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EDITORIAL NOTE

Dana Burde

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“Whether and How?” History Education about Recent and Ongoing Conflict:
A Review of Research

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INEE

An international network for education in emergencies
Un réseau international pour l'éducation en situations d'urgence
Una red internacional para la educación en situaciones de emergencia
Uma rede internacional para a educação em situações de emergência
الشبكة العالمية لوكالات التعليم في حالات الطوارئ

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EDITORIAL NOTE

DANA BURDE

I am delighted to introduce this first issue of the *Journal on Education in Emergencies (JEiE)* and honored to serve as its first editor-in-chief. Some of us have been working on issues related to education in conflict and disaster settings for nearly two decades—before education in emergencies was called EiE!—and I am proud to see how far we have come as a field. We would not be where we are today without the concerted efforts of a small group of dedicated practitioners, many of whom witnessed firsthand the need to educate refugees and displaced people while working in refugee camps or active war zones in the early-to-mid 1990s, including in Kenya and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their observations, coupled with a simultaneous surge in humanitarian initiatives, led to an unprecedented focus on ensuring that children and youth who are affected by conflict and crises everywhere have access to education. To begin to address this need, these practitioners launched the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) in 2000, which has created a vibrant community and ignited a dedicated global social movement in the process. As practitioners and academics, we have joined our voices and our agendas to commit attention and resources to improve children's and youth's access to safe, quality education programs. Since 2000, both the community and the movement have grown substantially.

Indeed, as media and communications have intensified connections across borders and between populations around the world, and as conflicts and disasters displace record numbers of people, the plight of education for the children and youth among this population has gained worldwide attention. In 2014, the number of displaced people was at a record high of 59.5 million, and children under the age of 18 made up 51 percent of the total refugee population (UNHCR 2015). In 2012, 59.3 million children of primary school age and 64.9 million of lower secondary age were out of school (UNICEF 2015). Policy makers and aid workers from Washington to Lagos to Damascus to Kathmandu are concerned about ensuring that young people maintain access to education that addresses their academic and psychosocial needs, even in the midst of crisis. New international initiatives have sprung up to address these issues, and young leaders such as Malala Yousafzai, the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize recipient, have called for a reorientation of world

power to guarantee the right to education for all. Many bilateral and multilateral aid agencies have, in turn, called for increased evidence to show “what works” in education in emergencies interventions (e.g., UNICEF, USAID, DfID) in order to deliver education to those most in need as effectively and efficiently as circumstances allow.

Despite this exponential growth in the field of EiE and calls to strengthen the evidence on which program decisions are based, rigorous research on EiE interventions and related topics remains scarce and diffuse, which makes it difficult for practitioners to find and apply up-to-date information in the field and difficult for scholars to build a body of knowledge and theory. For example, the majority of scholars of peace and conflict studies neglect education in their analyses of conflict. From 1994 to 2010, only 1 percent of articles in peace and conflict studies journals and 0.5 percent of articles in international studies journals addressed education beyond North America and Europe (King 2014). Scholars who explore state- and peacebuilding would appear to have a strong motivation to understand education, since establishing an education system that provides equal access to all citizens is a key ingredient of a democratic state. However, education has received limited attention from even these more specialized subfields (e.g., Paris 2004; Hehir and Robinson 2007; Paris and Sisk 2009, cited in Burde 2014). While practitioners focus on how education may contribute to peacebuilding, this work often includes only limited theoretical analysis or empirical evidence. Research on additional questions of critical importance to practitioners working in crisis-affected contexts, such as those related to teacher professional development and curriculum design, protection of children and educators, psychosocial issues in the classroom, and disaster risk reduction, as well as research that illuminates the relationship between education and conflict, is especially limited.

THE JOURNAL ON EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES

The scholarly, peer-reviewed *Journal on Education in Emergencies* aims to fill these gaps in rigorous EiE research. Building on the tradition of collaboration between practitioners and academics in the field of EiE, the journal’s aim is to help improve learning in and across service-delivery, policy making, and academic institutions by providing a space where scholars and practitioners publish rigorous quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods research articles and robust and compelling field notes, both to inform policy and practice and to stir debate. The journal is intended to provide access to the ideas and evidence necessary to inform sound EiE programming, policy making, funding decisions, and future research.

JEiE specifically aims to:

1. **Stimulate research and debate** to build evidence and collective knowledge about EiE;
2. **Promote learning across service-delivery organizations** and policy and academic institutions informed by evidence;
3. **Define knowledge gaps and key trends** to inform future research;
4. **Publish rigorous scholarly and practitioner work** that will set standards for evidence in the field.

To achieve these goals, *JEiE* seeks articles from scholars and practitioners who work across disciplines and sectors to focus on a range of questions related to education in countries and regions affected by crisis and conflict. *JEiE* works closely with INEE, today a network of more than 11,000 scholars and practitioners around the world, to collect new research and field notes submissions and distribute high-quality published work. This vast global partnership of activists, academics, policy makers, and practitioners in education enables *JEiE* to make a unique and powerful contribution. In the following pages, we provide a brief overview of our inaugural issue and a short comment on what we hope this work will achieve.

STRUCTURE OF THE JOURNAL

According to the INEE Minimum Standards, education in emergencies is defined as “quality learning opportunities for all ages in situations of crisis, including early childhood development, primary, secondary, non-formal, technical, vocational, higher and adult education.” *JEiE* publishes research related to education responses after natural disasters and in conflict-affected states, conflict-sensitive education, attacks on education, education for peacebuilding, peace education, resilience, disaster risk reduction and education, and forced migration and education.

ISSUES AND CONTENTS

The journal will be published online twice a year; each issue will feature 4-6 peer-reviewed articles written by researchers and practitioners in the field of EiE. The three sections of the journal are:

1. **EiE Research Articles (Section 1):** Articles in this section have a clear research design; use an explicit, well-recognized theoretical or conceptual framework; employ rigorous research methods; and contribute to the evidence base and the advancement of knowledge on EiE. Articles that develop new or challenge existing EiE theoretical or conceptual frameworks are also welcome. Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods articles are appropriate.
2. **EiE Field Notes (Section 2):** Articles in this section demonstrate progress and/or challenges in designing, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating EiE policies and programs. Articles on the development and application of tools and resources for EiE and articles exploring links between EiE and traditional humanitarian sectors are also welcome. Articles in this section typically will be authored by practitioners or practitioner-researcher teams.¹
3. **EiE Book Reviews (Section 3):** Articles in this section will offer a critical review of a recently published or upcoming book, or of substantial studies, evaluations, meta-analyses, documentaries, or other media, that focus on EiE.

Please see our website— www.ineesite.org/journal —for more information and detailed submission guidelines.

FIRST ISSUE OVERVIEW

This issue contains four articles (three research articles and one field note) and one book review that cover a variety of scholarly/policy topics and types of research design. Topics include a review of research on history education in countries affected by conflict, the impact of psychosocial program interventions, and instructional techniques for teachers working with refugees. Research designs range from a review of empirical work on history education (Paulson), to an impact evaluation assessing the effects of the International Rescue Committee's (IRC) Healing Classrooms program (Torrente et al.), to a qualitative study of

¹ Articles for this section will include those that examine quality EiE programming, as well as EiE programming that is poor, problematic, or faces challenges so that readers can learn from past mistakes.

refugee education in urban Nairobi and the Kakuma refugee camp (Mendenhall et al.). The field note piece addresses a key area for EiE work—the implementation of conflict-sensitive education in South Sudan (Reisman and Janke). Our first book review (Cole) presents Elisabeth King’s book, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, published last year by Cambridge University Press. Coincidentally, all of the pieces in this issue except Paulson’s review focus on Africa. Although the journal does not have a regional focus, we are not opposed to publishing an issue that focuses primarily on one region or continent. Our guiding principle is the quality of the work.

We start this inaugural issue with “Whether and how?” History Education about Recent and Ongoing Conflict: A Review of Research,” Julia Paulson’s review of research on history education, which addresses recent or ongoing conflict and the implications national curricular choices have for policy makers. As Paulson notes, “history education is...a key site for constructing identity, transmitting collective memory, and shaping ‘imagined communities;’” making the study of its execution during or after conflict a critical aspect of EiE work. The article reviews 42 empirical studies from 11 countries in Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and Eastern and Southern Africa to explore “whether recent conflict forms part of national curricula and, where it does,” how it is taught (14). She reviews how conflict is addressed systemically, rather than through a one-off program that may complement a government system but otherwise remains outside. Although most of her cases rely on government curriculum as a source for learning about these conflicts, some either teach the history of recent conflict without curricular guidance or omit all reference to such socially and politically charged material. In the cases where recent conflict does receive pedagogical attention, Paulson finds that most teachers rely on employing “top-down,” “ethno-nationalist” narratives that promote a story of a mythical past of continuous unity that was only interrupted by conflict during an exceptional moment in time, thus disseminating a belief in the “exceptionalism of conflict” (37). Paulson’s findings “suggest that for history education to contribute to peacebuilding and reconciliation, it must engage seriously with the root causes of conflict and, crucially, with the ways they persist and are reconfigured in the present, and in students’ lived experiences” (37). Her review also shows the importance of the “ways education is organized and the support provided,” for example, “for teacher training on curricular initiatives’ potential to contribute to peacebuilding” (37).

Since the late 1990s, IRC has pioneered innovative psychosocial classroom programming in countries affected by conflict. The Healing Classrooms approach stands out as an early exemplar of this type of work, although until now the primary sources of data regarding the effects of this program have been drawn from qualitative studies. Albeit sound and informative, this work was constrained in its ability to draw causal inferences and generalize to larger populations. That has now changed. In their piece, “Improving the quality of school interactions and student well-being: Impacts of one year of a school-based program in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,” Catalina Torrente and her coauthors, Brian Johnston, Leighann Starkey, Edward Seidman, Anjuli Shivshanker, Nina Weisenhorn, Jeannie Annan, and John Lawrence Aber, employ one of the first randomized impact evaluations in EiE research to assess the effects of IRC’s Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom program. Although the program consisted of four elements—“informing in-service teacher-training policy and systems on the national level; an in-service teacher professional development program; community mobilization and engagement activities; and provision of alternative education and vocational training opportunities for out-of-school youth”—the teacher professional development program was the only element that could be randomized and, therefore, the only element examined in the impact evaluation (56). Teacher professional development aimed to “enhance teachers’ motivation and performance, and to promote student well-being and academic learning” (56). The study employs a large-scale cluster-randomized trial to test program effects on (1) the quality of school interactions (students’ perceptions of the level of support/care and predictability/cooperation in their school and classrooms), and (2) students’ subjective well-being (peer victimization and mental health problems). The authors report that, after one year of partial program implementation, “analyses showed promising but mixed results.” They found a “significant positive impact on students’ perceptions of supportive and caring schools and classrooms, but a negative impact on their sense of predictability and cooperation. The program’s average effect on students’ subjective well-being was not statistically significant, but differential impacts were found for various subgroups of students” (48). The authors speculate that introducing positive changes to the classroom may have temporarily disrupted students’ sense of predictability and inclination to cooperate. This is a first step in a multiyear study. We look forward to reading about the next set of results as they become available. Aside from its findings, this piece offers a strong illustration of how one can complete rigorous research even under very difficult conditions.

Staying on the same continent but shifting to look at refugee education and teacher practices in refugee classrooms, Mary Mendenhall and her coauthors, Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Lesley Bartlett, Caroline Ndirangu, Rosemary Imonje, Daniel Gakunga, Loise Gichuhi, Grace Nyagah, Ursulla Okoth, and Mary Tangelder, examine how “educators teach refugee students in camp-based, community-based, and public schools in Kenya, and the challenges they face” (93). Mendenhall et al. offer an unprecedented view inside the storied refugee camp and non-camp settings in Kenya, collecting in-depth qualitative interview and observational data from six refugee-hosting schools located either in the Kakuma refugee camp or in Nairobi. Similar to Dadaab, another famous refugee camp in Kenya, Kakuma was established in 1992. Twenty-three years later, there is no sign that it will close or become obsolete any time soon, especially given the continued unrest in neighboring countries. The authors synthesized research on established classroom practices, creating their own framework with which to systematically examine and document “teachers’ pedagogical techniques and, specifically, teacher-learner interactions” (93). They use this framework to capture and organize their carefully documented descriptions of classroom interactions, offering compelling insights into the importance of key teaching techniques, such as engaging students in the material at hand and fostering critical thinking and questioning skills. Although trainers around the world urge teachers to employ these skills, we are rarely privy to such intimate portrayals of their practices, let alone the teachers’ own perceptions of their practice and the constraints under which they work. As the first study to “systematically analyze the classroom practices of teachers of refugees, this article strengthens the existing evidence base that currently consists of anecdotal accounts and agency-led evaluations” (93).

Finally, the field note for this inaugural issue takes the USAID-funded South Sudan Teacher Education Project (SSTEP), implemented by Massachusetts-based Education Development Center from 2011 to 2014, as a case study of the emerging guidance on teacher programming in conflict-sensitive environments. Authors Lainie Reisman and Cornelia Janke employ the 2013 “INEE Guidance Note on Conflict Sensitive Education” and its Minimum Standards for Education, adapted for South Sudan, as “a conflict-sensitive lens through which to view the SSTEP design and implementation” (131). In doing so, they highlight “(1) The ways the initial program design can affect the applicability of recommended conflict-sensitive education (CSE) strategies; (2) The roles that decisions by donors, implementing partners, and ministries play in facilitating, or undermining, the application of recommended conflict-sensitive teacher education strategies; (3) The extent to which the recommended conflict-sensitive strategies are realistic and effective when applied to existing dynamics” (132).

The authors note that working in a country that not only is experiencing civil war but also is a new state in the process of creating laws and policies poses additional challenges. Following the INEE standards under such conditions is challenging because of the “extreme lack of technical expertise, human resources, and budget available to the National Education Ministry” (151). Moreover, dissention within the South Sudan Ministry of Education often meant that the teacher education project under study lacked a strong counterpart within the ministry, and that “key deliverables that relied on ministry leadership were either delayed or stymied” (151). The authors also offer multiple specific observations about these important INEE tools, which will be useful to practitioners working in countries affected by conflict everywhere.

LOOKING TOWARD THE COMING YEARS

Along with my terrific colleagues on the board of *JEiE*, as well as our exceptional reviewers, I envision that the *JEiE* will contribute much-needed evidence on the effects crisis has on education, and education on crisis, around the world. We launched this endeavor to bring practitioners and researchers together to foster understanding and guide future programs and policies for families, children, and youth seeking an education in crisis-affected regions. We are fortunate to have an expansive audience via the INEE and our academic networks, which will ensure robust dissemination of these critical articles. Please consider submitting your *EiE*-related studies to *JEiE*. We invite you to join us in this collective endeavor, which we believe will deepen and broaden the power of the *EiE* social movement.

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“WHETHER AND HOW?”
HISTORY EDUCATION ABOUT RECENT
AND ONGOING CONFLICT:
A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

JULIA PAULSON

This article reviews research on history education that addresses recent or ongoing conflict since 1990. History education is recognized as a key site for constructing identity, transmitting collective memory, and shaping “imagined communities,” which makes its revision or reform a complex and important part of education in emergencies work. The article reviews 42 empirical studies from 11 countries, exploring whether recent conflict forms part of national curricula and, where it does, how this teaching is approached. Young people learn about recent conflict in all of the cases reviewed; in the majority, curriculum is one source for this learning, but in some cases the history of recent conflict is taught without curricular guidance or not at all. Where recent conflict is taught, the review finds a reliance on a traditional, collective memory approach to disseminating national narratives, although often in social studies rather than history classrooms. In many cases, these narratives are top-down and ethno-nationalist and rely on devices like mythical past unity and the exceptionalism of conflict. The review concludes by suggesting that actors undertaking a revision or reform of history curriculum attend to recent conflict as an “active past” and offers some promising ideas for approaching such a past in history curricula.

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INTRODUCTION

Much of the early work that has come to ground the field of education in emergencies (EiE) highlighted the need to engage with curricular issues in the aftermath of violent conflict (e.g., Buckland 2005; Davies 2004; Pigozzi 1999; Sinclair 2002; Tawil and Harley 2004). Curriculum has remained a focus as the field has grown. As a minimum standard, the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE 2010a, 1) envisages “culturally, socially and linguistically relevant curricula,” and its Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning (INEE 2010b, 2) are clear about the “immediate need” to eliminate bias and remove “conflict-inciting materials and ideologically-loaded content.” Beyond these immediate actions, however, education actors must grapple with questions of how (and whether) to deal with the history of recent conflict in curriculum.

A number of scholars draw attention to the importance of these questions and their implications for reconciliation and peacebuilding (e.g., Beckerman and Zembylas 2011; Cole and Barsalou 2006; Cole 2007; Weinstein et al. 2007). However, knowledge of how they are actually dealt with in practice is limited, as is understanding of the implications of decisions taken about history teaching for wider processes of peacebuilding and reconciliation. Case studies have been published in journals or collected in edited volumes (e.g., Cole 2007; Stover and Weinstein 2004; Tawil and Harley 2004; Williams 2014), but a thorough analysis of existing academic research has not been undertaken. In this paper I seek to offer such an analysis. I aim to synthesize and critically interpret existing academic research in order to identify trends, common challenges, and promising practice, and to consider their implications. I review research into history education that addresses recent or ongoing conflict since 1990; I selected this period because it coincides with the emergence and development of EiE as field of research and practice (Burde et al. 2013).

History education is recognized as a key site for constructing identity, transmitting collective memory, and shaping “imagined communities” (Anderson 1991). It provides young people with narratives about self, other, and nation, and it signals to them what is important to know about their past. EiE research has highlighted the ways that history education can contribute to violent conflict, for instance, by reinforcing sectarian identities, offering negative and stereotypical images of the “other,” and naturalizing the victimhood or superiority of particular groups (e.g., Davies 2004). The legacy of history education is one of a multitude of considerations that face education actors in situations affected by conflict. As Zembylas and Beckerman (2008, 126) state, “The debate is not just about *whether*

children should be taught to remember the past, but also about *how* the past is interpreted” (original emphasis).

These “whether and how” questions provide the organizing framework for this review. However, recent “profound controversy regarding the function of history teaching in educational systems” (Carretero et al. 2012, 1) means that history can no longer be taken for granted as a taught subject, as it is often replaced by or subsumed within social studies or civics subjects. My analysis of existing research is therefore oriented around the following questions: (1) How is history education approached in contexts affected by conflict? (2) Is recent and/or ongoing conflict part of the history curriculum? (3) Where recent conflict is part of the history curriculum, how is it approached? Answers to these questions are important for at least two reasons. First, they begin to shed light on how important curricular decisions are dealt with in practice, an underdeveloped area in EiE research. Second, they point to emerging trends in education practice and bring together the critical analyses of multiple researchers, highlighting positive avenues whereby history education might contribute to peacebuilding and reconciliation, as well as approaches that are unlikely to contribute to building peace postconflict.

In answer to the first question, the review reveals a trend toward the “social sciencization” of history education in the conflict-affected contexts explored. Despite this, the use of national narrative to teach about conflict persists. Not only is this collective memory approach to history as a subject adopted in a number of countries, it is often also used for teaching the history of conflict within social studies. In answer to the second question, the review finds that the history of recent or ongoing conflict is taught in schools in the majority of the cases explored, although in some cases this happens without any official curricular guidance. Researchers studying contexts where recent conflict is not part of the curriculum posit that classroom discussions may help to mediate and contextualize knowledge about conflict that young people develop despite curricular silence. Finally, in answer to the third question, this review demonstrates that recent or ongoing conflict is often approached in curricula in problematic ways. Specifically, approaches either fail to challenge ethno-nationalist narratives, impose a narrative of mythical unity, or present conflict as exceptional and disconnected from present realities. These approaches are unlikely to capitalize on the potential that history education may hold to contribute to building peace in the aftermath of conflict. The next section outlines the method used for this review, after which the findings are presented in more detail.

REVIEW METHOD

This article reviews research centered around history curriculum and recent and/or ongoing conflict. Its aims are (1) to identify research into history education in conflict-affected contexts, and (2) to critically interpret and synthesize this research in order to identify trends, challenges, and promising practice.

Systematic reviews, which bring “together what is known from the research literature using explicit and accountable methods” (Gough et al. 2012, 1), generally synthesize the findings of studies that use experimental controlled designs, which research in the areas of history education and EiE does not tend to do (see Burde and Linden 2013 for a noteworthy exception). However, as Gough and colleagues (2012, 1) note, “the logic of systematic methods for reviewing the literature can be applied to all areas of research.” This logic of transparency and comprehensiveness inspires this review. However, I do not aspire to paint a definitive picture or to claim that this review has successfully uncovered every relevant study. Gough and colleagues distinguish between reviews that aim to aggregate evidence in order to test predefined concepts and make empirical statements, and those that aim to configure and interpret research in order to develop concepts and understanding. This review is configurative. I hope it will be considered thorough, but its main contribution lies in the unique synthesis of research that it presents. This synthesis provides insight into EiE curricular practice around the world and offers a preliminary assessment of its promise, as well as the challenges this practice faces in contributing to peacebuilding.

In this review, I include only published academic research. I have chosen not to include gray literature, government or agency programming documents, or any unpublished evaluations of agency or government programs. I made this choice because the theoretically grounded analyses of researchers are important for the configurative work that this review seeks to do (aim 2). I am interested in decisions taken about history education in conflict-affected contexts, in how these decisions are implemented, and, perhaps most importantly, in their implications. These implications are often best captured and contextualized by academic research, which tends to adopt a critical lens and to explore curriculum not just in terms of its programmatic effectiveness, but also in terms of its place within and contribution to wider postconflict dynamics. Nonetheless, reviews that focus on gray literature around history education programming would complement the findings of this review, as would research that directly collects the perspectives of policy makers, historians, and EiE actors.

I conducted English language title and abstract searches of EBSCO Host, JSTOR, and Google Scholar databases using combinations of the search terms: education, history, conflict, postconflict, curriculum, violent, past, and teaching. Schucan Bird and Tripney's (2011) evaluation of comprehensive search strategies for policy-relevant, interdisciplinary reviews found that general bibliographic databases and specialist databases were effective, efficient, and value-added search strategies. I complemented these with additional sources found via snowball sampling from reference lists, and from my less systematic collection over the last decade of research around history education in conflict-affected contexts.

I reviewed results first by title, which in many cases was sufficient to eliminate studies based on relevance. I then reviewed the remaining sources by abstract and finally by a full reading. In total, 42 studies are included.¹ Given my focus on academic research, all studies included present empirical findings and were published either in a peer-reviewed journal or in an academic authored or edited book; conference proceedings, theses, and dissertations are not included.

I have limited the conflict-affected contexts considered to those where violent conflict ended no earlier than 1990 or is still unresolved, which allows the review to coincide with the period since 1990 in which EiE has developed as a field. I did not adopt a single definition of conflict as a search parameter in this review. I considered limiting the review to postconflict contexts, as Quaynor (2012) does in her review of citizenship education, but this would have eliminated Israel/Palestine and Cyprus, two cases where research in this area is most developed. I also considered limiting cases of recent or ongoing conflict to those that met the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (2014) definition of armed conflict in at least one year since 1990. Again, this would have excluded research focused on Cyprus, which is both rich and relevant. Since the relevant time period for this review is a total of 24 years (1990-2014), I have included studies published in the 1990s ($n = 1$), 2000s ($n = 22$), and 2010s ($n = 19$). In most of the countries covered by the review, at least one study is relatively recent (published in the 2010s). Nonetheless, the review findings should not be considered completely up-to-date descriptions of each of the contexts explored but a presentation of trends across published research and their implications.

I required that studies relate to an education system and therefore excluded research that focused exclusively on an isolated initiative or a single school or classroom. This meant that I excluded a good deal of research, particularly

¹ Some studies consider history education in more than one country.

studies on Israel/Palestine that explored or evaluated particular educational initiatives. Finally, I selected only studies explicitly addressing history education in conflict-affected contexts—in other words, studies that addressed related subjects like peace education, citizenship education, ethical or moral education, etc., were not included unless they also included a significant focus on history. This criterion again excluded a number of studies focused on Israel/Palestine, and also on Northern Ireland. Limiting the review in these ways kept it tightly focused and relevant to EiE, and allowed for some degree of comparability across the studies included. The 42 studies included are listed in appendix 1, which also provides an overview of how each study contributed to the analysis described below.

I used framework synthesis to answer research questions 1 and 2. This approach, which extracts and synthesizes findings according to an a priori framework (Barnett-Page and Thomas 2009), was appropriate where individual research cases were likely to adopt one of a finite number of approaches to teaching history (question 1) or to include (or not) recent violent conflict in the curriculum (question 2). I adopted a more inductive approach to answering research question 3. Drawing on conceptual work developed by Bellino (2014a, 1), which clearly outlines “a range of approaches and social purposes for teaching the past,” I present a tentative typology of approaches to teaching about recent conflict that have emerged from the research reviewed. I also include a discussion of positive approaches and common challenges that emerged across the research. These were arrived at by noting the frequency of similar findings across studies in line with Sandelowski and Barroso (2007).

The review includes research on 11 countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH; $n = 6$), Cyprus (4), Guatemala (3), Israel/Palestine (7), Lebanon (2), Northern Ireland (5), Peru (2), Rwanda (9), South Africa (5), Sri Lanka (2), and Yemen (1). Given that a number of other countries have experienced conflict since 1990—the 2011 Education For All Global Monitoring Report, for instance, identified 32 conflict-affected countries—research in this area appears underdeveloped. The lamentation that EiE research concentrates on a few well-researched cases at the expense of others that remain largely uninvestigated (e.g., Human Security Report 2012) seems to apply here.

The state of research in this area calls for some further comments. Many studies rely on textbook analysis (e.g., Al-Haj 2005; Bar Tal 1998; Paulson 2010b; Torsti 2007; Yogev 2012; Young 2010), although several combine that method with others (e.g., Oglesby 2007a; Paulson 2010a; Sanchez Meertens 2013; Staeheli

and Stammer 2013; Torsti 2009). Studies often provide no further detail as to how textbook analysis was undertaken. The limits of textbook analysis as a research method have been convincingly argued and mean this approach tells us little about how history education actually happens for teachers and students (e.g., Worden 2014). Nonetheless, textbooks, especially those that are state issued, offer a window into the official national narrative and enable authors to explore the ways presentations of self and other have changed, or how conflict events are narrated. Other common research methods used in the studies reviewed include interviews (with experts, students, and teachers), small surveys (of teachers and students), observation, other ethnographic methods, and policy analysis.

Connected to the reliance on textbook analysis, research in this area does not give a clear or detailed picture of how decisions about curricular change are taken or of how (and if) consensus is reached about the narratives presented in textbooks. Exceptions include studies that connect politics and textbook development (e.g., Bekerman and Zembylas 2013; King 2010; Papadakis 2008; Paulson 2010a; Weldon 2010) and those that explore the composition of the bodies that make decisions about curriculum and textbooks (Al-Haj 2005; Sanchez Meertens 2013; Torsti 2009). Finally, having highlighted some weaknesses in research in this area, a major strength should be mentioned. Research in EiE has been criticized for being “detached from larger discussions on discourse and social change” (Sanchez Meertens 2013, 254), of relying on “problem-solving theory” (Novelli and Lopes Cardozo 2008), and of avoiding theory all together (Paulson and Rappleye 2007). By and large, the research reviewed here is theoretically grounded, and it is informed by and contributes to wider debates.

A BACKGROUND TO HISTORY EDUCATION

A nationalist approach to teaching history has predominated since the rise of the nation state. This approach is concerned with instilling a linear narrative made up of key episodes and peopled by key figures, thereby creating a “natural” and distinct nation of which students can feel a part (Carretero 2011). While this approach to history education is certainly still in evidence, in recent years there has been considerable debate and change. Debates have centered around the purpose of history education and the kind of subject or citizen that it should produce.

From these debates (at least) three trends have emerged. First, as Bellino (2014a, 4) explains, the traditional purpose of history education as a transmitter

of collective memory has shifted, at least in part, “from indoctrination to inspiration.” The linear master narrative persists, but it creates engaged rather than obedient citizens. It is assumed that the “right” narrative will be able to forge a shared identity across difference and will lead to desirable outcomes in terms of the civic dispositions and attitudes of young people. While history education still transmits a national narrative, this shift means that its pedagogy and inspiration expand to include more democratic teaching methods, a concern with social and economic history, and with the inclusion of marginalized histories.

Second, the single-narrative model of history education has been challenged by an approach grounded in the historical method. Under this “enquiry-based, multi-perspective approach” (McCully 2012, 146), students learn to understand history by developing the disciplinary skills of historians. They are encouraged to become comfortable with contradictory sources, alternative perspectives, and the constructed nature of historical knowledge. Along with developing historical knowledge, outcomes of the process include perspective-taking, independent thinking, and evaluating primary and secondary evidence.

Finally, globalization has “de-nationalized” history education (Hansen 2012). In many education systems, history is no longer a subject taught in its own right; it is instead included in subjects like social studies or civics. This “social-sciencization” (Hymans in Cole 2007, 132) focuses on contemporary history and society more than on the nation state. National history, therefore, is often now taught alongside local, regional, and global history, thus expanding the notion of the communities students are to imagine themselves to be part of. Given these changes in history education as a subject, I first investigated which of the three approaches described above—national narrative, disciplinary, globalized—were evident in the cases reviewed.

FINDINGS

RESEARCH QUESTION 1: APPROACHING HISTORY EDUCATION

McCully (2012, 164) posits that there is “a prevailing view” among international agencies that the disciplinary approach offers the “most effective way for history teaching to contribute to postconflict understanding.” Within the research reviewed here, however, only Northern Ireland and Northern Cyprus have adopted this approach (Barton and McCully 2010, 2005; Kitson 2007; McCully 2012; Papadakis 2008). Northern Irish history curriculum uses “an

enquiry-based approach to teaching, which enables pupils to engage with different perspectives” (Kitson 2007, 123). In Northern (Turkish) Cyprus, new history textbooks introduced in 2004 “follow a social-constructivist model of history, which presents nationalism and national identity as emerging under specific historical conditions rather than as given” (Papadakis 2008, 128) and encourages “students to develop critical thinking and multiperspectivity” (Latif 2010, 40).

In Rwanda’s primary education (King 2014) and in Guatemala (Bellino 2014b; Oglesby 2007b), Peru (Paulson 2010a, 2010b), South Africa (Staheli and Stammer 2013; Weldon 2010), and Yemen (Young 2010), history education is included as part of a social studies syllabus. In this approach, history is one of the main orientations or disciplines from which students explore social scientific knowledge and/or citizenship formation. For instance, topics covered in Yemeni textbooks include “the age of discovery (e.g. the voyages of Magellan, Cook, Columbus, etc.); ancient civilizations in North and South America, Europe and Australia; Yemen under the Ottomans; and, Yemen’s 20th-century history” (Young 2010, 25). In South Africa, a social studies text moves from Nazi Germany, to the U.S. civil rights movement, to nuclear deterrence and the Cold War, and, finally, to apartheid in South Africa (Staheli and Stammer 2013, 36).

In Bosnia-Herzegovina (Freedman et al. 2004a; Stabback 2004), Cyprus (Hadjiyanni 2008; Latif 2010), Lebanon (van Ommering 2014), Sri Lanka (Sanchez Meertens 2013), and Rwandan secondary education (King 2014), the predominant approach to history education remains a traditional one based on the instillation of a national narrative. While this approach in some instances (e.g. guidance for secondary history curriculum in Rwanda; King 2014) is closer to the “inspiration” model Bellino (2014a) describes, these narratives remain largely focused on creating “patriotic nationalists” (Carretero et al. 2011), as I explore in more detail below.

Table 1: Approaches to History Education

"Social-sciencization"	Guatemala Peru Rwanda (primary education) South Africa Yemen
Disciplinary approach	Northern (Turkish) Cyprus Northern Ireland
National narrative approach	Bosnia-Herzegovina Cyprus Rwanda (secondary education) Lebanon Sri Lanka

While I have characterized countries as taking a particular approach to history education, these are not watertight or necessarily mutually exclusive categories. For instance, Papadakis (2008) finds persistent ethnocentrism in the new, multiperspectival North Cypriot textbooks, despite their intentions. The South African textbooks described above, which are used in social studies classrooms, adopt a disciplinary approach to history, including “diverse histories..., space for ‘subjugated knowledges’ [and] community histories which had been silenced in the apartheid curriculum” (Weldon 2007, 85). In other contexts, the teaching about recent conflict that takes place in social studies classrooms relies on a single, often nationalist narrative, as is the case in Rwanda’s primary schools (King 2014). This suggests that, despite evidence of a “social sciencization” of history in the conflict-affected contexts discussed here, national narrative is still relied on to approach discussions of recent or ongoing conflict.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2: WHETHER (OR NOT) TO INCLUDE RECENT CONFLICT IN HISTORY EDUCATION

Theorists who reflect on memory, history, violence, and education draw attention to the long-term horizon of these processes (e.g., Jelin 2003), suggesting that it is perhaps reasonable to expect that, for some time following a conflict and in instances of ongoing violence, these events will not be included in curricula. However, Cole (2007, 128) suggests that, as attention to education is increasingly incorporated into postconflict and peacebuilding interventions, “the time frame for examining the teaching of school history, or at least opening discussions about it, may be changing.” The studies reviewed here present a mixed picture, but they do not suggest that reformed curricula are incorporating conflict either quickly or easily.

Table 2: Recent Conflict within the National Curriculum

Guidance on recent conflict not included in national curriculum	Guatemala Lebanon Sri Lanka Bosnia-Herzegovina (no common curriculum) Northern Ireland (not within compulsory curriculum)
Guidance on recent conflict included in national curriculum	Cyprus Israel Peru Rwanda (after delay) South Africa (after delay) Yemen

The history of recent conflict is included in the curriculum in 6 of the 11 countries included in this study, albeit in some cases after considerable delay. In Rwanda, a moratorium on teaching history was initiated immediately after the 1994 genocide and has never been formally lifted, although “some important efforts have been made to reintroduce history into schools, raising a multitude of questions and much controversy” (King 2014, 130). These initiatives include curricular guidance for history teaching at the secondary level, in which “the war of 1990-1994 and the genocide of the Tutsi’ is scheduled to receive the most class time in comparison to other periods of Rwandan history” (135). Teaching history was also delayed in South Africa during the transition from apartheid (Weldon 2010). The first post-apartheid national curriculum, released in 1996, “avoided engaging with the traumatic past,” was “forward looking,” and did not include history as a taught subject (82-83). However, the revised curriculum, released in 2003, “was shaped by a democratic discourse which regarded history education as central to the development of moral and ethical values in young people,” and it includes instruction about the country’s apartheid past. In Cyprus (Latif 2010; Hadjiyanni 2008; Papadakis 2008), Israel (Al-Haj 2005; Gordon 2005; Yogev 2012), Peru (Paulson 2010a, 2010b), and Yemen (Young 2010), recent conflict is part of the required curriculum.

SILENCE ABOUT RECENT CONFLICT

I have classified the somewhat special cases of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and Northern Ireland as being silent about recent conflict, as they do not have compulsory national curriculum content about recent conflict. In BiH, three parallel education systems and curricula persist, and while the historic roots of conflict are addressed in each, efforts to develop a common curriculum that would include the 1992-1995 conflict have failed (Ahonen 2013; Freedman et al. 2004a). Thus, “ethnic-nationalist education” (Stabback 2004) persists, and reform of the curricula for the “national group subjects” of history, geography, language, literature, and religious instruction is resisted.

Recent conflict is also not addressed in Northern Ireland’s compulsory history curriculum (Barton and McCully 2005, 2010; Kitson 2007). History education is compulsory up to age 14, and the curriculum for this stage ends with the partition of Ireland in 1922 (Kitson 2007). “Difficult and contested issues” (127) connected with the history of conflict in Northern Ireland are included in study units, but with the 1922 cut-off point, the more recent history of “the Troubles” is not part of the compulsory curriculum. Research by Kitson (2007) and Barton and McCully (2005, 2010) problematizes the 1922 cut-off point and teaching approaches that

do not encourage students to make connections between the past and present. Barton and McCully (2005, 108) find that students “do make such connections on their own” and that “without teacher mediation those connections are likely to be highly selective and uncritical.”

Recent and/or ongoing conflict is not addressed in the national curricula of Guatemala (Oglesby 2007a, 2007b), Lebanon (van Ommering 2014), or Sri Lanka (Sanchez Meertens 2013). In Guatemala, history has been “subsumed by social studies” (Oglesby 2007a, 184), and there are no national standards for teaching about history or about Guatemala’s 34-year civil war, which ended in 1996. Efforts by the ministry of education to introduce a textbook based on the work of the country’s truth commission were halted by the congress. The ministry of education did not adopt proposals from civil society organizations for “historical memory” studies within the social studies curriculum. Despite the lack of curricular guidance, Oglesby (2007, 185) reports that textbooks produced since the 1996 peace accords “address the conflict to some degree.” Bellino’s (2014b) ethnographic research finds some discussion of the country’s long conflict in schools, but argues that, in the absence of a formal and critical framework, preexisting social divisions are maintained, new fractures are created, and atrocities are mystified.

In Lebanon, the history textbook distributed by the state stops in 1943, the year Lebanon gained independence. It discusses “neither the decades of sectarian strife, nor Lebanon’s precarious position in the lingering ‘Middle East conflict,’ nor the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees inhabiting shanty towns across the country” (van Ommering 2014, 2). Efforts to revise the history curriculum in the 1990s failed to “combine and balance divergent historical narratives” (Frayha 2004), although these efforts did succeed in introducing a common civics education curriculum. In the “vacuum” of official history, van Ommering’s (2014, 3-4) ethnographic work shows how personal and family experiences of war and “political movements that ensure constant reproduction of sectarian discourse and imagery” enable students to “display keen awareness of civil war events.” Yet students lack the knowledge and skills to interpret these events or place them in context.

In Sri Lanka, history education stops after 1979, thereby excluding a large segment of the country’s post-independence history and most of the time in which it experienced systematic violence (Sanchez Meertens 2013). Key incidents of violence that took place prior to 1979 are not mentioned in the official history textbooks used in Sri Lanka, although there is brief mention of the “tragic ethnic conflict” in some citizenship education textbooks (258). Perera and colleagues

(2004) explain that “painful collective memories and group animosities... stand in the way of reconceptualising or rewriting history as a school subject that could facilitate social cohesion.” Sanchez Meertens (2013, 259) finds a “silent reproduction of conflict” in Sri Lanka’s history education as “issues of identity, nationhood and the ancient past” are “fashioned in such a way [as] to legitimize a certain strand on ethnic relations and civil war,” despite making no explicit mention of war.

The research reviewed suggests that closing history discussions before the advent of recent violent conflict does not benefit learners. Young people are aware of conflict going on around them and of the legacies of recent conflicts, as the ethnographic and interview-based research reviewed here demonstrates (e.g., Barton and McCully 2005, 2010; Bellino 2014b; Kitson 2007; Sanchez Meertens 2013; van Ommering 2014). Research highlights how young people develop (often partisan) narratives and identification with regard to recent conflict, despite its formal absence from the school curriculum. History education that deals explicitly with conflict might play a role in mediating this process by engaging with controversial material, promoting discussion, and giving students the skills to interpret and contextualize their encounters with the violent past outside the classroom. I turn now to an exploration of the cases where some attempt has been made to address recent conflict in history (or social studies) classrooms.

RESEARCH QUESTION 3: HOW IS THE RECENT VIOLENT PAST APPROACHED?

In Cyprus, Israel, Peru, Rwanda, and South Africa, recent or ongoing conflict is included in the curriculum as a topic to be covered in either history (Cyprus, Israel, Rwandan secondary education) or social studies (Peru, South Africa, Rwandan primary education). In Guatemala, as mentioned above, there is no formal curricular guidance on teaching about the civil war, but it is included in leading social studies textbooks (Oglesby 2007a, 2007b).

Table 3: Approaches to Addressing Recent Conflict

Exemplary memory	Guatemala Peru South Africa
Mythical unified past made official	Rwanda Yemen
Ethno-nationalist narratives	Bosnia-Herzegovina Cyprus Israel

Below I identify three distinct approaches employed to deal with recent conflict. This typology has been developed inductively through my reading of the research collected in this review and supported by a wider reading of theoretical work in memory studies and history education. As mentioned above, Bellino's (2014a) theoretical work on history education following conflict has been invaluable for this analysis. Again, the approaches presented here are neither watertight nor mutually exclusive. On the whole, the research finds that history education is presented in problematic ways that are unlikely to contribute to peacebuilding and may in fact reinforce the dynamics of conflict. But, researchers do draw attention to some positive approaches, which are discussed at the end of this section.

“EXEMPLARY MEMORY,” CONFLICT AS EXCEPTION, AND HISTORY AS CITIZENSHIP

In both Peru and Guatemala, where history is taught within social studies, recent violent conflict is presented alongside human rights and peace education. In Guatemala, “the inclusion of material on the war serves as a prelude to a much longer elaboration related to civic education and citizen formation” (Oglesby 2007b, 80). As Oglesby explains, history is presented in the Guatemalan textbooks as “exemplary memory” (Todorov in Oglesby 2007b, 80); the past is used “as a guide for action in the present and future.” While such an approach may have potential (e.g., see discussion in Bellino 2014a), Oglesby's research (2007b, 80, 92-93) highlights its limitations in Guatemala. Oglesby shows that conflict is presented as either “an exposé of brutality or as the triumph of democracy” and how victims of violence are “drained of their identities as historical protagonists.” The responsibility for conflict is attributed to a pervasive “culture of violence,” which is now to be replaced by “a culture of peace.” Oglesby explains that individuals are responsible for creating and maintaining this culture of peace in the same way they were responsible for the culture of violence, and as such they “must be instructed in new ‘peaceful’ ways of being and acting.” What is missing is a discussion of the structural causes of the conflict and the “histories of collective, contestatory politics” that demonstrate the agency of historical actors, including victims.

In Peru, recent conflict is part of the syllabus for social sciences in the final year of secondary school, housed within a discussion of “the second half of the twentieth century: Peru and the world” (Ministerio de Educacion del Peru in Paulson 2010a). Guidance is scant, stating only that teachers are expected to cover “subversive movements and peace processes in Peru” and “violence and

internal conflict in contemporary Peru. Truth and Justice.” The approach taken in the textbook sanctioned by the ministry of education relies on a “two-fires confrontation” (140-142), similar to the “two devils” portrayed in Guatemalan textbooks (Bellino 2014b), that places innocent and helpless victims between “fanatical terrorists and a Peruvian armed forces operating under now non-existent and never-to-be-replicated conditions” (Paulson 2010a, 140). This approach, much like the Guatemalan case, fails to acknowledge the ways victims of conflict also “negotiated, tolerated, collaborated with and resisted the daily presence of armed insurgents and state forces” (140). Furthermore, it creates an explanation of conflict as exceptional and disconnected from the structural inequalities and racism that other historical accounts, including Peru’s truth commission, identify as causes of the conflict in Peru, and that persist into the present.

History education in South Africa is part of “a values-driven curriculum” (Weldon 2010, 84-85) and is “meant to be primarily citizenship education.” As Weldon (85) describes, the dilemmas this orientation raises “in terms of the nature and purpose of history” were resolved by using an enquiry approach to history education, which locates “history for democracy within the skills and processes of sound history education.” In practice, however, Staeheli and Hammett (2013, 37-39) find that “calls to human rights and the attempt to make universal rights the core of South African citizenship” predominate over investigations into the country’s apartheid past. They explain that textbooks “address that history in very matter-of-fact and decidedly apolitical tones and without dwelling on the pain and injustice of the system.” Despite South Africa’s particular history, the “ideal citizen” promoted by the curriculum is universal. South Africa’s young citizens are meant to be self-sufficient, economically productive, and to make few demands on the state, despite the continued “social and spatial segregation and profound inequalities” that constrain or enable young people’s opportunities.

These three countries have in common an attempt to make the recent violent past “usable” (Wertsch 2002, 70) for the present day, with “relevant lessons that transcend historical contexts” (Bellino 2014a, 6). As Bellino (6-7) explains, making the past usable for present and future nation-building and “civic connectedness” involves “shaping history curriculum around a nation’s ‘best’ story.” In these cases, the “best story” assumes peace as a status quo against which the politics of conflict and injustice do not bear telling. At stake here, as the cases above indicate, are historical accuracy and depth, but also something more. History education about recent conflict, as described in the research outlined in this section, does not engage substantively with the causes of conflict, with past injustices, or with the ways that both move into the present. Indeed, conflict is presented as an exceptional

moment, an aberration overcome by the present: democracy, active citizenship, and a culture of peace. Whether these forward-looking, democratically oriented narratives will succeed in inspiring young people in Guatemala, Peru, or South Africa, where injustices and inequalities tied to past conflict persist, remains an open question.

A MYTHICAL UNIFIED PAST MADE OFFICIAL

In Rwanda, there is a “stark difference” (King 2014, 137) between curricular guidance and educational initiatives that encourage critical thinking, active discussion and questioning, and “the reality of a singular univocal narrative” about the country’s history and the 1994 genocide. A strong “official historical narrative” (Freedman et al. 2008, 674) has been created by the post-genocide Rwandan Patriotic Front government, which is disseminated in schools, at genocide memorials, local *gacaca* justice processes, and Ingando “reeducation camps” (Buckley-Zistel 2009; Kearney 2011; King 2010). This narrative begins in precolonial times, when “Rwandans were a peaceful people who lived together in harmony,” and it “claims that colonials invented ethnicity” (Freedman et al. 2008, 675). Rwanda’s 1994 genocide and the civil war are explained within this narrative as the divisive use and manipulation of ethnicity, a legacy of colonial rule (Weinstein et al. 2007). The “myth of an idealized early life of ethnic unity” (63) also presents the vision to which post-genocide Rwanda will now return. The necessity of unity is used to justify the current situation in which discussion of ethnicity is prohibited (Kearney 2011; King 2014, 2010), and “many Rwandans experience censorship and self-censorship, and fear being charged with vague offenses of ‘divisionism’ and ‘genocide ideology’” (King 2010, 300-301).

King (2014, 137) shows how this “oversimplified ‘correct’ narrative” is reflected in primary civics and social studies initiatives, in secondary history guidelines, and even, to a degree, in a collaborative international project that was eventually halted by government (e.g., Freedman et al. 2008). Researchers highlight a number of problems with Rwanda’s “one history” (137) approach. They first point to inconsistencies between the Rwandan government’s narrative and the historical record (Buckley-Zistel 2009; Freedman et al. 2011, 2008, 2004b; King 2014), which raise questions about its legitimacy as history education. Second, the strict imposition of a single narrative and the exclusion of any and all alternatives contradicts another goal of postconflict education reform in Rwanda, namely, to embrace “so-called modern democratic teaching methods that foster skills... such as critical thinking and debate” (Freedman et al. 2008, 664). These intentions, apparent in written texts, remain “divorced from implementation and

context” (King 2014, 137). Third, the use of this narrative to justify the outlawing of public ethnic identification ignores the fact that ethnicity remains “a salient category for many Rwandans” (King 2010, 296). Finally, researchers consider the implications for reconciliation, democracy, and peacebuilding. King (2010, 294) shows how the official narrative “selectively highlights some civilian memories of violence, and represses others.” While this selectivity works to legitimate the current government’s rule, it fails to “address and challenge the social cleavages and exclusions that characterized Rwanda’s past and may be, moreover, fostering exclusions and social cleavages in the present” (303-304).

In Yemen, too, Young (2010, 28-29) finds a “national narrative being promulgated by the government [that]... does not map perfectly onto the actual historical events.” Young’s textbook analysis finds a narrative premised on “Yemen’s ancient origins and its inherent unity” (29). Textbooks start Yemeni history approximately 3,000 years ago and use ancient empires to make “primordial claims about the nature of Yemeni people and nation,” and to suggest “that the modern Yemeni government and the Yemeni citizens are successors of these states and peoples” (26-28). The period from the mid-1960s to 1990, when the Yemen Arab Republic and the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen existed as two separate states, is mentioned in textbooks. However, “they do not actually describe the two states... and their nearly thirty years of independent existence prior to unification” (27-28). The two-state period, border wars that occurred during that time, and the political processes involved in unification are not discussed. Instead, the “the will of the people that, despite long years apart, the country be ‘reunified’” is emphasized. Yemen’s 1994 civil war is mentioned as a brief threat to “our precious unity” led by “secessionist traitors”; “nuanced discussion of the root causes” are not discussed (28). Furthermore, the ongoing tensions in north and south Yemen do not feature within the national unity narrative.

In both Yemen and Rwanda, a “top-down” (Buckley-Zistel 2009) official narrative based on a mythical ancient unity has been a key tool of governments, which are described as increasingly authoritarian (King 2010; Young 2009). In these cases, this tendency of government might help to explain the more traditional “indoctrination” approach to transmitting a national narrative. On top of concerns about the “truth” of these official narratives, they do not open the reconciliatory potential of history education, which, it has been argued (e.g., Cole 2007), rests at least in part in enabling dialogue and the productive confrontation of difference.

ETHNO-NATIONALIST NARRATIVES AND EFFORTS TO CHANGE THEM

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, and Israel/Palestine, research highlights the persistence of distinctive “ethnic nationalist narratives” (Papadakis 2008, 131) that are linked to and maintained by particular identity communities. These narratives construct strong in- and out-group identities (e.g., Torsti 2009) and legitimize victimhood and supremacy (e.g., Bar-Tal 1998). They emphasize the “natural” claims of the in-group—for instance, as Latif (2010, 34) writes, “the conflicting historical narratives of each community take for granted that Cyprus ‘belongs’ to them on historical grounds.” They are histories “from above” that are political rather than social. In the case of Cyprus, Papadakis (2008, 137) describes how in both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot historical narratives “war is so pervasive that it emerges as the motor of history to the point where it becomes naturalized as an inescapable characteristic of humans.” In BiH, where Bosnian Croat, Bosnian Serb, and Bosniak Muslim students study separate curricula, Torsti (2007, 77) found that, even after the required withdrawal of potentially offensive material, “the members of other national groups in the country are typically presented through enemy images.”

In all three cases, efforts have been made to question and counter these narratives, including by revising textbooks. As mentioned above, formal efforts to develop a harmonized curriculum in BiH have failed, although informal initiatives continue. A “complete change of history books” (Papadakis 2008, 137) followed political change in Northern (Turkish) Cyprus, with new textbooks introduced in 2004. The books approach “nation, nationalism and identity” differently from earlier texts, by focusing on Cyprus (rather than Turkey), presenting nationalism as largely negative, and avoiding essentialist presentations of ethnic groups (Papadakis 2008, 138-139). History, Papadakis explains (139), “is no longer presented as a monolithic story of conflict; instead, conscious emphasis is placed on examples of coexistence and cooperation.” Papadakis (143) finds several “general weaknesses” in the new textbooks, including a lingering ethnocentrism, and he raises fascinating questions about the approach they take to history education. He shows how the textbooks have abandoned the narrative form, “that is of history as the story of the nation,” and therefore the “notion that history has a single meaning” or is “primarily a moral story.” This means that “no single meaning or lesson... can now be derived from history as presented in the new Turkish Cypriot books,” a markedly different approach from the idea of history as “exemplary memory.”

In Israel, new history textbooks were produced in the wake of the 1993 Oslo Agreement, with the aim of opening both the goals and the content of the history curriculum to align with the political environment of “conflict resolution and dialogue” (Al-Haj 2005, 54). While Al-Haj (47) finds the new textbooks “more open and complex” than earlier books, his analysis still finds a single ethno-national narrative that “safeguards national Zionist values [and]... leaves no room for dealing with the legitimacy of the Palestinian narrative.”

Zembylas and Bekerman’s (2013, 165) work is useful in considering these cases where ethno-nationalist narratives appear both pervasive and resistant to change, both as diagnostic and as suggestive of positive potential. Drawing on decades of research on peace education in Israel and Cyprus, the authors remind us of the role of the nation state in shaping possibilities (or lack thereof) for challenging and changing dominant narratives. In contexts where such possibilities are limited, they suggest that students and teachers take advantage of small openings for change and, where possible, allow space for “dangerous memories” to disturb taken-for-granted emotions and present identity as something other than static and essentialized.

BEYOND THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS: POSITIVE APPROACHES AND COMMON CHALLENGES

I conclude my discussion of the findings of this review by highlighting the following positive approaches that emerged from the research, which demonstrate how history education might contribute to peacebuilding and reconciliation. To date, none of the approaches described below have been implemented comprehensively across an education system as “the” approach to teaching the history of recent violent conflict. That they were frequently identified in the research as promising suggests that perhaps they should be considered more comprehensively.

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Conceptual research argues that transitional justice and history education reform could be more closely connected, noting the particular pedagogic value of the truth commission process (e.g., Cole 2007; Oglesby 2007; Paulson 2009). Truth commission reports have provided source material for official textbooks and alternative educational materials developed by human rights organizations in Guatemala (Oglesby 2007a, 2007b), South Africa (Weldon 2010), and Peru

(Paulson 2010a, 2010b).² However, using the historical narratives of conflict that truth commissions construct has not been without problems. In Peru, for instance, relying on the truth commission's report as the only source for textbook content about recent conflict promoted a politicized debate about the legitimacy of the truth commission process as a whole (Paulson 2010a). Nonetheless, more intentional collaboration between educators and transitional justice actors has considerable potential. The backward looking, truth-telling, and justice-oriented principles of transitional justice open up possibilities for the education sector to consider its own legacy in perpetuating and contributing to conflict (through curriculum and otherwise), while the future-oriented nature of education creates opportunities for transitional justice outcomes to be shared, debated, and understood.

FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES

Research on Northern Ireland (Murphy and Gallagher 2009), South Africa (Weldon 2010, 2007), and Rwanda (Freedman et al. 2008) describes fruitful collaboration between the U.S.-based organization, Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO), and education actors leading history curriculum reform. FHAO has developed an approach that “helps teachers and their students make the essential connections between history and the moral choices they confront in their own lives” (Murphy and Gallagher 2009, 7). Researchers report positively on this work wherever collaborations with FHAO are discussed, especially as the FHAO workshops provide opportunities for teachers to discuss and grapple with their own experiences of conflict.

COMMON TEXTBOOKS

Korostelina and Lassig (2013) collect cases of collaborative history textbook projects in Europe, the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Far East, and the Middle East. These are sometimes efforts between nations, such as efforts to develop a Franco-German textbook, a German-Polish textbook, and a Chinese-Japanese-South Korean textbook. In other cases, divided groups seek to develop a textbook together, such as the work of the “learn each other's historical narrative” in Israel/Palestine (Rohde 2013). Although difficult and often unsuccessful, these processes are potentially reconciliatory in themselves. That such efforts now appear to be becoming more common may be linked to the “de-nationalizing” of history. Attention to these processes and outcomes is certainly merited, given, of course, the usual cautions around the value of textbooks and textbook research.

² In Sierra Leone, a children's version of the truth commission report was produced by UNICEF, but it has not been widely used in schools (Paulson 2006).

In addition to these positive approaches, a number of challenges were present across studies reviewed, which are presented below. These challenges highlight the impact of wider decisions about educational priorities and organization in postconflict contexts on the possibilities for curriculum to contribute to building peace and fostering reconciliation.

TEACHERS: PEDAGOGY, TRAINING, AND IDENTITY

Cole and Barsalou (2006, 10) suggest that “pedagogy—the *way* history is taught—should take priority in many contexts over curriculum revision” (original emphasis). The concern that pedagogy emphasizes rote learning, uncritical thinking, and is unquestioning of authority in many conflict-affected contexts (e.g., Davies, 2004) was borne out in some studies. In Lebanon, for instance, van Ommering (2014, 1) describes “static” history lessons where students memorize facts for a test and forget them the next day. One student told him history was “way too boring... just useless!”

Research reviewed here also emphasizes that teachers’ own identities and experiences of conflict have an impact on their capacity and willingness to teach about recent conflict. Rwanda’s postgenocide teaching force includes teachers accused of committing genocide crimes, returnees who have spent long periods abroad, and un- and underqualified teachers, all of whom are expected to “become positive agents of change” (King 2014, 145). Teachers’ own attitudes and narratives may reflect personal trauma and/or a conflict-perpetuating discourse, which they bring into the classroom (e.g., Bekerman and Zembylas 2011; Weldon 2010). In Guatemala, indigenous teachers’ own historical memory often made them more willing or more capable of engaging students in discussion of the recent conflict than their urban counterparts (Bellino 2014b).

Given these identity and capacity issues, teacher training is a regular recommendation of research in this area. The lack of pedagogic training among teachers in Lebanon meant they were unprepared to “manage, contain or solve conflicts in the classroom,” making it easier “to simply ban sensitive issues from being raised” (van Ommering 2014, 5). Bellino’s (2014b) research in Guatemala found teachers who believed in the importance of teaching about conflict but felt unprepared in terms of training and materials. In Rwanda, Freedman and colleagues (2008, 665) found that “educators may inhibit disagreements—including potentially productive ones—for fear of their erupting into larger and more destructive conflicts.” Gordon (2005, 369) reports that teachers in Israeli schools who serve students who have lost family members in terrorist attacks have

abandoned sections of the new textbooks that “for some of these families... are too liberal” after “angry parental responses.” Elsewhere, however, research finds teachers with more agency and capacity. Kitson’s (2007) work in Northern Ireland, for example, found many teachers tackling controversial issues and making connections between past and present, although she found that those in conflict “hot spots” were less likely to do so. In Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot teachers worked with academics to create the new textbooks discussed above, and the teachers unions were very active in promoting the new curriculum (Latif 2010; Papadakis 2008).

SEGREGATED LEARNERS

In a majority of the conflict-affected contexts explored in this review, learners are segregated. In Bosnia-Herzegovina (Freedman et al. 2004a; Stabback 2004; Torsti 2009), Cyprus (Latif 2008), and Israel/Palestine (Al-Haj 2005), learners are physically segregated and study separate curricula. Elsewhere, although they share the same curriculum, learners from different groups tend to study apart from one another. In Lebanon (Frayha 2004; van Ommering 2014), Northern Ireland (Barton and McCully 2010, 2005; Kitson 2007), South Africa (Staeheli and Hammett 2013), and Sri Lanka (Sanchez Meertens 2013), students remain largely segregated by religious community, social class, language, geography, or ethnicity. In Northern Ireland, for instance, only around 5 percent of students attend integrated Protestant-Catholic schools (Kitson 2007); in Lebanon, three-quarters of students study in private, faith-based schools (Frayha 2004; van Ommering 2014). The degree to which segregation continues to structure the educational experiences of learners in the conflict-affected regions included in this review is striking. It is certainly questionable whether the “ideal that youth can heal social divisions” (Staeheli and Stammer 2013, 33) is best served by keeping them separated from one another, especially given Hart’s (2011) reminder that the lived experience of young people is likely to trump the intended educational experience when these two are mismatched.

CONTROVERSY, PROTEST, AND POLITICAL BACKLASH

In a number of cases, efforts to revise or reform history curricula have met with controversy, protest, or political backlash. For instance, in Guatemala (Oglesby 2007a) and in Peru (Paulson 2010a), representatives of congress and of the armed forces objected to content that acknowledged human rights violations by the state. In the Peru the use of textbooks was briefly suspended after a congresswoman claimed they amounted to an “apology for terrorism” (Paulson 2010a). Efforts to revise the history curriculum in Lebanon also have been thwarted, first by “vehement criticism from politicians” and most recently by student protests (van Ommering 2014). In BiH, formal efforts to harmonize history textbooks met with similar protests (Ahonen 2013; Freedman et al. 2004a, 20).

CONCLUSION

In her work on teaching history in Israel, Yogeve (2012, 173) writes of “teaching the past in the present tense” and of the dilemmas of an “active past.” This sense of recent conflict as active comes through not just in cases of ongoing conflict but also in situations considered to be postconflict. The causes and legacies of conflict, and family and community memories, enter classrooms and shape education as an institution. Some conceptual work on educating about recent conflict takes the implications of an active past as a starting point. For instance, Jansen’s (2009) “postconflict pedagogy” casts perpetrators of violence as “victims of their own history” and uses an “epistemology of empathy” as a starting point for educational experiences that engage with conflict. Minow (1998) and others (see Bellino 2014a) argue for an approach that engages with historical injustices and with the process of transition itself in order to create a “new story,” a “myth of the refounding” (Osiel in Bellino 2014a, 8), as the basis for a new collective memory. Papadakis (2008, 143), in contrast, sees potential in the “abandonment of the narrative form” that a social-constructivist approach enables. Here the notion of a holding onto a single moral or lesson is abandoned, freeing the future from a sense of historical determinism and leaving it open to be shaped by the political choices of young people. Bellino (2014a) recommends the development of a “historical consciousness” as the goal for history education about conflict. The teaching method would blend the critical historical practice of the disciplinary approach with the “inspired” collective memory approach, which aims to foster connectedness and social engagement.

None of these more active approaches to the past has shaped the overall experience of history education in the cases reviewed here, although researchers point to windows of opportunity, such as closer links with transitional justice processes and joint textbook initiatives. On the whole, this review finds a reliance on a traditional collective memory approach to disseminating national narratives, although this often occurs in social studies rather than history classrooms. The review shows that, in many cases, these narratives are top-down and ethno-nationalist, and they rely on devices like mythical past unity and the exceptionalism of conflict. I also find that histories of recent and ongoing conflicts are present in the educational experiences of young people, whether supported by formal curriculum or not. Taken together, these findings urge those undertaking curriculum reform to attend to recent conflicts as active and to consider approaches that will enable teachers and young people to confront this active past sensitively and meaningfully. The review findings suggest that for history education to contribute to peacebuilding and reconciliation it must engage seriously with the root causes of conflict and, crucially, with the ways they persist and are reconfigured in the present, and in students' lived experiences. The impact of wider postconflict politics and decision making—including around how education is organized and the support provided for teacher training—on curricular initiatives' potential to contribute to peacebuilding is also made clear by the research reviewed.

This review contributes to the (small but) growing EiE literature that explores curricular change in conflict-affected contexts, and highlights the need for further research and reflective practice in this area. Early EiE research has been crucial in grounding the field by exploring the links and the direction of the relationship between education and conflict. The growing recognition of the importance of education in the aftermath of conflict that EiE has succeeded in achieving also sets an agenda for research into the practice that this acknowledgement engenders. In this article, I have looked systematically at research into one element of this practice—history education about recent and ongoing conflict—in order to explore trends and highlight both potential and challenges. Similar studies of other elements of EiE practice may help to develop a fuller picture of the decision making, dilemmas, and outcomes of delivering education in conflict-affected contexts, including how EiE practice can avoid perpetuating conflict dynamics and contribute most effectively to peacebuilding and reconciliation.

APPENDIX

	Author(s)	Year	Country(ies) covered	Type of resource	Analysis						
					Approach to history education			Recent conflict in curriculum?		Approach to teaching recent conflict	Issues / Positive avenues
					Social Studies	Disciplinary	National narrative	Yes	No		
1	Ahonen	2013	Bosnia-Herzegovina Finland South Africa	Journal article				X (SA)	X (BiH)		Controversy (BiH)
2	Al-Haj	2005	Israel	Journal article				X			Segregation
3	Bar-Tal	1998	Israel	Journal article			X			Ethnic nationalist narrative; legitimization of victimhood / supremacy	Segregation
4	Barton and McCully	2010	Northern Ireland	Journal article		X			X		Segregation
5	Barton and McCully	2005	Northern Ireland	Journal article		X			X		Segregation
6	Bekerman and Zemblyas	2011	Cyprus Israel	Book							Teachers
7	Bellino	2014	Guatemala	Book chapter	X				X	Two devils; culture of violence/peace	Transitional justice Controversy Teachers
8	Buckley-Zistel	2009	Rwanda	Journal article			X		X	Top-down, 'official' narrative	
9	Feldt	2008	Israel/Palestine	Journal article					X		
10	Frayha	2004	Lebanon	Book chapter							Segregation
11	Freedman et al.	2011	Rwanda	Book chapter			X		X	Mythical unity	Teachers
12	Freedman et al.	2008	Rwanda	Journal article			X		X	Inconsistencies with historical record	FHAO Teachers
13	Freedman et al.	2004	Bosnia-Herzegovina Croatia	Book chapter	X				X		Segregation Controversy
14	Freedman et al.	2004	Rwanda	Book chapter					X	Mythical unity	
15	Gordon	2005	Israel	Journal article				X			Teachers
16	Hadjiyanni	2008	Cyprus	Book			X	X			
17	Kearney	2011	Rwanda	Book chapter						History rewritten; political expedience	Controversy
18	King	2014	Rwanda	Book	X (primary)	X (FHAO resources)	X (secondary history)	X		'Inspired' guidance; stark contrast to imposed official narrative	Teachers FHAO Controversy
19	King	2010	Rwanda	Journal article	X				X	Selective national narrative; repressive regime	

HISTORY EDUCATION ABOUT RECENT AND ONGOING CONFLICT

20	Kitson	2007	Northern Ireland	Book chapter		X		X		Teachers Segregation
21	Latif	2010	Cyprus	Journal article		X		X	Ethnic nationalist narrative; 'taken-for-grantedness'	Teachers Segregation
22	McCully	2012	Northern Ireland	Journal article		X				Teachers Segregation
23	Murphy and Gallagher	2009	Northern Ireland	Journal article		X				FHAO
24	Oglesby	2007a	Guatemala	Book chapter	X			X	Exemplary memory	Transitional justice Controversy
25	Oglesby	2007b	Guatemala	Journal article	X			X	Exemplary memory	Transitional justice
26	Paulson	2010a	Peru	Journal article	X			X	Exemplary memory	Transitional justice Controversy
27	Paulson	2010b	Peru	Book chapter	X			X	Exemplary memory	Transitional justice
28	Papadakis	2008	Cyprus	Journal article		X		X	Ethnic nationalist narrative	Teachers
29	Perera et al.	2004	Sri Lanka	Book chapter			X	X	Ethnic nationalist narrative	
30	Rohde	2013	Israel/Palestine	Book chapter						Common textbooks
31	Sanchez Meertens	2013	Sri Lanka	Journal article			X	X	Ethnic nationalist narrative	Teachers Segregation
32	Stabback	2004	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Book chapter			X		"Ethnic nationalist education"	Segregation
33	Staeheli and Hammett	2013	South Africa	Journal article	X				Apolitical, universalized history	Teachers Segregation
34	Torsti	2009	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Journal article			X		Ethnic nationalist narrative, strong in and out group identities	Segregation
35	Torsti	2007	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Journal article					'Enemy imagery' to present 'other'	
36	van Ommering	2014	Lebanon	Journal article			X	X	Ethnic narrative / othering	Teachers Segregation Controversy
37	Weinstein et al.	2007	<i>Croatia Kosovo Bosnia-Herzegovina Rwanda</i>	Journal article			X (Rwanda / BiH)		Mythical unity	
38	Weldon	2010	South Africa	Journal article				X	Values-driven, citizenship focused curriculum	Transitional justice Teachers
39	Weldon	2007	South Africa	Report						Teachers FHAO
40	Weldon	2003	Rwanda South Africa	Journal article						Teachers FHAO
41	Young	2010	Yemen	Journal article	X			X	Mythical unity state promoted narrative	
42	Yogev	2012	Israel	Journal article				X	Ethnic nationalist narrative	Teachers

NOTES: Countries in italics excluded from analysis due to (a) insufficient coverage or (b) conflict ending earlier than 1990.

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IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF SCHOOL INTERACTIONS AND STUDENT WELL-BEING: IMPACTS OF ONE YEAR OF A SCHOOL-BASED PROGRAM IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

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Improving the quality of education for millions of children worldwide has become a global priority. This study presents results from the first experimental evaluation to test the impact of a universal school-based program on (1) the quality of school interactions (i.e., students' perceptions of the level of support/care and predictability/cooperation in their school and classrooms), and (2) students' subjective well-being (i.e., peer victimization and mental health problems). The study took place in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a low-income country affected by decades of conflict. The evaluation employed a cluster-randomized trial, where the unit of randomization was clusters of two to six schools. Included in the analyses were 3,857 students in second through fourth grades, who attended sixty-three schools nested in thirty-nine clusters. After one year of partial implementation, multilevel analyses showed promising but mixed results. The program had a significant positive impact on students' perceptions of supportive and caring schools and classrooms, but a negative impact on their sense of predictability and cooperation. The program's average effect on students' subjective well-being was not statistically significant, but differential impacts were found for various subgroups of students. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of the study and future directions for research in this field.

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Education is indispensable to the development of individuals and nations (UNESCO 2014; Hanushek and Woessmann 2007; Gakidou et al. 2010; Collier and Sambanis 2002). Since Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals were adopted in the year 2000, developing countries have made unprecedented progress toward achieving universal access to education (Hanushek and Woessmann 2007; UNESCO 2014; Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007). However, greater access to education can have only limited benefits if the quality of education is poor (Wright and UNICEF 2009; Hanushek and Woessmann 2007; Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007). Improving the quality of learning environments is key to translating access to education into improved learning and life outcomes for all students (Murnane and Ganimian 2014; Wright and UNICEF 2009).

Beyond the structural and physical characteristics of schools and classrooms (e.g., class size, student-teacher ratios, teacher credentials, availability of learning materials), high-quality learning environments are characterized by social and pedagogical interactions that fulfill students' needs for autonomy, competence, and connectedness. A recent review of 115 impact evaluations of educational initiatives in low- and middle-income countries concluded that more and/or better resources (e.g., teaching materials, smaller classes, instructional time) are unlikely to improve student outcomes unless they also improve children's school experiences (UNICEF 2009; Burde et al., under review; de Jong 2010; Betancourt and Williams 2008; Mosselson, Wheaton, and Frisoli 2009; Winthrop and Kirk 2008). Social and pedagogical interactions that meet students' psychological needs help foster their overall sense of well-being, motivation to learn, and academic achievement (Kane and Staiger 2012; Deci et al. 1991; Hamre and Pianta 2005; Niemiec and Ryan 2009; Allen et al. 2013; Ahnert et al. 2012; Sakiz, Pape, and Hoy 2012; Resnick et al. 1997). Abundant research shows that high-quality social and pedagogical interactions between teachers and students, as rated by external observers and by students and teachers, are associated with better student mental health outcomes, enjoyment of school, performance in math and literacy assessments, and a higher level of effort (Hamre and Pianta 2005; Kane and Staiger 2012; Griffith 2002; Allen et al. 2013; Ahnert et al. 2012; Sakiz, Pape, and Hoy 2012; Resnick et al. 1997). Moreover, there is growing evidence to suggest that these interactions are particularly important for children at risk of maladjustment (e.g., children who displayed behavioral problems in the classroom and whose mothers have low levels of education; INEE 2010; Hamre and Pianta 2005; Griffith 2002).

Improving the quality of social and pedagogical interactions at school seems particularly important in low-income and conflict-affected countries. Schools can reach large numbers of children and youth, and can play a protective role for students who face various forms of adversity in their homes and communities (Burde et al., under review; INEE 2010; de Jong 2010; Betancourt and Williams 2008; Mosselson, Wheaton, and Frisoli 2009; Winthrop and Kirk 2008). School experiences can bring normalcy and predictability to children's lives, mitigate the negative effects that life stressors have on their mental health, and reduce the risk of future conflicts by nurturing students' life skills and reducing inequality and social divides (UNICEF 2009; Burde et al., under review; de Jong 2010; Betancourt and Williams 2008; Mosselson, Wheaton, and Frisoli 2009; Winthrop and Kirk 2008). However, schools are not always able to accomplish this.

Despite the importance of positive school experiences, strategies to improve the social and pedagogical interactions between students and teachers remain understudied in countries affected by poverty and conflict. This paper contributes to this small but growing body of literature by reporting one-year results from a cluster-randomized trial of Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom (LRHC), a program in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). LRHC is a universal school-based program aimed at improving the academic and psychosocial outcomes of children and youth by enhancing teacher motivation and well-being, and transforming the social and pedagogical interactions between students and teachers. We examine the effects of LRHC on two sets of outcomes: children's perception of the quality of school interactions, specifically the levels of support/care and predictability/cooperation in the school and classroom; and children's subjective well-being, as measured by self-reports of peer victimization and mental health problems.¹

QUALITY SCHOOL INTERACTIONS

Policy, theory, and research point to the quality of social and pedagogical interactions as key predictors of highly valued academic and lifespan outcomes. From a policy perspective, UNICEF's Child Friendly Schools model strives to create learning environments that are physically healthy and safe, and socially and emotionally supportive (UNESCO 2004; UNICEF 2009). Similarly, the 2005 "Global Monitoring Report on Quality" (Deci and Ryan 2000; UNESCO 2004; Deci et al. 1991) points to interpersonal relationships between students and

¹ See Aber et al. (preprint) and Wolf et al. (2015) for reports of the impact of LRHC on student reading and math achievement and teacher motivation and well-being.

teachers as a central aspect of the learning process. Self-determination theory argues that student-teacher and student-student interactions, which fulfill basic psychological needs for autonomy, safety, connectedness, and competency, motivate students to pursue social and academic goals and are fundamental for mental health (Hughes et al. 2008; Deci and Ryan 2000; Deci et al. 1991).

Correlational and longitudinal research from the United States lends support to these theoretical claims and policy goals. Trust, warmth, and a low level of conflict between teachers and students are associated with higher academic engagement and achievement, concurrently and over the long term (Ponitz et al. 2009; Hughes et al. 2008; Cameron et al. 2008; Reyes et al. 2012). Schools and classrooms that have predictable routines and behavioral expectations, and where students enjoy supportive relationships with their teachers and peers and engage in intellectually challenging activities, predict higher levels of motivation for learning and academic attainment (Merritt et al. 2012; Ponitz et al. 2009; NICHD 2003; Cameron et al. 2008; Wilson, Pianta, and Stuhlman 2007; Reyes et al. 2012; Suldo et al. 2009). Moreover, emotionally supportive classrooms characterized by warm and respectful interactions have been linked to a range of positive mental health outcomes, including improved social competence, life satisfaction, and behavioral self-control, as well as reduced depression, anxiety, and aggression (Merritt et al. 2012; NICHD 2003; Wilson, Pianta, and Stuhlman 2007; Suldo et al. 2009).

Additional evidence is available from experimental evaluations of school-based social and emotional learning (SEL) programs in the U.S. and other high-income countries. In addition to teaching concrete social and emotional skills (e.g., self-awareness, managing emotions, responsible decision making), many SEL programs are built on the premise that establishing a safe, orderly, and emotionally supportive learning environment leads to improved student psychosocial and academic outcomes (Hanushek and Woessmann 2007; Hagelskamp et al. 2013; Gakidou et al. 2010; Jones et al. 2010; Collier and Sambanis 2002; Aber et al. 2011). A recent meta-analysis of over 200 SEL programs shows that SEL is a viable and effective approach to improving student outcomes (Durlak et al. 2011).

Despite accumulating evidence from high-income countries, no experimental studies have been conducted in extremely poor and conflict-affected countries to examine whether universal school-based programs can improve the quality of classroom and school interactions, as well as students' well-being and academic performance. A small number of non-experimental studies show promising results. An observational study of the Nueva Escuela Unitaria program in

postconflict Guatemala found positive changes in classroom practices and student behavior (de Baessa, Chesterfield, and Ramos 2002). The program promoted parental involvement and teachers' use of active learning strategies (e.g., small-group activities, peer teaching, use of self-instructional guides), and led workshops where teachers reflected on their experiences as learners and teachers, developed pedagogical materials, and formed teacher circles to support each other in implementing the program. Another study of the USAID-funded Education Reform Program in Egypt found a modest positive shift in classroom instructional practices (Megahed et al. 2008). The program relied on a cascade model (i.e., experts lead workshops so trainers can learn the skills they need to train others), emphasized active learning strategies, and included observation and monitoring of classroom practices. To advance the focus of global educational policy from education access to education quality, more research is critically needed on programs in poor and conflict-affected countries that simultaneously address students' learning opportunities and psychosocial well-being.

STUDENT SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

PEER VICTIMIZATION

It is well established that peer relationships play a pivotal role in children's psychosocial and academic trajectories (Buhs, Ladd, and Herald 2006). Peer victimization, or being the target of aggressive behavior from other children, has immediate and long-term effects on psychosocial maladjustment, including increased depression, anxiety, feelings of loneliness, and negative self-concept (Hawker and Boulton 2000; Troop-Gordon et al. 2014; Schwartz et al. 2014; Holt, Finkelhor, and Kantor 2007). Research that examines peer victimization in low-income and conflict-affected countries is limited. However, a study that used data from sixteen low- and middle-income countries (Fleming and Jacobsen 2010) coincides with years of research from high-income countries. In these countries, peer victimization was consistently associated with an increased risk of experiencing depressive symptoms, such as sadness, loneliness, sleeplessness, and suicidal ideation, and with an elevated risk of engaging in poor health behaviors, such as alcohol and tobacco use. Similar results were found in a study with over a thousand children in poor, urban South Africa (Cluver, Bowes, and Gardner 2010), and in a study with Zambian adolescents, which also found a significant relationship between peer victimization and school absenteeism (Siziya, Rudatsikira, and Muula 2012).

Research is less conclusive about the role that positive peer relations play in poor countries affected by conflict. A systematic review of studies on the resilience and mental health outcomes of children affected by armed conflict found that having peer support was associated with lower levels of depression in some studies, but unrelated to depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and overall psychological well-being in others (Tol, Song, and Jordans 2013). Positive peer relationships may not compensate for the negative effects of stressors experienced outside of school, but peer victimization may magnify them. Studies in high- and middle-income countries show that peer victimization can do lasting damage to children's mental health (Schwartz et al. 2014; Troop-Gordon et al. 2014; Cluver, Bowes, and Gardner 2010), and may prevent victims from accessing other protective resources offered by their school because they increase school disengagement and avoidance (Buhs, Ladd, and Herald 2006; Ripski and Gregory 2009).

Given the dearth of research addressing peer victimization in low-income countries affected by conflict, this paper examines the impact of a universal school-based program on Congolese children's self-reports of victimization. The goal is to expand our understanding of school-based strategies that may help reduce the number of stressors in these children's daily lives.

MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS

Mental health problems affect 10-20 percent of children and youth worldwide (Kieling et al. 2011). In resource-poor countries affected by conflict, millions of children endure extreme adversity that puts them at a higher risk of developing mental health problems relative to children in other countries (Tol et al. 2011; Tol et al. 2012). In the vast majority of cases, the mental health needs of children living in the most difficult circumstances are not being addressed (Omigbodun 2008). In low- and middle-income countries, for example, it is estimated that over 70 percent of mental health problems go untreated (Betancourt et al. 2012).

From a psychosocial perspective, mental health problems among conflict-affected populations are not only the direct result of exposure to war-related traumatic events, but also the indirect result of increased stressors in their daily life (Tol, Song, and Jordans 2013; Macksoud and Aber 1996). In addition to exposing children to violence, threatened security, and forced displacement, armed conflict disrupts family structure and functioning, deteriorates social networks, and exacerbates existing socioeconomic hardship (Miller 2010; Reed et al. 2012).

Only a handful of randomized control trials conducted in low-income and conflict-affected countries have shown promise in addressing children's psychosocial and mental health needs through school-based programs. The three studies most relevant to this paper were conducted in conflict-affected regions of Nepal, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka, where authors found mixed results from a secondary prevention program involving trauma-processing activities, cooperative play, creative expression, and cognitive behavioral therapy. The Nepali evaluation used a sample of eight schools and did not find significant main effects, but it did find beneficial effects for subgroups of children in terms of psychological difficulties, aggression, prosocial behavior, and sense of hope (Jordans et al. 2010). The Indonesian trial, in which fourteen schools were randomized to treatment versus control conditions, found positive effects on children's PTSD symptoms and sense of hope, but not on stress-related physical symptoms, depression, anxiety, or functional impairment (Tol et al. 2008). Similar results were found in a cluster-randomized trial of a comparable program in Sri Lanka. In that case, however, harmful effects were found for girls' PTSD symptoms (Tol et al. 2012).

In spite of emerging research, the current body of evidence on effective practices to promote mental health in low-income and conflict-affected contexts remains limited and inconclusive. Moreover, no studies have been conducted that test the potentially positive impact of universal programs that have a combined focus on student well-being and academic curricula. School-based programs to improve mental health that are fully integrated with the academic curricula are more likely to be scalable and sustainable, particularly in resource-constrained settings. This paper examines the impacts of one such integrated program on Congolese children's mental health outcomes.

CURRENT PAPER

This paper examines the impacts of one year of partial implementation of Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom on the quality of school interactions, namely, students' perceptions of (a) supportive/caring and (b) cooperative/predictable schools and classrooms, and on students' subjective well-being, namely, (c) mental health problems and (d) victimization. We hypothesized that there would be a positive impact on both sets of outcomes, but expected a stronger impact on the quality of school interactions than on student well-being. The reason for this is that the program was designed to first transform the quality of social and instructional interactions so it could then influence student well-being. We also explored the heterogeneity of treatment impacts as a function of select characteristics of schools (i.e., baseline scores of outcomes) and children (i.e., gender, grade, language minority status).

SETTING

The DRC, the second largest country on the African continent, ranks next to last in the world on the human development index, an indicator of well-being that combines measures of life expectancy, educational attainment, and income.² In addition to dramatically low levels of social and economic development, the DRC has experienced ongoing political and social instability for the past four decades and thus ranks in the bottom ten countries on the Global Peace Index (Institute for Economics and Peace 2014).

Due to limited resources, widespread corruption, and ongoing violent conflict, education in the DRC has been severely underfunded and underdeveloped (UNICEF 2013). In the 1980s, when the Congolese education system was considered one of the premier systems in sub-Saharan Africa, the government dedicated 25 percent of its budget to education. By contrast, between 1990 and 2000, the Ministry of Primary, Secondary, and Professional Education (MEPSP) received a mere 1 percent of the national budget. Education expenditures in 2010 (just before this study began) amounted to 2.5 percent of the GDP, whereas they were twice as much in neighboring Rwanda, Burundi, and the Republic of the Congo.³ Due to insufficient public funding, household resources largely sustain the DRC education system, and teacher salaries are among the lowest in sub-Saharan

2 See <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>.

3 See <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>.

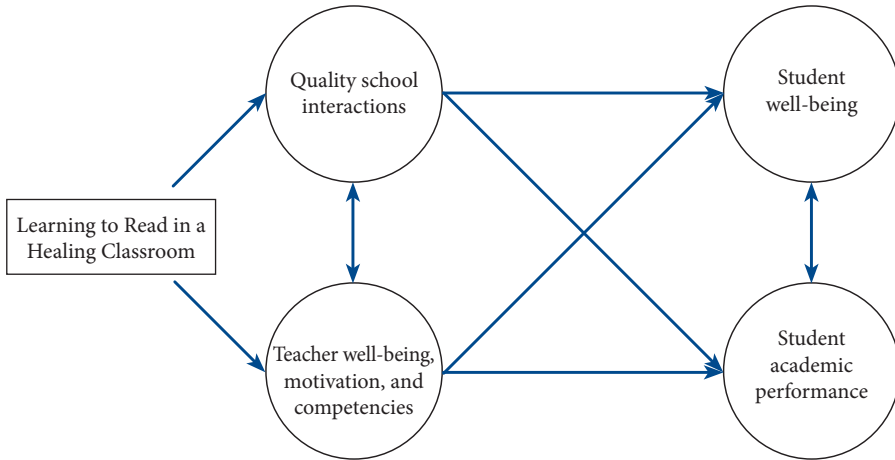
Africa. Teachers living in poor and disadvantaged communities are often unable to lift themselves above the poverty line, and thus they are likely to seek additional jobs or relocate to communities with more resources (UNESCO 2014). The loss of good teachers contributes to keeping the most disadvantaged communities at the bottom by reducing access to quality education, which is reflected in students' academic performance. Our baseline results for this study showed that 91 percent of children in the second to fourth grade were unable to answer a single reading comprehension question correctly on a test designed specifically for use in low- and middle-income countries (Torrente et al. 2011).

THE PROGRAM: LEARNING TO READ IN A HEALING CLASSROOM

To improve the quality of education for Congolese children and youth, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), in partnership with the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and in collaboration with the Democratic Republic of the Congo's MEPSB, mounted a systematic initiative known as Opportunities for Equitable Access to Quality Basic Education (OPEQ). The OPEQ initiative consisted of four elements: informing in-service teacher-training policy and systems on the national level; an in-service teacher professional development program; community mobilization and engagement activities, including providing small grants to support school-improvement plans; and provision of alternative education and vocational training opportunities for out-of-school youth.

Except for the teacher professional development program, these elements were implemented in all participating schools and communities in the program's first year (2011-2012), and were therefore not experimentally evaluated. The teacher professional development program was the only element implemented with an experimental wait-list control design. It aimed to enhance teachers' motivation and performance, and to promote student well-being and academic learning (see the program's Theory of Change, figure 1). It consisted of two main components: (1) integrated teacher resource materials and (2) collaborative school-based Teacher Learning Circles. We describe each of these components below.

Figure 1: Theory of Change for Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom



INTEGRATED RESOURCE MATERIALS

The IRC developed materials for Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom and Learning Math in a Healing Classroom. In year one of the program, teachers in the treatment condition were trained on and received only LRHC materials. These materials integrate the IRC’s Healing Classrooms strategies to create student-centered, safe, predictable, and emotionally supportive learning environments, with scaffolded pedagogical content and practices to improve French reading instruction. The IRC’s strategies are based on thirty years of work in conflict, postconflict, and crisis-affected countries, as well as four years of field testing in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea (Kirk and Winthrop 2008; Winthrop and Kirk 2008; Kirk and Winthrop 2007). They include addressing students by name, using positive discipline and avoiding corporal punishment, establishing and following a regular classroom schedule, encouraging students to express themselves in French or their home language, using small-group activities to encourage peer interactions, making connections between academic content and students’ lives, asking open-ended questions, and employing multiple methods to promote student participation (e.g., turn to a partner, class voting, writing on a personal chalkboard, etc.). These strategies aim to equip teachers with pedagogical content knowledge and pedagogical skills that respond to children’s social and emotional needs, thus improving the quality of the learning environment while teaching French reading skills.

The integrated resource materials were developed in collaboration with the MEPSP curriculum experts and included a “Teacher Guide” and a “Model Lesson Plan Bank” for all six primary school grades. The “Teacher Guide” maps the content of foundational reading, writing, and social and emotional well-being. The “Model Lesson Plan Bank” is a guided tool that supports teachers throughout the school year to teach model reading and writing lessons that support students’ social and emotional well-being, and to create their own lesson plans. Integrated instructional materials were the main tools for teacher professional development.

TEACHER LEARNING CIRCLES

All teachers participated in an intensive LRHC initial training, and subsequently took part in continuous, long-term in-service training, which used a teacher professional development approach known as Teacher Learning Circles (TLCs). TLCs are rooted in the MEPSP’s *Cellule de Base de formation et encadrement* (Basic Unit for training and coaching), a practice that started in 1984 under the National Service for Teacher Training and has evolved over time to include a series of nested TLCs called *Forums d’Echange Pédagogique* (Pedagogical Exchange Forums). The TLCs included weekly grade-level meetings led by teachers, monthly school-level meetings led by school directors, and quarterly school cluster meetings led by cluster coordinators or master teacher trainers.⁴

TLCs were designed to give teachers the opportunity to exchange information, collaborate, solve problems, and support and motivate one another in learning and implementing the new strategies, while also nurturing collegiality and an increased sense of professional self-worth (Frisoli 2014; IRC 2010). Learning circles were expected to facilitate ongoing training and coaching, and provide context-specific feedback from peers, school directors, and master teacher trainers. According to the program’s Theory of Change (see figure 1), participation in TLCs was hypothesized to increase teachers’ motivation and improve the social and pedagogical processes that occur in the classroom (Emerson et al. 2010; Frazier 2009; Gaible and Burns 2005). These changes were in turn expected to drive improvements in students’ well-being and academic performance.

⁴ School cluster meetings are a regrouping of primary school teachers from a group of official schools in geographic proximity. Schools are usually grouped in clusters of two to six schools.

TRAINING AND IMPLEMENTATION

OPEQ relied on a multilayered model to train school inspectors, school directors, and teachers. The program’s original rollout plan consisted of a six-day training for master teacher trainers—who were typically school directors, inspectors, or experienced teachers—on the teacher resource materials for Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom and Learning Math in a Healing Classroom, and in how to assess students’ learning outcomes and implement the TLCs. This training was to be completed by July 2011, after which master teacher trainers would train teachers at an initial workshop at the school-cluster level in August-September 2011, and provide ongoing coaching and support to teachers and school directors throughout the 2011-2012 academic year. Teachers were expected to organize weekly TLCs with their peers at the same grade level to practice and support each other in the implementation of the program, and they were expected to engage in their own professional development. School directors were expected to organize monthly TLC meetings with all teachers to provide coaching on the instructional practices.

What actually happened, due to delays in finalizing and producing training materials, is that only the LRHC curriculum was rolled out according to plan. The math resources were not ready until March 2012, so teacher training on Learning Math in a Healing Classroom was postponed until the 2012-2013 academic year. Moreover, reports from the field indicated that the TLCs were not being implemented according to the timeline, with the intended intensity, or in the manner planned. Therefore, in the first half of 2012, teachers, school directors, and master trainers received additional training on how to conduct TLCs. This paper therefore examines the impact of a partial implementation of LRHC during the 2011-2012 academic year.

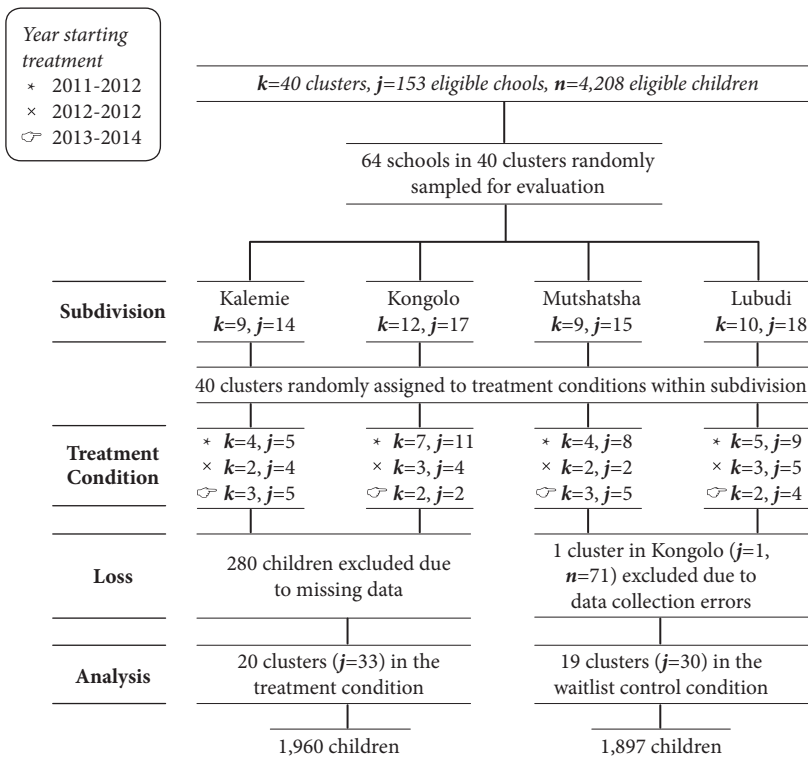
METHODS

RESEARCH DESIGN

The design of the current study is summarized in figure 2 and described in detail below. The data used are from the first and second waves of a multiyear evaluation of LRHC in the eastern DRC. The evaluation employed a cluster-randomized trial with a wait-list control design, whereby clusters of two to six schools—rather than individual schools, students, or teachers—were the unit of randomization. The use of a cluster-randomized design was driven by the intervention delivery

strategy, whereby schools in geographic proximity to each other were served by the same master teacher trainer. These schools’ teachers and directors also met quarterly as a cluster for ongoing teacher professional development. In the spring of 2011, public lotteries were conducted in Katanga, a southeastern province of the DRC, to randomize clusters that would start the program in three successive academic years: 2011-2012, 2012-2013, and 2013-2014. Lotteries were carried out independently in four Katanga educational subdivisions: Kalemie, Kongolo, Mutshatsha, and Lubudi. This paper compares clusters that received the program in 2011-2012 to clusters that had not yet received the program (i.e., clusters assigned to begin receiving the program in 2012-2013 or 2013-2014).

Figure 2: Analytic Sample Flow Diagram



SCHOOL SAMPLE

A total of 153 schools in four educational subdivisions in Katanga were targeted to receive the program in the first year of the project. The eligible schools had at least four classrooms and 120 students and were officially registered, located in close proximity to other schools (i.e., ~10 KM or one hour walking), in a secure zone (e.g., no movement of armed groups), accessible by motorbike, and presumably not receiving similar support from other private, local, or international agencies. The schools were organized in forty school clusters of two to six schools, based on geographical proximity.

The evaluation randomly selected a sample of 64 schools out of 153 to participate in data collection. Given unequal cluster sizes, one school was selected from clusters that contained three schools or less, and two schools were selected from clusters containing more than three schools. A consent letter approved by the university's Institutional Review Board and the DRC's MEPSP was sent to all school directors in the evaluation sample. The letter described the evaluation's goals and procedures, emphasized that participation was completely voluntary, and noted that a refusal to participate would not have any negative consequences. After school directors had consented, the IRC team posted flyers at the school to advertise the study and held a meeting with school directors and teachers to go over the study's goals and procedures and to answer questions.

All the schools agreed to participate in the evaluation. However, one was excluded from the analysis due to a research management error that led to unreliable data for that school. Thus, the effective sample for this study includes sixty-three schools nested in thirty-nine clusters. Twenty clusters ($j = 33$ schools) were assigned to receive the program in 2011, and nineteen clusters ($j = 30$ schools) were assigned to one- and two-year wait-list control conditions (see figure 2). The excluded school was in the wait-list control condition. In 2011 (baseline year), sample schools had an average of 389.75 students ($SD = 234.97$; min. 82, max. 1,130) and 8.03 classrooms ($SD = 2.98$; min. 5, max. 16). The majority of schools were Protestant (34.4 percent) or Catholic (31.3 percent); other religious affiliations included Orthodox (9.4 percent), Kimbanguiste (3.1 percent), and Muslim (1.6 percent). On average, 71.58 percent of the teachers were male, as were nearly all school principals (93.7 percent).

STUDENT SAMPLE

Students in the second, third, and fourth grades were randomly selected by field research staff from school rosters to participate in the evaluation. Before data collection, the field research team informed parent-teacher associations and school management about the study, and posted flyers asking primary caregivers to tell the school if they did not want their children to participate. All selected students gave their verbal assent to participate, and no parents or guardians refused. The target sample size per school was eighty-one students (i.e., twenty-seven per grade), but the actual sample sizes varied substantially. In the second year, a minimum of thirty and a maximum of eighty-one students per school were assessed in the sixty-three sample schools. Data were collected on a total of 4,208 students; however, 6.7 percent ($n = 280$) of those students were missing gender data, and 1.7 percent ($n = 71$) had unreliable data. These students ($n = 351$) were excluded from all analyses. To determine if gender was differentially missing by treatment condition, we fitted a multilevel logistical regression in which gender missingness (i.e., missing data) was predicted by treatment. We found no evidence to suggest differential missingness across treatment conditions. Furthermore, we found no significant gender differences at baseline (2011) for each of the four outcomes examined in this study. These findings suggest that missingness does not pose a threat to the study's internal validity.

The effective sample for this study consists of 3,857 students (48 percent female, mean age 10.3, $SD = 2.1$), evenly distributed across grades two through four (35.8 percent grade 2, 32.7 percent grade 3, and 31.5 percent grade 4). The majority of students spoke Swahili as their mother tongue (84.8 percent), but there was substantial language diversity (Kisanga, 5.4 percent; Kibemba, 5.1 percent; Kiluba, 2 percent; French, 0.7 percent; other languages, 2 percent). Students were distributed across subdivisions, as follows: 20.7 percent in Kalemie, 24.1 percent in Kongolo, 25.4 percent in Mutshatsha, and 29.8 percent in Lubudi.

Due to a high level of student mobility, the lack of an official education management information system with unique child identifiers, and difficulty in using students' names as reliable identifiers, we were unable to track students over time. Therefore, the outcome scores of students assessed in the first wave were aggregated to the school level to adjust for schools' baseline characteristics.

MEASURES

Measures used in this paper were developed using questions from previously validated surveys, such as the American Institutes for Research Conditions for Learning survey (UNICEF 2009; Godfrey et al. 2012) and the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman 1997), as well as questions written by the authors to capture key aspects of the program (i.e., classroom predictability and cooperation). Some of the measures had been widely used in low- and middle-income African countries, but others were being used in that context for the first time. The measures were translated and back translated from English to French (the official language of instruction), and subsequently translated into Swahili and Kibemba to improve comprehension. The measures were piloted, refined, and shortened before and after baseline data collection using factor analysis and internal reliability techniques. The four outcome measures used in this study were based on theoretical considerations and results from factor analyses, which suggest four internally coherent and empirically distinct latent factors: supportive and caring schools and teachers, predictable and cooperative learning environments, victimization, and mental health problems (details available upon request). Internal reliabilities for the four outcome measures were consistent across all grade levels.

Local data collectors trained by the IRC administered all measures verbally and chose whether to administer the surveys in French, Swahili, or Kibemba, depending on each child's language ability.

QUALITY SCHOOL INTERACTIONS

SUPPORTIVE SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

Students' perceptions of support were assessed using seventeen items from two previously validated measures, which asked students about how welcome, included, intellectually engaged, and emotionally supported they felt at school. Fourteen items were drawn from two subscales of the Conditions for Learning Survey (UNICEF 2009): (1) Safe, Inclusive, and Respectful Climate, and (2) Challenging Student-Centered Learning Environment. The first subscale measured students' perceptions of the support and care they received from teachers, and the extent to which students felt welcomed, respected, and safe at school (e.g., "Your teachers treat you with respect," "Teachers at your school are interested in what students like you have to say," "The school is a welcoming place

for children from families like yours”). The second subscale measured whether students felt encouraged to actively engage in the learning process and found lessons intellectually stimulating (e.g., “Every student is encouraged to participate in class discussion,” “Teachers at this school expect students like me to succeed in life,” “The subjects we are studying at this school are interesting”). The remaining three items came from the Relationship with Teacher questionnaire (Blankemeyer, Flannery, and Vazsonyi 2002). The measure assessed students’ perceptions of support from teachers and included the following items: “My teacher gives me help whenever I need it,” “My teacher always tries to be fair,” and “My teacher notices good things I do.” For all items, children indicated how true or untrue the items were, using a four-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (completely false) to 3 (completely true). A single score was obtained by averaging all the items ($\alpha = .91$).

PREDICTABLE AND COOPERATIVE LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Students’ perceptions of predictability and cooperation were measured with ten items developed by the authors. The items assessed children’s knowledge of their school routines (i.e., “Do you know what time you have reading lessons/math lessons?”), the extent to which teachers encouraged cooperation (i.e., Your teacher “recognizes and praises students when they work together,” “helps students work together,” “shows students how to share books”), and whether peers were supportive and shared activities and materials with each other (i.e., Your classmates and you “help each other learn,” “work together to solve problems,” “work together to learn how to read/learn math,” “share books without fighting”). Students used a four-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (never) to 3 (always). All items were averaged to create a single score ($\alpha = .86$).

STUDENT WELL-BEING

VICTIMIZATION

Five items adapted from the Aggression, Victimization, and Social Skills Scale (Orpinas and Frankowski 2001) were used to measure students’ relational and physical victimization (e.g., “A kid from school pushed, shoved, or hit you,” “A kid from school called you a bad name,” “A student made something up so kids wouldn’t like you”). Children answered using a four-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (never) to 3 (numerous times). All items were averaged to form a single score ($\alpha = .83$).

MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS

Students' mental health problems were measured with twelve items from three subscales of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman 1997): Conduct Problems (e.g., "You get in many fights with other children," "You get angry and yell at people"), Hyperactivity (e.g., "It is difficult for you to sit quietly for a long time," "It is difficult for you to concentrate"), and Emotional Symptoms (e.g., "You worry a lot," "You feel nervous in situations that are new"). Children rated the frequency of these occurrences on a four-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (never) to 3 (numerous times). All items were averaged to form a single score ($\alpha = .84$).

COVARIATES

We measured several other variables that were included both as covariates and as potential moderators of program impacts. Child variables included gender (0 = girl, 1 = boy), grade (second to fourth), and language. A language minority indicator was computed based on whether or not a child's primary language differed from the majority language spoken at that child's school (0 = not a language minority, 1 = language minority). In most schools, the majority language was Swahili (90 percent); the other majority languages were Kibemba (8 percent) and Kisanga (2 percent). School-level variables included the 2010-2011 baseline mean scores for the four primary outcomes noted above (e.g., baseline victimization mean for each school). In order to account for variation in conditions and outcomes across regions, and in the size of the unit of randomization (clusters of schools), cluster-level covariates included four dummy indicators for the four Katanga subdivisions and a dummy indicator of cluster size (0 = cluster with one school sampled, 1 = cluster with two schools sampled).

ANALYSES

Multilevel modeling was used to account for the nested structure of the data (i.e., students nested within schools and schools within clusters). Unconditional models with no predictors were fitted first to estimate intra-class correlations, or the proportion of variance in the outcomes attributable to students, schools, and clusters. Next, three-level models were fitted to estimate the main program impacts on each of the four outcomes. Cross-level interactions between treatment status (at level 3) and student or school characteristics (at levels 1 and 2, respectively) were

subsequently added to test for potential moderation effects. Additionally, student, school, and cluster characteristics were included as covariates in all models. All analyses were performed in Stata (version 13.0). Our main model is as follows:

Level 1 (student-level) Model:

$$Y_{ijk} = B_{0jk} + B_{1jk}'X_{ijk} + e_{ijk}$$

Where X_{ijk} is the vector of child covariates (gender, grade, and language).

Level 2 (school-level) Model:

$$B_{0jk} = \gamma_{00k} + \gamma_{01k}W_{jk} + u_{0jk}$$

Where B_{0jk} is the child-level random intercept and W_{jk} is the school baseline mean score.

Level 3 (cluster-level) Model:

$$\gamma_{00k} = \pi_{000} + \pi_{001}T_k + \pi_{002}'Z_k + v_{00k}$$

Where γ_{00k} is the school-level random intercept, Z_k is the vector of cluster-level covariates (subdivision dummies, dummy variable for clusters containing two schools), and T_k is the treatment status assigned to the cluster.

Because thirty-nine clusters (and not schools or students) were the unit of analysis, we had low power to detect statistically significant effects. Therefore, we report findings with significance at $p < .10$. Adequacy of model fit was assessed with deviance statistics using the χ^2 distribution.

RESULTS

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations among the four outcomes, and for each of the two waves, are shown in table 1, separately for child-level (top panel) and school-level variables (bottom panel). As expected, at the child level and in both waves, students' perceptions of supportive schools and teachers were significantly correlated with lower levels of victimization and mental health problems; higher levels of victimization were correlated with higher

levels of mental health problems. Furthermore, in 2010-2011 (baseline year), more predictable and cooperative contexts were positively correlated with more supportive schools and teachers, and negatively correlated with victimization and mental health problems. However, contrary to our expectations, in 2011-2012 (the follow-up wave), more predictable and cooperative contexts were not significantly correlated with supportive schools and teachers, and were positively correlated with victimization and mental health problems. The school level shows the same overall pattern of results.

Table 1: Bivariate Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Child- and School-Level Variables

Child-Level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1 Supportive schools and teachers		0.02	-0.30	-0.43	0.12	-0.01	0.02	0.03	3,852	2.41	0.52
2 Predictable and cooperative contexts	<i>0.31</i>		0.08	0.05	-0.07	0.04	0.07	0.00	3,816	1.42	0.70
3 Victimization	<i>-0.18</i>	<i>-0.12</i>		0.52	0.00	-0.02	-0.03	0.00	3,853	0.86	0.77
4 Mental health problems	<i>-0.30</i>	<i>-0.21</i>	0.39		-0.05	0.02	-0.03	0.03	3,852	0.96	0.64
5 Treatment	<i>0.07</i>	<i>0.13</i>	0.00	-0.14		-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	3,857	0.51	0.50
6 Gender (boy = 1)	-0.04	-0.03	0.06	0.04	-0.03		0.04	0.03	3,857	0.52	0.50
7 Grade	0.01	0.08	-0.07	-0.08	-0.01	0.04		0.03	3,857	2.96	0.82
8 Language Minority	-0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.05	-0.01	0.01	0.00		3,857	0.14	0.34
<i>N</i>	752	752	750	749	753	700	737	753			
<i>M</i>	3.24	1.81	0.96	2.16	0.51	0.54	3.00	0.29			
<i>SD</i>	0.47	0.65	0.71	0.62	0.50	0.50	0.81	0.45			
School-Level Average	9	10	11	12	<i>J</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>				
9 Supportive schools and teachers		-0.19	-0.60	-0.70	63	2.39	0.29				
10 Predictable and cooperative contexts	<i>0.35</i>		0.03	0.19	63	1.42	0.23				
11 Victimization	<i>-0.37</i>	<i>-0.27</i>		0.83	63	0.90	0.37				
12 Mental health problems	<i>-0.53</i>	<i>-0.36</i>	0.50		63	0.99	0.38				
<i>J</i>	63	63	63	63							
<i>M</i>	3.25	1.82	0.96	2.17							
<i>SD</i>	0.26	0.40	0.33	0.41							

NOTE: Correlations below the diagonals and descriptive statistics as rows are for baseline (2010-2011) data; correlations above the diagonals and descriptive statistics as columns are for first wave (2011-2012) data. Italicized values indicate correlations at $p < .10$.

CHARACTERISTICS AT BASELINE

To examine whether the treatment and wait-list control groups were equivalent at baseline, we fitted three-level multilevel models in which treatment served as predictor for each of the four outcomes (at baseline). Results showed that treatment condition was not significantly associated with the quality of learning environments, as measured by students' perceptions of supportive schools and teachers ($b = .07$, $p = .127$) and predictable and cooperative contexts ($b = .14$, $p = .194$), nor with students' reports of peer victimization ($b = -.02$, $p = .814$). However, we found a significant association with students' reports of mental health problems. At baseline, students in the wait-list control condition reported significantly lower levels of mental health problems than students in the treatment condition ($b = -.23$, $p < .05$). Our impact analyses include school baseline scores for each of the outcomes to adjust for a lack of baseline equivalence between conditions.

DISTRIBUTION OF VARIANCE

Unconditional models show that the majority of variance in the four outcomes can be attributed to differences between students (see table 2). Nevertheless, a significant amount of variance can be attributed to differences between clusters, with the exception of variance in predictable and cooperative contexts. Specifically, clusters accounted for nearly one-fourth of the variance in students' perceptions of support from school and teachers, over one-third of the variance in mental health problems, and about one-fifth of the variance in reports of victimization.

Table 2: Variance Components and Intra-Class Correlations

	Supportive Schools and Teachers	Predictable and Cooperative Contexts	Victimization	Mental Health Problems
Variance Components				
Between-child	<i>0.19</i>	<i>0.44</i>	<i>0.47</i>	<i>0.26</i>
Between-school	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01
Between-cluster	<i>0.07</i>	0.04	<i>0.11</i>	<i>0.14</i>
Percentage of Variance				
Between-child	<i>70.07%</i>	<i>90.95%</i>	<i>78.19%</i>	<i>63.53%</i>
Between-school	6.08%	1.85%	2.57%	1.41%
Between-cluster	<i>23.85%</i>	<i>7.20%</i>	<i>19.24%</i>	<i>35.06%</i>

NOTE: Variance components and intra-class correlations are based on 63 schools and 39 clusters. Italicized values indicate variances significantly different from zero at $p < .05$.

IMPACTS ON THE QUALITY OF SCHOOL INTERACTIONS

SUPPORTIVE SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

The program had a significant positive main effect on students’ perceived support from schools and teachers (see table 3, column 1). Students in clusters assigned to the treatment condition perceived their schools and teachers to be more supportive than students in the control condition ($b = .11$, $p = .01$, $d_{WT} = 0.22^5$). Moderation analyses showed that these effects did not vary as a function

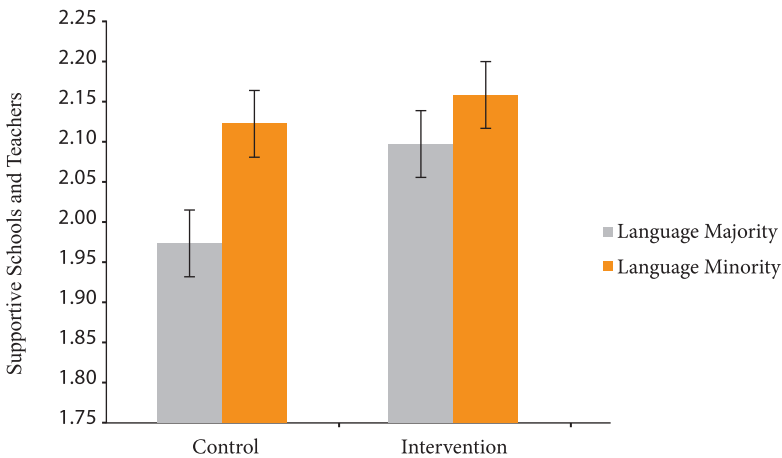
5 Note that dWT represents a standardized mean difference between treatment and control clusters. This was calculated with the following equation from Hedges (2009)

$$d_{WT} = \frac{b}{\sqrt{\hat{\sigma}_{BS}^2 + \hat{\sigma}_{BC}^2 + \hat{\sigma}_{WC}^2}}$$

where b represents the unstandardized regression coefficient with covariate adjustment (e.g., $b = .11$), and the three terms of the denominator represent variances at the cluster, school, and child levels, respectively, without covariate adjustment. The rationale behind covariate adjustment for the treatment effect, but not the variances, was to obtain a more precise treatment effect (i.e., adjusted), but standardized based on typical (i.e., unadjusted) variances at each level (Larry V. Hedges, professor of statistics and education and social policy, Northwestern University, personal communication, November 3, 2014). This same approach was utilized to estimate d_{WT} for this and other main effects presently reported.

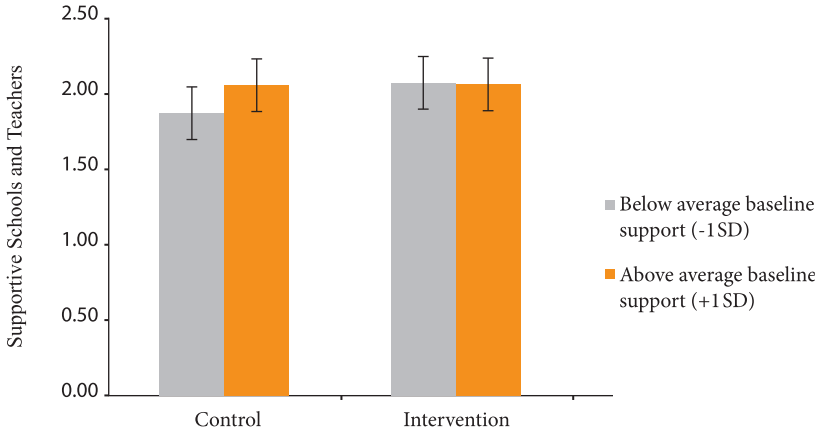
of students' gender or grade (see table 4, column 1). However, they did vary significantly as a function of students' language minority status and school baseline scores. The program improved children's perceptions of schools and teachers for language majority children ($b = .12, p < .01$) but not for language minority children ($b = .04, p = .50$) (see figure 3). Additionally, schools that started with a lower than average level of support (i.e., -1 SD) had improved scores ($b = .21, p < .01$) after one year in the treatment condition, whereas those with a higher than average level of support (i.e., +1 SD) did not change ($b = .01, p = .87$) (see figure 4). Overall, these results demonstrate that the program had a positive impact on students' perceptions of support from their schools and teachers. Furthermore, the effects were stronger for language majority students and for students in schools that were initially perceived as being less supportive than average.

Figure 3: Supportive Schools and Teachers, Treatment by Child Language Minority Moderation



NOTE: Y axis is truncated for clearer presentation.

Figure 4: Supportive Schools and Teachers, Treatment by School Baseline Moderation



NOTE: Y axis is truncated for clearer presentation. Graphed at one standard deviation below and above the baseline mean.

PREDICTABLE AND COOPERATIVE CONTEXTS

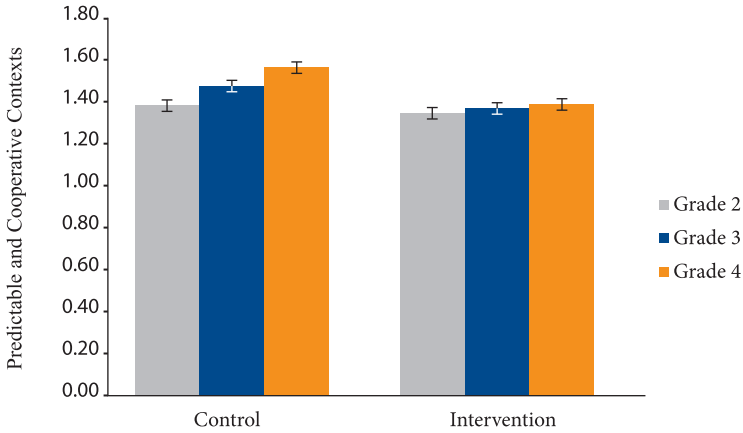
Contrary to our expectations, treatment showed a significant negative main effect on the predictable and cooperative contexts outcome (see table 3, column 2). Students in treatment clusters perceived lower levels of cooperation and predictability than students in control clusters ($b = -.11, p = .09, d_{WT} = -0.15$). Moderation analyses showed that child gender, language minority status, and schools’ baseline scores did not qualify this negative effect (see table 4, column 2). However, there was a significant interaction with grade (see figure 5). Second-grade students were not affected by treatment ($b = -.04, p = .58$), but third-grade ($b = -.11, p = .08$) and fourth-grade ($b = -.18, p < .01$) students showed the negative treatment effect. Thus, the program resulted in less predictable and cooperative contexts; this effect applied particularly to children in grades three and four.

Table 3: Multilevel Model Parameter Estimates for Treatment Main Effects and Covariates

Predictors	Supportive Schools and Teachers		Predictable and Cooperative Contexts		Victimization		Mental Health Problems	
Intercept	1.98 (0.07)***		1.31 (0.09)***		1.16 (0.09)***		1.35 (0.1)***	
Treatment	0.11 (0.05)**		-0.11 (0.06)*		-0.01 (0.06)		-0.06 (0.08)	
Child Covariates								
Boy	-0.01 (0.01)		0.02 (0.02)		-0.02 (0.02)		0.01 (0.02)	
Grade	0.02 (0.01)*		0.05 (0.01)***		-0.03 (0.01)**		-0.03 (0.01)***	
Language minority	0.1 (0.02)***		-0.04 (0.03)		-0.03 (0.03)		0.01 (0.03)	
School Covariates								
Baseline score	0.2 (0.11)*		0.02 (0.07)		0.01 (0.09)		0.08 (0.08)	
Cluster Covariates								
Two-school cluster	0.02 (0.05)		-0.11 (0.07)		-0.01 (0.07)		-0.07 (0.08)	
Kongolo	0.18 (0.07)***		0.18 (0.09)**		0.27 (0.09)***		0.16 (0.11)	
Mutshatsha	0.52 (0.08)***		0.09 (0.09)		-0.46 (0.09)***		-0.46 (0.11)***	
Lubudi	0.4 (0.07)***		0.07 (0.09)		-0.38 (0.09)***		-0.43 (0.12)***	
Deviance	4710.35		7811.13		8085.44		5849.52	
Variance Components								
Residual	0.192	88.55%	0.442	92.90%	0.465	93.16%	0.258	82.58%
Between-school	0.022	10.15%	0.009	1.80%	0.016	3.20%	0.007	2.17%
Between-cluster	0.003	1.30%	0.025	5.30%	0.018	3.63%	0.048	15.25%

NOTE: Standard errors shown in parentheses. Subdivision dummies (Kongolo, Mutshatsha, and Lubudi) represent geographical regions larger than the school clusters, in which a fourth subdivision (Kalemie) is used as reference group. * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Figure 5: Predictable and Cooperative Contexts, Treatment by Grade Moderation



NOTE: Y axis is truncated for clearer presentation.

IMPACTS ON STUDENT WELL-BEING

VICTIMIZATION

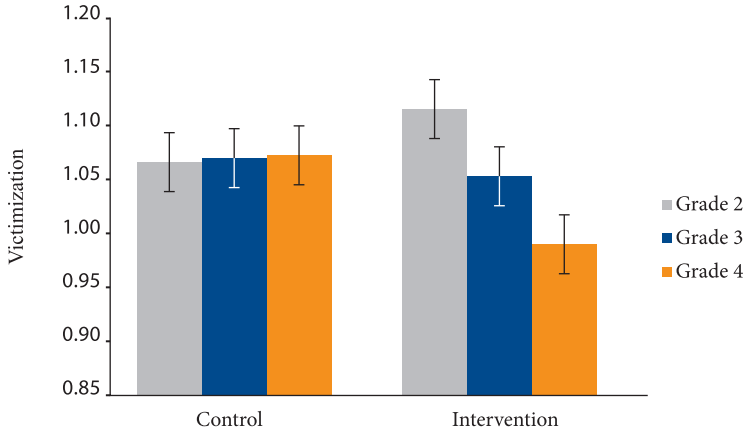
We did not find a significant main effect of treatment on students' reports of peer victimization (see table 3, column 3), but moderation analyses revealed significant variation in treatment effects as a function of students' characteristics (see table 4, column 4). School baseline victimization and student gender did not moderate the treatment effects, but student grade and language minority status did (see figures 6 and 7). Probing these interactions revealed that none of the subgroup differences was statistically significant across treatment conditions (grade 2, $b = .05$, $p = .46$; grade 3, $b = -.02$, $p = .77$; grade 4, $b = -.08$, $p = .21$; language majority, $b = -.03$, $p = .57$; language minority, $b = .12$, $p = .16$). Thus, although the significant interaction coefficient and figures 6 and 7 demonstrate nonequivalent treatment slopes based on grade and language minority status, these individual treatment effects were not significantly different from zero. Overall, the results show that the program had differential impacts on students' victimization, with higher-grade and language majority students showing non-statistically significant decreases in victimization relative to lower-grade and language minority students.

Table 4: Three Level Multi-Level Model Parameter Estimates and Standard Errors for Treatment Interaction Effects

Predictors	Supportive Schools and Teachers	Predictable and Cooperative Contexts	Victimization	Mental Health Problems
Treatment X Gender				
Intercept	1.97 (0.07)***	1.31 (0.09)***	1.15 (0.09)***	1.36 (0.1)***
Treatment	0.12 (0.05)**	-0.11 (0.07)	0 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.08)
Boy	0 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
Treatment X Gender	-0.02 (0.03)	0 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)
Deviance	4709.89	7811.13	8085.03	5848.40
Treatment X Grade				
Intercept	1.95 (0.08)***	1.21 (0.1)***	1.06 (0.1)***	1.28 (0.11)***
Treatment	0.18 (0.07)***	0.1 (0.1)	0.18 (0.1)*	0.08 (0.1)
Grade	0.03 (0.01)**	0.09 (0.02)***	0 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Treatment X Grade	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.07 (0.03)***	-0.07 (0.03)**	-0.05 (0.02)**
Deviance	4708.63	7804.19	8079.54	5844.37
Treatment X Language Minority				
Intercept	1.97 (0.07)***	1.31 (0.09)***	1.17 (0.09)***	1.36 (0.1)***
Treatment	0.12 (0.05)***	-0.1 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.08)
Language Minority	0.15 (0.03)***	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.11 (0.05)**	-0.04 (0.04)
Treatment X Language Minority	-0.08 (0.04)*	-0.04 (0.07)	0.15 (0.07)**	0.15 (0.07)**
Deviance	4706.82	7810.73	8080.48	5846.29
Treatment X School Baseline				
Intercept	1.95 (0.07)***	1.31 (0.09)***	1.17 (0.09)***	1.37 (0.1)***
Treatment	0.11 (0.04)***	-0.1 (0.06)*	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.08)
School Baseline Outcome Mean	0.39 (0.13)***	-0.08 (0.12)	0.1 (0.12)	0.12 (0.09)
Treatment X Baseline	-0.39 (0.17)**	0.14 (0.15)	-0.19 (0.16)	-0.14 (0.16)
Deviance	4705.76	7810.27	8084.14	5848.74

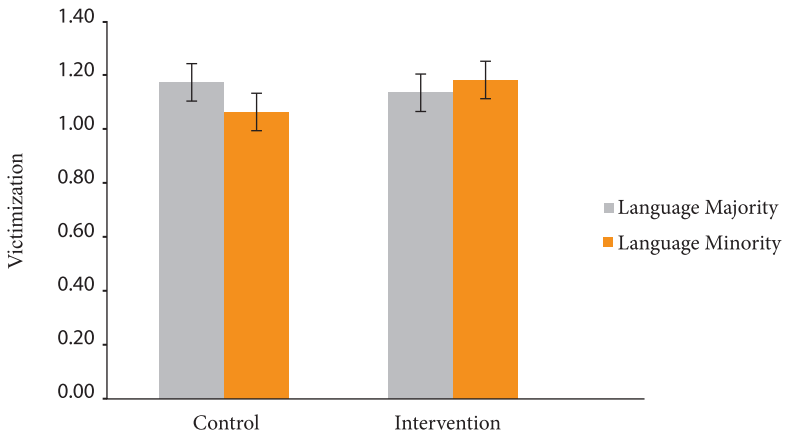
NOTE: Four separate interaction models were run for each of the four outcomes (e.g., a treatment by gender model, a treatment by grade model, etc.). The same covariates were used as described in table 3 in all above models, but parameter estimates are not presented to conserve space. *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01

Figure 6: Victimization, Treatment by Grade Moderation



NOTE: Y axis is truncated for clearer presentation.

Figure 7: Victimization, Treatment by Child Language Minority Moderation

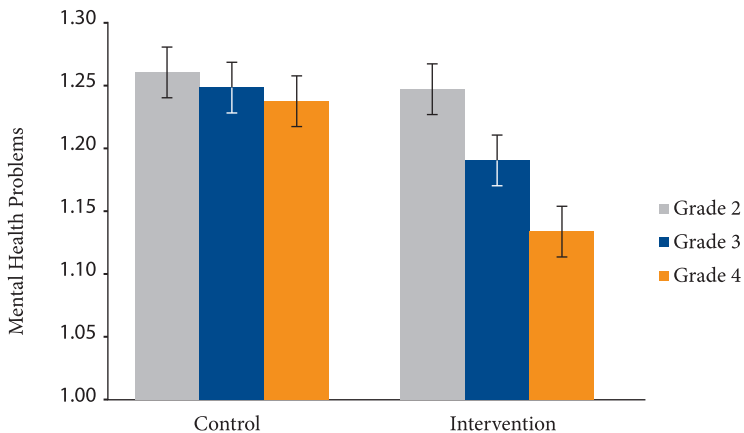


NOTE: Y axis is truncated for clearer presentation.

MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS

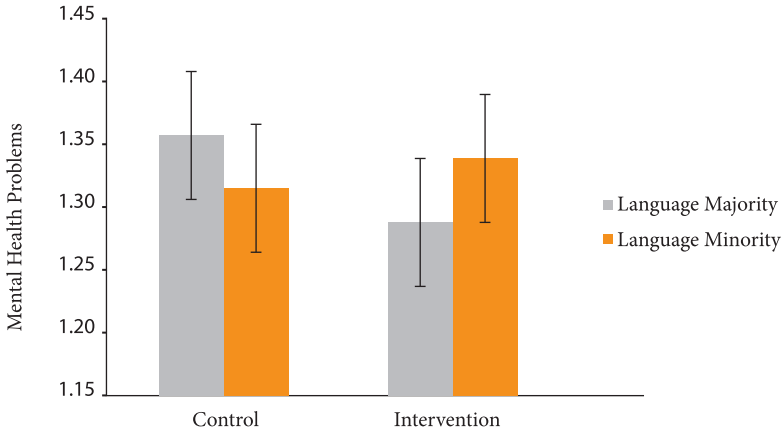
Similar to the findings for victimization, we did not find a statistically detectable main effect of the program on students' mental health problems (see table 3, column 4), and there were no differential treatment impacts as a function of school baseline levels of mental health problems or students' gender (see table 4, column 3). Moderation analyses showed that treatment impacts did vary significantly as a function of student grade and language minority status (see figures 8 and 9). However, follow-up comparisons of treatment effects within grade (grade 2, $b = -.01$, $p = .86$; grade 3, $b = -.06$, $p = .44$; grade 4, $b = -.11$, $p = .19$), and for language minority and majority students (language majority, $b = -.07$, $p = .38$; language minority, $b = .02$, $p = .79$), revealed no statistically significant differences across treatment conditions. Akin to the victimization findings, treatment impacts were not the same across grades and language minority status, but none of these treatment effects was significantly different from zero. Overall, the program had differential impacts on students' mental health problems, with higher-grade and language majority students showing decreases (though not necessarily significant) relative to lower-grade and language minority students.

Figure 8: Mental Health Problems, Treatment by Grade Moderation



NOTE: Y axis is truncated for clearer presentation.

Figure 9: Mental Health Problems, Treatment by Child Language Minority Moderation



NOTE: Y axis is truncated for clearer presentation.

DISCUSSION

This paper presents results from the first experimental evaluation of a universal school program aimed at improving teacher practices, school interactions, and student well-being and academic outcomes in the DRC, a low-income country that has endured decades of violent conflict. In this paper, we asked whether the program Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom improved two sets of outcomes: the quality of school social and pedagogical interactions, and students’ subjective well-being. Analyses after one year of partial implementation show promising but mixed results. In terms of quality school interactions, there were positive impacts on students’ perceptions of supportive schools and teachers, but negative impacts on students’ perceptions of predictability and cooperation in the school and classroom. For students’ subjective well-being, the program had no main effects, but there were significant differential effects for subgroups of students. Each of these findings is discussed in detail below.

IMPACTS ON THE QUALITY OF SCHOOL INTERACTIONS

The program had significant but mixed effects on the quality of school and classroom social and instructional interactions. After one year of partial implementation, students in the treatment condition perceived their schools and teachers to be more supportive and caring, but also less predictable and cooperative. Specifically, students in treatment schools felt more welcome, respected, and safe, and more supported by their teachers; they also experienced their classrooms as being more intellectually engaging and stimulating than students in the wait-list control condition. This finding is well aligned with IRC's intended objectives for the program, with the research team's hypotheses, and with prior research. Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom equips teachers with student-centered pedagogical techniques, such as greeting all students by name, reducing the use of corporal punishment, and encouraging classroom participation, which predict positive changes in students' subjective experience of the classroom and school contexts. We expect that, with time, such contextual and subjective changes will enhance students' well-being and ability to learn. Research from high-income countries has shown that school-based programs that integrate social and emotional learning principles—those focused on improving the interactions between students and teachers and among students—into core academic curricula improve teacher practices and the quality of learning environments (Seidman 2012; Durlak et al. 2011). Our study extends those results to low-income countries affected by conflict.

Contrary to our expectations, students in treatment schools also perceived their learning environments to be less predictable and cooperative than students in the control condition. Children in the treatment condition reported knowing less about their school activities and perceived that teachers encouraged them less to cooperate and share with their peers. Given that this was the first year of a whole-school program aimed at transforming school and classroom practices, students may have felt disoriented about their school routines and activities. This negative effect was not significant for students in second grade, which lends support to the notion that students who have spent more time in school and are presumably more accustomed to the school's routines would find the changes brought about by the program disorienting. Evidence from a qualitative case study in five treatment schools indicated that some teachers did not initially feel comfortable implementing the new instructional strategies. Teacher discomfort may have led to more hesitation and less clarity in the flow of classroom activities, which could have increased students' sense of uncertainty about their classroom routines (Frisoli 2014). The negative findings could also be due to a "sensitization

effect.” The program encouraged teachers to establish a schedule and to draw students’ attention to it. As a result, teachers and students in treatment schools may have become more aware of the schedule and developed expectations that it would be followed. Thus deviations from the schedule may have left students in treatment schools feeling more disoriented than students in control schools. On the other hand, prior research suggests that program effectiveness is likely to increase in the second year of implementation (Domitrovich et al. 2008). One of the reasons to expect this improvement is participants’ growing familiarity with the program. Therefore, we expect this negative effect to fade away as students and teachers become more familiar with LRHC. Nonetheless, if this finding is replicated in future studies, program designers should develop strategies to prevent negative impacts on students’ knowledge of their school routines, given that school-based universal programs intentionally introduce changes in school activities. This is particularly critical in contexts where schools and classrooms have the potential to provide structure and stability in the midst of otherwise unpredictable circumstances.

It remains unclear, however, why students in treatment schools would feel less encouraged to cooperate and share with their classroom peers. It may be that in classrooms with over 50 students—which are common in the DRC—whole-classroom techniques that do not require student cooperation and sharing are easier to manage and monitor than small-group collaborative techniques, and are therefore favored by teachers. Teachers equipped with better classroom management techniques as a result of the program may rely more on structured whole-classroom activities than teachers in the control condition. Overreliance on whole-classroom activities could reduce opportunities for peer cooperation. Even though we cannot test this hypothesis directly, we know that some teachers in the qualitative case study reported having difficulty with the use of small-group cooperative activities in classrooms with a large number of students, as they felt that the classroom became loud and chaotic (Frisoli 2014). Future studies should include observations of teacher practices and classroom processes to shed light on this unexpected finding.

Overall, these results provide partial support for universal school-based programs' effectiveness in transforming the quality of students' school experiences in low-income countries affected by conflict. However, the unintended consequences for students' perceptions of predictability and cooperation are a reason for concern and merit further exploration. In particular, systematic observational and qualitative methodologies are needed to unveil the processes whereby school programs, such as LRHC, may disrupt students' perceptions of predictability and cooperation in the school and classroom. Further research also can help determine whether increased familiarity with the program leads to more positive and fewer negative results.

IMPACTS ON STUDENTS' SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom attempts to transform the quality of social and instructional interactions between students and teachers in order to improve student well-being. Therefore, after one year of partial implementation, we expected the program to have a weaker impact on students' well-being than on the quality of school interactions. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, our analyses revealed no statistically detectable differences for students' victimization and mental health problems between the treatment and control conditions. Two potential explanations for these null findings are the heterogeneity of treatment impacts for subgroups of students, and the mixed impacts found for the quality of social and instructional interactions. First, our results revealed significant heterogeneity of treatment effects as a function of student characteristics, which indicates that the program did not have the same impact on all students. Subgroup differences did not reach statistical significance, but they still may have prevented our finding a statistically significant main treatment effect. Prior evaluations of secondary mental health programs in similar contexts have found heterogeneous and significantly negative impacts for subgroups of students (Jordans et al. 2010; Tol et al. 2012). Our results, and those of prior studies, indicate that programs designed to address the needs of children in these challenging circumstances need to be further refined to become more effective, or to at least avoid harming some subgroups of children. Second, we found that the program had mixed but statistically significant impacts on the quality of school interactions (i.e., positive effects on students' perceptions of supportive schools and teachers, and negative effects on predictability and cooperation). These mixed impacts may explain the mixed effects on students' well-being. For instance, it is possible that the program had negative effects among students for whom school plays an important compensatory role in terms of safety and predictability. Analyses conducted

after two years of implementation will help determine whether the differential treatment effects are sustained or attenuated once participants become more familiar with the program.

Altogether, the results indicate that, after one year of partial implementation, LRHC did not have an overall positive or negative effect on students' well-being. The findings also suggest that the program had differential impacts for different subgroups of students. These findings, however, are inconclusive and await replication.

LIMITATIONS

Although the present study has a number of strengths, it also has several important limitations that should be kept in mind. First, we relied on students' self-reports to measure the four outcomes of interest. Self-reports are subject to the bias of social desirability, depend on individuals' introspection, and do not always overlap with information gathered from other sources. However, they are a relatively inexpensive method of gathering information from large samples and, except for predictable and cooperative school environments, we were careful to adapt questions that had been previously validated with elementary school students and, when possible, with students in African countries. Moreover, students' perceptions of the school environment, their teachers, and their own sense of safety and connectedness have been linked to other important academic outcomes (Kane and Staiger 2012), and therefore it is important to examine them when evaluating a program that aims to improve children's well-being and learning opportunities.

Second, we were unable to track individual students over time. Modeling individual baseline scores would have increased our power to detect treatment impacts by reducing the amount of unexplained variance at the individual level. In addition, we could have tested whether program impacts varied as a function of individual baseline characteristics (e.g., household poverty, academic performance, etc.). Instead, we adjusted for baseline characteristics at the school level and tested treatment interactions with time-invariant student characteristics (e.g., gender and language). Third, there are potential moderators of treatment impacts that we were not able to measure during the first year of the study. For example, we did not measure fidelity of implementation or directly assess students' exposure to violence or daily stressors related to conflict. These factors have been found to moderate the impact of similar school-based programs (Tol

et al. 2012). Collecting detailed records of actual program implementation is key to understanding heterogeneous and negative treatment impacts, and could have shed light on our unexpected findings. Unfortunately, we did not collect such data.

A fourth limitation is the lack of qualitative data, which could have provided alternative explanations for our findings and deepened our understanding of educators' and students' perceptions of the program. Fifth, the generalizability of our findings is limited to schools in Katanga province and similar contexts. Sixth, and last, about 8 percent of the sample ($n = 351$) was excluded due to missing data (6.7 percent) or data-collection errors (1.7 percent). It is important to note, however, that the rate of missing data did not differ significantly by treatment condition and should not introduce bias to our estimates of treatment impacts.

Despite these limitations, this study is the first to report results from an experimental evaluation of a universal school-based program that aims to improve the quality of school interactions and students' well-being in a low-income African country that has been affected by decades of conflict. Albeit inconclusive, our results show that universal school-based programs like Learning to Read in a Healing Classroom offer a promising approach to transforming the education opportunities of children in countries like the DRC. However, more research is needed to replicate these findings and to determine whether the positive impacts will be sustained and outweigh the potential negative impacts on students.

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QUALITY EDUCATION FOR REFUGEES IN KENYA: PEDAGOGY IN URBAN NAIROBI AND KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP SETTINGS

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This article examines the quality of education available to refugees in Kenya, with a particular focus on instruction. By providing empirical data about instruction in a refugee education context, the article supports anecdotal accounts and strengthens agency-led evaluations. It is based on a qualitative case study research project conducted at six primary schools, two in Nairobi and four in the Kakuma refugee camp in northwestern Kenya. The article documents the instructional practices used in these schools to demonstrate the centrality of lecture in lesson presentation; teachers' reliance on factual questions and the lack of open-ended and pupil-initiated questions; limited comprehension checks; and the absence of conceptual learning. Drawing from the perspectives of the teachers who were interviewed, the article argues that quality instructional practices for refugees are constrained by several key factors: limited resources, including low funding, significant overcrowding, and a lack of teaching and learning materials; a lack of pedagogical training and content knowledge; and curriculum and language policies. The article concludes with implications for education policy related to refugee teachers, and the content and structure of teacher training and professional development for these and other teachers working in refugee settings.

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INTRODUCTION

Education is a priority for refugee families across the globe (Ferris and Winthrop 2010; Winthrop and Kirk 2011). It can help to restore a sense of normalcy for children whose lives have been disrupted, impart critical life skills, protect children from violence and exploitation, and contribute to future reconstruction and peacebuilding efforts (Winthrop and Matsui 2013; Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004; Shields and Paulson 2015).

Educational quality depends heavily on teachers and their pedagogical decisions, and yet at present the quality of education available to refugees is very poor (Dryden-Peterson 2011; OECD 2009; Robinson 2011; Smith 2009). Moreover, pedagogy in refugee educational contexts has not received sufficient attention; it is, as Michele Schweisfurth notes, “a neglected priority” (2015, 259) in global discussions of educational quality. This oversight occurs in part because it is difficult to engage with the topic without imposing external notions of quality that are not necessarily contextually relevant. Addressing this topic requires a dual perspective—one that is attentive to broad notions of pedagogical quality and to contextualized notions, as elaborated by educators and students in specific locations. Potential solutions must respond to the constraints of the sociocultural, material, institutional, and policy contexts, and they must consider processes as well as outcomes.

This article examines the instructional techniques used by teachers of refugees in primary schools in Kenya, which are a critical dimension of educational quality. The study asks the following: How do educators teach refugee students in camp-based, community-based, and public schools in Kenya, and what challenges do they face? We focus on classroom practices, examining teachers’ pedagogical techniques and, specifically, teacher-learner interactions. We also explore teachers’ perceptions of their practices and document several material, social, and policy factors that teachers identify as constraints on their classroom practice. As the first study to systematically analyze the classroom practices of teachers of refugees, this article strengthens the existing evidence base that currently consists of anecdotal accounts and agency-led evaluations.

The article is organized as follows. We begin by discussing quality education and pedagogical approaches that can support improved learning. Next we describe the context of refugees and education in Kenya. We then outline the qualitative, multiple case study research project we conducted at six primary schools that host refugee pupils: two in Nairobi and four in the Kakuma refugee camp in

northwestern Kenya. The article then documents instructional practices used in these schools, which demonstrate the centrality of lecture in lesson presentations; teacher reliance on factual questions, which limits open-ended and pupil-initiated questions; limited comprehension checks; and a lack of conceptual learning and higher-order thinking. We next draw from the perspectives of teachers we interviewed to show that instructional practices they used with refugees were constrained by several key factors: limited resources, including low funding, significant overcrowding, and a lack of teaching and learning materials; a lack of pedagogical training and content knowledge; and curriculum and language policy. We conclude by discussing the implications of the study for refugee teacher policy, and for the content and structure of teacher training and professional development.

TEACHER INSTRUCTION AND REFUGEE CONTEXTS

Teachers are a central dimension of the policies and practices aimed at providing quality education for refugees. The focus on teachers is not unique to refugee contexts, but it does reflect broad trends in educational development. Within the policy realm, conceptualizations of the teachers of refugees have shifted dramatically over the past several years. For example, within the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the global body mandated with protecting and educating refugees, two strategies that were in place from 2005 to 2012 measured teacher impact by the teacher-pupil ratio (UNHCR 2007, 2009a).¹ The current UNHCR Education Strategy, in effect from 2012 to 2016, takes a different view of teachers, one that focuses on their instructional role and the kind of training they need in order to be effective in student learning processes (UNHCR 2012).² As noted in this UN strategy, “Teachers matter more than any other single factor to learning and to the on-going, formative assessment that is critical to improving learners’ achievement” (11).

The Minimum Standards for Education, first developed by the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE 2010) in 2004, provide a robust technical framework for the field of education in conflict and the subfield of refugee education. The INEE definition of quality education provides a guide for the UNHCR and the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that implement refugee education, which details the instruction characteristics expected of

1 A separate UN agency, the Relief and Works Agency, is mandated with educating Palestinian refugees.

2 The same is true of the 2011 UNRWA Education Reform Strategy (see, for example, page iv).

teachers of refugees. The INEE states that teachers will be “competent and well-trained” and “knowledgeable in the subject matter and pedagogy” (122). This knowledge includes “participatory methods of instruction and learning processes that respect the dignity of the learner” and the ability to create “a safe and inclusive learner friendly environment” (122). INEE describes certain environmental elements of quality education over which teachers often have little control, including “an appropriate context-specific curriculum that is comprehensible and culturally, linguistically and socially relevant for the learners,” “adequate and relevant materials for teaching and learning” and “appropriate class sizes and teacher-pupil ratios” (INEE 2010, 122).

The characteristics of a quality education for refugees and the perceived role for teachers in facilitating it mirror definitions used by other global bodies, such as UNESCO, and by national education systems (UNESCO 2004, 2005, 2014). There are two aspects of the refugee context related to conflict and displacement that have a particular influence on instruction: the characteristics of the teaching force, and the choice of language and curriculum.

First, teachers of refugees, be they of national or refugee origin, often lack training and experience. Although the UNHCR Education Strategy proposes that, by 2016, 80 percent of refugees’ teachers will be trained (UNHCR 2012, 3), the current reality is quite different. One of the few studies of teachers of refugees in developing countries found that, in Kenya, South Africa, South Sudan, and Uganda, these teachers generally lacked training and experience and were under-qualified (Commonwealth Secretariat 2013). UNHCR data echo this finding, but they also highlight global variability: in Kenya, 65 percent of teachers of refugees in primary schools had professional teaching qualifications, whereas the figure in Ethiopia was 21 percent (UNHCR 2014b, 2014a). Refugees who have been teachers in their countries of origin or who have acquired a relatively high level of education in refugee settings often do not enter or remain in the teaching profession (Kirk and Winthrop 2007). Government policies often make it challenging for refugees who are teachers to be hired, their payment is often low and unpredictable, and many take better-paying positions in unrelated fields with the NGOs operating in the refugee context (Penson and Sesnan 2012; Goyens et al. 1996). There are often few qualified national (or host country) teachers working in refugee communities, as they are hesitant to work in such unstable and inhospitable environments (Penson and Sesnan 2012). Despite the new policy focus on teachers’ instructional role in refugee settings, there is little evidence to suggest that the short, uncoordinated, and minimally effective workshops of the past (Buckland 2005) have been replaced with more productive training programs (INEE 2015).

Second, the language of instruction and curriculum followed in refugee settings frequently compound the challenges for teachers of refugees who have limited training and qualifications. Departing from historical approaches that featured parallel systems of refugee education, the new UNHCR Education Strategy emphasizes integrating refugees into national systems “where possible and appropriate and as guided by on-going consultation with refugees” (UNHCR 2012, 8). When refugee students are integrated into national systems, they follow the curriculum and language of instruction of the host country. This can be similar to their own, as with Iraqis in Jordan (Bulbul 2008), or dramatically different, as with Congolese in Uganda (Dryden-Peterson 2010). Decisions about language and curriculum, which are both political and practical, impact the kinds of support refugee students need from their teachers. Moreover, the language of instruction and curriculum are new and unfamiliar for refugee teachers, and both national and refugee teachers often have not fully developed the competence to help their students negotiate these linguistic and curricular transitions.

Despite clear aspirations to provide refugees with a quality education, the limited data available point to a lack of learning in refugee settings (Dryden-Peterson 2011). We therefore focus here on teachers’ instructional practices as a means of understanding what constitutes quality education in refugee settings, and to identify mechanisms that may bring improvement.

TEACHER- AND LEARNER-CENTERED PEDAGOGY AND ACTIVE LEARNING

Teaching practice tends to fall along a continuum that ranges from primarily teacher-centered to primarily learner-centered instruction. While teacher- and learner-centered approaches are often used categorically, it is more accurate to pose them as points on a continuum that teachers move across with greater or lesser ease, depending on both the task at hand and their education, training, and experience (Barrett and Tikly 2010; Schweisfurth 2013). Teacher-centered strategies, such as direct instruction, are important educational tools. They primarily transfer information through a lecture format, giving pupils a less active role (Schweisfurth 2013). In contrast, learner-centered pedagogy is rooted in a constructivist theory of knowledge, which assumes that knowledge emerges through learners’ interactions and experiences and by reflecting on prior knowledge (du Plessis and Muzaffar 2010). Learner-centered pedagogy assumes that pupils learn best when they are actively engaged in the curriculum through inquiry and discovery, and when their interests form the foundation on which the

curriculum is built (Paris and Combs 2006). Learner-centered pedagogy began to be widely adopted as part of policy reforms to improve educational quality in Africa following the 1990 Education for All conference and the subsequent 2000 World Education Forum, which produced the Dakar Framework for Action. Since the 1990s, educational reforms in sub-Saharan Africa have flourished, including strong elements of learner-centered pedagogy (see Vavrus and Bartlett 2013 for a discussion).

Despite the evidence that learner-centered pedagogy improves student learning (Hattie 2009; Darling-Hammond and Bransford 2005), research has identified a number of common challenges countries face in its implementation. Based on a review of more than 70 studies of learner-centered pedagogy conducted globally, including in Africa, Schweisfurth (2011, 2013) synthesized key implementation challenges: the nature, expectations, and timing of reform; material and human resources; the lack of alignment across pedagogical preparation, curricula, and examination and inspection systems; and social and cultural conditions. Thus, while pedagogical approaches that incorporate more learner-centered strategies when feasible are thought to promote learning, and therefore to increase educational quality, such approaches are hampered by a lack of material resources and of teachers who are prepared to engage them (see also Mtika and Gates 2010; Schweisfurth 2015). The challenges that stem from material and human resources, as well as social and cultural conditions, may be particularly heightened in refugee contexts.

In this article, we adopt an approach to learning that draws directly from four key sources: Robin Alexander's (2001, 2008) research-based notion of dialogic teaching, a review of learning literature conducted by Dan Wagner and colleagues in preparation for the Learning Metrics Task Force discussions (Wagner et al. 2012), Schweisfurth's nuanced discussion of learner-centered education, and *Understanding by Design*, the popular learning-focused curriculum design approach by Wiggins and McTighe (2005). Alexander's dialogic teaching is rooted in the principle that communication-based learning must be collective, reciprocal, supportive, cumulative, and purposeful. Dialogic pedagogy draws from key repertoires of strategies and techniques, which depend on the learning task. In dialogic classrooms, teachers may engage in traditional forms of "teaching talk," such as lecture and recitation, but they also employ techniques for discussion and scaffolded dialogue. Dialogic classrooms also feature "learning talk," in which pupils not only answer set questions but also explain, analyze, evaluate, discuss, argue, and (notably) develop and pose their own questions. Alexander's framework is consistent with the review of the learning literature conducted by Wagner and

colleagues, who identify three main principles of effective learning: “individual active involvement, social participation, and meaningful engagement” (Wagner et al. 2012, 2). We meld these two understandings with the “minimum standards” of learner-centered education proposed by Schweisfurth (2013):

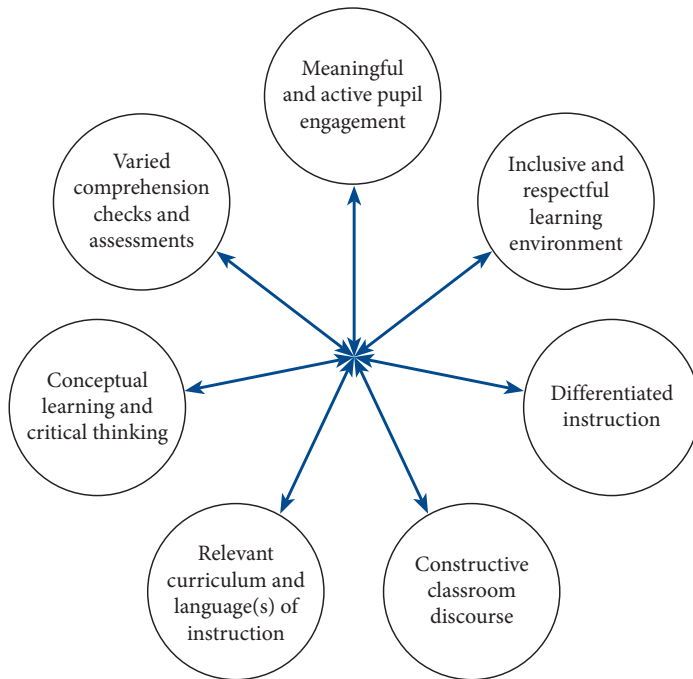
1. Lessons are engaging to pupils, motivating them to learn (bearing in mind that different approaches might work in different contexts).
2. Atmosphere and conduct reflect mutual respect between teachers and pupils. Conduct such as punishment and the nature of relationships do not violate rights (bearing in mind that relationships might still be relatively formal and distant).
3. Learning challenges build on learners’ existing knowledge (bearing in mind that this existing knowledge might be seen collectively rather than individualistically).
4. Dialogue (not only transmission) is used in teaching and learning (bearing in mind that the tone of dialogue and who it is between may vary).
5. Curriculum is relevant to learners’ lives and perceived future needs, in a language accessible to them (mother tongue except where practically impossible) (bearing in mind that there will be tensions between global, national, and local understandings of relevance).
6. Curriculum is based on skills and attitude outcomes as well as content. These should include critical and creative thinking skills (bearing in mind that culture-based communication conventions are likely to make the “flavor” of this very different in different places).
7. Assessment follows up these principles by testing skills and by allowing for individual differences. It is not purely content-driven or based only on rote learning (bearing in mind that the demand for common examinations is unlikely to be overcome) (146).

Finally, to develop the conceptual framework, we drew from “understanding by design,” specifically the WHERETO acronym for assessing key elements of learning:

- Where: ensuring that the student sees the big picture, has answers to the “Why?” questions, knows the final performance expectations as soon as possible
- Hook: immersing the student immediately in the ideas and issues of the unit, engaging the student in thought-provoking experiences/challenges/questions at the heart of the unit
- Equip and Experience: providing the student with the tools, resources, skill, and information needed to achieve the desired understandings and successfully accomplish the performance tasks
- Rethink: enhance understanding by shifting perspective, considering different theories, challenging prior assumptions, introducing new evidence and ideas, etc. also: providing the impetus for an opportunity to revise prior work, to polish it
- Evaluate: ensuring that students get diagnostic and formative feedback, and opportunities to self-assess and self-adjust
- Tailor: personalize the learning through differentiated instruction, assignments and assessments without sacrificing validity or rigor
- Organize: sequence the work to suit the understanding goals (e.g., questioning the flow provided by the textbook, which is typically organized around discrete topics) (McTighe and Wiggins 2005, 197-222)

These principles provide the framework for our study and are presented in figure 1. They informed the post-observation assessment tool we used during classroom observations (see appendix 1 for more details), and the analysis we conducted. Like the scholars who inform our conceptual framework, we believe that learner-centered pedagogy on the whole provides greater opportunities for learning. However, we also aim to avoid dichotomous thinking about pedagogy, attend carefully to how teachers understand their pedagogical work and the obstacles they face, and consider the social, political, and material contexts that shape pedagogical choices. For that reason, the final column of the observation tool had space for narrative observations that were more attentive to context.

figure 1: Core Elements of Learner-Centered Education



Source: based on Schweisfurth (2013); Wagner et al. (2012); Alexander (2008); McTighe and Wiggins (2005)

REFUGEES AND EDUCATION IN KENYA

Kenya has one of the largest refugee populations in the world. As of January 2014, Kenya was host to 607,223 registered refugees and asylum seekers, mainly from Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Eritrea, Burundi, and Uganda (UNHCR 2014b, 64). The majority of refugees in Kenya are housed in the Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps, established in 1991 and 1992, respectively. There currently are more than 463,000 refugees in Dadaab (UNHCR 2014b) and approximately 180,000 in Kakuma, some of whom have fled the recurrent violence in South Sudan (field visit, November 2014). Despite the lack of recent statistics, it is estimated that more than 50,000 refugees and asylum seekers live in urban areas of the country (Campbell 2006; Pavanello, Elhawary, and Pantuliano 2010; UNHCR 2009b).

Kenya's policies and laws have adapted to the changing refugee situation and security concerns over time (Lambo 2005; Lindley 2011; Kirui and Mwaruvio 2012). The 2010 Kenyan constitution safeguards the right to an education for all children born and residing in Kenya. The new Education Bill of 2012, signed into law in January 2013, provides children the right of access to a basic education, which is defined as including preschool, primary, and secondary education. Despite these recent national initiatives to protect the right to education, ongoing violence in Kenya that is attributed to the militant group Al-Shabaab has fostered a hostile environment for refugees, particularly those from Somalia. After a spate of violence in 2013-14, the Kenyan government issued a directive that all refugees in Nairobi and other urban centers must return to a refugee camp in Dadaab or Kakuma (Government of Kenya 2014). The recent attack on a Kenyan university has reignited the government's efforts to close Dadaab completely (Sieff 2015). Although UNHCR and other human rights organizations have pursued legal channels to challenge these directives, Somali refugees continue to confront significant challenges in their interactions with Kenyan police and other security personnel. According to a report prepared by the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (2014) in Kenya, which evaluated the government's "Usalama Watch" initiative (also known as "Operation Sanitization Eastleigh," a majority Somali area in Nairobi), refugees have experienced harassment, bribery, extortion, assault, arbitrary arrests, and deportation (Pavanello, Elhawary, and Pantuliano 2010).

In both camp-based and urban locations in Kenya, access to education for refugees is a persistent concern, especially among female children, youth, and adults (Omondi and Emanikor 2012; Pavanello, Elhawary, and Pantuliano 2010). In urban areas, the majority of refugee children attend Kenyan public schools, while others

attend schools set up by refugee communities (see, for example, Karanja 2010; UNHCR 2009b). Families whose children are not attending school may be reluctant to register, given the precarious nature of urban living in Kenya and their lack of identification or other documents required for school enrollment, not to mention not having the money to purchase uniforms and school supplies. Notwithstanding these challenges, UNHCR reported that 90 percent of refugee children of primary school age in Nairobi were enrolled in school in 2013 (UNHCR 2014b). In Kakuma, children also access education at different sites. There are 19 primary schools funded by UNHCR and one community-based school supported entirely by the local community. The 2012 gross enrollment rate in these schools was 45 percent (UNHCR 2014b), while the local district education office in Kakuma reported that over 2,000 refugee children were enrolled in the public schools in nearby Turkana District in May 2012 (Omondi and Emanikor 2012, viii). Once students enroll in school in either Nairobi or Kakuma, they are expected to study the Kenyan curriculum and learn in English and Kiswahili, curricular content and languages with which refugee pupils may be completely unfamiliar.

Furthermore, teacher training in Kenya currently consists of three principal pathways: two-year certificate courses offered by teacher-training colleges; three-year diploma programs offered by teacher-training colleges; and four-year degree programs offered by universities. To teach at the primary level, teachers must have completed secondary school and scored a grade C or above on the Kenya Certificate for Secondary Education. The minimum primary teaching certification, a P1 certificate, is achieved after two years of study in a teacher-training college. However, as we shall see, many teachers of refugee students have not enjoyed such professional development opportunities.

METHODOLOGY

This study took a multi-site, comparative case study approach to examine the instructional techniques of teachers of refugees in Kenya. A team of researchers from the University of Nairobi, Teachers College/Columbia University, Harvard University, the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the International Rescue Committee collected data at two locations: Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, and the Kakuma refugee camp, which is located in the Turkana District in northwestern Kenya. While we prioritized public schools, we also selected one community-based school in each location (see table 1).³

³ The two community-based schools in this study were both started and managed by the refugee community, including the teachers' salaries.

Table 1: Case Study School Demographics

School	Type of School	# Pupils	% Refugee Pupils	Countries of Origin	Av. Class Size Observed Classes 5-8 ⁴	# Teachers	% Refugee Teachers	% Refugee Teachers Overall Teacher: Pupil Ratio ⁵	Mean KCPE Score (2012), Reported
Nairobi									
<i>New Eastleigh</i>	<i>Public</i>	782	85	<i>Somalia, Ethiopia</i>	45	30	0	26	240.51
<i>Sud Academy</i>	<i>Community based</i>	155	66	<i>South Sudan</i>	12	14	71	11	257.0
Kakuma									
<i>Angelina Jolie</i>	<i>Public</i>	247	89	<i>Sudan, DRC, Somalia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Burundi, Rwanda</i>	30	14	64	18	283.8
<i>Fuji</i>	<i>Public</i>	2488	99	<i>Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, DRC, Rwanda</i>	96.6	23	83	108	220.0
<i>Kismayo</i>	<i>Community based</i>	359	100	<i>Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia</i>	40.8	18	33	20	252.98 ⁶
<i>Lokitaung</i>	<i>Public</i>	1735	100	<i>Somalia, DRC, Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda</i>	108	19	79	91	270.9

n.d = no data

Using a structured observation tool derived from the conceptual framework (see appendix 1), we examined the instructional practices of teachers of refugees as they were employed in the classroom, and we compared their experiences across schools and geographic sites. We used several criteria to choose the sites.

4 Calculated as an average of four to nine lessons we observed at each school, with an average of seven.

5 This ratio is calculated by dividing the total number of pupils by the total number of teachers. Both the numbers of teachers and number of pupils was reported by the head teachers based on their official records.

6 This means score was reported by the school. The official score is unavailable.

First, we selected schools with a significant percentage of refugee students (between 66 percent and 100 percent). Second, given different training programs and degrees of familiarity with the language of instruction and the curriculum, schools differed in the percentage of Kenyan and refugee teachers at their sites. In Nairobi, all teachers at the public school were Kenyan. Sud Academy, a community-based school, had ten Kenyan teachers and four refugee teachers. In Kakuma, however, the schools overwhelmingly employed refugee teachers; they were the majority at the Angelina Jolie (64 percent), Fuji (79 percent), and Lokitaung (83 percent) schools. Finally, as in other refugee education contexts, the size of the schools and the classes differed widely. The smallest school, Sud Academy, had 155 pupils, and the largest, Fuji Primary, had 2,488 pupils. The smallest class in the schools we observed had 12 pupils (Sud Academy), while the largest class had 108 (Lokitaung).

We used five strategies for our data collection. First, to understand the policy and resource context in which teachers of refugees were operating, we conducted key informant interviews in both Nairobi ($n = 7$) and Kakuma ($n = 9$) with UNHCR staff, NGO partners, and Ministry of Education officials at the district level. Second, and related, we analyzed documents that included relevant global, national, and district policies and reports. Together these interviews and the document review indicated some of the challenges facing refugee educators in Kenya. Third, we engaged in structured classroom observations ($n = 41$) of the upper primary classes (5 through 8). True to our desire to capture specificities of classroom interactions while also gathering comparable data about pedagogical strategies, our observation tool began with free-form narrative notes, but it ended with a very structured checklist of learner-centered pedagogical practices, based on the conceptual framework (see figure 1). Fourth, we conducted semi-structured interviews with teachers ($n = 50$) at the focal schools to understand their instructional decision making. Finally, we conducted semi-structured interviews with pupils ($n = 52$) at the focal schools to understand their perspectives on instruction and how it met their needs. We collected data between May and October 2013.

All the interviews were transcribed verbatim and coded thematically using both etic codes derived from the literature (such as teacher training, psychosocial support, and open-ended questions) and emic codes derived inductively from the concepts and perspectives offered by the participants themselves (such as supportive teachers, classroom management, textbooks and school supplies, funding). We then wrote memos identifying thematic families of codes by school site, and the entire research team met in person to discuss emergent findings,

look for discrepant data, and refine our evolving analysis. Notably, while our analysis of instructional quality in the first section of the findings was guided by the conceptual framework of dialogic pedagogy (see figure 1) and the detailed classroom observation guide (see appendix 1), our discussion of the findings on the factors that constrain instructional quality in the second section was informed by emic coding of interviews with the teachers and key informants.

FINDINGS

Consistent with the literature on sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Tao 2013), we found that lecture and recitation-based teacher presentations dominated the classrooms of our six case study schools. Throughout we noted the centrality of lecture in lessons, as well as teachers' reliance on factual questions to test pupils' comprehension, a minimal amount of learning talk, and few pupil-initiated questions. Taken together, these instructional elements resulted in an imbalance of teaching- and learning-talk repertoires, an absence of activities to promote (and opportunities to demonstrate) conceptual learning, and a lack of active individual involvement, social participation, and meaningful engagement. We explore each of these elements of instruction below.

CENTRALITY OF LECTURE IN LESSON PRESENTATION

Lecture was the primary mode of instruction in the classes we observed across the six case study schools. Of the 41 classes observed, 34 featured lecture quite centrally. In a few, the vast majority of class time was consumed by teacher talk. For example, the social studies teacher at Kismayo began his lesson by reviewing the previous lesson, but he did not involve the learners. He then introduced the new lesson, which entailed the African response to colonial rule, particularly in Uganda and Tanzania. The teacher spent most of the class time reading aloud from the textbook about Kabaka Wanga. The pupils listened attentively; however, with a ratio of one book to ten pupils, only a few were able to follow along. The teacher next introduced the 1891-98 Hehe rebellion in Tanzania, again reading aloud from the textbook. In many of the classes, the teachers similarly controlled the flow of discourse during the entire class. The lecture method was particularly prominent among social studies teachers.

However, across our observations, it was more likely that, while teachers relied primarily on lectures, they interspersed their presentations with comprehension questions that required pupils to repeat facts from the lecture. For example, a

science teacher at Fuji taught a fairly short lesson on mineral salts to the 149 pupils. The lesson consisted entirely of a lecture; there were no varied activities, no guided or independent practice. The teacher copied content from the textbook onto the chalkboard, including the following table:

Minerals	Sources	Use in the Body
Calcium	Milk, millet, <i>matumbo</i> (offal), and small fish eaten whole, for example omena	For making strong bones and teeth. Helps in the clotting of blood to stop bleeding when one is injured.
Phosphorous	Milk, beans, egg	Works together with calcium and vitamin D in the formation of strong bones and teeth
Iron	Meat, eggs, kale, spinach	Helps to make the blood healthy

The teacher then lectured about the material on the board, interspersing his lecture with closed questions—that is, only one correct answer is presumed, such as, “What have I said are some sources of minerals?” The pupils answered in unison by reading from the table. The mathematics classes were most likely to combine lecture with pupil activity. Math teachers regularly explained a principle or an idea and then put a series of problems on the board for the pupils to solve, giving them guided practice. Such classes were highly interactive, though repetitive, and they focused on factual information and “correct” answers. Thus it could not be said that the students experienced active individual involvement or meaningful engagement.

TEACHER RELIANCE ON FACTUAL QUESTIONS TO CHECK LITERAL COMPREHENSION

The majority of the teachers we observed relied extensively on factual questions, which they posed to check students’ literal comprehension. Even when a lesson was highly interactive, the focus was on “correct” answers. The questions we heard were primarily closed, including in all four lessons we observed at New Eastleigh. For example, a social studies teacher asked, “What is trade?” to which the pupils repeated, in unison, the predefined term. The teacher then asked, “We have two forms of trade, which ones are they? Who can tell me?” The only accepted answers in this case were “domestic” and “international.” In a science class at New Eastleigh, the teacher asked, “Who has an idea about friction?” This question seemed to be more open, but it was in fact intended to elicit a specific definition of friction—again, the only accepted response.

In the classes we observed across the school sites, there was a strong emphasis on the memorization of facts and definitions. For example, in a Christian Religious Education (CRE) lesson on the topic of ability and talent, the teacher asked questions such as, “Who will give us the definition of the term ‘talent’?” and “Who will give us the definition of the term ‘ability’?” Finally, in a math revision class, the teacher asked such questions as, “What are the different types of triangles?”

The vast majority of questions were aimed at determining students’ literal comprehension. Many of these comprehension checks occurred at the group level, with pupils being asked, “Are we together?” “Are we getting it?” “Do you understand?” They were expected to respond with a chorus of “Yes,” which seemed to be more of a habit than a genuine response. For example, in a social studies class at New Eastleigh in Nairobi, when the teacher asked, “Have you finished?” the class chorused, “Yes,” although almost every pupil kept their head bent over their exercise book and continued to write.

During lessons we observed, the majority of the teachers used rising intonation that required pupils to provide the correct answer in a choral response, often by completing the teacher’s sentence. In this transcript from a science class at Fuji, the question mark in the teacher’s lines indicates rising intonation.

T: Please close your books so that you can explain what is written on the board. What have we said about vitamins? I have said that vitamins are protective of our bodies. They protect our bodies from disease. What have I said are some sources of vitamins?

SB: Food.⁷

T: Yeah. Some of the sources of vitamins are fruits and?⁷

SS: Vegetables.

T: So today I want to talk about mineral?

SS: Salts.

T: We have said that mineral salts are present in many types of food.

⁷ In presenting excerpts of classroom dialogue, we use T to mean teacher, SG to mean a girl pupil, SB to mean a boy pupil, and SS to mean multiple pupils.

There are many types of food that contain mineral?

SS: Salts.

T: And mineral salts are present in small quantities. They do not provide energy. So examples of minerals that are needed by our bodies include iron and phosphorous. Our bodies require different types of minerals. Our body requires what?

SS: Iron and phosphorous.

In this instance, the teacher asked only factual questions, and no pupil posed a question. All the questions were posed by the teacher, and none was open-ended. The pupils did not demonstrate any conceptual understanding; they simply repeated factual knowledge.

Many teachers also asked questions of individual pupils as a way to test their factual comprehension. In mathematics classes, individual pupils frequently presented their responses by working out a problem on the chalkboard. Given the size of the classes—usually over 50 pupils and sometimes more than 100—teachers were only able to hear from a small number of the pupils when using this strategy. At Kismayo, a social studies teacher asked pupils to raise their hands to answer questions and discouraged them from simply shouting out their responses. This enabled the teacher to gauge factual comprehension, but only of the pupils who volunteered to participate. However, a few skilled teachers did manage to include many pupils in this kind of exercise. Teachers at Sud Academy and the Angelina Jolie girls' boarding school, where classes were significantly smaller, were more successful at checking pupils' literal comprehension. These teachers at least enabled some students to be actively involved. However, having a large class made doing such comprehension checks quite difficult. At Lokitaung, in an English lesson with 86 pupils, the teacher simply responded to his own questions. For example, he asked, "Difference between man and animals?" and then proceeded to answer, "Animals eat grass, man does not."

A LACK OF PUPIL-INITIATED QUESTIONS

Pupil-initiated questions were rare in the classrooms of the case study schools. Out of 41 lessons observed, pupils asked questions in only 13, and they posed more than one question in only 6 of the 13. Their questions were factual or definitional in nature. For example, a social studies lesson at Fuji Primary in Kakuma focused on methods of preserving fish, and two male pupils asked questions. One boy asked what the teacher meant by the term “canning,” and the other asked, “What is salting?” In an English lesson on infectious disease, two pupils asked the teacher to define vocabulary terms that had already been explained in the lesson: “What is epidemic?” and “What is carcass?” In a review class on plants at Sud Academy in Nairobi, a pupil asked how plants feed, material that had been covered orally and in notes on the chalkboard. The teacher called the pupil by name and responded that some plants use their roots to feed, while others depend on insects for their food.

In two lessons at two schools, we observed pupil-generated questions that probed conceptual thinking. In a science lesson on friction at New Eastleigh, the teacher—a master’s candidate in education—asked many questions of the pupils over the course of the lesson. Most were factual questions with clear responses; he also followed up with questions intended to have the pupils apply their understanding. Toward the end of the lesson, he posed some questions relative to a real-life example that required further synthesis of the principles of friction. After this interaction, one pupil asked, “How does friction enable a vehicle to move?” Across six schools and 41 lesson observations, we heard only two pupils ask questions that were not factual or definitional.

In contrast, at the Angelina Jolie school in Kakuma, five of the six lessons we observed were distinct in terms of the frequency and kinds of questions posed by pupils, which indicated more individual involvement and meaningful engagement. In a mathematics lesson, for example, a girl asked the teacher to explain the process of working out a math problem. In a CRE lesson focused on Christian youth programs, the teacher presented religion as a set of rules rather than a subject to be debated, including topics like abortion and homosexuality. The teacher’s lecture emphasized duty, discipline, and right versus wrong. Several girls asked questions requiring an explanation: “Teacher, explain to me incest” and “What is the difference between homosexuality and gays?” One girl sought clarification of the rules by asking, “Teacher, if someone says ‘I miss you,’ does it make you become immoral?” This more open exchange between teachers and pupils was not present at other schools, with one exception: In a science lesson

at Sud Academy, a female pupil asked a question about insectivorous plants. The teacher felt comfortable saying that he did not have an immediate answer, but he promised to get it and to discuss it with the pupil later on.

ABSENCE OF ACTIVITIES TO PROMOTE (AND OPPORTUNITIES TO DEMONSTRATE) CONCEPTUAL LEARNING

In the classes we observed, opportunities for conceptual learning and meaningful engagement were extremely limited, regardless of the teachers' training credentials and the type of school setting. For example, at New Eastleigh, only a few teachers made an effort to engage learners in deeper analysis. In a science lesson on water conservation, for example, the teacher primarily asked questions that did not require conceptual understanding, such as "What is irrigation?" She did ask one question that required a synthesis of information on water conservation: "How does polluted water affect animals?" The same was true at the Kakuma schools. For example, during a lesson on industry in eastern Africa at Fuji, a teacher lectured about the importance of industries in the region, listing such reasons as that they offer employment; they produce raw materials such as copper, coffee, and tea; they pay taxes, which provides a source of revenue for the government; and they improve the economy, which helps to support the schools. There was no discussion of industry, employment, taxation, or any related topics, nor was there any mention of specific industries, including the local industries. The pupils' opportunity for meaningful engagement on an important topic was thus lost.

Across our 27 observations in Kakuma, we witnessed only one memorable instance of an activity to promote conceptual learning. In a science class at Kismayo, the teacher used various examples to promote students' conceptual understanding of heat transfer. He first connected the lesson to the pupils' everyday lives by drawing pictures on the board and referring to familiar examples in the camp.

Next he showed the class a piece of metal and asked what would happen if you put it over a candle: “Can you hold the metal after ten minutes? Can you do it?” He then answered his own question: “No, maybe hold it for two minutes, but after conduction happens, no.” The teacher then shared stories that the pupils could relate to, such as the following:

Mr. Kalulu went to the market and bought a colorful vessel, but it was made of plastic. After he set it out to heat his water for his tea, he came back and found that it was gone. He thought someone had bewitched him, but no. Mr. Kalulu had just made bad choices.

The teacher concluded the lesson by asking pupils to bring in examples the following day of good and poor heat conductors, which they would use in a practical training exercise. This lesson required active student involvement and meaningful engagement, and applied an otherwise abstract lesson to the students’ everyday lives.

With smaller classes and better resources, the teachers at Angelina Jolie were able to allow more learner talk and discursive interaction, but the lessons still rarely promoted conceptual thinking. For example, in a CRE lesson on sexual immorality, the teacher controlled the classroom discourse, and both teacher and pupils maintained their assumptions that there were right and wrong answers to each question. Below is an excerpt from this class discussion:

T: So youth must avoid sexual immorality. An idle mind is the devil’s workshop.

SG: Teacher, if a 14-year-old girl prays to God to give her a child, what should be the answer: yes, no, maybe, or next year? Which is right?

[Lots of girls want to give an answer.]

SG: The answer is waiting.

SG: Is it bad to marry as a teen?

T: It is not bad, but it is not wise. Teens don’t have good decision making.

Notably, the teacher answered the girls' questions as if there were a single correct answer. However, the teacher did allow active individual involvement and social participation; moreover, the girls were genuinely engaged in a topic that seemed relevant to their interests.

One indication of the few opportunities for conceptual learning was the relative scarcity of open-ended, inferential questions. A few teachers did pose open questions or create activities to test for inferential comprehension of the materials covered in a particular lesson. One of these rare examples was the lesson on conduction, described above. While the question was intended to promote inferential comprehension, the teacher did not allow pupils time to respond so he could check their actual comprehension. In a few classes, teachers asked pupils to apply the information presented in real-world contexts. For example, at the conclusion of a science lesson on plants at Sud Academy, the teacher posed an open-ended question, asking pupils how they would care for plants. Several pupils responded, noting that they would water the plants and they would avoid deforestation, applying what they had learned in the lesson. Similarly, after making a scripted oral presentation in a science lesson at New Eastleigh, the teacher asked the pupils to write short notes in their exercise books on how to conserve water, without giving them notes to copy. This strategy may have encouraged pupils to do their own thinking about water conservation as they wrote down what they had understood. We did not observe what the teacher did with these notes after the class, if anything, so were unable to judge whether they in fact confirmed students' comprehension.

Overall, the lesson observations and interviews we conducted documented a rather narrow repertoire of teaching talk, which relied primarily on lecture and recitation, and an imbalance between teaching talk and learning talk. In general, the teachers' instructional practices did not seem to promote quality learning through students' active involvement, social participation, and meaningful engagement. While most teachers communicated respect for their students, many did not engage their students' interests or their existing knowledge. The curriculum was largely presented as fact, with few opportunities for critical engagement. Notably, during interviews, teachers discussed how these instructional features are promoted and maintained by a specific set of influences and constraints. We explore those factors in the next section.

TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES ON FACTORS AFFECTING INSTRUCTION

Teachers identified a number of key factors that they perceived as constraining their instructional practice: limited resources including low funding, significant overcrowding, a dearth of teaching and learning materials; a lack of pedagogical training; the curriculum; and the existing language policy. These factors shape and are shaped by the historical, social, and material contexts of Nairobi and the Kakuma refugee camp, and by national and global policies and decisions. In this section, we discuss each of these factors, how teachers respond to the factors through their instructional practice, and, where possible, point to spaces where teachers exert agency over these factors as they seek to meet the needs of their refugee pupils.

LIMITED RESOURCES: LOW FUNDING, OVERCROWDING, AND A DEARTH OF TEACHING AND LEARNING MATERIALS

Across the case study schools, teachers expressed concerns about the persistent lack of funding. Government schools in Nairobi received the same resources as any government school, with no supplemental funding for refugees. Some refugees in Nairobi received support to buy uniforms from NGOs working in partnership with UNHCR, but this assistance was to individual refugees and not to their schools. The three government schools in Kakuma were funded by UNHCR. The two community-based schools—Kismayo in Kakuma and Sud Academy in Nairobi—faced even graver monetary constraints. All financial support for these two schools, including teacher compensation, was generated by the refugee community; no funds were received from the Kenyan government, UNHCR, or NGO partners. The ability to pay teachers was the primary issue in both schools. The lack of resources within the community led to the decision at Sud Academy to stop offering classes one through four. The pupils in these lower classes thus had no place to continue their education and were out of school.

Teachers were faced with severely overcrowded classrooms, particularly in the government schools in Kakuma, where the average size of the upper classes we observed was approximately 100 pupils (see table 1). The head teacher at Lokitaung described the instructional challenges of these large classes: “When we are preparing the lesson, we are doing a lesson plan . . . [only] to reach a learner who is behind.” As a Kenyan teacher in the same school said, it is simply not possible to “manage” the needs of that many children. Classes were notably less crowded in the community-based schools in Kakuma and Nairobi, undoubtedly due to the high cost of attending.

The confluence of precarious funding and overcrowding meant that teachers had a dearth of teaching and learning materials. The schools also lacked sufficient seating and textbooks, so four or five pupils frequently shared a desk and a book. In the two largest camp-based schools, the lack of textbooks was a critical problem. At Fuji Primary, for example, pupils in class five and class six had to rotate sets of books among the streams of pupils. As a result, in two of the classes we observed, not one pupil had a text. In the Nairobi government school, textbooks were more readily available. Both pupils and teachers in Nairobi and Kakuma expressed the need to have more supplementary learning materials. A Congolese teacher at Lokitaung in Kakuma described the possible use of charts to help pupils understand the lessons, but only trained national teachers spoke of finding creative ways to make and use low- or no-cost teaching aids. One social studies teacher at Kismayo, for example, shared his story of bringing in both real money and some fake bills he had created to teach about currency. Another teacher in the same school spoke about collecting bean and pumpkin leaves to bring into the classroom for the pupils to see and touch.

One case study school had access to far greater resources than the others. This school was started in 2002 with a contribution from UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador and Special Envoy, and school namesake, Angelina Jolie. The money was used to build the school infrastructure, including the classroom blocks, the dormitories, the dining hall, and the kitchen. Pupils board at this school and receive three meals daily. Since its founding, the school has been funded by UNHCR. The teachers have an average of 30 pupils in their classes and say they have sufficient school furniture. The average textbook-to-pupil ratio is 1:2, and there is a small library on the premises.

With fewer pupils and more teaching and learning materials, teachers at Angelina Jolie employed more engaging classroom practices than teachers at the other schools. We also observed more questioning practices in the smaller community-based schools, Kismayo and Sud Academy. Several teachers we interviewed explained that, in the overcrowded classrooms of government schools, which lacked teaching and learning materials, lecture was their only reasonable choice of instructional practice.

LACK OF PEDAGOGICAL TRAINING

Another factor that significantly affected educational quality was the low level of pedagogical training among the majority of the teachers. The teachers complained of how little training they had received; many of those we interviewed

identified a need for more professional development. The government school in Nairobi, where all of the teachers were Kenyan nationals employed by the government, had the most trained teachers. The teachers at the Kakuma schools included some Kenyan nationals who had trained within the national system, but the majority were refugees who had had more limited teacher-training opportunities than the national teachers in terms of options, duration, and quality.⁸ At Fuji Primary, for example, 10 of the 25 teachers at the school were completely untrained, and 6 of these 10 untrained teachers were new to the school in the term in which we collected data.

Some of the teachers we observed, particularly those with no training at all, did not know how to put together a lesson, basic classroom management techniques, or even the value of facing students while speaking. Most of these teachers were well aware of their limited training and instructional practices, and those we interviewed were unanimous in their recognition of the need for more and better preparation. They expressed a particular need for training in classroom management, as the Kenyan head teacher at Kismayo explained: “Now that we have banned caning in the schools, it has been replaced by guidance and counseling,” but teachers were struggling to manage their classes without caning as a disciplinary tool. One teacher at Sud Academy explained the need for formal training, not only to meet the needs of his pupils but also for his own job security:

You might be employed right now to be one of the teachers, but tomorrow you might be asked, can you present your paper that show you have gone through those processes, so . . . not to be having any paper the same like you are not qualified. So personally [I think it would be] good in that if we could have got that opportunity so that it can gain that little knowledge . . . even if it is not based on the same career as education system, but a diploma in something.

Teachers said relatively high turnover was related to insufficient preparation and to the lack of opportunity for professional training, in particular among refugee teachers.

8 There are strong reasons to hire refugee teachers: they share languages and experiences with at least some of their pupils, and thus stand a good chance of building rapport with the students and understanding what parts of the Kenyan curriculum may be unfamiliar to them. Furthermore, such positions offer valuable employment for refugee adults. However, there are some drawbacks in addition to the limited opportunities for teacher training. Refugee teachers are more likely to have experienced interrupted education and may be relocated at any time, leading to steady turnover. They are also ineligible for full teacher salaries, and the small incentives they receive often require them to find other sources of income that keep them away from their teaching responsibilities.

New teachers often had to rely solely on the five-day induction training held at their own school, which they described as covering how to present a lesson to learners. At Angelina Jolie, all the teachers received a one-week induction course, which covered topics such as how to prepare professional documents (lesson plans and work schemes), ways of handling learners, and teacher roles. Several teachers remarked on the value of the slightly longer and more instruction-focused experience, echoing the words of this untrained teacher:

The most difficult thing [I've experienced at this school was] my first day, when I joined this school, because I have never been in class as a teacher. Yeah, so in my first week I had some challenges. It was not being able to identify the slow learners, and maybe to identify any other challenge that may have [been] problems in the class. But by the time I was given that one-week training, then I was able to at least identify children who have problems in the class, even if they have not [told] me. So . . . [I was] also able to sit [with] them and share their problem and give them some advice, and the way forward.

Another teacher noted her excitement about the training. When asked about her best day as a teacher, she stated:

The best day I had [was] when I was taken for that training, and after I came back. So in my first day here, the way I was teaching, so the children were able to understand and they were actually happy and they participated [during] the lesson. So from that day, I actually feel that way, and I knew that I'm actually trying to take these children somewhere. I knew that they were getting something from me, so that the pupils experience something together here.

The most robust teacher-training opportunity in the context of our case study schools was offered through a collaboration between Lutheran World Federation and Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. Through this collaboration, refugee teachers and a few national teachers working in Kakuma pursued an accelerated one-year diploma program, which focused on curriculum studies, pedagogy, and content knowledge. These teachers taught in the morning at the camp-based primary schools and attended teacher-training classes in the afternoon. This year-long diploma is the most comprehensive form of training for teachers in the large public schools in Kakuma; however, only a small number of teachers are able to participate each year. Of the 48 teachers who enrolled in the latest training cycle, only 26 successfully completed it. Further research and evaluation needs to be carried

out to explain the high attrition rates for this program. Moreover, the high turnover rates mean the system cannot guarantee that there will be trained teachers in refugee classrooms.

Teachers specifically remarked on the need for specialized training to better address the needs of refugee children “so the environment isn’t harsh.” Another teacher agreed:

Now because of the situation they are going through it has forced us to understand that they are going through [a] hard situation. Therefore, one has totally different ways of handling them. For example, most of them are easily angered. Therefore, when they are angered we have to know the way to handle them, not again to harass them. We calm [them] down and know how to control them. Yes. They are not like normal children down there or outside the camp.

Teachers also expressed concern about managing tensions between groups of students from different countries. As one teacher explained: “Because they are a mixture from different nationalit[ies], we find it difficult to handle them. The type of hardship they are going through, also the background[s], are different from different communities of different nationalities, therefore, at time[s] it might bring crisis in the classroom or out there.” In all the schools, several teachers expressed particular concern about how to guide male teachers in their conduct with female pupils. Given their lack of training, new teachers often relied on the more experienced teachers in the school for “guidelines on how we are supposed to handle students.” A male teacher at Angelina Jolie explained:

Yeah, they really assist us a lot and they also show us what we are supposed to do as a teacher, and how we [are] supposed to relate with the student. Because these are girls, and we are young people, so yeah. So they used to give us the way on how we are supposed to relate with them.

In sum, many of the teachers we interviewed indicated important training needs, including the needs of refugee teachers in general, and how best to relate to female students.

In our analysis, we compared the lesson observations of teachers with different levels of training. Across the case study schools, we found that teachers with more training had clearer learning objectives than those who lacked training. The teachers with a P1 or a diploma were also more likely to encourage student involvement, although usually it was in a choral response rather than individual involvement. The innovative practices we observed, such as the science teacher who gave the lesson on heat transfer or the teachers who brought teaching aids (e.g., fake money, leaves) into the classroom, also tended to be those of trained teachers. Furthermore, although plenty of trained teachers did not encourage meaningful engagement in their lessons, the moments of meaningful engagement that we documented did occur in classrooms with teachers who had some training.

CURRICULUM

All six case study schools followed the Kenyan curriculum. As recommended by the UNHCR Global Education Strategy, this decision promoted greater integration, certification of learning in the form of a Kenyan Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), and the opportunity to learn English, which pupils overwhelmingly described as a key asset in securing a productive livelihood. More salient to the teachers' instructional practices, however, were the challenges of using the Kenyan curriculum.

Given how tightly the KCPE exam is tied to the curriculum, teachers expressed the impossibility of adapting the curriculum to specific school contexts or to their refugee pupils in any significant way (as noted above, some did try to make it more relevant). For example, in each school, most of the teachers interviewed indicated that their pupils struggled with the subject of Kiswahili, one of the national languages of Kenya and a mandatory subject for all. Teachers said that a lack of knowledge of Kiswahili was a major impediment to success, especially for older pupils just beginning the Kenyan curriculum. In the first term of 2013, pupils' mean scores in Kiswahili were at a low of 34.5 out of 100 in Kismayo, and a high of 57.4 at Angelina Jolie. The mean scores in Kiswahili in general were significantly lower than the mean scores in math, science, and social studies, and they were regularly lower than the scores in English. It is logical that the scores on the English exam were more consistent with those on the math, science, and social studies exams, particularly at the camp schools, where most pupils were refugees. The content-area exams were given in English and thus they tested language knowledge as much as content knowledge.

Teachers also described religious studies as a contentious curricular issue for their refugee pupils. All pupils in Kenya must take Christian Religious Education, Islamic Religious Education (IRE), or Hindu Religious Education to fulfill their religious studies requirement. The teachers at our case study schools made decisions to offer CRE or IRE based on the majority student population and the availability of instructors. CRE was taught at Angelina Jolie, for example, where the majority of pupils are Christian. Several pupils remarked that this curricular choice marginalized pupils in the religious minority, including on their exams. Teachers at the Kismayo community-based school had greater freedom to tailor the curriculum to their pupils' needs and preferences. The vast majority of pupils at this school are Muslim, thus they elected to teach IRE, as well as Arabic.

According to the teachers, some aspects of the curriculum were clearly relevant to the pupils. However, as we observed, other elements of the Kenyan curriculum lacked relevance to the lives of many of the refugee pupils, which both teachers and pupils said was a factor in the challenge of teaching various concepts. At Fuji, one female pupil explained that she did not like social studies because she did not know enough about Kenya to understand the lesson. A few of the refugee teachers themselves described feeling at a loss when they were called on to teach lessons about cultures they had never experienced, historical periods or scientific concepts they had never studied, or geographical features they had never seen. Even where the material could have had relevance to pupils' lives, the teachers often failed to make the connection. For example, a girl at Fuji once developed anemia, and her father had to donate blood for a transfusion. She had just learned in science class that a remedy for an iron deficiency was brown meat and green vegetables, but she shook her head and said, "We have only what the ration card gives," which included millet, oil, and salt, but never meat or green vegetables.

Overall, then, the six case study schools were inflexible about using the Kenyan curriculum, despite its reliance on unfamiliar languages and content that lacked relevance to the students, which was a serious impediment to their receiving a quality education.

LANGUAGE POLICY

Teachers said that language policy had a major influence on their teaching. The official Kenyan language policy provides mother tongue instruction in lower primary grades, while English is the language of instruction in upper primary school, beginning in grade four. However, mother tongue instruction was impractical at the case study schools, given the linguistic diversity at most of them.

The head teacher at Lokitaung described the situation at his school: “You can find that in one class there are seven nationalities, they are [all] speaking different languages.” In the classes observed for this study, content-area instruction was primarily in English, while both Kiswahili and English were taught as subject areas. Most refugee pupils arrived at their schools with little to no knowledge of either language, but they were required to begin instruction in both languages immediately upon enrolling. Moreover, they were expected to demonstrate a high level of competence in two languages simultaneously, although the grammatical structures and vocabularies differed radically from each other and from many of the refugees’ home languages. The senior teacher at New Eastleigh in Nairobi described the instruction challenges in Kiswahili: “[The refugee pupils] could even return to you the paper and say, ‘I have nothing to write. Teacher, take your paper. I can’t write even one sentence in Kiswahili.’”

At the Nairobi schools, teachers had Kenyan certification and demonstrated competence in English and Kiswahili. However, teachers at the camp-based schools were primarily refugees who spoke many languages and taught exclusively in English, in which they had varying degrees of competence. In several camp schools, the school heads remarked that they tried to employ Kenyan teachers who spoke fluent Kiswahili in primary schools, but that this was not always feasible. Notably, despite the linguistic heterogeneity in their classrooms, the teachers we interviewed at each site described their lack of training in how to support second- or third-language acquisition.

Teachers expressed feeling limited in their ability to address their pupils’ linguistic needs through classroom-based instruction. In the camp-based schools, there was no formal language education. Teachers at two schools reported that pupils who did not speak English or Kiswahili were punished. A Kiswahili teacher at Kismayo further lamented the “mother tongue interference” taking place in his classroom, and said that students had to learn the bare minimum to pass the exam.

In contrast, teachers at the urban schools, where refugees studied alongside Kenyan pupils, had implemented remedial teaching, better known as “tuition,” for a fee. Such teaching was done after school or during lunch breaks. Tuition is prohibited in Kenya, thus teachers who were trying to develop strategies to meet the language learning needs of refugee students were engaging in an illegal act, which in fact further exacerbated inequalities between refugees who could afford the classes and those who could not.

In both Nairobi and Kakuma, the lack of language education programs inadvertently exacerbated the problem of having over-age children in lower grades. Head teachers placed some new pupils one or more grades below their age level because they were not prepared linguistically. Refugee children who began their education in Kenya in English at an earlier age said they struggled less than their peers who arrived in Kenya at an older age.

These factors identified by teachers constrained their ability to use more active instructional techniques. With few resources, lack of access to teacher training, and policies that impeded the contextualization of education for refugee populations, and based on our observations, teachers' instructional practices remained focused on lecture and relied on factual questions and limited comprehension checks. Therefore, instructional support that engages pupils' existing knowledge and motivation, provides relevant and accessible curriculum, and promotes conceptual learning among refugee pupils remains elusive.

CONCLUSION

The paucity of financial and material resources, restrictive curriculum and language policies, and a lack of access to teacher training amount to a crisis in refugee education in Kenya. All three of these challenges are critical, as teachers explained in the course of this research. The lack of access to teacher training, however, is the most pressing, given that it has the potential to act on the first two challenges as well. For example, in this study, we observed that teachers with more training were better able to leverage existing resources and to create their own; we also observed that trained teachers found ways to work with the existing curriculum to make it relevant and meaningful to their refugee students.

Current approaches to teacher professional development and to the pedagogical support teachers receive must be improved. This study reveals that teachers who need the most instructional support are stifled by infrequent, poor quality, and irrelevant training opportunities and limited to no school-based support. Teachers' experiences and perceptions of educating refugees in Kenya illuminate the immense need for teacher-training opportunities that will help teachers acquire the knowledge and skills to develop instructional practices that can contribute to a quality education. Teachers must have the opportunity to learn how to ask open-ended questions, to engage students in higher-order conceptual thinking, and to see each lesson as a lesson in content and language. Teachers of refugees must be given specialized training on second- and third-language acquisition and on managing and appreciating multilingual classrooms,

particularly in camp-based environments, as refugees cannot learn English and Kiswahili simultaneously without additional support. Refugee teachers themselves will often require language support, as they may not be familiar with the official language of instruction in the host country. Teachers also need to learn how to adapt curricular materials to the needs and experiences of refugee pupils without undermining the content knowledge required to perform well on examinations. To accomplish this, teachers need ongoing, repeated, and school-based teacher-training support to help them move from learning to applying these strategies in the classroom.

Clearly, the challenges teachers face and their professional development needs cannot be detached from the larger policy environment surrounding refugee settings. Without complementary efforts to decongest overcrowded classrooms, compensate and certify more teachers, and provide them with relevant and adequate teaching and learning materials, training alone will not solve the problem. Teachers must be included in these policy discussions and in identifying solutions.

Teachers' instructional practice in refugee settings has not been systematically studied to date. In this study, we documented the prevalence of a narrow range of teaching talk, and a relative lack of the type of learning talk essential for promoting quality, dialogic teaching. More studies are urgently needed on the under-researched areas of teacher professional development and teachers of refugees in refugee camps and other crisis settings. Stronger teacher professional development opportunities will likely contribute to improved student learning outcomes (Hattie 2009; Darling-Hammond and Bransford 2005), and they also have the potential to mitigate high teacher turnover in these contexts, bolster the overall professionalization of the teaching corps, and increase the value of the profession. Improving pedagogical quality among teachers of refugees is essential to meet the needs and fulfill the rights of refugees, who are among the world's most marginalized populations, and to adequately support the teachers who work with these learners.

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APPENDIX 1

List of Classroom Elements (Post-observation assessment checklist)

Element	Yes or No		Evidence (be as detailed as possible)
1. Meaningful and Active Pupil Engagement			
1.1 The lesson included a variety of teaching methods or activities appropriate to the objectives.	Yes	No	
1.2 The lesson has objectives .	Yes	No	
1.3 The objectives are clear .	Yes	No	
1.4 The timing for different parts of the lesson or activities was sufficient for the activity (i.e. the teacher manages the time well).	Yes	No	
1.5 Teacher presented subject matter in a way that was accurate and clear .	Yes	No	
1.6 The content was appropriate to the level of the class	Yes	No	
1.7 Teacher used the chalkboard well.	Yes	No	
1.8 Teacher used teaching aids (e.g. models, posters, worksheets, science equipment) effectively.	Yes	No	
1.9 Teacher gave clear instructions .	Yes	No	
1.10 Students used a variety of means (models, drawings, notes) to represent/engage with the concept or phenomenon under study	Yes	No	
1.11 Students were asked to actively engage with the material (e.g. by making predictions or estimations, by retelling or teaching the content, etc.)	Yes	No	
2. Inclusive and Respectful Learning Environment			
2.1 Teacher demonstrated strategies to promote gender equity , such as calling on girls and boys equally or avoiding negative or disparaging statements about girls/women	Yes	No	

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2.2 Refugee children were involved in the lesson.	Yes	No
2.3 Children of different ethnic backgrounds were involved in the lesson.	Yes	No
2.4 Children of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds were involved in the lesson.	Yes	No
2.5 All children were involved in the lesson	Yes	No
2.6 Teacher was courteous to students, encouraging their learning	Yes	No
2.7 The teacher was patient with the students.	Yes	No
2.8 The teacher managed classroom behavior.	Yes	No
2.9 The teacher disciplined students during lesson (e.g., with words; not corporal punishment).	Yes	No
2.10 The teacher used corporal punishment during lesson.	Yes	No
2.11 The teacher rewarded or praised students during lesson	Yes	No
2.12 The teacher responded to problems between children.	Yes	No
2.13 Teachers demonstrated respect for what students had to say.	Yes	No
2.14 Students demonstrated respect for what other students had to say.	Yes	No
2.15 Students demonstrated respect for what teachers had to say.	Yes	No
3. Differentiated Instruction		
3.1 Lesson was tailored to different learning styles and multiple intelligences (to maximize inclusion)	Yes	No
3.2 Students communicated their ideas to other students through a variety of means.	Yes	No
3.3 Students communicated their ideas to the teacher through a variety of means.	Yes	No
4. Constructive Classroom Discourse		
4.1 Teacher asked clear questions .	Yes	No

4.2 Teacher used correct and appropriate language of instruction in a way that was easy to hear.	Yes	No
4.3 Female students asked appropriate questions during the lesson.	Yes	No
4.4 Male students asked appropriate questions during the lesson.	Yes	No
4.5 The teacher asked factual questions with a yes/no answer about the lesson.	Yes	No
4.6 The teacher asked factual questions with a clear correct answer (not yes/no) about the lesson.	Yes	No
4.7 The teacher asked non-recall or non-closed questions about the lesson.	Yes	No
5. Relevant Curriculum and Language(s) of Instruction		
5.1 Lesson seemed relevant to learners' lives.	Yes	No
5.2 Teacher differentiated tasks for learners of different ability levels.	Yes	No
5.3 Teacher directly supported students' acquisition of language of instruction (English/Kiswahili depending on the year) in class.	Yes	No
6. Conceptual Learning and Critical Thinking		
6.1 The lesson was designed to promote conceptual understanding , not just factual learning.	Yes	No
6.2 Teacher engaged students in oral, written, or practical activities that required critical thinking or problem solving .	Yes	No
7. Varied Comprehension Checks and Assessments		
7.1 The teacher checked for student comprehension .	Yes	No

CONFLICT-SENSITIVE TEACHER EDUCATION: VIEWING EDC'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE SOUTH SUDAN TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT THROUGH A CONFLICT-SENSITIVE LENS

LAINIE REISMAN AND CORNELIA JANKE

Using the USAID-funded South Sudan Teacher Education Project (SSTEP) as a case study, this paper examines the emerging guidance on the conflict-sensitive design and implementation of teacher education policy and programming in conflict-affected environments. We refer in particular to the guidelines and conceptual frameworks provided by the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) in its 2013 “INEE Guidance Note on Conflict Sensitive Education (CSE)” and “Minimum Standards for Education,” which were contextualized specifically for South Sudan. These works provide a conflict-sensitive lens through which to view the SSTEP design and implementation.

It is important to note that this is a retroactive analysis. SSTEP, which was implemented by Massachusetts-based Education Development Center from 2011 to 2014, was designed and largely implemented before the INEE published its CSE guidance documents. This perspective allows us to review how events actually unfolded, and to speculate whether and how they might have been different had the CSE teacher training guidance been applied. More specifically, it allows us to consider what the outcome might have been had a full and robust conflict analysis been undertaken before initiating SSTEP. This paper is intended primarily for policy makers, practitioners, program designers, and researchers who are working to improve education in fragile and conflict-affected environments.

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INTRODUCTION

Using the USAID-funded South Sudan Teacher Education Project (SSTEP) as a case study, this paper examines the emerging guidance on the conflict-sensitive design and implementation of teacher education policy and programming in conflict-affected environments. We refer in particular to the guidelines and conceptual frameworks provided by the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) in its 2013 “INEE Guidance Note on Conflict Sensitive Education (CSE)” and “Minimum Standards for Education,” which were contextualized specifically for South Sudan. These works provide a conflict-sensitive lens through which to view the SSTEP design and implementation. In reviewing recommended conflict-sensitive strategies from the perspective of a teacher education project that was, at that time operating within a “conflict recovery” environment, we highlight the following:

- The ways the initial program design can affect the applicability of recommended conflict-sensitive education strategies
- The roles that decisions by donors, implementing partners, and ministries play in facilitating, or undermining, the application of recommended conflict-sensitive teacher education strategies
- The extent to which the recommended conflict-sensitive strategies are realistic and effective when applied to existing dynamics

It is important to note that this is a retroactive analysis. SSTEP, which was implemented by Massachusetts-based Education Development Center (EDC) from 2011 to 2014, was designed and largely implemented before the INEE published its CSE guidance documents. This perspective allows us to review how events actually unfolded, and to speculate whether and how they might have been different had the CSE teacher training guidance been applied. More specifically, it allows us to consider what the outcome might have been had a full and robust conflict analysis been undertaken before initiating SSTEP. This paper is intended primarily for policy makers, practitioners, program designers, and researchers who are working to improve education in fragile and conflict-affected environments.

BACKGROUND

South Sudan is a nation seriously affected by ongoing conflict, both with the North and among the South Sudanese themselves. The Republic of Sudan's recent history has been dominated by two civil wars, from 1955 to 1972 and 1983 to 2005, and culminating in South Sudan's independence in 2011. The conflict is rooted in an identity clash between the mostly Arabic-speaking and Muslim North and the mostly English-speaking and Christian sub-Saharan South, and in the South's struggle to gain equal access to mineral resources, political influence, and government services. This longstanding conflict has created formidable obstacles to South Sudan's ability to develop critical governance, economic and social institutions, and infrastructure.

In January 2005, southern Sudan, represented by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with Sudan that granted the South regional autonomy and guaranteed its representation in a national power-sharing government. After the CPA was signed, southern Sudan's government institutions began to focus on developing their human and administrative capacities; however, after five decades of civil conflict, virtually no governance systems existed. The dual tasks of institution-building and basic service delivery required massive resources (time, human, financial); the limited resources at hand were doled out carefully, with political and security considerations taking precedence. Support from neighboring countries (Sudan in the north, Kenya and Uganda in the east) and international donors did allow South Sudan to develop some institutions and limited service delivery, but such support was not sufficient to meet the extensive needs of the education sector and other social sectors.

In January 2011, in a formal referendum on independence, 99 percent of southern Sudanese voted to split from Sudan, and the Republic of South Sudan (RSS) has been recognized since then as an independent nation. Nevertheless, the country remains embroiled in internal conflict and in ongoing disputes with Sudan over border areas, oil, and citizenship issues. In 2011, oil disputes with Sudan led the Government of the Republic of South Sudan (GOSS) to shut down its oil wells, which had provided around 98 percent of the nation's revenues. This severely constrained cash flow to the GOSS and resulted in drastic austerity measures, that severely limited funding for social services, including education. It took more than a year to get oil revenues back on track, and even then, most were diverted to pay for security. Oil disputes between Sudan and RSS are ongoing, and they threaten both nations' political and economic stability (DfID 2013).

New challenges arose in December 2013, when a “clash of political egos” between GOSS president Salva Kiir, who belongs to the Dinka ethnic group, and his vice president, Riek Machar, who belongs to the Nuer group, sparked an ethnic conflict that resulted in thousands of deaths. The hostilities between the Dinka and the Nuer (which also involve other smaller tribes) are based on longstanding grievances and cultural divides, including ethnic violence during the two civil wars. What seems to have begun as a political confrontation between Kiir and Machar quickly deteriorated into an ethnic conflict that reflected the deep divides within South Sudanese society. The root causes of this current conflict echo those that fueled the past 50 years of unrest: ethnic and cultural tensions, exclusion from decision making, unequal distribution of wealth and resources, and the normalization of violence.

South Sudan will remain among the least-developed nations in the world for the foreseeable future. Its average per-capita GDP as of 2013 was \$1,081, and the World Bank estimated that the current conflict would result in a loss of up to 15 percent of potential GDP in 2014. Moreover, an estimated 15 of every 100 children will die before their fifth birthday, mostly from preventable diseases, and 73 percent of South Sudan’s population is illiterate (World Bank 2015).

EDUCATION STATUS

Educational context, pre-comprehensive peace agreement. Between 1989 and 2005, most of the international assistance provided in southern Sudan’s war zone was coordinated through Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), a consortium of UN agencies and 35 NGOs. Made possible by an agreement negotiated between the UN, the government of Sudan, and the SPLA, OLS was organized to address the combined effects of famine and long-term conflict by providing food and humanitarian aid. Throughout this period, OLS also gradually increased its support for education. By 2002, 14 OLS NGO partners were supporting 1,486 schools, while an additional 23 local NGOs provided education without OLS support, bringing the estimated number of functioning schools to between 1,600 and 1,700, meant to serve a primary school-aged population of approximately 1.4 million (UNICEF 2003; IRIN n.d.).

Most schools not supported by OLS were run either by the Catholic Church, relatively successfully, or by local NGOs and community-based organizations, with little monitoring or support from international agencies. The instruction offered in these schools depended on their location. Schools in the states of Juba, Wau, and Malakal were controlled by the North; as a result, instruction was in Arabic,

known locally as the “Arabic pattern.” Schools in many of the southern rural areas were controlled by the SPLA, and thus followed a missionary-influenced English-language pattern. Meanwhile, in disputed states such as Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile, and Abyei, schools depended on whatever instruction was available and acceptable to those providing the education. The nature of instruction also depended on the school’s distance from active conflict zones at the front lines or near a border. Those in such locations often used a combined approach, such as the Sudanese national curriculum taught in either Arabic or English; the SPLA curriculum taught in English, Ugandan, or Kenyan; a curriculum from a neighboring country taught in English; or they simply had no coherent curriculum (UNICEF 2007, 78).

An education baseline study conducted by USAID in mid-2003 across a representative sample of primary schools in southern Sudan’s four regions (West Equatoria, East Equatoria, Bahr El Ghazal, and Upper Nile) offers useful benchmarking data for that period. Against a backdrop of gross primary school enrollment of 25 percent, the study found that 70 percent of all enrollees sampled attended primary grades 1 through 4 (10 percent of those enrolled in each grade were repeaters), while only 30 percent attended primary grades 5 through 8. Of every 100 children enrolled in first grade, only 50 made it to grade 4, and only 31 percent continued to grade 7. Meanwhile, 59 percent of children in grade 3 tested at the mean or above in reading; 36 percent did so in numeracy.

Nationwide, boys represented 70 percent of enrollees, and the gender gap in the sampled regions ranged from 28 percentage points difference to 72 percentage points difference, with boys always overrepresented. Focus group discussions revealed different challenges for male versus female enrollment. The most common factors discouraging boys from enrolling in school included poverty, insecurity, and their involvement in cattle-rearing; the factors for girls included poverty, early marriage, the workload at home, and pregnancy. In 2003, fewer than 20 secondary schools existed in southern Sudan. Most of them went only through primary grades 7 or 8, used Ugandan or Kenyan curricula and teachers, and allowed students with the means to travel to sit for exams and continue their education in those countries (CARE 2003, 28).

Educational context, CPA-present. Primary school enrollments in southern Sudan approximately doubled between 2000 and 2005, from 0.3 million to 0.7 million. Despite this progress, the gross primary enrollment was still at only 60 percent by 2005, lower than in most other countries in the region. Moreover, only 66 percent of each primary grade 1 class reached grade 5, and only 22 percent of

youth aged 15 to 24 could read and write. Southern Sudan also had the world's lowest ratio of girls to boys enrolled in primary school: three times as many boys as girls attended school, and the literacy rate of females ages 15 to 24 was only 15 percent (World Bank 2012, 19).

The CPA brought hope that hostilities would soon cease, creating a more promising environment for education. Donors increased their support for education, and thousands of individuals displaced by the war began to return. For these reasons, access to education improved dramatically by 2009, with 3,400 primary schools and 196 secondary schools in operation. Total primary school enrollments had risen to 1.4 million, representing a 51 percentage point increase in the enrollment rate from 2000, to 72 percent.

However, the primary school completion rate was 26 percent, the average pupil-to-classroom ratio was 129:1, and there was one textbook available for every four pupils. Many children were still out of school, and over-age students made up 85 percent of all primary school enrollees (World Bank 2012, 25; DFID 2012b, 6). Four years later, in 2013, more than 70 percent of adults in South Sudan were still unable to read and write, and 90 percent of primary school students dropped out before completing grade 8. Fifty-eight percent of primary school-age children were out of school, and over-age students made up 87 percent of all primary school enrollees. In 2013, the net primary school enrollment rate was 42 percent (South Sudan 2013). These disappointing statistics obscure the fact that South Sudan's National Education Ministry, with support from the international education community, had worked hard for more than a decade to improve education. When civil conflict erupted again in 2013, the ministry had made slow but steady gains in education policy, systems, and capacity development at the central and state levels.

CONFLICT-SENSITIVE TEACHER EDUCATION

Table 1: Basic Education Indicators, South Sudan, 2013

Total pupils enrolled in primary school	1,311,467
Gross primary school enrollment rate	61.9% (boys: 71.7.4%; girls: 50.9%)
Net primary school enrollment rate	41.5% (boys: 47.1%; girls: 35.4%)
Percentage of over-age pupils	87.3% (boys: 87.7%; girls 86.7%)
Net primary grade 1 intake rate for six-year-olds	11.9%
Enrollment in the Alternative Education System	208,570 (57.1% male; 42.9% female) 88.8% age 16 and over 84.2% enrolled in Accelerated Learning Program
Primary school teachers	27,709 (male 87.4%; female 12.6%)
Primary school teacher status and qualifications	Paid 72.2%; unpaid: 25.8% Completed primary: 34% Completed secondary: 61.9% Completed university: 4% Trained: 39.8%; untrained 59.9%

Source: Government of the Republic of South Sudan (2014)

Table 2: Average Growth in Student Enrollments, by Level, 2000-2013

Level	Average Annual Enrollment Growth (%)							
	2000	2005	2009	2013	2000-05	2005-09	2000-09	2009-13
Primary Education	331,000	669,000	1,380,580	1,311,467	15	20	17	-5
Secondary Education	7,740	17,465	44,027	46567	18	26	21	5.45
Higher Education	15,102 (2002)		23,968					
Vocational Training	724		2,760					

Source: World Bank (2012); Government of the Republic of South Sudan (2014)

This improved access to education has highlighted complex issues related to school quality, and to teaching skills in particular. South Sudan currently faces an extreme teacher shortage, difficult teaching and learning conditions, and a low level of education and skill among its teachers. The pupil-to-teacher ratio is far from ideal; with 1.6 million children enrolled in school and only 17,000 teachers on the government payroll in 2011, the teacher-pupil ratio was roughly 80:1. An additional estimated 10,000 “volunteer” teachers lowered the ratio to 50:1 (Goldsmith 2011, slide 10).

Volunteer teachers are typically members of the community who have completed a basic level of schooling but have not had any teacher training. They may receive some form of compensation from their local government or their community, but they are not government employees. Their volunteer status raises a number of serious concerns, such as how and by whom the volunteers were selected, what training they received, and what support the government provided them, if any. The answers to these concerns vary by state, by school, and by time period; accessible records of these decisions do not exist.

Conservative estimates are that 1.8 million children, at a gross enrollment rate of 70 percent, will be enrolled in primary school in South Sudan by 2016. Maintaining the existing 50:1 teacher-pupil ratio would require 35,000 teachers—8,000 more than there were four years earlier (Goldsmith 2011, slide 10). Providing adequate education for a rising number of students entails overcoming many obstacles, not least of which is finding—and paying—these additional teachers.

This raises further questions about the qualifications and training of the teachers who will fill this gap. One complication is the low level of education of most teachers, particularly those in the primary schools. According to a 2012 World Bank Report, 46 percent of teachers have only a primary school education and 45 percent have a secondary education; only 40 percent have any sort of professional training. Of the volunteer teachers, a large majority have completed no more than eight years of primary school (119). Given the poor quality of the schools they attended, many primary school teachers are unlikely to fully understand the content, let alone the pedagogy, of the curriculum they must teach. There also are questions about the systems for testing and certifying both primary and secondary school graduates, as numerous cases of false certification have occurred. Finally, for teachers who live in the north of the country and have been schooled in Arabic, English literacy is a tremendous challenge. Primary and secondary school graduates in these regions might have no English-language

skills at all, yet they may be tasked with teaching the national curriculum, which is in English.

In addition to the shortage of trained teachers, there is no real system in place for managing and supervising teachers, the parent teacher associations and communities participate little in school governance, teaching materials are inadequate, and there is a lack of basic school infrastructure. These conditions are exacerbated in some states by a continuing influx of refugees and internally displaced persons, many of whom have different educational backgrounds and learning needs; their presence in the classrooms often creates interethnic tension. Budget austerity measures imposed in 2012 heightened these challenges, as the government cut support for state-run teacher education colleges and significantly reduced education service delivery (resulting in school closures and failure to pay teachers). Many teachers went months with no pay, which led to more teacher attrition and exacerbated the cycle of poor school quality and high dropout rates.

TEACHER EDUCATION

Until 2012, South Sudan's National Teacher Education Strategy, first developed in 2006 and amended periodically, provided for both pre- and in-service teacher training. The strategy stated that pre-service training should be provided by experienced tutors (with a teaching background) at a Teacher Training Institute (TTI) in each state and two County Education Centers (CECs) in each county, for a national total of 10 TTIs and 158 CECs (Goldsmith 2011, slide 10). This teacher-certification framework called for the TTIs to provide a two-year pre-service training program for candidates with a secondary degree and a four-year residential training program for those who had completed primary grade 8 through secondary 3. Active teachers were to participate in a four-year in-service training program through distance learning and face-to-face instruction at CECs, and certification would be granted to all teachers who passed a common teacher exam, which was administered at the end of each training cycle.

According to the Teacher Education Strategy, overall policies and standards for the teaching force were to be established and monitored by South Sudan's National Education Ministry. While many policies and standards are still pending, those that have been approved were to be implemented by the state education ministries. Each state was expected to do the following:

- Prepare budgets for teacher salaries and benefits, based on projected demand (enrollments, new schools, pupil-teacher ratios, qualifications structure)
- Apply educational and teacher standards when managing the teaching staff
- Register, appoint, grade, post, supervise, support, and discipline the teaching staff
- Ensure that teachers' salaries and allowances are paid on time and according to scale
- Assess and promote staff based on in-service training, performance, and criteria specified by a teacher career ladder
- Monitor progress in meeting education-sector objectives for teachers in each state (Hartwell 2012)

These expectations were unrealistic, given South Sudan's poor teacher training infrastructure, a lack of management skill at the central and state levels, insufficient funding, and the dearth of existing or prospective teachers who met the minimum education requirements. Not unsurprisingly, neither the National Education Ministry nor the states met these expectations.

South Sudan's General Education Bill, passed in 2012, represented an important step forward in updating the strategy and clarifying basic elements of the education system structure. However, the bill failed to adequately address a number of critical areas of education policy, including teacher education. Several policies were under development in late 2013 when South Sudan entered its latest period of crisis, but due largely to a lack of technical capacity at the ministry and infighting between ministry officials, there were few structured teacher education policies in place as of 2014.

While education policy is determined at the national level, the ministry suffers from a lack of qualified education experts. Moreover, there is limited implementation of policies that exist at the state level. In short, many states simply do not comply with national policy, and some operate independently and in clear violation of approved policies. This is largely due to the regional nature of South Sudanese governance, to ethnic and language differences between the remote northern states (which were historically aligned with Khartoum) and the southern states, and the geographic isolation of state education administrators. With a large portion of scarce national resources used for defense, state ministries often make do on their own and maintain only a tenuous link to the National Education Ministry.

THE SOUTH SUDAN TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT

SSTEP grew directly out of the Sudan Basic Education and Technical Assistance Projects, which were operated previously with support from USAID and other donors, such as the South Sudan Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF-SS), the Basic Services Fund (BSF), and the Education Rehabilitation Project. The project was initially conceived in the years of optimism following the signing of the CPA, and in 2011 USAID awarded EDC \$30 million over a three-year period to implement SSTEP. The idea was that SSTEP would pick up where the other projects had left off in terms of teacher training activities, particularly those begun with funds from MDTF-SS and BSF. The objectives of this initiative were to work closely with the National Education Ministry and ten state education ministries, and through the TTIs and CECs, to (1) improve policy frameworks and management systems to professionalize teaching and ensure the delivery of effective, good-quality education services; (2) improve teacher performance; and (3) increase access to curriculum-based teaching and learning materials. EDC proposed to achieve the following:

- Five policies relating to HR, affirmative action, accreditation, teacher certification, and an Education Support Network, and five standards relating to head teachers, TTI tutors, CEC tutors, inspectors, and supervisors
- A unified pre- and in-service curriculum
- In-service tutor and student materials for five subjects
- Pre-service tutor guides and student teacher materials for five subjects

- Renovated or new resource centers at each of the 12 to 15 institutions in the Education Support Network
- 4,751 teachers on the path to certification
- 115 TTI and CEC tutors trained in and using the new unified curriculum
- 5,300 head teachers, inspectors, and officials trained in the new curriculum and in other critical areas
- 246,830 learning materials developed or acquired and distributed (Education Development Center 2011)

However, by the time the project began in October 2011, it was already clear that the education sector still faced many challenges. Within a few months, EDC staff were forced to evaluate which of their program objectives and design elements seemed unfeasible, and they began working with the ministry and USAID to adjust the program's focus and activities to set feasible objectives. The specific conditions that affected SSTEP's implementation within the first year were as follows:

- **No operational budgets for the Curriculum Development Center, the TTIs, and the CECs.** Under the austerity measures resulting from oil disputes with North Sudan, the government was not able to provide adequate funding to any of the teacher preparation institutions SSTEP had planned to work with.¹As a result, only one government TTI and a limited number of CECs were operational during this time. In-service training through the ministry training structures was thus severely limited.
- **A lack of tutors for the in-service training model.** With the closing of the TTIs and consequent lack of teacher trainers, SSTEP turned to government-paid tutors who were linked to the CECs or the state ministries to deliver in-service training and support. The state tutors typically were retired teachers linked to an operational CEC and tasked with training, coaching, mentoring, and supervising teachers.

¹ While specific data on actual budget figures are hard to obtain, SSTEP estimated that only 30 percent of the ministry budget was allocated in FY2012-2013. Roughly 10 percent of the overall FY2012-2013 austerity budget of 6.7 billion South Sudanese pounds (USD 1.3 billion) is allocated to education. Following this logic, an estimate of total funding for education in South Sudan for 2012-2013 is in the range of USD 40 million.

Unfortunately, the government tutors in many states were unavailable, unqualified, or simply not working, since they were not being paid. With many CECs nonoperational, the tutors were left unsupervised and without clear roles and responsibilities. To address the dearth of tutors, SSTEP hired a modest number of trainers to staff its field offices, which added unforeseen costs to the project. With limited financial resources, SSTEP was not in a position to hire the high number of trainers needed to ensure quality in-service training in each state.

- **The departure of a large number of teachers who had been trained through the MDTF-SS and BSF.** Although more than 1,600 teachers were enrolled in the MDTF-SS, SSTEP was only able to locate and re-enroll approximately 900. The reasons for the high dropout rate ranged from teachers finding other (paid) jobs, including in the police force or the army, to a loss of interest in the teaching profession, which was related to delays in being paid. As a result, to maintain its commitment to USAID to train a large number of teachers, SSTEP had to work with the state ministries to recruit more teachers.
- **A lack of established systems to regulate the teaching profession.** While SSTEP was committed to improving policy frameworks and management systems to professionalize teaching, progress was slow due to delays in passing and then implementing the education bill. Teacher professional development, including certification, remained a pending issue on the agenda. There was a lack of agreement within the ministry about the minimum education level required to enter a TTI or CEC, or to attend in-service training. Some in the ministry believed that teachers should have at least a grade 8 education, whereas others (along with SSTEP staff) believed that all interested candidates should be eligible for some teacher training program. This disagreement made it difficult for SSTEP to offer appropriate training to teachers with a broad range of education and skill levels.
- **The lack of sufficient experienced curriculum developers among the ministry staff to complete and revise the existing teacher training curriculum.** While SSTEP had anticipated leading a curriculum review process and supporting the development of materials, it had envisioned that the ministry would conduct the majority of the work. Unfortunately, due to various factors, including the budget, the Curriculum Development Center at Maridi was largely dysfunctional.

To address these conditions and others, EDC submitted a change in approach to USAID in December 2012 that it outlined in a “master plan,” which was shaped in consultation with the ministry and USAID. The main elements of the plan, which detailed the first major shift in approach, were as follows:

- **Reduce the number of teachers and increase the number of tutors to be trained.** Due to the lower than anticipated number of teachers who re-enrolled in teacher training and the ministry’s lack of funds to maintain the minimum infrastructure for in-service training at the state level, the overall target for the number of teachers undergoing training was reduced. Realizing that the emphasis would be on in-service training moving forward, and understanding both the critical role and the low capability of government tutors, support and training were expanded to reach more tutors with an in-depth training program.
- **Focus on early primary grade teachers and propose a lower primary provisional certificate.** Given the high number of lower primary teachers with little to no training, SSTEP proposed a two-year in-service training model whereby teachers would receive a lower primary provisional certificate and have five years to upgrade to a full primary teaching certificate. SSTEP, USAID, and some in the ministry viewed this as a cost-effective and efficient way to upgrade the skills of thousands of teachers in a relatively short time. The same delivery model would continue, which included three weeks of face-to-face training three times per year, cluster meetings, and community-based studies. Following this pattern, teachers could obtain the lower primary provisional certificate in two years and the full certificate in four years.
- **Emphasize reading.** Recognizing the importance of literacy in South Sudan and the lack of materials and methods for teaching reading and writing, SSTEP proposed (1) to integrate this teaching into the English syllabus of the unified teacher training curriculum, (2) to design new literacy training materials, and (3) to train a core group of tutors as trainers. This was related to USAID’s guidance on emphasizing reading. Since the language of instruction in South Sudan is emphatically English, with little political interest in mother-tongue instruction, there is a critical gap in the English literacy skills of teachers and students alike.

- **Expand the number of SSTEP offices based in the states.** SSTEP staff initially worked from one office in Juba. In response to the challenges the ministry faced in terms of the number and qualifications of tutors, SSTEP expanded its field presence to provide more direct support to tutors and teachers alike. Offices eventually opened in all ten states, with five staff positions each: three technical and two operational.

By December 2013, SSTEP had trained close to 3,000 teachers and tutors; however, none of them had completed the four-year in-service training program and few were likely to complete it during the project's life cycle. Furthermore, the in-service model agreed to by all stakeholders had proven difficult to implement, due to the widely dispersed teachers, limited TTI and CEC technical and delivery capacity as well as resources, and difficulty selecting and training tutors. With what it cost annually to support the in-service model, SSTEP would have run out of funding without any certainty that the teachers enrolled in the program would be formally recognized (e.g., certified) by the GOSS.

SSTEP had been advocating all along for the lower primary provisional certificate, which would have enabled its trainees to take a certification exam during the life of the project. Despite significant efforts by SSTEP, the ministry had not made any progress toward approving the certificate, largely due to disagreements over whether it was worth training teachers who lacked a secondary school degree. Given these obstacles and the arrival of new USAID staff in South Sudan, SSTEP embarked on a new round of modifications with USAID and the ministry in December 2013. The major emphasis of this shift in approach included the following changes:

- **Expand work on policy and teacher training curriculum development.** To lay the foundation for future teacher professional development in light of the challenges noted previously, it was agreed that SSTEP should focus its remaining resources on foundational elements of policy and curriculum development.
- **Suspend in-service training activities at the state level.** It was argued that, with more resources devoted to policy and curriculum, continued training for a few thousand teachers was a lower priority, particularly given the question of whether these teachers would be formally recognized.

- **Accelerate implementation of a residential teacher training program, beginning with the one functional TTI.** Recognizing the limitations of the in-service model in South Sudan, stakeholders agreed that residential training, whereby teachers would reside at a teacher training institution for two years, should be prioritized in order to continue training teachers who were close to finishing the full curriculum.
- **Pilot an alternative afternoon in-service model in one state.** SSTEP agreed that it would be important to pilot a new service delivery model for in-service teachers that released teachers early to attend afternoon training sessions.
- **Provide intensive support to key CEC and TTI tutors in all states.** Recognizing the key role of tutors, SSTEP planned to build their capacity rather than deliver in-service training directly.

USAID, EDC, and the National Education Ministry concurred with this approach. The rationale was that the effect on South Sudan's education system would be greater if they made more strategic, foundational investments in policy and curriculum than if they continued to invest in a small percentage of the overall teachers who required training (the 1,900 teachers enrolled at that point in time represented less than 10 percent of the teaching force). In sum, while aware of the frustrations of teachers who would not be able to complete their training, the stakeholders concurred that the priority should be given to foundational work.²¹

CONFLICT-SENSITIVE EDUCATION

Education is not immune from conflict, which can visibly affect the quality and delivery of education. However, education also can mitigate or exacerbate conflict, directly or indirectly. A growing body of evidence has led education policy makers and practitioners who are active in conflict-affected environments to reexamine education programming, planning, and financing using a conflict-sensitive lens (INEE n.d.).

In their 2011 review of the literature relating to peacebuilding education in postconflict contexts, Smith, McCandless, Paulson, and Wheaton describe three

²¹ Soon after reaching SSTEP's newest agreement, South Sudan's most recent round of inter-ethnic hostilities erupted. All international SSTEP staff were evacuated from South Sudan in December 2013, and in early February 2014, USAID terminated the project.

major ways education can have an impact on conflict (Smith et al. 2011, 19). First, education can be understood and used as a tool to promote ideology, either in service of a general civic education or, in a more extreme sense, as political indoctrination. Second, education can be used to convey knowledge and skills that help build citizens' social and economic capabilities and skills. Third, education can help to transmit social and cultural values from generation to generation, which can either enhance or undermine social cohesion, depending on what values are conveyed.

Given the central role education plays in political, sociocultural, economic, and personal life, it is helpful, if not imperative, that educators and those who support them be aware that any education activity may directly or indirectly contribute to—or mitigate—conflict. Smith, McCandless, Paulson, and Wheaton, among others, assert that most education programming—whether in emergency or transitional settings at the policy, systems, professional development, or service-delivery level—does not take education's potential role in conflict into account, either during the planning stages or once education activities are underway:

There is...a tendency, for education interventions to be framed in technical and apolitical terms, operating as if relatively insulated from broader ideological, political and economic influences acting on and within the sector. There is a significant gap in both academic and programming literature about geopolitical influences and political economic factors that operate on and within post-conflict societies, and how these affect the implementation of education programmes. (Smith et al. 2011, 43)

These authors, as well as many other academics and practitioners, recognize that improving understanding of education's role in conflict requires a broad and concerted effort, including more research and stronger evidence of the role education plays in conflict and peacebuilding. It also necessitates conducting a more intentional analysis and raising awareness of the specific challenges and strategies for taking the conflict context into account before, during, and after education activities of all kinds.

In 2013, the INEE responded to this growing awareness through collaborative efforts by its working groups on Minimum Standards and Education in Fragility, and by publishing a “resource pack” to aid in the design and implementation of conflict-sensitive education. INEE describes CSE as an iterative process through which education professionals strive to understand the context in which education

takes place; analyze the two-way interaction between this context and all aspects and stages of education programs; and act to minimize the negative and maximize the positive influences education policies and programming have on conflict within an organization's given priorities (INEE 2013, 7).

The INEE resource pack provides a set of documents designed to introduce CSE guidance to policy makers, planners, and practitioners. These documents provide information to help throughout the program design process. The pack's one-page summary presents six foundational principles for incorporating CSE into education proposals, policies, investments, and programs. A 12-page tool also offers questions for designers and implementers to consider about conflict dynamics and potential CSE approaches as a guide to ensure that conflict sensitivity is integrated into education at all stages of the program cycle. The most in-depth document is a longer CSE Guidance Note, which offers strategies, reflection questions, and background information for developing and implementing conflict-sensitive education programs and policies.³ These are organized according to the five education domains put forward in INEE's (2010) core guidance document, "Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response, Recovery": (1) Foundational (community participation, coordination, analysis), (2) Access and Learning Environment, (3) Teaching and Learning, (4) Teachers and Other Education Personnel, and (5) Education Policy.

For the present case study on teacher education in South Sudan, EDC referred primarily to the CSE Guidance Note because it provided more information about what conflict-sensitive education would look like within the teacher education subsector than either the "Principles" or the "Reflection Tool." EDC also drew from the South Sudan Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies (SSMS), which contained distilled and contextualized information from the more global Minimum Standards by the South Sudan Education Cluster (INEE 2012). EDC referred in particular to the domains that related to teachers—numbers 3, 4, and 5. Table 3 combines and summarizes the most relevant strategies (CSE Guidance Note) and standards (SSMS).

³ The 2010 edition of the INEE Minimum Standards already integrated conflict-sensitive education principles throughout all the handbook's domains and standards and offers a useful and a foundational orientation toward conflict sensitivity. In fact, the CSE Guidance Note built on these revised standards to provide additional guidance and can therefore be seen as a supplement to the baseline guidance, already provided in the Minimum Standards.

Table 3: INEE CSE Strategies and South Sudan Minimum Standards Most Relevant to SSTEP

INEE Minimum Standard Domain	Standard	Summary
Domain 3: Teaching and Learning	Standard 2: Training, Professional Development, and Support	Teachers and other educational personnel receive periodic, relevant, and structured training according to their needs and circumstances.
Domain 4: Teachers and Other Education Personnel	Standard 1: Recruitment and Selection	A sufficient number of appropriately qualified teachers and other education personnel are recruited through a participatory and transparent process, based on selection criteria that reflect diversity and equity.
Domain 4: Teachers and Other Education Personnel	Standard 2: Conditions of Work	Teachers and other education personnel have clearly defined conditions of work and are appropriately compensated.
Domain 4: Teachers and Other Education Personnel	Standard 3: Support and Supervision	Support and supervision mechanisms for teachers and other education personnel function effectively.
Domain 5: Education Policy	Standard 1: Law and Policy Formulation	Education authorities prioritize continuity and recovery of quality education, including free and inclusive access to schooling.

It is important to note that both the CSE Guidance Note and the South Sudan Minimum Standards are “aspirational” by design: both present the ideal scenario that education partners should work for, but with the implicit understanding that, given the challenging and fragile contexts where this guidance would be applied, these goals are not necessarily attainable all at once and/or across all domains and standards.

CONFLICT-SENSITIVE TEACHER EDUCATION AND THE SSTEP EXPERIENCE

An initial observation—and in our opinion a pivotal one—about the INEE CSE teacher education guidance is that it assumes the full and active participation of a functional government structure, including the National Education Ministry and other key government bodies, as well as a government-wide commitment to prioritizing education. Unfortunately, in South Sudan the governance system

simply does not meet the basic requirements for implementing the CSE guidelines. These realities raise a number of questions for donors, implementing partners, and education officials, not only in South Sudan but in other in conflict-affected areas that wish to adhere to the CSE principles:

- What is an acceptable timeframe for addressing the various CSE guidelines?
- Given that not all guidelines can be addressed at once, how should the strategies be prioritized and who will determine this?
- Given that governments face a serious shortage of funds and experienced personnel, what milestones and benchmarks are acceptable when developing a progressive, conflict-sensitive teacher education and support system that governments, donors, and implementing partners can use as a guideline while they work toward the long-term goals and desired standards? How might the role of the government, donors, and implementing partners evolve as the teacher education and support system is constructed over time?
- If the government is not able to collaborate in developing conflict-sensitive teacher education and support, what parts of the CSE Guidance Note (and the resource pack more broadly), if any, can nongovernmental actors still apply, and what sort of impact could they have?
- What role can or should teachers' perspectives play in applying the principles of CSE? In a context like South Sudan, where there are few if any collective teacher bodies, how can meaningful consultations take place?

The following sections review how the CSE guidance could have influenced SSTEP's design and implementation experience, evaluate its applicability in an extremely challenging conflict-affected environment, and assess how the program design and decisions made by donors, implementing partners, and the National Education Ministry affected this applicability. Following the review, we offer recommendations and lessons learned for how to make the CSE Guidance Note more operational, using the above questions as a guide.

Before diving into the analysis, two observations regarding South Sudan, and SSTEP in particular, seem important. First, as noted above, South Sudan is

not only recovering from decades of war (and may be sliding back into it), it is also a new country that needs to implement laws and policies, most of which must be created from scratch. In theory, the country should and could follow the standards set out in the CSE Guidance Note to develop its education system, but doing so in practice will be difficult because of the extreme lack of technical expertise, human resources, and budget available to the National Education Ministry. Second, the National Education Ministry was represented within SSTEP by a technical committee and a policy committee, which often disagreed with each other. These disagreements and the fact that the ministry was acting from a severely under-resourced position often meant that SSTEP leadership lacked a strong counterpart within the ministry, and that key deliverables that relied on ministry leadership were either delayed or stymied.

DOMAIN 3, STANDARD 2: TRAINING, PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AND SUPPORT⁴

INEE guidance. This minimum standard states that “teachers and other education personnel receive periodic, relevant, and structured training according to needs and circumstances” (INEE 2013, 11). The CSE Guidance Note describes professional development as inclusive and nondiscriminatory, with special attention given to refugee teachers. Training should be provided by qualified trainers who are aware of the dynamics of a particular conflict. In terms of content, the CSE strategies suggest that training include human rights, responsible citizenship, reconciliation, conflict dynamics and transformation, identity issues, nonviolent alternatives, and historical memory. The South Sudan Minimum Standards lay out specific goals for trainings on emergency issues and the need for subject-specialist trainers.

Observation: *With limited teacher education capacity and resources, the ministry prioritized a focus on core subjects over more conflict-sensitive ones, such as peacebuilding and human rights. No substantial effort was made to integrate CSE into the core subjects during the curriculum revisions.*

As noted above, South Sudan has a severe teacher shortage and currently relies on a large percentage of volunteer and untrained teachers for whom the only training option is in-service. Substantive face-to-face in-service training is limited

⁴ The CSE Guidance Note is organized according to the five education domains put forward in INEE’s (2010) core guidance document, “Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response, Recovery”: (1) Foundational (community participation, coordination, analysis), (2) Access and Learning Environment, (3) Teaching and Learning, (4) Teachers and Other Education Personnel, and (5) Education Policy.

to 9-12 weeks per year. With limited physical infrastructure to house teachers and transportation challenges, the cost of conducting face-to-face training is very high and thus not sustainable by the GOSS. Given these realities, the ministry expected SSTEP to focus its teacher training resources on basic curriculum content and pedagogy in the five core subject areas—English, math, social studies, science, and professional studies. Other elements of the curriculum, such as physical education, music, and art, were, in SSTEP's experience, never covered in in-service teacher training. In an environment where neither core nor non-core curriculum topics were given adequate coverage, there was no discussion of adding topics such as peacebuilding, education in crisis and emergency situations, or ethnic identity issues. Donors and implementing partners might argue that knowing how to help manage crises and emergencies should take priority over curricular content, but this was not the priority of the fledgling South Sudan government or of SSTEP, whose mandate was to work with and through the ministry, and who struggled just to provide quality support for core subject training. Furthermore, due to the challenges regarding the revision of teacher training curriculum and materials, CSE topics were not adequately integrated into the core subjects.

Observation: *The National Education Ministry's supply of teacher trainers (tutors) was insufficient in both number and quality to deliver training in core subjects and basic pedagogy, let alone conflict-sensitive approaches to education.*

With the closure of the TTIs and CECs as a result of government austerity measures due to the oil dispute with Sudan, the limited teacher training that did take place in South Sudan was conducted by tutors from the state ministries, who more often than not were retired government teachers. The tutors' role was to support learning and the CECs, and to direct teacher support and supervision. The number of tutors, as well as their suitability, knowledge, skills, and reliability, varied greatly from state to state. In many cases, the tutors were older teachers who could not get around easily in the difficult physical conditions of rural South Sudan, which made monitoring and supervising learning content difficult. Furthermore, while many tutors were listed on state teacher rosters, they often were not working and/or not being paid. And while SSTEP did provide significant tutor training, the project had little influence over their deployment and was unable to monitor how effectively teacher training was delivered. Within this context, it is difficult to imagine whether, and with what degree of quality, the critical and difficult topics of conflict dynamics and transformation, identity issues, and reconciliation would be delivered to teacher trainees.

SSTEP Lesson Learned: Given the critical importance of conflict sensitivity in teacher instruction in South Sudan, topics such as crisis management, conflict history, and peace building should have been explicitly discussed, negotiated, and included as part of the “most basic/critical” elements of SSTEP’s curriculum design support to the National Education Ministry.

Recommendations for CSE:

- In cases where donors and implementing partners are directly collaborating with the National Education Ministry to determine and deliver teacher training, the parties should identify and agree on a limited number of core conflict-sensitive messages and approaches to be emphasized in teacher training. They should then work with training designers and master trainers to build these concepts into training protocols, materials, and evaluations, even if the training is focused on pedagogy or subject matter—in short, CSE messages should be integrated into these topics.
- In cases where donors and implementing partners are working independently of the National Education Ministry to determine and deliver teacher training—for example, where NGOs have programs independent of the government, or in camps for refugees or internally displaced persons—identify core curricular knowledge that teachers and students must know in order to progress in formal education at each grade level, then deliver curricular content within a broader, conflict-sensitive training plan that is specifically designed to be delivered in fragile and conflict-affected contexts.
- Provide all master trainers with solid training in CSE principles and teacher education approaches.
- Consider alternative delivery mechanisms to give teachers access to conflict-sensitive topics. For example, South Sudan has received thousands of radios that could be used for easy delivery of information on sensitive topics.⁵

⁵ As part of the USAID-funded and EDC-implemented South Sudan Interactive Radio Instruction Program, radios were distributed and programs developed to support delivery of the primary school curriculum, as well as English-language and civic education programs for youth and adults.

DOMAIN 4, STANDARD 1: RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION OF TEACHERS

INEE guidance. This minimum standard states that “a sufficient number of appropriately qualified teachers and other education personnel are recruited through a participatory and transparent process, based on selection criteria reflecting diversity and equity” (INEE 2013, 11). The CSE Guidance Note refers to job descriptions, selection guidelines, selection committees, HR and payroll systems, and deployment policies. The South Sudan Minimum Standards emphasize a 50:1 pupil-to-teacher ratio, define three tiers of teachers, advocate for the hiring of other highly qualified education personnel, and stress the need for transparent and equitable recruitment that balances ethnicity, gender, and language. They also set the goal that women represent 25 percent of the teaching staff.

Observation: *Teacher recruitment and selection varied by state and locality, and the processes were not transparent to external observers.*

SSTEP’s experience with the recruitment and selection of teachers is that policies and practices varied greatly from one area to another, and that there was little to no transparency in the process. Moreover, there was no unified teacher registry in South Sudan. Some teachers were on the government payroll and thus fulfilled certain conditions of educational attainment, but the large majority were so-called volunteer teachers, who may have received some compensation from the community and/or local education authorities. How these volunteers were recruited, trained, supervised, supported, and monitored was both varied and difficult to ascertain.

Further complicating the scenario were widespread nepotism (often along ethnic lines) and corruption within the system. Officials at both the national and state levels were often appointed based on their past affiliation with the Sudan People’s Liberation Army rather than on their qualifications or skills. This attitude trickled down to the state and *payam* (lower administrative) levels, where the reward of a salaried position was provided to loyal activists. False transcripts and education certificates were not uncommon, so potential teachers’ true level of schooling and knowledge was hard to determine. This situation was further exacerbated in the north, where most teachers were trained in Arabic-pattern teaching and had poor English-language skills, which made testing their knowledge difficult.

SSTEP's trainee cohorts came from two sources. The initial cohort consisted of teachers who had previously been trained under the Multi-Donor Trust Fund. SSTEP therefore had no say in teacher recruitment or selection for this group. When this first cohort proved insufficient and SSTEP shifted strategies to recruit new trainees, it shared its selection criteria with the state ministries, which handled the actual recruitment and selection.

This was one of the biggest challenges SSTEP faced. Most of the teachers presented to SSTEP for training did not meet the selection criteria. Faced with the choice of rejecting them or proceeding, SSTEP chose to train all teachers who presented for training. Its rationale was that all teachers would benefit from training, and that the time and cost of beginning a new recruitment process with no guarantee of a different result would not make the process worthwhile.

The scenario was further complicated by the difficulty of administering entrance exams for the training programs, an experience that was costly in terms of mobilizing the students and difficult in terms of engaging the state ministries. For example, when SSTEP administered the entrance exam in one state, all the teachers failed. Refusing to train these teachers would have implied eliminating this state from the program. After consulting with USAID, SSTEP decided that the teachers should stay in the program.

According to SSTEP staff, suspicion of sitting for entrance exams pervades the country's culture. As a result, many teachers are frightened away because of the entrance examination; their fears may be related to their own perception of their skills and performance.

SSTEP Lesson Learned: Unless government mechanisms for teacher recruitment and selection include community and/or third-party observers, along with clear entrance examinations, CSE recruitment and selection standards will be difficult to enforce or monitor, and participants' backgrounds will be difficult to verify.

Recommendations for CSE:

- Through a CSE assessment, determine key teacher characteristics and selection approaches to ensure equity and diversity in this context. Also gauge teacher demand and likely supply in the relevant geographic areas, and for those that meet each relevant characteristic.

In cases where government and implementing partners are directly collaborating to deliver teacher training:

- Jointly agree on a selection process and a minimum percentage of teachers to be recruited and selected in each context-relevant CSE category and geographic region (ethnicity, gender, education level, language ability, etc.).
- If necessary, agree on the number of extra slots that can be filled by any candidate, as long as they meet basic eligibility criteria.
- If possible, over-recruit and over-select in each relevant CSE category to allow for attrition and no-shows.
- Administer entrance exams to ensure that teachers meet minimum standards.
- Budget for and assign neutral selection monitors at each selection site who will work with the local selection team to ensure that criteria are adhered to and verified.
- Include appropriate incentives to reward adherence to selection criteria; for example, cohorts that meet the selection criteria will receive extra teacher supplies.

DOMAIN 4, STANDARD 2: CONDITIONS OF WORK

INEE guidance. This minimum standard states that “teachers and other education personnel have clearly defined conditions of work and are appropriately compensated” (INEE 2013, 11). The South Sudan Minimum Standards note the need for a safe environment, office space, ongoing professional development, and compensation according to a standardized salary scale or agreed-on terms and conditions.

Observation: *South Sudan lacked selection, deployment, compensation, and management policies that would address the conditions of work, and teacher work conditions therefore varied widely across the country.*

SSTEP was designed to work through the existing ministry teacher support system and to build it at the same time. In fact, neither the rudiments of this system nor the ministry's human and infrastructural capacity were sufficient to build on, let alone work through. As a result, SSTEP, like the ministry, had little to no influence on the working conditions of the teachers who were trained through the project, and the degree to which these conditions were conflict sensitive was highly variable and generally low. While SSTEP did actively engage the ministry on issues of certification, differing opinions within the ministry resulted in no action being taken. Like many institutions in South Sudan, the National Education Ministry was plagued by conflict between leaders. In the case of SSTEP, the decisions made by the technical committee were often overturned by the steering committee, or vice versa. Given the difficulty of engaging directly with the ministry to make a final decision, much was left in limbo. SSTEP made tremendous efforts to build consensus among the various government stakeholders, but a culture of conflict and obstinacy prevailed, exacerbated by threats of violence and by ethnic and regional divisions and disparities. For example, conflicts often arose when some officials spoke in Arabic. With the ministry unable to come to a consensus, it was not possible to begin discussions with the other government agencies involved.

SSTEP Lesson Learned: If donors and implementing partners are committed to working through a government to improve teacher working conditions, they are limited to goals and strategies that acknowledge and accommodate the pace and priorities of that government.

Recommendation for CSE:

- In cases where donors and implementing partners are committed to work with government to improve teacher working conditions, they should build in leverage points and design contingencies to ensure that certain critical conflict-sensitive conditions are met. Possible strategies include the following:

Systems Development Level: List the various teacher working conditions to be addressed and include such information as:

- the existing baseline status of each condition and a description of the appropriate conflict-sensitive target status for it;
- the capacity development needed to reach the target status;

- the costs of getting to the standard;
- the political challenges to overcome;
- the time required; and
- the relative importance of this component within the larger teacher support system.

Use this matrix to come to a consensus with the National Education Ministry on a short list of the most critical teacher work conditions to be addressed, then design an approach to make it happen.

Implementation Level:

- Identify the roles and responsibilities of the National Education Ministry and implementing partners to ensure that minimum conditions are established for all targeted teachers, the costs and timing needed, and the indicators that will be used to demonstrate that they have been achieved.
- Build in clear carrots and sticks to encourage progress while establishing minimum standards, and follow through if progress isn't made.
- Consider working with nongovernmental partners engaged in teacher training to advocate collectively for ministry adherence and support.

DOMAIN 4, STANDARD 3: SUPPORT AND SUPERVISION

INEE guidance. This minimum standard is defined as “support and supervision mechanisms for teachers and other education personnel to function effectively” (INEE 2013, 11). The South Sudan Minimum Standards address the need for mentoring, counseling, training, formative supervision, classroom observation, and continual learning, among others.

Observation: *As noted, the infrastructure required for the effective support and supervision of teachers simply did not exist in many parts of South Sudan. In many states, tutors were poorly qualified or not incentivized (i.e., paid) to*

do their work. Security, transportation, and logistical challenges hampered attempts to make regular school visits to support teachers. Schools were often far apart, making even a cluster approach difficult to implement, given the distances involved and the lack of transportation.

SSTEP was designed to build system capacity and at the same time rely on it for delivery of teacher support. Given the lack of infrastructure available at the decentralized level to support teachers and the need to hire additional staff to fill in the gaps that existed due to the lack of government structures, there was effectively no system for SSTEP to use. While there were a handful of nongovernmental teacher training institutions, the government was reluctant to allow SSTEP to provide support to nongovernmental agencies. SSTEP was therefore limited to training tutors who would conduct the face-to-face study and cluster meetings and monitor teacher assignments. As noted, the tutors were not SSTEP employees, nor did they have any reporting or other responsibilities vis-à-vis the project. In order to ensure quality, delivery of in-service training, and support for the number of teachers SSTEP was committed to train, a massive supervision network would have had to be put in place, either one parallel to the government's own semi-functional tutor structure or one built for the government. However, the resources to do so, both financial and human, simply did not exist.

SSTEP Lesson Learned: In conflict-affected environments, it is risky to build government infrastructure and, at the same time, rely on it to deliver critical inputs. In general, the design should have explicitly included flexible timeframes and delivery targets, based on regular “rapid assessments” of the context and the National Education Ministry’s capacity.

Recommendation for CSE:

- If necessary in conditions of acute need for both teacher training and mobilization in response to a general need for improved systems capacity, separate programs for these two goals. Plan to provide services through nongovernmental organizations while simultaneously continuing to build government capacity. Define criteria for conditions that must be in place before service delivery can be merged back into the government system, and work with the National Education Ministry to develop approaches to make that transition.

- Where there is a dual objective to build systems and deliver teacher support services, design (and agree with the National Education Ministry on) contingency mechanisms that allow delivery to occur independently through nongovernmental organizations, should systems development timelines be delayed.
- Limit donor or implementing partner targets to what can be achieved under prevailing conditions.

DOMAIN 5, STANDARD 1: LAW AND POLICY FORMULATION

INEE guidance. This standard states that “education authorities prioritize continuity and recovery of quality education, including free and inclusive access to schooling” (INEE 2013, 11). The South Sudan Minimum Standards detail recommendations for a wide range of education sector actors and the importance of advocacy for policy reform, along with free and inclusive schooling.

Observation: *During SSTEP’s implementation period, the GOSS was focused more on maintaining security than on anything else. Funding for education and policy reform virtually ground to a halt.*

In a context of political turmoil, citizen insecurity, and budget austerity, education authorities did try to maintain free access to schooling. However, their ability to advocate for the “continuity and recovery of quality education” was stymied by deeply divergent views within the government regarding the core elements of quality education, not to mention a funds shortage so severe that teacher training colleges remained shuttered and many teachers were simply not paid. Furthermore, there was a dearth at all levels of qualified education officials who might have known enough about quality education to advocate for it effectively. There were no teachers unions, and functional PTA and school management committees were few and far between. So, while external agents (donors, implementing partners, NGOs) were perhaps the loudest voices advocating for quality education, there was a limited technical structure or powerful domestic political base that could push this agenda, given the existing security and budget distractions. In all fairness, SSTEP did manage to support the development of several key policies and policy notes. However, even if the National Education Ministry had succeeded in producing more policies, it is unlikely, given the larger governmental crises at play during SSTEP’s period of implementation, that a National Education Ministry proposal requiring added funding would have been accepted by the other structures of government.

SSTEP Lesson Learned: Advocacy for and action on education policy reform is easily stymied by security considerations, budget austerity, political infighting at the National Education Ministry, and lack of education advocates at all levels.

Recommendation for CSE: In cases where donors and implementing partners are committed to work with government to develop education policies, consider the following:

- When designing a project and writing a proposal to implement it, analyze in as much detail as possible the human, financial, and institutional resources available to reach anticipated project goals, and adjust those goals to be in line with the government resources available.
- Create a priority matrix like the one described under Domain 4, Standard 2, above, then work with the National Education Ministry to determine a realistic set of priority policies.
- In cases of acute need for service delivery in the absence of finalized policies, negotiate with the government to allow nongovernmental organizations to deliver services, based on minimum CSE criteria for quality education.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Viewing SSTEP through the CSE guidance lens, three major conclusions and recommendations emerge.

First, the CSE Guidance Note's strategies for teacher education and support were both too general and too optimistic about the government's capacity and will to implement CSE, and thus could not have provided the detailed and context-appropriate guidance SSTEP needed to function well in South Sudan's conflict-affected environment. The guidance strategies were too broad and too aspirational to significantly help SSTEP prioritize and negotiate with USAID and the National Education Ministry for a teacher education and support approach that was sensitive to real and ultimately destructive conflict dynamics.

To be useful in the area of teacher education and support, the CSE guidelines should be complemented with more operationalized tools that suggest specific pathways, timeframes, milestones, or steps for helping education ministries affected by conflict develop a conflict-sensitive teacher education system. For example, such guidelines could specifically recommend that a workshop be held with curriculum design teams to discuss integrating conflict issues into curriculum development. The guidelines could also offer practical suggestions for ministries or implementing partners to improve the conflict sensitivity of teacher recruitment practices.

Second, SSTEP's initial design did not adequately reflect or respond to South Sudan's conflict dynamics, nor did it take into account the principles of conflict-sensitive education. As noted previously, the SSTEP design, and most of its implementation, predates the publication of the CSE Guidance Note. Had this approach been integrated into the design, a different program might have emerged. The design also misjudged the existing capacity and/or will within the National Education Ministry and the GOSS as a whole. SSTEP's scope and many deliverables were not appropriate for South Sudan's conflict context. Its inflexible design made it impossible to meet key deliverables because it made the accomplishment of tutor and teacher training (a critical output) dependent on a delivery system that was largely nonfunctional. This design also made it difficult to adopt a number of important conflict-sensitive teacher education strategies retroactively.

Using conflict-sensitive approaches even before a program is designed would allow designers to do the following:

- **Identify the tension** between immediate teacher training and broader systems development goals, and either choose one or design a way to address both that takes the conflict setting into account.
- **Closely analyze** the government's capacity to provide education services and design a project that recognizes those assets and constraints.
- **Clearly define** the ethnic and/or other underlying conflicts that can lead to (or have already resulted in) violence, determine the relative priority or mix of conflict-related versus academic content, and identify ways to redefine the purpose of schools in these contexts: namely, to help prevent, reduce, and mitigate violent conflict.

- **Work with government** to determine the critical policy or systems design priorities related to teacher education and support.

Even such guidance, however, would not have enabled SSTEP planners to foresee all future challenges. For this reason, CSE guidance should also include more specific strategies for undertaking a risk analysis, rolling assessments, and contingency planning, not only for the teacher education and support domain but for all CSE domains.

Third, the National Education Ministry and the GOSS itself had neither the capacity nor, perhaps, the will to adequately address CSE planning and implementation. Given South Sudan's capacity challenges and recent history, it is not surprising that some within government either didn't see, or didn't want to act on, many conflict-related challenges to teacher education, particularly if articulating and/or addressing them would jeopardize their own self-interests or upset the precarious ethnic and power setup that existed post-CPA.

Applying the INEE CSE guidance for Domain 1, Conflict-Sensitive Analysis, Participation, and Coordination, could have helped USAID and the National Education Ministry identify and apply the following while designing SSTEP: (1) the ethnic tensions that existed from the school community to the national level and ultimately erupted into massive violent conflict; (2) the government preoccupation with security, which reduced the likelihood of a broad government commitment to and allocation of resources for education; and (3) the ministry's inability to provide the physical and human resources necessary to achieve SSTEP's initial objectives. Completing such an assessment before the initiation of SSTEP might have allowed for a more frank and balanced dialogue between USAID and the National Education Ministry, and have resulted in a more realistic agenda for both ministry capacity-building and the delivery of teacher training.

In addition to the SSTEP-related observations above, EDC offers the following more general take-aways:

- **The CSE guidance should be better understood and adopted by all development partners, specifically by the education ministries, and particularly at the planning stage.** In fact, the current INEE CSE resource pack is probably best used to provide introductory or foundational information to build awareness and promote broad acceptance throughout the education sector. Used this way, the pack's generally broad and aspirational guidance can provide a model

for what CSE can and should be. INEE can advocate with donors and implementing partners that the use of CSE tools and concepts (whether presented through this package or others) be explicitly included in education program planning in conflict-affected or fragile environments. Alternatively, the CSE Guidance Note could be revised and expanded along the lines of another INEE publication, the Resource Pack on Teaching and Learning. In addition, future iterations of the CSE Guidance Note should include an orientation for those facilitating the conflict-sensitive education planning process. It should include an explanation of how the issues around conflict and education can be promoted, prioritized, and understood more effectively by government and nongovernmental counterparts in developing countries.

- **Current CSE guidance (as well as country-level adaptations of the minimum standards) should be complemented by future materials that provide more specific planning and prioritization tools, steps to operationalize guidelines, interim CSE guidance milestones that are adapted to country situations, and more specific risk analysis and contingency planning guidance.** These tools should be designed with the particular audience (planners, implementers, education ministry representatives, researchers) in mind, and could be included as part of a CSE resource pack to accompany the CSE Guidance Note.
- **Development partners (donors, implementing partners, governments, NGOs, etc.) in conflict-affected areas should establish a small set of priority goals or desired outcomes to be achieved, but they should make room for a variety of ways to achieve them.** They should build a maximum degree of flexibility into programs in terms of delivery strategies, implementation partners, roll-out, performance targets, funding, etc., which will allow alternative means of achieving the same goal or outcome when conditions change (as they most certainly will) over the life of the program.⁶
- **In a transition from humanitarian to development support, development partners and host-country governments should openly discuss and plan for the right balance between foundational development (in the case of SSTEP, policies and curricula) and**

⁶ The authors understand that the INEE Guidance Note and Resource Pack on Teaching and Learning includes sample tools, teaching materials, and case studies, which can be useful resources to help adapt the Guidance Note to country-specific contexts.

immediate needs (in the case of SSTEP, training thousands of teachers), as well as a commitment to longer term funding mechanisms and maximum flexibility to respond to changing conditions. Without ensuring the timing and phasing of support, outcomes can be risky.

The current conflict in South Sudan is evidence of fundamental and historical tensions that, if not addressed adequately, will continue to erupt in the future. Understanding the roots and manifestations of the conflict and addressing historical grievances will be key to the future development of South Sudan. While these dynamics (and their redress) are deeper and broader than the education sector, teachers, as a primary influence on young people outside the home, must understand how to address them in their classrooms and communities. For this to happen, South Sudan's fragile education system, in particular its support for teachers, must continue to develop. Conflict prevention and mitigation should be among the sector's core mandates. While active crisis makes on-location systems development work challenging, progress always can be made. One key element is a continuing dialogue about and awareness of the importance of CSE at all stages and all levels of education programming.

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BOOK REVIEW

***FROM CLASSROOMS TO CONFLICT IN RWANDA* BY ELISABETH KING
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2014. 212 PAGES
\$81.00 (HARDCOVER), \$29.99 (PAPER)
ISBN 978-1-107-03933-9**

Elisabeth King's new study of education in Rwanda is an excellent in-depth case study of the "two faces of education" conundrum: education, whether through content, classroom practice, structure, equity of access, or a host of other messages students can receive about the society they live in, is not an unalloyed good because it can contribute to either conflict or peace. This powerful theory, first developed in *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, a 2000 report edited by Kenneth Bush and Diana Saltarelli, fully comes alive in King's focused picture of one country's experience with both education and violent conflict (Bush and Saltarelli 2000). Once again, the in-depth case study shows the great value of this approach in helping to bridge the gap between theories and practice in real-world contexts. While the underlying theory is familiar to those in the field of education and conflict, without details of the intersections between school systems and sociopolitical developments, it remains abstract. This book makes the connection concrete. It should be read not only by scholars and policy makers in the context of education and education in conflict, but also by political scientists, scholars, and analysts from other social science disciplines and policy worlds who are seeking to understand more fully the role education plays in political conflict.

Of King's key messages, two are particularly clear. The first is that education can play dual roles—contributing to conflict and building peace. Again, to people in the education and conflict field, this is not news, but to the vast majority of readers it truly is a revelation. As shown in studies like the current UN MyWorld survey—which asks people around the world to rank 16 essential needs—education, jobs, health care, affordable food, etc.—a broad spectrum of people put enormous faith and hope in education, which ranked first in the MyWorld results (United Nations 2014). An eloquent example of the intense yet in some ways misplaced faith in education emerges in King's interviews with Rwandans, as they tell her that the genocide was due to "ignorance"—specifically, a lack of formal education (1). King's second message is therefore that education must be treated very seriously as a potential contributor to conflict, both structurally (how the school system and classrooms are set up) and in terms of content (what is taught).

But King's third message, which addresses the most critical reforms needed to make education serve peace, fades into something less concrete—and for very good reasons. In Rwanda and far beyond, education reform is caught between the Scylla and Charybdis of two facts:¹ one, for each positive potential result from a certain reform there is a potential negative; and, two, even when it is pretty clear which reforms are critical and most likely to have positive results, the political will to implement them may be missing, or they are likely to be controversial and hence unstable or temporary.

At the end of her opening theoretical chapter, King addresses her concern that acknowledging the negative potential of education could somehow undermine the field—which, despite discursive recognition, is still neglected both in the humanitarian world and in development aid, especially in comparison to health care but to other areas as well. King notes that the publication of Bush and Saltarelli's study and widening recognition of the "two faces" theory created a fear that donors would use education's less than stellar record as a force for peace as a reason to deprioritize support for education in emergencies, which groups such as the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies had begun to campaign vigorously for by the time the message in the study was being actively discussed. King provides a nuanced answer to the hypothetical concern that she may be contributing to the feeling that education cannot serve peace enough to be a donor priority (14). This is an important argument, given that elaborating the "dark dimensions" of education takes some courage for a champion of education, even today.

This book also does a service to the field of political science, the author's original discipline, which generally overlooks education. As King points out, political scientists do not tend to study education, and education scholars and political scientists do not often interact (165). Hence, education remains marginalized in international relations and peace and conflict studies: "When this literature considers education's role in conflict, it usually concentrates on a lack of schooling, not on how schooling itself can contribute to conflict. Schooling is generally considered a black box without consideration of who has access or of the educational and psychological processes going on in schools" (7). In addition, King's overall focus on class and economic inequalities in Rwanda are a valuable and useful counterweight to the focus on ethnicity as a driver of conflict, particularly in Rwanda.

1 Scylla and Charybdis were mythical sea monsters noted by Homer that lived on opposite sites of a narrow channel. Being caught between Scylla and Charybdis thus means having to choose between two dangers.

From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda is based on King's research in Rwanda, which she undertook mainly in 2006, with a short return visit in 2009. She conducted semi-structured interviews in both French and English with a range of interviewees across the country, from ordinary people to education officials, including some elderly education administrators from the Belgian colonial period. The interviews in Rwanda were complicated by the generally repressive atmosphere, thus King complemented them with an analysis of both primary and secondary education policy documents, curriculum materials, and textbooks. The book opens with a theoretical section that first compares theories of conflict in education with political science, then moves to the education and conflict literature. She elucidates concepts of the "hidden curriculum" in education and school, which are more familiar to education scholars than political scholars as (a) a "reflector of existing social conditions"; (b) an "amplifier of social categories and messages"; (c) a signal of progress and the fulfillment of citizens' demands for essential services (or not, in the case of neglect of education); and (d) a "causal contributor," that is, as an institution that can give students agency (21-22).

Other theoretical foundations of the book include a discussion of stigmatization, which is critical in understanding education's role in society, followed by a summary of existing theories of conflict that focus on horizontal inequalities and exclusive identities, and of theories of peacebuilding that focus on—in an elegant piece of structural symmetry—horizontal equity and inclusive identities. King explores at length theories of creating new national identities, which are widely understood to be a critical part of sustainable peacebuilding efforts and conflict transformation. She summarizes the main approaches to transforming conflict identities, along with their implications for education, as (1) individuation, a move from focusing on groups to individuals and their rights; (2) recategorization, or the creation of a new group identity with the aim of enhancing social cohesion; or (3) multiculturalism-pluralism/mutual intergroup differentiation, which is related to cross-categorization, with a stress on individuals having multiple identities based on various categories. It is the third approach that some scholars, including Marc Howard Ross, say appears to be most effective (31). Finally, King stresses critical thinking as a peacebuilding strategy, citing a number of interesting empirical studies, including a 2001 study by Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo on tests showing improved "anti-authoritarianism" scores as well as knowledge on civics texts, when students of civics classes engaged in more classroom discussions of issues and less "rote learning" of facts (34). Generally, King's literature review offers evidence to strongly support the claim (34) that "children must be confronted with conflict and have practice understanding it in order to be able to manage conflict peacefully in their own lives"

(Bickmore 1999). The rest of the book is organized historically, with chapters on colonial-era education, education in the Rwandan republics, and education in postgenocide Rwanda. This structure, which interweaves the major conflicts that have characterized Rwanda's history, effectively makes the point about the relationship between education and conflict. Finally, King concludes by giving a broader picture of the possibilities of education for peacebuilding, which places Rwanda in comparative perspective.

Among the many valuable insights this book offers is a section on the danger of trying to use access to education as a form of reparation, which can exacerbate ethnic tensions by causing some to resent victims for receiving undeserved privileges (126 ff). This point will be of particular interest to the transitional justice sector, which counts reparations among its arsenal of weapons to redress past wrongs. The statistics on educational attainment in Rwanda are also valuable. Rwanda is much admired for its supposed achievements in development; in the field of health, this admiration appears to be justified. But while primary school enrollment has risen dramatically in Rwanda to an above-average level for sub-Saharan Africa, primary school completion is much far below average, and net enrollment rates for secondary school and especially tertiary school are below average for the region (123-125). King demonstrates the continued salience of class and income disparity in Rwanda by showing that the figures for education attainment among the wealthiest quintile of Rwandans are much better than those among the poorest: "As has been the case throughout Rwanda's history, class plays an important role in accessing opportunities and the state" (126).

One of the book's most valuable insights is the highly conflictive role that education has played in, or the ways education has been used to foment, conflict throughout Rwanda's history: its complexity and danger were tellingly summarized by the last Belgian resident general of Rwanda, who called education in the country "at the same time a jigsaw puzzle and a viper's nest" (51). The same two images could be applied to the "history problem." Although King looks beyond the most conflict-related part of education (how the past is taught) to consider the entire system, her discussion of the deep difficulties surrounding history education since the conflict reveals how widely people disagree about how they see history as a subject—often with even internal contradictions. Many Rwandans told King that schools need to return to teaching history, but not the history of bad and violent things ("I want to wait until we will write a history that does not divide people"), although people disagreed widely on what exactly should be left out. Many of her interviewees also said, "If our history is atrocious, it is our history. We still need to teach it" (130). A viper's nest, indeed—but a necessary one!

It is not a criticism of King's work to say that, overall, this is not an optimistic book. It leaves one tempted to say that we have no viable model for how to approach education after atrocities of the level experienced in Rwanda. As a complement to King's book, similarly structured and detailed studies of less all-encompassing conflicts than a genocide, and/or less historically intractable conflicts, would provide good contrast: is the contradiction of education as peacebuilder/cause of conflict a dilemma writ large, or is it really qualitatively different in this postgenocidal setting? Are there postconflict contexts with more political space for education reform that can tell us more about the impact of conflict and about what works? We do have detailed studies about education from Northern Ireland, but more studies like King's in other contexts would be extremely valuable. Cambodia, for example, also a country that experienced mass killing (although not ethnic genocide), now teaches the history of the Khmer Rouge period in its classrooms even as it continues to have many structural inequities in the education system. We clearly could benefit from knowing much more about education's historical trajectory and the impact many postconflict reforms have had on peacebuilding in these places. King's methodology and rigor point the way.

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research has shown that perceiving a group to be a threat can lead to unique behavioral intentions toward this group, demonstrating that not all intergroup conflicts are the same. For example, perceiving a group to be an obstacle may lead to harassment because of feelings of anger, whereas perceiving a group to be a threat to morals may lead to exclusion because of disgust. On the other hand, his forthcoming research demonstrates that cooperative relationships with a group can lead to more positive behavioral intentions, such as the increased likelihood of helping a group.

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JOURNAL ON EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES

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The *Journal on Education in Emergencies (JEiE)* seeks to publish groundbreaking and outstanding scholarly and practitioner work on education in emergencies (EiE), defined broadly as “quality learning opportunities for all ages in situations of crisis, including early childhood development, primary, secondary, non-formal, technical, vocation, higher and adult education” (INEE 2010).

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Other topics may include challenges and opportunities in designing, implementing, monitoring, and evaluation of EiE practice/ project/ program/ policy/ initiative/ approach, problems of and benefits in investing in EiE, EiE program administration opportunities and challenges (e.g. staffing, surge capacity), capacity development and collaboration with local populations for education delivery, curricula (revision, renewal, history, and identity issues),

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