



A NEW AGENDA FOR EDUCATION IN FRAGILE STATES

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CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| Overview | 1 |
| Four Reasons Why Investing in Education in Fragile Contexts Is a Smart Move..... | 4 |
| The First Reason: Advancing Economic Development | 5 |
| The Second Reason: Strengthening Humanitarian Action | 6 |
| The Third Reason: Contributing to Security and Statebuilding | 8 |
| The Fourth Reason: Mitigating Impacts of Disasters | 12 |
| The Status of the Global Response to Education in Fragile States | 14 |
| The Emergency of the Field of Education and Fragility: An Intellectual History | 14 |
| Assets to the Field of Education and Fragility | 20 |
| Remaining Gaps in the Field of Education and Fragility | 22 |
| Four Challenges for the Field of Education and Fragility | 23 |
| Coordination Puzzle: Four Main Approaches in the Field of Education and Fragility | 23 |
| Challenging the Stability-Fragility Dichotomy | 30 |
| Reducing Risk and Building Resilience: A Shared Goal | 32 |
| Context First: Using Different Tools to Advance a Shared Goal | 33 |
| Education's Low Policy Priority at the National and Global Levels | 35 |
| National Education Plans | 35 |
| Global Policy | 38 |
| Education's Financing Level and Modalities | 40 |
| Funding Levels | 40 |
| Aid Modalities | 40 |
| Case study of Need-Driven Aid Modalities: Global Partnership for Education | 42 |
| Education Outcomes and Good-Quality Learning | 45 |
| Conclusion: The Need for a Fourth Phase | 47 |
| Scaling up the Field's Vision | 47 |
| Scaling up the Field's Policy Prioritization | 48 |
| Scaling up the Field's Financing | 48 |
| Scaling up the Field's Attention to Quality | 49 |
| Making Smart Investments | 49 |
| Annexes | 51 |
| A: Coordination Puzzle–Detailed Description of Frameworks and Actors | 51 |
| B: Summary of Education Sector Plans Addressing Disaster/Conflict Risk Reduction | 59 |
| Notes | 61 |

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Approaches, Objectives and Countries of Focus..... 4

Figure 2: Education and Fragility: An Illustrative Timeline From Proliferation to Collaboration .. 16

Figure 3: Collaboration: Approaches and Relationship to Education and Fragility.....20

Figure 4: Actor Mapping across the Four Approaches Influencing Education in Fragile Contexts... 24

Figure 5: Integration of Risk and Resilience for Continuity in Education 34

Figure 6: Review of National Education Sector Plans 36

Figure 7: The Number of Fragile States Joining GPE 2003-2013 42

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OVERVIEW

In the 13 years since the dawn of the new millennium, significant progress has been made in addressing some of the world's most important problems. One billion fewer people live in extreme poverty, 3 million children's lives are saved annually and 610 million children in developing countries are enrolled in primary school, more than ever before.¹ However, this progress has not been shared evenly around the globe. Populations affected by weak systems of governance and that suffer violence and disasters have systematically been left behind. They are much less likely to enjoy progress vis-à-vis any of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which include eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, improving children and women's health, and enrolling children in school. No country classified as a "fragile state," for example, has met all eight of the MDGs. Children born in low-income, conflict-affected countries are twice as likely to die before the age of five years, twice as likely to lack access to clean water and more than three times as likely to not attend school than children living in peaceful, low-income countries.² People living in poverty, many of whom are affected by conflict, are more vulnerable to the effects of climate change and disasters. Children are especially affected, and those

from the poorest families are up to 10 times more likely to bear the brunt of environmental disasters linked to climate change.³

The needs of people living in fragile states are an urgent priority for our time, and thus will almost certainly be prominent in the next round of global development goals. As the global community reflects on the new agenda that will replace the MDGs when they expire in 2015, it will do well to take stock of the existing strategies for supporting the needs of populations in fragile states. A range of strategies are undoubtedly needed, and there is good reason why there is a heavy emphasis on the economic, legal and security dimensions of development efforts in fragile states. However, efforts in the social sphere are equally needed, and education is one important strategy for supporting populations in fragile states that was often overlooked until recently.

This report provides a broad review of the field of education in fragile states and charts a new agenda for maximizing education's contribution to the development and well-being of people living in these contexts. We hope it serves as a comprehensive introduction to the topic for those coming to this issue

for the first time as well as provides new insights for those already actively engaged in the subject. The arguments we make here are based on evidence developed both from careful analysis and synthesis of the latest available data as well as primary research.

CHILDREN BORN IN LOW-INCOME, CONFLICT-AFFECTED COUNTRIES are twice as likely to die before the age of five years, twice as likely to lack access to clean water and more than three times as likely to not attend school than children living in peaceful, low-income countries.

We have found compelling evidence showing that education can play an important role for accelerating progress in fragile states for four main reasons:

- Economic growth and poverty reduction (economic development),
- Children's protection and well-being in and after emergencies (humanitarian action),
- Peacebuilding and statebuilding (security), and
- Reducing risks from and building resilience to disasters and climate change.

Maximizing the contributions education can make in these four areas requires a fuller understanding of the ways in which education can contribute to social change than is typically used by policy-makers. This requires the recognition that over and above the important role of service delivery and skills development in fragile contexts, education can play an influential role in such things as shaping collective identities, sanctioning norms and behaviors, and developing individual agency.

We have used these four reasons as a framework for analyzing the current status of the field of education in fragile states and for recommending the future directions needed to fully leverage education's contributions in fragile states and beyond. We argue that the field has gone through three main stages of development since World War II from grassroots programming to consolidating theory and practice into a new sub-field within education to increasing collaboration with other sectors. Today the field has many assets that serve it well, including high demand at community level for education, strong technical networks and technical implementation tools, supportive international frameworks, and high-level awareness.

However, big progress in advancing education in fragile states will not be made by investing heavily in these areas of existing strength. Instead progress will come by building on these assets and directly addressing remaining gaps. We find that the potential to fully leveraging education's contribution to the needs of fragile states is held back by at least four main challenges, including:

1. Coordination gaps among development, humanitarian, security, and disaster risk reduction (DRR) actors: There are a wide range of actors that influence the continuity of education in fragile states and rarely is their work brought together coherently at the country level.
2. Low policy priority: At the national and global levels, policy-makers across the development, humanitarian, security, and DRR arenas do not place sufficient attention to continuing education amid fragility.
3. Limited financing: Low prioritization by policy makers leads to insufficient financing for the sector and what external financing does exist is limited by aid modalities that are better suited for stable contexts.
4. Insufficient attention to quality: Education's full potential for advancing the welfare of people in fragile

states will only be fulfilled, like in any contexts, when it is of reasonably good quality, however quality learning lags far behind in these contexts with limited attention from policy-makers who are heavily focused on restoring access to education.

Ultimately, we recommend that to harness the power of education in developing fragile states, the field must move into a fourth phase: integration. Integrating the concern for education in fragile states across development, humanitarian, security, and DRR actors is crucial for ensuring continuity of quality education at scale. The involvement across these sets of actors is needed because the contexts in which they work are frequently overlapping. This means development actors have to think and act differently on fragility issues and humanitarian, security, and DRR actors have to do the same for education issues.

The report outlines specific actions needed to move into a fourth phase and scale up the ability of education to contribute to fragile states' development. This includes scaling up the field's vision, policy prioritization, financing, and attention to quality. For example, all actors can advance the continuity of the provision of quality education in support of development, humanitarian, security, and DRR-related goals by adopting the

common conceptual framework of reducing risk and increasing resilience through education. This goal is relevant in all contexts, whether a country faces times of peace and stability, crisis, recovery, or a combination. Sharing these goals and framework can promote deeper coordination and longer-term thinking at country and global level, but does not preclude the need for specialized tools that give guidance on how to respond to particular contexts, for instance for response after an earthquake versus during a protracted civil conflict.

Scaling attention to education and fragility issues can also be done by elevating it as a policy priority in such things as national education plans. At national level, national education plans must include robust risk and resilience strategies. Increased funding for education from humanitarian, security and DRR actors is required, as are more flexible aid modalities to enable continuous, quality education provision. Throughout this work, actors must simultaneously focus on access and quality and drive improvement in learning outcomes through systematically measuring it and exploring new models for improving quality. Taken together, these actions will help to mitigate the damaging effects of natural and man-made disasters; reduce the risk to children, youth and communities; and build resilience in the face of crises when they occur.

FOUR REASONS WHY INVESTING IN EDUCATION IN FRAGILE CONTEXTS IS A SMART MOVE

Education can play a significant role in helping accelerate progress for people living in fragile states for at least four reasons: advancing economic development, humanitarian action, security and environmental sustainability. We have identified these four reasons based on a review of the most recent, compelling data vis-à-vis the conditions, policies, programs and actors that affect education in fragile contexts. Hence we have reviewed issues related to conflict, political violence, weak states, climate change and disasters—and, because most fragile states were at one time stable states, development.

We find that the four main reasons for investing in education in fragility motivate four operational approaches which at times push actors to work in different, uncoordinated ways. Although each of these approaches are intertwined, and none can meet their goals without progress in each of the other three, these approaches have originated with different primary objectives and focus on different types of contexts. Figure 1 below illustrates how these four approaches and the international actors driving them are different both in terms of ultimate objectives and general country context (e.g. low-, middle-, or high-income).

These four reasons or approaches draw on the multiple ways in which education processes and outcomes affect social change. Skills development—such as literacy, numeracy and critical thinking—play an important role in economic growth and poverty alleviation, which is crucial for development. But it is not merely skills development that shapes society. So too do the process and content of education, which create or reinforce social, political and environmental narratives that can have a powerful influence on an individual's beliefs, attitudes and behavior. As such, education has an important role to play in maintaining or building peace as well as fostering sustainable interactions with the natural environment.

In addition to the skills or norms developed through education, the mere delivery of and participation in services is an important aspect of building capacity at multiple levels, including government systems, communities and individuals. As one of the most far-reaching and visible forms of government—with schools in every town—effective education service delivery is an important component of building strong state systems that are responsive to citizens. Excluding people from education or delivering education in a way that fuels animosity, irresponsible behavior and corruption can have detrimental effects on a state's ability to develop

Figure 1: Approaches, Objectives and Countries of Focus

| | Development | Humanitarian | Security | Disaster Risk Reduction |
|---------------|--|--|--|---|
| | Economic Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic Growth • Poverty Reduction | Saving Lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health • Protection • Psychosocial Wellbeing | Strong and Peaceful States <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peacebuilding • Statebuilding | Reducing Impacts from Disaster <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education on DRR • Climate Change Education • Preparing Schools |
| Low-Income | X | X | X | X |
| Middle-Income | | X | X | X |
| High-Income | | | | X |

Source: Center for Universal Education, 2013.

human, social and political capital, all of which have significant social and ultimately financial costs.

At the individual level, participation in education has important secondary physical and psychosocial health effects that contribute to a population's overall well-being and capacity to cope with difficult circumstances. This is particularly important for promoting children's safety and welfare in the midst of humanitarian emergencies and other extreme circumstances. Finally, ensuring that people can equitably access educational services of a reasonable quality no matter the circumstances in which they live is a human right enshrined in international law.

In this report, we rely on an often-used definition of fragile states to refer to contexts where "state structures lack political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations."⁴ The term "fragile states" is prevalent in the global policy discourse but has been widely critiqued, in part because the conditions described above could affect a subregion within a state or regional areas that cross international borders and in part because it is a negative term—few governments around the world want their state to be deemed fragile. To address this critique, terms such as "fragile contexts" and "situations of fragility" have emerged as alternatives.⁵

Additionally, within the education sector a range of terms are used to describe education in specific situations, including but by no means limited to "education in emergencies," which refers to education action in humanitarian emergencies, regardless of whether the source of the conflict is a natural disaster or a violent conflict; "refugee education," which refers to education for people who have fled across international

borders; and "education and peacebuilding," which refers largely to education in postconflict contexts. In this report, we recognize that debates on terms are important, but we opt to continue using the term "fragile states," given that it remains accepted terminology, but also frequently use the interchangeable terms "fragile contexts" and "fragility," which in many ways are better descriptors. We use these three terms with the understanding that they encompass the various specific education terms in use, and we refer to the field of "education and fragility" as shorthand for the discussions within the education sector about education theory and practice in a range of contexts before, during and after a crisis, both conflict and natural disaster.

Cutting across each of the four reasons we have identified, but particularly important for economic development and humanitarian action, is the imperative to uphold international human rights and humanitarian law. The right to education, which is firmly enshrined in international law, has for decades provided motivation and direction for global action on education. Ensuring that young people everywhere, regardless of their circumstances, can access an education of reasonable quality is important first and foremost because it is their human right.

The First Reason: Advancing Economic Development

By contributing to economic growth and poverty alleviation, education is a crucial factor in advancing economic development in all countries, including fragile contexts. But to date, children in these situations have been particularly excluded from educational opportunities. For example, in low-income countries affected by armed conflict, 28.5 million children of primary school age are out of school (half of the world total).⁶ Children are not only less likely to be in primary school, but are

also more likely to drop out, given that the school survival rate to the last grade is 65 percent in these contexts, whereas it is 86 percent in other poor countries. As a result, secondary school enrollment rates are nearly one-third lower in conflict contexts than in other, more stable low-income countries.⁷ It is useful to briefly review the main ways in which education advances economic development.

Economic growth. Education plays an essential role in economic growth across all contexts. Investing in the skills and capacities of people helps develop the human capital needed to grow the economy. This is a particularly important issue in fragile contexts, where factors such as population displacement and violence often mean that educated and skilled members of society are in short supply. While estimating the precise relationship between education and growth can be difficult given the numerous variables, there is general agreement that all else being equal, education plays an important role in fostering economic growth. Economists estimate that each additional year of schooling increases annual gross domestic product (GDP) by 1 percent.⁸ It is not only access that matters, however, but also the quality of what students are learning: when student literacy and mathematics test scores on international assessments increase by 1 standard deviation, annual GDP per capita grows by 2 percent.⁹ Ensuring that women are educated appears to be an important part of this phenomenon, with additional studies showing that increasing the number of women with a secondary education by 1 percent can increase annual per capita economic growth by 0.3 percent.¹⁰

Poverty reduction. In addition to advancing economic growth at the national level, education also has a powerful role to play in lifting those at the bottom of the economic ladder out of poverty. A number of economists have studied this relationship and found

that even the most basic mastery of literacy and numeracy can transform the possibilities for individual's lives. For example, studies show that as little as four years of primary schooling can boost a farmer's productivity by nearly 9 percent.¹¹ Additionally, increased years of school translates into increased earnings potential. Each additional year of schooling increases an individual's potential income by as much as 10 percent and that number further increases for girls, whose income potential increases by 15 percent with each additional year of primary education.¹² Ultimately, 171 million people could be lifted out of poverty if all students in low-income countries had an education that allowed them to acquire basic reading skills, according to UNESCO's estimates.¹³ Increasing individuals' ability to care for themselves and their family and communities is important in any circumstances, but is also an essential aspect of assisting populations in fragile contexts, where so many have so little.

The Second Reason: Strengthening Humanitarian Action

Children and youth are frequently victims of crises and can face considerable risks to their personal health, safety and psychosocial well-being. An estimated 20 million children have fled their homes as refugees or internally displaced persons, often contending with family and community fracturing, dangerous environments, and life in new communities and countries.¹⁴ In fragile contexts affected by conflict, attacks on education—schools, teachers and students—are becoming widespread, putting thousands of young people at risk. Between January 2007 and July 2009, at least 32 countries experienced attacks on education.¹⁵ And over the last several years, millions more have suffered abduction, sexual abuse and exploitation, illness and disease, and death in conflicts and other humanitarian emergencies. It is estimated that over 2 million children

were killed in conflicts and that 4 to 5 million were disabled in the decade ending in 2008.¹⁶

In all contexts, a good-quality education has a positive influence on an individual's physical and psychosocial health, and in this regard, education offers hope of some protection for children and youth during man-made and natural disasters. These virtuous secondary effects are particularly important in fragile contexts, because they strengthen individuals' capacity to cope with adversity, rise above their difficult circumstances and, in the most extreme cases, survive.

Health. The connection between education and physical health is well established, and educating girls in particular has a positive influence on health outcomes. Children born to more educated mothers are more likely to survive and less likely to experience malnutrition. For example, a 2010 study estimates that improvements in women's education explained half the reduction in child deaths between 1990 and 2009.¹⁷ In fragile contexts, communities often face new health risks in their environment, from landmines to contaminated water, and schools are a convenient place to transmit the new knowledge and skills that young people need to stay safe.¹⁸ Growing evidence shows that literacy is a critical mechanism by which education translates to better health outcomes, including a study in Nepal that showed that mothers' literacy and language skills were linked to their health proficiency (as measured by ability to understand health messages, comprehend instructions on a packet of rehydration salts, and provide a health narrative).¹⁹

Protection. Schools can also play an important role in helping to protect children from the wide range of dangers that can arise in situations of conflict and crisis, such as kidnapping, exploitation, sexual violence and separation from family members. The simple act

of teachers' monitoring children's well-being and alerting community members if a child is distressed or in trouble can help mitigate some of the very risks young people face.²⁰

IN ADDITION TO THE FAMILY, research across a wide range of contexts finds that schooling and other forms of nonformal education can play an essential role in supporting children's psychosocial well-being.²⁵

Psychosocial well-being. In addition to translating into improved physical health and protection outcomes, education in fragile contexts can play a particularly important role in supporting children's psychosocial well-being. The ability of children and youth to regulate their emotions, develop cognitively, form relationships with others and have hope for the future are all part of psychosocial well-being and help them cope constructively with uncertainty and crisis. Especially in fragile contexts, this is important for young people's healthy development.

Dating back to studies of evacuee children in Europe during World War II, there have been more than six decades of scholarship on the effects of extreme adversity and conflict on children.²¹ Over the years, a narrow focus in these contexts on children's mental health, in particular the role of trauma in hindering children's functioning, has given way to a broader conceptualization of children's well-being that links psychological and social experiences. This shift was driven in part by the realization that mental health diagnostics and interventions often did not translate appropriately to large-

scale conflicts in the developing world,²² and in part by the evidence that most children are not traumatized but instead are quite resilient and recover quickly.²³

ROBUST EVIDENCE from the econometric literature on conflict risk demonstrates that expanding access to and participation in education “breeds peace.”

Today, there is strong evidence that demonstrates the resiliency of children and youth affected by extreme adversity, particularly if they are able to receive the most basic levels of care and attention from the adults and social institutions in their lives.²⁴ In addition to the family, research across a wide range of contexts finds that schooling and other forms of nonformal education can play an essential role in supporting children’s psychosocial well-being.²⁵ For example, a Northern Uganda study using a quasi-experimental design on the effects of participating in educational activities on children’s psychosocial well-being found that students that participated in education were safer, more able to form healthy relationships with others, and better able to cope with their circumstances than children in the control group.²⁶ Two rigorous studies of children and youth’s psychosocial well-being in Palestine found that participation in education led to higher levels of optimism, a sense of purpose, and abilities to cope with restricted movement and uncertain violence.²⁷ A longitudinal study of refugees from DRC living in Uganda documents that the connection between the content of what children learn in school influences not only their persistence in school but also their abilities to plan and take steps to

prepare themselves for productive futures.²⁸ A recent World Bank review of the literature on the links between education and resilience confirms these findings, citing a number of empirical studies, including randomized trials with children living in adversity in the United States.²⁹

The Third Reason: Contributing to Security and Statebuilding

Education has an important role to play in peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts, both of which are integral to global security. Research has long shown the impacts of conflict and state weakness on education but increasingly evidence is emerging on the constructive role education can play in peacebuilding and statebuilding.

Peace and stability. There is a clear relationship between education and peace and stability; however, it is heavily mediated by the quality and distribution of services. Robust evidence from the econometric literature on conflict risk demonstrates that expanding access to and participation in education “breeds peace.” In a recent review of 30 statistical studies, two conflict researchers, Gudrun Ostby and Henrik Urdal, find that higher average levels of education, particularly primary and secondary education, reduce the risk of armed conflict.³⁰ Above and beyond the association between poverty and armed conflict, researchers have produced precise estimates of the degree to which expanding access to education reduces conflict risk. For example, one seminal study examining this relationship finds that increasing primary school enrollment from 77 percent to universal provision could reduce the likelihood of civil war by half and increasing male enrollment in secondary school from 30 percent to 81 percent could reduce it by almost two-thirds.³¹

But not just any expansion of education leads to this result. Education must be accessed equitably between

groups to breed peace. In their review, Ostby and Urdal also found that disparities between individuals do not appear to increase conflict risk but systematic differences in access to education between ethnic, religious, and regional groups” does.³² This finding is heavily supported by numerous studies of specific country cases—from Nepal to Peru to Liberia—where unequal provision of education was both a core grievance of marginalized groups and a motivation for joining rebel groups.³³ For example, in Peru, large-scale qualitative research identified dissatisfaction with public education and corruption in the education sector as key causes for the growth of the Sendero Luminoso armed faction. These grievances were used to recruit both students and teachers.³⁴

Ensuring educational access is provided equitably is only one way in which the relationship between education and conflict risk is mediated. The content of the education provided is another important factor influencing this relationship. Here we must look outside the econometric literature on conflict risk, which is limited by its primary reliance on large global data sets and data on educational access.³⁵ Fortunately, there have been decades of scholarship from social scientists on the relationship between education and conflict and peace, which includes an examination of issues such as language of instruction, teacher’s pedagogy and curriculum content.

A central concept running through this literature is the idea that education plays an important role in constructing identity and shaping society, whether by developing a shared national identity, reproducing social injustices, or transforming social relations.³⁶ Education has many points of influence, including through education policies such as the language of instruction, curriculum content, pedagogy, factors that determine who can access education, and through

what educators often refer to as the hidden curriculum, which includes how social norms are modeled in educational settings, the treatment of teachers by supervisors, and the like.³⁷ Throughout history, this power of education has been manipulated in ways that have served exclusion and violence. For example, academics studying Nazi Germany make a strong case that the education system legitimized ideas, such as the importance of the Aryan state and eugenics, that were essential to Hitler’s ability to carry out his genocide, with limited social resistance, against Jews, gypsies and homosexuals.³⁸

In a more recent example, during the Cold War the U.S. government funded the Center for Afghanistan Studies at the University of Nebraska–Omaha for 10 years to develop Afghan textbooks that promoted anti-Russian values and condoned violence. A fourth grade math textbook has the following question:

The speed of a Kalashnikov bullet is 800 meters per second. If a Russian is at a distance of 3,200 meters from a mujahid, and that mujahid aims at the Russian’s head, calculate how many seconds it will take for the bullet to strike the Russian in the forehead?³⁹

It is imperative that education is linked to economic opportunities so that it provides the skills, knowledge and attitudes students need for employment and gainful livelihoods.⁴⁰ In one study, it was shown that as education levels among potential rebels increase, they stand to lose more income by joining a rebellion and therefore are less likely to engage in violence.⁴¹ However, these gains are only true, as evidenced by the recent Arab Spring, if education is relevant to the job market and supports productive livelihoods. Young people who leave school without the relevant skills and knowledge necessary to succeed in labor markets are vulnerable to a confluence

of negative factors, including civil unrest and recruitment into armed groups. For example, during Sierra Leone's civil war, insurgency and counterinsurgency movements

THIS BODY OF RESEARCH firmly demonstrates the importance of education service delivery in building citizens' trust in their government and, just as important, the risks to state legitimacy when education sector reforms take a back seat to other statebuilding efforts.

recruited people from the poorest and least educated parts of society⁴² by preying on what the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission identified as pervasive levels of "unemployment and despair" among uneducated Sierra Leonean youth.⁴³ Relevant education is increasingly critical as the youth demographic continues to grow while jobs remain scarce.

Ultimately, there is a high degree of consensus among researchers that investing in education is a smart option for policymakers interested in promoting peace and stability. Conflict researchers frequently argue that this is particularly true because education is both among the most important factors affecting conflict risk and also one of the few factors about which governments can reasonably hope to do something. It is also the social service that people are most likely to request and value.⁴⁴ Other factors that have a strong bearing on conflict risk are much harder to influence through policy, such as having a past history of conflict, having large populations and having oil.⁴⁵ Education researchers also point to the risks of neglecting education. A detailed review of fragile states by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

finds that education, along with the justice and security sector, are the most transformative kinds of services in fragile contexts but also the most prone to polarization and manipulation.⁴⁶

Statebuilding. Education is one of the most visible and far-reaching services that states provide, given that there is a school in every town or, just as important, citizens' expectation of a school in every town. Additionally, teachers usually form the largest cadres of civil servants, at times rivaling the military. For example, in Pakistan, a country with a significant military tradition, there are over 750,000 public school teachers, 100,000 more than active duty military personnel.⁴⁷ Delivering education services plays an important part in statebuilding, an essential activity in all fragile contexts.

Over the last eight years, at least five studies have examined in depth the role of education in building state legitimacy and capacity in fragile contexts. Collectively, these studies draw on case study research in 24 countries and regions: Indonesia, Afghanistan, Angola, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Burundi, Cambodia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Kosovo, Lebanon, Liberia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Timor Leste.⁴⁸ This body of research firmly demonstrates the importance of education service delivery in building citizens' trust in their government and, just as important, the risks to state legitimacy when education sector reforms take a back seat to other statebuilding efforts. Here, education's contribution is distinct from its role in developing young people's skill sets and shaping their attitudes and social identities and is focused on the governance of education systems.

In fragile states, citizens' trust in the government is widely understood to be a crucial component of

developing state legitimacy. This trust is shaped in part by the link between citizens' expectations for services and both the government's responsiveness and the perception of its responsiveness in meeting those expectations.⁴⁹ For example, rapidly restoring education services in the aftermath of conflict can be an early "peace dividend."⁵⁰ In part this is because education can offer "quick wins" with policy reforms and program interventions that have a visible impact in the short term. UNESCO's *EFA [Education for All] Global Monitoring Report 2011 (GMR)* identifies a number of such quick wins—including rehabilitating schools, removing school fees, and integrating returning refugee students—all of which helped enroll millions of children in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Côte d'Ivoire.⁵¹ Education is at once highly visible and highly prized. Communities' demand for education is almost always high in fragile contexts; and this, coupled with education's ability to touch every community, makes it a powerful symbol of government's responsiveness.⁵² In addition, education has the ability to provide jobs for thousands—the hiring of teachers is not only important for delivering services but also provides a stabilizing effect by employing people and connecting their success with that of the government.

The ability of education to build state legitimacy is powerful, but only as long as the government gets a few things right on the questions of what type of education, for whom, and how services are delivered. There is broad agreement across the cases cited above, as well as in the conflict risk research discussed earlier in this report, that service delivery must be inclusive and thus, that if particular social groups are excluded, it will undermine the legitimacy of the government. The studies also highlight the importance of how education is managed to build citizens' trust. Corruption, limited transparency and

uncoordinated or unaccountable delivery of education can reduce trust in the government, undermine attempts at statebuilding and increase fragility.⁵³ For example, in Pakistan, where the "buying of degrees" is prevalent, youth consistently express frustrations with the education system, and because of this say they have limited faith in their government.⁵⁴

The literature also shows that although access to services is an immediate priority, citizens quickly expand their expectations to include quality and cost. Interestingly, who delivers education services is less important than the quality of the services delivered. Citizens' trust in their government can be built even when governments are not directly delivering education services but instead are ensuring that nonstate actors are doing so. In this case it is of course essential that governments are taking responsibility for the services provided to their citizens and it is important that the government's leadership is visible. In contexts where government capacity to deliver services of basic quality is minimal, they are often better off outsourcing good-quality service delivery than delivering poor quality services themselves, presumably while they build and strengthen their own systems.⁵⁵ For example, in Nepal, the poor quality of state-run schools directly undermines the government's legitimacy. Citizens are frustrated by the perception that poor children, the vast majority of whom attend government-run schools, cannot get a good-quality education, whereas children from more well-to-do families are able to pay the fees for private schools that are of a much higher quality.⁵⁶ In northern Uganda, a study showed that a primary source of grievance against the government among local leaders was the poor quality of education provided in primary and secondary schools, as demonstrated by regional pass rates that were far below national averages.⁵⁷

The Fourth Reason: Mitigating Impacts of Disasters

Education is frequently disrupted by natural disasters. In one month alone, extreme monsoon rains in South Asia destroyed some 3,000 primary schools. In that same month, floods in Sudan destroyed nearly 200 schools, affecting 45,000 children.⁵⁸ Disasters have killed more than 1.3 million people and affected an average of 220 million per year during the past two decades. In 2011 alone, 106 million people were affected by floods; 60 million were affected by drought, mainly in the Horn of Africa; and almost 30,000 people were killed;⁵⁹—and estimates are that there will be 200 million environmentally

POOR PEOPLE OFTEN SUFFER THE MOST when catastrophe occurs; 95 percent of disaster fatalities occur in developing countries. Women and children bear the brunt of the effects of climate change, making up an estimated 65 percent of all those affected, and during the next decade 175 million of them will be children.

displaced persons by 2050.⁶⁰ The number of disasters caused by natural hazards has increased in the last 20 years, from 200 a year to more than 400 today, and is predicted to increase by as much as 320 percent in the next 20 years.⁶¹ Poor people often suffer the most when catastrophe occurs; 95 percent of disaster fatalities occur in developing countries.⁶² Women and children bear the brunt of the effects of climate change, making up an estimated 65 percent of all those affected, and during the next decade 175 million of them will be children.⁶³

Education has an important role to play in addressing the consequences of and reducing the effects of disasters and climate change, through both the knowledge

and skills that young people learn and through the policies and practices used within schools themselves.⁶⁴ Education has an important role to play in the broad goal of promoting healthy natural environments and sustainable human behavior but we have chosen to focus on the impacts of disasters and climate change given their impacts on the continuity of education.

Educating about disaster risk reduction and climate change. This may include incorporating environmental issues such as deforestation and energy conservation, as well as land tenure and land rights, into curricula and textbooks. Empowering learners to contribute to environmental preservation and protection through environmental education and green technical and vocational education and training helps to make education more relevant and responsive to contemporary and emerging challenges, including sustainable development. Education can assist in the process of shifting the global demand away from resource- and energy-intensive commodities and towards greener products and technologies, less pollution and sustainable lifestyles.

Education systems that prioritize disaster risk reduction (DRR) use a range of strategies from incorporating emergency preparedness and response planning in education sector plans, implementing early warning systems to alert populations to an impending disaster, and teaching students how to prepare for and respond to disasters.⁶⁵ The skills students learn not only help them protect themselves but also their families and communities. There are numerous cases of students who have saved lives by sharing basic information about how to seek safety during a disaster. For example, when Cyclone Sidr hit Bangladesh in 2007, Lamia Akter, a 7-year-old student, helped save the lives of her family and others by passing on a cyclone warning alert she had re-

ceived at school to villagers in her community.⁶⁶ This is especially true for women and girls; studies by the World Bank and the Center for Global Development indicate that educating girls and women is an effective way to reduce a community's vulnerability to extreme weather events and climate change.⁶⁷ In fact, these studies showed that a huge number of weather-related deaths could have been prevented in developing countries if there had been a greater focus on progressive female education policies that included supporting resiliency.

Preparing schools for disasters. When schools themselves are prepared for disasters, they can save the lives of students and teachers. There are far too many examples of students and teachers needlessly dying when disasters strike during school hours—from poorly constructed schools collapsing in earthquakes in Pakistan, China and Haiti to students dying in schools with no safe rooms in tornado-stricken areas of the U.S. Fortunately, there are also an increasing number of examples where the measures schools are taking to prepare for di-

sasters are saving lives.⁶⁸ Additionally, environmentally sustainable and carbon-neutral schools can contribute to climate change mitigation efforts on a global scale.⁶⁹

Summing Up

Taken together, these four reasons why investing in education in fragile contexts is a smart move present a useful framework for analyzing the status of the field of education and fragility. They also provide a powerful case for prioritizing education writ large, including in fragile states. Indeed, the ways in which education affects social change are equally relevant in all contexts. For example, education systems that foster growth, social cohesion, sustainable environmental practices and trust between a government and its citizens are important in stable and fragile states alike. Conversely, the risks associated with education systems that do none of these things are equally precarious across contexts—either by sowing the seeds of instability in stable contexts or by further exacerbating vulnerability and conflict in fragile contexts.

THE STATUS OF THE GLOBAL RESPONSE TO EDUCATION IN FRAGILE STATES

During the last decade, several studies have sought to assess the status of the field of education in fragile states. The most recent and most notable effort, for its breadth and level of analysis, is UNESCO's *GMR*, which focuses on education in the contexts of armed conflict and identifies four failures—of protection, of provision, of reconstruction and of peacebuilding—within international cooperation.⁷⁰ It builds on several prior reviews, including Alan Smith and Tony Vaux's 2002 study of education, conflict and international development and Peter Buckland's 2005 study of education and postconflict reconstruction, both of which provide insights that remain true today.⁷¹ More recent reviews provide insight on a particular aspect of the field, such as Alan Smith and Mario Novelli's comprehensive review of education and peacebuilding, Sarah Dryden-Peterson's review of refugee education,⁷² and Dana Burde and colleagues' analysis of education and conflict mitigation.⁷³ All these studies focus particularly on contexts of conflict and leave aside any detailed examination of the broader conditions with which fragile states often contend (e.g., disasters), and those that do provide a wider assessment of the field (e.g., Smith and Vaux's 2002 study) are sufficiently outdated to merit a new review.

In this report, we provide an updated review of the field of education and fragility using the framework of analysis given above—in other words, looking across the domains of economic development, humanitarian action, security and DRR. Our aim is to assess the progress of the field to date and to identify directions forward. To do this, we first present an intellectual history of the emergence of the field of education and fragility. We then review the major strengths and weaknesses of the field today, and offer suggestions

for moving the field forward. Ultimately, based on the evidence developed from our analysis, we argue that the field of education and fragility has moved through three main phases to date.

The Emergence of the Field of Education and Fragility: An Intellectual History

Understanding how the field developed sheds important light on why it is the way it is today and offers some insights for future directions needed. While a common refrain among experts is that education and fragility is a new field, the practice of providing schooling and nonformal education to children and youth affected by conflict dates back at least to World War II, when communities provided schooling for evacuee and refugee children in Europe and the United States invested heavily in rebuilding European education systems through the Marshall Plan, perhaps the largest and most successful postconflict education program to date.⁷⁴ Not until the 1990s, however, was this practice named and given concerted attention through both initial investigation in academia and formalization in policy.⁷⁵

A careful historical review demonstrates that there have been three main stages to the development of the field of education and fragility, as seen in figure 2:⁷⁶

1. Proliferation (1948 to mid-1990s): diffusion of grassroots education practice amid refugee displacement and conflict; humanitarian action prioritizes biological survival through perceived neutral interventions that do not influence the conflict at hand.
2. Consolidation (mid-1990s to mid-2000s): development of a new specialized education field through internally focused work to build shared assumptions, standards and tools; humanitarian action

extends its focus to children's physical and mental health and, in the international development arena, educators promote a view that "more education is better education."

3. Collaboration (mid-2000s to present): a shift from internally focused to externally focused collaboration with other sectors; and an increased recognition of the transformative power of education and the political nature of humanitarian intervention.

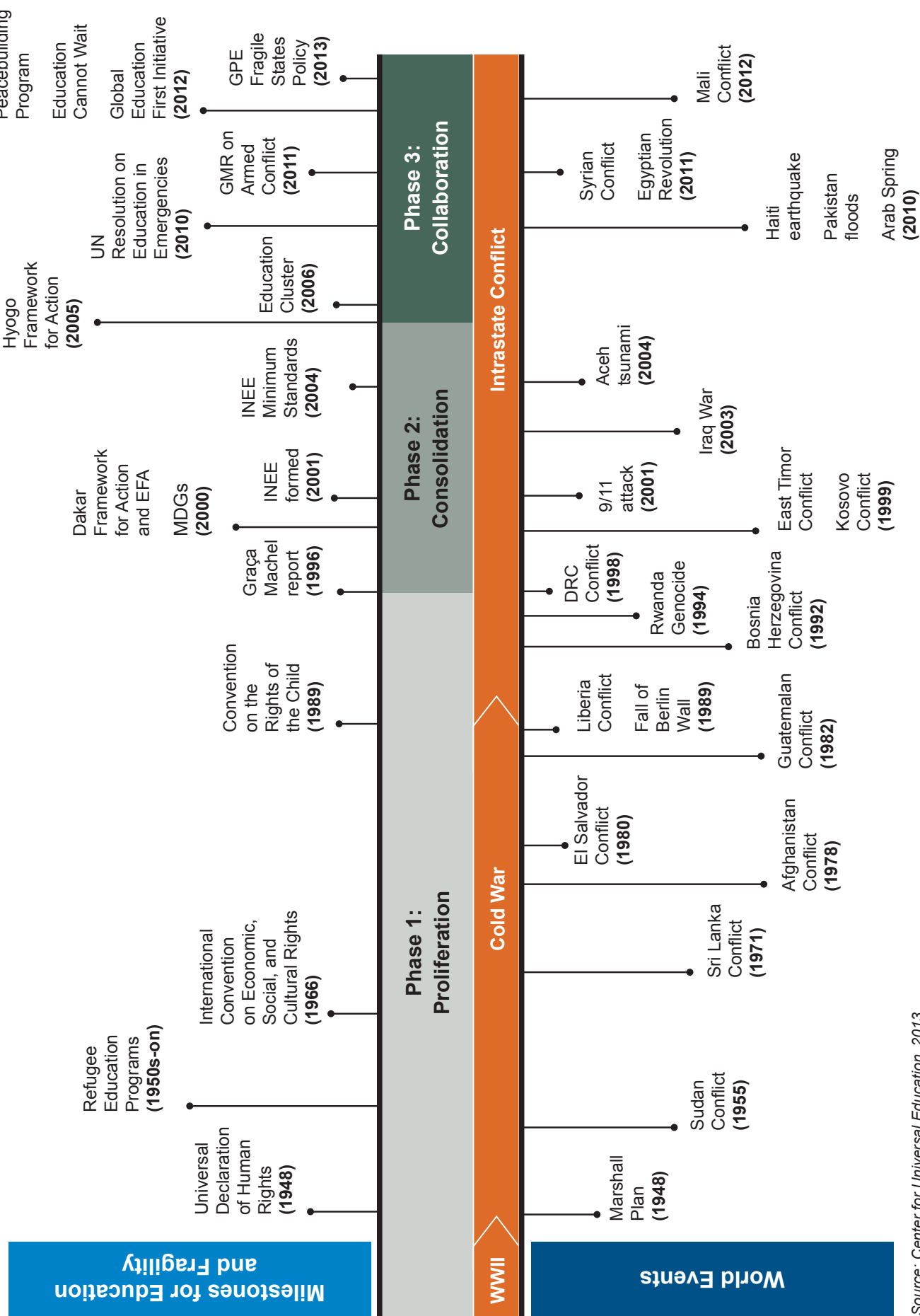
The first stage, *proliferation*, spans a 50-year period in the second half of the twentieth century, when the practice of supporting education during and after crises proliferated around the globe as the end of World War II gave way to the Cold War and then, later, the rise of interstate conflict. As part of the Marshall Plan to reconstruct Europe, the U.S. government's large-scale investment in reconstructing education systems was unparalleled. It did not, however, lead to education becoming a central feature of future conflict- and post-conflict-related initiatives. Instead, as the world grappled with large-scale displacement during Cold War conflicts around the world, education was not a feature of humanitarian or development practice. What emerged was a spreading of grassroots refugee education practices, which were largely results of the initiative taken by newly displaced parents and community members setting up schooling in refugee camps. There were, however, no systematic policies on education in these situations; and there was little sharing of promising strategies or lessons learned across country contexts. Thus, until 1996, the issue barely registered in global policy frameworks. Even the 1990 Education for All declaration, coming out of a meeting of the world's education ministers in Jomtien, Thailand, paid limited attention to the needs of people affected by conflict and disaster.⁷⁷

One of the main reasons for the neglect of education during this period can be traced back to the domi-

nant approach to humanitarian action of the time, which has its roots in the centuries-old belief and practice that war can be regulated.⁷⁸ Starting with the establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1864, the modern international humanitarian system developed rapidly over the decades that followed; but strikingly, the model pioneered by the ICRC remained remarkably consistent throughout most of the twentieth century.⁷⁹ This model was premised on traditional forms of interstate war, namely, the type of conflict in which clearly defined groups of combatants, from different countries, faced each other on the battlefield, with both sides following predetermined rules of engagement, and with success gauged by military victory. Corresponding humanitarian action focused on neutral third parties intervening to save lives during war. In this period of the first half of the twentieth century, approximately half of casualties were the combatants themselves, the majority of whom were adult males. This approach assumed immediate biological needs for survival to be the priority for intervention: The lens of the emergency room physician is extended to the war zone, and human beings are seen as first and foremost biological beings. Over time, this "medical model" of humanitarian assistance developed three priority areas for intervention: health care, food and water, and shelter.⁸⁰ Education, clearly, was not an important priority, hence the need for community-driven responses. Indeed, the legacy of this approach to humanitarian action is strong and, as we will see below, is one that has heavily shaped the development of the field of education and fragility.

The second stage, *consolidation*, spans an impressive decade of development for the newly emerging field of education and fragility. Two phenomena heavily shaped its development: increased attention to the need to protect children in humanitarian settings, and the global push to enroll every child

Figure 2: Education and Fragility: An Illustrative Timeline From Proliferation to Collaboration



Source: Center for Universal Education, 2013.

in school. A 1996 United Nations report, written by Graca Machel at the request of the UN secretary-general, lambasted the international system for systematically neglecting the needs of children living in places where there was armed conflict.⁸¹ The humanitarian system was geared toward assisting adults and, she argued, a wide range of issues—from protecting children from abuse to providing them with education—needed serious attention. Machel's report drew from the growing children's rights movement, which had been propelled forward with the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989, and squarely put the issue of education in contexts of armed conflict on the international agenda. Her findings reflected theoretical concepts that had evolved over decades on how children are affected by violence, including the theory that education, along with other "normalizing" social activities, can help children cope psychologically.⁸² In this conceptualization, education is assumed to be an inherently good thing, and therefore more of it is better.

This move to expand the humanitarian approach beyond the traditional biological or medical model of assistance also reflects wider phenomena on the changing nature of armed conflict at the end of the twentieth century. Rather than battles between armies primarily affecting adult male combatants, geopolitics had evolved substantially, and as a result conflict largely meant protracted fighting within countries between groups—for example, rebels and governments—and of particular importance, the vast majority of casualties were civilians, with women and children at the center.⁸³ In this world, the notion of regulating war seemed a thing of the past, and increasingly, particularly after the devastating genocide in Rwanda, the humanitarian community was reflecting on its role and the importance of em-

phasizing civilian protection.⁸⁴ Ultimately, Machel's report sparked an array of new efforts to protect children caught in the midst of armed conflict that today have a significant role to play in humanitarian response, and education's role as a form of protection has since been widely recognized.

Parallel to the developments in the humanitarian field, children's education was getting increasing attention on the global stage. In 2000, when the world's education ministers reconvened in Dakar to review progress on the 1990 Education for All goals, this time the needs of people affected by crises were more fulsomely discussed, and the resulting Dakar Framework for Action laid out six broad goals for improving education, with one of the 12 strategies for action focusing on education during a crisis. Most important, two of the goals—primary school completion and gender parity—were later that year included in the global community's UN Millennium Development Goals, and in doing so elevated access to primary schooling for all boys and girls as a global priority. The underlying assumption in these education goals, much like the understanding of education's role in child protection, is that schooling is good and thus more of it is better.⁸⁵ At this point, unlike in decades past, it is no longer an acceptable policy position for a state to only educate some of its young people. Providing schooling for young people is increasingly seen as a symbol of entering the modern age, a phenomenon that reinforces the attention paid by governments to build schools and enroll students and less on the quality of learning taking place inside schools.⁸⁶

This global push for primary schooling for all children led to the formation of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), the most important force during this period for developing the theory

and practice of this new field of education and fragility (see box). In 2001, INEE started with a handful of members who, having been in Dakar, came together out of the realization that the EFA and MDG goals would not be met without a concerted effort to advance global understanding on how to reach children living in the midst of conflict and crisis. Focusing on including education in humanitarian response was determined to be the most useful strategy for advancing this cause, particularly because to date education had been decidedly absent. Armed with the work in child protection that sought an expanded vision of humanitarian assistance, INEE's members went to work. When humanitarian actors developed standards for intervention across a number of sectors (e.g., health, water and shelter) but left educa-

THE INTER-AGENCY NETWORK FOR EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES (INEE)

is an open, global network of practitioners and policymakers working together to promote quality, safe, and relevant education for all persons affected by crisis. Starting in 2000 with a handful of founding members from nongovernmental organization (NGO) and UN agencies, membership in INEE today has spread to a network of over 8,500 members from 130 countries, including representatives from widely diverse national and international NGOs, teacher and student organizations, UN agencies, donor agencies, government ministries and academic institutions. INEE's work focuses on bringing organizations and individuals together to facilitate collaboration, share experiences and resources, establish standards for the field, and engage in advocacy regarding the right to education.⁸⁸

tion out, INEE expanded its network and developed its own standards for the sector, releasing them in 2004 (for more on INEE, see the box).⁸⁷

This process led not only to the rapid growth of the network but also to an important period of internal reflection among educators about what shared standards are and could be, which ultimately led to consolidating isolated country-level practices into a common set of programming directives.⁸⁹ Later, when education was not initially considered to be part of the UN's humanitarian reform process in 2005, INEE mobilized its members, and a year later education was part of the new humanitarian cluster process. During this period, pushing for the inclusion of education in humanitarian response took considerable effort, focused attention, and above all a clear articulation of why continuity of education is good for children in these settings. It left very little scope, as we shall see, for engaging with development actors or with concepts that examined the political nature of education. Rather, the overarching goal driving actors in the field of education and fragility at this time was to get education, which was so frequently left out, included as a regular part of humanitarian action.

Starting in the mid-2000s, the field of education and fragility entered a new phase characterized by a turn from inward reflection and standard setting to outward *collaboration* and discussion with other sectors and sets of actors. Now that education actors had developed their own set of standards and been successful in advocating for the inclusion of education in humanitarian reform, this phase was propelled by these actors' increased interest in taking up and using their newly minted standards and guiding principles. This process occurred over time and with a range of actors, but of particular note is the increased discussion with security specialists and

development actors concerned about fragile states and with actors focused on sustainable development and climate change.

The international community's developing discourse on fragile states was an important aspect of this phase. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the U.S., the concept of fragile states arose out of a concern, primarily among aid donors, about how to understand the links between development, human security, state effectiveness and peacebuilding. This period was also one where the role of international aid was coming under increased scrutiny. Calls for effective aid relationships were made both in the development and humanitarian spheres, with a shared commitment to "doing no harm" in fragile contexts.⁹⁰ This focus on fragile states brought together in increasing collaboration the approaches of "defense, diplomacy, and development," which is a cornerstone of several aid donors' strategies, such as the U.S. While many laud the move toward increased collaboration, this strategy has opened up the possibility of the military co-opting humanitarian and development interventions for security purposes, something the humanitarian sector in particular has heavily criticized.⁹¹

Interestingly, within the specialized field of education and fragility, the lens of fragility opened up new discussion that moved beyond the development notion that more education is always better. A new discourse was needed about education's role in fragile contexts, one that not only focused on the benefits of educational continuity for children in humanitarian settings but also on how education interfaces with complex processes such as peacebuilding and statebuilding. To do this, education specialists drew on long-standing scholarship on education's role in society and its ability to reinforce or transform social norms, embodied in work

from that of Dewey to Althusser to Freire.⁹² Recent research on the topic, as discussed above, advances the notion that education is not inherently a positive force for change. It also provides a framework to enable policymakers to understand education's role in helping transform broader political, economic and social processes in a way that sustainably addresses the foundations for long-term peace and stability.⁹³

In the education sector, this drew in development actors, who were increasingly focused on how to meet the MDGs in fragile contexts and who had previously not engaged in the debates on educational continuity amid crisis. For the first time, in a 2007 symposium sponsored by the Canadian government, the education and fragility community discussed education in fragile and conflict-affected states with the Global Partnership for Education, and others focusing squarely on education in development contexts. A new working group on education and fragility was set up in 2008 through the INEE network that served to continue this dialogue as many agencies began developing strategies for education interventions in fragile states.⁹⁴ The community of those in the field of education and fragility also began to reach out to other sectors to compare lessons, including collaborations with the network of health specialists and fragile states.⁹⁵

At the same time, actors within the field of education and fragility began to engage with those working actively on climate change and DRR. An increasing emphasis on being prepared for crises, rather than just responding to crises, has been a heavy emphasis within the humanitarian field in recent years. Ultimately this collaboration has produced a range of tools, including guidelines for safer school construction.⁹⁶ Very recently, there has been an increased call for integrating disaster and conflict risk reduction

into national education plans, a conversation that is just beginning to engage development actors.

This collaborative mode of interaction is represented in Figure 3 below, which shows the relationship of influence between each of the four approaches and the education and fragility concepts, approaches and tools.

Assets to the Field of Education and Fragility

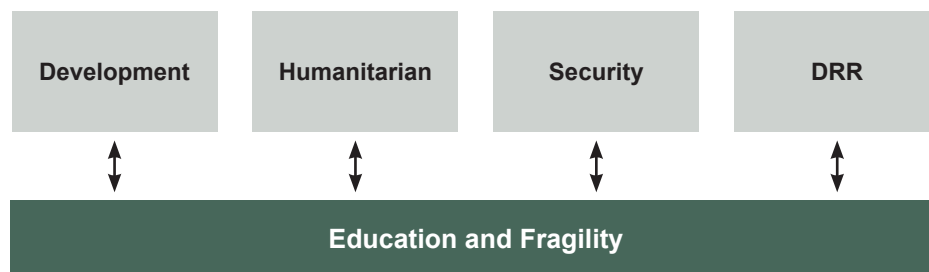
Not surprisingly, given the way in which the field of education and fragility has developed over time, it has areas of great strength. The call to integrate education into humanitarian response has led to robust advocacy efforts and a heavy emphasis on developing tools, and today there is a high-level awareness of the importance of educational continuity both during and after crises.

Community engagement. One of the strongest assets in the field of education and fragility, the importance of which cannot be emphasized enough, is the prioritization of education by individuals and communities affected by crises. All around the world, people find ways to maintain schooling in some form

when neither governments nor the international community are able or willing to assist them. From East Timor to Pakistan to Sudan, parents and communities organize themselves, nominate volunteer teachers, select curricula and carry out the business of educating their children in the face of conflict, insecurity and disasters.⁹⁷ Sustaining education in these contexts frequently takes great ingenuity and personal courage, but always relies on parents' strong beliefs that educational continuity amid a crisis is of the utmost importance. Indeed, one veteran humanitarian aid worker documents the range of contexts where communities place education at the top of their list of priorities for international assistance.⁹⁸ UNESCO's *GMR* cites data from East Timor to Afghanistan to South Sudan demonstrating the high premium parents and community members place on continuing education amid a crisis, and in particular on restoring education services immediately when reconstruction efforts begin.⁹⁹ Hence, the difficulties of continuing education in contexts of fragility rarely include convincing parents and community members that it is important.

Strong technical networks. During the last 15 years, robust networks of technical specialists working on education and fragility issues have blossomed. In addition to INEE, there are also newer networks dedi-

Figure 3: Collaboration: Approaches and Relationship to Education and Fragility



Source: Center for Universal Education, 2013.

cated to specific issues, such as the Education Cluster, which is responsible for organizing members during emergency humanitarian response, and the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack, which is heavily focused on protecting students, educators and school infrastructure from attacks during a conflict. These networks provide a crucial space for practitioners and technical experts to come together and hone their craft as well as a ready membership that can be mobilized to advocate on issues as they arise. One of the most important accomplishments of these networks is the development of shared programming tools and standards of good practice.

Robust technical tools. Today, unlike 10 years ago, a wealth of technical tools guide policymakers and practitioners in dealing with numerous issues. In 2002, when the first global technical kit for education and emergencies was produced by INEE, it consisted of three blue file boxes with hard copies of approximately 50 programming guides and manuals. Today, thanks to both digital technology but, more important, the dedication of many members of the various technical networks, close to 1,000 technical resources are available from numerous agencies on the INEE Web site (and they are also available on CD-ROM for those practitioners who do not have Internet access).¹⁰⁰ These tools—which have been developed by NGOs, donor agencies, developing country governments, teachers and students—range from shared common standards for good practice in emergency response to guides on doing a conflict-analysis of the education sector to designing programming for refugee children with special needs to training teachers on disaster preparedness. The tools developed over the past decade have focused heavily on usability by field practitioners, including those in the remotest areas. While there may be a need to further develop a select number of tools on a particular issues, in gen-

eral the field of education and fragility has developed a strong base of technical know-how. Hence advancing education continuity in fragile contexts is not being held up by a lack of technical guidance.

Supportive international frameworks. Continuity of education in fragile contexts is well supported in a range of international frameworks. Numerous provisions in international human rights and humanitarian law (e.g., the education provisions in the Convention on the Rights of the Child) lay a foundation for shared global agreement on the importance of continuing education in these contexts, as is further discussed below. Recent UN resolutions reaffirm the right of all people to education, and the importance of member states to prioritize education continuity in the face of crisis. For example, the UN General Assembly adopted the first resolution on education in emergencies in 2010, *The Right to Education in Emergency Situations*, and the UN Security Council adopted a resolution that protects schools from attack the following year.¹⁰¹

High-level awareness of key issues. Today, there is much greater awareness of the importance of education in contexts of fragility among senior policymakers than there was even five years ago. Most recently, the launch of the United Nations Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative at the UN General Assembly in 2012 prioritized education in humanitarian settings as one of the 10 main targets of the initiative. Other high-level events have featured the issue among senior policymakers—including initiatives from Qatar to enroll children in school in some of the most difficult contexts; high-level discussions at the World Bank and the White House among ministers on finance and education and senior aid donors on advancing the MDGs, including in conflict-affected countries like the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Sudan, a summit hosted by the European

Commission on education in the post-2015 agenda that focused heavily on education in fragile states, and a new interagency advocacy campaign on the topic titled “Education Cannot Wait.”¹⁰²

As we have seen, the field of education and fragility has developed a number of core strengths over the past decade. Knowing where the field’s assets lie is important when devising strategies that will leverage them but also conversely in understanding that further work in these areas is likely not to result in the breakthroughs needed to advance the field. More technical tools, new international frameworks, or another high-level awareness-raising meeting, while perhaps quite important for isolated topics, are not what is holding back substantial progress on education and fragility today. Instead, the field should focus on filling the gaps that hinder the field, as discussed below.

Remaining Gaps in the Field of Education and Fragility

Having moved into the collaboration phase, the field of education and fragility benefits from many developments and networks, yet four key gaps or challenges hinder the goal of reaching all children and youth in fragile contexts with good-quality education and learning opportunities. These challenges include:

1. Multiple coordination gaps. For years, the international community has discussed the problems associated with the “relief-to-development” gap, particularly around issues of coordination, programmatic sequencing, and funding in the transition from emergency to long-term development.¹⁰³

In our review, we have found that the field of education and fragility suffers from multiple gaps, including but not limited to the traditional relief-to-development gap. Understanding these multiple operational gaps is a first step to identifying strategies for overcoming them.

2. Limited policy prioritization. While there is an increased level of awareness among senior policymakers, translating that awareness into clear, funded policy priorities is still a gap. This is certainly true among education development policymakers at both the country and global levels who, we have found, rarely integrate education and fragility issues into national education plans, for example.

3. Insufficient financing and aid modalities. Education aid at the global level has traditionally underfunded children’s learning opportunities in fragile states. It also has struggled to develop flexible aid modalities that are fit for the purpose of ensuring educational continuity in the face of diverse crises.

4. Limited attention to quality. Education work in fragile contexts has focused heavily on expanding access to education and ensuring basic safety and protection for children. The debates and discussions about the importance of good-quality learning that are so present in the development arenas are largely absent in fragile contexts. In addition to foundational skills such as literacy and numeracy, learning outcomes around social and emotional competencies, for example, are likely to be high priorities for communities affected by fragility.

The following sections provide key evidence and analysis that shed light on how these gaps are manifested as well as strategies to address them.

FOUR CHALLENGES FOR THE FIELD OF EDUCATION AND FRAGILITY

In an effort to understand the main challenges affecting the field, the following sections analyze the dynamics of each of the key challenges and, based on the evidence reviewed, provide recommendations for how to move the field forward.

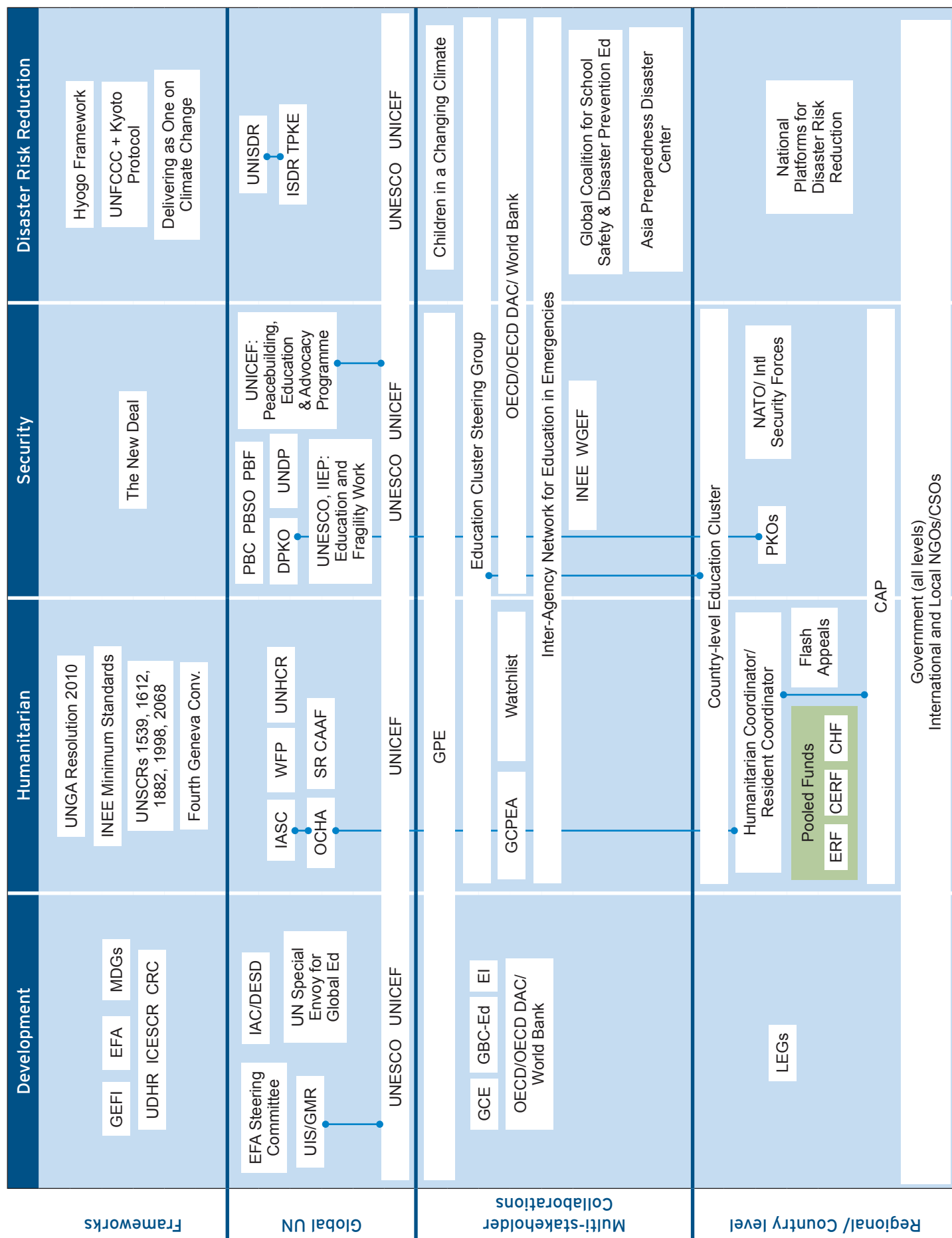
Coordination Puzzle: Four Main Approaches in the Field of Education and Fragility

Using the framework developed above, we have conducted an in-depth actor mapping and found that the four reasons motivating education and fragility work can be translated into four operational approaches. Each operational approach—development, humanitarian, security, and DRR—is motivated by distinct goals, derives a mandate from distinct policy frameworks, and drives action around different sets of institutions and actors. On the basis of this detailed review, we conclude that the commonly referenced “relief-to-development” gap is really, in practice, a “development-to-relief-to-security-to-DRR” gap, as shown in figure 4. In some cases, a policy framework or coordination mechanism relates to a single approach, but in other cases they are active across multiple approaches. Although there are some intersecting and overlapping activities, which are illustrated by dotted lines in the figure, the frameworks and associated actors can largely be defined within a single approach based on its core function and mandate. Although figure 4 is not meant to comprehensively show all frameworks and actors, it captures the most important ones within each approach.

For clarity’s sake, we have concentrated primarily on mapping in detail the frameworks and actors at a global level, but we recognize the importance of governments and other coordinating actors at the country level to help make sense of the complex maze of actors. This country-level work is an important area for future work. While each approach has its own merits, the problem arises when the sets of conditions these four approaches reflect are not mutually exclusive and occur concurrently. Being clear on what the four approaches are and the core frameworks and strategies that go with them is important for both helping to navigate their differences and ultimately for helping to bring them together in a way that advances, rather than confuses and detracts, education progress in fragile contexts. In this section, we provide a broad overview of how these approaches are operationalized. For the curious reader, much greater detail on the history, scope, and strengths and weaknesses of the different frameworks and institutions is provided in annex A.

Development approach. At its core, this approach emphasizes poverty alleviation and includes the range of concepts and actors that use international development, including but by no means limited to education, to help reduce poverty in low-income countries around the world. Education plays a central role in economic development, and therefore educators and educationalists feature as important actors advancing this agenda. The development approach privileges governments as its main partners and is characterized by long-term planning and an emphasis on local ownership and capacity development. The development approach is the most extensive in terms of the number of policies, frameworks and coordination mechanisms guiding its work. For more details, see the boxes.

Figure 4: Actor Mapping across the Four Approaches Influencing Education in Fragile Contexts



Source: Center for Universal Education, 2013.

The Development Approach: Global Frameworks

Human Rights Frameworks

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948): Agreed upon by the global community in the wake of World War II, this is the first legal convention to establish the right to primary education for all people, although it does not mention quality.
- International Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966): Includes the most comprehensive article on the right to education in international human rights law, and identifies education as an indispensable means of realizing other human rights.
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989): In addition to reaffirming the right to education, highlights the importance of quality education, especially with respect to tolerance and equality.

Global Education and Development Goals

- Education for All (EFA, 1990 and 2000): Offers an international consensus around six educational goals, including early childhood, primary education, gender equality, education quality and youth and adult learning.
- Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2000): Eight goals created to galvanize efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest people, including two focused on education: achieve universal primary education, and eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education.
- Global Education First Initiative (GEFI, 2012): A five-year initiative sponsored by the secretary-general of the United Nations that aims to generate a renewed push to achieve the internationally agreed-on education goals set for 2015 and set

an agenda for post-2015, prioritizing putting every child into school, improving the quality of learning and fostering global citizenship.

The Development Approach: Agencies and Champions

- United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): The UN organization mandated to promote education globally as one of its five objectives, including the coordination of the international efforts to reach the Education for All goals.
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF): The leading UN agency focused on children, particularly in developing countries, and they play an important role in advancing basic education.
- Global Partnership for Education (GPE): Previously the Education for All–Fast Track Initiative, a multilateral organization committed to financing and supporting education globally, with a particular emphasis on low-income countries and a new mandate to channel part of their resources to humanitarian contexts and fragile states.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's Development Assistance Committee (OECD DAC): An intergovernmental organization, with 34 member countries with the mandate to promote development cooperation and other policies to contribute to sustainable development, including a focus on fragile and conflict-affected states.
- Education for All Global Monitoring Report (EFA-GMR): Housed within UNESCO, the team of independent experts monitors and provides regular reporting on the progress against the EFA goals. In 2011, it covered issues of education in contexts of armed conflict in great depth.

- **Global Campaign for Education (GCE):** An education advocacy coalition of civil society actors comprising over 120 national level coalitions, including numerous teachers' organizations, and international and regional agencies in over 100 countries. Education in fragile contexts has not been a top advocacy priority to date.
- **Education International (EI):** The world's largest federation of teachers' unions, representing 30 million education employees in nearly 400 organizations with a dedicated priority area on protecting education from attack. .
- **Global Business Coalition for Education (GBC-ED):** A newly formed coalition that brings together private sector actors committed to supporting global education, including a focus on particular countries affected by conflict.
- **UN education champions:** The UN has several prominent figures advocating on behalf of global education, including Gordon Brown, former U.K. prime minister, who is the UN's special envoy for education, and as an envoy represents the UN secretary-general on these issues; Sheika Moza Bint Nasser, the first lady of Qatar, who is a member of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals Advocacy Group and the co-leader of the Education and Health cluster; and Queen Rania, first lady of Jordan, who is UNICEF's eminent advocate for children. All three advocate for global education and have been vocal champions of supporting education in fragile contexts.
- **Local Education groups (LEGs):** Country-level mechanism for coordinating education development work, frequently run by the government and, while varied across countries, includes donors and civil society organizations.

Humanitarian approach. This approach is focused on saving and sustaining lives in contexts where the coping capacity of communities or governments is overwhelmed, regardless of the source or location of the crisis. Usually, humanitarian action is needed in low-income countries with weak internal capacity for addressing the affects of crisis, but this is not always the case (e.g., Japan's 2011 tsunami). Humanitarian aid workers are at the center of this work and education, while not widely accepted as important for saving lives, is acknowledged as an important part of protecting children and young people and supporting their psychosocial well-being. The humanitarian approach is one that emphasizes preparedness and rapid response and relies heavily on the deployment of external actors and direct service provision, often outside government systems. In most cases, existing governments are unable or unwilling to respond; or if they are engaged, it is often in a limited role. However, in some instances governments lead the response. For more details, see the boxes.

Humanitarian Approach: Global Frameworks

International Humanitarian and Refugee Law

- **Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons During Times of War (1949):** Defines humanitarian protections for civilians in war zones.
- **Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951):** Defines the rights of individuals who are granted asylum and the responsibilities of nations that grant asylum.

UN Security Council Resolutions on Child Protection in Armed Conflict

- **Resolution 1261 (1999):** The first Security Council Resolution to highlight the impact of armed conflict on children.

- SC Resolution 1314 (2000): Expressed concern at the impact of conflict on children and the use of child soldiers and established more targeted measure to protect children during and after conflict.
- Resolution 1379 (2001): Considered provisions to protect children during peacekeeping operations and requested the UN secretary-general to identify parties to a conflict that used or recruited child soldiers.
- Resolution 1460 (2003): Called for the immediate end to the use of child soldiers and endorsed international norms and standards for the protection of war-affected children.
- Resolution 1539 (2004): Named attacks against schools or hospitals as a grave violation.
- Resolution 1612 (2005): Created a monitoring and reporting mechanism to document and report on the six grave violations against children in armed conflict and created the Security Council's Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict.
- Resolution 1998 (2011): Declared schools and hospitals off limits for both armed groups and military activities and requested the UN secretary-general to place such crimes on a list of grave violations.
- Resolution 2068 (2012): Indicated the Security Council's readiness to impose sanctions on armed groups persistently violating the human rights of children.

UN Resolution on Education in Emergencies

- 2010 General Assembly Resolution: Reaffirms the right to education in emergency situations

and urges member states to implement strategies and policies to ensure and support education as an integral element of humanitarian assistance and humanitarian response.

Global Education Standards for Preparing for, Responding to, and Recovering from Crisis

- INEE Minimum Standards (2010): Widely accepted voluntary standards guiding education policy and programming for crisis-affected communities. Covers a broad range of issues, including conflict and disaster sensitive education policy. Translated in 20 languages and used in 80 countries.

Humanitarian Approach: Actors and Champions

- Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC): Primary mechanism for interagency policy setting and coordination of humanitarian assistance involving key UN and non-UN humanitarian partners.
- United Nations Office of Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA): Responsible for coordinating humanitarian actors to ensure a coherent response to emergencies. The head of UNOCHA chairs the IASC.
- Education Cluster: Operating under UNOCHA, UNICEF and Save the Children manage a cluster of education agencies to ensure better coordination around education interventions in humanitarian emergencies. Currently, education clusters are active in 38 countries.
- Common Humanitarian Funding Mechanisms: Within the UN system, the humanitarian coordinators at the country level are tasked with lead-

ing the overall humanitarian response, which entails having an active role in accessing funding from the various global humanitarian funding mechanisms, including the FLASH Appeals and the Consolidated Appeal Process as well as the Emergency Response Fund (ERF), Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) and Common Humanitarian Fund (CHF).¹⁰⁴

- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): Leading agency assisting refugees, internally displaced and stateless persons; plays a role in ensuring that education services continue for displaced populations.
- World Food Program (WFP): The food assistance branch of the UN, and the world's largest humanitarian organization addressing hunger, it provides food, on average, to 90 million people per year, 58 million of whom are children.
- INEE: Leading network for the field of education and fragility, comprising over 8,000 members working to support education for populations affected by crisis.
- GCPEA: Newly formed coalition with the goal of stopping targeted attacks on education during armed conflict, including students, teachers and schools.
- Watchlist: A network of international NGOs focused on protecting children in war zones by collecting and disseminating information on the grave violations to children's rights throughout the world.
- Humanitarian champions: The special representative for children and armed conflict is mandated by the UN secretary-general to promote the protection, rights and well-being

of children affected by conflict, including their right to education. UNHCR's special envoy of the high commissioner, Angelina Jolie, advocates globally for the rights of refugees, including their right to education.

Security approach. This approach is primarily concerned with advancing global security and focuses heavily on contexts that are affected by state weakness and conflict. Political development experts and security specialists are at the center of this work, and they are mainly focused on processes related to statebuilding and peacebuilding. Low-income countries are by no means the only contexts affected, as a number of middle-income countries, especially those with oppressive regimes, have been at the center of global security concerns in the past decade. This work is characterized by building institutions of the state that support good governance—such as electoral, security, judicial and service delivery reforms. It also includes processes in contexts affected by conflict with a focus on building the foundations for long-term peace and stability, including forging political settlements in peace processes and building social cohesion within communities. Education is usually featured as an important service that citizens expect their governments to deliver, but education also clearly has a role to play in shaping political and social norms. For more details, see the boxes.

Security Approach: Global Policy Frameworks

- Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2000): Proposes initial international commitments to improve aid delivery including ownership, alignment, harmonization, managing for results and mutual accountability.

- **Fragile States Principles (2007):** 10 principles that provide a framework to guide international actors in achieving better results in challenging developing contexts.
- **Principles and Good Practice of Humanitarian Donorship (2003):** 23 principles and good practices endorsed by 16 donor governments and the European Commission that provide an official guide to humanitarian aid and a means of encouraging greater donor accountability.¹⁰⁵
- **Accra Agenda for Action (2008):** Provided an accelerated plan to achieve the Paris targets and created the International Dialogue, which allows fragile states to communicate their priorities.
- **Dili Declaration (2010):** Renewed vision for peacebuilding and statebuilding resulting from the first International Dialogue meeting held in Dili, Timor Leste.
- **The Monrovia Roadmap (2011):** Established agreement on the five peacebuilding and statebuilding goals: legitimate politics, security, justice, economic foundations and revenues and services.
- **New Deal for Engagement with Fragile States (2011):** Building on all the previous dialogues and frameworks, the New Deal is the most current framework outlining new ways to engage and achieve better results in fragile states.

Security Approach: Actors and Champions–

- **United Nations Development Program (UNDP):** Lead UN agency for development, with an emphasis on governance and political reform.

- **UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO):** department of the UN charged with the planning, preparation, management and direction of UN peacekeeping operations
- **UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC):** A UN-led intergovernmental advisory body that helps countries with postconflict peacebuilding, recovery, reconstruction and development by providing guidance and mobilizing resources.
- **Peacebuilding Fund (PBF):** A pooled fund, overseen by the UN, that has the ability to rapidly distribute resources, helping to bridge the gap between crisis and recovery
- **UNICEF Education and Peacebuilding Initiative:** A joint initiative between UNICEF and the government of the Netherlands to advance education's contribution to peacebuilding.
- **NATO/International Forces:** Military interventions in fragile contexts, which increasingly are engaging in humanitarian and development work, including building schools.

DRR approach. This approach is focused on reducing the effects of climate change and disasters as well as changing attitudes and behaviors to advance more sustainable human interactions with the natural environment. Specialists in climate change and DRR are central in this approach, and they frequently work with educators around the world—from rich and poor countries and stable and instable contexts alike. Work includes greening schools, developing young people's knowledge and awareness about climate change, and developing skills to prepare for and respond to disasters. For more details, see the boxes.

DRR Approach:

Global Legal and Policy Frameworks

- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 1994): International treaty with the objective of stabilizing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere, which includes a reference to the importance of educational training and programs in addressing climate change.
- Kyoto Protocol (2005): Agreement linked to the UNFCCC that adds legally binding obligations for developed countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, reiterates the role that education can play.
- Hyogo Framework for Action (2005): Global guidance on reducing disaster-related losses, including outlining the relationship between education and DRR.
- UN's Delivering as One on Climate Change Initiative (2007): Coordinates the UN's work on DRR and climate change, including UNESCO's Climate Change Initiative that prioritizes climate change education.
- UN Decade on Education for Sustainable Development (2005–15): Led by UNESCO, this includes a broad conceptualization of the numerous ways in which education can promote sustainable development.

DRR Approach:

Organizations and Agencies

- United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR): Serves as the focal point in the UN system for the coordination of DRR and to ensure synergies among DRR activities.

- UNISDR Thematic Platform on Knowledge and Education (TPKE): Provides advice and guidance to UNISDR on ways that education can support the Hyogo Framework.
- Asia Preparedness Disaster Center: Resource center focused on disaster reduction and sustainable development in Asia and the Pacific.
- UNESCO Bangkok: A regional office of UNESCO heavily involved in research, policy advising, and programming for DRR education in the region.
- Global Coalition for School Safety and Disaster Prevention Education: An online community that supports knowledge-sharing strategies and political will to ensure that all schools are safe, and that every community has access to high-quality disaster prevention education knowledge.
- Children in a Changing Climate: A coalition of organizations focused on supporting approaches related to child-centered DRR and climate change prevention and adaptation.

Challenging the Fragility-Stability Dichotomy

Each of these four operational approaches has merits, and there is no inherent problem in having these distinct sets of mandates and actors. The problem arises because the contexts to which they respond are not mutually exclusive. While it is possible that decades ago the conditions were more likely to be separate and easily distinguishable, this is certainly no longer the case today. The changing nature of conflict, the emergence of transnational political violence and the increasing effects of climate change are increasingly so interconnected that it becomes difficult to isolate one from another. For example,

Haiti suffers from weak governance, ongoing political violence and insecurity, deforestation and the lingering effects of the 2010 large-scale humanitarian crisis from the massive earthquake that rocked its capital city.

Wars between states, the dominant form of conflict in the first half of the 20th century, are now relatively infrequent. Civil wars within states, largely fueled by internal political strife, were the most common form of conflict between 1960 and 1990, but since then have considerably decreased in frequency. Today, the nature of conflict is shifting yet again, as new and increasingly complex global phenomena—such as human trafficking, transnational gang violence and water-scarcity violence—interact with more traditional forms of political strife and result in conflict, violence and displacement. The future face of conflict will be one whose root causes are increasingly hard to disentangle as political confrontation that erupts into violent conflict will be influenced by resource scarcity related to climate change, transnational ideological struggles (e.g., al-Qaeda), international trafficking, organized gang violence and economic crises.¹⁰⁶

This has led to an increasing recognition that the traditional distinction in humanitarian relief between the source of the crisis—namely, natural disasters versus “complex” (a.k.a. human-made) emergencies—is breaking down. New thinking in humanitarian action focuses on the consequences of the crisis (e.g., displacement, human rights violations, a lack of access to services) and adopts strategies to meet the needs of the affected populations, regardless of how they happened to end up in their current situation. This new approach recognizes the increasingly blurred lines between conflict and natural disasters and that the foreseeable future will reflect new sets of sudden and slow-onset crisis agents, including failures of technological systems, demographic shifts and popu-

lation growth, water scarcity, pandemics, environmental degradation and climate change, along with intrastate and interstate instability.¹⁰⁷

It is also no longer viable to consider fragile contexts as completely distinct from more stable contexts. In stable countries, ministries of education and their international development partners rarely discuss the ways in which education can contribute to efforts to address conflict, climate change and fragility, and instead they leave that for peers working directly in fragile states. This would be fine if stable countries never turned into fragile states or developed pockets of fragility, but unfortunately they do. For example, the magnitude of the trauma and violence that took place in Kenya after the 2007 general election took both Kenyans and the international community by surprise. Mali, upheld as a beacon of democracy for the past 20 years, devolved into widespread conflict after a rebel uprising in 2011. In 2000, an electoral struggle in Côte d’Ivoire led to violence after the country’s long history of relative domestic peace and prosperity. The uprising in Tunisia stunned the international community and sparked similar ongoing occurrences throughout the region, creating a domino-effect that became known as the “Arab Spring.” The global financial crisis of 2008–9 and its economic aftermath have created pervasive vulnerabilities among developed countries, including the United States, and have crippled others, as in the case of Greece. Natural disasters like Hurricane Katrina in the United States and the tsunami off the Pacific coast of Tōhoku, Japan, have the potential to create sudden pockets of fragility in otherwise stable countries.

Hence, it is particularly essential to find ways to leverage the assets of the four different approaches in a coherent manner, one that will help scale up effective solutions for educational continuity before, during and after a crisis strikes.

Reducing Risk and Building Resilience: A Shared Goal

While the hope is that country-level coordination brings actors together, it does so irregularly and frequently not across all four perspectives. Even in those cases with extraordinary in-country coordination, the approaches that each perspective brings to bear on education are so different that it can be difficult to find shared ways of working. Yet this is essential if the field is to move forward.

One of the barriers to forging a shared agenda are the different conceptual framings of the problem, amounting to what one major donor describes as philosophical differences.¹⁰⁸ As is seen from the actor mapping, each approach has at its core distinct end games, each driving toward a different goal—advancing economic development, protecting children and saving lives, building strong and peaceful states, and mitigating impacts of disasters. All these outcomes are, of course, important; and depending on the conditions on the ground, become more or less relevant. But as the different conceptual frames directly translate into a stream of institutional policies and actions, it becomes all the more important to find a way to tie these conceptual frameworks together—in other words, to forge a shared agenda.

A possible way of uniting these concepts is to emphasize their contribution to building resilience and reducing risk. Much like fragility, there is no single commonly shared definition of “resilience,” although the term benefits from a positive connotation and therefore is likely to be more politically acceptable. Coming out of the fields of ecology, psychology and engineering (e.g., resilient buildings), the concept of resilience in contexts of development has been gaining attention over the past decade, and a number of organizations, from UNDP to the World Bank, have defined it. The United Kingdom’s definition is representative of the major concepts put for-

ward by most others. Additionally, the U.K. has made resilience central to its development efforts and defines it as “the ability of countries, communities and households to manage change, by maintaining or transforming living standards in the face of shocks or stresses—such as earthquakes, drought or violent conflict—without compromising their long-term prospects.”¹⁰⁹

Reducing risk to and building the resilience of individuals, communities and systems is certainly one important shared purpose across development, humanitarian, security and DRR actors. For example, the *DRR* approach already explicitly uses the language and concepts of building resilience and reducing risk when talking about preparing for and responding to disasters. More broadly, climate change education seeks to build individuals’ and communities’ resilience vis-à-vis an uncertain climate future by cultivating new livelihood skills, mindsets toward the environment and critical thinking capacities. The *humanitarian* approach, through its preparedness work, emphasizes the reduction of the risk of education disruption and with it harm to children and youth. It also includes measures to reduce the risks of schools and education personnel being directly targeted and attacked during crises. Additionally, it includes steps to build resilience among individuals, communities and systems, which frequently includes strengthening the coping capacity of these entities. For the *security* approach, the connection is less obvious, but could include reducing risk, which may mean systematically examining the ways in which education systems can contribute to addressing a conflict and then developing strategies to mitigate or remove these risks (e.g., rapid curriculum audit for inflammatory content). It could also conceivably think of restoring education service delivery as building resilient state systems. The *development* approach currently uses the concepts of reducing risk and building resilience very little. However, there is a clear role for it to more fulsomely include this framework in its work,

such as ensuring that national education plans should incorporate disaster and conflict risk reduction policies as well as programs to prepare educational personnel to respond to crises.

Context First: Using Different Tools to Advance a Shared Goal

Finding a shared goal or agenda for the four approaches does not mean abandoning the specific tools or strategies that each approach has developed.

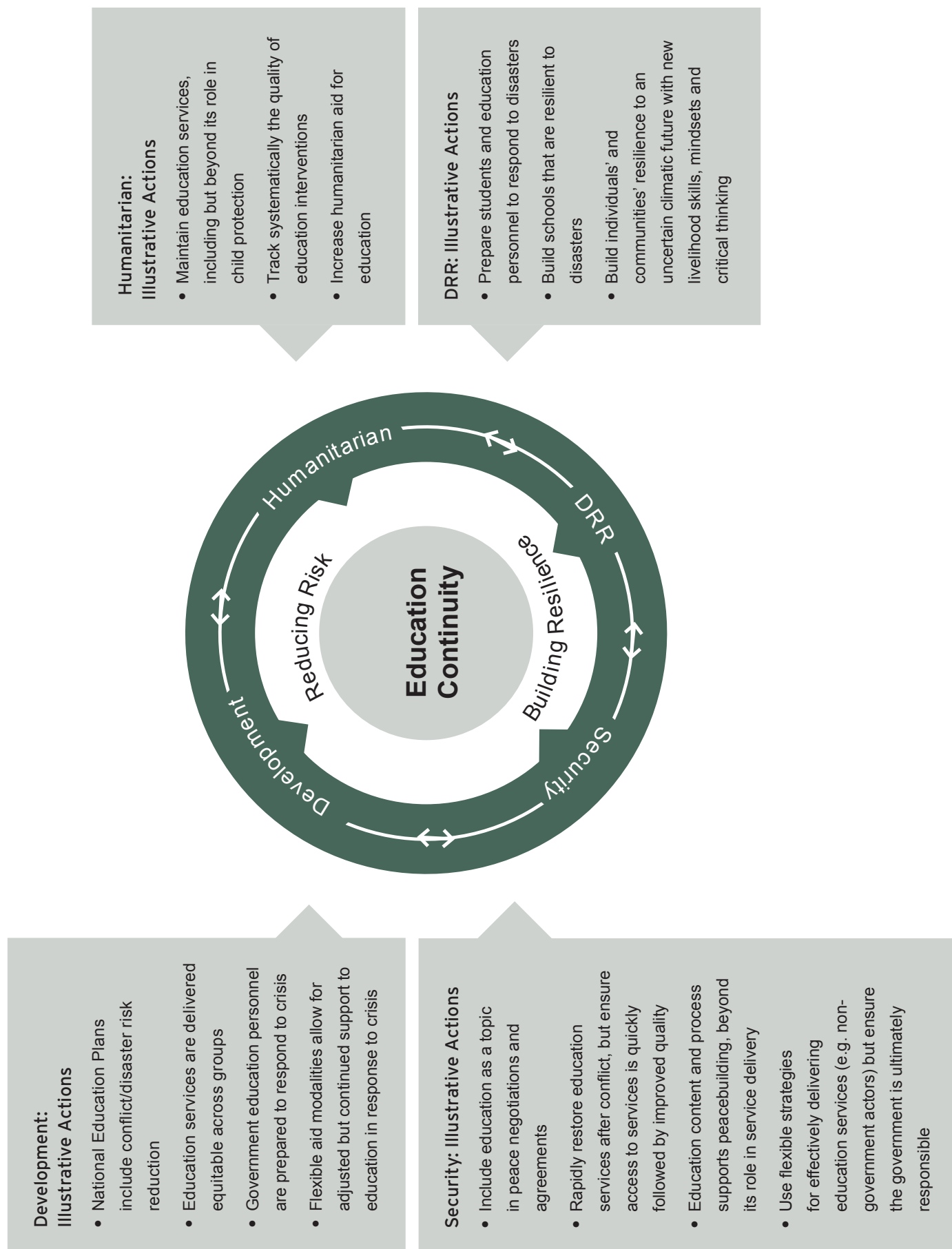
Clearly in areas plagued by flooding, schools need systematic DRR plans and training on how to respond. In situations recovering from ethnic violence, communities need equitable education service delivery and messages of tolerance in the curriculum, and so on. Rather it is a way of bringing the four approaches and their respective institutional arrangements and actors into dialogue on how best to use their particular tools for a common purpose. This does not currently happen in the field of education and fragility and is an important step to scaling up action in the sector.

USAID RESILIENCE PROGRAMMING IN EAST AFRICA

A promising example of this type of strategy of forging a shared agenda and using differentiated tools comes from the U.S. government. In East Africa, USAID has worked to pilot a shared conceptual framework of “building resilience” particularly to recurrent crises, such as droughts and food insecurity.¹¹⁰ The organization developed a “Horn of Africa Joint Planning Cell” that brought humanitarian and development staff together to collectively develop a problem analysis and framework for response. Early signs show that this approach has been quite useful and that “humanitarian relief and recovery programs are no longer conceived of as an end in themselves, but as a foundation and platform upon which new and existing resilience and development investments must and will build.” The approach is to use the best tools available in a way that layers, sequences and at times integrates them to make the most sense for the context and the problem at hand. According to USAID’s own reflections on this process,

Once agreed to, the possibilities for layering, integrating, and sequencing a wide range of existing humanitarian and development efforts with new investments around the shared aim of building resilience became clear, and the humanitarian and development sides of USAID worked in a more coherent and strategic manner than ever before. The very act of humanitarian and development experts engaging in this type of joint analysis and planning has demonstrated to all involved the power of bringing together the diverse perspectives, talents, and expertise within the Agency.¹¹¹

Figure 5: Integration of Risk and Resilience for Continuity in Education



EDUCATION'S LOW POLICY PRIORITY AT THE NATIONAL AND GLOBAL LEVELS

In addition to finding ways to conceptually bridge the multiple coordination gaps, increasing the priority of education and fragility in country- and global-level policies is also needed to move the field forward. We make this argument based on the reviews in this section of the ways in which conflict and disaster are present in national education plans at the country level and the ways in which education is present in humanitarian, security and development policies at the global level.

National education plans. One way of assessing if, at the country level, education and fragility issues are both coordinated and prioritized is to review how national education plans are crafted. Do national education plans, which figure prominently in guiding the development approach, incorporate concerns from the humanitarian, security and DRR approaches? Clearly, a national education plan that prioritizes and brings together the range of education and fragility issues, as appropriate to the context, is just the first step in delivering effective education services in fragile contexts. It is quite feasible to have plans that are not financed or implemented. However, it is much more likely that education issues will be prioritized and funded if they are clearly articulated in a country's national education plan than if they are not.

To date, there have been initial but limited reviews of a small number of national education plans to assess how, if indeed at all, they have incorporated conflict sensitivity.¹¹² A 2007 review of 10 education sector plans from conflict-affected fragile states revealed that only 5 had specific strategies or guidance on preparedness for conflict included in their plans, and of these 5, the number of strategies was limited to less than 2.¹¹³ It is surprising that more plans did not address the issues

of conflict in a comprehensive way, considering the history of conflict in these countries. However, while education and fragility advocates argue that national education plans are “emergency blind,” there is limited evidence to suggest one way or another how governments are incorporating these issues into their planning process as no systematic study has previously been done on the topic.¹¹⁴

Recent work to develop a framework and concrete guidance for incorporating education and fragility concerns into national education plans has led to several useful tools, including those developed by UNESCO-IIEP¹¹⁵ in its revised guidelines for the preparation of education sector plans, Education Above All,¹¹⁶ the UNISDR,¹¹⁷ and the UNESCO IIEP and UNICEF WCARO on behalf of the Global Education Cluster. The Global Partnership for Education, together with UNESCO-IIEP, are also preparing guidelines for developing education sector plans, which will include guidelines for fragility cases. The best guidance to date for countries comes from the 2011 UNESCO-IIEP and UNICEF guidance notes for education planners, which include key steps and questions to consider while undertaking an education sector planning process through a conflict and DRR lens. It provides guidance on how to integrate conflict-sensitive and DRR measures into an education sector diagnosis with respect to access, quality and management, as well as the actual process of designing policies and programs to reduce the specific conflict and disaster risks identified during the analysis. Strategies for monitoring and evaluating conflict and DRR measures are discussed as well as the methods to cost, finance and operationalize interventions.

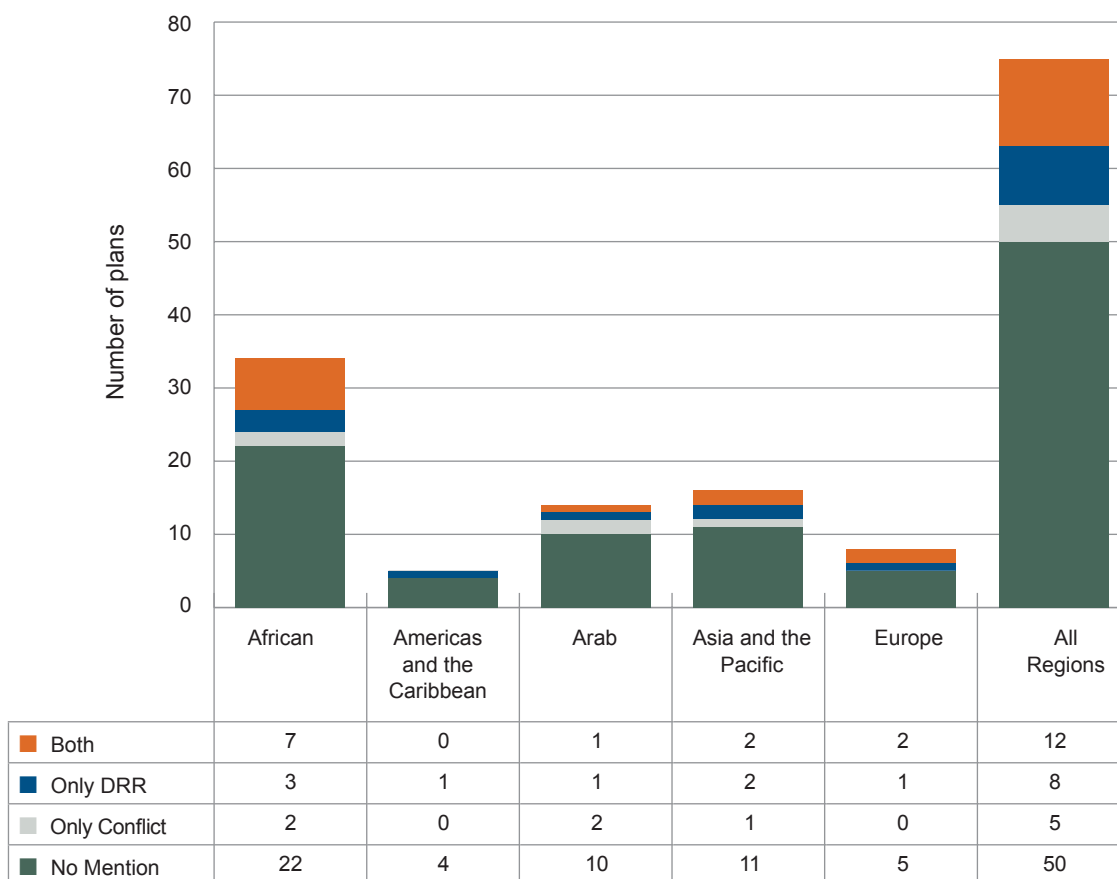
Hence, for this report, and as a key aspect of evidence to inform our understanding of how education and fragility are or are not prioritized, we have conducted an

analysis of 75 national education plans from around the world that have been developed within the last five years. We selected plans that were publicly available on either UNESCO IIEP's Planopolis¹¹⁸ or on the Global Partnership for Education's Web site and had been published in English or French on or after 2008. We chose to look at plans developed in the last five years, given the increasing awareness in recent years of education and fragility issues and the increasing number of tools to help planners in education ministries address education and fragility issues. It should be noted that 14 plans were published within the time frame selected for this exercise but were not reviewed because they were written in languages other than

English or French. In some cases, these may be relevant to review in the future, as some are from countries in Central and South America and the Caribbean, which are prone to various forms of fragility.

Our findings support the initial prior reviews of education plans, as we found that a minority of plans address education and fragility issues in any serious way (figure 6). Indeed, most plans are silent on the subject, with 67 percent of the plans we reviewed not mentioning either conflict or disasters. Only 12 of the 75 plans mention both conflict and natural disasters. Eight plans reference only natural disasters, and another 5 reference only conflict. Ultimately, we found

Figure 6: Review of National Education Sector Plans



Source: Center for Universal Education, 2013.

that the vast majority of plans that reference conflict do so superficially, usually to note the effect that conflict has had on the education sector. This is also true for references to natural disasters.

We reviewed the plans using the framework outlined in the Guidance Notes for Education Planners, a guide for integrating conflict and DRR into education sector planning processes developed by IIEP and UNICEF's West and Central Africa Regional Office on behalf of the Global Education Cluster. The guidelines examine a number of core strategic planning steps, including:

1. Conducting a diagnosis of the risks affecting the education sector;
2. Integrating conflict/DRR measures into regular education policy, planning and programming interventions;
3. Developing a relevant conflict/DRR strategy to respond to risks identified;
4. Monitoring and evaluating progress on implementation of risk reduction strategies; and
5. Mobilizing human and financial resources to implement conflict/DRR measures.

Of all the plans reviewed, 25 addressed the issue of natural disasters or conflict, or sometimes both. (see Annex 2). Of the plans that referenced conflict or disaster, most only addressed the first step outlined in the guidelines by describing conflict and disaster related risks in the particular country or region. Fewer outlined the second step of explaining what needs to be done in order to integrate appropriate measures. Only ten plans addressed step three by identifying and developing actual strategies, priority programs and key objectives—although many only briefly described these: Afghanistan, Burkina Faso, Comoros,

Ethiopia, Gambia, Nepal, Palestine, Qatar, Sri Lanka, Rwanda. Steps four and five are entirely absent from these plans although it should be noted that often ministries have supplemental documents supporting the national education plans that lay out the monitoring and resource mobilization strategies and therefore these steps may not be captured by only reviewing national education plans.

MOST PLANS ARE SILENT on the subject, with 67 percent of the plans we reviewed not mentioning either conflict or disasters. Only 12 of the 75 plans mention both conflict and natural disasters.

The call to incorporate conflict and disaster sensitivity into national education plans has been increasing recently, particularly through the efforts of UNESCO IIEP, the Education Cluster and INEE. This work is in its very initial stages and should be robustly supported. Ensuring that national education plans are “conflict and disaster sensitive” is an important first step in ensuring educational continuity. A robust planning process, in which a range of actors participate, can ensure that the various arms of the government and its partners share the same vision and sets of priorities. It can, and if done well should, spur preparation for operationalizing the plans. Preparing for the risks of disasters and conflict through the planning process does not necessarily mean that the government will deliver or execute all the various contingency options foreseen. But it does provide one of the best strategies for envisioning education interventions at scale. Ensuring that the government is pursuing strategies that reduce disaster and conflict risk

CASE STUDY: ETHIOPIA'S FORWARD-LEANING SECTOR PLAN

Ethiopia's Education Sector Development Program IV 2010/2011–2014/2015 (2010) was one of the best examples of how to identify and incorporate measures to address conflict and natural disasters. It includes a section on environmental education and protection as well as a section on education and emergencies. The plan recognizes that environmental concerns have become more pronounced in recent years and outlines a number of strategies to ensure comprehensive inclusion of environmental education and protection in the curriculum as well as strengthened awareness of administrators, teachers and students. Some of the activities include developing relevant teaching and learning materials to accompany the curriculum, broadcasting awareness-raising programs on educational television, creating environmental education and protection clubs in all schools and providing in-service training programs for teachers and facilitators. The plan sets out key outcome targets: At least 50 percent of students will be made aware of the importance of environmental education and protection, and at least 50 percent of teachers will demonstrate good knowledge of environmental education and protection.

Ethiopia's plan also outlines a strategy for supporting education in emergencies. Eight regions in Ethiopia (Somali, Afar, Gambella, Amhara, Tigray, SNNPR, Benshangul Gumz and Oromiya) are identified as emergency prone, as they are affected every year by droughts, floods and/or ethnic conflict. The recurrent nature of these emergencies, along with preexisting poverty and the complexities of pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities, affect thousands of children every year. The ability of children to access education is severely compromised as children drop out of school due to poverty, schools remain closed for extended periods of time, teachers leave the affected areas, school buildings are used as shelters or are damaged, school materials are damaged, and children and their families are displaced from their villages and live in temporary shelters for long periods. The plan recognizes that the unavailability of comprehensive information on the impact of emergencies on dropout rates, enrollment rates and overall education status leads to inadequate and untimely responses. As a result, the plan outlines a number of strategies including awareness-raising programs and training for teachers, the collection of education in emergencies data to be strengthened and mainstreamed into other data collection exercises carried out within the sector, the creation of emergency preparedness response plans and task forces to implement and monitor the plan in each affected region and the provision of capacity development programs for *woreda* (i.e., small-scale administrative divisions) offices based in emergency-affected areas. The strategy references INEE's Minimum Standards as a guidance tool to focus on access, teaching, learning and coordination.

necessitates a set of actions across the country, or, if more appropriate, within a certain region of the country. It can also provide a clear framework in which development partners can organize themselves to ensure national- or regional-level coverage.

Global policy. Strategies on educational continuity are not just missing from national education plans, but they are also left wanting within international aid donors' policies. Not surprisingly, given the limited humanitarian funding that education receives, few governments

providing international humanitarian assistance prioritize education in their policies. According to UNESCO's *GMR*, out of the 23 OECD aid donors, which provide nearly two-thirds of global humanitarian aid, only the governments of Canada, Denmark, Japan, Norway and Sweden specifically include education in their humanitarian policy documents.¹¹⁹ Education has also struggled to be included in emergency assessment tools. Despite all the work of INEE and the Education Cluster on emergency needs assessment tools, as recently as 2009 UNOCHA conducted a study of key emergency needs assessments tools and none of the 27 initiatives included in the study covered education in any depth.¹²⁰

Several studies have also shown that education struggles to feature in conflict assessments, early warning tools and conflict mitigation strategies. A review of six conflict assessment tools used by donors or agencies indicate that only two mention education as a potential indicator of conflict, and even those are largely superficial and narrowly defined.¹²¹ Peacebuilding processes also do not systematically include education, even though it is often crucial to their success. For example, of the 37 peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2005, close to one-third make no mention of education.¹²² Peacebuilding programs often have a standard focus on political and security reform but frequently give short shrift to education. Of the 192 projects administered by the UN's Peacebuilding Fund, only 25 were in the area of social services and very few of these involved education.¹²³

Within donor policies on fragile states, particularly those that focus on peacebuilding and statebuilding,

education is frequently mentioned as an important part of service delivery but rarely recognized for its role in identifying formation and other processes influential in rebuilding strong societies. For example, the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) recently produced a framework for working in fragile and conflict-affected states that gives concrete guidance to its staff on how development assistance can play a constructive role in these contexts.¹²⁴ Education is an important sector for AusAID, and it is notable that this guiding document makes limited mention of it. Like other social services, AusAid identifies education service delivery as important for building trust between citizens and their government and as such contributing to inclusive political settlements. It is also recognized as an important way in which to build individual human capacity, particularly with its link to livelihood skills, which is necessary for developing resilient communities. But missing is any conceptualization of the power of education to influence the very notion of who should and should not be a citizen, how groups within countries should or should not interact, and indeed how citizens should engage in political processes.

Hence, there is, as we stated above, a twin need for country-level education policies to prioritize conflict and disaster and for humanitarian and security policies to prioritize education, particularly at the global level. Including education and fragility issues as a priority in national or global policies is important to help guide resources and action toward educational continuity for young people in these contexts. Next, we turn to the question of financing.

EDUCATION'S FINANCING LEVEL AND MODALITIES

Policy priorities translate into funding. The education and fragility field suffers from two problems: underfunding and, as with many other sectors in fragile contexts, rigid aid modalities.

IN 2009, CONFLICT-AFFECTED FRAGILE STATES only received a fourth of basic education aid, even though they are home to close to half the world's out-of-school children.¹²⁵

Funding levels. Within donor strategies on educational development, there has been an increasing focus on contexts of conflict and fragility. This was not always the case, and 10 years ago donors focused their education aid, like much of the rest of their development assistance, on good performers. Today countries such as the Netherlands, the U.K., and the U.S., among others, are significant education aid donors in development that devote substantial attention to education in contexts of conflict, peacebuilding and fragility. However, data on the global financing picture for education in these contexts still show that education and fragility are underfunded. As stated above, within the field of development aid, fragile situations get shortchanged. In 2009, conflict-affected fragile states only received a fourth of basic education aid, even though they are home to close to half the world's out-of-school children.¹²⁵ And while education development aid does not do enough to support fragile situations, aid focused on fragile states does not do enough to include education. For instance, of the \$360 million the Peacebuilding Fund used on a wide range of projects in 2010, only 14 percent of the funds supported work in education.¹²⁶

Additionally, humanitarian aid to education has, despite sustained advocacy on the topic, remained notoriously low, hovering at about 2 percent of total humanitarian aid. The *GMR* claims that education suffers from a “double disadvantage” with the sector both requesting some of the smallest amounts of funds (critics argue that this is not because of need but because specialists assume that little funding will be available) and having the one of the biggest gaps between the amounts requested and amounts funded.¹²⁷ This limited presence of education in humanitarian funding does not just affect the sector in the short term. The *GMR* goes on to show the importance of humanitarian aid for long-term programming and the gravity of the fact that education receives so little:

Humanitarian aid occupies an important place in the wider development assistance effort for conflict-affected states. In some cases it represents the majority of overall aid, outweighing long-term development assistance. Contrary to a common perception of humanitarian aid as a short-term gap filler, it often represents a large share of aid over many years. More than half of humanitarian aid goes to countries where it has represented at least 10 percent of total aid of at least nine years.¹²⁸

Aid modalities. Often donors employ aid modalities for fragile states that were designed with stable contexts in mind. This can, with some minimal adaptation, work well in some cases but often it can become problematic. For example, while partnering with governments and providing budget support aligned with national plans is widely recognized as good practice in development, it may not be appropriate in some fragile contexts. In Mali after the recent coup d'état, GPE suspended its budget support to country and channeled its resources to international organizations working on education projects. Without this type of flexibility, aid and as a result edu-

cation often stops when crisis hits. Many critics of aid modalities have called for new approaches that should be “coherent, coordinated, and complementary” across departments within donor agencies and between donor agencies and their partners.¹²⁹ The search for more effective ways of supporting fragile states with international assistance has in recent years spawned numerous reports, reviews and discussions.

Ultimately, for the education sector, if not in general, the crux of the problem is that donors’ engagement with fragile contexts starts from what they are able to do and provide rather than from what is needed on the ground. This is described by UNESCO’s *GMR* as a supply-driven approach to funding education in conflict and has been discussed at length in a recent review of financing mechanisms for chronic crises for the OECD’s work on conflict and fragility.¹³⁰ “The difficulty with an aid architecture in which humanitarian and development aid are governed by different rules and regulations and often managed by different parts of donor agencies or different organizations is that this does not correspond to reality on the ground.”¹³¹

For example, USAID has recently adopted a new education strategy that includes as one of its top three priorities providing access to education for children and youth in conflict-affected contexts. Part of this work includes a focus on conflict analysis and conflict-sensitive programming.¹³² This is an important development for the field of education and fragility, and should be lauded. However, within USAID’s own strategy, this attention to conflict-sensitive perspectives does not extend to development interventions within more stable contexts, which are primarily focused on improving reading in the early grades and seen as quite separate from the focused priority of educating young people in conflict-affected communities. Moreover, this important education and fragility work carried about by USAID’s education development team

has limited remit in humanitarian emergency or refugee contexts because primary responsibility for response in those situations rests in other bureaucratic units within the U.S. government. The Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, which is in charge of humanitarian response, does not recognize education as a priority response but rather engages in a limited number of education activities as a strategy for promoting child protection. A recent study found that the United States government’s work on education in fragile contexts is embedded within 13 organizational entities within seven agencies.¹³³

This type of bureaucratic challenge is by no means unique to the U.S. government. The OECD’s review concludes that trying to overcome this difficulty by “gap filling,” something for which aid donors appear to have a penchant, is not the answer. This is largely because within institutions there are far too many gaps as well as different types of gaps, and on the ground fragile contexts are always so varied that they rarely face just one type of gap. Indeed, there is even very limited clarity among donors on exactly what they mean by filling the gap. The OECD review identifies several meanings—including a dip in funding after humanitarian funding runs out and before development aid kicks in; a lack of funding for important activities because they do not fit within a specific agency remit; and a chronological, rather than financial, gap whereby donors as-

The GMR claims that education suffers from a “double disadvantage” with the sector both requesting some of the smallest amounts of funds (critics argue that this is not because of need but because specialists assume that little funding will be available) and having the one of the biggest gaps between the amounts requested and amounts funded.¹²⁷

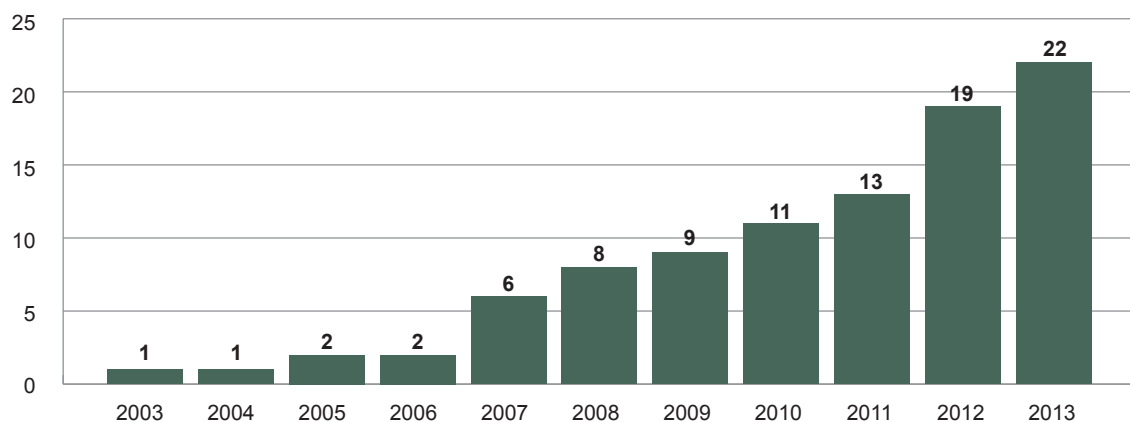
sume that humanitarian contexts naturally give way to development contexts, which, as we know, is not always the case. Within the education sector, there are of course a range of gaps, from humanitarian to development to security to DRR. Ultimately, despite its focus on chronic crisis, the study's conclusion also holds true for the field of education and fragility; namely, that the real issue is how to provide appropriate long-term but flexible assistance to situations of chronic crisis where government counterparts are weak or illegitimate. If aid actors conceptualise the problem in this way it would shift the focus toward harnessing all instruments and capacities to meet the needs of the country, rather than putting the needs into artificial categories.¹³⁴

Many donors are thinking about how to better serve the needs of populations in fragile states, and a few are trying new approaches. One example is the Swedish government's effort to develop blended teams, with humanitarian and development specialists working side by side. Within the education sector, one of the most promising examples of an aid donor taking a new approach that starts with the needs on the ground and then allows for flexible modalities

to respond is the Global Partnership for Education (GPE). Admittedly, this is a brand-new policy that has only this year been passed by GPE's board, so the verdict is still out on how it will be implemented. But because tracing the evolution of GPE's approach to education in fragile contexts is instructive and provides a powerful example of the direction in which donors need to be moving, it is useful to consider the case of GPE in more detail.

Case study of Need-Driven Aid Modalities: Global Partnership for Education. GPE has gone through three main stages as it has sought to address the educational needs of fragile states: (1) support good performers, and exclude fragile states; (2) explore specific funds and mechanisms to only support fragile states, while having a limited impact on stable countries; and (3) implement one process for supporting all countries, with flexible modalities available depending on the needs on the ground. In the past GPE has been widely criticized for its limited ability to effectively support fragile states. However, this third stage provides a forward-looking model for how to structure flexible aid modalities for education. As we shall see below, the model has implica-

Figure 7: The Number of Fragile States Joining GPE 2003-2013



Source: GPE. *Working with Fragile States: Building on Experience*, June 2012.

tions for stable and fragile contexts alike and represents a joined-up framework—across a wide range of contexts and needs—for supporting education systems at scale. Although the real test comes in the ability of GPE to implement this new model of working in fragile contexts.

First, founded in 2002, GPE was set up as a mechanism whereby the global community could support “good performers” to accelerate progress toward the MDGs. GPE sought to operationalize the commitment made by the global education community in Dakar that no low-income country with a credible education plan would be thwarted in its efforts by a lack of resources. GPE’s efforts focused on ensuring that endorsed country plans met a gold standard and that fragile states were not considered for the partnership.

Second, GPE’s stakeholders over time increasingly discussed the merits of not including fragile states in the partnership. This was in part driven by the evidence, which was not unique to education, that fragile states were lagging significantly behind their more stable counterparts on human development indicators. It also was driven by increasing demand from the countries themselves. Between 2002 and 2011, the number of fragile states joining the partnership climbed slowly, from 2 to 13 (see figure 7). Debates over how to best include fragile states while at the same time maintaining GPE’s gold standard were debated within the global education community in the middle of the decade. One strategy that GPE pursued was to have a separate transition fund that fragile states could apply to and use a “Progressive Framework” to guide the policy process at the country level. This strategy represented a clear focus on gap filling, and countries that were not fragile at the time of applying to GPE would not be required to undergo any fragility analysis. Ultimately, this strategy was not implemented due to administrative difficulties in operationalizing the transi-

tion fund, and the work on the Progressive Framework stopped in 2008.¹³⁵

Third, in 2011, GPE returned to the topic and adopted as one of its strategic directions a focus on fragile states, which it then formalized as one of its five priorities in 2012 and supported with a robust set of operational strategies in 2013. This has subsequently led to a dramatic increase in the number of fragile states entering the partnership—jumping up from 13 in 2011 to 22 in 2013. In this short period, some of the countries grappling with the most difficult contexts joined the partnership, including South Sudan, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Pakistan.

Today GPE’s new policies on fragile states are taking a decidedly different approach from its previous efforts, although the core principle of progressivity remains. Rather than developing a separate fund for fragile states, all countries are included in one process. However, the policy includes a range of modalities that not only allow GPE to support new fragile states entering the partnership but also continue supporting the education needs of young people when stable countries experience crises and disasters. The best modalities to use should be determined at the country level, as contexts vary so tremendously, but can include accelerated support for humanitarian crises, assistance in developing interim plans of activities, and a mix of government and nongovernment support for education delivery. The following set of conditions can trigger a change in GPE’s modalities for supporting education:

- “Coup d’état or other unconstitutional government change
- Situations of large-scale violence or armed conflict within the country, including at subnational levels in federal states, or across borders

- Situations where the international community has raised serious concerns involving human rights violations
- Large-scale emergencies as defined by United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (“OCHA”)
- Situations where corruption, lack of adherence to international conventions or other issues lead to donor suspension of aid
- Situations where low administrative capacity calls for a phased approach to supporting education sector activities while gradually building government capacity.”¹³⁶

Another important feature of GPE’s new approach is its focus on ensuring that stable countries in the partnership conduct a robust context analysis, which includes ensuring that conflict and DRR are integrated into national education plans. This approach represents a move away from focusing on gap filling and directs the partnership to attend to issues of fragility throughout its work.

GPE is particularly well-positioned to support education in fragile contexts because it uses a pooled funding mechanism at the global level and can use its resources to support pooled funds at the country level—although to date has only done so on a limited basis. Pooling donor funding is widely agreed upon as a useful strategy for many contexts, but especially for fragile situations, and is an area that UNESCO’s *GMR* has long argued could make an important difference in educating young people in fragile contexts. It spreads risk among many donors and leaves aid less susceptible to political volatility, something that is particularly difficult in fragile states. This opens up the window for increased funding as donors that would not be able to support interventions in fragile states alone can join

an existing effort. It also reduces transaction costs for what is usually an overwhelmed and stretched government or nongovernmental counterparts and can generate efficiency gains in aid delivery by enabling donors to use shared systems and work from common plans and metrics.¹³⁷

GPE’s move in the last several years to increasingly drive funds toward fragile contexts has already opened up important resources for the field of education and fragility. The real test will come with translating the new fragile states policy into practice. The policy provides all the right incentives for moving education and fragility issues outside their specialized subsector and mainstreamed across all contexts, stable and fragile alike. If successful, it will provide a model for helping to scale up efforts to ensure educational continuity before, during and after a crisis hits.

At the global level, to see the desired outcomes in access to quality learning outcomes, funders must commit more resources to education in fragile contexts. Global funding to fragile states should increase from 25% of all education aid, and in order for this to happen, funders should seek blended strategies that build state’s absorptive and technical capacity so they can be more effective, especially in cases of protracted conflict. Large funds, such as the Peacebuilding Fund, should recognize the value of investing in education, and commit to increasing the share of education funding from 14%, and all funders of humanitarian aid should examine their prioritization of education in conflict and fund education with at least 4% of their portfolio, in keeping with the Call to Action signed onto in September 2012. In terms of modalities, the model set forth by GPE should be further studied, and other donor institutions should consider the possibility for more need-driven aid and flexible modalities.

EDUCATION OUTCOMES AND GOOD-QUALITY LEARNING

Ensuring that educational opportunities give young people the ability to fully develop their talents and capacities is as important in fragile contexts as in stable ones. All parents, including those affected by crises, want educational experiences for their children that are safe and enable them to be effective students. Indeed, the INEE Minimum Standards set out this basic level of education quality for the field of education and fragility to work toward, and this goal is supported by various technical tools on advancing education quality amid crises.¹³⁸

Many available data, however, show that around the globe, especially in fragile contexts, students are not accessing an education of sufficient quality. Learning outcomes on a number of measures are low, particularly in low-income countries. There are 120 million children around the globe who never make it to grade 4, but there are also 130 million children who are in school but failing to learn the basics.¹³⁹ Globally, the inequalities on learning outcomes for students at the primary level are much larger than the inequalities across countries for enrolling and participating in school.

With few exceptions, low-income countries are the farthest behind in ensuring that students who go through school actually learn, and this includes young people living in fragile contexts. For example, in the Congo well over half of the students in grade 4 are not meeting minimum learning levels in math.¹⁴⁰ In Ethiopia, 94 percent of 12-year-olds were enrolled in school, but 39 percent could not read a simple sentence.¹⁴¹ In two Eritrean refugee camps in Ethiopia, only 5 percent of Kunama-speakers and 2 percent of Tigrigna-speakers had reached benchmark fluency by grade 4.¹⁴² Learning outcomes for girls in conflict settings are among the worst in the world.¹⁴³

Within the education development community, there is extensive discussion on the scope of and strategies to address this “learning crisis.” Those undertaking one such effort have convened a global task force to develop strategies for improving learning assessment systems within countries and identify a selection of common learning measures to be used globally. This Learning Metrics Task Force has identified seven domains of learning that represent essential competencies that all children and youth should develop no matter where they live, including those living in fragile contexts.¹⁴⁴ The set of competencies are very relevant for young people in fragile situations as they cover not only foundational skills such as literacy and numeracy but a range of other social and emotional competencies that are particularly important for young people living in adversity. To date, the effort has engaged well over 1,000 players from close to 100 countries and rallied intense debates in ministries around the world, including in contexts such as South Sudan and Pakistan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Notably absent, however, from these global discussions on the quality of education and learning outcomes are humanitarian, security or DRR experts working on education issues within their respective arenas. The field of education and fragility itself has had very limited engagement on the topic of learning outcomes, with only a few examples of projects around the world.

This area needs much further development and attention. What makes learning outcomes portable or transferable across contexts? Should learning outcomes be understood differently for young people affected by crises and fragility? Are there new models for ensuring that good-quality learning is considered in fragile contexts? There are a few examples of innovative work grappling with these questions, such as the initiative on “borderless education” that helps connect refugee

youth in Kenya with learning programs and credentials in Canada, and research about how psychosocial well-being should or should not be included in literacy and numeracy learning assessments in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. These and other efforts like it must be supported. Ultimately, ensuring educational continuity for young people in fragile contexts needs to include not just access but also quality, relevant, forward-looking learning in order for education to contribute fully to the goals within development, humanitarian, security and DRR.

To do this, global and national actors must take several critical actions. Global conversations on learning

must engage with and involve actors that look at issues related to humanitarian interventions, statebuilding and peacebuilding, and disaster risk reduction. All of these approaches must appreciate that their goals related to education cannot be achieved where quality is lacking, and that they therefore have a role to play in ensuring that even in the most difficult situations, there is accountability for the quality of education provided. An important step will be for these actors, along with education development specialists, to actively engage in the work of the Learning Metrics Task Force and ensure there is a good understanding of how international metrics and goals should be applied in fragile contexts.

CONCLUSION: THE NEED FOR A FOURTH PHASE

This paper shows the progress in the education and fragility field over the course of three phases: proliferation, consolidation, collaboration. We argue that what is needed now is a fourth phase, integration, in which actors at global and national level set much more ambitious targets, garner more resources, and take strategic actions to ensure that many more children and youth in contexts of fragility gain quality learning opportunities. Embedding education and fragility concerns within the four main approaches of development, humanitarian, security, and DRR is the best way to scale education continuity in fragile contexts. Today the field must move forward by building on the assets it has developed to tackle the remaining challenges. It is clear, however tempting it may be, that the field will not advance to the next stage through further awareness raising among communities, technical tools development or international declarations. Instead, the field needs to scale up its vision, coordination, policy prioritization, resources, and ability to deliver quality education. The following paragraphs offer recommendations on how the education and fragility field can move into this fourth phase and scale efforts to deliver quality education for children and youth in fragile contexts.

Scaling up the Field's Vision. A shared vision of the importance of education and fragility needs to be scaled up across the main sets of actors that influence the field—namely, development, humanitarian, security, and DRR. What would this look like in practice?

1. Common contexts. Fundamental in this fourth phase is the recognition that it is no longer helpful to think of education in fragile contexts as a specialized field. This is not the same as suggesting that there is no need for specific strategies, tools or expertise on the issue. Rather, it is an acknowledgment that

the conditions at work in these situations are far too complex to be addressed solely by a specific subsector, separate from other actors working on the problems at hand. Not only do conditions such as conflict, weak governance and disaster overlap; there also is the very real fact that in many contexts, the seeds of fragility are sown during apparently stable times. And education is a process, a long-term endeavor for both individuals and societies that can span stable and crises periods. There is a very real need to free ourselves from old organizing principles and operational mechanisms that rely on what is at its heart a 19th-century idea that stable-versus-crisis contexts can be considered separate and apart. What is needed is an across-the-board acknowledgment that the conditions that make contexts fragile are everyone's concern—development specialists, humanitarians, security experts, and DRR specialists alike—and then for all interested parties to engage in fresh thinking about how to address them.

2. A common conceptual framework. Actors across the four operational approaches would, above and beyond their distinct end games (e.g., reducing poverty, saving lives, building strong states, safely weathering disasters), share an overarching commitment to reducing risk and building resilience of individuals and societies—within education and beyond. Forging a common philosophy about what success looks like is a first step to better collaboration across the multiple coordination gaps.

3. An overarching goal on reducing risk and building resilience. A possible conceptual framework to unite the four approaches is a focus on reducing risk and building resilience. The field of education and fragility should consider taking up these terms in place of terms related to “fragility.” There may be others to consider, but this is a strong option. Actors would need to develop a core set of shared

concepts on what it means to reduce risk and build resilience—both of and to education. In other words, there needs to be a set of shared principles that guide actors on how to maximize education's contribution to the resilience of society and the environment and education's ability to continue in the face of crises and disaster. To do this, actors would not need to engage in seemingly endless debates over global-level definitions, something that has been done with term “fragility” with ultimately limited success and ultimately is not necessary to help direct action on the ground.

4. A shared goal but distinct tools. Actors would be guided by a high-level understanding of the importance of the continuity of a good-quality education, and they would employ distinct approaches to achieving this depending on the country-level context. For example, if there are deep inequities between social groups on access to education in relatively stable contexts, development actors would use education and conflict mitigation tools to develop a more inclusive education system and help reduce the risk of education contributing to long-term grievances against the government. If a context is regularly affected by tsunamis or monsoons, actors would use education and DRR tools to adjust schooling placement and infrastructure to minimize the impact on education. If large numbers of people are displaced due to conflict, actors would use education in emergency tools to sustain education services and also specific tools on certification of learning during times of displacement and other emergencies.

Scaling up the Field's Policy Prioritization. This vision of reducing risk and building resilience of and to education, if shared broadly across a wide range of actors, would translate into important policy directives for education. What would this look like in practice?

1. National education plans include risk and resilience strategies. Actors would develop strong national education plans that incorporate strategies for ensuring a continuity of good-quality education amid crises and for reducing the risk of the education sector contributing to a crisis or instability.

2. Education is included in humanitarian response beyond its role in protecting children. Actors would engage in a fuller set of interventions focused on the continuity of good-quality education in humanitarian contexts, recognizing that in many situations humanitarian intervention spans many years.

3. Education is included as an important part of peacebuilding and statebuilding. Peacebuilding and statebuilding actors prioritize education and good-quality learning both for their role in building trust via service delivery but also beyond that, including for their role in supporting good governance, forging shared national identities, supporting economic recovery, and so on.

Scaling up the Field's Financing. Increased amounts of financing are more likely with reducing risk and building resilience of and to education prioritized in policies across development, humanitarian, security and DRR actors. Scaling up funding for this work is important for improved results on the ground and will require new funding modalities. What would this look like in practice?

1. Increased funding for education from humanitarian, security and DRR actors. Actors would devote larger parts of their budgets to education work, which even if funding levels were doubled or tripled (e.g., from 2 percent to 4 percent for humanitarian aid), given the very small amounts that are currently devoted to education, would not put a major strain on actors' overall financial envelope.

2. Flexible aid modalities that enable education continuity. Actors would select the aid modalities that are fit for the particular purpose, depending on the conditions on the ground. This could include a mix of supporting governments directly and supporting nongovernmental actors. Actors should focus heavily on the principle of progressivity, namely, developing good-enough models or strategies that must be assured to do no harm but can evolve quickly over time as the context allows. Engaging alternative delivery models is an essential aspect of this principle. For example, in contexts where the state is not able to deliver education services, practitioners can work through nonstate actors for an interim period until the state can begin to enter the space. The important thing is to ensure that the services are being seen by the population to be provided on behalf of the state—this means a careful rethinking of branding and logo use by UN or other nonstate actors.

Scaling up the Field’s Attention to Quality. Ensuring access to quality education is essential in any context and there is a clear need to focus on improving learning outcomes, one of the most important dimensions of quality, for young people in fragile situations. Scaling up attention to quality learning in these contexts is essential to reap the full benefits education can provide. What would this look like in practice?

1. Increased accountability for quality learning. Along with ensuring education continuity in fragile contexts, all actors would include improving education quality as an important part of their work. Increased accountability for improved quality in education provision could be leveraged through systematically tracking and reporting data on things such as learning levels. Actors across all four approaches would internalize the importance of, own, and report on quality and relevant learning in their education work.

2. Development, humanitarian, security, and DRR actors actively engage in global conversations on education quality. All actors would participate in global debates and processes, such as the Learning Metrics Task Force, that advance the education sector’s understanding of quality learning. In particular, they would bring a fragile states perspective to the global conversation to ensure frameworks, definitions, and measures of quality are rolled out and implemented in a way that benefits young people in these contexts.

3. Explore new models for improving quality. Development actors in particular would more thoroughly examine and explore new ways of improving education quality, including adapting existing models for fragile states contexts as well as fresh new models that have not been tried before. More thought, research, and experimenting on creative approaches—such as borderless education or reaching learning through technology—would be a focus for policy-makers and practitioners.

Make Smart Investments. Ensuring that education systems are prepared for crisis and able to continue functioning as best they can in contexts of fragility is a good investment. On a most basic level, preparing education systems for crisis in the form of DRR is highly cost-effective, with every \$1 invested in risk management before the onset of a disaster preventing \$7 in losses.¹⁴⁵ Global economic losses due to natural disasters totaled more than \$380 billion in 2011 and are set to increase as losses grew by 235 percent compared with the annual average damages from 2001 to 2010 (\$109.3 billion).¹⁴⁶ Likewise, investing in education systems that promote good governance and peace certainly pays for itself. Conflict, in addition to the human toll, is very costly: “The average cost of civil war is equivalent to more than 30 years of GDP growth for a medium-size developing country. Trade levels after major episodes of violence take 20 years to recover.”¹⁴⁷

Conflict prevention and peacebuilding are also much less costly than expensive military operations. On average, \$1 spent on preventive programs compares with approximately \$60 of program costs to respond to crises after violence has erupted.¹⁴⁸ Additionally, all countries, including fragile states, that are not able to sustain education forgo considerable contributions to their economy. For example, girls dropping out early can have a negative impact on economic growth. Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Nigeria lose \$974 million, \$301 million, and \$1,622 million, respectively, by failing to educate girls to the same standards as boys.¹⁴⁹

In conclusion, education plays an important but often overlooked role in advancing conditions in fragile

states, a clear imperative for any post-2015 development agenda. Ensuring that all the actors that touch education and fragility issues—development, humanitarian, security and DRR—understand, prioritize and fund educational continuity will be essential to “leaving no one behind” in global development efforts. Reducing risk and building resilience offers a framework that can incorporate the perspectives of a range of actors involved in fragile contexts, as well as the promise of a shared framework that can lend toward better coordination. National and global actors can build on progress achieved over the past years and decades with these priorities in mind, as well as a renewed focus on financing and the quality of education in fragile states and beyond.

ANNEX A: COORDINATION PUZZLE—DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF FRAMEWORKS AND ACTORS

The Development Approach

The first legal convention that provides a framework for the universal provision of education dates back to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was created to give additional clarity and definition to the UN Charter's terms for human rights. Article 26 of the UDHR states that everyone has the right to education and that it be compulsory and free (at least in the elementary and fundamental stages). Although the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) grew out of the same process that produced the UDHR, it did not enter into force until nearly 30 years later. As a multilateral treaty that was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 and that entered into force in 1976, the ICESCR commits signatories to work toward providing economic, social and cultural rights to individuals, including labor rights and the right to health, the right to education, and the right to an adequate standard of living. Articles 13 and 14 stipulate that education is seen both as a human right and as “an indispensable means of realizing other human rights.” Article 13 is, in fact, the longest provision in the ICESCR and the most wide-ranging and comprehensive article on the right to education in international human rights law.¹⁵⁰ Clearly, this encompasses development contexts as well as fragile and conflict-affected contexts.

The next major legal framework to champion the right to education, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), was adopted in 1989. Since then, it has been ratified by all governments (except Somalia and the United States) and asserts that all children under the age of 18 are born with fundamental freedoms and the inherent rights of all human beings. The CRC goes further than the UDHR and the ICESCR because it

not only makes clear that education is the right of every child, even in the most difficult circumstances, but it also refers to the quantity and quality of education. Article 29 includes an important mention of educational quality, stating that the aims of education include “respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms” and “the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin.”¹⁵¹

Shortly after the CRC came into effect, the global education community developed a framework to guide collective work on education. The Education for All (EFA) goals were adopted at the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, which marked the emergence of an international consensus on the importance of education, particularly with respect to eliminating poverty. The conference produced the Framework for Action to Meet the Basic Learning Needs, which defined targets and strategies to meet the basic learning needs of all by 2000. There was essentially no mention of education in conflict or fragile contexts in this original set of goals, but they were revised 10 years later in 2000 at the World Education Forum in Dakar and included a recognition of the importance of education in crisis contexts. The main declaration of the Dakar Framework for Action states that “countries in transition, countries affected by conflict, and post-crisis countries must be given the support they need to achieve more rapid progress toward education for all.” The declaration went on to assert that countries in conflict or undergoing reconstruction should be given special attention in building up their education systems.¹⁵² Today, the six EFA goals represent a shared set of objectives for the global education community, and it is clear that many can and should be applied in contexts of fragility.

Two of the EFA goals—2 and 5—were taken up and included in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),

which have certainly proved to be the most effective set of goals in terms of global attention and action. When they were developed, the MDGs offered a long-term framework centered on eight international development goals that include halving extreme poverty rates, halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and supporting strong partnerships and shared commitments.¹⁵³ Two of the eight goals are focused on education: first to ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling; and second to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015. Three of the eight targets (poverty, slums and water) have been met, and a new set of sustainable development goals are being developed, which will replace the old targets when they expire in 2015. Currently, the global community is engaged in vigorous and broad debates about what the next post-2015 global development agenda should include.

To renew and reinvigorate global commitments to education in advance of the MDG deadline and provide a vision for education after 2015, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon launched the Global Education First Initiative in September 2012. This five-year initiative is meant to align various stakeholders working on education around three main objectives to put every child in school, improve the quality of learning and foster global citizenship. Although the initiative is mainly aimed at guiding the development agenda, it also highlights the importance of education during humanitarian emergencies, especially conflict. The document states that the need to fulfill the right to education is greatest in humanitarian crises, given that more than 40 percent of out-of-school children live in conflict-affected poor countries, and millions are forced out of school by natural disasters each year. Ten action items are outlined in the initiative, including the need to sustain education in humanitarian crises (especially conflict).

Champions and Agencies

The most important UN agencies focused on education are UNESCO and UNICEF. The relationship between the two agencies can at times be strained due to overlapping mandates, as UNESCO focuses on education globally and UNICEF focuses on children globally. UNESCO leads and coordinates the EFA movement, chairing the EFA Steering Committee, which to date has had limited engagement with humanitarian, security and climate change actors. UNESCO is also the Secretariat for the new UN Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative and houses the work related to the UN Decade on Education for Sustainable Development. UNESCO is not well known for its field operations, although it does have 52 field offices. Rather, UNESCO is well known for the work of its specialized institutes, including the UNESCO Institute for Statistics and the Institute for International Education Planning (IIEP). Although UNESCO's education team played a crucial role early on in developing the field of education and fragility by hosting and providing resources to the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) for the first few years of the network's existence, it has shifted its priorities in recent years, and UNESCO's IIEP is now the leader on this subject within the UNESCO family. IIEP has long had a significant program of research on education and fragility and provides capacity building for ministry of education personnel on a range of subjects, including developing conflict and disaster-sensitive education plans.

UNICEF is mandated by the UN to advocate for the protection of children's rights, to help meet their basic needs and to expand their opportunities to reach their full potential, and in undertaking these activities it is largely guided by the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It is active in over 190 countries and territories, and it is well known for its field operations and its effective humanitarian response. UNICEF is often

a lead adviser on basic education to governments through its many field-based teams, and within education it prioritizes early childhood education and school readiness, equitable access, quality of education and child-friendly schooling and education in emergencies and post-crisis transitions. UNICEF also has played a crucial role in the development of the field of education and fragility, particularly as one of the founding members of INEE, and today it has an important leadership role on the issue through its work in emergency response and peacebuilding, which is discussed below.

The Global Partnership for Education (GPE) is the main multistakeholder partnership for education development, with a constituency based board that includes representatives from developing and developed countries, UN agencies, development banks, civil society organizations and the private sector. GPE was originally called the Education for All Fast Track Initiative (EFA FTI), and was founded in 2002; it has grown to include over 60 partner countries and has mobilized more than \$3.5 billion to address education needs in low-income countries. GPE has a new strategic plan, which includes addressing key global gaps in education, one of which is better serving the educational needs of young people in fragile states, including through channeling part of its resources to humanitarian actors supporting education. One of GPE's roles includes interfacing with, and where needed encouraging inclusive discussion within, local education groups. These country-level coordination mechanisms for education development efforts vary in representation depending on the country, but often are run by the government with donors, civil society groups and other development partners involved.

There are a number of advocates for global education issues, including high-level UN advocates described above as well as broad-based civil society and teacher organizations, such as the

Global Campaign for Education and Education International. A newly emerging advocacy voice is the Global Business Coalition for Education, which seeks to channel advocacy and financing efforts within the private sector to global education.

The Humanitarian Approach

International humanitarian and refugee law guides the international community in supporting populations affected by crises and in it offers clear provisions for the protection of children's right to an education, even amid duress. For example, the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons During Times of War, which defines humanitarian protections for civilians in war zones, specifically stipulates in Article 24 that "the Parties to the conflict shall take the necessary measures to ensure that children under fifteen, who are orphaned or are separated from their families as a result of the war, are not left to their own resources, and that . . . their education [is] facilitated in all circumstances." In addition, Article 50 states that "the Occupying Power shall, with the cooperation of the national and local authorities, facilitate the proper working of all institutions devoted to the care and education of children."¹⁵⁴ Additionally, the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which defines the rights of individuals who are granted asylum and the responsibilities of nations that grant asylum, states in Article 22 that refugees shall be accorded "the same treatment as . . . nationals with respect to elementary education" and "treatment as favourable as possible, and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education. . . ."¹⁵⁵

More recently, and following the Machel report in 1996, a string of UN Security Council resolutions have placed the issue of children affected by armed conflict on the UN's high-level agenda. Until recently,

education has not featured prominently, and instead efforts have been focused on other “grave violations” of children’s rights, such as using children as soldiers. However, the last several years have seen an increased focus on attacks against education, including students, teachers and schools. In 1999, Security Council Resolution 1261 was the first to highlight the impact of armed conflict on children, and it underscored the growing international consensus that the impact of armed conflict on children was an issue that belonged on the Security Council’s agenda. Over the following six years, the Security Council passed additional resolutions related specifically to children and armed conflict, including Resolution 1539 of 2004, which named attacks against schools or hospitals as a grave violation. Resolution 1612 of 2005 was a groundbreaking development in the children and armed conflict agenda because it created a monitoring and reporting mechanism (MRM) to systematically document and report on six grave violations against children in armed conflict and focused on the recruitment and use of children by armed forces. This resolution also created the UN Security Council’s Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict, a unique high-level structure that oversees the MRM. Most recently, Resolution 1998 of 2011 expanded the scope of Resolution 1539, and Resolution 2068 of 2012 reaffirmed previous resolutions and emphasized the importance of accountability for perpetrators of grave violations against children.

One of the most important UN resolutions regarding education in humanitarian contexts is the 2010 UN General Assembly Resolution, which reaffirms the right to education in emergency situations and urges member states to implement strategies and policies to ensure and support education as an integral element of humanitarian assistance and humanitarian response.

The INEE Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response, Recovery are the only global tool that articulates the minimum level of education access and quality, and they are widely used on the ground by governments and international practitioners—indeed, they are available in 20 languages and by last count were used in over 80 countries.

The UN coordinating mechanisms for humanitarian action have an important role to play in the positioning of education in emergency response. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) was created in response to a UN General Assembly resolution in 1992 to provide coordination between key UN and non-UN humanitarian partners. It sets out policy and guidance on humanitarian action and is chaired by the head of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), which executes IASC directives and coordinates humanitarian response at the global and national levels. Until recently, education has not been a priority sector with any significant attention from either IASC or UNOCHA. This was evident recently, when, in 2005, IASC and UNOCHA initiated a humanitarian reform process that created “clusters” of humanitarian organizations, both UN and non-UN, in areas where there were significant gaps in coordination and delivery. At the time, education was not even considered as a possible area for improvement, but after considerable advocacy from INEE members, the Education Cluster was established in 2007. Currently co-led by UNICEF and Save the Children, the cluster has over 30 organizations working together at the global level and currently is operational in 38 countries with humanitarian response to provide relief and coordination assistance during emergencies. In many ways, the Education Cluster is the humanitarian analog to the local education groups in development contexts. The Education Cluster works through the humanitarian coordinators, the lead UN representatives for humanitar-

ian coordination in each country, to access financing from common global mechanisms.

A number of important UN agencies play leadership roles on education issues in humanitarian contexts, including UNICEF, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the World Food Program. As noted above, UNICEF has a major country presence and plays a significant role in delivering humanitarian assistance across many sectors, including for education. It has a number of staff that have experience in the area, and it also uses a range of program models, such as child-friendly spaces and schools and back-to-school campaigns. It has also recently developed a new focus on education and peacebuilding, which is discussed below. UNHCR plays a lead role in ensuring that education services continue for displaced populations—namely, refugees, internally displaced and stateless persons—from the onset of the emergency, during displacement and through return and reintegration to their home communities. There has been a chronic shortage of education experts within UNHCR, but recently the agency has been increasing its focus on education and bringing on more staff with education skill sets. Additionally, it has a range of technical guidelines of good-quality education programming for displaced populations.¹⁵⁶ The World Food Program provides food aid to students and frequently teachers in the form of school feeding or “oil for school attendance” programs in many humanitarian situations.

Several networks and coalitions working in the humanitarian arena are very effective actors in moving forward education in humanitarian response. In particular, two coalitions work closely together on the specific issue of attacks on education: the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack, which was founded in 2010 and includes civil society and UN agencies and

academics; and the Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, which is an NGO coalition founded in 2001 to advocate on the grave violations of children affected by conflict, including very recently a focus on attacks on education. The most important network for the field of education and fragility, however, is INEE. Today, INEE is a global network of over 8,500 members in 130 countries comprising representatives from NGOs, UN agencies, donor agencies, governments, academic institutions, schools, teachers, students and other affected populations. It covers a wide range of topics of interest to members, including education in humanitarian contexts but also how to better prepare education development actors for crises, education and peacebuilding, and education in DRR. Since its founding in 2000, it has produced a large number of technical tools that are widely used by the education and fragility community and had a number of advocacy wins on increasing awareness of the importance of education in humanitarian and other fragile contexts.

The Security and Peacebuilding Approach

The New Deal for Engagement with Fragile States is a good example of a framework that links peacebuilding and statebuilding to progress on development and more stable environments. Launched in 2011, the New Deal is the latest in a series of initiatives, including the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, the 2007 Fragile States Principles, the 2008 Accra Agenda for Action, the 2010 Dili Declaration and the 2011 Monrovia Roadmap. The New Deal builds on the principles articulated in the Monrovia Roadmap, which established an agreement on peacebuilding and statebuilding goals.¹⁵⁷ Endorsed by over 44 countries and multilateral partners, the New Deal outlines new ways to engage and build mutual trust to achieve better results in fragile states. Developed by the g7+ group

of 19 fragile and conflict-affected countries, development partners and international organizations, the architecture emphasizes the use of indicators to track progress at the global and national levels, country-led approaches, and more effective management of aid and resources. Although education is not specifically mentioned, the sector is increasingly seen as an essential component of sustainable peace and long-term security; and as a result, education interventions are influenced directly or indirectly by security agendas.

Within the UN, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) are the main agencies focused on peacebuilding and stabilization, which are essential components of the security agenda. The UNDP focuses principally on governance; public administration reform; electoral assistance; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR); and the rule of law. It occasionally supports youth programs, including national youth policy development and advocacy. As part of its DDR programs, UNDP frequently includes vocational training to help transition and create civilian life employment for ex-combatants; however, there has been limited success in this area, primarily due to weak or nonexistent economic opportunities and inappropriately designed programs.¹⁵⁸

The DPKO is the department of the UN charged with the planning, preparation, management and direction of UN peacekeeping operations. With the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1261 in 1999, which formally acknowledged that the protection of children in armed conflicts is a fundamental peace and security concern, the DPKO has incorporated specific provisions to protect children during peacekeeping missions. In particular, the DPKO employs child protection advisers in UN peacekeeping operations in an effort to mainstream child protection issues, including

access to education, in the work of all relevant components of peacekeeping operations, to support the MRMs, and to coordinate efforts with other organizations working on child protection. However, since 2001, the DPKO has only deployed a handful of child protection advisers, including in Sierra Leone, Burundi, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Afghanistan, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Haiti and Sudan. Outside the role of child protection advisers, different peacekeeping missions have helped support education in fragile contexts, such as escorting children to and from school safely, which peacekeepers in post-conflict Kosovo did regularly. In addition to peacekeepers, international forces, such as NATO, are involved in stabilization and peacebuilding in fragile contexts. Increasingly, military operations are extending their work to include humanitarian and development interventions; for example, the U.S. provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan engage in building infrastructure that supports education, such as schools, roads and latrines.

Established in 2006, the PBC is an intergovernmental advisory body that helps countries with post-conflict peacebuilding, recovery, reconstruction and development by providing guidance and mobilizing resources. Its members come from the UN Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and top financial and troop contributors. The European Union, the International Monetary Fund, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the World Bank also participate.¹⁵⁹ There are currently five countries on the PBC's agenda—Burundi, the Central African Republic, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone—some of which have received funding for education. The majority of support to education has focused on training to generate youth employment in coordination with reintegration efforts. The PBC is supported by the Peacebuilding Support Office, which also oversees the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), a pooled fund that has the

ability to rapidly distribute resources, helping to bridge the gap between crisis and recovery. Launched in 2006, the PBF relies on voluntary contributions from UN member states, organizations and individuals. Since 2007, the PBF has allocated \$356.4 million in 24 countries.

UNICEF, together with the Netherlands, has recently launched an education and peacebuilding initiative in 2006. The goal of the Back on Track Programme on Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition is “to help countries establish a viable path toward sustainable progress in providing quality basic education to all children.” More specifically, the program seeks to “strengthen resilience, social cohesion and human security in conflict-affected contexts, including countries at risk of—or experiencing and recovering from—conflict.”¹⁶⁰

Main policy instruments guiding this work include the OECD’s *Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations*, which were created to maximize the positive impact of engagement and minimize unintentional harm. The principles emphasize constructive engagement between national and international stakeholders in countries affected by weak governance and conflict as well as in contexts of temporary fragility in stronger performing countries. They do not outline new coordination mechanisms but rather reinforce existing processes and concepts. In particular, the principles highlight the importance of understanding specific contexts, the concept of “do no harm,” the central objective of statebuilding, prevention, recognizing the links between political security and development objectives and promoting nondiscrimination as a basis for inclusive and stable societies. In addition, they call for better alignment with local priorities, more practical coordination mechanisms between international actors and immediate and long-term engagement to ensure sustained successes.

The OECD’s principles build on the vision outlined in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, which

was created in 2005 by developed and developing countries along with multilateral and bilateral development institutions. The agreement emphasizes ownership, harmonization, alignment, results and mutual accountability and discusses aid policies for countries in fragile situations.

The DRR Approach

Several important international treaties and policy frameworks guide the way in which education interfaces with the crises caused by disasters and climate change. They include the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), an international environmental treaty that was created at the UN Conference on Environment and Development (also known as the Earth Summit) in 1992. It entered into force two years later, with the objective to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere. Article 6 of the UNFCCC specifically pertains to education training and public awareness and, among other things, calls for signatories to promote and facilitate the development and implementation of educational training efforts and programs on climate change and its effects.¹⁶¹ In 1997, the Kyoto Protocol was added to the UNFCCC to establish legally binding obligations for developed countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. All UN members (except Andorra, Canada, South Sudan and the United States) and the European Union have ratified the protocol, which entered into force in 2005. Article 10, Part e, reiterates the importance of education in understanding and managing climate change.¹⁶² While the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol only briefly mention education, the Hyogo Framework for Action includes more specific ways in which education correlates to DRR and highlights education as a priority for risk reduction. Endorsed in 2005, the framework is the first plan to explain, describe and offer guiding principles for actions required from a range of sectors and actors to reduce disaster-related

losses. Among other things, it calls for the integration of DRR into school curricula, implementation of preparedness programs in schools as well as learning programs and training for relevant stakeholders at the local and national levels.

During the 13th session of the Conference of Parties to the UNFCCC in 2007, the UN secretary-general unveiled a new coordination effort, the Delivering as One on Climate Change initiative, to bring together all the diverse perspectives, expertise and strengths of the UN system working on the issue of climate change.¹⁶³ To support the effort, UNESCO developed a Climate Change Initiative, which includes climate change education. The program focuses on the use of innovative educational approaches to understand, address, mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change and change attitudes and behaviors to work toward sustainable development.

A much broader conceptualization of the link between education and the natural environment is the education for sustainable development agenda, which was crystallized in the launch of the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development in 2005. It emphasizes an approach to teaching and learning based on principles that underlie sustainability that range from the empowerment of communities and citizens, poverty reduction and human rights to gender equality. This is a holistic framework that has been criticized by some for not being well defined, having clear metrics to show progress or impact, and/ or lacking focus.

Within the UN, the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) is the primary agency overseeing the development of disaster reduction policy. UNISDR was established in 1999, when the UN General Assembly adopted the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction. The mandate of UNISDR expanded in 2001 to serve as the focal point in the United Nations system for the coordination of disaster

reduction and to ensure synergies among the disaster reduction activities of the United Nations system and regional organizations. To support its guiding mandate, the Hyogo Framework for Action, UNISDR works with thematic platforms, including the Thematic Platform on Education and Knowledge (TPKE). The TPKE comprises some of the major actors in risk reduction through education, such as UNICEF, UNESCO, Plan, Save the Children, ActionAid and INEE. The thematic platform aims to strengthen networks, create new partnerships, identify focus areas and collectively advance the Hyogo Framework through knowledge and education.

At the regional and international levels, networks and interagency platforms—such as the Asia Preparedness Disaster Center, the Global Coalition for School Safety and Disaster Prevention Education and the Children in a Changing Climate coalition—are focused on sharing lessons learned and codifying them in programming tools focused on risk reduction through education. A leading regional resource center, the Asian Disaster Preparedness Center, works toward the realization of disaster reduction for safer communities and sustainable development in Asia and the Pacific. Since its inception in 1986, the center has promoted disaster awareness and the development of local capabilities to foster institutionalized disaster management and mitigation policies. The Global Coalition for School Safety and Disaster Prevention Education is an online community dedicated to supporting the development of knowledge-sharing strategies and political will to ensure that every school is a safe school, and that every child and community has access to high quality disaster prevention education knowledge. Children in a Changing Climate is a coalition of research, development and humanitarian organizations working to support the protection and participation of children and young people in the climate change dialogue. Founded in 2007, the coalition disseminates research that highlights the importance of child-centered DRR and climate change prevention and adaptation.

ANNEX B: SUMMARY OF EDUCATION SECTOR PLANS ADDRESSING DISASTER/ CONFLICT RISK REDUCTION

Gambia's Education Sector Medium-Term Plan 2008–2011 (2008) focuses on the promotion of peace and human rights education. Schools are encouraged to establish clubs and societies through which skills related to conflict resolution and management can be practiced and promoted. In addition, the plan states that human rights education will be integrated into the school curriculum.

Rwanda's Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010–2015 (2010) includes reference to education during emergencies as well as the framework of the Government's Disaster Management Taskforce and Plan which includes the Ministry of Education. The plan describes a strategy to create an emergency preparedness plan for the education sector to ensure that there is little or no interruption in educational services. A key part of this plan will be to ensure that there are pre-positioned emergency supplies for the most affected districts so that they can respond quickly to emergencies. The strategy also states that an education package for the informal education of refugee children in transit camps will be developed.

Palestine's Education Development Strategic Plan 2008–2012: Toward Quality Education for Development (2008) mentions that the Ministry of Education and Higher Education has not developed a system for educational and psychological counseling, although it has organized a number of activities related to ways of dealing with children in situations of emergency and conflict. It does not elaborate on these strategies in the plan.

Afghanistan's Education Interim Plan 2011–13 (2011) emphasizes school protection and ensuring

access to education during emergencies. In particular, the plan states that the Ministry of Education will work with community councils and elders to protect schools, reopen closed schools and establish outreach classes and Islamic schools as necessary. In addition, the plan states that a unit will be established within the Basic Education Department to coordinate education in emergencies for children in insecure areas. The plan also recognizes that the lack of information on schools has complicated school governance and that a vulnerability mapping would be useful as part of emergency preparedness.

Sri Lanka's New vision for Education 2010: Progress and Proposed Programmes—2011 (2010) outlines guidelines for the preparation of environmental management plans. It also outlines a project to promote social cohesion among different ethnic groups. This includes reviews of textbooks by panels of scholars and researchers from all the different ethnic and religious groups in the country. Material that is offensive to the various ethnic groups will be eliminated. The textbooks will be used to promote a favorable picture of a multiethnic, multireligious and multicultural country. In addition, teacher education and training programs will strengthen the capacity of teachers to deliver concepts conducive to social cohesion. Also, co-curricular and extracurricular activities among students from different ethnic and religious groups will be developed to “soft skills,” such as teamwork, habits of industry and hard work, the ability to work to deadlines, leadership, good communication and discipline.

Burkina Faso's Programme de développement stratégique de l'éducation de base PDSEB période: 2012–2021 (2012) outlines the risks of natural disasters and conflicts. It states that the education sector can help to prepare and facilitate the management of emergency situations by reducing the impact of risk

events on school functioning and by reducing vulnerability and preventing disaster in the long term. Risks are summarized as: the risks associated with heavy rains and winds; the risks of drought and food insecurity; population movements; internal violence. The plan references a set of guidelines, “The Strategy of Reducing the Vulnerability of the Education System to the Risk of Conflict and Natural Disasters in Burkina Faso (MENA 2012),” but does not describe plans to develop specific strategies to address either natural disasters or conflict.

In 2010, the Ministry of Education in Chad conducted diagnostic mapping of education data on areas vulnerable to conflict and disaster, including the education situation of internally displaced persons, refugees, and host communities.¹⁶⁴ The *Stratégie intérimaire pour l’Education et l’alphabétisation 2013–2015* (2012) states that emergency actions will be identified and implemented in areas affected by conflict or natural disasters based on that mapping; however, no specifics are outlined in the document.

Nepal’s School Sector Reform Plan 2009–2015 (volumes 1 and 2) (2009) highlights vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, including girls and women, Dalits, ethnic minorities, Madhesis, people with disability, poor and marginalized groups, conflict-affected people and

people with HIV/AIDS and populations on move.¹⁶⁵ The plan discusses the importance of dealing with emergencies, conflict and crisis and includes an objective for ensuring continued access to education for all children in the face of those contexts. Key activities associated with this goal include the development of guidelines for immediate response and possible activities to deal with children affected as well as the provision of Annual Contingency Plans and budgets for districts. The Ministry of Education and the Department of the Environment are responsible for coordination with other departments that deal with emergencies and peace-building, and success will be monitored using a set of indicators and joint reviews conducted annually.

Comoros’s Plan Interimaire de l’éducation 2013–2015 (2013) includes a section on education in emergencies to indicate that the country is affected by a number of natural disasters and is subject to certain risks. The plan outlines a strategy to develop outreach and information on emergency management and to update vulnerability mapping. Preventative measures are addressed, including the use of radio broadcasts on education in emergencies and the pre-positioning of UNICEF emergency education kits for teachers and students in schools identified as vulnerable. Additionally, DRR will be taken into account in the state budget and introduced in textbooks.

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