the latter committee and Paragraph No. 23 (2017) of the former define States Parties' obligation to protect the right to education of children in their countries of origin and, for those involved in international migration, in their countries of transit, destination, and return:

All children in the context of international migration, irrespective of status, shall have full access to all levels and all aspects of education, including early childhood education and vocational training, on the basis of equality with nationals of the country where those children are living.⁸

8 Joint General Comment No. 4 (2017).

These joint general comments explicitly reference the language and ideas raised in vital nonbinding policy documents, such as the July 2018 report of the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to education and the 2016 NY Declaration, thereby bringing innovative ideas about refugee rights into the realm of binding law and underscoring the importance of the treaty committees. The publication in 2017 of Joint General Comment No. 4 by the Committee on the Rights of the Child means that all States Parties to the CRC are required to provide access to education for all migrant and refugee children living within their borders, regardless of their formal migration status.

Despite these promising commitments, refugees' right to education remains on tenuous ground. All international human rights law, including the three core treaties on refugee education, is fraught with enforcement challenges, and what it demands in theory is rarely reflected in the actual outcomes. One reason for this is that enforcing the terms of international human rights treaties is uniquely difficult. To begin with, there are few market or political forces that pressure states to comply with the treaties they have ratified (see Goodman and Jinks 2004). In other words, Country A rarely has reason to shoulder the costs of intervention when Country B violates a human rights treaty. Accordingly, the pressures that typically stop the violation of other treaties, such as nuclear disarmament, are inadequate in the case of human rights (see Goodman and Jinks 2004). In addition, international human rights treaties tend to include unusually weak compliance and enforcement provisions (see Hathaway 2002), which means that, although they are technically legally binding, they tend more toward "soft law" than other international treaties in that they are "essentially unenforceable through traditional means" (Hathaway 2007, 592). World Trade Organization treaties, which typically include substantial legal sanctions for violations (see Hathaway 2007), offer a point of comparison.

Two other issues threaten to make refugees' right to education less enforceable than other international human rights: a particularly ineffective Refugee Convention, and the systematic demotion by the US and other Western Bloc nations of social, cultural, and economic rights, including education. The Refugee Convention has many shortcomings in the EiE context in particular, including the following: (1) it only covers individuals deemed to be refugees as defined by the Refugee Convention and therefore fails to cover asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, migrants, individuals without formal documentation, and people who are fleeing violence, such as civil war; (2) it only covers refugees within the territory of nations that have ratified the Refugee Convention; (3) it only protects refugees' right to a primary education; (4) it makes no recommendations or assurances

about the quality of education that should be provided to refugees; and (5) it has no treaty committee to monitor and enforce its implementation. These are significant limitations for the EiE field, whose educators and other actors frequently serve displaced communities whose residents have uncertain or mixed refugee status, often in countries that have not signed the Refugee Convention or have signed it but with significant exceptions.

The historic deprioritization of economic, social, and cultural rights under international human rights law has a direct impact on the enforceability of ICESCR and may have a spillover effect on certain provisions of the CRC;⁹ this leaves at least two if not all three backbone treaties in a relatively weaker position than the treaties centered on civil and political rights. Historically, and as a living artifact of the Cold War, countries in the West have tended to favor civil and political rights, such as freedom of speech and the right to a fair trial, over economic, social, and cultural rights, such as the right to education and clean water (Alston 2009; Roth 2004; Plant 2003; Eide, Krause, and Rosas 2001). Meanwhile, countries of the former Soviet Union have pushed for economic, social, and cultural rights to be given the same weight as civil and political rights under international human rights law (Alston 2009; Roth 2004; Plant 2003; Eide et al. 2001). Evidence of the priority given civil and political rights in the West is the fact that the United States, which ratified the ICCPR in 1992, has yet to ratify ICESCR. Although both documents were drafted in 1954, many legal scholars and human rights activists argue that social, cultural, and economic rights were deprioritized and remain subordinate (Alston 2009). They highlight the extreme differences in diction between the ICCPR, which prohibits countries from taking certain actions—for example, imposing the death penalty on children under age 18 (ICCPR article 6)—and ICESCR, which requires countries to take certain actions, such as the demand that States Parties take appropriate steps to safeguard the right to work (ICESCR article 6; Alston 2009). These differences may seem subtle, but in practice they are significant: it is usually obvious when a country violates a right, but it is often not apparent that a country has failed to enforce one, which makes it difficult to determine whether a country has done enough to fulfill its treaty obligations (Howlett 2004; Roth 2004; Eide et al. 2001). Moreover, ICESCR undercuts its own enforceability by requiring States Parties to “take steps”

9 As one example of how the expression of some social, cultural, and economic rights in the CRC has less linguistic force than their civil and political counterparts, compare the language in Article 28(1)(e) commanding that States Parties “take measures” to encourage school attendance to the language found in Article 19(1) demanding that States Parties “take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures” to protect children from violence.

toward the “full realization” of economic, social, and cultural rights; the ICCPR contains no such wording (UN General Assembly 1966a, 1966b).

THE EIE POLICY-PRACTICE GAP

In this section, we review the literature from the fields of international law and sociology to demonstrate the failed enforceability and implementation of international human rights laws. This literature lays the groundwork for our study by demonstrating that the enforceability of these laws is a widespread problem. We then review the education literature that discusses the policy-practice gap in refugee education to demonstrate that no prior study has attributed this gap to the unenforceability of the laws governing the EiE field. Our review suggests that the failed enforceability and implementation of international human rights laws might contribute to the policy-practice gap in refugee education.

THE LEGAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE ON ENFORCEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS

The legal and sociological literature highlight the pervasive enforceability and implementation problems in international human rights law, which may contribute to the EiE policy-practice gap. Legal research in particular has determined that flawed enforceability is a primary reason for human rights abuses in nations that have ratified international human rights treaties.

Some argue that treaty committees use cookie-cutter language steeped in Western values (Essary and Theisner 2013). As a result, although treaty committees' primary job is to interpret the treaty language and provide clear advice and next steps for States Parties, they often fail to fulfill this purpose because concern for efficiency and fairness leads them to recommend actions that are contextually inappropriate and unhelpful. This limits the effectiveness of the treaty committees and their recommendations.

A quantitative analysis of compliance problems in international human rights law in five distinct areas—genocide, torture, civil liberty, fair and public trials, and political representation of women—finds that numerous parties to human rights treaties violate their obligations as a matter of course (Hathaway 2002). To remedy this, Hathaway recommends a stronger treaty enforcement system,

along with the implementation of treaty entry requirements, tiered membership, and provisions for removal. Higher tiers would be reached only after completing a successful period of treaty compliance.

An empirical analysis of the States Parties to human rights treaties finds extensive decoupling between the policies countries agree to by ratifying a treaty and their actual human rights practices (Tsutsui and Hafner-Burton 2005). Nevertheless, we conclude that, by legitimizing human rights, these treaties carry expectations and requirements for the ratifying nations, which in general have a positive impact despite any decoupling of policy-practice by the signatories. Hafner-Burton et al. (2008), who conducted a cross-nation quantitative analysis, conclude that regimes with poor human rights records often sign a human rights treaty for its legitimating effects and to demonstrate a symbolic commitment, despite having no intention of complying. These studies demonstrate that, despite its net positive effect, international law is often not implemented or enforced.

THE EDUCATION LITERATURE AND THE POLICY-PRACTICE GAP

To establish that there is a clear gap between policy and practice in refugee education, the EiE literature uses international human rights law as the benchmark for policies that are not fully implemented and identifies flaws in the laws (Mendenhall et al. 2017; Dryden-Peterson 2016). Although EiE scholars fall short of blaming the policy-practice gap on human rights law, they do attribute it to the complex and challenging environment facing host country governments, school administrators, and refugees (see Mendenhall et al. 2017; Buckner et al. 2017; Dryden-Peterson 2016).

In a mixed-methods study, Mendenhall et al. (2017) identify a severe policy-practice gap in education services for urban refugees. They find that many countries' policies provide for refugee education on paper but implementation fails due to limited space in government schools, government inability to monitor compliance, poor understanding of the policies, and rising xenophobia. Buckner et al. (2017) describe the policy-practice gap in Lebanon, which they attribute to a misalignment between the national education policy, which is generally favorable toward refugees, and other national policies that severely penalize them, such as not issuing work visas to refugees. In an empirical analysis of global education policy documents issued from 1951 to 2016, Dryden-Peterson (2016) draws attention to the stark difference between aspirational policies and the actual

experiences of refugee children. While these three studies clearly identify a gap between policy and practice in refugee education and identify various factors that contribute to this gap, none points to the unenforceability of the laws as a contributing factor.

The report of the UN Special Rapporteur (2018) on the right to education also identifies the gap between policy and practice in the EiE field, first by cataloguing the international laws and agreements that mandate education for refugees and then by listing numerous “issues and challenges” that prevent refugees from receiving any education. This list of issues and challenges notably omits any mention of problems with the enforceability of the laws, focusing instead on other barriers, such as bureaucracy and child labor. Another publication, a handbook titled *Protecting Education in Insecurity and Armed Conflict* (Hausler, Urban, and McCorquodale 2012), provides a comprehensive overview of the relevant international legal instruments that protect education in the midst of conflict. While this handbook gives lawyers and EiE professionals helpful insights into the ways international human rights, humanitarian, and criminal law interact to protect children’s right to education in conflict settings, it does not offer an empirical analysis of the implementation or enforcement of these laws.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES AND NEO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

Having established the EiE policy-practice gap and the possibility that unenforceable international laws could be contributing to it, we now look to the neo-institutional literature to apply the ideas of isomorphism and decoupling. Neo-institutional theory posits the diffusion of global norms linked to human rights, justice, and the individual via international nongovernmental organizations and intergovernmental organizations, such as the United Nations (see Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer et al. 1997). According to neo-institutionalist scholars, the isomorphism of global norms such as international human rights is the result of three forces: mimesis, coercion, and normalization (Meyer et al. 1997; DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Mimetic forces encourage the adoption of global norms to reduce risk in the face of uncertainty; coercive forces demand the adoption of global norms in order to obtain certain benefits from the international community, such as financial support; and normative forces encourage the adoption of global norms in order to build international legitimacy (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Isomorphism helps to explain the global rise of human rights as codified by a

series of international treaties and broadly adopted by nations around the globe over the last 60 years. At a more granular level, it offers insights into why certain portions of the text of human rights treaties are identical, or nearly so.

According to neo-institutionalist scholars, isomorphism goes hand-in-hand with the phenomenon known as decoupling, whereby gaps between policy and practice will naturally occur as a new world culture evolves, particularly where global norms are at odds with a nation's political reality (Meyer and Rowan 1977). Bromley and Powell (2012) distinguish between two types of decoupling in the literature: policy-practice decoupling, whereby policies are violated or not implemented, and means-ends decoupling, whereby policies are implemented but the outcomes do not reflect the policies' original objectives. Other studies provide explanations for decoupling. Schriewer (1990), for instance, demonstrates that some countries intend to implement certain policies they adopt but lack the technical expertise or financial resources to do so. Brunsson (2002) argues that some countries become parties to global policies and treaties in order to avoid scrutiny and gain legitimacy. Both explanations may apply to the decoupling that occurs in the context of international human rights and refugee education.

We posit that certain textual differences, specifically with regard to the enforcement mechanisms used by human rights treaties, are particularly meaningful when they are understood contextually, considering the highly isomorphic nature of other treaty provisions.

METHODOLOGY

This study addresses the research questions with a two-part analysis. We first conduct a content analysis (Krippendorff 2012) of seven human rights treaties, beginning with the three backbone treaties of refugee education—the Refugee Convention, CRC, and ICESCR—followed by four international human rights treaties unrelated to refugee education—CEDAW, CERD, ICCPR, and CAT. The last four treaties in our analysis were purposively selected because they are widely referenced in international human rights law, their adoption dates have a wide timespan, and their subject matter is varied. Our initial content analysis focused exclusively on identifying the enforcement mechanisms included in all seven treaties (see Table 1).

Table 1: The Seven Human Rights Treaties Examined in This Study

Name of Treaty	Date Entered into Force	Rights Protected
1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Refugee Convention)	1951	Civil, political, social, cultural, and economic rights of refugees
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	1990	Civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights of all children
International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)	1966	Economic, social, and cultural rights of all humans
Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	1979	Civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights of all women
Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD)	1965	Civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights of minority and indigenous populations
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)	1966	Civil and political rights of all humans
Convention Against Torture (CAT)	1984	Civil and political rights of all humans, specifically the right to be free from torture and other inhumane treatment

Our content analysis revealed two types of enforcement mechanisms in the treaties: consequences and enforcement entities. We define “consequences” as any enforcement mechanism that serves as a check/balance on the States Parties’ implementation of a treaty; we define “enforcement entity” as an individual or set of individuals a treaty identifies as the intended enforcer of a consequence. Using NVivo software, we coded the seven treaties inductively in order to catalogue the types of consequences and enforcement entities mentioned (see Tables 2 and 3).

We subsequently conducted a comparative analysis of the enforcement mechanisms revealed by the content analysis, comparing the three treaties granting refugees the right to education—the Refugee Convention, CRC, and ICESCR—with the four other treaties. In our comparative analysis of the seven treaties, we used the coded treaty provisions from our content analysis to compare the incidence of consequences and enforcement entities. This permitted us to analyze the relative

enforceability of the three treaties granting refugees the right to education, using the other four treaties as the point of comparison.

FINDINGS

CONSEQUENCES FOR TREATY VIOLATIONS

The texts of the seven human rights treaties under examination contained a total of 17 different types of consequences, which we define as treaty provisions intended to penalize states that violate a treaty they have ratified (see a summary in Table 2). These provisions appear to serve three distinct purposes: (1) to permit the invasion of a sovereign country to establish external checks and balances; (2) to generate media attention; and (3) to allow legal action to be taken against a country that violates a treaty. All 17 consequences serve more than one of these purposes.

Table 2: The Consequences Named in the Seven Treaties Examined in This Study

Consequence		Type of Action Allowed		
		External Checks on Sovereignty	Media Attention	Legal Action
C1	Treaty committee conducts confidential inquiry	X		
C2	Treaty committee demands information/written explanations	X		
C3	Treaty committee gives comments, suggestions, or recommendations to the violating State Party	X		
C4	Treaty committee includes summary of inquiry in annual report	X	X	
C5	Treaty committee report (ordinary course)	X	X	
C6	Treaty committee shares findings and recommendations with other States Parties	X		
C7	Treaty committee submits special report	X		
C8	Treaty committee visits the violating State Party	X	X	
C9	Treaty committee may establish an ad hoc conciliation commission	X		X

Consequence		Type of Action Allowed		
		External Checks on Sovereignty	Media Attention	Legal Action
C10	Findings and recommendations shared with other UN bodies	X	X	
C11	UN General Assembly commissions special study	X	X	
C12	The violating State Party must submit information/report to the treaty committee, UN body, or another State Party	X		
C13	The violating State Party may refer a dispute to the International Court of Justice	X	X	X
C14	Any State Party may make a complaint to the treaty committee about another State Party	X		X
C15	Any State Party may make a complaint to another State Party	X		
C16	Individual within the jurisdiction of a State Party may make a complaint to the treaty committee	X		X
C17	The treaty committee shares reports with and/or invites UN specialized agencies to report on implementation of treaty provisions	X	X	

The first provision of all 17 consequences—the right to invade a sovereign country to establish external checks and balances—overrides the legal principle that every sovereign nation can do whatever it wants to its own citizens within its own borders (Katzenstein 2014; Koh 1997). Of course, all international law encroaches on a nation’s sovereignty to some extent; by ratifying a treaty and promising to take (or not take) specific actions, a nation gives another nation or group of nations the power to intervene if it violates the treaty. However, some forms of encroachment are more severe than others. For example, giving a nation the right to sue another in the International Court of Justice is a more severe encroachment on the country being sued than, say, a treaty committee writing an annual report in which it makes certain recommendations to the violating State Party. The degree of encroachment on the sovereignty of States Parties varies significantly in the 17 consequences.

The second provision, which 7 of the 17 consequences serve, is to generate media attention by calling out countries that have violated the provisions of a treaty. Negative media attention may prompt a country’s own citizens to pressure state officials to return to compliance, and it can call attention to a country’s noncompliance in broader circles, leading other nations, trade groups, aid donors, and the UN to punish the violating country in multiple creative ways, such as withholding funds from the violating country, changing entry requirements for citizens of the violating country, implementing sanctions or tariffs against the violating country, or sending in UN peacekeepers.

The third provision, which 4 of the 17 consequences serve, allows legal action to be taken against a violating country. This is the most severe consequence found in the treaties surveyed. The type of legal action found ranges from decisions made in perijudicial settings at the committee level to full-blown lawsuits at the international level, either of which could demand that violators pay financial damages or even serve jail time in the most extreme cases. Notably, this third type of consequence necessarily entails a significant violation of a nation’s sovereignty and often generates negative media attention as well. Because of its severity, this type of consequence tends to apply solely to nations that voluntarily adopted an optional treaty protocol that included accepting this type of punishment, which made it legally binding.

ENFORCEMENT ENTITIES

Enforcement entities are the individuals and groups who are supposed to enforce the consequences written into treaties. Fourteen different enforcement entities were identified in the seven human rights treaties analyzed. The enforcement entities can be grouped into four distinct categories: (1) States Parties to a treaty, (2) UN bodies, (3) individual citizens, and (4) courts of justice (see summary in Table 3).

Table 3: The Enforcement Entities Named in the Seven Treaties Examined in This Study

Enforcement Entity		Type of Enforcement Entity			
		States Parties	UN Bodies	Individual Citizens	Courts of Justice
A	State Party	X			
B	All States Parties	X			
C	Treaty committee		X		
D	Ad hoc conciliation commission (formed by treaty committee)		X		

Enforcement Entity		Type of Enforcement Entity			
		States Parties	UN Bodies	Individual Citizens	Courts of Justice
E	Other UN bodies		X		
F	UN Commission on Human Rights		X		
G	UN General Assembly/UN Secretary-General		X		
H	International Court of Justice				X
I	UN funds, programs, and specialized agencies		X		
J	UN Economic and Social Council		X		
K	UN High Commissioner for Refugees		X		
L	Individual within the jurisdiction of a State Party			X	
M	Arbitrator				X
N	UN Commission on the Status of Women		X		

The States Parties category, representing 2 of 14 of the enforcement entities, includes the countries that have ratified a particular treaty. In some cases, when one State Party violates a treaty provision, other States Parties are given the authority to enforce the provision while applying specified consequences.

The UN bodies category, representing 9 of 14 of the enforcement entities, includes the UN organs given the authority to enforce the consequences written into a treaty. UN bodies, the most prevalent type of enforcement entity named in the treaties surveyed, range from highly specialized groups such as treaty committees to general entities such as the UN General Assembly.

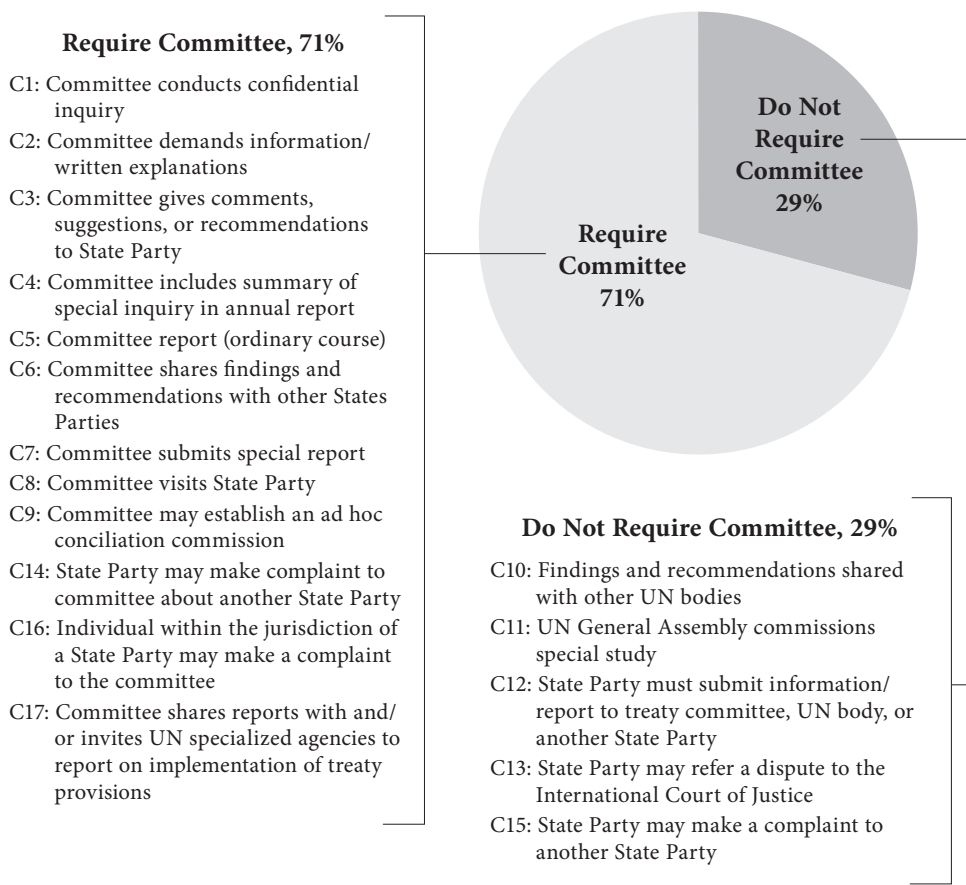
The individual citizens category, representing 1 of the 14 enforcement entities, includes citizens of a State Party that has violated a treaty provision. This applies in nations that have ratified an optional protocol to a treaty that gives citizens the right to make a formal complaint to the treaty committee when their rights have been violated by their country and that country has failed to acknowledge or remedy the violation.

The courts of justice category, representing 2 of the 14 enforcement entities, includes enforcement by the International Court of Justice and by arbitrators a treaty committee has appointed to resolve a dispute.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TREATY COMMITTEES

Although fourteen enforcement entities are named in the seven treaties surveyed, six of them rely on treaty committees as the predominant enforcer. Only the Refugee Convention lacks a treaty committee. Moreover, Figure 1 illustrates that 12 of the 17 consequences require a treaty committee to enforce them. In other words, in the absence of a treaty committee, only five consequences remain viable if a State Party is noncompliant.

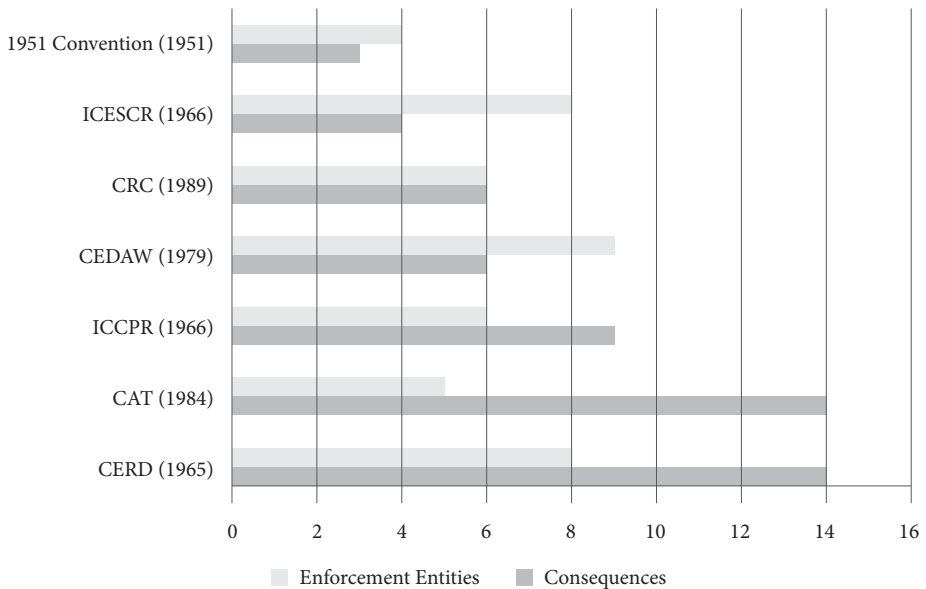
Figure 1: Percentage of Consequences that Require Enforcement by a Treaty Committee



WEAKER ENFORCEMENT ABILITY FOR REFUGEE EDUCATION

Figure 2 shows the number of consequences and enforcement entities named in each treaty analyzed. After we catalogued and added up these enforcement mechanisms, we ranked them from those having the fewest to the most enforcement mechanisms. Using the number of enforcement mechanisms as a proxy for a treaty’s enforceability, this ranking indicates that CERD, which names fourteen consequences and eight enforcement entities, is the most enforceable of the seven treaties. The Refugee Convention, which names only three consequences and four enforcement entities, is the least enforceable treaty; it is followed by the CRC and the ICESCR, which means that the three treaties that form the backbone of refugees’ right to education are the least enforceable.

Figure 2: Number of Consequences and Enforcement Entities Named in Each Treaty



DISCUSSION

Despite the isomorphism evident in language and structure across the human rights treaties analyzed, the different enforcement mechanisms contribute to a decoupling between intent and application and, ultimately, to the policy-practice gap in refugees’ legal right to education. This study provides empirical evidence

of the relative lack of enforceability of the three treaties that form the backbone of refugees' right to education, as other human rights treaties include more consequences and enforcement entities.

While this study does not determine the underlying reasons for the different enforcement mechanisms used by each treaty, it does reveal a familiar pattern that was first identified by the literature in the field of international law, as mentioned earlier. In general, the treaties protecting civil and political rights have stronger enforcement mechanisms than those protecting social, cultural, and economic rights and are therefore more enforceable (see Roth 2004; Plant 2003; Eide et al. 2001). However, the pattern our study reveals is markedly different from the conventional pattern of deprioritized economic, social, and cultural rights. The Refugee Convention, which protects refugees' economic, social, and cultural rights as well as their civil and political rights, has the fewest enforcement mechanisms of the seven treaties in our study, making it the least enforceable under international law, as noted above. CERD, which protects the economic, social, and cultural rights as well as the civil and political rights of racial minorities, has the most enforcement mechanisms of the seven treaties. CRC and CEDAW, which protect economic, social, and cultural rights as well as the civil and political rights of children and women, respectively, fall into the middle of the group. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the relative unenforceability of the three backbone treaties of refugee education can be fully attributed to the historic deprioritization of social, cultural, and economic rights. Some might in fact argue that the pattern we have found reveals the deprioritization of women, children, and refugees, with refugees on the bottom rung of that ladder.

We argue that the relative unenforceability of the three refugee education treaties makes them more prone to decoupling than other international human rights treaties. The weak enforcement provisions of these treaties permit extensive differences between the policies the States Parties enact on paper and the actual practices experienced by refugees seeking an education within a party's borders. While myriad factors contribute to the policy-practice gap that afflicts the field of EiE, the relative unenforceability of the core treaties is certainly one of them, as it creates an environment that allows for noncompliance.

The differences we observed in the enforceability provisions of the seven treaties we analyzed are particularly notable, given the isomorphic nature of human rights treaties in general (Alston 2009) and the pervasive borrowing of language among treaty provisions in the human rights arena, particularly with regard to the treaty monitoring process (see Essary and Theisner 2013). One might

expect that the language used in the most recent human rights treaties would simply borrow and/or build on the language from older treaties (see Essary and Theisner 2013), but this is not the case in the treaties we analyzed. Though drafted simultaneously in 1954, the ICCPR and ICESCR include dramatically different enforcement mechanisms (see Figure 2 for an overview). Furthermore, when arranged in order of the date each of the seven treaties was adopted, no discernible pattern of increasing or decreasing enforceability emerges. In other words, if isomorphism over time could explain the type and occurrence of the enforcement mechanisms used in the treaties examined in this study, we would expect to see them become stronger or weaker with time, or to fluctuate, but no pattern of any kind appeared. This suggests that more is at play in the drafting of human rights treaties than isomorphism and provides some evidence that the enforceability provisions in the three treaties on refugees' right to education were intended to be weak. Future research on historical narratives and policy analysis would be needed to support this claim.

Accordingly, this study contributes important evidence to support a rethinking of the laws that undergird the EiE field. The unenforceability of the three backbone treaties granting refugees the right to education may encourage refugees and their advocates to consider relying on all three treaties in unison when the right to education for refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants is being ignored or violated, as the CRC and ICESCR both have treaty committees to monitor their implementation. And while treaty committees are far from perfect, they do protect refugees and their advocates by legally mandating that countries in violation of a treaty submit annual reports on designated topics and by specifying how the violating countries can improve their implementation of treaty requirements. Treaty committees also provide an avenue for those working in the EiE arena to communicate their grievances to leaders of national education systems.

Our study also illustrates the relative unenforceability of the CRC and ICESCR compared to other international human rights treaties, which emphasizes the enforcement and compliance problems of international human rights law in general and points to the importance of alternatives. This unenforceability should inspire a closer look at the validity of the legal hierarchy that puts international law above regional laws and nonbinding policies. For example, the Committee on the Rights of the Child adopted provisions from the NY Declaration, which demonstrates that discussions among EiE and other humanitarian professionals can be wrapped into existing international law, an example of “trickle-up” law. Moreover, an initiative like the 2017 Djibouti Declaration—a nonbinding compact among Horn of Africa nations that protects refugees' right to education, among

other things—points to the importance of regional actors’ drawing attention and resources to certain issues. The nonbinding NY Declaration and the Global Compact on Refugees have both drawn attention to the importance of providing quality education for all refugee children.

More research is needed to understand whether other factors make the three refugee education treaties the least enforceable human rights treaties—for instance, whether refugees have been systematically deprioritized under international law due to xenophobia or other widespread prejudice. With the current poor enforceability of international laws that protect refugees’ right to education, we suggest that EiE actors consider lobbying the Committee on the Rights of the Child to draft an optional protocol to the CRC that clearly presents a robust set of EiE rights that are bolstered by strong enforcement and compliance provisions, such as individuals’ ability to make formal complaints to the Committee on the Rights of the Child and, in turn, the Committee’s ability to recommend sanctions in the event of noncompliance. Such a provision would provide other tangible benefits, even in the face of enforceability challenges.

Most importantly, it would help to simplify the legal underpinnings of the EiE field by consolidating the most powerful language of the binding and nonbinding laws and policies arising out of communities at the international, regional, and national levels. Furthermore, such a provision would be linked to CRC, which already champions the full spectrum of social, cultural, and economic rights, as well as their civil and political counterparts. This would help to shape new expectations and conversations about EiE between States Parties, donors, and other relevant parties. One could imagine an optional protocol on EiE yielding results similar to the CRC’s optional protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict, which has enjoyed considerable success and has been ratified by 168 nations.

In sum, whatever path they pursue in order to close the policy-practice gap, EiE actors must work steadfastly to improve the enforceability of laws that guarantee refugees the right to education. Until such laws become more enforceable, compliance will remain substandard and the policy-practice gap in refugee education will persist.

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**APPENDIX 1: THREE INTERNATIONAL LAW TREATIES.
THE BACKBONE OF REFUGEES' RIGHT TO EDUCATION**

Treaty	Treaty Article(s) Concerning EiE	Treaty Text	Accompanying General Comments
1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Refugee Convention)	22	<p>Public Education</p> <p>1. The Contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education.</p> <p>2. The Contracting States shall accord to refugees treatment as favourable as possible, and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education and, in particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships</p>	N/A
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	22	<p>1. States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure that a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee in accordance with applicable international or domestic law and procedures shall, whether unaccompanied or accompanied by his or her parents or by any other person, receive appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance in the enjoyment of applicable rights set forth in the present Convention and in other international human rights or humanitarian instruments to which the said States are Parties.</p>	<p>Joint General Comment No. 3 (2017) of the Committee on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and No. 22 (2017) of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on the general principles regarding the human rights of children in the context of international migration</p>

(continued)

<p>Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)</p>	<p>22</p>	<p>2. For this purpose, States Parties shall provide, as they consider appropriate, co-operation in any efforts by the United Nations and other competent intergovernmental organisations or nongovernmental organisations co-operating with the United Nations to protect and assist such a child and to trace the parents or other members of the family of any refugee child in order to obtain information necessary for reunification with his or her family. In cases where no parents or other members of the family can be found, the child shall be accorded the same protection as any other child permanently or temporarily deprived of his or her family environment for any reason, as set forth in the present Convention.</p>	<p>Joint General Comment No. 3 (2017) of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and No. 22 (2017) of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on the general principles regarding the human rights of children in the context of international migration</p>
	<p>28</p>	<p>1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all; (b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need; (c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means; (d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children; (e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates. 	<p>Joint general comment No. 4 (2017) of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and No. 23 (2017) of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on State obligations regarding the human rights of children in the context of international migration in countries of origin, transit, destination and return</p>

(continued)

	<p>28</p>	<p>2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.</p> <p>3. States Parties shall promote and encourage international cooperation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.</p>	<p>Joint general comment No. 4 (2017) of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and No. 23 (2017) of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on State obligations regarding the human rights of children in the context of international migration in countries of origin, transit, destination and return</p>
	<p>29</p>	<p>1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:</p> <p>(a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;</p> <p>(b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;</p> <p>(c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;</p>	<p>General Comment No. 1 (2001) of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on the Aims of education</p>

(continued)

	29	<p>(d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;</p> <p>(e) The development of respect for the natural environment.</p> <p>2. No part of the present article or Article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principle set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.</p>	General Comment No. 1 (2001) of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on the Aims of education
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)	13	<p>1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.</p> <p>2. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize that, with a view to achieving the full realization of this right:</p> <p>(a) Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all;</p>	General Comment No. 13 (1999) of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the Right to education

(continued)

<p>International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)</p>	<p>13</p>	<p>(b) Secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational secondary education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;</p> <p>(c) Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;</p> <p>(d) Fundamental education shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible for those persons who have not received or completed the whole period of their primary education;</p> <p>(e) The development of a system of schools at all levels shall be actively pursued, an adequate fellowship system shall be established, and the material conditions of teaching staff shall be continuously improved.³ The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.</p> <p>4. No part of this article shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph I of this article and to the requirement that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.</p>	<p>General Comment No. 13 (1999) of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the Right to education</p>
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Sources: UN General Assembly (1951); UN General Assembly (1966a); UN General Assembly (1966b)

THE EMERGING ROLE OF CORPORATE ACTORS AS POLICYMAKERS IN EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES: EVIDENCE FROM THE SYRIA REFUGEE CRISIS

ZEENA ZAKHARIA AND FRANCINE MENASHY

ABSTRACT

Following calls for their greater engagement in refugee education, corporate actors have become increasingly involved in the funding and provision of education in humanitarian contexts. Their involvement has been particularly prominent in the Syria crisis, which has raised questions about the emerging role of corporate actors as global education policymakers in both emergency and protracted crisis situations. Based on case study research on the education of Syria refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey, this paper examines the nature of and rationales for corporate involvement in refugee education and how this involvement might point to the emergence of corporate actors as global education policymakers. We draw from the interrelated concepts of market humanitarianism, philanthrocapitalism, and private authority, along with data we collected in 2016 and 2017 from 44 key informant interviews and a mapping of activities in the education sector. Taking a sociocultural approach to policy studies, we argue that a surge in corporate support of refugee education has increased the private authority of corporate actors in global policy circles, which has enabled them to occupy new and potentially significant roles in education in emergencies policy spaces.

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INTRODUCTION

The private sector has become increasingly involved in education in emergencies (EiE) in recent years. In response to calls for their greater engagement in refugee education, corporate actors have taken a more prominent role in the funding and provision of education in humanitarian crises through direct profit-seeking activities, corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs, and corporate philanthropies, also known as corporate foundations (Menashy and Zakharia 2017).¹ Indeed, hastened by the nature and scale of the Syria crisis, a number of high-level meetings and events in recent years have spurred attention to the potential role businesses and foundations can play in emergency and protracted crisis situations.² For example, during the 2016 annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos, corporate members of the Global Business Coalition for Education (GBC-E) pledged \$75 million to support the education of Syria refugees (S. Brown 2016). At the same time, a US State Department forum held in California at Stanford University called on corporate actors to respond to the refugee crisis via education. These calls to action were echoed later that year at the World Humanitarian Summit (2016b) and at the White House Summit on Refugees, where President Barack Obama presented a challenge to “the US private sector to draw on its unique expertise, resources, and entrepreneurial spirit to help refugees regain control over their lives and integrate into their new communities” (White House 2016). Obama cited education as the first of three “impact areas” and detailed his aim of addressing refugee education through a private-sector response. A range of high-profile businesses and corporate philanthropies were actively involved in these various initiatives, including Bridge International Academies, the Discovery Learning Alliance, Goldman Sachs, Google, Hewlett Packard, the IKEA Foundation, LinkedIn, Microsoft, Pearson Education, and RAND. These various meetings laid the groundwork for a number of private funding commitments and partnership arrangements to advance the cause of educating refugee children, including the Education Cannot Wait (ECW) initiative—the first global fund to bring public and private stakeholders together to support EiE. Their activities have been particularly evident in the context of

1 “Private sector” is a broad term that encompasses all nonstate entities, both for-profit and nonprofit. We employ the term “corporate actors” to refer more specifically to those affiliated with corporations or companies, such as direct profit-seeking activities and CSR programs. We also use the term to apply to corporate philanthropies, which, although they ostensibly do not seek direct profits, arguably contribute indirectly to a company’s economic success.

2 Although both usages appear in scholarly and practitioner circles, we deliberately use “Syria crisis” (rather than “Syrian crisis”) and refer to “Syria refugees” (not “Syrian refugees”) to acknowledge that the crisis associated with Syria’s armed conflict extends beyond its borders, and that the refugees it has produced may self-identify with differing conceptions of nationality, citizenship status, ethnolinguistic community, and other designations.

the Syria crisis (Zakharia and Menashy 2018), which has raised questions about the emerging role of corporate actors as global education policymakers in the field of humanitarianism.

Since 2011, the Syria crisis has led to mass displacement on an unprecedented scale, with more than 5.6 million Syria refugees worldwide and 6.6 million internally displaced persons (UNHCR 2018a). In prewar Syria, 94 percent of children were enrolled in primary and lower secondary education. At the time of our study, just five years later, enrollment figures for Syria refugee children in formal and nonformal education were estimated to be 52 percent of registered, school-age (5-17) Syria refugees across the countries of Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, and Egypt (UNHCR 2016a).³ An estimated 900,000 Syria refugee children and youth, or 48 percent of registered school-age Syria children and youth, were not enrolled in school or other educational programs in 2016 (UNHCR 2016b). This situation has been a catalyst for the involvement of business in refugee education worldwide (Menashy and Zakharia 2017).

Neighboring countries have struggled to absorb Syria students into their school systems. During the 2017-2018 school year, more than half of the 488,000 school-age children and youth (ages 3-18) in Lebanon were not in school (UNHCR 2018b). In Jordan, despite taking considerable measures to address the refugee crisis, the government is struggling to accommodate more than 660,000 Syria refugees, 226,000 of whom are of school age (Human Rights Watch 2016). As host to the largest school-age Syria refugee population, Turkey has also faced considerable obstacles in addressing the crisis; this has left more than 500,000 school-age Syria children without access to education (Ackerman 2015; Al Rifai 2015; Heyse 2016).

While Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey have dramatically shifted their education policies to accommodate the surge in school-age refugees, their public education systems still face tremendous challenges, thus the role of the private sector, and of corporate actors in particular, has become increasingly salient. At the time of our study, all three national contexts allowed private actors to provide parallel education to refugees, making Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey important case studies for understanding corporate engagement in refugee education. The rise in business

3 The term “registered” refers to those refugees who have been identified through a process of registration with UN agencies, notably the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Refugee registration is affected by host country conditions and measures. For example, the Government of Lebanon suspended UNHCR’s registration of Syria refugees in 2015, which makes the current refugee population figures approximate. In Turkey, the UNHCR registration process was transferred to Turkey’s Directorate General of Migration Management, which decentralized the process to 81 provinces as of 2018. In Jordan, UNHCR introduced iris-scanning biometrics for refugee registration in 2013. These various arrangements likely influence population estimates.

engagement in these three host countries, together with the vast and unprecedented scale of the Syria refugee crisis and the nearly insurmountable challenges these countries are facing in educating these young people, provided an added rationale for our focus on Syria refugee education in the selected country cases.

Since 2011, various partnership arrangements between organizations have been established to respond to the Syria refugee crisis in education. These partnerships combine the funds and technical expertise of multilateral agencies, bilateral donors, civil society organizations, companies, philanthropies, governments, and local implementers. Notably, private-sector actors—including businesses and their associated foundations, religious entities, and other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)—have taken an increasingly visible role, especially since 2015. The participation of businesses and foundations at the global, national, and local levels has expanded and is part of a transnational proliferation of private-actor engagement in the education of Syria refugees (Menashy and Zakharia 2017). In light of recent pronouncements made at high-level forums and events, many well-known and influential corporate actors clearly envisage playing a key role in ameliorating this crisis, including at the policy level. This research examines the as yet unexplored nature of such involvement. In light of what we describe as a surge in business response and the active participation of corporate actors in policy spaces more generally, our study raises questions about the roles and implications of corporate actors acting as global policymakers in refugee education.

Based on case study research conducted in 2016 and 2017 that more broadly examined the participation of private-sector actors in the education of Syria refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey, this paper examines the more specific nature of and rationales for business and foundation engagement. Three interrelated questions guide the research: (1) What is the nature of corporate involvement in Syria refugee education? (2) What are the rationales for this involvement from the perspective of corporate actors and those who partner with them? (3) What might corporate involvement in Syria refugee education suggest about the emerging role of business actors as global education policymakers in humanitarian crises? The paper draws from a subset of data derived from 44 interviews we conducted with corporate actors and their partners, along with a mapping of activities in the EiE sector. We employ the interrelated concepts of market humanitarianism (Chimni 2009), philanthrocapitalism (McGoey 2012), and private authority (Hall and Biersteker 2002) to understand the presence of corporate actors in the EiE sector, and refugee education in particular. Taking a sociocultural approach to policy studies that views education policy as practice (Shore and Wright 1997; Sutton and Levinson 2001) and policymaking as a practice of power embedded

in social relations and discourse production (Bacchi 2000; Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead 2009), we examine the merging of interests, assumptions, and ideologies associated with business and foundation interventions in refugee education. We argue that a surge in corporate-supported provision of education “downstream” has increased the private authority of corporate actors “upstream” in global education policy circles. As a result, these actors occupy new roles within policy spaces and now have the potential to alter the technocratic landscape of EiE.

SITUATING CORPORATE ACTORS IN GLOBAL EDUCATION POLICY

Nonstate actors have long engaged in education and international development. However, only in recent years has the for-profit business sector participated directly in the global education policy arena. Corporate involvement in education in the Global South has largely manifested in business activities comprising (1) direct profit-seeking interventions, (2) corporate social responsibility programs, and (3) corporate philanthropic engagement.

Direct profit-seeking business activities include the design and implementation of education programs and products, such as curricula, textbooks, and instructional technologies, with a stated intention of making a profit. Though not directly profit-seeking, CSR programs are integral to a company’s functions, and they operate through a corporate branch or department that is tasked with developing and implementing projects in the social sector. CSR programs are generally financed through a company’s general operating budget and they promote a range of activities, such as in-kind contributions or cash contributions to support a specific cause, or direct support to schools (Bhanji 2016; van Fleet 2012). Business actors have recently begun to promote their corporate social responsibility through policy engagement, including participating in education forums or advocating for educational causes (Verger, Fontdevila, and Zancajo 2016).

While CSR programs are commonly presented as separate from standard business practice and driven by social or moral impetus, they nonetheless aim to generate profit (Bhanji 2016; van Fleet 2012). Furthermore, businesses consider CSR and profitmaking goals complementary, thereby “legitimizing the strategic action in education politics of a range of companies” (Bhanji 2016, 430) and making CSR a “new global norm” that validates the growing presence of businesses in global education networks (Verger et al. 2016, 150).

Corporate philanthropies, also called corporate foundations, ostensibly operate autonomously and often are portrayed as distinct from their associated corporations, the only commonality being a shared name or executive leadership (Colvin 2005). For instance, the CEO of a corporation is often the head of its foundation board (Bhanji 2008). Several corporate foundations are now prominent actors in global education, such as the Hewlett Foundation and IKEA Foundation (Menashy 2019). Although considered nonprofit entities, corporate foundations are established using business profits and, as we later discuss in reference to the concepts of philanthrocapitalism and shared value, they contribute indirectly to their companies' fiscal success through positive brand association, marketing, links to business activities, and policy-level engagement (McGoey 2012).

In this study, we use the term “corporate actors” to denote those who engage in education in the ways described above, including through direct profitmaking activities, CSR programs, and corporate philanthropy. Although different in terms of funding streams and stated goals, each contributes directly or indirectly to a company's profits. In this study, we therefore attend to all three forms under the umbrella construct of corporate actors.

At the policy level, corporate leaders engage in dialogues concerning global education and have contributed to sometimes contentious and normative debates on major issues. For example, actors from corporations and foundations are common faces at events on school provision in the Global South (Edwards 2017); a range of business actors participate in the World Economic Forum's Global Education Initiative (World Economic Forum 2012); and Pearson Education publishes cross-national data on student and school performance, school choice, and accountability (Pearson 2012). Moreover, the participation of corporate actors is widely viewed as central to achieving Sustainable Development Goal 4, which promises inclusive and equitable quality education for all and promotes lifelong learning opportunities. According to the SDG Compass (2017), which provides guidance on how to align company strategies with the Sustainable Development Goals, “strong leadership by business can help unlock the necessary investments to ensure quality learning opportunities for all children and adults.”

Multilateral state-funded actors have embraced corporate actors as policy-level contributors to global education. For example, “The Smartest Investment: A Framework for Business Engagement in Education,” a 2013 report jointly authored by the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Global Compact, and the UN Special

Envoy for Global Education, included an introduction by then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who urged increased business involvement in global education: “We need more companies to think about how their business policies and practices can impact education priorities. You understand investment. You focus on the bottom-line. You know the dividends of education for all” (Ban, cited in UNESCO et al. 2013, 4). Moreover, the Global Partnership for Education, the largest multistakeholder partnership in education, includes constituency seats for companies and foundations directly at the global governance policy table (Menashy 2019).

The involvement of business leaders in the specific area of EiE reflects an even more recent occurrence. Corporate actors have been prominent participants at high-level events on education in contexts of humanitarian crisis and have begun to play significant roles in education policymaking and EiE funding (World Humanitarian Summit 2016a). We explore these roles through the case of the Syria refugee crisis.

The literature on corporate engagement in education is most robust in the US context. For example, Au and Ferrare (2015) investigate the influence of philanthropists and multinational corporations on US education policy reform, and Au and Lubienski (2016) examine private-sector engagement in education governance in several US settings. Bulkley and Burch’s (2011) research explores the roles of both for-profit and nonprofit actors in education reform, while Reckhow’s (2013) work investigates the specific roles foundations play in reform initiatives in New York and Los Angeles.

Scholarship on corporate activities in international education is less prominent. Research on global CSR engagement includes an analysis of the education-related corporate social investments of Fortune 500 companies (van Fleet 2012) and Microsoft’s Partners in Learning initiative (Bhanji 2008). Studies that examine business and CSR involvement in international education policymaking and governance have targeted, for instance, the World Economic Forum’s Global Education Initiative and its joint program with UNESCO, Partnerships for Education (Cassidy and Paksima 2007). Comparative and international education scholars have also examined the operations of individual businesses. For example, Hogan, Sellar, and Lingard (2016) offer a critical policy analysis and network ethnography of Pearson’s *The Learning Curve* that exposes the company’s widespread influence. Others have researched the roles of for-profit actors in establishing school chains in South Asia (Nambissan and Ball 2010) and South

America (Martins and Krawcyk 2016), and recent studies have explored corporate participation in multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank's International Financial Corporation and Global Partnership for Education (Menashy 2019; Mundy and Menashy 2014). However, few have examined the ways corporate actors have engaged in the particular area of education in humanitarian crisis contexts. One exception is Verger et al. (2016), who offer a systematic literature review of privatization that describes a particular "pathway" of privatization via catastrophe, citing the examples of New Orleans, El Salvador, Haiti, and Iraq. The specific roles corporate actors play as EiE policymakers, in refugee education in particular, remains unexplored.

CONCEPTUALIZING CORPORATE ACTORS IN THE HUMANITARIAN MARKETPLACE

We apply the interrelated concepts of market humanitarianism, philanthrocapitalism, and private authority to explain the context and influence of neoliberalism in the refugee education arena and the growing involvement of corporate actors in this policy space. Critical scholars in the field of refugee studies have noted that humanitarian agencies have become implicated in a neoliberal vision of humanitarianism since the Cold War (Chimni 2009; Currion 2018). The term "market humanitarianism" describes how agencies "[vie] for funds and influence in a competitive humanitarian environment" (Chimni 2009, 22). According to Agier (2011), "one piece of evidence of the growing importance of the 'market' in emergency and catastrophe currently being consolidated in world politics is the attraction it now exerts on private business, which is starting to compete with NGOs and UN agencies on their own ground" (205). Agencies increasingly align their practices with the interests and agendas of dominant Western states and international institutions (Barnett 2005; Chimni 2009; Donini, Minear, and Walker 2004), which include a neoliberal conception of postconflict societies (Chimni 2009). As Chimni notes, while a variety of humanitarian agencies are committed in this arena and advance diverse practices, "it would not be wrong to contend that northern discourse and practices . . . [have prevailed] amidst this diversity of discourses and agencies" (2003, cited in Chimni 2009, 23). Market-based assumptions—including competition, treating aid recipients as consumers, donors focusing on value for money, and privatization—now largely drive humanitarian response. Moreover, "the assumption that the private sector should be more involved in humanitarian response can also be seen as a result of the assumptions of neoliberalism: how better to succeed in this marketplace

than to partner with organisations that have already succeeded in another marketplace?” (Currion 2018, 5).

While the construct of market humanitarianism captures the neoliberal context in which market mechanisms have extended into humanitarian governance structures and practices, the concept of philanthrocapitalism refers to the tandem extension of business-actor engagement in global social causes (Bishop and Green 2008; McGoey 2012). Philanthrocapitalism represents “the tendency for a new breed of donors to conflate business aims with charitable endeavors, making philanthropy more cost-effective, impact-oriented, and financially profitable” (McGoey 2012, 185). A key element of philanthrocapitalism is “the increased visibility of individual philanthropists as policy drivers” (McGoey 2012, 110), where corporate actors have taken up positions of authority that allow them to steer policy dialogue and decisionmaking within the public sectors, including education. Philanthrocapitalism also embraces the notion that both philanthropic and CSR efforts can be profitable. Through strategic investing, businesses can create “shared value,” where their activities generate “economic value in a way that also creates value for society by addressing its needs and challenges,” and where investment in social causes results in “a new way to achieve economic success” (Porter and Kramer 2011, 4). Under a shared-value umbrella, social and profit-based aims are viewed as compatible and desirable for all involved.

In humanitarian crisis contexts, the twin processes of market humanitarianism and philanthrocapitalism have led to corporate actors occupying new roles in policy spaces. Including the corporate sector in public policy decisionmaking reflects private actors’ increased embracing of what international relations scholars describe as private authority. Assuming that governments were the only legitimate form of authority in global affairs, researchers of international relations and governance once focused solely on the actions of state-based actors. However, over the past two decades, the private sector, and corporate actors in particular, have been considered prominent players and, more significantly, they represent a new form of authority (Cutler, Haufler, and Porter 1999). As Hall and Biersteker (2002) describe, private actors

perform the role of authorship over some important issue or domain . . . They set agendas, they establish boundaries or limits for action, they certify, they offer salvation, they guarantee contracts, and they provide order and security. In short, they do many of the things traditionally, and exclusively, associated with the state. They act simultaneously both in the domestic

and in the international arenas. What is most significant, however, is that they appear to have been accorded a form of legitimate authority. (4)

In global policy arenas, corporate actors now wield a degree of legitimacy and influence previously only accorded governments: “New voices and interests are represented in the policy process, and new nodes of power and influence are constructed or invigorated” (Ball 2010, 155).

Our analysis—conceptually situated in a framework of market humanitarianism, philanthrocapitalism, and private authority—is informed by sociocultural approaches to the study of policy, which conceptualize education policy as practice (Shore and Wright 1997; Sutton and Levinson 2001) and, by association, policymaking as the practice of power (Levinson et al. 2009). This includes the production of discourse (Bacchi 2000). Through this lens, policymaking comprises a dynamic set of interdependent social practices and discourse production that has the potential to change the technocratic landscape. This view of policymaking extends beyond the more commonly held construct of direct public policy advisement and design. Through an interdependent set of multiply situated discourses and practices, policymakers are granted the legitimacy and authority to exert their influence—or, more concretely, their conditionalities—which together advance the uptake of particular global education policies. As these discourses and practices become more and more integrated into the global education policymaking fabric, they become normalized and unquestioned. They also enter into a logic of irreversibility.

By taking a dynamic view of policy that treats policy production as embedded in social relations, we present a more nuanced picture of the rise of private authority in refugee education—one that takes into account a merging of interests, social practices, assumptions, and ideologies that underpin the policymaking process and determine who is considered a legitimate policy actor. Our application of this broader concept of policy as practice helps us articulate how business practices downstream, such as supporting education interventions within countries, contribute to the increased legitimacy and the private authority of corporate actors in policy spaces upstream. These practices also alter the education landscape, thereby constituting policy or policy-as-practice in themselves.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

This inquiry obtains from a larger research project conducted in 2016 and 2017 that examined the growing role of private actors in EiE through a case study of Syria refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey (Menashy and Zakharia 2017). The case study indicated an upsurge in corporate involvement in K-12 refugee education, which warranted closer independent analysis. To this end, this paper examines a subset of data that attends to businesses, their CSR programs, and corporate foundations. We draw from three main data sources: a global mapping, which involves tracing and coding actor activities in the sector in the selected countries (Ball 2012); key informant interviews; and an analysis of organizational documents and websites.

As part of the mapping of private-sector engagement in K-12 education for Syria refugees, a systematic internet search in late 2016 identified nonstate entities participating in the sector. This produced a dataset of more than 140 organizations operating in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. These countries were selected because, as neighbors to Syria, they host the largest Syria refugee population in the world and, when the study began, all three allowed nonstate actors to provide parallel education services. Identifying nonstate entities in the three-country region entailed conducting iterative searches of preselected terms relating to Syria refugee education, the geographic focus, and different types of nonstate actors, as well as associated search terms that emerged from the research. Key informant interviews (see below) also contributed to this dataset by directly referring us to corporate activities and drawing our attention to events or meetings focused on refugee education that featured corporate actors' involvement. These references were investigated further through online documentation and organizational reports made available to us.

Nonstate actors included both for-profit and nonprofit organizations involved in refugee education. The resulting dataset was coded for type of actor (e.g., corporate foundation, business, research institute, religious organization), type of engagement (e.g., advocacy, financing, training, feeding, supplies, teacher salaries, technology), location of engagement (e.g., Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey), location of headquarters, and organizational mandate (e.g., education as the primary mandate, or not). Coding was based on information from webpages, organizational documents, and social media from each organization. We then narrowed our focus to consider only activities related to businesses and corporate philanthropies. While the dataset is not exhaustive, given that some private actors have since changed their activities and new actors have become engaged since data

collection ended, it provides an important snapshot of private actors in refugee education five years into the crisis.

To gain in-depth understanding of corporate involvement in refugee education and the rationales for this involvement, we conducted 44 key informant interviews between May 2016 and July 2017 with international and country-based representatives from the corporate sector and those who partnered with them. This included respondents from businesses, foundations, UN organizations, local and international NGOs, and bilateral donor agencies. All those interviewed were selected through purposive sampling, based on established experience, professional seniority, and two to five years of engagement in some capacity with Syria refugee education in the three-country region. Of the 44 interviewed, 31 respondents were able to address observations in all three country contexts. Interviews lasted one hour on average and were conducted in the interviewee's preferred language, either English or Arabic. We recorded and transcribed all key informant interviews.

Finally, we collected data from organizational websites and documents of key events on refugee education that involved business actors during the period of study. This included a content analysis of more than 75 publicly available reports, event agendas, and participant lists that were selected for their focus on the Syria crisis, and a discussion or description of private-sector actors' engagement therein.

We conducted systematic iterative coding on the entire dataset using both deductive and inductive codes, which allowed us to triangulate our findings from each source and identify overarching themes and areas for further investigation. Deductive or a priori codes included broad categories related to the types of interventions by corporate actors, the means of engagement, their stated intentions for their engagement, and perceptions of their engagement. Inductive codes emerged from the data and were subsequently applied to the whole dataset in multiple rounds. This included terms that emerged from various actors' reference to tensions about the engagement of corporate actors; specific perceptions about corporate actors' participation, including particular concerns, benefits, or hopes; and specific rationales for corporate involvement, as articulated by a range of business-affiliated and humanitarian actors. A final round of analysis involved applying the concepts of market humanitarianism, philanthrocapitalism, and private authority to amplify the context and processes by which corporate actors have established their presence in EiE.

We conducted data collection involving human subjects only after receiving approval from our university's institutional review board, which they based on a rigorous ethical review process. All interview respondents gave their informed consent to participate and to have their interview audio recorded; all identifying information has been kept confidential.

We acknowledge the limitations of our study, which represents a snapshot in time, given the rapidly evolving nature of the Syria crisis and the educational response in the three host countries. It also was difficult to differentiate whether some activities were supported by a company's direct for-profit arm or the CSR branch. For this reason, we discuss these downstream interventions in an aggregated way, making distinctions between businesses and corporate foundations where possible. Furthermore, smaller businesses that do not have an online presence may have been overlooked, despite our having filled information gaps by conducting document analysis and interviews. Another limitation stems from the possibility that key informants may have been reluctant to critique corporate involvement, due to concerns related to competition for resources and future funding. However, the findings we present are substantiated by various sources and types of data, which enables us to draw reliable conclusions.

FINDINGS

In this section, we describe the nature of and rationales for corporate involvement in the education of Syria refugees. Our findings draw attention to an upward trend in various forms of both upstream and downstream private engagement and rationales for that involvement, including both humanitarian and profit-oriented motivations. We draw primarily from interview data to organize our findings and support them with data from other sources, such as organizational documents, websites, and a mapping of private actors engaged in the education of Syria refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey.

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT IN SYRIA REFUGEE EDUCATION

Our findings demonstrate a surge in corporate involvement in the education of Syria refugees since 2015, reflecting the twin processes of market humanitarianism and philanthrocapitalism. Corporate involvement accounts for 42 percent of the 144

nonstate organizations engaged in education across Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey.⁴ These include 46 prominent businesses, including Accenture, Bridge International Academies, Goldman Sachs, Hewlett Packard, IBM, McKinsey and Co., Microsoft, and Pearson Education, as well as 15 global philanthropies, including the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, IKEA Foundation, Open Society Foundations, and Vitol Foundation. Seventy-six percent of these entities are headquartered in the Global North, and education is not the primary mandate for 61 percent of them. Sixty-four percent of these businesses and corporate foundations (n=39 and n=9, respectively) were involved in all three country contexts, and the three countries had a relatively equal share of business involvement: 85 percent in Jordan (n=39), 83 percent in Lebanon (n=38), and 74 percent in Turkey (n=34).⁵

Referring to the mass proliferation of corporate actors, one UN agency representative stated that “we have this unprecedented case of so many countries, so many partners, of traditional [and] nontraditional [donors] involved in quite a complex, protracted response” (interview, UN agency, July 2016). The sense that a surge of diverse corporate actors is entering the refugee education arena was echoed by many of our interviewees, who noted that these businesses range from global corporations and foundations to small family-run entities, including local and regional foundations. According to one business representative, “from things like consulting companies to small start-ups to large multinationals, everyone seems to be involved” (interview, business, July 2016).

Based on our findings, the nature of corporate involvement may be described as having four interconnected forms: (1) corporate actors implementing educational initiatives or programs, most commonly related to educational technology; (2) corporate actors building influential coalitions and partnerships; (3) corporate actors financing education; and (4) corporate actors engaging in global policy forums. We thus observe that corporate engagement in education provision, in tandem with corporate partnerships with both state and nonstate actors and their financing commitments, has served a legitimizing function that has enabled

4 The remaining 58 percent of nonstate engagement reflects the participation of noncorporate actors, mainly NGOs, faith-based organizations, and research institutes (Menashy and Zakharia 2017).

5 Interestingly, foundations were most involved in Jordan (n=15), followed by Lebanon (n=12) and Turkey (n=9), with all three countries allowing for parallel education provision by nonstate actors. Our study did not explore the reasons for these differences, and a comparison of economic data does not provide a ready answer. For example, the 2016 Index for Economic Freedom (<https://www.heritage.org/index/ranking>) suggests that, at the time of our study, Jordan enjoyed the greatest economic freedom of the three countries, with an overall index of 68.3, followed by Turkey (62.1) and Lebanon (59.5). One might therefore expect Jordan, followed by Turkey, to have greater corporate involvement. However, our data do not reflect this, which suggests that factors such as the degree of regulatory efficiency and open markets alone do not account for differences in the corporate presence in refugee education across the three countries.

corporate actors to be increasingly engaged in global policy spaces. We describe these four major forms of involvement below.

First, corporate actors have been engaged in a range of education initiatives or programs—what might be described as the most downstream involvement—with many contributing to more than one type of activity. The most prominent form of engagement is the implementation of educational technology; 49 percent of the businesses and foundations we identified were developing or distributing some form of technological innovation to support the education of Syria refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. This included support for online learning platforms; distribution of tablets; online educational games; mobile phone programs, such as apps with educational content; portable wi-fi hubs in schools; and the development of new operating systems specifically targeting refugee students. As one interview participant noted,

the big entry point has been for technology companies. I see a lot of smaller start-ups, gadgety companies coming into the [humanitarian] space, and part of that is that we've really invited it . . . We've seen a lot of tablet makers and online software producers come into the education space in hopes to deliver content, teaching and learning materials, and that sort of thing. (interview, UN agency, July 2016)

Educational technology has been a major entry point for corporate involvement in education. This is due in part to an enabling environment that has included many innovation challenges to promote engagement (Menashy and Zakharia 2019). One such example is UNICEF's Humanitarian Education Accelerator, which invites companies to develop technologies that support refugee education.

Other major areas of activity have included the provision of professional development to various segments of the education sector, including teachers, administrators, and education ministry representatives (33% of businesses); school construction and infrastructure (31% of businesses); and the provision of school supplies and materials, such as books, furniture, and stationery (31%). Corporate involvement also has included ancillary services, such as health care, feeding programs, gender equity, and extracurricular activities.

Second, businesses and foundations have been engaged in building influential coalitions and partnerships to support the education of Syria refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey, both downstream and upstream in the policy arena. Indeed, partnerships that bring together a range of businesses, foundations, governmental entities, NGOs, and UN agencies characterize many of the forms of engagement mentioned earlier in downstream implementation. For example, Pearson Education and Save the Children UK have jointly launched Every Child Learning, a partnership that aims “to identify and develop solutions for delivering education in emergencies, drawing on the expertise and assets of both organisations” (Pearson 2015). In Jordan, Microsoft is working with the Norwegian Refugee Council to support vocational education for refugees (Meseck 2016). IKEA Foundation has partnered with War Child to support an e-learning math and literacy program (IKEA Foundation 2016). As one business representative explained,

a lot of companies, they don't want to get into the mess of figuring out “What program do I support?” because they acknowledge they're not experts in these areas at all. They really rely on finding the right providers and the right experts to work with, to guide where their investments should go. (interview, business, June 2016)

These partnerships are the basis for coalition-building further upstream, where corporate actors have been brought together by conveners such as the GBC-E and have gathered at key events such as the World Economic Forum in Davos and the Supporting Syria and the Region Conference in London: “By leveraging existing partnerships which have demonstrated success, GBC-Education member companies are showcasing the strength of collaboration by leading these efforts” (GBC-E 2016).

Third, corporate involvement in the education of Syria refugees has entailed financing education; 49 percent of the businesses and foundations in our study provide funding to the education sector in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. Corporate actors generally channel funds for downstream activities via NGOs or UN agencies. For example, businesses in our study provided financing for areas as varied as classroom materials, teacher salaries, youth entrepreneurship and vocational programs, teacher professional development, tuition fees, transportation, and instructional technologies. Large, multistakeholder global funds have also solicited the resources of businesses and foundations, along with their policy engagement.

We posit that these downstream activities—namely, direct education interventions, partnerships, and country-level financing—together have served to legitimize corporate actors’ participation in the EiE policy arena. A growing recognition of the need for education in contexts of humanitarian crisis, and the Syria refugee crisis in particular, has attracted business actors to intervene upstream, beyond country-level classroom supports and programs, where corporate leaders are now participating in high-level coalition-building and policy forums on refugee education. The GBC-E has been a key convener of business actors on issues related to Syria refugee education. Acting as an umbrella organization for businesses involved in global education, the GBC-E serves as a conduit for “companies to become part of a global movement of businesses committed to changing children’s lives through education” (GBC-E 2016).

In addition to coordinating, communicating, showcasing the added value of business initiatives in education, and facilitating research into global education, the GBC-E has hosted a series of convening sessions on education in contexts of conflict, including sessions held in Dubai and at the World Economic Forum in Davos. At a special session of the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul, the GBC-E and others hosted a breakfast meeting that brought corporate leaders together with then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, heads of UN agencies, and high-level political actors to discuss global initiatives to support education in crisis contexts (World Humanitarian Summit 2016b).

In recent years, corporate actors have engaged in a range of global policy forums focused on education in crisis settings, adding their voices and perspectives to those of humanitarian agencies engaged in EiE. For example, corporate actors have had an active presence at the World Economic Forum and meetings centered around the development of the Sustainable Development Goals. In 2017 and 2018, corporate actors were keynote speakers at UN General Assembly events on refugee education, including two forums, Promising Practices in Refugee Education in 2017 and Action for Refugee Education in 2018. The Syria crisis has been a central feature of these discussions.

Reflecting on the emerging high-profile visibility of businesses in these forums, one NGO representative involved in refugee education described a room “packed with people lined up” to attend, and said, “I [thought], ‘This is really interesting,’ . . . hearing these really senior-level [actors] from the UN side and so forth, and then the CEOs of these major corporations talking about education in emergencies” (interview, NGO, June 2016). With the importance of education in humanitarian

crises well established at the global level through the high-level advocacy of organizations such as the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies, the involvement of businesses and foundations in global forums on refugee education has become an appealing humanitarian imperative (interview, bilateral donor, January 2017) and a means for corporate actors to become “thought leader[s] in this space” (interview, business, June 2016).

In recent years, many high-level meetings have focused on developing a global fund to support education in humanitarian crises. Reflecting the impetus of a humanitarian marketplace, Gordon Brown, UN Special Envoy for Global Education, argued that, “inside the humanitarian tent, we need charities, philanthropists, businesses and social enterprises as well as governments and international agencies” (G. Brown 2016). The ECW fund is a landmark initiative described as “the first global fund for education in emergencies and protracted crises designed to address the obstacles that have prevented humanitarian and development actors from delivering quality education in humanitarian crises” (ECW 2018a). While Brown was a core initiator and advocate for the establishment of ECW (G. Brown 2016; UN 2016), businesses under the GBC-E platform, along with governments and aid agencies, also strongly supported ECW from the outset and took an active role in developing the fund (interview, NGO, July 2016).

Although ECW is designed to address education in crisis contexts in general, the Syria refugee crisis “gave urgency for the need for this fund” (interview, business, June 2016). According to a business respondent, “many business leaders were saying, ‘It’s one of the worst humanitarian crises that we have ever faced, and no one has done anything . . . It’s time for business leaders to really step up and say we can change this. We must do something. We absolutely need this fund’” (interview, business, June 2016). In the ECW context, business actors are seen as potential nontraditional funders and necessary contributors to refugee education. According to one interviewee, “there’s just been this uptick with the response to the Syrian crisis and the growing recognition that, with all these emergencies, there’s just not enough funding and there never will be if you’re just looking at traditional donors” (interview, bilateral donor, July 2016).

ECW’s 2018-2021 strategic plan stresses the need to leverage additional financing for EiE, including from “private sector organizations and foundations” (ECW 2018a, 5). At this time, however, no businesses and only one foundation have committed fiscal resources to ECW; therefore, corporate funding might be primarily aspirational. Some respondents did indeed voice concern about

aspirations for corporate funding of ECW and questioned whether these actors are willing to coordinate with state actors and commit to making a significant, tangible contribution. One donor agency representative described feeling “cautiously optimistic” about corporate engagement and the nascent ECW fund:

Sometimes I feel like, are we being really naïve? How much money could the private sector possibly even have for something like this? . . . The scale is never going to tilt such that there’s more money for corporate social responsibility than for actually running a business. (interview, bilateral donor, July 2016)

At the same time, the role of corporate actors as policymakers has been solidified through involvement in ECW. Businesses and foundations occupy 2 of the 17 seats of ECW’s high-level steering group—the same number representing beneficiary countries (ECW 2018b). According to respondents, corporate actors’ participation in ECW was largely spurred by the Syria crisis and it suggests the growing legitimacy of businesses and foundations in major global education policy spaces.

RATIONALES FOR CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT IN REFUGEE EDUCATION

Corporate actors conveyed a range of rationales for engaging in the education of Syria refugees, which might be broadly characterized as humanitarian driven or profit driven. Together these rationales provide insight into the workings of philanthrocapitalism and the interests being served by corporate actors’ engagement as policymakers in humanitarian contexts.

Several interviewees noted that humanitarian-driven rationales center on the scale and urgency of the refugee crisis, as reflected in the following:

The level of displacement is so big, I think that has really profound impacts on people in terms of really wanting to better understand what’s going on, but also [to] invest resources and put in resources to help—specifically knowing that education can really be this life-saving lever for a lot of children. (interview, NGO, July 2016)

Business respondents described how media coverage of the crisis led many to feel that contributing resources was simply ethically right, as one explained: “They weren’t doing it out of any reason other than they think it’s the right thing to do and there is something they can do to help” (interview, business, July 2016). As

another respondent put it, “I think there’s the obvious pulling at the heart strings of CEOs” (interview, business, June 2016).

Several corporate actors used the rhetoric of “education as a right” to frame their work with Syria refugees, echoing the approach of humanitarian actors. For example, one foundation respondent stated that they aim to contribute to “a healthy start in life, access to good education, and a family income for children and their families. Education is crucial for every child to be able to develop . . . for societies to be able to develop and to be peaceful” (interview, foundation, September 2016). A business respondent said, “We believe that education is a right and it’s the role of the private sector to support the government in the delivery of education” (interview, business, June 2016). We note the conflation of this discourse with humanitarian organizations such as UNICEF and UNHCR, which take a rights-based approach to education (see, e.g., UNHCR 2018c; UNICEF and UNESCO 2007).

However, the more prevalent rationales for corporate engagement were explicitly profit driven and often expressed in terms of making a “business case” for investing in a crisis. As one respondent explained, “companies want to be affiliated with good causes, or they see some sort of strategic alignment between what their brand means and what the cause is about” (interview, business, June 2016). Other respondents concurred that corporate actors “are looking to elevate their brand and to create markets” (interview, NGO, July 2016), and that “it’s something where they can have a photo op” (interview, NGO, June 2016).

The idea of creating markets for business products emerged in a number of interviews as a salient motivation. According to respondents, the Middle East is a big, diverse, largely untapped market, and “there’s definitely a huge interest by some companies to create markets” (interview, UN agency, July 2016) there or to “create brand loyalty” (interview, bilateral donor, January 2017). This is particularly appealing because the region has a large youth population: “There’s a lot of philanthropic interest in the Middle East, so it can be a lucrative opportunity for smart business people to build relationships with the philanthropic side to advance their private side” (interview, UN agency, July 2016).

Business respondents also noted that involvement in education was a means to ensure operational continuity by addressing either particular “operational risks” through their engagement with states in social sectors or capacity-building in areas where they “see themselves having a long-term presence” (interview, business, June 2016). Some businesses have been working in the Middle East for a while,

and their engagement in refugee education builds on their regional expertise while cementing relationships and profit-driven operations beyond the Syria crisis.

Some business actors noted that a crisis context may be considered an apt setting to test new innovations, as it enables companies to work in a less regulated environment with a large youth population. As one business respondent noted, “When they’re innovating new things, sometimes an area in conflict might be the right environment to test out a product or service. It might lead to new innovation” (interview, business, June 2016).

Respondents also cited employee engagement as a motivation for getting involved, because connecting to a good cause has been shown to be good for employee productivity. Businesses that have corporate social responsibility programs for Syria refugee education explain that employees feel good about working at a company with programs they can be proud of, which contributes to “employee engagement” (interview, business, June 2016). A business actor explained:

On the one hand you create something that hopefully is relevant for people’s lives you want to touch and improve, and at the same time you also create an environment inside the group where people get excited . . . [and] see themselves in a place of work that they actually want to be a part of. (interview, business, July 2016)

Moreover, companies with branches or production centers in the Middle East are directly affected by the crisis, thus they “recognized the impact that [the crisis] has on their employees” (interview, business, June 2016).

The rationales for corporate engagement in Syria refugee education illuminate the processes of philanthrocapitalism and market humanitarianism in which business aims are conflated with social causes by claiming to achieve humanitarian aims via market strategies. Furthermore, by taking up the discourse of education as a right, corporate actors demonstrate discursive alignment with the aims of the wider humanitarian community. This alignment is instrumental in advancing a notion of shared value while endowing these actors with private authority in the global education policy space. In the process, corporate actors emerge in their roles as policymakers, thereby consolidating their interests, ideologies, and practices in the policy arena of the humanitarian marketplace.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In contexts of humanitarian crisis, the twin processes of market humanitarianism and philanthrocapitalism have led to corporate actors embodying new roles in education policy spaces and have legitimized their presence therein. Corporate actors are not only implementing education initiatives or programs downstream, they also are engaged in influential coalitions and partnerships upstream, contributing to global policy production and shaping discourse through high-level policy forums, events, and the governance of global funds. From the sociocultural perspective of policy as practice and discourse production, this downstream engagement consolidates the interests and influence of business actors further upstream in the policy arena, thus endowing them with private authority and a seat at the policy table. Our findings therefore suggest that corporate elites are indeed emerging as global policymakers in the context of refugee education and EiE.

The nature, scale, and rationales for business and foundation involvement suggest that corporate actors are shaping policy discourse by inserting their voices into global education policy forums concerned with refugee education, which in turn raises their visibility as policy drivers (McGoey 2012) and produces new nodes of power and influence (Ball 2010). They are simultaneously shaping policy through practice (Sutton and Levinson 2001), in particular through the implementation of regional interventions and development of partnerships, coalitions, and global funds. Their emergent role as policymakers, together with the stated rationales for involvement, is likely to influence the landscape of refugee education as these actors create greater alignment between corporate interests and humanitarian discourse and practice in education. As such, corporate actors' involvement in refugee education, as illustrated by this case study of the Syria refugee crisis, represents increased private authority in refugee education and mirrors more general trends in global education policy.

Within the context of declining aid to education (see UNESCO 2016) and the rise of market humanitarianism, this alignment between business interests and the rationales for philanthrocapitalism has created a situation where corporate actors are positioned to steer policy dialogue and decisionmaking, thereby legitimating their authority in a sector traditionally governed by the state. Corporate actors thus exert their influence while advancing the uptake of particular global education policies. As these discourses and practices become ever more integrated into the global education policymaking fabric, they are normalized, unquestioned, and rendered irreversible.

Corporate engagement in humanitarianism may have some potential for positive outcomes, most notably including increased funding to a sector in dire need of additional financing (Menashy 2019; UNESCO 2019). High-profile private actors might also increase visibility around the crisis and raise public awareness by convening other actors to collaborate on efforts (GBC-E 2016). Yet, our interviews raise concerns about the emergent role of corporate actors as policymakers, most notably relating to potential conflicts of interest between private authority and humanitarian aims. Furthermore, businesses and foundations are increasingly partnering with other nonstate and state-based actors in crisis settings, and several respondents voiced their reluctance regarding these relationships, including about actors' roles, responsibilities, and potential power hierarchies. Moreover, corporate partners are rarely vetted by the humanitarian agencies engaged in education in the way NGO partners commonly are, such as meeting a checklist of minimum requirements, having specific expertise, and going through background checks (interview, NGO, July 2017). The absence of such requirements for partnerships runs counter to the humanitarian principle of "do no harm" (interview, UN agency, July 2017; interview, bilateral donor, July 2017). For example, while providing critical funding to refugee education, businesses might be engaged elsewhere in problematic hiring policies, workplace safety practices, or environmental issues (interview, NGO, July 2017). Thus, several participants in this study reflected on the need for greater guidance around corporate partnerships with the humanitarian sector. While UN agencies, bilateral donors, and the GBC-E were working to develop a set of guidelines at the time of this writing, these guidance documents are not yet well established (e.g., UN Global Compact 2015). Our findings draw attention to the urgent need for concrete guidelines on corporate engagement and partnership practices in EiE.

While our study indicates that corporate actors are taking an emerging role as policymakers, it does not address actual policy outcomes, as the corporate presence in EiE is recent and its role in the policy space is nascent. However, the profit-based rationales for involvement give us pause as we consider other scholars' concerns about the rise in private authority in humanitarian issues (e.g., Ball 2010; Cutler et al. 1999; Hall and Biersteker 2002). Furthermore, our findings raise concerns about market humanitarianism, as the neoliberal cooption of humanitarian activity has been shown to treat disaster settings as a marketplace for humanitarian goods and services and aid recipients as consumers (Fiori et al. 2016). This effectively shuts out local voices as agencies seek to elicit support and resources by aligning themselves with centers of power occupied increasingly by corporate actors in the Global North, rather than by state or localized institutions (Chimni 2009;

Currión 2018). Indeed, Syrians who provide education to refugees in Lebanon noted that companies based in the Global North regularly approach them with solutions to refugee education without soliciting their input on needs, capacities, and relevance. This leads to the imposition of decontextualized interventions wherein teachers have not been consulted (Zakharia and Menashy 2018). The potential for excluding local voices and community participation in favor of global corporate interests directly counters agreed-upon best practices in the EiE sector. It also underscores concerns raised by policy scholars about processes that structure inclusion and exclusion within policy production (Howarth and Griggs 2012). While our study cautions against potential further exclusion of local voices, research is needed that looks at the actual impact of the rise in private authority on policy outcomes, including shifts in policy discourse and humanitarian practice, which will surface in the coming years.

Moreover, the concepts of market humanitarianism and philanthrocapitalism have not previously been applied to research on EiE. In doing so, this study pushes us to reflect on their intersection within this particular field and their implications for the augmenting of private authority. Future research might extend the utility of these complementary constructs for understanding corporate engagement in this fast-changing area of educational policy and governance.

As this study demonstrates, the rise of private authority in EiE in particular reflects a growing embracing of corporate actors who—as our interview respondents note—often approach refugee education through a profit-oriented lens, which raises concerns about the exploitation of vulnerable populations (see also Zakharia and Menashy 2018). The surging downstream participation described above, including profit-generating initiatives through partnerships with governments, UN agencies, and NGOs, serves to legitimate corporate actors more broadly, which enables increased participation upstream in policy spaces. The upstream and downstream forms of engagement simultaneously elevate and reinscribe the power of business actors, who occupy their positions largely due to their ability to wield funds. The implications of our study therefore extend to both education policy and practice in contexts of crisis. By exposing these concerns, our study questions how EiE practitioners might harness the expertise and funds of the private sector in a way that is mindful of the potential power asymmetries that arise from the augmenting of private authority.

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ARE REFUGEE CHILDREN LEARNING? EARLY GRADE LITERACY IN A REFUGEE CAMP IN KENYA

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ABSTRACT

Currently, more than 25 million people across the globe live as refugees, having been driven from their countries of origin by crises and conflicts. Although the right to education is articulated in global agreements, national education systems in the host countries are primarily responsible for refugee children's instruction. In one of the first studies of its kind, we assessed all the schools providing lower primary education to refugee children in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, one of the largest and oldest refugee camps in the world at the time of data collection. The outcomes for these students were concerningly low, even lower than for those of disadvantaged children in the host community, Turkana County. Literacy outcomes differed among the refugee children, depending on their country of origin, the language of instruction used at the school in Kenya, the languages spoken at home, and the children's self-professed expectation of a return to their country of origin. Our findings point to the urgent need to invest heavily in improving learning among refugee children, rather than focusing solely on their access to education.

INTRODUCTION

By the end of 2017, 25.4 million people across the globe were living as refugees (UNHCR 2018a, 2). At that time, Consolatte was a refugee child in the second grade attending school in the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, one of the largest and oldest refugee camps in the world (UNHCR 2017a). Along with more than one million others, she and her older sisters fled the conflict in South Sudan and

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now live in exile in Kakuma. Consolatte is one of the children and youth under age 18 who constitute more than half the worldwide refugee population. Unlike Consolatte, however, four million of these refugee children are out of school, and many of those who do have access to school struggle to achieve even basic literacy and numeracy (UNHCR 2018b, 10). Consolatte attends school with 121 classmates, who sit squished together on long wooden benches in a tin-shed classroom. There is barely any space for Madam Anna, Consolatte's teacher, to pass between them from the front to the back of the classroom. Her students are from different countries—Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Uganda—and they speak many different languages. Some have missed years of schooling, so that teenagers seeking an education sit with 8-year-old classmates. Although Consolatte is in school, it is located in one of the world's most challenging places to learn.

Refugees' right to education is articulated in the 1951 Refugee Convention (UNHCR 2011), to which Kenya is a party. This global agreement asserts refugees' right to education, but within the framework of the host country's existing provision. It notes that all signatory states "shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education . . . [and] treatment as favourable as possible . . . with respect to education other than elementary education" (UNHCR 2011, 24). The 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, which articulates a set of nonbinding global commitments, reasserts this right to education for refugees but expands the scope to both primary and secondary schooling (UN General Assembly 2016, 14). The Global Compact on Refugees, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 2018, emphasizes that, while this right is articulated at a global level, its realization is the responsibility of hosting nation-states. The Global Compact states that global "resources and expertise" will aim "to expand and enhance the quality and inclusiveness of national education systems to facilitate access by refugee and host community children (both boys and girls), adolescents and youth to primary, secondary and tertiary education . . . [and] in line with national education laws, policies and planning, and in support of host countries" (United Nations 2018, para. 68).

Relying on host countries' national education systems to meet the goals of refugee education is the current prevailing approach, adopted initially in the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' *2012-2016 Education Strategy* (UNHCR 2012) and most recently codified in UNHCR's *Refugee Education 2030: A Strategy for Refugee Inclusion* (UNHCR 2019a). Historically, refugees who were educated at all received services outside the host country's national education system in refugee-only

schools that used the country of origin curriculum and language of instruction. This approach assumed, however misguided, a swift return to the country of origin (Dryden-Peterson 2016a). In 2010, only 5 of 14 of the largest refugee-hosting nation-states used their national curriculum and languages of instruction to educate refugees, but by 2014, 11 of these states did so (Dryden-Peterson 2016a). Before UNHCR's *2012-2016 Education Strategy* was created, the organization did not have a relationship with a single government authority in the education sector in any country in which it worked (Dryden-Peterson 2011). By 2016, however, UNHCR had formal relationships with national authorities in 20 of its 25 priority country operations and aimed to negotiate the inclusion of refugees in national education systems (Dryden-Peterson 2016a).

Key policy reasons for including refugees in national education systems reflect the nature of contemporary displacement and aid structures. The average length of exile for refugees is estimated at between 10 and 25 years—up to three times as long as it was in the early 1990s (Crawford et al. 2015; Devictor and Do 2016; Milner and Loescher 2011), which means that refugees are likely to get their entire schooling in exile. This protracted displacement means that the only opportunity for many refugee children to attend school and learn the kinds of skills and knowledge they need in the present and will use in the future is in exile. Furthermore, 60 percent of refugees were living in urban areas by the end of 2015, which has made refugee-only schools increasingly impractical (UNHCR 2016, 53). Moreover, refugee-only schools are unsustainable over the long term, even in camp settings, given the persistent shortfalls and unpredictable funding for refugee education (UNESCO 2017a, 7-8). The funding gaps persist with inclusion models, especially as national systems must expand to accommodate larger student populations and external funding remains limited and unpredictable (UNESCO 2019a, 2019b). Under these circumstances, educating refugees in national education systems can make access to a stable education with an established curriculum, trained teachers, and certification possible, if not guaranteed (Dryden-Peterson et al. 2018).

While clear policy rationales guide inclusion, significant gaps remain in our understanding of refugee students' learning outcomes in contexts of inclusion, which is critical to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. Given that refugee students often spend their entire schooling in exile and that their education increasingly takes place in the context of national school systems in host communities, it is imperative that we clearly understand the learning and academic progress of refugee students who are included in national education systems. Moreover, refugee students are among the most marginalized students globally, thus examining their learning outcomes has important consequences

for understanding and closing equity gaps in education (World Bank 2018) and furthering the global education community's commitments to Sustainable Development Goal 4, in particular "ensuring inclusive and quality education" by 2030 (United Nations 2016).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Given the lack of available learning outcome data from refugee camps in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), this study aims to both document existing learning outcomes and explore how refugees' learning outcomes differed on factors that policy and programmatic responses could address, including country of origin, language of instruction used in Kakuma schools, and children's expectations for their future.

Research Question 1: What are the literacy outcomes in English and Kiswahili for children in Kakuma, and how do these outcomes compare with children's learning across Kenya?

Research Question 2: How are specific characteristics of refugee children and their settings (country of origin, language of instruction used in Kakuma schools, and the children's expectations for their future) associated with literacy outcomes in English and Kiswahili?

In this paper, we conceptualize and empirically explore the inclusion of refugees in national education systems as it relates to refugee students' learning outcomes. We do so in what to our knowledge is the first population-representative study of refugee children's learning outcomes from an entire refugee camp. We were unable to identify any other studies that have shared population-representative learning outcomes for refugee learners in lower primary school. Our unique dataset from Kenya consists of the results of the Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) for children in grades 1-3 in all 21 schools in Kakuma refugee camp that have lower primary classes, and from two schools in the adjacent, more recently established Kalobeyei settlement.¹ Importantly, all of these schools follow the national curriculum of Kenya, have both Kenyan and refugee teachers, and teach using English and Kiswahili, Kenya's official languages. As is common for refugees globally, refugees in Kenya access education in marginalized areas of the country where the quality of education is low. Kakuma is located in Turkana County, one of Kenya's poorest counties (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics and Society for

¹ Kakuma refugee camp and Kalobeyei settlement are distinct places neighboring each other. However, in this paper Kakuma refers to both Kakuma and Kalobeyei unless otherwise noted.

International Development-East Africa 2013), where average learning outcomes are among the lowest for nationals anywhere in the country (Uwezo 2016).

In this context of forced displacement and high poverty, we examine how the population-level early literacy outcomes for refugee children in Kakuma compare to those of Kenyan nationals outside the camps; how these literacy outcomes vary by refugees' country of origin; and what policy-relevant factors are associated with these literacy outcomes. We first conceptually situate refugee learning within national education systems, in particular vis-à-vis their marginalization and differentiated learning needs. We then present details of our data sources and our findings, and conclude with implications for policy and practice. We document, we believe for the first time, the extremely low early literacy skills of children living in a refugee camp. We also indicate how these children's literacy performance compares to that of the nationals among whom they live in Kenya and how they vary by the dimensions we predict may influence their learning, including country of origin, the language of instruction used at school in Kakuma, and the children's expectations for the future. Our findings have implications not only for educating refugees but for reaching other children who have been left out of the global movement to provide high-quality education for all.

CONCEPTUALIZING REFUGEE LEARNING

The goals of global refugee education policy, which focus on expanding and enhancing the quality and inclusiveness of national education systems, echo education development goals more broadly. Despite the proliferation of low-cost private schools and the persistence of community-based education, most development aid continues to focus on education as a national-level public endeavor and on systemic change as the route to improved and more equitable outcomes for children (see, e.g., Bellino, Faizi, and Mehta 2016; Menashy 2017a; Pritchett and Viarengo 2015). Since the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All, global investment in education has risen in LMICs, access to education has massively expanded, and there has been a persistent focus on strengthening national education systems and their public-sector schools (see, e.g., Carney, Rappleye, and Silova 2012; Menashy 2017b; Turrent and Oketch 2009).

Despite these transformative achievements, we are faced with what Winthrop and McGivney (2015) called a 100-year gap, which refers to a gulf of 100 years in students' average number of years of school between developed and developing countries and, most critically, their levels of achievement. In North America

and Europe, close to 100 percent of students meet basic standards in math and reading after four to six years of schooling (Winthrop and McGivney 2015). However, UNESCO's "Global Education Monitoring Report" noted in 2017 that 56 percent of school-age children worldwide—387 million children—did not achieve minimum proficiency in reading; they were concentrated almost entirely in LMICs (UNESCO 2017b).

Refugees access education at a lower rate than other children globally. While the exact numbers are uncertain, only 63 percent of refugee children accessed primary school in 2018, compared to 91 percent of all children globally; at the secondary level, 24 percent of refugee children accessed education, compared to 84 percent of young people globally (UNHCR 2019b). Although this study, as noted earlier, is the first to our knowledge to document learning outcomes for refugees at a population level, case study research and agency reports have long documented that little to no learning occurs in settings where refugees are educated (see, e.g., Dryden-Peterson 2016b; International Rescue Committee 2011; Mendenhall et al. 2015; UNHCR and Global Education Monitoring Report 2016). At the same time, such an extreme example—a situation with low enrollment and low learning outcomes—can act as a canary in the coal mine for broader phenomena (Flyvbjerg 2006), such as equity gaps in early grade literacy outcomes in LMICs. We argue that our analysis of learning outcomes in refugee education illuminates two central dimensions of a forward-looking agenda to meet the learning needs of all students, both refugees and nationals: marginalization and differentiated learning needs.

The seven years since the adoption of the approach to include refugees in national education systems have highlighted the learning needs of both refugees and the marginalized national populations among whom they live (Dryden-Peterson et al. 2018; Dryden-Peterson et al. 2019). The vast majority of refugees—85 percent—live in a country neighboring their country of origin, most often in developing parts of the world, and 28 percent of refugees live in a country categorized as least developed (UNHCR 2018b). Even within nation-states, refugees often live and access school in communities where learning outcomes are lower than in the host country population as a whole and where "delivering education to the poor" consists of "delivering poor education" (Williams 2017, 559). In Lebanon, for example, only 30 percent of Lebanese nationals attend public schools, which are the schools to which refugees have access. Lebanese nationals who are able to do so elect out of the public system (Center for Educational Research and Development 2016), meaning that the quality of education offered to refugees is rejected by all but the most marginalized Lebanese nationals.

The type of public education refugees have access to elsewhere is similar to that of Kenyan nationals in the geographically isolated area where camps are located. Kenya's Turkana County, where Kakuma refugee camp is located, ranked 45th out of 47 counties in learning outcomes at the end of lower primary: fewer than 12 percent of students completing grade 3 were able to do grade 2 work (Uwezo 2016). Even with these extremely low learning outcomes, research in Kakuma has shown that refugee youth distinguish between the kind of education available to them in the camp and that in schools outside the camp, which they believe is of higher quality and could enable them to have a more promising future (Bellino and Dryden-Peterson 2018). Thus, it is critical to understand what and how well refugees are learning in the context of the marginalized nationals among whom they live, who themselves are often underserved by their public education system.

The presence of refugees in national education systems also illuminates the diverse needs of students, especially within heterogeneous populations. Uwezo's (2016) research in East Africa has shown that a large percentage of children in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania are unable to do grade 2 work when they have reached grade 7 or its equivalent, and that many of these children have very low early literacy skills. Research conducted in Kenya has consistently shown several factors associated with literacy outcomes, which include the languages spoken in the child's home, the language of instruction at school, the child's socioeconomic status, whether the parents can read and write, and whether the child attended school before grade 1 (Gove et al. 2018; Piper, King, and Mugenda 2016; Piper, Schroeder, and Trudell 2016). Previous qualitative research among refugees has indicated that learning outcomes can depend on prior education in the country of origin, missed years of schooling, experiences during and the length of displacement and exile, and alignment between languages of instruction in the country of origin and country of exile (Dryden-Peterson 2006, 2016b; McBrien 2005; Mendenhall, Bartlett, and Ghaffar-Kucher 2017; Waters and Leblanc 2005). We expected these characteristics to predict learning outcomes for children in Kakuma, and that the magnitude of the relationships might be particularly large for those further marginalized within the already marginalizing experience of living in a refugee camp.

BACKGROUND: EDUCATION AND REFUGEES IN KENYA

In Kenya, refugees are required to follow a policy of encampment that dates back to the early 1990s. As a result, as of April 2019, 84 percent of the 473,971 registered refugees in Kenya were living in camps; a much smaller percentage

were living in urban areas (UNHCR 2017b, 2019c). Kakuma and Dadaab are the two main refugee camps in Kenya. Kakuma was established in 1992 to accommodate an influx of Sudanese refugees fleeing the civil war in Sudan, who were soon followed by refugees from Ethiopia. In December 2013, renewed conflict in newly independent South Sudan dramatically increased the number of refugees entering Kenya, and in 2014, Kakuma swelled well above its capacity, spurring the development of the Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement 25 kilometers from Kakuma town. The settlement was envisioned as a place where refugees and Kenyan nationals would be socially and economically integrated, including in the schools (UNHCR 2018c).

Kenya's national education policy broadly calls for schools to use the local language as the language of instruction, but that policy is seldom followed in Kenyan schools (Piper and Miksic 2011). English is the primary language of instruction in the subject areas, and Kiswahili is often used instead of local languages (Trudell and Piper 2013). This is the case in Kakuma and Kalobeyei, which follow the Kenyan curriculum using English and Kiswahili as the primary languages of instruction. In Turkana County, where Kakuma is located, research has shown that English is used as the language of instruction and that children are often punished for speaking in Turkana (Ng'asike 2019). We recognize the complex language context of a refugee camp, particularly in light of Kenya's policies on language of instruction, which reflect a static notion of local language as tied to a geographic location. Refugees, who are by definition displaced, encounter the local language of their new place of residence—in this case, Turkana—and the many local languages of the teachers' and students' places of origin; in Kakuma camp this means dozens of languages from South Sudan, Sudan, DRC, Ethiopia, and others (see also Reddick and Dryden-Peterson forthcoming).

This instructional context of language has created a situation in which many Kenyan children are able to pronounce English words accurately but their reading comprehension outcomes in English are very low. Conversely, Kenyan children face the challenge of learning to decode in Kiswahili and local languages, but if they are able to do so, they understand a higher percentage of what they read in these languages than what they read in English, likely due to their oral proficiency in these languages (Piper, Schroeder, and Trudell 2016). A variety of pedagogical methods are used to teach literacy in Kenya, including the “look and say” method, in which teachers point to objects or words and have the children repeat them without breaking words into individual sounds, which would help the children develop decoding skills (Commeyras and Inyega 2007; Dubeck, Jukes, and Okello 2012).

Some interventions have helped change these traditional teaching methods. In the Health and Literacy Intervention program, implemented in 51 schools in coastal Kenya, teachers organized children into mixed- and same-ability groups before and after class, and used printed classroom materials to help them learn to read (Dubeck, Jukes, and Okello 2012). Prior to recent literacy improvement efforts in the rest of Kenya (Freudenberger and Davis 2017), multiple factors resulted in very low literacy outcomes, with only one-third of the country's learners reaching the Ministry of Education (MoE) benchmarks (Freudenberger and Davis 2017).

To our knowledge, there is no evidence of the literacy pedagogical methods used or the learning outcomes achieved in Kakuma prior to a recent UN Children's Fund (UNICEF)-funded pilot literacy intervention, which expanded Tusome, Kenya's national literacy program, to Kakuma. Given the predominant use of the Kenyan curriculum and teaching methods (Mendenhall et al. 2015), we would expect lower results in Kakuma, as the children in the camp likely have lower socioeconomic status than local Kenyan children, and higher levels of poverty are associated with worse literacy outcomes in Kenya (Piper, Jepkemei, and Kibukho 2015).

The implementation of the Tusome literacy program included an external evaluation that collected baseline data from children across Kenya in 2015 (Freudenberger and Davis 2017). This nationally representative dataset enabled us to compare the learning outcomes from Kakuma camp to the rest of Kenya. Given that school-level information is unavailable in Kenya's national literacy baseline study, it is impossible to directly compare learning outcomes from Kakuma camp and the neighboring Turkana County prior to the Tusome intervention. Nonetheless, the nationally representative literacy assessment provides a relevant comparison to the 2018 literacy assessment we present from Kakuma camp.

METHODS

The EGRA tool has been used to assess literacy among children in more than 65 countries (Dubeck and Gove 2015). Adaptation of EGRA for Kakuma followed the standard methods for Kenya and was implemented by experienced researchers working with RTI International (for standard methodology, see RTI International 2016). The Kakuma baseline study used standardized EGRA tools for English and Kiswahili, with the specific subtasks assessed described in Table 1. The version of the tool used in Kakuma had been used previously in Kenya, but the Kakuma-adapted student interview included several unique items that examined the students' backgrounds and their refugee status. The study measured students'

abilities in letter-sound fluency, segmenting, syllable fluency, decoding fluency, oral reading fluency (ORF), reading comprehension, and sentence comprehension, with slightly different tasks assessed in English and Kiswahili, as shown in Table 1. Each child was interviewed about their socioeconomic background using a standard EGRA pupil context interview, adapted for Kakuma.

Table 1: Kakuma EGRA Subtasks, Measures, and Descriptions, by Language

Subtask	Measure	Description	English	Kiswahili
Letter-sound fluency	Correct letters per minute	Measures the ability to recognize letter sounds by identifying letter sounds in an array of 100 letters within 60 seconds.	■	■
Segmenting	Percentage correct	Measures the ability to identify and sound out each sound in a word. Students were asked to segment 10 words.	■	
Syllable fluency	Correct syllables per minute	Measures the ability to read syllables from an array of 100 syllables within 60 seconds. This was measured in Kiswahili, given syllables' importance in the language.		■
Decoding fluency	Correct nonwords per minute	Measures the ability to decode nonwords fluently from an array of 50 nonwords within 60 seconds.	■	■
Oral reading fluency	Correct words per minute	Measures the ability to read a story fluently. Students were given a stimulus sheet with a connected-text story of approximately 60 words to read within 60 seconds.	■	■
Reading comprehension	Percentage correct	Measures reading comprehension. After reading a passage, students were asked up to five questions about the passage they read. Students were only asked questions relevant for the portion of the passage that they read.	■	■
Sentence comprehension	Percentage correct	Measures the ability to read and comprehend 20 simple sentences.	■	■

Source: Piper, Kwayumba, and Oyanga (2018, 6-7)

RESEARCH TOOLS

To evaluate the reliability of the tools, we fit separate Cronbach's alpha measures for the English and Kiswahili tools. The English and Kiswahili reliability scores were .77 and .73, respectively, both above the .70 benchmark but somewhat lower than in other studies in Kenya (Bland and Altman 1997; Tavakol and Dennick 2011).

Thirty assessors were selected for this study. The Turkana County host community provided 18 assessors and the research team selected 12 residents of Kakuma camp. Selection criteria included individuals' highest completed education level and their fluency in Kiswahili; the latter criterion was the key determinant of an individual's suitability as an assessor. Experienced EGRA coordinators trained the assessors for five days in the camp and provided practical support on how to use the open-source Tangerine™ application on tablets, interact with school administrators and students, and upload data daily for quality control checks. Assessors underwent three rounds of interrater reliability (IRR) assessments to ensure a high level of agreement among them. The average final IRR score of the assessors who were chosen to implement the assessment was 90 percent in both English and Kiswahili.

The data-collection period was March 12-18, 2018, approximately two months after the start of the academic year. The assessors collected data in teams of three. One assessor, the supervisor, managed the relationship with the school and supported the simple quasi-random sampling process used to sample the children, as described below. Children's participation was voluntary, and any child who did not want to engage in the assessment was allowed to leave. Nineteen pupils refused to undergo the Kiswahili assessment, and six refused the English assessment.

KAKUMA AND KALOBYEI SCHOOLS

Our sample included a total of 23 regular primary schools, 21 in Kakuma and 2 in Kalobeyei.² There also were 12 Alternative Basic Education (ABE) centers in Kakuma that provided education services to out-of-school children and youth in the camp. Because only two of the ABE centers had students in grades 1-3, the Kakuma baseline data collection took place in all 23 regular primary schools and in the two ABE centers with older learners (oldest was age 16) who were receiving education at the equivalent of grades 1-3. The results analyzed in this study are from all of the primary schools with lower primary learners that were in operation at the time of this study in Kakuma refugee camp and in the newer Kalobeyei settlement.

2 "Regular" is the official term in Kenya for schools that do not serve learners with special needs.

STUDENT SAMPLING

The Kakuma baseline study included all of the schools in operation at the time of the data collection. Simple quasi-random sampling was used at the school level. This sampling strategy targeted 10 students (5 male and 5 female) in grades 1, 2, and 3 in each school, for a total of 30 students per school. The supervising assessor asked all female and male students present on the day of data collection to form a line, and then counted each student. The assessor then took the total number of students present and divided it by five to get the sampling interval. This interval was then used to select students for the assessment. Starting at the beginning of each queue, an assessor counted off the children using the interval until they reached the required sample of five children per sex, per grade. At schools with more than one stream for a given grade, students from all the streams were asked to line up by sex and the sampling interval was determined in the same way described above. The sampling strategy, which aimed for sex parity, resulted in a dataset with 51 percent males.

DATA ANALYSIS USING WEIGHTED DATA

To analyze the data, we cleaned the baseline study data to remove incomplete student assessment results. The data were weighted using enrollment information so that the results were externally valid to the entire Kakuma camp. Weighting considered the total number of children enrolled in each grade rather than the number of children present in particular classes. The final weighted dataset included 732 students, and each sampled child received a particular weight that corresponded to the sampling undertaken in their particular grade and school. To account for the sampling in our analysis, we used the weighted dataset and the *svy* suite of Stata commands for our analyses (StataCorp 2019). The results include robust standard errors that consider the clustered nature of the schools.

LIMITATIONS

Our research was limited in several ways. First, the data we present were collected using the EGRA tools (Dubeck and Gove 2015), which have been criticized for focusing on speed, which suggests that untimed measures of reading accuracy would be more appropriate (Dowd and Bartlett 2019). The experience of reading in a timed setting could force students to privilege speed over accuracy or otherwise affect their reading skills, particularly if they are not used to this kind of testing environment (Bartlett, Dowd, and Jonason 2015; Goodman 2006). However, other research shows that the timed nature of EGRA does not meaningfully affect the

fluency or reading comprehension of students in Kenya (Piper and Simmons Zuilkowski 2016). Moreover, like other one-on-one assessments, which are standard for learners of traditional lower primary age, EGRA measures children's ability to perform with an assessor, rather than in their usual classroom setting. Despite these limitations, we present these findings as an initial diagnostic of refugees' specific literacy skills. Additional context- and language-specific assessments could enable us to refine our conclusions.

Although the study included all schools operating in Kakuma camp at the time of data collection, the 732 lower primary learners were a relatively small student sample, compared to the EGRA samples in other locations (Dubeck and Gove 2015). This smaller sample resulted in our analyses being constrained in their ability to compare learning outcomes meaningfully across some analytic categories of interest. In particular, we were unable to draw firm conclusions in our country-of-origin analysis, given that the samples of learners from some countries (e.g., Ethiopia and Rwanda) were relatively small.

Given the location of the study, our aim of using assessors from the assessed community, and the fact that EGRA had not been administered previously in Kakuma and Kalobeyi, the assessors selected for this study were not as experienced as those chosen for other EGRA studies in Kenya. While the final IRR scores were 90 percent, the research team had concerns about the quality of these assessors because of their lack of experience. Future studies in Kenya should continue to use local assessors but extend their training period to ensure a more precise administration of the assessment.

The background data we used as predictors in our analyses were self-reported by students in the pupil context interview. The reliability of these data is modest, as young children often have poor recall. Furthermore, questions about their households might have been particularly complicated and difficult to answer for students living in a refugee setting, given that their households might have been dealing with a higher than usual amount of uncertainty.

This paper presents learning outcomes data from March 2018, just before the April 2018 launch of the Tusome literacy program in Kakuma. Using this round of data collection as a baseline, future analyses of learning outcomes in Kakuma should be able to determine whether the Tusome program improved the literacy skills of children in this study, which were demonstrably very low. Despite the limitations noted above, the findings provide important insights into the literacy development

of refugee children in Kakuma. These findings are a first step toward providing more equitable learning opportunities for the most marginalized students.

FINDINGS

Before reporting the learning outcomes from Kakuma and Kalobeyi (see Table 2), we present descriptive statistics from relevant variables and background characteristics of the sampled children. The column “All children” shows the percentage of children who reported affirmatively on that item, while the next two columns present the percentages of males and females separately. We present descriptive statistics for a number of student-level background characteristics that allow us to better describe our sample. These background variables were collected in an oral interview between the assessor and the student in a language the child was familiar with. After the background information, we present descriptive statistics for the student outcomes for English and for Kiswahili, presented for the entire sample, for males, and, finally, for females.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Background and Learning Outcome Variables

Variable	Range	All children mean (N=732)	Male mean (n=373)	Female mean (n=359)
Background variables				
Female		0.48 (0.03)		
Child age (years)	4–16	10.1 (0.13)	10.5 (0.17)	9.7 (0.18)
Percentages responding “yes” rather than “no”				
Speaks Kiswahili at school		63.5 (2.6)	63.4 (3.7)	63.5 (3.7)
Speaks English at school		37.6 (2.7)	41.5 (3.7)	34.2 (3.8)
Speaks other language at school		9.9 (1.6)	7.3 (2.0)	13.3 (2.7)
Speaks Kiswahili at home		25.4 (2.3)	21.9 (3.0)	29.1 (3.6)
Speaks English at home		3.9 (1.1)	4.5 (1.7)	3.4 (1.4)
Speaks other language at home		66.7 (2.6)	64.5 (3.7)	68.7 (3.7)
Morning shift student		72.4 (2.5)	70.1 (3.5)	73.8 (3.5)
Mother is literate		47.0 (2.8)	39.3 (3.7)	54.4 (4.0)
Father is literate		56.6 (2.7)	51.0 (3.8)	62.4 (3.7)
Student is from South Sudan		46.8 (2.7)	48.3 (3.8)	43.3 (3.8)
Student is from Somalia		8.7 (1.4)	8.7 (1.7)	8.8 (2.3)
Student is from DRC		9.1 (1.4)	9.8 (2.2)	8.8 (2.1)

EARLY GRADE LITERACY IN A REFUGEE CAMP IN KENYA

Variable	Range	All children mean (N=732)	Male mean (n=373)	Female mean (n=359)
Student is from Burundi		4.2 (1.0)	3.4 (1.3)	5.3 (1.6)
Student is from Ethiopia		1.8 (0.7)	0.4 (0.4)	3.1 (1.3)
Student is from Sudan		18.1 (2.0)	21.0 (3.0)	15.8 (2.8)
Student is from Rwanda		1.3 (0.6)	0.0 (0.0)	2.7 (1.2)
Student is from Uganda		1.4 (0.6)	1.8 (1.0)	1.1 (0.6)
Student is from another country		8.7 (1.3)	6.5 (1.5)	11.1 (2.3)
Student is from Kenya outside of Kakuma		15.3 (1.9)	11.9 (2.5)	18.4 (3.1)
Years lived in Kakuma		4.6 (0.2)	4.6 (0.2)	4.5 (0.2)
Lived in another camp before Kakuma		10.5 (1.6)	11.8 (2.5)	9.7 (2.0)
Moved away from Kakuma		10.1 (1.6)	6.5 (1.6)	14.3 (2.8)
Parents are in Kakuma		77.4 (2.3)	72.9 (3.5)	82.6 (2.9)
Will return home in 3 years		43.8 (2.7)	42.8 (3.8)	45.1 (3.8)
Will return home in 10 years		40.0 (2.7)	44.3 (3.7)	35.7 (3.9)
Learning outcome variables		Means		
English literacy measures				
English correct letter sounds per minute	0-194.5	7.1 (1.1)	8.0 (1.7)	6.1 (1.4)
English segmenting score % correct	0-100	5.4 (0.8)	5.0 (1.0)	5.9 (1.1)
English correct nonwords per minute	0-142.9	6.8 (1.0)	7.7 (1.5)	6.0 (1.4)
English oral reading fluency	0-145.7	12.0 (1.5)	15.9 (2.6)	8.2 (1.4)
English reading comprehension % correct	0-100	5.0 (0.7)	5.9 (1.2)	4.1 (0.9)
English sentence comprehension % correct	0-100	18.1 (1.4)	17.8 (1.9)	18.3 (2.1)
Kiswahili literacy measures				
Kiswahili correct letter sounds per minute	0-136.6	5.3 (0.9)	5.2 (1.5)	5.3 (1.0)
Kiswahili correct syllable sounds per minute	0-141.3	7.2 (0.9)	8.7 (1.2)	5.8 (1.2)
Kiswahili correct nonwords per minute	0-150	4.6 (0.8)	6.1 (1.5)	3.1 (0.7)
Kiswahili oral reading fluency	0-157.1	6.5 (0.8)	6.5 (1.1)	6.5 (1.2)
Kiswahili reading comprehension % correct	0-80	2.3 (0.4)	2.8 (0.6)	1.8 (0.4)
Kiswahili sentence comprehension % correct	0-100	14.5 (1.1)	15.2 (1.6)	13.9 (1.6)

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

Our comparison of learning outcomes in the Kenya national baseline and in Kakuma demonstrates that, in general, children attending schools in Kakuma had lower literacy outcomes than students in the Kenya baseline for both English and Kiswahili. Our analysis also revealed differences in the three relevant factors we explore in Research Question 2: average performance by students’ country of origin, language of instruction at school, and children’s expectations for their future. Below we discuss findings related to each research question individually, before synthesizing these findings in the discussion.

Given how interlinked reading comprehension is with ORF (Piper, Schroeder, and Trudell 2016), it is not surprising that low ORF levels are associated with poor comprehension: children correctly answered only 7.5 percent and 4.7 percent of comprehension questions about texts they read in English and Kiswahili, respectively. Previous research in Kenya has shown that fluency and comprehension scores are not meaningfully different whether an assessment is timed or untimed (Piper and Simmons Zuilkowski 2016), or whether the child reads the story aloud or silently (Piper and Simmons Zuilkowski 2015). The scores we report vary by grade and subject but represent very low average reading comprehension rates.

Table 3: Mean Scores for English and Kiswahili EGRA for Grades 1-3

Subtask	English			Kiswahili		
	Grade 1 (n=231)	Grade 2 (n=236)	Grade 3 (n=265)	Grade 1 (n=231)	Grade 2 (n=236)	Grade 3 (n=265)
Letter-sound fluency (correct letter sounds per minute [clspm])	5.3 (1.4)	4.9 (1.4)	6.5 (1.5)	3.9 (1.9)	4.6 (1.2)	6.9 (1.3)
Segmenting (% correct)	4.9 (1.0)	3.7 (1.1)	6.8 (1.4)	—	—	—
Syllable fluency (correct syllables per minute [cspm])	—	—	—	6.3 (2.1)	6.8 (1.4)	14.1 (1.7)
Decoding fluency (cwpm)	4.7 (1.6)	4.5 (1.3)	6.9 (1.1)	5.9 (2.7)	3.9 (0.8)	7.5 (1.1)
ORF (cwpm)	7.2 (2.6)	6.4 (1.8)	14.1 (1.8)	3.7 (1.6)	7.3 (1.9)	10.1 (1.3)
Reading comprehension (% correct)	1.3 (0.4)	1.8 (0.8)	7.5 (1.3)	0.6 (0.3)	1.2 (0.4)	4.7 (0.8)
Sentence comprehension (% correct)	11.6 (1.7)	11.5 (1.9)	18.7 (1.9)	8.6 (1.4)	11.2 (1.9)	21.1 (1.9)
Fluent (% at MoE benchmark)	7.2 (2.2)	8.2 (1.9)	8.6 (2.0)	10.4 (2.2)	13.9 (2.6)	8.6 (1.8)

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

Source: Piper, Kwayumba, and Oyanga (2018, 14-15)

When we examined literacy outcomes in Kakuma alongside those from the national Kenya baseline study, we found that children in Kakuma performed much worse than their counterparts in the rest of Kenya (see Table 4). The Kenya national baseline showed EGRA results from 2015 that appeared to be higher than results for comparable grades in Kakuma in 2018 for all but one measure. National baseline data are available for grades 1 and 2 but not grade 3; therefore, we were not able to compare results from Kakuma with results from Kenya for grade 3. Given the different research designs and datasets, we are unable to report these comparisons with statistical significance.

When we compared the Kenya baseline scores with the outcomes in Kakuma, we found that students in Kakuma appeared to score below students in the Kenya baseline in all fluency measures (e.g., letter-sound fluency, decoding fluency, and ORF in both English and Kiswahili). In comprehension skills, grade 3 students in Kakuma seemed to score substantially below even grade 2 students (4.7% correct for Kiswahili) in the national Kenyan baseline (22.0% correct for Kiswahili), even though they were almost one full instructional year ahead in school (Table 4).

Table 4: Mean Reading Skills by Grade

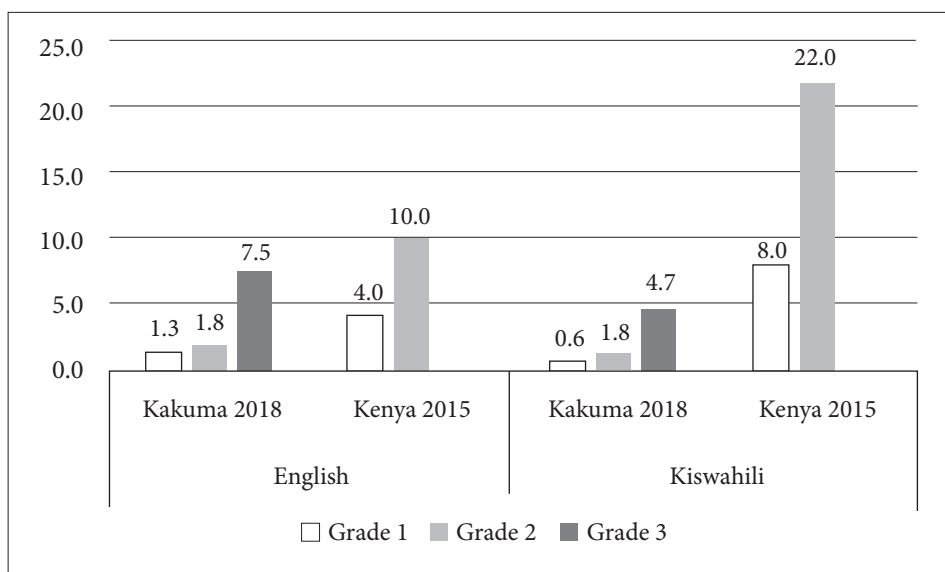
Language	Subtask	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3
		Kakuma 2018	Kenya 2015	Kakuma 2018	Kenya 2015	Kakuma 2018
English	Letter-sound fluency (clspm)	5.3	15.1	4.9	10.2	6.5
	Segmenting (% correct)	4.9	11.0	3.7	6.0	6.8
	Decoding fluency (cwpm)	4.7	5.7	4.5	10.4	6.9
	ORF (cwpm)	7.2	10.6	6.4	23.8	14.1
	Reading comprehension (% correct)	1.3	4.0	1.8	10.0	7.5
Kiswahili	Letter-sound fluency (clspm)	3.9	16.6	4.6	16.2	6.9
	Syllable fluency (cspm)	6.3	11.0	6.8	20.9	14.1
	Decoding fluency (cwpm)	5.9	4.7	3.9	10.2	7.5
	ORF (cwpm)	3.7	4.9	7.3	13.5	10.1
	Reading comprehension (% correct)	0.6	8.0	1.2	22.0	4.7

Sources: Freudenberger and Davis (2017); Piper, Kwayumba, and Oyanga (2018). National data were not available for grade 3.

Reading comprehension in the languages of instruction, in this case English and Kiswahili, are central to academic outcomes and progress through schooling (Piper, Schroeder, and Trudell 2016). Given the central role of reading comprehension for success at school, we compared the rate of correct responses on English and Kiswahili reading comprehension questions among students in Kakuma and Kenya (Figure 1). This comparison is particularly meaningful in relation to questions about the appropriate language of instruction for school in Kakuma, given refugees' different language backgrounds and their enrollment in the national education system. Kenya's language of instruction policy is not closely followed and, like refugees, many (if not most) Kenyan children do not speak English or Kiswahili as their home language (Trudell and Piper 2013), although they are likely more familiar with spoken Kiswahili than refugee children would be. Nevertheless, Figure 1 shows that the comprehension levels of children in Kakuma were considerably lower than those in the baseline Kenya study. Grades 1-3 students in Kakuma correctly answered 1.3 percent, 1.8 percent, and 7.5 percent, respectively, of comprehension questions about English language texts. Although English comprehension scores in the Kenya baseline were disappointingly low, the grade 2 English comprehension rate in Kakuma (1.8%) was lower than the grade 1 rate in Kenya (4.0%), and the grade 3 English comprehension rate in Kakuma (7.5%) was lower than the grade 2 rate in Kenya (10.0%).

Even lower were the Kiswahili comprehension scores in Kakuma. Among grade 1 and 2 students living in Kakuma, comprehension scores in Kiswahili were 0.6 percent and 1.2 percent, respectively, and 4.7 percent in grade 3. The outcomes of the Kenya baseline assessment were much lower than expected (i.e., 8.0% in grade 1 and 22.0% in grade 2); however, they dwarfed the outcomes in Kakuma.

Figure 1: Reading Comprehension Outcomes for the 2018 Kakuma Baseline and 2015 Kenya Baseline



In addition to investigating literacy outcomes for children in Kakuma, we examined whether there were differences in literacy outcomes by country of origin. Before discussing those differences, however, we offer an overview of children's origin countries in the various phases, or areas, that make up Kakuma. Kakuma's population is very diverse (see Table 5). Nearly half (41.7%) of children assessed in grades 1-3 were from South Sudan and 16.7 percent were from Sudan. Children from DRC (8.8%) and Somalia (8.6%) made up the next largest shares of the population, followed by smaller populations from other countries (e.g., Burundi and Eritrea). Additionally, the composition of the different geographic phases (like zones) within Kakuma varied greatly by country of origin. In general, the population of Kakuma Phase 1 was similar to that of the camp overall—42.8 percent of children were from South Sudan and 18.2 percent were from Sudan. A large proportion of the population of children in Kakuma Phase 4 were also from South Sudan (65.6%) and Sudan (13.5%). However, there were far fewer children from South Sudan living in Kakuma Phases 2 and 3 (28.9% and 25.9%, respectively). The highest proportion of Somali children lived in Phases 2 and 3 (20.0% and 19.0%, respectively). There also were many children from DRC living in Kakuma Phase 2 (18.5%), while in Kakuma Phase 3, 20.7 percent of the children were either from other countries (e.g., Tanzania), from different parts of Kenya, or born in Kakuma camp itself. The newer Kalobeyei settlement predominantly

hosted children from South Sudan (60.8%), with a proportion from Sudan similar to that of the camp at large (17.7%). There were no children from Somalia in Kalobeyei schools and only a few from Burundi, DRC, and Rwanda (3.9% each). Kalobeyei is designed to allow nationals and refugees to cohabitate, but none of the sampled children identified Kenya as their country of origin, although 9.2 percent indicated that they were not from the countries given as options, and we could not identify whether they may, in fact, have been Kenyan.

Table 5: Country of Origin by Kakuma Phase (% of the population)

Country	Overall (N=731)	Kakuma 1 (n=325)	Kakuma 2 (n=136)	Kakuma 3 (n=117)	Kakuma 4 (n=101)	Kalobeyei (n=52)
South Sudan	41.7	42.8	28.9	25.9	65.6	60.8
Sudan	16.7	18.2	16.3	15.5	13.5	17.7
Other	14.8	19.4	8.2	20.7	5.2	7.8
DRC	8.8	7.1	18.5	7.8	4.2	3.9
Somalia	8.6	4.0	20.0	19.0	0	0
Burundi	4.1	4.0	3.0	5.2	5.2	3.9
Uganda	1.9	1.9	2.2	1.7	3.1	0
Ethiopia	1.7	1.2	2.2	1.7	2.1	2.0
Rwanda	1.5	1.2	0.7	2.6	1	3.9
Eritrea	0.1	0.3	0	0	0	0

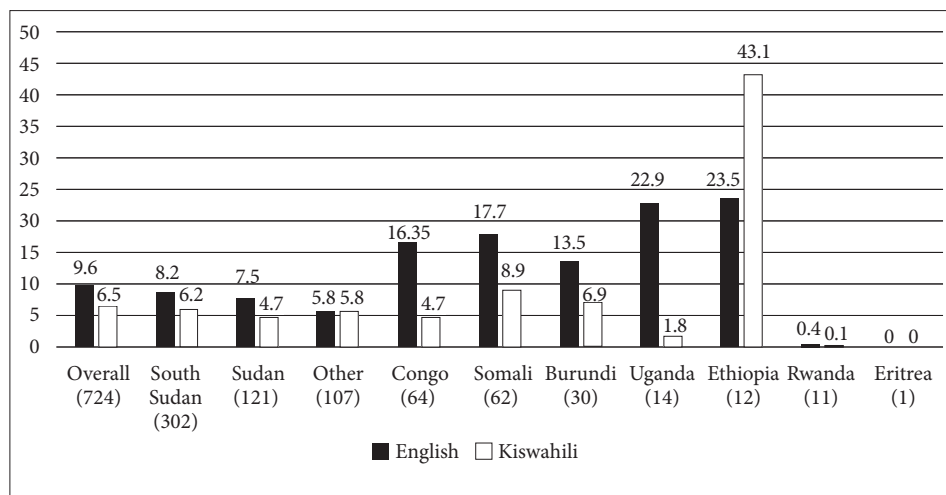
Source: Piper, Kwayumba, and Oyanga (2018, 19)

We fit univariate ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions to determine whether there was variation in children's literacy outcomes by country of origin. In this analysis, we focused on ORF scores, given that ORF had the most variation and is used by Kenya as the key literacy outcome variable (Piper, King, and Mugenda 2016). We graphically present our findings in Figure 2, which shows both the average fluency rate and the number of children in our sample. It is important to note the relatively small sample size from some countries of origin. We found that the 302 children from South Sudan had fluency scores very close to the overall averages, which is logical, given the substantial South Sudanese population in the camp (see Table 5). The South Sudanese English ORF was 8.2 cwpm, which was statistically indistinguishable from the overall mean of 9.6 cwpm (p -value=.63), while the South Sudanese Kiswahili ORF was 6.2 cwpm, also no different from the overall mean of 6.5 cwpm (p -value=.72). The 62 Somali students performed 7.8 cwpm better than average in English (p -value<.10), but not different from the average in Kiswahili (p -value=.35). The 64 Congolese students read 16.3

cwpm in English (p -value=.32) and 4.7 cwpm in Kiswahili (p -value=.74); these values were not significantly different from the average values. Although the 12 Ethiopian students performed well (i.e., 23.5 cwpm in English and 43.1 cwpm in Kiswahili), their small sample meant that comparison with other groups revealed no statistically significant difference for English (p -value=.12) but a significant difference for Kiswahili (p -value=.05). Finally, the 11 Rwandan students read only 0.4 cwpm (p -value<.01) and 0.1 cwpm (p -value=.01) in English and Kiswahili, respectively.

As we discuss below, we were unable to determine the factors that might have contributed to these performance patterns by country of origin, including students' educational experiences in their countries of origin, their length of stay in Kenya, their home language or language of previous schooling in linguistically diverse countries of origin, their expectations for the future, or other factors. Further research is needed to understand the ways children's experiences before and during exile may contribute to their learning in refugee settings.

Figure 2: ORF Scores by Country of Origin



Source: Piper, Kwayumba, and Oyanga (2018, 19)

Finally, we sought to understand what policy-relevant factors are associated with literacy outcomes in Kakuma. We focused on predictor variables that we believed could be relevant for children's learning and that could guide differentiated teaching for refugee students, including the child's country of origin, the language of instruction at school in Kakuma, and the children's expectations for their future.

To understand the potential relationship between these factors and literacy outcomes in Kakuma, we fit separate OLS regression models with English ORF as the outcome variable and predictor variables drawn from the student background questionnaire. The first and second model regressed Kiswahili and English ORF on location, while the third model removed phase and regressed ORF on student background variables. The first and second models controlled for the specific phase of Kakuma or Kalobeyei that the schools were in, the grade, and the Tusome treatment group the school was assigned to. These findings were robust to models that also controlled for age and gender. Results were relatively similar for OLS models with Kiswahili ORF as the outcome variable (Piper, Kwayumba, and Oyanga 2018). First, we fit a model that compared learning outcomes by location, comparing Kakuma’s four phases and Kalobeyei, controlling for grade, gender, and age, and with scores in reference to outcomes in Kakuma Phase 1. We present the results in Table 6. Kakuma Phase 2 outperformed Phase 1 by 3.7 English cwpm (p -value<.10), Phase 3 outperformed Phase 1 by 5.7 cwpm (p -value<.10), and Phase 4 outperformed Phase 1 by 14.5 cwpm (p -value<.001). Kalobeyei was no different from Kakuma Phase 1 (p -value=.33), although the absolute magnitude of the outcomes was close to that for Kakuma Phase 2. In Kiswahili, we did not find any statistically significant differences by Kakuma phase or Kalobeyei, except that Kakuma Phase 4 outperformed Kakuma Phase 1 by 7.5 cwpm (p -value<.05). Note that the regression models examining the physical location of the schools predicted only 4.6 percent and 6.4 percent of the variation in student outcomes for Kiswahili ORF and English ORF, respectively.

Table 6: Results from OLS Regression Models Controlling for Gender, Grade, Age, and Treatment Group

Predictor	Kiswahili ORF (N=666)	English ORF (N=683)	English ORF (N=683)
Kakuma Phase 2 compared with Phase 1	3.9 (2.5)	3.7† (2.1)	
Kakuma Phase 3 compared with Phase 1	1.0 (2.0)	5.7† (3.0)	
Kakuma Phase 4 compared with Phase 1	7.5* (3.3)	14.5** (4.3)	
Kalobeyei compared with Phase 1	1.2 (3.1)	4.3 (4.4)	
Student is from Rwanda			-3.8† (2.1)
In 10 years, I will have returned to my home country			-5.6** (2.1)

Predictor	Kiswahili ORF (N=666)	English ORF (N=683)	English ORF (N=683)
In 3 years, I will be in Kakuma			-4.7* (2.2)
Student is from South Sudan			-5.2* (2.3)
Student is from Somalia			7.0† (4.2)
Kiswahili is spoken at home			9.1* (3.8)
English is spoken at school			9.1** (2.8)

Note: † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Standard errors in parentheses.

We identified a number of statistically significant relationships between student background characteristics and English ORF, as shown in Table 6. We found statistically significant relationships between whether English was spoken at school and children's English ORF. Children read 9.1 cwpm more fluently (p -value $<.01$), on average, if attending schools where English was the primary language of instruction at their school, and 9.1 cwpm more fluently (in English) if Kiswahili was spoken at home (p -value $<.05$). We also found three statistically significant relationships between English ORF and country of origin: as described above, being from Somalia was associated with 7.3 cwpm higher in English (p -value $<.10$), while being from Rwanda and South Sudan was associated with 3.9 cwpm lower (p -value $<.10$) and 5.3 cwpm lower performance (p -value $<.05$), respectively, on English ORF. With respect to expectations that they would return to their home country, we found that a refugee child who thought they would still be in Kakuma in three years scored 4.8 cwpm lower in English (p -value $=.02$). In contrast, those who anticipated that they would be in their country of origin in ten years read 5.2 cwpm less fluently in English (p -value $=.01$).

DISCUSSION

Our analysis of early literacy data for refugees in Kakuma demonstrated at the population level that these learning outcomes were exceedingly low. Grade 2 students in Kakuma scored below students in the national Kenya baseline on all fluency measures (e.g., letter-sound fluency, decoding fluency, and ORF) in both English and Kiswahili. For example, only 8.6 percent of grade 3 students in Kakuma met the MoE grade 2 benchmark for reading fluency in English and Kiswahili, and average ORF rates were some of the lowest fluency outcomes available in large-scale databases in LMICs (Dubeck and Gove 2015; Raza, Kabir,

and Rashid 2019). Moreover, in comprehension skills, which are critical predictors of later academic success, grade 3 students in Kakuma scored substantially below grade 2 students on the national Kenyan baseline, scoring only 4.7 percent correct compared to 22.0 percent correct, even though they were almost one full instructional year ahead in school.

We found three factors with statistically significant relationships to students' ORF in English: country of origin, the primary language of instruction in school, and the expectation of returning to their home country. Students with origins in Somalia scored higher and students from South Sudan scored lower, possibly due to their varying exposure levels to education in Kenya and/or to English. Many Somalis living as refugees in Kenya have lived in the country for up to three decades, making it possible that current Somali students in Kakuma were born in Kenya and have parents and/or siblings who were educated in English in Kenya (see, e.g., Dryden-Peterson, Dahya, and Adelman 2017; Horst 2006). Conversely, students with origins in South Sudan were more likely to have arrived in Kenya as very young children from a country where English prevailed as the language of instruction for the very short period between Independence in 2011 and renewed conflict in 2013 (UNICEF 2017; UN Security Council 2017). Students from Rwanda also scored lower in English reading fluency, although we are hesitant to speculate as to the reasons because of our small sample of 11 students. A better understanding of students' educational histories, their parents' educational histories, and their sources of exposure to the languages of instruction could inform policy responses and appropriate instructional practices for students from different countries of origin.

As documented in other literature, students' assessed reading fluency is higher if the language of assessment is the primary language used for instruction at their school (Piper, Schroeder, and Trudell 2016). We saw the same pattern in Kakuma, where students who reported that the primary language used for instruction in their school was English read more fluently in English. Although English is one of the two official languages of instruction in Kenya and students, by policy, should be exposed to English as a primary language of instruction, teachers of refugees sometimes do not have the language skills to instruct in English and make the decision to use other languages so their students can understand the lessons (Chopra and Dryden-Peterson 2015; Reddick and Dryden-Peterson forthcoming). An important factor for teachers' professional development in Kakuma may be exposure to translanguaging practices that enable them to capitalize on languages shared with students, such as Arabic or other home languages, while exposing

students to English and Kiswahili, which, as languages of instruction and assessment, are critical to their educational futures (see, e.g., García and Wei 2014). Future research could consider how teachers' country of origin affects both the language environment of the classrooms in which they teach and children's learning outcomes.

Oral reading fluency in English also was connected to students' views of their migration and exile trajectory. We asked students where they expected to be in three years and in ten years, and found a connection between these expectations and their ORF. It seems reasonable to expect that students, or their families, might invest differentially in English or Kiswahili, or in Kenyan education more broadly, depending on their view of the future and on what languages are used in their country of origin. In our data, we found statistically significant relationships between students' expectations that their future three years ahead would be in Kakuma and lower reading fluency in English. This finding is somewhat counterintuitive, as we might expect that students who predicted that they would continue their education in Kenya would invest in English, with possible beneficial outcomes. On the other hand, without the right to work and restrictions on freedom of movement, refugees have limited ability to earn a livelihood in Kenya, thus a possible prolonged exile could limit the perceived usefulness of a Kenyan education or the perception that the future holds the kinds of opportunities that would benefit from educational achievement in general (Bellino 2018; Bellino and Dryden-Peterson 2018). We also found that children who planned to be in their country of origin ten years in the future had lower English fluency. As indicated earlier, we recognize the limits of student-reported data of this kind, especially by students in early grades, as was the case in our study. Under a policy of inclusion of refugees in national education systems, further research is needed to understand how refugee students and families perceive the use of education in exile for their envisioned futures, how this perception overlaps with the languages used in their country of origin, and how these perceptions and plans affect their investments in schooling and learning.

We found that children in Kakuma Phase 1 had lower learning outcomes than children in the rest of Kakuma camp and that the Kalobeyi results were similar to those of Kakuma Phase 1. These results were somewhat surprising, given the varying amounts of attention these areas of the camp and settlement receive from donors. Future research should investigate the mechanisms by which refugee learners' country of origin, their expectations of return, and residence in particular parts of a camp or settlement influence learning outcomes.

Future research should also examine how the poor learning outcomes identified in this study in Kakuma overlap with the somewhat higher pass rates on the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education exam experienced by older children in these same schools (UNHCR 2017c). Various hypotheses are possible: perhaps the children who perform poorly in early primary have dropped out by the time they reach the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education exam at the upper end of primary school, or maybe this finding is an artifact of a cohort effect, meaning that current younger learners in Kakuma are doing less well than previous cohorts of learners.

CONCLUSION

In addition to pointing to some discrete predictors of refugee students' early literacy, our findings illuminated challenges to learning that were exacerbated by marginalization and differentiated learning needs. Such challenges are relevant not only to refugee education but also to the global goal of providing quality education for all, including national populations in areas that host refugees. Refugees in Kenya have access to education in the national system through a policy designed to increase their access to high-quality education; however, our study showed that their learning outcomes were among the lowest seen in any study in LMICs. The lower learning outcomes we saw in Kakuma compared to those in Kenya as a whole point to the need for further research on the different learning needs of refugees, which may not be met entirely by following the national education system or may indicate opportunities to modify national education systems to meet differentiated learning needs. Given the low learning outcomes in the refugee-hosting area of Turkana County, this finding calls attention to both the need and the opportunity to situate support of refugees in the context of the marginalized nationals amid whom they live. Our findings show different learning outcomes by country of origin group. Other literature suggests that refugee students' country of origin may influence learning, possibly due to family literacy rates, ease of connection to schools and school culture, previous educational experiences in the country of origin, and length of stay in Kenya (Burde et al. 2016; Bellino, Faizi, and Mehta 2016; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2015). Education programs and practices would be usefully informed by considering these factors, instead of considering refugee students as one homogenous group of learners no matter their country of origin or as having the same learning needs as nationals.

In addition, refugee learners' home language(s) and language(s) of previous schooling are likely to affect learning outcomes following displacement. If students have developed literacy skills previously, especially in their home language(s), they are likely to be able to draw on these skills for schooling in a new language, whereas students without existing literacy skills will likely find this more challenging (Cummins 1978; Benson 2012; Genesee et al. 2006). This linguistic transfer is most productive between languages that are proximate in terms of orthography or structure, so that refugee children from language backgrounds that are quite different from the new language of instruction they encounter may struggle more than those from more similar language backgrounds (Genesee et al. 2006; Melby-Lervåg and Lervåg 2011). Effective educational opportunities for refugee children should take these factors into consideration when making decisions about language of instruction. Our research is also suggestive, though inconclusive, that refugees' expectations for the future shape early literacy learning. An uncertain future is a persistent reality for refugee children, and schools can play an important role in mitigating the ways that uncertainty may interfere with learning (e.g., Sirin and Rogers-Sirin 2015; Dryden-Peterson 2016b). Finally, although we do not have comparable data, we do know that learning outcomes in Turkana County, where Kakuma is located, are also among the lowest in Kenya. This educational marginalization of both refugees and nationals demands further research on both individual-level factors (e.g., poverty, family literacy) and school-level factors (e.g., teacher pedagogy, school climate) that are promising mechanisms to augment learning, not only for refugees but for the marginalized nationals amid whom they live, who also have been left behind by the global education movement.

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REFUGEE STUDENTS' ACADEMIC MOTIVATION IN DISPLACEMENT: THE CASE OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

JIHAE CHA

ABSTRACT

Building on the existing body of literature on academic motivation, this research examines various factors associated with the academic motivation of students living in refugee camps in Kenya. I employ self-determination theory and a sense-of-belonging construct to explore the academic motivation of these students who, despite the overwhelming challenges of their life in exile and an unpredictable future, remain eager to learn. I use ordinary least squares regression modeling to examine the relationship between students' motivation and their individual and social predictor variables. Drawn from a survey of 664 primary school students across nine schools in Kakuma refugee camp, the findings suggest that students' sense of belonging at school is the strongest predictor of academic motivation, even after adjusting for other demographic and family-related variables. While these factors do not represent all possible predictors of motivation among students in refugee camps, the study does suggest that fostering a sense of belonging at school in a context of displacement could help educators create learning environments that promote and sustain refugee students' academic motivation.

INTRODUCTION

Due to multiple crises across the globe, approximately 25.4 million people are currently living as refugees; 3.4 million of them have been displaced by protracted crises for more than two decades (Dryden-Peterson 2016a; UNHCR 2018a). More than half of these refugees are children and youth under age 18 (UNHCR 2018a). Some refugees spend their entire academic cycle—from preprimary to tertiary—in displacement (Milner and Loescher 2011). While scholars who study education in emergencies and forced migration have paid increasing attention to the schooling

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experiences of refugees, the literature has largely focused on uncovering barriers that prevent these children and youth from accessing quality education (Hatoss and Huijser 2010; Kanu 2008; McBrien 2005). Scholars primarily discuss the macro- and micro-level challenges refugee children encounter in a context of displacement or after resettlement, including overcrowded classrooms, irrelevant curricula, language barriers, and didactic teaching styles (Dryden-Peterson 2015, 2016b; Kanu 2008; McBrien 2005; Mendenhall et al. 2015; Oh and van der Stouwe 2008). Some of these barriers are the reason for the large number of out-of-school children and youth in countries throughout the world. Of the 7.4 million school-age refugee children and youth, only 61 percent attend primary school and fewer than a quarter make it to secondary school (UNHCR 2018a).

Despite the seemingly overwhelming challenges and unpredictable future refugee youth face, some are motivated to continue learning while living in exile. Recent studies have examined the various factors that enable refugee students to continue their pursuit of education (Dryden-Peterson and Reddick 2017; Dryden-Peterson, Dahya, and Adelman 2017). Despite a confluence of factors that interfere with schooling, some refugees have successfully navigated their educational trajectories owing to “locally and globally situated resources,” including their families, communities, teachers, and peers (Dryden-Peterson et al. 2017). These students and those trying to support them are striving to restore “a sense of normalcy, identity, future orientation, and social connections” (Mosselson 2006, 110) in an unfamiliar environment by continuing their education.

The Kakuma refugee camp in northwest Kenya provides an example of refugee students who are academically motivated and eager to pursue an education, despite having access only to underresourced, overcrowded schools in an isolated refugee camp. For the past few years, refugee students in Kakuma camp have been recognized for their achievements on the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), the culminating national exam for primary school students. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2018b) reports that, for four years in a row, students in Kakuma “continue to shine” on the examination. Enrollment trends also show a sharp increase in the number of KCPE registrants, from 603 students in 2010 to 5,842 in 2018 (UNHCR 2018b), and 88 percent of those who sat for the KCPE in 2018 passed, a rate higher the national average (76%).¹ That year,

1 There are no statistics for the out-of-school youth in Kakuma. UNHCR Education Management Information System data account for school-going youth, while UNHCR demographic data are organized by age range (e.g., 12-17 years of age) that do not align with the school-going population in Kakuma, given the large percentage of overage students. Therefore, it is difficult to approximate what percentage of the overall population sat for the KCPE. It is important to note that those who take the KCPE may be more motivated—intrinsically and extrinsically—to continue schooling. This point is further explained in the limitations and conclusion sections.

UNHCR and its partner organizations granted scholarships to the top 43 scorers to pursue their secondary education outside the camp (UNHCR 2019a). Despite these achievements, little is understood about the factors behind the academic motivation and achievement of refugee students living in camps.

Recognizing the multiple complex barriers refugees encounter in different contexts is important, but it could make it easy to gloss over the strengths and abilities of refugee youth that motivate them to succeed academically. Hence, this study emphasizes the need to move away from a deficit approach that stresses the vulnerability, passivity, and powerlessness of displaced populations (Brown, Miller, and Mitchell 2006; Dryden-Peterson 2011) and instead to examine the individual and social factors that have a positive influence on refugee children's academic motivation. These factors are critically important, not only to help prevent at-risk students from dropping out but to help those performing well to continue their education. Drawing from a survey conducted with 664 primary school students in Kakuma refugee camp, this study addresses the question, What factors are associated with the academic motivation of students in the camp schools? This study used the lens of self-determination theory to determine how a sense of belonging at school influenced these students' academic motivation. The aim of this study is to help educators and practitioners create learning environments that promote and sustain the academic motivation of students living in contexts of protracted displacement.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Academic motivation is defined as making an effort to persist in pursuing an education and to succeed academically (Ryan and Deci 2000, 56). The literature highlights the significance of academic motivation as it is associated with psychosocial wellbeing, greater life satisfaction and sense of meaning, and better academic performance (Bailey and Philips 2016; Baker 2004). In contrast, a lack of motivation is associated with low self-esteem, higher levels of stress and anxiety, and poor academic performance (Baker 2004; Petersen, Louw, and Dumont 2009). For decades, education psychologists have identified a variety of factors that contribute to students' academic motivation. Many motivation theorists also suggest that academic motivation depends on a range of factors, including students' individual characteristics and/or social factors that contribute to their (dis)engagement from educational activities. However, the existing research on academic motivation is primarily focused on formal education systems in the United States and other developed countries that are not affected by conflict.

There is a paucity of literature on the academic motivation of refugee students living in contexts of displacement; the literature that does exist focuses mostly on refugees who have settled in Australia, Canada, and the United States. Hence, this study applies a well-developed body of research on academic motivation to refugee education, the aim being to provide a fuller picture of refugee students' motivation to succeed academically in a camp setting.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

The first strand of motivation theories highlights the effect children's perceived ability and characteristics have on their academic behavior and performance. Scholars argue that students' perceptions of their self-efficacy and their expectations, goals, and values relate directly to their academic motivation, effort, and performance (Atkinson 1964; Bandura 1977, 1986; Schunk 1989, 1991; Wigfield and Eccles 2000). A student's academic motivation stems from their beliefs about their own ability to obtain and apply knowledge and skills (Schunk 1989), and their expectations of academic success (Atkinson 1964; Wigfield and Eccles 2000; Wigfield, Cambria, and Eccles 2012). A student is most likely to be motivated to pursue an academic goal they find attractive or believe is attainable (Schunk 1991)—for example, to take language classes if they believe they are capable of learning a new language.

For conflict-affected populations, education is often considered a means for social, spatial, and economic mobility (Bellino 2018). Even when facing economic, social, systemic, and spatial exclusion, many refugees' goals are to affirm their self-worth and claim an identity beyond that of refugee, and to build certainty in their lives through education (Bellino 2018, 10; Dryden-Peterson 2017; Dryden-Peterson, Dahya, and Adelman 2017). In her research on female Bosnian refugees in New York City, Mosselson (2006) found that refugee students were eager to succeed academically to restore “a sense of normalcy, student identity, future orientation, and social connections” (110) in their new environment. Their confidence in their capacity to learn and to succeed academically increased their motivation (Atkinson 1964; Bandura 1977; Schunk 1989, 1991; Wigfield and Eccles 2000). Hatoss and Huijser (2010) found that Sudanese refugees in Australia generally showed a high level of academic motivation, as they regarded education as “the only avenue for achieving some sense of achievement and purpose in life” (9). Refugee children and youth who have such aspirations and goals often are motivated to continue their schooling during their displacement and after resettlement (Bellino and Kakuma Youth Research Group 2018).

However, other scholars suggest that refugee students can lose their academic motivation if their displacement is protracted, especially when they feel socially excluded in the host country schools and communities or become frustrated by the overwhelming constraints of the refugee camp (Bellino 2018; Shuayb 2014). For example, Shuayb (2014) found that limited access to universities and poor employment prospects markedly reduced the motivation to pursue an education among Palestinian refugee students living in Lebanon. Refugees students also are more likely to discontinue schooling when they or their parents fail to see the value of primary and secondary education while in exile (Al-Hroub 2014). While these studies corroborate motivation theories that stress the importance of self-efficacy, expectations, values, and goals in refugee children's academic motivation, it also signals the need to recognize the salient structural challenges that discourage refugees' motivation to further their education while living in exile (Bellino 2018).

Studies also have shown that demographic factors are highly correlated with an individual's propensity to end their schooling, including age and gender (Hunt 2008). Research suggests that overage learners are often at greater risk of dropping out of school than younger students (Buchmann 2000; Fawcett, Hartwell, and Israel 2010; Lloyd, Mensch, and Clark 2000). In sub-Saharan African countries, for example, many students are not in the appropriate grade for their age due to grade repetition, late school entry, or interrupted schooling, all of which contribute to dropout (Hunt 2008; Lewin 2009). In their study of war-affected adolescents in Sierra Leone, Zuilkowski and Betancourt (2014) found that "every additional year of age increased the fitted odds of dropout by 14 percent" (459). As children get older, they may lose their motivation to continue their schooling due to feelings of social discomfort or alienation from younger classmates (Flisher et al. 2010; Siddhu 2011). They also may face social and economic pressure in their community to withdraw from school to do paid work, help with household chores, get married, or bear children (Zuilkowski et al. 2016).

Gender also can have an impact on children's educational continuity. In societies and cultures with strong gender roles, for example, girls may be discouraged from studying (Siddhu 2011; Sabates, Hossain, and Lewin 2013; Smits and Huisman 2013). In low-income households in sub-Saharan African countries, girls often are responsible for household chores, such as fetching water, cooking, and taking care of younger siblings (Abuya, Oketch, and Musyoka 2013; Flisher et al. 2010), and poor families often encourage daughters to marry at a young age to reduce the family's financial burdens or to receive a dowry (Grant and Hallman 2008; Hunter and May 2003). All of these circumstances disrupt girls' ability to

continue their education (Abuya, Onsomu, and Moore 2014). Hatoss and Huijser (2010) found that socially constructed gender roles for Sudanese refugee girls often posed a challenge to their education pathway. Even after resettlement in Australia, these girls often stayed at home rather than continuing their education, due to long-established cultural norms and gender roles. Gender in fact cuts across a wide variety of factors—nationality, ethnicity, culture, class—to limit children's academic pursuits. Considering that women and children comprise the majority of the world's refugees, more research is needed on the gendered barriers to educational opportunities faced by refugee children, both during their displacement and after resettlement (Hatoss and Huijser 2010; UNHCR 2018a).

SOCIAL FACTORS

The second strand of theories focuses on the role social factors play in student motivation (Reeve, Ryan, and Deci 2018). Scholars argue that children's motivation relies in part on a complex interplay between their personal characteristics and their interactions and experiences with their families and in school (Goodenow 1993; Goodenow and Grady 1993; Ginsburg and Bronstein 1993; McCoy, Wolf, and Godfrey 2014). Support from family members, teachers, and peers is considered a key determinant of children's academic engagement and motivation (Wentzel 1997). These actors provide different types of tangible and intangible support, such as parents assisting with homework, teachers' praising progress and offering motivational messages, and peers providing companionship, warmth, and kindness, all of which have a direct and indirect influence on students' academic motivation and performance (Ansong et al. 2017, 52; Ko, Wang, and Xu 2013).

A plethora of literature demonstrates that parental involvement in education—their expectations, helping their children with schoolwork, and active engagement in school functions—is a strong predictor of their children's academic motivation and achievement (Marchant, Paulson, and Rothlisberg 2001; Paulson 1994; Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown 1992; Stevenson and Baker 1987). Several studies on the educational success of students from disadvantaged backgrounds confirm the significance of family support, financial and emotional, in children's ability to achieve. In Nepal, Rai et al. (2016) found that family members of urban squatter children in Kathmandu played a key role in their educational persistence, despite impoverished home environments and unhygienic settlements. Dass-Brailsford (2005) found similarly that Black youth from low-income families in South Africa showed a strong commitment “to uplift their socioeconomic status” (582) when they lived with parents, siblings, or relatives who encouraged them to attend school. Studies of resettled refugees in Australia and Canada found

that strong emotional support from parents and family members was a factor contributing to children's academic success (Brown and Mitchell 2006; Kanu 2008). The informational, material, emotional, and capacity-building resources families provide are important in children's ability to adapt successfully to a new educational environment (Major et al. 2013).

Relationships with school members, particularly teachers and peers, is another important social factor that predicts academic motivation (Goodenow 1993; Goodenow and Grady 1993; Harter 1996; Wentzel 1997). Many scholars argue that the quality of the student-teacher relationship may determine students' level of engagement, motivation, and achievement in school (Furrer and Skinner 2003; Goodenow 1993; Kia-Keating and Ellis 2007; Martin and Dowson 2009). Indeed, research suggests a significant relationship between teachers' pedagogical caring (e.g., warmth, affection, and support) and students' motivation (Furrer, Skinner, and Pitzer 2014; Ryan et al. 1990; Stipek 2002; Wentzel 1997). The teacher's role is particularly significant for unaccompanied refugee children, as they can fill the role of caregiver (Kirk and Winthrop 2007). Studies also have found that peer influence is particularly critical during adolescence, a period of life when students value peer acceptance (Goodenow 1993; Goodenow and Grady 1993). McDougall and Hymel (1998) contend that students with positive peer relationships are more likely than others to experience a smooth transition to secondary school and may be more motivated academically. Relationships with peers are also critical for refugee students, as they provide "social bridges" that keep them from being isolated at school (Strang and Ager 2010).

Indeed, a wealth of literature demonstrates the individual and social factors that determine students' level of academic motivation. However, most of that literature is comprised of studies conducted in the United States or other developing countries not affected by conflict. Most of the limited research that has explored refugees' academic motivation and success has focused on resettled refugees in Australia, Canada, the United States, and Western European countries (Kanu 2008; McBrien 2005; Wilkinson 2002). However, this population represents less than 1 percent of the world's forcibly displaced population; 86 percent of refugees reside in countries that neighbor on those they've fled (UNHCR 2018a). Despite this, few studies have examined the academic motivation and success of refugees living in camps, informal settlements, and urban spaces in the Global South (Mendenhall, Russell, and Buckner 2017).

One study that does so is Dryden-Peterson et al.'s (2017) research that was conducted in Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya. Drawing from an online survey of Somalis who are geographically dispersed in various countries and in-depth interviews with 21 Somali students in the refugee camp, Dryden-Peterson et al. explored student-identified supports that contributed to their educational access and persistence. The authors found that, amid a confluence of factors that often impede refugees' access to schools, some children and youth in Dadaab had successfully navigated their educational pathways due to the financial, emotional, and/or academic support they received from individuals, their families, and their communities. Bellino and the Kakuma Youth Research Group (2018) identified some nonmaterial supports the refugee youth received, such as encouragement and advocacy, that were factors in their academic motivation. Refugee youth in Kakuma noted that they benefitted from the support of family and community members, teachers and peers, who not only provided words of encouragement and praise but took action to support their educational access and persistence. These studies demonstrate that, even in situations of protracted displacement, where refugees are often in a state of "radical uncertainty" about their future, refugees can be motivated to pursue an education if they receive support from locally and globally situated resources (Bellino and Kakuma Youth Research Group 2018; Dryden-Peterson et al. 2017; Horst and Grabska 2015).

More research is urgently needed to investigate the individual and social factors that influence the academic motivation of refugee students living in exile. Although there is a well-established literature on academic motivation, it is mostly limited to developed country contexts. This study addresses this gap in the literature by exploring the factors that contribute to the motivation of refugee students in Kenya, which hosts one of the world's largest refugee populations.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

I draw from Ryan and Deci's (2000) self-determination theory and a sense-of-belonging construct to examine refugee students' academic motivation during their displacement. Ryan and Deci identify three types of motivation—intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation, and amotivation. Intrinsic motivation is a person's innate psychological need to improve their competence, which eventually results in his or her motivation to pursue and enjoy learning (Deci and Ryan 1985). A student who finds an activity (e.g., reading a book) that provides the satisfaction and pleasure of participating is intrinsically motivated (Furrer and Skinner 2003). In contrast, children who engage in academic tasks mainly to satisfy their parents' or teachers'

expectations are extrinsically motivated (Sheldon and Elliot 1998; Vallerand and Bissonnette 1992). A person who engages in an activity as a means to an end is extrinsically motivated. The third type of motivation is amotivation, which means that children lose interest and disengage from learning when they cannot predict the consequences or contingencies of their motive or actions (Vallerand et al. 1992, 1007). Amotivated children invest little or no effort in their studies. In this study, I focus on in-school children's academic motivation and the factors that explain variations in their motivation, thus I address only intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.

External factors play a pivotal role in either promoting or thwarting children's innate tendency to want to learn (Deci et al. 1991). For this learning behavior to persist, children need support from their social milieu. As Deci et al. assert, individuals develop through their interaction with a social world—the integration of the self and the world. Therefore, I focus on this construct of relatedness (hereafter, sense of belonging). Furrer and Skinner (2003) argue that the sense of belonging to a community acts as “a buffer, allowing people to show more self-reliance, vigor, and tenacity in the face of obstacles” (149). A sense of belonging at school is particularly critical for children affected by conflict. Whether they resume their schooling during displacement or after resettlement, refugee children “form secure and satisfying connections with others in [a markedly different and unfamiliar] social milieu” (Deci et al. 1991, 327). While some children adapt quickly to a new school environment, others isolate themselves because of language barriers, discrimination, or for psychological reasons. Those who isolate may lose their innate desire to learn, causing them to lose their motivation and make less effort academically (Anderson, Manoogian, and Reznick 1976; Goodenow 1993; Ryan and Deci 2000; Weiner 1990). In contrast, fostering a sense of belonging in school may be a central factor in children's motivation to learn. Thus, I examine refugee students' motivation to learn relative to their sense of belonging in school in the Kakuma camp setting.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this study come from an original survey conducted in Kakuma refugee camp from January 10 to 24, 2018. Kakuma is located in the Turkana district of northwest Kenya. For the last several decades, Kenya has been home to hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children seeking refuge. Refugees in Kenya come from Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, Burundi, Democratic

Republic of Congo, and other countries in East and Central Africa; they have fled to Kenya across national borders due to political instability, genocide, and civil war. As of December 2019, there are 489,747 refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya, of whom 55 percent are under age 18 (UNHCR 2019b); 84 percent live in refugee camps (44% in Dadaab, 40% in Kakuma), and the remaining 16 percent live in urban areas (UNHCR 2019b). In Kakuma, the daily arrival of refugees from South Sudan has created huge problems with living accommodations and the distribution of limited resources. Founded in 1992, Kakuma refugee camp was originally intended to host refugees for a short period of time, but due to protracted crises in several neighboring countries, the camp has been operating for 28 years. Ongoing conflicts in South Sudan and the resulting influx of refugees to the camp, coupled with refugees who have relocated to Kakuma from Dadaab camp, increased Kakuma's population to nearly 190,000 in March 2016 (UNHCR 2016); children under age 18 accounted for more than half (UNHCR 2019b).

The education system in Kakuma is overseen by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). At the time of this study, there were 11 early childhood centers, 21 primary schools, 5 secondary schools, and 1 vocational training center in Kakuma to accommodate the more than 60,000 children living in the camp (UNHCR 2019b, 2019c). Since 1997, schools in the camp have used the Kenyan curriculum, and Kiswahili and English are the languages of instruction. The national curriculum is based on the 8-4-4 system (8 years in primary school, 4 in secondary, and 4 at a university or college). In 2014, the camp schools became official government schools and, in keeping with the national education system, refugee students now take high-stakes exit exams in grade 8 (Standard 8) and grade 12. Their performance on the KCPE exam determines their access to secondary schools. UNHCR and its partners sponsor a few exceptionally high-performing students to study outside the camp. With no tertiary education provided in the camps except for a few online certificate programs, most secondary graduates find incentive jobs (i.e., as interpreters, cleaners, teachers, etc.) in the camp (Bellino 2018; Bellino and Hure 2018; Dryden-Peterson et al. 2017).

Schools in Kakuma camp face immense challenges. A safe environment that is conducive to learning cannot be guaranteed, and the steady influx of refugees from South Sudan and Dadaab camp have aggravated Kakuma's already overpopulated, underresourced schools. Moreover, the majority of the camp's primary school teachers are unqualified and untrained (Mendenhall 2017). The lack of qualified teachers, overcrowded classrooms, inadequate facilities, and a lack of teaching and learning materials are some of the many school-based factors that contribute to school dropout in Kakuma (Masinde Wesonga 2014).

SAMPLING

The target population of this study is Kakuma students in Standard 8, the highest grade in Kenya's primary schools. To provide an accurate count of the target population, I used a two-stage sampling process. First, using the probability proportional to size (PPS) sampling method, I randomly selected 12 of the camp's 21 primary schools. I used the PPS technique because the population ranged from 224 to 3,882 students per school (Lutheran World Federation 2018). This approach ensured that students in the larger schools had the same probability of getting into the sample as those in smaller schools (Lavrakas 2008). PPS is the most commonly used sampling method for large-scale international assessments, such as the Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Programme for International Student Assessment. I originally selected 12 primary schools, but many of them were closed during my visit due to unexpected protests in the camp. Therefore, I was only able to collect surveys from 9 of the 12 schools (5 co-ed schools, 5 same sex, and 1 boarding school).

In the next phase, I used stratified sampling to include students from two classes (hereafter, streams) in Standard 8. In 2018, all nine schools in the sample had two streams in Standard 8. I visited each classroom, randomly selected 70 to 100 students per stream, and distributed the questionnaires. As gender was one major interest in this study, I oversampled the number of girls; there often are fewer girls than boys in the Kakuma schools and they are at a higher risk of dropping out (Masinde Wesonga 2014). Because the margin of sampling error is related to the size of the sample, increasing the sample size for girls through oversampling allowed me to estimate with a smaller margin of error.

With consent from UNHCR and the school head teachers (called principals), I visited students in Standard 8 during the long break in the morning (11:00-11:30 AM) or during remedial classes in the afternoon (2:00-3:30 PM); both are free periods for students to do in-class exercises or revisions. I explained the purpose of the study, including the potential risks and benefits, and recruited students to participate. I made sure that students were aware that their participation was voluntary and allowed those who did not wish to participate to leave the classroom or not submit the survey, which was administered in English, the language of instruction for most core subjects in Kenya's upper primary classes. Only two students left the room without submitting the survey.

INSTRUMENT

The survey instrument was designed as a self-administered questionnaire. It included questions to help gauge students' attitudes toward academic motivation and a sense of belonging in school. I developed these items based on a thorough examination of existing questionnaires on adolescents' academic motivation, in particular Cham et al.'s (2014) Adolescents' Motivation for Educational Attainment Questionnaire and Murdock's (1999) Educational Motivation Questionnaire. The survey also contained respondents' detailed sociodemographic information. Most of these items were adapted from the TIMSS, an international large-scale assessment that monitors trends in math and science performance among fourth and eighth graders. To ensure that the survey instrument was relevant to the context, I consulted two South Sudanese male refugee teachers, both of whom completed their own primary schooling in the camp. They reviewed the survey and pointed out vocabulary that might be unfamiliar or irrelevant to students in Kakuma. After consulting with the teachers, I made minor changes (e.g., "graduate" to "complete" and "chores" to "work") before distributing the survey.

PARTICIPANTS

A total of 784 students participated in the survey. During the analysis phase, however, students missing data were dropped, and the final analytical sample was 644. The sample included 12 percent of the entire Standard 8 population in Kakuma camp. Of these participants, 45 percent were female and 55 percent male. The average age of the sample was 18 (the range was 11 to 40). Standard 8 students in Kenya are usually age 13 to 15, but many refugee students are older than their Kenyan peers, due to multiple years of interrupted schooling. Only 14 percent of students in the sample were in the "average Standard 8 age" category; 86 percent were 16 and above, and thus considered "overage" or "older" learners. Participants' period of encampment ranged from one to more than twenty years, with an average of seven years. Almost half the students (48%) in the sample had resided in Kakuma for six to ten years, followed by 42 percent who had lived there for one to five years. Students came from nine countries of origin, the majority from South Sudan (60%), followed by those from Sudan (15%) and Somalia (10%). Other countries represented in the study are Democratic Republic of Congo (5%), Ethiopia (4%), Burundi (2%), Kenya (2%), Tanzania (1%), and Rwanda (<1%).

Table 1: Descriptions and Descriptive Statistics for Variables (N=664)

Variable	Definition/Metric	Mean	SD	Percentage
<i>Independent Variables</i>				
Female	Male	-	-	55.0
	Female	-	-	45.0
Age	Average age (11-15 years)	-	-	14.0
	Overage (16 and above)	-	-	86.0
Encampment Years	1-5 years*	-	-	41.6
	6-10 years	-	-	48.5
	11-15 years	-	-	4.8
	16 years or more	-	-	5.1
Nationality	South Sudanese*	-	-	60.2
	Sudanese	-	-	14.8
	Somali	-	-	10.4
	Others	-	-	14.6
Family Composition	Unaccompanied (alone)*	-	-	6.78
	With parent(s)	-	-	58.6
	Siblings only	-	-	14.9
	Others (foster family, relatives, or friends)	-	-	19.7
Home Responsibilities	Less than 1 hour*	-	-	41.1
	1-2 hour(s)	-	-	25.8
	2-3 hours	-	-	13.4
	More than 3 hours	-	-	19.7
School Belonging	Scale of students' sense of belonging at school	4.51	.55	-
School Type	Boarding school*	-	-	9.34
	All girls' school	-	-	11.6
	All boys' school	-	-	13.0
	Co-ed school	-	-	66.1
<i>Dependent Variables</i>				
Intrinsic Motivation	Scale of students' intrinsic motivation at school	4.59	.71	-
Extrinsic Motivation	Scale of students' extrinsic motivation at school	4.47	.69	-

* Reference group(s) in the analysis

MEASURES

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Using Ryan and Deci's (1985) self-determination theory, the dependent variables are intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. A total of 12 items pertained to students' academic motivation (six for intrinsic, six for extrinsic). Most of the statements were extracted from Cham et al.'s (2014) Adolescents' Motivation for Educational Attainment Questionnaire and Murdock's (1999) Educational Motivation Questionnaire, both of which measure the multiple dimensions of youths' motivation to complete secondary school. Intrinsic motivations include "I do my best to achieve higher scores in exams" ($M=4.74$; $SD=.63$); "I am confident that I will get a good score in KCPE" ($M=4.74$; $SD=.62$); "I am confident that I can do well in my studies" ($M=4.73$; $SD=.67$); "What I do in school will help me succeed in life" ($M=4.65$; $SD=1.03$); "I think education will ensure that I get paid well in the future" ($M=4.40$; $SD=1.24$); and "I cannot be successful in life without education" ($M=4.39$; $SD=1.31$).

Extrinsic items were mainly statements regarding their relationships with parents and teachers: "My parents or guardians expect me to do well" ($M=4.71$; $SD=.67$); "My teachers expect that I will do well in the future" ($M=4.54$; $SD=1.08$); "My teachers believe that I will complete (graduate from) primary school" ($M=4.50$; $SD=.09$); "I am one of the students who teachers believe will be successful" ($M=4.50$; $SD=.86$); "My relationships with family support my educational goals" ($M=4.40$; $SD=1.01$); and "My parents or guardians expect me to complete (graduate from) secondary school" ($M=4.31$; $SD=1.38$). The motivation items included five response categories: (1) strongly disagree, (2) disagree, (3) neutral, (4) agree, and (5) strongly agree. Drawing from these items, I calculated two scales; higher values reflect higher levels of intrinsic motivation (Cronbach's $\alpha=.74$) and extrinsic motivation (Cronbach's $\alpha=.64$).

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent variables in the analysis were categorized into three groups: individual characteristics (demographics), family characteristics, and school characteristics. Individual variables include gender, age (by category), nationality, and years of encampment (by category). I put age in two categories: "average Standard 8 age" and "overage." I put time in encampment into four categories—1-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, and 16 years or more—to investigate differences, if any, in the level of motivation and years of displacement. The reference group was newly arrived refugees who had spent fewer than five years in the camp. I assigned South

Sudanese as the nationality reference group, as they are the majority population in the camp (UNHCR 2019b). With the relatively small percentages of refugees from other countries in the sample, I grouped them together as “Others.”

Family-related variables included family composition and home responsibilities (e.g., number of hours spent daily doing chores). I compared the motivation of unaccompanied minors (reference category) who lived alone with those who lived with at least one family member or relative. The reference group for the home responsibilities variable was those who reported spending less than one hour a day doing chores. Other family-related factors, such as parental education and parental involvement in their children’s schoolwork, were originally part of the survey, but they were omitted because most of the respondents were not able to answer the question. School variables also included the type of school attended (boarding, all girls, all boys, and co-ed) to examine the relationship with students’ sense of belonging at school. Table 1 presents the descriptions and descriptive statistics of each independent variable.

Statements pertaining to students’ sense of belonging were extracted from the TIMSS student questionnaire for grade 8. I borrowed the TIMMS scale on sense of belonging, which is comprised of seven items: “I like being in this school” (M=4.77; SD=.54); “I learn a lot in school” (M=4.62; SD=.75); “I like to see my classmates at school” (M=4.61; SD=.72); “I feel safe when I’m at school” (M=4.54; SD=.83); “I feel like I belong at this school” (M=4.49; SD=.90); “I am proud to go to this school” (M=4.40; SD=1.07); and “Teachers at my school are fair to me” (M=4.11; SD=1.30). These items included five response categories: (1) strongly disagree, (2) disagree, (3) neutral, (4) agree, and (5) strongly agree. Drawing from these items, I calculated a scale on which higher values reflect a greater sense of belonging (Cronbach’s alpha=.73).

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics and Items Concerning Students' Academic Motivation and Sense of Belonging in School

Item	Mean	SD
<i>Intrinsic Motivation</i>	4.59	.71
I do my best to achieve higher scores in exams.	4.74	.63
I am confident that I will get a good score in KCPE.	4.74	.62
I am confident that I can do well in my studies.**	4.73	.67
What I do in school will help me succeed in life.	4.65	1.03
I think education will ensure that I get paid well in the future.*	4.40	1.24
I cannot be successful in life without education.*	4.39	1.31
Reliability (alpha): .74		
<i>Extrinsic Motivation</i>	4.46	.69
My parents or guardians expect me to do well.**	4.71	.67
My teachers expect that I will do well in the future.*	4.54	1.08
My teachers believe that I will complete (graduate) primary school.*	4.50	.90
I am one of the students who teachers believe will be successful.*	4.50	.86
My relationships with family support my educational goals.	4.40	1.01
My parents or guardians expect me to complete secondary school.**	4.31	1.38
Reliability (alpha): .64		
<i>Sense of Belonging***</i>	4.51	.55
I like being in school.	4.77	.54
I learn a lot in school.	4.62	.75
I like to see my classmates at school.	4.61	.72
I feel safe when I'm at school.	4.54	.83
I feel like I belong at this school.	4.49	.90
I am proud to go to this school.	4.40	1.07
Teachers at my school are fair to me.	4.11	1.30
Reliability (alpha): .73		

* Murdock (1999), Educational Motivation Questionnaire

** Cham et al. (2014), Adolescents' Motivation for Educational Attainment Questionnaire

*** International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (2015), TIMSS

ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

I used ordinary least squares (OLS) regression modeling to examine factors that explained students' intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Multiple linear regression using OLS allows the estimation of the relation between a dependent variable and a set of explanatory variables. In this study, I found it most appropriate to explore the relationship between students' motivation level (intrinsic and extrinsic) and the predictors (individual, family, school characteristics). I estimated regression models separately for intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation, and their associations with three groups of independent variables: (1) individual variables: gender, age, and years of encampment; (2) family variables: family composition and home responsibilities; and (3) school variables: school type and a sense of belonging at school.

LIMITATIONS

The use of motivation measures, which have been developed and used mostly in Western and noncrisis contexts, is an important limitation of this study. The sense-of-belonging scale has also been extracted from TIMSS, which is used in approximately 60 countries. While the measures are known to be of high quality and comparability, I acknowledge the need for contextualization to accurately portray the situation of refugee children in a camp setting. Considering the applicability of the measures, I piloted the survey several times with teachers and students and adjusted statements based on their feedback.

Furthermore, this research focuses only on the motivation of school-going refugees. It does not include the perceptions or motivations—intrinsic, extrinsic, or amotivation—of the large number of out-of-school children in the Kakuma camp. Regardless of their self-determination to pursue an education, the out-of-school children's desire to remain in school may have been affected by a wide range of factors, such as social, cultural, and gender barriers (Masinde Wesonga 2014). Therefore, this study cannot make any comparisons of the level of motivation between in-school and out-of-school children. It focuses only on the motivation of in-school youth who have reached the final grade in primary school in Kakuma. I discuss these limitations further, and the implications for future research, later in this paper.

RESULTS

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

In my analysis, I first explored the levels of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation among respondents. Overall results indicate that, on average, Standard 8 students in Kakuma refugee camp reported a high level of academic motivation: average level of intrinsic motivation ($M=4.59$, $SD=.71$); average level of extrinsic motivation ($M=4.47$, $SD=.66$). While the mean of intrinsic motivation was slightly higher than that of extrinsic motivation, the two had about 15 percent variability. Table 2 indicates that items related to achievement motivation for national exams (e.g., KCPE), such as "I am confident that I will get a good score in KCPE," had the highest average, 4.74; this compares to another general statement, "I cannot be successful in life without education," which had the lowest average, 4.39. Interestingly, in terms of extrinsic motivation, two items related to parents received the highest and lowest average rankings. "My parents expect me to do well" was the highest, with 4.71, while "My parents expect me to complete (graduate) from secondary school" was the lowest, at 4.31. At 4.5, the three items on teachers' expectations and beliefs were comparable.

Next, I examined students' sense of belonging. Students expressed a high level of belonging in school, with an average of 4.51. The items with the highest average scores were, "I like being in school" (4.77) and "I learn a lot in school" (4.62). Although still a high average, students scored lowest on the statement, "Teachers at my school are fair to me" (4.11).

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

INTRINSIC MOTIVATION

Table 3 shows a summary of regression analyses for different sets of variables that predict students' intrinsic academic motivation. Model 1 contains an individual's demographic variables. Gender proved to be a statistically significant predictor of students' intrinsic motivation. Female students showed a higher level of intrinsic motivation than their male counterparts ($ES=.16$, $p<.01$), holding other individual variables constant. This loses significance once we adjust for school-related variables (Model 4). In terms of years of encampment, students who had lived in Kakuma for 6-10 years had slightly higher intrinsic motivation than those who had resided in the camp fewer than 5 years ($p<.01$). Nationality proved to be statistically significant in predicting students' intrinsic motivation. Both

Sudanese ($p < .001$) and Somali ($p < .001$) students had substantially lower intrinsic motivation than students from South Sudan (reference group). There was no statistical difference in intrinsic motivation between South Sudanese students and students from other countries (e.g., Burundi, Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania). Whether in the normal range or overage, students' age did not have any statistical significance in predicting intrinsic motivation ($p > .05$). Demographic variables such as gender, age, years of encampment, and nationality together explain about 5 percent of the variability in students' intrinsic motivation ($p < .001$). The coefficients for nationality remain significant across all models.

Model 2 introduces family-related variables, including family composition and home responsibilities. Holding other variables constant, family composition and home responsibilities were unrelated to students' intrinsic motivation. They explained less than 1 percent of the total variance, which makes them insignificant. In other words, adding family-related variables to Model 2 did not increase its explanation power.

Model 3 contained only the school-related variables. The results show that a sense of belonging is a strong predictor of students' intrinsic motivation ($b = .360$; $p < .001$). The effect of a sense of belonging remained statistically significant, even after we adjusted for individual characteristics and family-related variables (Model 4). Compared to students enrolled in boarding school (reference group), students who attend a co-ed school had a substantially lower intrinsic motivation level ($ES = -.26$, $p < .001$). However, students attending same-sex schools (either all girls or all boys) and those attending boarding schools had comparable levels of intrinsic motivation ($p > .05$).

As illustrated in Table 3, a sense of belonging had the strongest association with students' intrinsic motivation. While both Model 1 and Model 2 explained approximately 5 percent of the variance in intrinsic motivation ($Adj R^2 = .051$ and $Adj R^2 = .050$, respectively), Model 3 and Model 4 explained 10 percent and 13 percent of the total variance, respectively ($Adj R^2 = .104$ and $Adj R^2 = .126$).

Table 3: Summary of Regression Analyses for Intrinsic Motivation (N=664)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	.155** (.056)	.157** (.057)		.047 (.069)
Age				
Overage	-.146 (.079)	-.136 (.080)		-.119 (.077)
Encampment Years				
6-10 years	.155** (.060)	.146* (.060)		.105 (.059)
11-15 years	.200 (.132)	.200 (.133)		.142 (.128)
16 years and above	.123 (.128)	.107 (.130)		.059 (.127)
Nationality				
Sudanese	-.333*** (.079)	-.336*** (.081)		-.312*** (.078)
Somali	-.335*** (.095)	-.333*** (.096)		-.218* (.094)
Others	-.085 (.081)	-.091 (.082)		-.033 (.080)
Family Composition				
With parents		.076 (.114)		.026 (.110)
Siblings		.147 (.127)		.100 (.122)
Others		.120 (.121)		.054 (.117)
Home Responsibilities				
1-2 hours		-.058 (.069)		-.065 (.070)
2-3 hours		.002 (.085)		-.016 (.086)
More than 3 hours		-.143 (.075)		-.139 (.075)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
School Type				
All girls			.026 (.115)	.091 (.124)
All boys			-.142 (.114)	-.031 (.139)
Co-ed			-.257** (.092)	-.114 (.112)
School Belonging			.360*** (.049)	.352*** (.049)
Intercept	4.653*** (.090)	4.602*** (.139)	3.155*** (.243)	3.174*** (.279)
adj. R2	.051	.050	.104	.126
AIC	1411.000	1417.146	1368.658	1366.303
BIC	1451.484	1484.621	1391.149	1451.770

Standard errors in parentheses * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION

Table 4 shows a summary of regression analyses for different sets of variables that predict students' extrinsic academic motivation. Model 1 contained individual variables. Much like the analyses conducted on intrinsic motivation, gender was a statistically significant predictor of students' extrinsic motivation. Female students showed a higher level of extrinsic motivation than their male counterparts, all else being equal ($ES=.22$; $p<.001$). The coefficients for gender remained significant across all models. Nationality proved to be statistically significant in predicting students' extrinsic motivation. Both Sudanese ($p<.01$) and Somali ($p<.01$) students showed somewhat lower intrinsic motivation than South Sudanese students. However, the coefficient for Somali refugees lost significance once we adjusted for school-related variables (Model 4). It still remained significant for Sudanese students across all models. South Sudanese students and students from other countries (e.g., Burundi, Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania) did not have any statistical difference in extrinsic motivation. No individual variables besides gender and nationality, such as age and years of encampment, had any statistical significance in predicting students' extrinsic motivation.

Model 2 indicates that family composition and home responsibilities were unrelated to students' extrinsic motivation, holding other variables constant. Two factors—whether students live alone, with parents, with siblings, or with other relatives or friends, and how much time they spend doing chores—did not have any significance for their level of extrinsic motivation ($p > .05$). Adding family-related variables in Model 2 did not increase the explanation power of the model, which was also true for intrinsic motivation.

Model 3 contained school-related variables. The results show that a sense of belonging is a strong predictor of students' extrinsic motivation in Model 3 ($b = .454$; $p < .001$). In this model, school type was unrelated to students' extrinsic motivation ($p > .05$). The effect of a sense of belonging remained statistically significant, even after we adjusted for individual characteristics and family-related variables in Model 4 ($p < .001$). An additional unit increase in school belonging was associated with a .46 unit increase in extrinsic motivation, all else being equal. This model also explained a significant proportion of the variance in extrinsic motivation ($R^2 = .15$, $F(4, 659) = 29.52$, $p < .001$).

As shown in Table 4, a sense of belonging had the strongest association with students' extrinsic motivation. While both Model 1 and Model 2 explained approximately 3 percent of the variance in extrinsic motivation (Adj $R^2 = .033$ and Adj $R^2 = .028$, respectively), Model 3 and Model 4 both explained about 15 percent of the total variance (Adj $R^2 = .147$ and Adj $R^2 = .154$, respectively).

Table 4: Summary of Regression Analyses for Extrinsic Motivation (N=664)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	.215*** (.055)	.220*** (.056)		.135* (.065)
Age				
Overage	-.083 (.078)	-.077 (.079)		-.053 (.074)
Encampment Years				
6-10 years	.104 (.059)	.103 (.059)		.075 (.056)
11-15 years	.056 (.129)	.056 (.130)		.028 (.123)
16 years and above	.012 (.126)	.006 (.128)		-.014 (.121)
Nationality				
Sudanese	-.208** (.078)	-.198* (.079)		-.192* (.074)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Somali	-.263** (.093)	-.268** (.094)		-.152 (.090)
Others	-.090 (.080)	-.101 (.080)		-.028 (.076)
Family Composition				
With parents		-.019 (.112)		-.081 (.105)
Siblings		-.045 (.124)		-.106 (.116)
Others		-.019 (.119)		-.091 (.111)
Home Responsibilities				
1-2 hours		-.029 (.068)		-.068 (.066)
2-3 hours		-.054 (.084)		-.118 (.082)
More than 3 hours		-.121 (.073)		-.159* (.072)
School Type				
All girls			.085 (.109)	.167 (.118)
All boys			-.153 (.108)	.045 (.133)
Co-ed			-.109 (.087)	.078 (.106)
School Belonging			.454*** (.046)	.456*** (.047)
Intercept	4.460*** (.088)	4.513*** (.136)	2.503*** (.230)	2.477*** (.266)
adj. R2	.033	.028	.147	.154
AIC	1382.671	1391.586	1295.524	1303.540
BIC	1423.156	1459.060	1318.016	1389.007

Standard errors in parentheses * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

DISCUSSION

The findings suggest that, in general, Standard 8 students in Kakuma refugee camp reported high levels of academic motivation, with little variation between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. In general, mean values for each statement in the questionnaire remained very high (M=4.59 and M=4.47, respectively). Students' strong perceived abilities and the influence of social actors seemed

to directly or indirectly contribute to their pursuit of education. While many motivation theories point out that individual characteristics (gender, age, ethnicity, etc.) and family factors (parental involvement, support, etc.) are associated with children's academic motivation, the findings from this study suggest that it may not be the case for refugee populations living in camp settings. Students surveyed in this study have different backgrounds and educational experiences from those who are schooled in nonconflict contexts. Many of the respondents were overage students and unaccompanied minors. In the sample, 86 percent of students were overage (16 and above), and approximately 7 percent lived in the camp without any parent or guardian. However, their age and family background did not predict their motivation levels, intrinsic or extrinsic. While the literature on overage students shows that they may not be motivated to study with younger children and thus have a higher risk of dropping out, no statistical differences were found between overage students and students of average Standard 8 age in Kakuma (Buchmann 2000; Fawcett et al. 2010; Lloyd et al. 2000). Similarly, the levels of motivation for unaccompanied minors and those who lived with family were comparable. Contrary to the motivation literature that emphasizes the importance of family involvement and support in academic motivation and performance, refugee students who lived alone reported being highly motivated to pursue their education (Marchant et al. 2001; Paulson 1994; Steinberg et al. 1992; Stevenson and Baker 1987).

Another interesting finding from this study is that girls reported statistically higher motivation than boys. While gender differences lost significance for intrinsic motivation once school factors were adjusted for, it remained significant for extrinsic motivation across all models. While the literature shows that sub-Saharan African countries are often recognized for having strong gender roles that discourage girls' education, the girls in the study were not only able to continue their schooling, they also had high academic motivation (Abuya et al. 2013; Flisher et al. 2010; Hunt 2008; Lewin 2009). The findings suggest that girls who reached Standard 8 may have received academic or financial support from their parent(s) or teacher(s) that extrinsically motivated them to continue their education.

Some students in the study also reported having extensive responsibilities in their home, including doing hours of household chores. Approximately 20 percent of the participants reported that they spent more than three hours per day doing chores. This suggests that these students may have had additional responsibilities at home for myriad reasons, including a lack of support from their family. Interestingly, results show that the home responsibilities variable was not a predictor of students' academic motivation. Even refugee students

living in dire situations with burdensome daily responsibilities reported being highly motivated. The findings suggest that this could be a result of their sense of belonging at school. However, their feeling of being accepted, respected, and supported in school was the primary reason for their academic motivation, rather than their individual and family characteristics.

While scholars underscore the significance of a sense of belonging at school for students regardless of context (Goodenow 1993; Ryan and Deci 2000), this study demonstrates that it is particularly crucial for displaced student populations. A sense of belonging is particularly critical for conflict-affected students, both during displacement and after resettlement. When they resume their schooling in a new environment, they need to form social connections (Deci et al. 1991). While some children adapt quickly to a new school environment, others isolate themselves as a result of language barriers, discrimination/xenophobia, and for psychological reasons (Dryden-Peterson 2015; McBrien 2005; Mendenhall et al. 2017). Those who isolate may lose their innate desire to learn, causing them to become unmotivated and to make less effort academically (Anderson et al. 1976; Osterman 2000; Ryan and Deci 2000; Weiner 1990). In contrast, fostering a sense of belonging at school could increase children's academic motivation and engagement.

Understanding the academic motivation of refugee students relative to a sense of belonging is important for the practitioners, policymakers, and researchers in the field of refugee education. The findings from this study suggest that educators of refugee students need to create educational spaces that instill in them a sense of belonging. When the school offers an environment where students feel safe, enjoy learning, and experience supportive relationships with teachers and peers, they are more likely to be motivated to learn. Teachers should use pedagogical approaches and proactive disciplinary practices to create environments where students feel not only safe but accepted and respected. Indeed, teachers play a crucial role in creating inclusive classrooms where children's physical, cognitive, and psychosocial needs are met, and even children from minority groups feel included (Mendenhall et al. 2020; Pizmony-Levy et al. 2008; Winthrop and Kirk 2005).

However, in conflict-affected contexts like Kakuma refugee camp, teachers have received little or no training in basic teacher competencies, including the protection, wellbeing, and inclusion of students (Burns and Lawrie 2015; Kirk and Winthrop 2007; Mendenhall 2017). Without the proper skills and knowledge to

create congenial classroom environments, teachers may struggle to build rapport or foster a sense of community in their overcrowded classrooms. Hence, teachers in crisis and conflict-affected settings must be given ongoing teacher professional development to help them create safe, inclusive educational spaces that foster their students' sense of belonging at school. School principals and administrators must collaborate with teachers to promote a school climate that encourages positive, warm relationships between students and teachers and among peers to ensure that everyone feels included and respected.

Beyond the schools, practitioners and policymakers at the global, national, and local levels must make a concerted effort to address systemic challenges that influence students' academic motivation. While the students in this study were reported to be highly motivated, their level of academic motivation cannot be sustained without addressing the rigid structural barriers they encounter in the camp. To illustrate, there is a shortage of secondary schools in the refugee camps in Kenya. While 3,358 students from Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps sat for the KCPE in November 2018, there is space for only one-third of them in the camps' secondary schools (UNHCR 2019d). Secondary schools in Kakuma also introduced school fees in 2018, so students must pay 3,000 Kenyan shillings per year for their education. Even if they manage to pay the school fees and earn a diploma, they may "become despondent as they struggle to access scarce opportunities to work and continue their formal [higher] education" (Bellino and Hure 2018, 47). Until solutions to these barriers are found, refugee children and youth will likely become frustrated by what Bourdieu (1984) termed the "broken trajectory effect," which leaves a "large number of young people left out of school, unemployed, or underemployed" (Bellino 2018, 4).

Finally, moving away from deficit discourses that emphasize the vulnerability, passivity, and powerlessness of refugees, scholarship on education in emergencies and forced migration must take a balanced approach that highlights not only the challenges but the strengths and abilities of refugees. Refugee students have a sense of agency, strong beliefs, and high expectations and goals, all of which engender high motivation and performance amidst displacement (Bellino and Kakuma Youth Research Group 2018; Brown et al. 2006). The findings of this study also demonstrate that, even in unfavorable situations, refugee children and youth can be highly motivated if they have a sense of belonging at school. Therefore, researchers must examine both the challenges and opportunities of refugee education while supporting both out-of-school children and in-school children to overcome obstacles and successfully navigate their educational trajectories.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Building on the existing body of literature on academic motivation, this research examines various factors that are associated with the academic motivation of refugee students. While these factors do not represent all possible predictors of motivation, the findings from this study suggest that a sense of belonging in school is the strongest predictor of students' motivation to continue their education in a camp setting. Feeling accepted and respected was what kept their academic motivation intact, despite being confronted with an "unknowable future" (Dryden-Peterson 2017). The findings affirm the existing literature that argues that a sense of belonging in school improves students' academic motivation and performance (Kia-Keating and Ellis 2007; Osterman 2000).

There are some limitations in this study, which should be addressed in future research. First, this study focuses mainly on the academic motivation of students living in a refugee camp who are currently enrolled in school. It does not include the out-of-school children and youth who live in Kakuma, who may be academically motivated but have had to drop out of school due to a wide range of social, cultural, and gender-related factors (Masinde Wesonga 2014). Without their input, this study cannot compare the level of motivation between in-school and out-of-school children or the factors that influence their schooling. Therefore, more research is needed to investigate the factors that drive these students away from school and discourage them from learning. Finding factors that impede the motivation of students living in exile will help education actors at all levels to provide programmatic support that could prevent students from losing their motivation or dropping out of school.

Refugees in urban spaces deserve equal attention. Approximately 58 percent of refugees in the world now live in urban areas, yet there is still a dearth of literature examining the distinct opportunities and challenges refugee children face in urban environments (UNHCR 2018a). In a recent study conducted on urban refugees, Mendenhall et al. (2017) described key barriers facing urban refugee children and youth, which include discrimination and xenophobia and the deprioritization of education in urban spaces. The authors stressed the importance of recognizing the multiple and overlapping vulnerabilities of urban refugee children, who face legal, economic, educational, cultural, and social barriers to accessing services. Further research should explore not only the distinct opportunities and challenges faced by camp-based refugees but also those of refugees living in urban spaces. That will make it possible to begin to address the factors that promote or impede urban refugees' academic motivation.

Moreover, future research must use mixed methods approaches to provide context-rich qualitative data. For instance, in an exploratory sequential design, interviews or focus group discussions with children and youth will help understand how they describe their educational experiences, conceptualize terms such as “belonging,” and explain the different factors that interact to promote or inhibit their academic motivation—all of which could be incorporated into a survey. In an explanatory sequential design, qualitative data can help assimilate the findings obtained from a quantitative dataset. Moreover, a longitudinal study that captures how students’ perceptions change as they transition to secondary and postsecondary education is needed to explore the critical factors and moments in time that shape and influence students’ motivation and persistence. Last but not least, conversations with different actors, including teachers and parents, will highlight additional key issues that must be addressed by the researchers, policymakers, and practitioners who are supporting refugee students by creating safe, inclusive learning environments (Winthrop and Kirk 2005).

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EDUCATORS FOR CHANGE: SUPPORTING THE TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE OF TEACHERS IN CONTEXTS OF MASS DISPLACEMENT

TEJENDRA PHERALI, MAI ABU MOGHLI, AND ELAINE CHASE

ABSTRACT

Education in contexts affected by mass displacement is typified by political instability, the marginalization of refugee learners, and a lack of educational resources, including learning spaces, relevant curricular materials, and mechanisms for the accreditation of learning that takes place outside formal educational institutions. In these situations, teachers often become the students' most powerful and inspirational education resource. This paper stems from a qualitative study of how Syrian refugee and Lebanese teachers understand "future education" in the context of the protracted crisis in Lebanon. Drawing from Aronowitz and Giroux's (1993) concept of transformative intellectuals, we argue that transformative approaches to professional development can enable teachers to capitalize on their local knowledge, professional abilities, and creativity to create spaces in which learners feel they have greater control over their lives and can envision a better future. We propose a transformative model for teacher professional development that is based on the ideal learning space envisioned by teachers in a refugee context and on a critical understanding of their existing learning environments. The intention is to support teachers as they reshape the learning environments in which they work to bring them closer to their imagined ideal. The use of available digital technologies enabled these teachers to create spaces in which they could harness and share the transformative education practices already in place and facilitate change through massive open online collaborations.

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INTRODUCTION

Between 2011 and 2019, more than 11 million Syrians became internally displaced or fled to neighboring countries, mainly Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, and Iraq. As of August 2019, 5,622,328 Syrians were registered with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2019) in these four countries. The conflict has disrupted the education of hundreds of thousands of children and youth. Of the 2,064,069 million school-age Syrian refugee children living in Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, and Egypt, 801,763 do not have access to formal or nonformal education (No Lost Generation Initiative 2019). Despite these host countries taking important steps to increase school enrollment for these children, significant barriers are keeping them out of school, such as child labor, not having the documents needed to enroll, language differences, and a lack of affordable transportation to and from school. Children with disabilities and those of secondary school age are particularly at risk of educational exclusion (Human Rights Watch 2017).

Through its Reaching All Children with Education plan, Lebanon's Ministry of Education and Higher Education has gone some way toward accommodating refugee students and marginalized Lebanese students in the public schools. In the 2018-2019 academic year, 223,119 refugee children were enrolled in grades 1-9 (No Lost Generation Initiative 2019); 71 percent of them were accommodated with a second shift provided for Syrian students, which took place in the afternoon after normal school hours (UNHCR n.d.). The Lebanese government further facilitated Syrian children's access to public schools by allowing them to enroll without proof of legal residency and waiving school enrollment fees (Shuayb 2015; Charles and Denman 2013).

Despite these efforts, 46 percent of Syrian refugee children ages 3-18 who are living in Lebanon remain out of school, predominantly those in their teenage years (No Lost Generation Initiative 2019). Thousands more face significant educational barriers, such as a lack of access, poor-quality schools, overcrowding and limited openings in the public school second shifts, and harassment and bullying. Moreover, the precarious security situation prevents families from sending their children to school. Poverty makes it impossible for some families to afford the indirect costs of schooling, such as books and uniforms, and they often rely on their children's employment to survive (Shuayb 2015). Another issue is that STEM subjects—science, technology, engineering, and mathematics—are taught in English or French in Lebanon's public schools, languages with which the Syrian children and youth have no previous experience (Human Rights Watch

2016; Visconti and Gal 2018). Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working in Lebanon created a number of nonformal education programs in response to these significant educational barriers, but the Lebanese government subsequently restricted these programs in order to align refugee education with the country's formal public education system.

There are many challenges to providing education in contexts of mass displacement, including the lack of adequate resources; teachers, parents, and children who have been traumatized; poor living conditions; and tensions around curriculum, language of instruction, and a lack of mechanisms to certify learning. Forced displacement often results in the dispersal of qualified teachers, which makes it difficult to assemble a teaching workforce in the areas where displaced populations are settled. Consequently, schools in these contexts are generally compelled to rely on unqualified teachers who have limited opportunities for teacher professional development (TPD), due to a lack of resources, weak institutional mechanisms, and political barriers in the host societies. In formal schools, where national teachers work with refugee students, the teachers do not have access to specialized training to build the professional skills they need to deal with language barriers, psychosocial and behavioral issues, and the bullying refugee children often experience at school and in their communities. Moreover, little is known about how to improve teachers' skills in these contexts and which TPD models, approaches, and spaces are most conducive to providing qualified teachers and quality learning.

Given these complexities, in this paper we explore the question, What models of TPD may best address the complex needs of learners in contexts of mass displacement? Based on group discussions and interviews with teachers and education practitioners who are working with refugees in Lebanon, we present an analysis of how they might engage in transformative education practices. We argue that those who support education in challenging environments need to capitalize on existing innovative practices and act as facilitators of knowledge production and exchange. After outlining what is understood by the concept of future education and what is known about current TPD opportunities for teachers in situations of forced displacement, we introduce two theoretical ideas: teachers as "transformative intellectuals" (Giroux 1988, 1993) and an "ecological systems theory" of human development (Bronfenbrenner 1979). After describing our methodology, we present our key findings, which we use to propose an integrated framework for conceptualizing teachers' role as enablers of change within a multilayered, nested system that surrounds the child in a learning context. The

framework offers a theoretical rationale for the development of Transforming Education in Challenging Environments, a massive open online collaboration (MOOC) launched in FutureLearn and Edraak in July 2019.

“FUTURE EDUCATION” AND THE ROLE OF TEACHERS

“Future education” in postconflict contexts or contexts of displacement has been conceptualized as reimagining and reconfiguring the “unknowable future” (Dryden-Peterson 2017). For refugees, this entails laying a foundation for hope, despite the often protracted nature of their exile and the uncertainties surrounding which durable solution will be deemed appropriate to their situation, be it voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement in another country (UNHCR 2003). While contributing to a sense of normalcy (Nicolai and Triplehorn 2003), the concept of future education offers refugee learners greater control over their lives and future and a sense of hope for the peaceful reconstruction of their communities (Mendenhall, Collas, and Falk 2017).

Teachers play multiple roles in crisis settings, including helping students develop the linguistic skills they need to make a successful transition to formal education in the host country, supporting learners’ social-emotional wellbeing, and helping students adapt in new educational environments while acknowledging their prior education experiences and cultural values (Mendenhall, Gomez, and Varni 2018; Dryden-Peterson 2015; Schwille, Dembélé, and Schubert 2007; Winthrop and Kirk 2005). Children and youth in conflict-affected contexts may have been victims of violence or otherwise traumatized, and some have lost their parents or close relatives (Burns and Laurie 2015). These circumstances can have an enormous impact on learners’ emotional wellbeing and their ability to learn (Betancourt and Khan 2008), and teachers need specific knowledge and skills to respond appropriately to these intense situations (Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies 2016).

Unfortunately, teachers around the globe receive fairly standard models of professional development (Wei, Darling-Hammond, and Adamson 2010) that are largely decontextualized from the complex social and political environments in which they work and thus have little or no effect on their practice (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2008; Burns 2013). Teachers who work in conflict-affected environments also face a dearth of professional development opportunities (Sesnan et al. 2013, 23-41; Mendenhall et al. 2015) that are grounded in their lived experiences in a crisis context. Such opportunities often fail to take

account of refugee teachers' contextual knowledge and innovative pedagogical solutions, or to provide guidance on how they might overcome the psychosocial difficulties they themselves face, due to having fled a war zone and struggling to live a stable life in exile.

TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CRISIS CONTEXTS

The professional status of teachers in crisis contexts varies, including (1) teachers from the host community who are formally qualified and employed by the host country's education system; (2) teachers with externally funded short-term contracts, both host country nationals and refugees who meet the qualifications; (3) refugee teachers who are certified in their country of origin but not by the host country's education system; and (4) those who teach children in camp schools or informal learning centers despite having no formal teaching qualifications. Whatever their professional status, all these teachers require contextually relevant, conflict-sensitive TPD (Kirk and Winthrop 2007; West and Ring 2015).

Moreover, the status of teachers in exile largely determines the legal, policy, and administrative barriers to their employment and professional development (Mendenhall et al. 2017), such as a lack of a work permit or recognition of their professional qualifications, or in some cases due to their lack of proficiency in the language of instruction (Sesnan et al. 2013). Frequently, their only option is to be employed as a low-paid teaching assistant in a formal education setting or as a volunteer in a nonformal education setting operated by an NGO. The restrictive legal framework and the lack of coordination between education ministries, the authorities responsible for registering and providing services for refugees, and other NGOs make it difficult for these teachers to access professional development opportunities (Burns and Lawrie 2015). This leaves teachers prone to exploitation, such as sometimes not being paid, working long hours with small incentives, or working in difficult conditions with no legal protection (Igbinedion, Newby, and Sparkes 2017). Nonetheless, thousands of teachers who are not formally qualified and must teach under extremely challenging conditions with limited support make it possible for refugees and internally displaced populations to receive an education (Mendenhall et al. 2017).

Scattered TPD programs are available in emergency and refugee contexts. They often are supported by short-term humanitarian funding, which involves supplemental pedagogical training or the retraining of paraprofessional teachers. The 2017 Brussels Conference education report (No Lost Generation 2017) claims

that more than 45,000 teachers and education personnel, including Syrian volunteer teachers, have been trained in Syria and in countries hosting Syrian refugees. While it is difficult to verify this number or the quality of training, such claims nevertheless reflect the large-scale, short-term training that has come to typify TPD opportunities for teachers in displacement contexts. Moreover, professional development efforts frequently end up being duplicated rather than coordinated (Save the Children 2008).

Our review of TPD models in crisis contexts indicates that courses are mainly provided by NGOs that, through agreements with education ministries, also work with teachers in public schools. Most are unaccredited in-service courses provided over a short period of time. The delivery modality is typically face-to-face, followed when available by some mentoring and coaching via social media. Some NGOs and academic institutions are increasingly using digital technologies combined with face-to-face delivery. However, little is known about the effectiveness and scalability of these TPD provisions, and evaluation efforts currently tend to be for the internal purpose of reporting to donors, rather than for developing a critical framework that could advance knowledge about teacher development in crisis contexts (Pherali and Abu Moghli 2019). In this paper, we broaden the conceptualization of TPD to include the possibility of creating sustainable spaces for learning and reflection through digital collaboration.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this study, we engage with ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner 1979) and the theoretical notion of teachers as transformative intellectuals (Aronowitz and Giroux 1993, 45-48) to analyze teachers' imagined educational spaces, existing realities, and pedagogical approaches that could promote transformative education practices. We later use these two theoretical tools to reflect on our findings and conceptualize an open-source professional development space for teachers and educators who are working in areas of conflict and protracted crises.

Teachers as accommodating intellectuals accept the system uncritically and claim that professionalism is a reason to refrain from political action. Teachers as critical intellectuals adopt an approach that enables learners to question hegemonic narratives that restrict their ability to transform their social, cultural, and political conditions. Teachers as transformative intellectuals enable learners—and themselves—not only to challenge hegemonic dominance but to take action to change their unequal life conditions and future chances. Giroux (1993) argues

that, to be transformative, teachers should have the reflexive capacity, knowledge, and confidence to consciously take action to rupture the social structures that produce and perpetuate inequality. Giroux draws heavily from Freire's work on social transformation, a process that occurs through the constant engagement with critical analysis and social action, or praxis. This approach involves teachers' conscious "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (Freire 1970, 33). Aronowitz and Giroux (1993) provide a reflective tool that enables teachers to consider whether their practices are hegemonic, accommodating, critical, or transformative. Hegemonic teachers are likely to follow the curriculum and established pedagogical approaches that reproduce the power relationships in society but fail to encourage learners' critical engagement with the content and the environment in which they live. Our contention is that TPD programs in crisis settings should enable teachers to engage critically with the conditions that determine their professional practice, and thus to play a transformative role in society through their pedagogical approaches. This notion was derived collaboratively through discussions among teachers and education practitioners who participated in three workshops that we organized in Biqaa, Lebanon, in 2018, and an analysis of the resulting data.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory offers a holistic perspective on human development that is based on the premise that the environment in which a person is situated is comprised of a set of multilevel interacting systems that include a microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. According to Bronfenbrenner, people are not passive recipients of the effects of social conditions and can influence the environment in which they live. We argue that this theory offers a tool for teachers that is both analytical, which enables them to understand more fully the opportunities for and constraints on children and youths' learning and development, and action oriented, which enables them to identify possible areas for action and change at different levels of the ecological system.

The microsystem comprises the activities, roles, and interactions a person experiences in their immediate environment as they develop. Every person typically engages with multiple microsystems, including their family or alternative caregivers, school and/or workplace, friends and peer groups, spaces of play or socializing, places of worship, and their community. These microsystems can work in ways that support or hinder learning. Through their interactions with young people, educationists represent a key microsystem.

The mesosystem is where people in two or more of the microsystems around a child interact and connect with each other, such as the child's parents attending a school event or a teacher visiting the child's home to speak with the parents. The exosystem includes extended family members, parents' workplaces, the mass media, education, health and social services, as well as political systems and policies. Although a child or youth may have no direct contact with an exosystem, they can be indirectly affected by it because it affects people in a system closer to the child. This can include governance structures such as an education ministry, a donor community, social agencies, school boards, or security agencies that affect the individual but over which they have no control.

The macrosystem includes things going on at a higher societal or cultural level, such as the ideologies, values, attitudes, laws, and customs of a particular culture or subculture. Macrosystem factors fundamentally shape how people who have been displaced are treated in host countries. This system also includes the global policy frameworks that govern host countries' treatment of refugee and displaced communities. The chronosystem refers to the patterns of events and transitions that occur throughout a person's life, both within the individual and in their environment. Examples include the various ways war and conflict affect young people of different ages, or the pace of cultural change in different historical periods and how it influences individual development.

Teachers' practice is shaped by these multiple systems, which can support or inhibit their professional roles as well as their own wellbeing. An example at the microsystem and mesosystem levels is refugee teachers who have no opportunity to interact with their host country's teachers or education officials (Dryden-Peterson 2017). They may lack the resources needed to do their work and be unable to interact with learners' families and the wider community, and their lives in exile also may mean they are separated from family and friends who were left behind or fled to another country.

Their work is equally influenced in the exosystem; for example, by whether donor agencies can continue to fund the schools they are working in or secure their salaries; by the position their funder takes vis-à-vis education quality and access; and by wider governance factors such as the framing, structure, and delivery of policies regarding the education of refugee and displaced learners. The macrosystem comprises the social and cultural norms and values in both refugee and host communities, while the chronosystem includes the shifting social, political, and cultural dynamics of the environment and how transformative educational practices shift over time at the various system levels.

METHODOLOGY

This research investigates an underexamined dimension of TPD, with a specific focus on teachers of Syrian refugees in Lebanon. We examine these teachers' creativity and innovations in an effort to determine whether the ongoing teaching and learning crisis they are facing could be mitigated by the creation of a digital learning space in which teachers and education planners could collaboratively develop and share educational ideas, tools, and approaches. We argue that this case study and our methodological approach provide new insights into how to design TPD programs that have the potential to transform teachers' roles in a wide range of refugee contexts.

METHODS AND SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

The insights shared in this paper emerged from a series of group discussions and interviews with teachers and education practitioners (N=61) who were supporting the education of refugees in Lebanon. Focus group discussions took place in February and May 2018, during three workshops held in the Biqaa area. Each workshop included 15-20 teachers and education practitioners, both Syrian and Lebanese, who worked with the Syrian NGOs that run informal schools for Syrian refugee children. The teachers were purposively sampled by the NGOs with whom we had already established a working relationship. All participants affiliated with the partner NGOs were invited to take part in the workshops, which we facilitated. Participation was further determined by the availability of transportation and whether people's attendance was impeded by military roadblocks and other obstacles (which was the case for several participants). The participating teachers equitably represented both genders, had different levels of teaching experience, and had worked with children of different ages. A fourth workshop took place in May 2018 at the Lebanese American University in Beirut, which included six female Lebanese teachers who had temporary contracts with the Ministry of Education and Higher Education and were working with Syrian children attending the second-shift classes in the public schools. The workshops were conducted in Arabic; to accommodate participants who did not speak Arabic, simultaneous translation into English was provided in the three workshops in Biqaa, while bilingual colleagues interpreted during the smaller workshops held in Beirut.

In the workshops that were organized in Biqaa, participating teachers worked in groups of five or six, and they were asked to draw collective images of (a) their ideal imaginary learning space; (b) the reality of the learning spaces they currently work in; and (c) how they could transform their current learning spaces into

their imagined space. These images were then shared with the entire group. We gathered data from the drawings and documented each group's explanations; we also carefully documented subsequent discussions. Our research received prior ethical approval from the University College London Institute of Education and the American University of Beirut, and we adhered to strict ethical guidelines and codes of practice throughout.

ANALYTICAL APPROACH

We conducted a thematic analysis by coding our detailed workshop notes as they related to the drawings participants produced in the workshops: What is their ideal imaginary learning space? What is the reality of their current learning spaces? How could they transform their current spaces into their ideal? Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological framework was helpful to our analysis, both as an evaluative tool and as a way to identify potential action and change. The typology of teachers as transformative intellectuals enabled us to identify their practices that went beyond delivering lessons in the classroom. We three researchers worked as a team, immersing ourselves in the data, discussing themes, and developing codes. We coded the data by hand and conducted the analysis using a deductive and iterative approach, where we categorized and recategorized related data under each of the three guiding questions until repetitive trends emerged. We then aligned the trends with the key theoretical concepts drawn from the notions of the transformative educator and Bronfenbrenner's multilayered ecosystem of learning.

Limitations of the study include the relatively small number of participants, the limited geographic area covered, a sampling process that was dependent on the selection of partner NGOs, and the fact that, although interpreters provided simultaneous translation from Arabic to English, some nuances in the findings may have been lost in translation. Nonetheless, the research provided rich insights into the day-to-day possibilities for teachers in the field and the challenges they face, and laid the foundation for further research on TPD and transformative learning and teaching in crisis contexts.

FINDINGS

The diversity of learning spaces was one overriding theme that emerged from the analysis. The learning space was understood as consisting of multiple factors, including the physical environment (e.g., location, infrastructure, and

material resources); the social environment (e.g., parents, learners, and educators representing different gender, ethnic, linguistic, and religious backgrounds, and the relationship between school and community); and the learning and teaching environment (e.g., teachers, learners, curriculum, pedagogy, material/digital resources and tools, assessment and accreditation systems, policies, and finances). This increasingly included the digital environment, where learners are connected in virtual spaces. A transformative learning space was conceptualized holistically by appreciating the multidimensional ecosystems that connect children and schools with families, with their social and community environments, with policy frameworks, and with the continuous changes in politics, security, aid, and technologies. Teachers positioned themselves as active players who cocreate educational environments that enable change and transform lives—their own and those of others.

LEARNING SPACE: AN IMAGINED IDEAL

Teachers primarily spoke of their roles at the macro level as “building human beings, building countries, and building futures,” and of teaching as being about “society advancement” and “reimagining society.” It was up to them to discern children’s talents and help them make the most of what they had. The pursuit of educational justice was a core value of this work; that is, to improve the quality of education and provide a safe space where all children can learn, engage, develop, and have hope for the future.

When discussing what they considered the most important attributes of the physical learning space, teachers focused on the wellbeing of children and the wider community, and on the environment they considered most conducive to learning, particularly in a context where children are experiencing disruption, discomfort, and distress. They believed the ideal learning space should be a secure structure rather than a tent and have an open design, good lighting, and a realistic teacher-pupil ratio. Most important, however, was that the space provide comfort and a sense of safety and be located at a distance from symbols of violence, such as a police station or conflict zone. Teachers also felt that children should have a say in the design of the learning space, that the colors chosen should be calming, and that the flooring be able to absorb trauma. Clean bathrooms, separate spaces for eating, for entertainment, and for using the internet safely were also considered important. They said that the ideal learning space would be welcoming to the wider community, where parents and guests could engage in educational activities.

Participants talked of the importance of innovation and creativity in their teaching approaches and style. Adapting simple and locally available resources to the refugees' teaching and learning context were considered invaluable skills, suggesting that highly technical infrastructures were not considered essential for learning to take place. Teachers also advocated for creative teaching methods that could facilitate shared and group learning and generate a sense of fun, rather than more didactic methods. The arts, for example, such as comedy, drama, and music, were cited as learning approaches that children responded to well and that gave them opportunities to demonstrate their knowledge and skills. One example given was building homes for their pets, which enabled children to develop practical life skills and to work collaboratively on a group project. The ideal learning space included ideas about how to help children engage with and learn from their environments and from nature, such as learning the seasons of the year. Teachers also emphasized the kinds of relationships that were conducive to learning and the importance of a shared ethos that allowed students to communicate freely with their teachers. They said this could be achieved by teachers dressing informally and coming across as approachable, patient, and flexible, while at the same time being able to set clear guidelines, goals, and strategies for shared learning.

The core elements and ethos of the learning curriculum that teachers focused on included the importance of developing life skills, learning about self-protection and care, healthful eating, recognizing good from bad, nurturing friendships and love, and promoting dignity and freedom. The core curriculum principles teachers valued included critical thinking, self-expression, inquisitiveness, and a passion for discovery. Teachers also believed that categorizing students according to their ability through exams and burdensome homework exacerbated the stress the children and youth already were facing in their daily lives. They recommended using less intrusive forms of assessment that recognized children's diverse abilities and life experiences. Above all, they believed that, before children could learn, they needed to feel happy and safe in their environment.

Importantly, teachers also described their role in mediating across the "micro" and "meso" layers of children's lives. They considered it their role to nurture their relationships with parents and to work as part of a team of professionals that includes nurses, social workers, doctors, psychologists, and counsellors. They also saw themselves as important mediators between children and their families and the municipal authorities by advocating, for example, for improved hygiene facilities and infrastructure, in particular the roads and transportation children needed to get to and from school. Hence, teachers viewed their role as

facilitating effective learning in the classroom, and as engaging in social action with a wide constituency in order to transform the educational environment.

LEARNING SPACES: THE REALITY

For most teachers, the reality of the learning spaces they worked in was far from the ideal images they described in their groups. Accounts of the daily challenges teachers faced spoke primarily to factors at the exosystem level, over which they had limited or no control. Shipping containers often were used as makeshift classrooms that were crammed with more than 30 children sitting on rows of benches. Teachers said it was an enormous challenge to work with the children's disparate learning abilities, particularly in winter, when it was too cold to sit outside. Making things worse, there was no fresh air in the classroom, and a makeshift wood- or coal-burning stove often created a stifling atmosphere. A lot of schools had no computers, and where computers had been donated by charity organizations, there often was no one who knew how to maximize their use for teaching and learning. Many teachers also reported unstable internet services, interruptions in the electricity supply, and a lack of funds to cover internet costs.

Teachers felt strongly that the existing curriculum, taught in English, was inappropriate for the refugee children. A number of participants commented that the curriculum could relate more closely to "our reality" by providing not only formal education but also relevant employability skills that would eventually enable students to maximize their economic potential. Many teachers felt the frustration of being unable to integrate refugee children into Lebanese schools or to convince refugee children who refused to attend public schools to do so; the latter group often said they feared discrimination and the risk of violence on the way to or from school.

Although NGOs had become the sole education providers for many refugee children, they were hampered by the lack of a systemized curriculum, which resulted in wide discrepancies in the curriculum content and delivery across nonstate schools, and a lack of clarity about what schools and teachers should be providing. Several participants called for a curriculum framework that was properly accredited and flexible enough to allow teachers with the requisite training to tailor it to the circumstances in which they were working and the needs of their students.

Teachers also reflected on the lack of resources and space, which meant that children at different development stages, with different abilities, and sometimes with an age difference of more than five years were taught in the same classroom. Children with additional needs, such as having Down syndrome or being hearing or sight impaired, required additional professional support from social workers and medical practitioners, which often was unavailable. Children who had completed primary school and were ready to transfer to middle school often were unable to advance because they lacked certification. Children sometimes waited up to six years in exile for an opportunity to access formal education, and even those who had a possible place in a formal school did not have certificates of their prior qualifications, which prevented them from being enrolled at the appropriate level.

Despite their hope of inspiring their students, teachers often found that many young people had lost their motivation due to the daily hardships they faced. Participants believed that teaching as a profession has not evolved adequately to respond to the complex circumstances faced by refugee children and youth, in particular the protracted nature of their displacement. One teacher commented:

I teach in two schools, and our problem is we don't have the resources or special support to work with children who have been in a camp for six years and are still there. The crisis is no longer seen as a crisis, but teachers are unable to deal with camp situation in a suitable way. (FGD 2; May 5, 2018)

Teachers reflected on feeling ill-equipped to respond to the psychological needs and stress of the children, many of whom had experienced significant trauma and loss. Even when young people had not witnessed war directly, they struggled with the realities of living in camps, which created issues of identity and questions about their future. Teachers frequently felt that responding appropriately to these needs was beyond their professional capacity and feared that, in trying to respond, they could do more harm than good.

Teachers also discussed the fact that they, too, were under enormous stress and pressure, something rarely recognized by others unfamiliar with the context in which they were working. A number of participants said they needed psychosocial assistance to help them deal with their complex situation and trauma, as they were struggling with the same issues they saw when visiting students' homes. There was a strong sense that the support NGOs provided for teachers' wellbeing was

inadequate and that better support services, including legal assistance, would help them cope with their day-to-day challenges. One participant from the discussion group in Beirut alluded to these difficulties:

How do we motivate teachers for learning [professional development]—for example, in the Biqaa—when they may not have access to water or electricity, and no internet coverage? (FGD 2; May 4, 2018)

Teachers also spoke about the barriers to teaching caused by parents who did not follow up on or support their child's learning. Some children were absent from school because they were expected to work to contribute to the household income, or they were taken to other cities to visit relatives for a week or more at a time. Many children were withdrawn from school because the parents planned to move to another part of Lebanon where they could find seasonal work. Teachers were sometimes critical of the parents they felt did not value education, as one teacher reflected:

One day I asked a girl about her homework and her notebook. She said her mother cut it and put it in the heater. Parents send children to school just to get rid of them. (FGD 3; May 5, 2018)

However, other teachers recognized the enormous stress parents were under in the camps and noted how important it was for teachers to understand and work within these constraints. They spoke about families having lived for more than six years in leaking tents, including in the winter, as parents struggled to sustain their livelihoods, and pointed out why these parents might perceive education as less important than working, particularly if they were not literate themselves. Moreover, many refugee parents were not allowed to work legally, thus their children had sometimes taken up the role of main breadwinner by finding jobs in the informal market, which is less restrictive to young workers.

LEARNING SPACES: TRANSFORMATIVE PRACTICE IN COMPLEX CIRCUMSTANCES

Despite these difficulties, teachers emphasized their role as agents of change, including identifying problems, researching and understanding them, and finding solutions, as illustrated by the following quotes:

A teacher is an inspiration for the child. No work or opportunities is a temporary problem. We will arm ourselves with education and we should be catalysts for change. (FGD 4; May 5, 2018)

Despite everything, education is still taking place, despite conflict and wars. We insist on building a new generation that can build Syria when they go back, *Inshallah* [God willing] . . . We are teachers, this is our job. (FGD 1; May 5, 2018)

These teachers provided multiple examples of the solutions they found to the daily challenges of supporting refugee children's learning. For example, one female refugee teacher spoke of two siblings who regularly failed to come to school, so she went to the camp to speak with the parents. Taking time to understand the context of the children's lives and the difficulties their parents were facing resulted in a big change in the children's attendance. Other teachers who are not refugees also said that, by going to the camps to understand why children were not attending school regularly, they learned about the economic hardships that were driving the children to work, the transportation problems they faced in getting to/from school, and the lack of food for school lunches. One teacher talked about a child who was experiencing physical and mental health difficulties, so the teacher went to the camp every day and accompanied the child to school. Another teacher said that arriving at the school early to set up games for the children encouraged them to attend more regularly. Through these and other interactions, teachers learned about the frustrations and anger of the parents and children living in the camps and how this affected their views on education and learning.

Many other teachers described the creative and transformative practices that helped them deal with daily challenges, such as an acute lack of resources. One teacher spoke of working with a class of 48 children who had mixed abilities and educational experience. She had all the children sit in a "U" on a carpet, then went about giving them individual tasks that were appropriate to their learning abilities and needs. Others described dealing with a large number of students in a classroom by doing group work, and how engaging children in activities such as agreeing to rules for learning helped them manage the classroom. Another teacher explained that she divided her 40 students into two groups, and each group attended school three days a week. The smaller number of children was more manageable, and the teacher was able to respond more effectively to their individual learning needs. These adaptive pedagogical practices reflected teachers' professional motivation to effect change, despite the many constraints in their education settings.

Responding to the lack of a relevant or appropriate curriculum, teachers showed how, if given permission, they could adapt the existing curriculum to their purposes, sometimes with positive results:

One year, I was able to select what was relevant from the curriculum and the results were excellent. I embedded materials and resources which were relevant to children. For example, I spoke to them about making jam and one child brought in jam the next day. The exam results were excellent, but I had that freedom, and not every organization gives the freedom to act when it comes to the curriculum. (FGD 1; May 5, 2018)

Refugee teachers who participated in the study evidently understood the children they were working with and the complex ways the spheres of their lives interacted. Nevertheless, they needed additional skills and better support to be fully effective in their roles as supporters, mediators, communicators, and advocates for providing quality learning to children in crisis contexts. Many spoke in particular of the need for further training and education to recognize and respond appropriately to their students' psychological distress within their professional realm. Some teachers had received additional training that enabled them to recognize children's particular needs and appropriately signpost them. They greatly valued these new skills and believed they were now better equipped to support children's and young people's wellbeing. Others spoke of taking part in training that helped them handle difficult behavior in the classroom and even encouraged them to offer leadership roles to students who had previously been disruptive in class. In affirming the social-ecological model outlined earlier, one participant neatly summarized that what was required was a comprehensive approach to educational practice that takes account of where a child lives and of their family and home environment. "We need to begin in the camp and not in the school," said one participant, who stressed the need to collaborate with other professionals, such as social workers and medical practitioners.

The participating teachers suggested that, because they were already engaged in individual and collective actions and were collaborating with NGOs to promote social transformation, they could mount more awareness-raising campaigns at school and within the community to help prevent absenteeism and strengthen relationships between home and school. One teacher emphasized that "education has changed, so teachers need to change, and we need training to deal with education in times of crisis" (FGD 2; May 5, 2018).

While many refugee teachers had a strong conviction that having an education would be instrumental in rebuilding Syria upon their return, they recognized that it also could help them navigate the constraints they encountered in exile. As one refugee education manager asserted, “We need to educate our children as if we are going to return home tomorrow, and as if we are going to live in Lebanon forever” (Interview 1; May 4, 2018).

Teachers explained that, rather than being intimidated by the legal barriers confronting them, they were constantly striving to promote change and inspire hope for the future. They also sensed that the political and social circumstances in their host country were constantly changing and that the messiness, hostility, and precarity of refugees’ lives helped them realize their potential to entrepreneurially capitalize on their knowledge and experience gained while working within the school and community environments, and the possibilities they were able to explore around them. These experiences enhanced their resilience and determination and, most importantly, enabled them to imagine a better future.

Finally, teachers felt strongly that they needed to establish a network through which they could share their learning and experience more widely. One refugee education manager noted that

we participated in [a] robotics competition in Lebanon and won the first prize. This has enabled us to prove that we are capable of leading pedagogical innovations in our learning center. The Ministry of Education and Higher Education is now supportive of our work; we have established links with a prestigious university in Lebanon and international organizations continue to support our schools. (Interview 2; May 4, 2018)

Most importantly, teachers identified the potential use of the internet to create spaces and platforms to discuss issues they face and to communicate ideas and solutions about working in similar contexts of mass displacement.

DISCUSSION: CONCEPTUALIZING TRANSFORMATIVE TPD THROUGH THE SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL MODEL

Returning to the theoretical frameworks outlined earlier, including teachers as transformative intellectuals and the multilayered social-ecological systems theory, we develop a theoretical model that enables us to design TPD that focuses on transformative learning in refugee contexts. Table 1 summarizes the relevance of the social-ecological model for teachers’ practice in refugee contexts and conceptualizes the transformation of teaching and learning at each system level.

Table 1: Transformative Educators within the Social-Ecological Model

System	Spaces for Teachers’ Action at Each System Level	The Role of Transformative Teachers
Microsystem	<i>How teachers work at the microsystem level—the immediate environment of learners, e.g., how they interact with learners, fellow teachers, and other practitioners working with children and youth within the microsystem of the school/ learning space</i>	Teachers play an active role by influencing and shaping the microsystems through their agency (e.g., critical thinking, creating safe learning spaces, using technologies to access and share information, collective and self-reflection on practice, participatory learning, learning from and adapting life experiences in exile)
Mesosystem	<i>How teachers work at the mesosystem level—where two or more microsystems come together, e.g., how teachers interact with and build a bridge between the learning microsystem and other microsystems, such as parents, siblings, relatives, extended family, friends, peers, places of worship, or the wider community</i>	Teachers try to influence the relationships among the microsystems vis-à-vis learners to facilitate change (e.g., visiting homes to better understand the needs of learners; liaising with psychosocial support workers to ensure synergy in how support is offered to a particular learner with special needs; working with friendship or peer groups to enhance mutual support to learners)

System	Spaces for Teachers' Action at Each System Level	The Role of Transformative Teachers
Exosystem	<p><i>How teachers work and interact with the exosystem level—institutions and practices that indirectly affect learners learning, e.g., how teachers respond to education policies (second-shift education provision, public schools and the education ministry, NGOs, local authorities); with health systems; international organizations (UNHCR and other UN agencies, NGOs); media; legal system; security sector (policy, military, and state agencies)</i></p>	<p>Teachers try to widen their sphere of influence to bring about change (e.g., build connections with other organizations and institutions that can support learners and/or educational practice; seek to influence power brokers that shape institutional policies and practices; work with other teachers to advocate for change in school policies, such as preventing bullying/promoting positive interactions in the learning space; contributing to discourse through campaigns, union activities, and participating in policy-related and pedagogical research)</p>
Macrosystem	<p><i>How teachers work at the macrosystem level—dominant ideologies, social and cultural norms, e.g., how teachers might shape political culture in the host country and attitudes toward refugees (legal status of refugees; segregation in schools; social exclusion; discourse and representations of refugees as a burden or threat to national security); what they do and/or say in response to state “security” measures (detention, raids, and arrest of refugees); how they engage with international humanitarian frameworks and/or agreements between the host country and international partners (externally funded education programs); or the changing dynamics of conflict in the country of origin</i></p>	<p>Teachers seek to influence macrosystem factors (e.g., by showcasing innovations in refugee education in order to rupture the stereotypical image of refugee teachers; make the most of training opportunities or access to learning technologies provided by new funding in host communities in response to emergency education needs; refugee teachers as intellectuals for wider societal change, as advocates of democratic principles and social justice, promoters of human agencies; teachers use the framework of international human rights to secure their students’ educational access)</p>
Chronosystem	<p><i>How teachers engage with the chronosystem level—events throughout the lives of learners and teachers and their collective memory, e.g., loss of family members during a war; memory of forced displacement; broader histories of war involving host country or refugees’ country of origin; normalization of the refugee crisis and sense of abandonment</i></p>	<p>Teachers draw from their collective memory of loss to advocate for change; collectively work to heal from trauma; reflect on violent experiences; and attempt to reconfigure the hopes and aspirations of learners and themselves</p>

In this model, we advance the social-ecological systems theory by adapting it to the transformative role teachers play in navigating social, political, and economic barriers to education in refugee contexts. We argue that the framework constitutes a paradigm shift away from the usual deficit model of refugee teachers as indigent professionals to one that appreciates them as resourceful actors who have the agency to enable transformation within the complex realities in which they work. It deliberately focuses on what teachers can do to enable change within and to mitigate the constraining structures and socioeconomic conditions of crisis-affected contexts. The intention here is not to claim that education aid and external technical assistance is unimportant but to argue that educational work in emergencies must harness and capitalize on teacher agency (i.e., teachers' capacity to act despite structural inhibition) to promote transformative learning.

The notion of teachers as transformative intellectuals rests on the assumption that teachers in refugee contexts do not simply rely on external support to enable positive change in their practice; rather, they operate as proactive individuals who draw from their wealth of previous experiences, insights into the host community they live in, and available resources, networks, and circumstances. As Dryden-Peterson et al. argue, the narrative that refugee learners rely entirely on “international humanitarian aid structures for educational success” and “that few educational supports are accessible in refugee communities, particularly in isolated camp-based settings” (2017, 1041) depicts only a portion of the actual educational processes that occur in crisis contexts. As revealed through our research, in order to imagine educational pathways toward a better future, teachers in these contexts draw extensively from the multiple systems that surround their professional practice and life in exile. The multilayered framework of Bronfenbrenner's ecosystem, combined with teachers' role as enablers of change, provides a promising analytical framework for understanding the circumstances and needs of refugee learners more fully, and for identifying potential spaces for action and change across the different system levels. As our research revealed, refugee teachers and the host country teachers who educate refugee children consider it part of their practice to work between the school and family environments in order to understand the children's social-ecological location and its effect on their learning. They described educational practice as a process of critiquing the structural conditions of their lives, as well as engaging collaboratively in transformative action to overcome barriers and change social reality, rather than being constrained by it. Hence, those who research or support education in challenging environments should engage with community-based innovative practices to harness new knowledge and inform their TPD programming. The transformative educators model presented above could be useful in this process.

MOOCs FOR TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CRISIS SETTINGS

As evidenced in this research, many teachers see their role as that of a transformative intellectual who works not just in the classroom or school or within the constraints of an education system, but across the multilevel systems of children's environments. While they reported working primarily at the micro and meso levels, they also reported being able to make changes at the exo and macro levels, despite the structural challenges sometimes imposed on them. However, they lack the support to harness their agency for wider application. Given the degree of creativity revealed by this study, one possible way to facilitate teachers' transformative role is by expanding the role of digital technologies and, more specifically, by creating online spaces where they are able to share their knowledge and innovative practice with other practitioners and teachers in the field. We argue that this is possible not by conceptualizing digital learning spaces as tools for one-way transfer of knowledge but as reflexive creative spaces in which to share innovations in learning and practice. This can be done by shifting the emphasis from the idea of online courses to online collaborations.

Building on the perspectives, insights, and aspirations of teachers working in contexts of protracted mass displacement in Lebanon, colleagues involved in nonformal educational programs have led the design of a massive open online collaboration for teacher professional development in these contexts.¹ This MOOC, *Transforming Education in Challenging Environments*, was codesigned and coproduced with teachers working with refugee children—those who are refugees themselves and those from the host community—and education practitioners in Lebanon; the curricular content is comprised of videos and textual narratives of their pedagogical practices and professional experiences. As conventional education structures struggle to provide professional development, a MOOC can be a dynamic platform through which teachers share their innovative practices and engage in dialogues with practitioners from around the world. While findings on the learning experience via the MOOC will be reported elsewhere, this paper highlights the logic and rationale of a particular MOOC that underpins the notion of transformative educational practice within the framework of the ecological systems model.²

1 These colleagues were from University College London, the Centre for Lebanese Studies at Lebanese American University, and other organizations.

2 The MOOC design draws from the actual practice taking place in formal and nonformal education settings in Lebanon; it is available on platforms in both English (FutureLearn) and Arabic (Edraak) to make it widely accessible.

This MOOC aims in particular to generate innovations that are conflict and context sensitive and can respond to the curricular, pedagogical, and broader issues and challenges that typically undermine education access and quality in situations of mass displacement. Through our collaborative research with teachers working in these contexts, we have observed those who are highly motivated to seek professional development opportunities, improve their education practice, and share their experiences and learning, particularly those who live in refugee communities and share the experience of forced displacement. Their motivation stems from the cultural, national, and social affinity refugee teachers have with their students and their intrinsic personal aim of advancing their own displaced community. We hope this MOOC platform will be used as a tool for exchanging ideas and practices that address the development needs of teachers that we highlighted above. Drawing on a wealth of expertise and designed to enhance the kinds of transformative practice already in place, the MOOC is a promising approach for the codesign and coproduction, with refugee teachers, of a scalable TPD tool for future education in crisis settings.

CONCLUSION: TOWARD A CODESIGNED AND COPRODUCED TPD MODEL FOR FUTURE EDUCATION

Current learning spaces in contexts of mass displacement can be insecure (poor infrastructure, lack of space, ongoing hostilities), digitally constrained, financially deprived, and lacking the capacity to provide quality education. Effective TPD can build teachers' capacity to mitigate these challenges. However, given the large-scale mass displacements and enormity of the need for a qualified teaching workforce in emergencies, conventional approaches to teacher development are unable to meet the demand. In response to these challenges, online education is being promoted as an alternative to increased educational opportunities for adult refugees who could qualify for professional jobs, including but not limited to teaching (Halkic and Arnold 2019; Colucci et al. 2017; UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] 2018; Traeger and Löwe 2018). However, issues around equitable access, learning quality, and the accreditation of online courses are overshadowed by the uncritical promotion of digital technology as a solution to educational crisis (Pherali and Abu Moghli 2019; Halkic and Arnold 2019). These provisions, some of which might be relevant to TPD, create "an illusion of access, deflecting the attention from the real issue of access, quality and equity in provision" (Pherali and Abu Moghli 2019, 12). Despite these tensions, digital learning spaces can be harnessed to share knowledge, educational resources, and professional practices among those who support education in emergencies.

In this paper, we demonstrated that teachers who work in contexts of mass displacement have a wealth of unique professional experience and are passionately motivated to improve their practice. The approach outlined here does not intend to ignore the complexities of state policies toward refugee learners and their teachers, or the lack of resources that restrict effective teaching and learning. Our aim has been to excavate innovative educational practices that teachers and other education practitioners are championing within the constraints of sometimes hostile political structures. In this process, we developed a theoretical model that could serve as a useful tool for research and practice in refugee education. We argue that teachers are a source of inspiration and enablers of change, both in their own educational environments and in the wider social contexts affected by conflict and protracted crises. While it is important to provide humanitarian support for education, it can only work if education programs are designed and implemented in collaboration with the teachers and educators who work in displaced communities. Our argument is based on the idea that teachers in emergencies who encounter complex, precarious, and emotional situations in their daily practice are the most authentic producers of pedagogical knowledge and the leaders of transformative learning.

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BOOK REVIEW

**“GLOBAL EDUCATION MONITORING REPORT 2019:
MIGRATION, DISPLACEMENT AND EDUCATION—
BUILDING BRIDGES, NOT WALLS”**

**BY THE GLOBAL EDUCATION MONITORING REPORT TEAM
UNESCO, 2018. XXI + 412 PAGES¹
ISBN 978-92-3-100283-0**

One of every eight people in the world today is a migrant. Noting that human migration is an increasingly important reality to which education must attend, UNESCO’s “Global Education Monitoring Report 2019: Migration, Displacement and Education—Building Bridges, Not Walls” takes a timely look at the relationships between education systems and migration around the globe. Providing a nuanced analysis of the challenges and potential of these relationships, the Global Education Monitoring (GEM) report holds that “providing education is not only a moral obligation of those in charge of it, but also is a practical solution to many of the ripples caused by moving populations” (p. v). The authors situate the report in the midst of a policy landscape that is beginning to respond to the educational needs of both migrant and host populations. This includes the recent passage of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, and the Global Compact on Refugees. Nevertheless, many challenges remain unaddressed, particularly integrating the commitments made in such global agreements into regional and national plans.

The focus on migration occupies the first third of the GEM report (chaps. 2-6), while the remainder of the text follows the report’s core mandate by describing approaches to monitoring the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and challenges they face in so doing (chap. 7), monitoring performance on the SDG international education targets (chaps. 8-17) and related objectives (chap. 18), addressing financing concerns (chap. 19), and giving final recommendations (chap. 20). These later chapters continue to attend to the thematic issue of migration through dedicated “policy focus” sections.

The report’s conceptual framework highlights myriad bidirectional relationships within the issue of migration and education, such as those between country of origin and country of destination, those who remain and those who migrate, and migrants and host country nationals. Across these categories, the report asks

1 The report is available online at no cost: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000265866>.

two questions, How does migration affect education, and how does education affect migration? As an example, the report notes that internal migration—when individuals move to another region within their country of origin—is the most common but least acknowledged type of migration. Education affects internal migration, in that many migrants move to urban areas in search of higher education or to use their education to find meaningful employment (p. 15). Migration in turn affects education, such as when urbanization forces rural schools to close or policymakers institute regulations that prevent recent migrants from enrolling in urban schools (pp. 18, 26). The report’s conceptual approach demonstrates the intricate factors affecting the relationships between migrants, home and host communities, and education systems, and the need to develop responses that attend to context.

Scholars and practitioners in the field of education in emergencies will likely find chapters 3 and 4, which address international migration and displacement, and chapter 5, on responding to diversity in policy, curriculum, and teacher training, the most compelling. In keeping with SDG 4’s attention to the quality of education, chapter 5 highlights how education content and policies can serve to support or undermine students’ and teachers’ prejudices, tolerance, understanding, and critical thinking skills, all of which are relevant to creating societies built around cohesion and peace. As the report acknowledges, a central challenge moving forward will be how teachers can be supported in practicing inclusion (p. v).

While acknowledging contextual considerations, the GEM report does not shy away from what it identifies as the responsibilities of stakeholders worldwide to respond to migrants’ educational needs. The final chapter provides seven recommendations on this point, each with specific actions drawn from the data presented throughout the report. The recommendations call on governments to protect and uphold migrants’ right to education; understand and plan for the needs of migrants, including through an inclusive curriculum that fights prejudice and targeted teacher training; and recognize and harness the positive potential of migrants. These recommendations follow from the authors’ argument that “investing in the education of those on the move is the difference between laying a path to frustration and unrest, and laying a path to cohesion and peace” (p. iii). By laying out this choice through compelling and accessible text backed by hard data, the 2019 GEM report provides an important counterpoint to those who encourage fear, nationalism, and closed-mindedness in response to today’s unprecedented global migration.

This report should be of great interest to scholars and practitioners in the education in emergencies community. A key strength of the 2019 GEM report is its accessibility to a wide variety of audiences. While the primary target readers may be policymakers, the general public also will be able to access this clearly written text, and education researchers will find that it provides a highly relevant overview of recent scholarly literature, important initiatives, and areas for future study. “Key Messages,” the executive summary provided at the beginning of each chapter, and a summary report enable readers to quickly understand important takeaways. Each chapter provides current statistics, recent research literature, and case descriptions that provide much-needed detail that supports the key messages, allows comparisons across contexts, and illuminates areas that need further research. Two other versions of the report, which are focused on gender and youth, provide additional lenses tailored to specific audiences. In keeping with UNESCO’s open-access policy, all versions of the report are available online, free of charge and in multiple languages.

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BOOK REVIEW

PEACE EDUCATION: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES
EDITED BY MONISHA BAJAJ AND MARIA HANTZOPOULOS
BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC, 2017. XVI + 304 PAGES
\$135.00 (HARDCOVER), \$36.86 (PAPER)
ISBN 978-1-4742-3369-9

What is peace education and how can it support peacebuilding? These questions are extensively debated and deliberated in *Peace Education: International Perspectives*, a volume edited by Monisha Bajaj and Maria Hantzopoulos. Peace education has played a formative role in the education in emergencies movement and has been an important focus of research that examines the relationship between education and conflict. However, as this volume shows, there is a need to critically examine the assumptions that underscore current peace education practices, in particular its focus on negative peace—that is, the absence of large-scale violence—and security discourse. The volume helpfully highlights the need to move beyond conventional framings of peace that are confined to the classroom, and instead to consider localized and contextualized approaches that address questions of social justice. The book's four parts include 12 chapters that generously discuss the insights and lessons learned from the experiences of different countries and contexts that currently are or previously were in a state of emergency.

Throughout the book, peace education is defined either in relation to violence, as a process or intervention, or as an outcome (chap. 6). An important argument that runs throughout the book is that addressing the drivers of violence does not necessarily imply nurturing the drivers of peace. Instead of looking at violence, the guiding agenda for peace education should focus on social justice (chaps. 3, 5, 8, 9). Furthermore, there is a general consensus among the book's contributing authors that understanding violence must precede the understanding of peace, as it is the role of peace education to mitigate the underlying structures of violence.

According to Murphy, Pettis, and Wray (chap. 2), peacebuilding is a strategy that is often employed only as a rehabilitation mechanism in postconflict societies, when in fact it should be a curriculum used in stable societies as well. Using peacebuilding in the former case and not in the latter indicates that it is an ad hoc rather than a conscious effort (chap. 11). Peace education programs often promote negative peace but not positive peace—that is, the alleviation of social injustice in ways that have a transformative effect. This is problematic because negative peace policies that focus on zero tolerance of violence exclude the socializing and

humanizing structures that endorse a critical peace education approach (chaps. 8, 10). Other authors (chaps. 9, 12) promote a simultaneous focus on both positive and negative peace.

Building on these observations, Zakharia (chap. 4) underscores the need for a more nuanced understanding of conflict. She argues that conflict is dynamic, not linear. As such, the postconflict state is rather imaginative, in that it does not exist in a pure form in reality; while different conflicts coexist, some become latent, others revive, and others continue. Consequently, critical peace processes should be complex, nonlinear, and interdependent in order to accommodate the dynamic nature of violence and conflict (chaps. 7, 8).

Bekerman (chap. 3) argues that education for coexistence is “guided by functional, psychologized, and idealistic perspectives” (p. 64), and thus it needs to be reoriented toward historical and critical pedagogical perspectives to better account for power relations. In other words, peace education should critically examine the everyday politics of identity that permeate education systems. The role of teachers here is quintessential but, just like students, they first need to willingly confront their own assumptions and judgments (chap. 5). As such, other authors (chaps. 6, 8, 11) contend that peacebuilding is multilayered and should target not only students but their families, teachers, and communities. Similarly, Zembylas (chap. 1) shows that conceptual and long-term healing and reconciliation necessitate not only critical pedagogy and peace education but nurturing emotional practices that can help sustain peace.

Although critical pedagogy can offer empowering and transformative educational experiences, it does little to address the emotional complexities that violence invokes. Moreover, it often overlooks the need to work with privileged and cynical groups, focusing instead on transforming perspectives around marginalized groups. As such, peace education as a response to violence (chaps. 9, 10) is often decontextualized. This leads to abstract discussions of violence and peace. As much of the literature in the field of comparative and international education has shown, borrowing policies from other contexts without giving due attention to the emotional praxis, context, and power dynamics that shape policy implementation can result in unexpected and unintended outcomes (Steiner-Khamsi 2016). It is therefore essential to localize approaches to peace education by drawing from evidence that supports the selection of a particular approach. Several authors (chaps. 1, 9, 10, 11, 12) show that such an approach should be a proactive intervention that fosters such skills as critical thinking (chaps. 1, 2), conflict resolution (chaps. 1, 12), collaboration and communication (chaps. 10, 11, 12),

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compassion and curiosity, and commitment and genuine care (chaps. 10, 11). This will yield positive and transformative change. This book will be of interest to agencies that design education intervention programs, often in collaboration with government institutions; NGOs involved in the education sector; curriculum designers and teachers of history and civics; and, finally, researchers who are rethinking what peace education entails.

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BOOK REVIEW

JUST VIOLENCE: TORTURE AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE EYES OF THE POLICE

BY RACHEL WAHL

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2017. XV + 245 PAGES

\$90.00 (HARDCOVER), \$26.00 (PAPER)

ISBN 978-1-5036-0101-7

Just Violence: Torture and Human Rights in the Eyes of the Police is concerned with two interrelated questions: how police officers perceive their own acts of violence, and the implications such self-understanding has for police officials' response to human rights activism against such violence. Drawing from ethnographic research in India, Wahl seeks to examine the complex interplay between the competing demands of human rights training that Indian police officials receive, social expectations of their role, their own perceptions of the mechanism through which they seek to deliver "justice," the letter and spirit of the law, and the role of the financial considerations—that is, corruption—that mediate all others.

Wahl questions the standard (and perhaps lazy or self-righteous) explanations by human rights trainers and activists that immorality and incompetence are explanatory variables for police brutality. Embedding the study in international and national debates about human rights education for agents of the state, especially police, Wahl questions the trainers' presumptions that state functionaries do not have an existing moral frame and that such training (e.g., human rights education) can simply write a new script on a blank slate. Perhaps the biggest strength of the volume is that it avoids a purist position and therefore is able to examine the issue of preventing police torture without getting caught in binaries or denying the personhood of police officials.

The book offers an interesting and rich account of police officials' moral universe and their belief in a certain conception of justice, which some respondents claim is the reason behind police violence. Such notions of justice are derived from the social context, which may have some tension with the equal justice premise of the rule of law: "Justice is upheld when people get what they deserve rather than when rule of law offers equal protection" (p. 52). Such an approach, Wahl argues, justifies the use of torture in the minds of police officials when dealing with "hardcore criminals," but in practice all manner of people become victims of such violations. Moreover, assessments of police violence are often filtered through the intentionality of the official concerned, not the outcome. All this leads up to a conflicted and complex image of justice versus human rights for police officials.

The author also examines the ways in which police officials respond to human rights education, including injunctions of the National Human Rights Commission and the syllabus of the master's degree many of them hold. She argues that human rights education has the potential to alter the moral universe of police officials, and that the apparent tension between the moral imagery of the police officials themselves and the one put forth by human rights campaigns does not mean that these officials reject the idea of human rights. Rather, they seem to actively engage with the rights concepts "using the language and logic of rights to contest the very principles on which rights are premised" (p. 102). The result is a rights-based argument for violence, wherein the right to security for the larger population is used to legitimize the violation of all (not some select) rights of those who threaten the security of the rest. Rights thus move from their universal articulation to context-specific enforcement.

The book also locates these complex questions in the global context of securitization, which has complicated the perceived relationship between security and human rights. A similar conflict is also observed in the author's ethnographic accounts of Indian police personnel. Security considerations, especially in light of various terrorist incidents, have led to a prioritization of state and security concerns over human rights concerns.

Having laid out this framework, the book goes on to explore the ways in which the local culture, religion, and tradition influence police violence and torture, especially in light of the fact that rights activists often vernacularize the concept of human rights by embedding them in the language of local religion and culture. Consequently, police officials often view human rights as a derivative of their own religio-cultural frames and construe them to be a part of their own traditions. Detailed ethnographic interviews with police officials again frame the argument that such perceived correspondence between human rights frames and their religio-cultural interpretations and arguments about justice, security, and the nature of policing are used to reconcile with what is seen as "necessary and unavoidable" violence and torture by the police.

Overall, this volume represents one of the few attempts to go beyond the simple binaries of police versus human rights and to give us empirically grounded insight into the views and perceptions of police officials with respect to human rights and torture. It pulls no punches in its abject support for human rights but refrains from demonizing the police officials, and in the process offers a little better understanding of the complex process that undergirds police violence.

One area where the book could go further has to do with distinguishing between various members of the state policing and security establishment: civil police, armed police, paramilitary forces, and the army. These agencies are trained and organized differently and serve different purposes. It is therefore only fair to expect officials associated with these different agencies to have a different moral-ethical stance that informs their perception of human rights, police violence, and torture. The book fails to make this distinction, and the different ethnographic narratives from these different officials are thus interpreted similarly, which obfuscates some of the issues.

That said, this is a good volume—conceptually informed and empirically grounded—and it lays the foundation for more studies that would be of interest to scholars and practitioners of education in emergencies who grapple with the complex world of police, violence, human rights, and their social context.

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