The European Commission: Global Public Goods and Challenges (GPGC) Options Paper on Education and Fragility

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Executive Summary

1. European Union (EU) development cooperation is financed and coordinated through the European Commission (EC). In broad terms within the EU, the European External Action Service (EEAS) leads EU policy and security and peacekeeping efforts; ECHO leads on EU humanitarian assistance; and DEVCO leads EU development programming and implementation efforts, operating through EU Delegations in the partner countries, with support from headquarters - thematic and geographic sections (see Annex 1 for more detail).

2. For 2014-2020 EU support for education and training in developing countries is €4.7 billion, slightly higher than the previous programming period (2007-13).

3. At country level, the EU supports education through its bilateral cooperation portfolio (€2.7 billion) in 39 countries. Approximately half of these countries are considered fragile and receive the majority of funds (approx. 60%). Working in fragile contexts has become the norm rather than the exception.

4. At global level, the EU contributes to education goals through an active involvement in and support for the Global Partnership for Education (GPE). The EU is also involved in the International Teachers Task Force and the International Network on Education and Emergencies (INEE). The EU collaborates with international organizations (UNICEF, UNESCO, World Bank) to shape global policies and practices that have important effects on the education sector in developing countries.

5. This paper was commissioned by the European Commission (EC), Education Sector (DEVCO B4). The overall aim is to strengthen the EU’s response to education in conflict-affected and fragile contexts through analysis of evidence to identify the most effective options and approaches that can inform and guide future programme(s) as part of the EU GPGC thematic programme on Education and Fragility (€28m up to 2020).

6. The EC uses a working definition of ‘fragility’ which states that:

   ‘Fragile and conflict affected situations are where the social contract is broken due to the State’s incapacity or unwillingness to deal with its basic functions, meet its obligations and responsibilities regarding service delivery, management of resources, rule of law, equitable access to power, security and safety of the populace and protection and promotion of citizens’ rights and freedoms.’ (Commission of the European Communities, 2007).

7. The conceptual framework for fragility used by the EC draws on a model proposed by Charles Call (2010) which distinguishes between different underlying reasons for fragility (weak capacity, weak state legitimacy or weak security evidenced by conflict and violence). Often these coexist in the same context, challenges to stability can come from different sources and progress in one area may be undermined weaknesses in another.

8. The paper has four main objectives:

   • Firstly, to identify challenges and gaps for education programming in fragile contexts through a review of existing literature.

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1 EU staff handbook (2014) Operating in Situations of Conflict and Fragility – see p.6
Secondly, to provide an overview of existing approaches to education and fragility by development partners, including UN and EU Member States agencies.

Thirdly, to consult on challenges for education in fragile contexts faced by EU Delegations, and other agencies in the field.

Fourthly, to recommend possible options for implementation of the GPGC thematic programme on Education and Fragility, particularly taking into account the potential for EU added value and complementarity with existing initiatives.

9. The paper was completed within a short timescale (between April and June 2015), with a number of ongoing developments and commissioned work in this field. Given the timescale consultations were limited to inputs from EU HQ, EU Delegations education focal points and education experts from EU Member States. A consultation took place during an INEE meeting with some of its members, collecting input from other agencies.

10. A number of current developments are also relevant to any decision about future education priorities in fragile and conflict affected contexts. In particular:

- The EFA Global Monitoring Report (2015) highlights achievements since 2000, particularly in terms of increased access to basic education and increased gender parity at primary level. However, there are still ‘58 million children out of school globally and around 100 million children do not complete primary education’. Inequalities have increased, education remains under-financed and a growing proportion of out-of-school children are living in conflict affected countries (from 30% in 1999 to 36% in 2012).

- The post-2015 SDGs include new targets for Education (Goal 4) which place an emphasis on equitable, quality education (measured through learning outcomes). This will be especially challenging for education in fragile contexts where achieving universal access and completion is already a problem, and where public goods to achieve quality learning outcomes is often poor in terms of government investment in education, availability of qualified teachers, and weak capacity to attain and measure learning outcomes.

- There is also a significant debate about the capacity of international aid architecture to meet the needs of ‘education in emergencies and protracted crises’ (DFID, 2015). This has gained more attention, partly because of increased demands created by crises creating mass displacement, and partly because of operational difficulties in situations where crises persist over many years.

- Funding shortfalls are undoubtedly part of the problem and the UN Special Envoy for Global Education has called for a new global emergency education fund. However, other factors relate to coordination, technical expertise and cross-border challenges that are difficult to address through the current aid architecture. A number of papers on this issue have been generated (Brookings, DFID, GPE, ODI, INEE).

- At the Oslo Summit on ‘Education for Development’ in July 2015 a Champions’ Group on Education in Emergencies and Protracted Crises was established and agreed on a set of principles that reaffirm existing commitments, and proposed to set up a common platform to improve the current aid architecture. The aim is to create a dedicated fund or a new modality for education in emergencies by the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016.

- EC’s Humanitarian Commissioner Christos Stylianides pledged to double the EC’s aid to education in emergencies up to 4% during his mandate (from 1.4% to 3% in 2016 and then up to 4%), representing a strong signal of EU’s commitment and the recognition of the role of education and emergencies.
11. The literature review for this paper identified issues related to education and fragility in terms of insufficient and inconsistent funding (both humanitarian and development); problems with overall aid architecture; and knowledge gaps in thematic areas relevant to education in fragile contexts.

12. Thematic areas of particular relevance for education in fragile contexts include challenges in terms of strengthening governance and education institutions; the need for effective ways to address issues of education inequalities in terms of access, quality and outcomes for children; the role of education in promoting social cohesion, for example through language of instruction policies, citizenship education and how education addresses issues of identity and diversity.

13. Reconciliation is a neglected area of support, particularly in post-conflict fragile contexts where truth and reconciliation commissions have made recommendations about education. In terms of cross-cutting issues, child protection and violence against children, particularly gender based are important areas of concern in fragile contexts where social norms may leave children vulnerable.

14. Teacher policies and practices are particularly challenging in fragile contexts where recruitment, training, deployment and retention can all be problematic, particularly where teacher salaries are low and access to teacher education limited.

15. Effective strategies for youth engagement are a common challenge in fragile contexts, particularly where there are large numbers of out of school youth and a lack of sustainable livelihoods in low income and unstable economies.

16. The review of multilateral and bilateral agencies identifies the top ten donors to education in fragile contexts. Over the period 2010 to 2013, donors committed an average of $12,498 million per year to education. Overall, donors committed 44% of their education aid to fragile states, an average of $4,597 million per year.

17. Steer (2015) highlights how domestic public spending is by far the largest contribution to education development, but falls short of the required cost per student in fragile contexts. Overall development funding to education from multilateral institutions has also fallen ‘from 62 percent at the beginning of the decade to 51 percent in 2011’ (Rose and Steer, 2013). Development assistance from bilateral donors to education has declined by 7%, from US$6.2 billion in 2010 to US$5.8 billion in 2011 (A World at School, 2015). Although there are clearly funding gaps, a frequent issue in fragile contexts concerns the capacity to absorb more funding, particularly where institutional and technical capacity is weak.

18. Most agencies are orientating themselves to the new SDGs. The Education (Goal 4) prioritises equitable access and improvements to quality, measured mainly through learning outcomes. There will be difficult challenges in raising quality, gathering data and measuring learning outcomes in fragile situations where access and institutional capacity is weak.

19. A number of agencies are strongly committed to advocating for education in emergencies (EiE) and refugee education (DFID, INEE, Norway, NRC, UNHCR, UNICEF). Five donors prioritise EiE in their humanitarian strategies/policies (Australia, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Switzerland). Six donors prioritise EiE in their education sector strategies/policies (Australia, Canada, Germany, Japan, UK, USA). Three donors have white papers or working documents outlining their focus related to education in emergencies (EC-ECHO, Norway, UK).
20. A number of agencies have prioritised policy and planning, particularly through the development of ‘conflict sensitive education’ and inclusion of this in education sector and GPE plans (INEE, GPE, GIZ, USAID, UNESCO IIEP).

21. Teachers are a priority for a number of donors and agencies, mainly because of their significance to improving quality of education (EU, EI, UNESCO).

22. Youth programming is a particular focus for three donors. Germany (BMZ) will soon release its new education strategy which includes a focus on, vocational education and training (VET) and higher education in fragile, conflict affected and refugee situations. France (AFD) released a new strategy for youth education, training and employment which will operate in many fragile contexts. Youth in fragile contexts are also a focus for the 2012 Youth Policy (USAID).

23. Knowledge generation relevant to education and fragility through a commitment to research funding, includes rigorous literature reviews by DFID; funding for research through the UNICEF Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme by the Netherlands; and the creation of a new five-year Education in Crisis and Conflict Network (ECCN) funded by USAID.

24. The consultations highlighted a number of specific challenges at country level in fragile contexts:
   - The need for better ways of working in highly politicised, fragile contexts.
   - Implementation of macro-reforms such as decentralisation, privatisation, teacher policies are especially challenging in fragile contexts.
   - In terms of equity approaches, factors such as lack of political will, access to data, reliable analysis are difficult to address in fragile contexts.
   - More knowledge is needed on the implications of using non-state providers and limitations of civil society approaches in fragile contexts.
   - Concerns that donor driven agendas place an emphasis on policy, but there are significant gaps in implementation that may be attributable to lack of ownership and weak capacities.
   - Most frequently cited gaps related to need to strengthen the already weak institutions in fragile contexts and how to sustain capacity once developed.
   - Gaps highlighted in terms of thematic focus included language of instruction; curriculum and textbook concerns; teacher recruitment training and deployment especially during crises; protection and violence against children, particularly gender based; and effective strategies for out of school youth in fragile contexts.
   - During emergencies, lack of funding is a persistent concern, and there are gaps in terms of poor coordination, responding to the education needs of refugees and displaced populations, and the need to address cross-border challenges for education.

25. Finally, four options are suggested as a possible focus for the EU GPGC thematic programme on Education and Fragility (€28m up to 2020):

   **Option 1:** **Focused support to strengthen institutions and capacity in fragile contexts** in one or more of the following three areas: i) Analysis - strengthen technical capacity to undertake analysis of challenges for education programming in fragile contexts that takes better account of the political operating environment; ii) Policy – coordination and support for use of multiple instruments to integrate analysis into education sector plans; iii) Data – identify and strengthen institutions to meet the challenges of data collection and analysis in fragile contexts.
Option 2: Strengthen knowledge and evidence on a thematic challenge in fragile contexts. There are a number of thematic challenges that will be increasingly important in fragile contexts in terms of the challenge of meeting new SDGs, particularly in relation to teacher policies and practices; achievement and measurement of improved learning outcomes; and data challenges specific to measuring equity.

Option 3: Regional support for cross-border education challenges in fragile contexts. There is a need to address cross-border challenges for education programming not easily addressed by single country programmes, such as agreement on funding responsibilities for displaced children, appropriate language and curriculum provision, recognition of qualification and recruitment of teachers across borders.

Option 4: Contribute to a strategy on education in emergencies and protracted crises. There is growing consensus on the limitations of the current aid architecture, partly in terms of funding shortfalls, but also a lack of coordination and technical expertise. This could be an area of focus but there are still many issues to be clarified by the international donor community in terms of the best way forward.

Section 1: Literature reviews, gaps in the field of education and fragility

26. The following sections summarise gaps which create challenges for the provision of equitable and quality education in fragile contexts.

Financing Gaps

27. Steer (2015) highlights how domestic public spending is by far the largest contribution to education development, but falls short of the required cost per student in fragile contexts.

28. Development assistance makes up the largest share of aid to education, although there are signs it is declining. While aid to education increased steadily after 2002, this trend is now reversing: total aid to education declined by 7%, from US$6.2 billion in 2010 to US$5.8 billion in 2011. In that same year 24 of the top 29 education donor countries reduced their financial commitments to basic education, particularly in low-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa - home to half of the world’s out-of-school children (UNESCO 2014: 111).

29. Multilateral institutions play a significant role in financing for education, but that support is slowing. An analysis of the six most important multilateral donors in education states that ‘despite strong prioritization there has been a reduction in the basic education share of the total education aid from multilateral institutions - from 62 percent at the beginning of the decade to 51 percent in 2011.’ (Rose and Steer, 2013).

30. In 2010, the 10 largest bilateral donors to basic education began scaling back their contributions and overall aid to basic education fell by 6% for the first time since 2002. It is estimated that ‘US$22 billion is needed annually to get all children in school’ and ‘lack of adequate financing is worst in the poorest countries and in fragile or conflict states where funding for education has always been inadequate and education remains a low priority.’ (A World at School, 2015)

http://b.3cdn.net/awas/549792b3a3dc98a5_x6m62p6u0.pdf
31. Political and security concerns influence bilateral funding to education. Dolan (2011) finds that there are five countries that receive 50% of the education aid committed to 27 countries affected by conflict. This skewed nature of funding means that some countries have very high basic education aid gaps per child, the highest being Burundi, Ethiopia, and Cote D'Ivoire. This small group of countries that receive over 50% of aid, Dolan argues, are often those countries that are most of interest to donors for reasons of national security.

32. There is a lack of analysis of other sources of financing for education in contexts of fragility and their interaction in relation to the emergency phase (Nicolai and Hine 2015). More research is needed on domestic spending on education before, during and after crises. However, low income countries have increased expenditure on education as a percentage of government expenditure on education since 1999 from 16% to 18% by 2011 (Nicolai and Hine 2015: 34). Rose et al. (2013) highlight that ODA resources can play a critical role in supporting low and lower-middle income countries in increasing domestic resource spending on education. There is also evidence that remittances and social protection programmes can help meet some direct and indirect costs of schooling (Nicolai and Hine 2015).

33. Humanitarian aid to education has failed to meet demand. Between 2004 and 2012 education funding requirements increased by 246 per cent from $108 million per year to $375 million per year. Over the same period available funding increased by only 139 per cent from $61 million per year to $146 million per year, leaving a funding gap of $229 million in 2012 (DFID 2015).

34. Education receives a small proportion of all humanitarian aid (1.7% in 2014) and is one of the most under-funded sectors (Nicolai, Hine and Wales, 2015). It received 40% of requested funds while sectors traditionally viewed as lifesaving received a greater proportion - food (86%), health (57%), water and sanitation (46%) (GMR 2014). As a percentage of total CAP funding, education was 1.47 percent in 2006, up to a high of 3.63 percent in 2010, to a low of 1.37 percent in 2012, and then to 1.95 percent in 2013 (Carfax Education, 2014: 12). This is far below the target of 4% that was called for by the UN Secretary General’s Education First Initiative in 2012.
35. Within the EU, Humanitarian Aid and Crises Management is led by ECHO. In 2012 ECHO launched a dedicated funding line for humanitarian projects aimed to help children affected by conflict through education in emergencies, called the EU Children of Peace Initiative. This initiative is a legacy of the Noble Peace Prize awarded to the EU in 2012 and so far the total of €23,712,500 has been allocated.

36. During the Oslo Summit on Education for Development ECHO announced that the EU will continue to scale-up its support for education in emergencies and the aim is to reach 4% humanitarian funding to education over the next few years.

37. Humanitarian aid is short term and unpredictable and particularly ill-suited to the specific challenges presented by protracted crises (DFID 2015). Lack of capacity often means needs analysis is not carried out in a systematic way. With multiple needs assessments and no common approach, agencies have developed their own approaches and processes that are not necessarily aligned. DFID (2015) notes that this has led to a form of ‘needs bargaining’ where funding decisions are based on rough estimates and negotiations. Also, a recent paper by the ODI highlights the incentives impacting donor decisions. Humanitarian donors fund education in natural disasters more readily than conflict-affected situations, and acute crises over chronic emergencies (Nicolai and Hine 2015).

38. It is not always possible to track what humanitarian aid is spent on. The UNOCHA Financial Tracking System (FTS) makes it possible to track humanitarian aid to education through mechanisms such as the Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP), Flash Appeals, and Pooled Funding including the Common Humanitarian Fund (CHF), Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF), and the ERF (Emergency Response Fund). However, it is not possible to track all levels of sectoral or sub-sectoral spending for all the mechanisms and it is very challenging to track un-earmarked multilateral funds, certain types of bilateral aid, and private sector funding (Carfax 2014).

Coordination Gaps

39. The current aid architecture assumes a linear progression from crisis to development and fails to address the chronic and protracted nature of contemporary conflict (DFID 2015). Humanitarian aid is unpredictable and annual funding cycles are preventing the development of multi-year plans. For example, across four countries and 114 grants managed by Save the Children to support education in conflict/crisis situations, 80 were for fewer than 12 months (Dolan and Ndaruhtse 2010). Development aid is too slow to respond and is difficult to manage where institutions are weak and insecurity is high (DFID 2015). It is also very difficult to transition quickly and easily from humanitarian to development instruments. A background paper for the Oslo Summit also suggests that, ‘In addition to creating links across coordination structures, education response architecture could be strengthened through beginning to address three key gaps: inadequate capacity for response, lack of coherence across assessment and planning, and poor data collection and use.’ (Nicolai, Hines and Wales, 2015)

40. The humanitarian-development divide is evident in the separate coordination structures of the education clusters and Local Education Groups as part of the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) (Nicolai 2015). The education cluster system is activated based on need through a formal call by the UN Humanitarian Coordinator and facilitates coordination of the numerous actors and agencies on the ground in the context of emergency. It is a coordination body and does not distribute funds. In contrast, the GPE supports the development of education sector plans and funds the implementation of programming in line with approved sector plans. Although it is not typically active in acute emergencies, since 2012 GPE is increasingly engaged in fragile contexts and protracted crises.
41. The Education Cluster works to coordinate humanitarian actors at country level, but less so at regional or global level. In particular, resource constraints mean the cluster system focuses on short-term need with little capacity to engage in longer-term and systematic planning.

42. Coordination failures inhibit provision of education for displaced populations. The duration and extent of displacement, as well as whether populations cross international borders, are key issues. In cases where a national government fails to fulfil its primary responsibility to educate IDPs, there is some confusion as to whether the primary response agency should be UNHCR or UNICEF through its role as co-lead of the global education cluster. Further coordination gaps exist when there are cross border issues related to refugee education that involve negotiation with different political authorities since this role is outside the mandate of the education cluster system.

43. There are a large number of actors and agencies engaged and investing in the area of education in emergencies (see Section 2 below for an indicative list), but these lack coordination. At the same time there are a limited number of partners who have the capacity to support the delivery of education in the context of fragility. This is highlighted by the fact that between 2006 and 2013, 77% of donor support to education through consolidated appeals went to or through only 5 agencies. Although this may be viewed advantageously as demonstrating a group of practitioners with a wealth of expertise specific to the context, a lack of transparency and high administrative and transaction costs due to multiple streams and sources of financing can cause frustration among both donors and implementing agencies.

44. A lack of analytic clarity and understanding is hindering coordination between education and the peacebuilding sectors. An emerging body of work from the UNICEF PBEA Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding identifies a number of barriers inhibiting greater interaction between the two fields (Smith et al 2011; Novelli & Smith, 2011). For those working in education, the concept of peacebuilding is often limited to 'peace education' with a focus on changing values and behaviours rather than addressing structural issues of access, quality and justice. This indicates a lack of knowledge base and common language across the sectors leading both peacebuilding and education communities to remain in silos and missed opportunities for integrating insights from the two sectors (Barnett et al, 2007).

**Knowledge Gaps**

45. Virtually all of the literature refers to the need to strengthen the evidence base for the role of education in fragile situations. 'There are many reasons for this: The field is a complex area with imprecise definitions of terms and many variables, so it is difficult – if not impossible – to demonstrate correlations, let alone causality; implementation in the field is mainly undertaken by development agencies whose main priority is quick impact rather than reflective research; the volatile environments in conflict-affected societies mean that operational conditions and data gathering are difficult; short programme cycles, high levels of staff mobility and poor institutional memory make systematic research uncommon; and even where there is a commitment to evaluation this is most commonly defined in terms of indicators of achieving programme goals.' (Smith et al 2011).

46. As part of this review knowledge gaps were identified from the literature related to governance, equity, social cohesion, teachers, youth and reconciliation in fragile and conflict affected contexts. Further details are provided in the following sections.
47. **Statebuilding, governance and political economy analysis.** A recurrent theme in the literature is the need to strengthen education governance in the context of fragility. In practice this is broadly in line with statebuilding approaches to development and education reform, as can be seen in the priorities of the World Bank (Edwards Jnr 2012). There are two important dimensions to this. Firstly, there is a question over the extent to which approaches to statebuilding are consistent with securing peace and stability in fragile contexts. For example, in situations where fragility is partly attributable to lack of political legitimacy, dilemmas arise over whether to fund social services through government programmes or to fund through sub or non-state actors. In the former, international development assistance may be perceived as supporting oppressive regimes. In the latter it is argued that service provision through non-state actors can lead to a fragmented approach to service delivery and the development of parallel systems which may or may not be aligned with government policies (OECD 2010).

48. The second aspect is that statebuilding is not just a technical exercise. Other factors such as lack of political will, corruption within the system, or vested interests in resisting change mean that extremely good insight into power dynamics of the education sector is required. Political economy analysis helps to address this gap by investigating the norms which shape people’s behaviour as well as the formal and hidden incentives within and between groups and institutions which influence how decisions are made.

49. Political economy approaches started to inform donor planning cycles in the early 2000s partly influenced by the UK Department for International Development’s Drivers of Change (DOC) approach (2004). A number of actors and agencies have developed their own approaches to political economy analysis including the Dutch Strategic Governance and Corruption Assessment, ODI (2005), the EC (2007) and the World Bank (2008). In broad terms political economy analysis can be undertaken at macro (national) level, be sector specific, or take a problem based approach (for example, why certain education policies are not having desired outcomes). The EU has already invested country case studies and the development of guidance for political economy analysis. DFID has also recently commissioned two literature reviews on political economy analysis of education systems in developing countries (Gandhi Kingdon et al 2013) and in the context of conflict (Novelli et al. 2013). There is broad consensus within the literature that donors have struggled to define the operational implications of political economy analysis. This means there is often a gap between analysis and changes to programming based on political economy analysis (DFID, 2004; Warrener, 2004).

50. **Equity.** An important area of the literature is the role of equity in fragile and conflict affected contexts. In terms of the economic arguments the evidence indicates that countries with high levels of educational inequality consistently show lower levels of innovation and lower levels of production efficiency. It also corresponds with increased incidence of the inter-generational transmission of poverty (World Development Report 2006). Unequal access to education between groups is also related to an increased chance of civil war in cases where populations value education as a means of social mobility and economic opportunity (Stewart 2008). The hypothesis is that conflict is generated out of grievances based on ‘horizontal inequalities’ between cultural groups (Stewart, 2008). This is consistent with research by Ostby (2008) which found that conflict rose significantly for countries with sharp social and economic inequalities. Gurr (1970) placed an emphasis on perceived ‘relative deprivation’ between groups (even where data suggest that inequalities do not exist), and especially where inequalities such as access to education have perceived ‘social significance’.

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51. There is now an established body of research examining inequalities in access to education, particularly in relation to gender, for example, ‘girls are disproportionately affected especially by conflict, with 4 of the 5 countries with the largest gender gaps in education experiencing war or insurgency’ (GMR, 2015). However, the literature largely fails to take into account the quality of learning agenda or the need for other forms of disaggregation where inequalities may exist, for example along the lines of ethnicity, religion, geographical location or language. More recent research has been commissioned by UNICEF PBEA to better understand the relationship between equity and conflict through historical analysis of statistics and qualitative case studies in South Africa and Uganda (FHI 360, 2015).

52. Social Cohesion. A recurring theme in fragile and conflict-affected countries is the relationship between conflict and separate schooling based on identity factors such as language, ethnicity or religion. The hypothesis is that this has an impact in terms of social cohesion. Research in this area is highly context specific and the impact on social cohesion appears to depend on whether minorities are obliged to attend their own schools or choose to do so (Gallagher 2010). It must also take into account the broader context of whether such schools are perceived to be reinforcing assimilation, separate or shared development (Smith 2014). In the context of separate schooling efforts can be made to encourage mixing between groups. Research indicates that these inter-group contact programmes can affect attitudes and perceptions in the short term in the context of protracted crises (Biton & Salomon, 2006; Maoz, 2000). Despite theory highlighting the importance of intergroup inequalities, many programmes have been accused of operating at the level of interpersonal exchange that is unlikely to have an impact on broader social, institutional and structural change within fragile and conflict affected societies.

53. Language of instruction is another area of policy that has broader implications for social cohesion. UNESCO (2003) identifies language as an ‘essential element of inter-cultural education to encourage understanding between different groups and respect for human rights’. It supports mother tongue education as a means of improving education quality, arguing that a large number of students fail to learn as they are instructed in a language that they do not sufficiently understand: ‘around 221 million children speak a different language at home from the language of instruction in school, limiting their ability to develop foundations for later learning’ (UNESCO 2010: 10-11). It also advocates bilingual and multilingual education as a means of promoting inter-group relations and societal equality (UNESCO 2003). The situation is further complicated by the fact that parents often express a strong preference for their children to learn in the official language because they identify this as a route to enhanced social mobility (UNESCO 2010; Pherali 2013).

54. However, decisions regarding language of instruction are not apolitical. Some governments promote learning through a single language in order to encourage national unity (Pherali 2013). This may or may not be a vision that incorporates a plurality of identities. There are instances of language policies being implemented in ways that exacerbate conflict. Rösel (2009), for example, gives an account of the way in which language policies in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka were used as a means of dominating access to education by particular groups. This was also the case for the Kurdish minority in Turkey (Bush and Saltarelli 2000).

55. Teachers. Throughout the literature it is clear that teachers play a vital role in ensuring relevant and effective learning in the context of conflict and fragility. Successful programmes prioritise training, recruitment, distribution and support of teachers (DIIS 2013). Qualified teachers are important in ensuring enrolment. In Afghanistan, enrolment increased by 2% for each additional teacher who has a higher level of education (Burde and Linden 2012). The availability of qualified female teachers plays an important role in ensuring girl’s education in fragile contexts (Burde and Linden 2013).
56. However, fragile contexts also present particular challenges related to teacher policy and practice. In terms of teacher recruitment, securing qualified teachers is a challenge particularly where educational outcomes of the education system itself are low. Recruitment may also be difficult due to teacher salary, which is often low or non-existent in fragile contexts, and where teaching is not regarded as a high status profession. In fragile contexts that experience conflict or crisis, teachers are affected alongside the rest of the population and may also be displaced which makes it difficult to maintain the teaching capacity of the education system.

57. Other factors related to teacher education policies include the extent to which there is corruption in teacher employment processes or where low pay leads to teachers having second jobs or seeking payment from parents and pupils in terms of fees or payment for tutoring outside schools. Depending on whether there are centralised or decentralised processes for the deployment of teachers, there may be challenges in making sure that teachers are deployed equitably and in the places most needed. In some cases teachers from different ethnic or religious groups may not be safe or accepted within certain communities in fragile contexts. In protracted crises there are also challenges in terms of employment of teachers with appropriate language of instruction, curriculum knowledge and pedagogical skills to meet the needs of children displaced or disadvantaged through conflict and crisis. Differences may arise through the use of contract teachers, and in qualifications, salaries, working conditions for teachers in fragile contexts where education is provided through private or faith-based schools alongside government provision. In each of these areas there is insufficient knowledge, research or innovative programming to suggest how these challenges can be addressed in fragile contexts.

58. **Youth** is often a neglected part of the population in fragile situations. Concerns about out of school, uneducated and unemployed youth without the means to secure a sustainable livelihood continues to be one of the most cited factors in analyses of fragile situations, regarded as both a threat to security and an under-utilised resource for reconstruction and recovery. This priority emerges out of the ‘extremely robust’ correlation between countries with a large proportion of youth relative to the wider population and the incidence of political instability (Urdal, 2004: 16). Research by Collier and Hoeffler (2004) indicates that the main three factors that make people more likely to engage in political violence are being young, being uneducated, and being without dependents. Barakat and Urdal (2009) found that countries with large youth populations that invest less in secondary education for young men are more likely to experience armed conflict.

59. The response of many agencies has been to invest in youth training and employment schemes, but it has yet to be demonstrated that these necessarily result in positive outcomes, particularly where increasing the supply of skills cannot be met by the labour market. The need for integrated youth programmes for social, economic and political engagement is identified in the literature (Lopes Cardozo 2015), but there is little systematic research. However, in contrast to the robust body of evidence related to youth participation in violence, there is an urgent need to build up rigorous longitudinal data on the impact of education programming on youth engagement and agency within fragile contexts.

60. **Reconciliation and Transitional Justice.** In fragile contexts that have experienced violent conflict, education may have an important role in longer-term, post-conflict development to help successive generations understand the violent conflict that took place within their own society and potentially contribute towards future peacebuilding. One aspect of this relates to curriculum and the way in which history education in particular can contain values that either promote division or encourage peaceful management of diversity. For example, analysis of pre-genocide Rwandan textbooks indicates that Hutus and Tutsis were portrayed in opposition to one another which highlighted group division and encouraged intolerance (King, 2014). In terms of post-conflict curriculum reform, this raises questions about how far history teaching should
refer to recent, violent events. In some cases this may mean introducing a period of silence on recent events, for example a moratorium on history reform in Rwanda, although this is associated with negative education outcomes in the case of Northern Ireland (Barton & McCully, 2005). More successful outcomes are associated with a multi-perspective, enquiry-based history education which 1) provides students with a foundation in critical analysis; 2) encourages them to recognize that the interpretation of the evidence of the past is a discursive process in which alternative versions vie for recognition; 3) fosters empathetic understanding, or caring, for others; and 4) promotes democratic values (McCully 2012).

61. A second aspect relates to the extent to which education has a role in contributing towards reconciliation following recommendations from formal Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs). Oglesby (2007) reported on how schools in Guatemala began to incorporate some of the findings from the Guatemalan Historical Clarification Commission. Paulson (2010) highlights how despite commitments to introduce textbooks that dealt with recent conflict in Peru, changes in government can influence whether these are actually used. Buckley-Zistel (2009) examines how the Rwandan government approach was to place a moratorium on the teaching of history after the genocide and the use of ngando camps to promote national unity by promoting a narrative that omits any reference to ethnicity. Paulson (2006) documented how ‘the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SLTRC) included children’s testimony and children guided the development of the children’s version of the commission’s report’. These research studies also highlight the need for further research into the ethical issues for educators; the role of education in relation to remembrance and commemorative sites and events; and better understanding of the nature of intergenerational learning. It is common, therefore, in countries that have been affected by conflict to point to a role for education in promoting longer-term reconciliation as a means of preventing recurrence of violent conflict. This seems does not seem to be an area where there is significant investment by donors, perhaps because it is seen as a long term recovery issue, or because it may raise highly politicised and controversial issues. However, the EU does have a record of funding and sustained engagement in support for reconciliation in its own neighbourhood through programmes in South East Europe (Bosnia, Kosovo), Northern Ireland and the Basque Country.
Section 2: Key actors, their strategies, priorities and activities

62. **Donor Support to Education.** Over the period 2010 to 2013, donors committed an average of $12,498 million per year to education. Overall, donors committed 44% of their education aid to fragile states, an average of $4,597 million per year.

63. The graph below highlights the top ten donors to education in fragile states.

![Graph of Total ODA commitments to Education in Fragile States 2010-2013](image)

Data extracted from OECD.Stat on 30 Apr 2015

64. Between 2010 and 2013, the World Bank IDA made the highest ODA commitments to education in fragile states. Other multilateral institutions falling within the top ten donors of ODA to education included UNRWA and EU institutions.

65. Of the bilateral donors, the United Kingdom committed the largest sum of ODA to education in fragile states, committing over 2 billion US dollars. Other bilateral donors to education in fragile states during this period included Germany, United States, France, Japan, Canada and Australia.
The field of education and fragility has expanded considerably and now encompasses a large number of actors, agencies and activities. A more detailed summary of key actors and agencies is contained in Annex 3, but the following table summarises the strategies and priorities of those involved in education in fragile contexts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Guiding Instrument</th>
<th>Key Priorities in the context of fragility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taking Action in Situations of Fragility, Crisis and Violence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Development for peace and security '&lt;br&gt;BMZ education strategy 2010-2013 '&lt;br&gt;Vocational education and training</td>
<td>Vocational education and training in fragile and conflict affected contexts '&lt;br&gt;Technical support in preparing and supporting applications for GPE funding through BACKUP initiative which includes fragile contexts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>White paper on Education for Development</td>
<td>Disaster risk reduction in education '&lt;br&gt;Protection of schools against attack '&lt;br&gt;Education during humanitarian crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Education Position Paper: improving learning, expanding opportunities</td>
<td>Girls education '&lt;br&gt;Protracted crises '&lt;br&gt;Learning outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>Education: Opportunity through learning '&lt;br&gt;Youth in Development</td>
<td>Equitable access '&lt;br&gt;Conflict sensitive educational programming '&lt;br&gt;Youth programming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPE</td>
<td>Strategic Plan 2012-2015</td>
<td>Design and implementation of education sector plans '&lt;br&gt;Increasing attention to fragile states within its portfolio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>Education Strategy 2014-21</td>
<td>Education For All, EFA GMR focus on conflict '&lt;br&gt;Crisis-sensitive educational planning through IIEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>UNICEF Strategic Plan 2014-2017</td>
<td>Education in emergencies '&lt;br&gt;Risk informed programming '&lt;br&gt;Education and peacebuilding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>Education Strategy 2012-16</td>
<td>Education for refugees, asylum-seekers, stateless persons, internally displaced and returnees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Bank</td>
<td>Learning For All</td>
<td>Access, learning, equity and institutional building '&lt;br&gt;Resilience in education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPE</td>
<td>Strategic Plan 2012-2015</td>
<td>Design and implementation of education sector plans '&lt;br&gt;Increasing attention to fragile states within its portfolio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INEE</td>
<td>INEE Strategic Plan 2015-2017</td>
<td>Advocacy regarding the inclusion of education as part of humanitarian response and the Education First Initiative '&lt;br&gt;Conflict sensitive educational planning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
67. The following sections identify some of the main areas of focus for these agencies related to advocacy, policy and planning, programme responses, and knowledge generation.

68. **Advocacy.** The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) was formed following the Dakar World Education Forum and is a network of over 11,000 individual members across over 170 countries working to promote quality, safe, and relevant education for all those affected by crisis. Activities undertaken through INEE have expanded over the last two decades, with advocacy remaining a key element. Most recently, it has convened the Working Group on Education Cannot Wait Advocacy in response to the UN Secretary General’s Education First (2012) initiative, a five year strategy which includes the priority to sustain education in humanitarian crises, especially conflict. Its advocacy efforts are focused on ensuring education in emergencies receives increased funding, protecting learning environments from attack, and supporting crisis sensitive education sector policies and plans in priority countries. INEE recently released its Strategic Plan (2015-2017) with the overall goal to enable quality, safe, and relevant education for all in emergencies and crisis contexts through prevention, preparedness, response, and recovery.

69. Advocacy and dialogue are also crucial for reducing attacks on education. At the international level the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (GCPEA) is an inter-agency coalition formed in 2010 to address the problem of targeted attacks on education during armed conflict. It focuses on monitoring and reporting attacks on education; promoting preventative education policy and programmes; encouraging adherence to existing international law; and fighting impunity for attacks on education by promoting a range of accountability measures (GCPEA website). Most recently GCPEA has drafted the Lucens Guidelines to support the application of international humanitarian and human rights laws related to education (GCPEA, 2014).

70. In its recent white paper on Education for Development (2014) Norway also highlights its commitment to advocating for the protection of schools during armed crisis by:

   - seeking to ensure humanitarian access and protection in conflict and crisis situations with a view to maintaining continuity of learning and safeguarding schools
   - encouraging and supporting the development of teaching plans that take into account the need to reduce conflict
   - being at the forefront of efforts to ensure that international humanitarian law is respected, and militarisation of schools and universities and attacks on educational institutions stop
   - playing a leading role in promoting the Lucens Guidelines internationally.

71. As part of its ongoing policy discussions and consultations with the UK Consortium on Education in Emergencies, the UK’s Department for International Development (DFID) (2015) released a discussion paper entitled ‘Delivering Quality Education in Protracted Crises.’ The paper argues that with humanitarian crises associated with conflicts now lasting on average more than a decade, the current aid architecture is not fit for purpose. It states that DFID has more than doubled education spending in fragile states such as South Sudan and Syria over the last two years and identifies five principles which should inform the design and delivery of education programmes in these contexts:

   - Start with strong contextual analysis that looks at access, quality and protection
   - Avoid establishing parallel systems
   - Mobilise predictable financing through an agreed coordination structure.
   - Prioritise protection, education access and quality in the response.
   - Build evidence and data on impact and invest in innovation.
**72. Policy and Planning.** A second area of donor priority relates to supporting conflict sensitive policy and planning processes. Work in this area has built on an important study by Bush and Saltarelli (2000) highlighting the ‘two faces’ of education and its role in both fuelling and mitigating conflict. It includes consideration of areas such as language of instruction, history teaching, teacher recruitment and deployment (including gender balance, and ethnic and language diversity), education structures (for example, segregated versus integrated systems) and systems of governance.

In April 2013 the INEE Working Group on education and fragility, of which the EC is an active member, released a set of Guidelines and Principles for integrating conflict sensitivity in education policy and programming in conflict-affected and fragile contexts. Reference to these guidelines is included in the EU Staff Handbook on Operating in Situations of Fragility USAID also developed a conflict sensitivity checklist and funded work with GPE to determine how conflict sensitivity can be better incorporated into education sector plans.

The focus on conflict sensitivity as part of applications to GPE has become necessary as following the FTI’s restructuring into the GPE in 2011, the partnership has placed much greater attention on the challenges faced by conflict-affected and fragile states. This commitment was codified in the 2012-2015 Strategic Plan which identified ‘Support education in fragile and conflict-affected states’ as the first of its five objectives. Of its 59 recipient countries in 2015, the GPE supports 28 countries experiencing fragility or conflict, double the number since 2010. In 2013, 52 percent of the total GPE funding distributions were for states affected by fragility and conflict, up from only 13 percent in 2010 (Menashy and Dryden-Peterson 2015).

One issue that has arisen from this change in focus is the need for additional technical expertise, analysis and capacity development in preparing and supporting applications for Global Partnership for Education funding. GIZ’s BACKUP initiative, one of the five flagship measures identified in BMZ’s education strategy, aims to fill this gap.

As of March 2015, BACKUP Education had supported 80 activities at the national level in 24 African countries and 24 at regional level. Almost 38 per cent of the 104 activities supported by BACKUP Education have been dedicated to support education development in countries that are classified as fragile situations according to the World Bank. This corresponds to more than a third of the allocated funds.

UNESCO also contributes to crisis-sensitive education policy through the work of its specialised institute, the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). IIEP provides technical assistance, training and research to support countries in the development of their education systems. It works with educational planners to help them i) review the impact of disasters and conflict on their education system, ii) consider the role of their education system in promoting safety, resilience, and social cohesion, iii) examine how each of the phases of the planning cycle can address safety, resilience, and social cohesion, and iv) initiate dialogue and a planning process to encourage participation from all relevant stakeholders.

A recent review of donors’ humanitarian policies on education reveals that that only a handful of donors currently have policy frameworks for education in emergencies which direct their funding for this area and link their emergency education interventions to longer-term education support. According to the report, ‘education in emergencies is covered briefly in 5 donors’ overarching foreign assistance strategies (Canada, Denmark, Netherlands, Sweden, US), somewhat more specifically in 5 donors’ humanitarian strategies/policies (Australia, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Switzerland), and more specifically in 6 donors’ education sector

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strategies/policies (Australia, Canada, Germany, Japan, UK, US). Three donors (EU/ECHO, Norway, UK) also have detailed policy white papers or working documents outlining their principles, goals and areas of focus related to education in emergencies’ (Avenir Analytics 2015).

79. Programming. Programming priorities are broadly grouped around four areas: refugee education, teachers, youth, and the contribution of education to peacebuilding.

80. Refugee Education: UNHCR is mandated to lead and coordinate international action to protect the rights and well-being of refugees and stateless people. This includes ensuring their right to education. UNHCR launched its Education strategy (2012-2016) with the following goals:

- Ensure that 3 million refugee children have access to primary education
- Expand secondary education to 1 million young people
- Provide safe schools and learning environments for all young learners
- Ensure that 70% of refugee girls and boys achieve quality learning in primary school
- Provide teacher training for professional qualifications so that 80% of teachers are trained
- Provide non-formal education and training opportunities for 40% of young people
- Increase by 100% the number of students attending tertiary education
- Enable early childhood education for 500,000 children aged 3 to 5
- Increase literacy rates among refugee adults by 50%

81. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) has a mandate for those displaced by the Arab-Israeli conflict and runs a network of over 700 schools and colleges with just under half a million students enrolled.

82. In terms of internally displaced persons (IDPs) there is some confusion as to which agency is responsible for ensuring their education. UNHCR seeks to ensure the right to education for “people of concern to UNHCR,” which includes refugees, asylum-seekers, stateless persons, internally displaced and returnees. In practice, however, the education of IDPs is often seen as falling under the responsibility of UNICEF and Save the Children through their role in the Education Cluster System (Smith Ellison 2012). UNICEF and UNHCR are currently working on shared guidelines to frame work in this area.

83. Norway is a key donor supporting the field of refugee education. It is one of the largest donors to UNHCR and almost half of its funding is channelled through civil society organisations such as Norwegian Refugee Council and Save the Children (Smith Ellison 2014). Its recent white paper on Education for Development (2014) commits Norway to increase the use of development funds to help countries that receive large numbers of refugees as a result of humanitarian crises.

84. There are a number of other International NGOs and humanitarian agencies who support the provision of education during crises including the International Rescue Committee (IRC), the Norwegian Refugee Council, Plan International and War Child. However, a recurring issue is the lack of absorption capacity given the small number of implementing partners available.

85. Teachers: The International Task Force on Teachers for EFA (ITTF) is an international alliance of stakeholders, including national governments, intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, CSOs, international development agencies and private sector organizations working to address the teacher gap to meet Education For All (EFA) goals. The EU contributes funds to the task force and represents donors on the steering group along with Germany and Norway. It is anticipated that a focus on the challenges of meeting demand for well qualified teachers, particularly in fragile contexts will continue to be a concern in the post-2015 development goals.

86. Youth: Germany, France and the United States represent key donors in the area of youth programming. In 2012, Germany supported education and vocational education in bilateral programmes in 55 conflict-affected and fragile states, with € 52.47m allocated for Vocational education and training (VET). BMZ’s commitment is outlined in the strategy paper ‘Vocational
education and training in German development policy' where VET in fragile contexts is described as one of four priority areas\(^5\). The strategy highlights that more than half of the partner countries of German development cooperation are affected by conflict or fragility and argues that VET is important in restoring a sense of normality and reintegrating marginalised sections of society at economic, social and political levels. Germany’s BMZ will soon release a new education strategy with a focus on basic education, vocational education and training (VET) and higher education in fragile and conflict affected countries and refugee situations

87. Between 2010 and 2012, France’s Agence Française de Développement (AfD) diversified its activities and increased its funding to contribute to the youth challenge. In 2013 it released its new strategy entitled Education-Training-Employment: Youth at the heart of Development (2013-2015). Central to its efforts is the need to develop human capital in order to address inequalities arising from globalisation. The strategy aims at promoting education as a continuum from basic education to employment and consists of three levels of intervention

- Education: Ensure that all children have access to quality basic education, from primary school through to lower secondary school, to guarantee long-term literacy and successful access to training and employment.
- Training: Equip young people with competencies and skills that meet the needs of social life and job market by developing training (higher secondary, vocational training, higher education) designed to meet current economic, social and environmental challenges.
- Employment - social protection: promoting successful transition to the labour market, and access for all young people to decent employment.

88. In terms of training, AfD focuses on creating and strengthening public vocational training centres in partnership with the private sector and addressing the needs of rural areas and the informal sector. It also aims to promote reform of tertiary education systems through the provision of loans to promote the development of institutions geared towards the training of specialists particularly in the scientific and technological areas. It also supports school to work transition programmes and the development of financial and institutional structures to set up sustainable social protection systems linked to education and employment. Although fragile situations are not defined as a priority in the Strategy, approximately three quarters of the countries in which ADF operate have some form of weakness in their governance or capacities.

89. In 2012 USAID launched its Youth Policy, Youth in Development: Realizing the Demographic Opportunity. The policy is predicated on the message that youth make significant contributions to society in ways that can contribute to both peace and instability. The policy highlights the need to mainstream youth issues through USAID’s work and identifies six guiding principles:

- Recognize that youth participation is vital for effective programs
- Invest in assets that build youth resilience
- Account for youth differences and commonalities
- Create second chance opportunities
- Involve and support mentors, families and communities
- Pursue gender equality
- Embrace innovation and technology for and by youth.

90. Education and Peacebuilding: The Global Monitoring Report (2011) highlighted the challenges for education in fragile and conflict-affected contexts and recommended a significant injection of funding to integrate education into wider peacebuilding strategies. The suggestion is that the

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international aid system needs to engage earlier with education in post-conflict societies and stay engaged over a longer period of time in post-conflict societies.

91. The GMR also highlighted how the full potential for education to contribute to longer term peace is not being utilised. This suggests moving beyond ‘conflict sensitivity’ and placing greater emphasis on the ways in which education can actively contribute to conflict transformation (UNESCO 2011). These include the role that access to education can play in addressing group inequalities, the importance of education sector reform and the potential for education to support conflict transformation (Smith 2011).

92. A key commitment to this area is the Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme (PBEA) which has received US$150 million from the Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This four-year project (2012-15) aims to strengthen resilience, social cohesion and human security in fourteen countries. The PBEA focuses on achieving five key outcomes:

- Increase inclusion of education into peacebuilding and conflict reduction policies, analyses and implementation.
- Increase institutional capacities to supply conflict-sensitive education.
- Increase the capacities of children, parents, teachers and other duty bearers to prevent, reduce and cope with conflict and promote peace.
- Increase access to quality, relevant conflict-sensitive education that contributes to peace.
- Contribute to the generation and use of evidence and knowledge in policies and programming related to education, conflict and peacebuilding.

93. Knowledge Generation. Whilst most agencies seek to learn from experience and commission programme evaluations, fewer actively engage in funding research as part of knowledge generation. Three notable investments relevant to education and fragility are mentioned below.

94. DFID has invested heavily in research in recent years. This includes a partnership with the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) which issues calls to academics and research institutions for ‘Education and development: Raising learning outcomes in education systems’. In total £20 million has been allocated, which is awarded through three annual research calls, including £6.5m for research on education in challenging contexts. DFID has also commissioned a number of rigorous literature reviews relevant to education and fragility.

95. The Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs has invested in the $150m UNICEF PBEA which includes a specific output related to knowledge generation. Through this programme UNICEF has commissioned research at global, regional and national level on themes including equity and conflict (FHI360), social cohesion (Harvard Humanitarian Initiatives), intergenerational violence (AISSR), policy, teachers and youth (Amsterdam, Sussex and Ulster Universities).

96. USAID has recently invested in the establishment of the Education in Crisis and Conflict Network (ECCN), which is a community of practice that will build evidence and capacity to attain USAID’s Goal 3 of increasing equitable access to education in these environments for 15 million learners by 2015. The project is being implemented over a five-year period by the Education Development Center (EDC).

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Section 3: Challenges identified from consultations

97. The following sections draw some overall conclusions from consultations with staff based within different sections of development cooperation at the EC in Brussels; staff based within EU Delegations at country level; representatives of EU member states; other partners such as non-EU bilateral donors and international NGOs represented through the Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE). The findings suggest four broad categories of challenges identified for education in fragile contexts:

98. Governance challenges. These were identified as challenges that are particularly difficult in fragile contexts, irrespective of whether the context is an emergency response or a more developmental one. They are particularly relevant for EU Delegations, given the commitment to work in partnership with government and engage in policy dialogue, since outcomes may be heavily dependent on political will.

i) Challenges of working in highly politicised, fragile contexts. These included difficulties accessing conflict affected areas and high security costs in contexts such as Iraq and Somalia. The difficulties posed by lack of political will to introduce education reforms and problems arising from political actors with often conflicting interests in the education system was also mentioned by a number of delegations. This included concerns about ownership and control of education and the role of non-state actors (private providers, faith groups, armed groups) in fragile contexts. Some delegations identified a need for better political economy analysis as a basis to inform programming decisions and address obstacles to governance reforms.

ii) Macro-reforms such as decentralisation, privatisation, teacher policies were mentioned as often problematic in fragile contexts. For example, there are additional challenges of implementing decentralisation policies in fragile contexts where central government is already weak and capacity at local level can be extremely low. In contexts such as Bangladesh, central government may resist transfer of power to local administration which may be considered a first step toward separatism. The use of non-state providers is a frequent strategy in fragile contexts, but there are concerns that this further undermines state structures that are already weak. In certain fragile contexts the use of the military in building schools is seen as counterproductive if it is perceived as justifying a military presence in disputed areas. Some delegations mentioned the need for much greater local ownership instead of donor driven approaches and absorption of funding for macro-reforms is also a problem in fragile contexts.

iii) Equity concerns in terms of access to education, distribution of resources and learning outcomes for children were identified as especially challenging in fragile contexts because infrastructure is poor, capacity for analysis is weak and political will may be absent. This will become increasingly important given the emphasis on equitable access to quality education in the new development goals, which will continue to be most difficult to achieve in fragile contexts.

iv) Reliance on civil society strategies to strengthen education provision may be unrealistic in fragile contexts in terms of expectations of civil society to contribute financially and in terms of expertise. Over reliance on civil society may undermine the responsibilities of the state for the provision of education.

99. Operational challenges arising from working in fragile contexts. Whilst these may arise during the implementation of programming supported by bilateral funding, the implication is that delegations would also benefit from additional support (technical as well financial) to address the best way to meet these operational ‘meta-challenges’.
i) Incorporation of fragility assessments into education planning processes was seen as a gap in contexts such as Myanmar and Somalia.

ii) A gap between policy documents and implementation was mentioned by a number of delegations and attributed partly to lack of ownership and commitment, donor driven policy agendas and weak capacity to implement policies into action.

iii) Securing data that is reliable, systematic, and relevant as a basis for evidence building as well as programming decisions and monitoring for accountability was mentioned by delegations. There are particular difficulties of securing and using disaggregated data to highlight inequalities based on ethnicity in highly politicised environments such as PNG and the need for quick and reliable date is crucial in emergency situations such as Syria.

iv) Nearly all delegations mentioned the need to strengthen institutions and capacity in each of the above areas (analysis, policy, planning and implementation, and robust data systems). The challenges are greater in fragile situations where recurrent change is common or crises are protracted (Myanmar, Guinea Bissau, Haiti) and there is limited access to a pool of technical expertise (Haiti, Somalia). A number of delegations highlighted the limited capacity of relatively small EUDs with limited staff to respond to capacity development challenges in fragile contexts.

100. **Thematic challenges for education in fragile contexts.** A number of these were identified during consultations and include:

i) Multilingual approaches to language of instruction have been important in contexts such as Bangladesh and Papua New Guinea as a means of providing access to education for children who do not speak the national language, but in many fragile contexts implementation of a national language may also be perceived as means of enforcing national unity. There are complex and context specific challenges for the implementation of language of instruction policies that need to be better understood in fragile contexts.

ii) Curriculum content and textbooks were identified as potentially contentious issues in fragile contexts as they may be perceived as instruments for promoting dominant values and beliefs to the exclusion of others. How citizenship is taught or communicated by the education system is perceived to be particularly important in fragile contexts where the concept of national unity is weak and this can apply as much in emergency as well as development situations. For example, in Haiti citizenship education is seen as one way of developing more confidence in the state, whilst in Jordan seen as a means of encouraging tolerance and countering extremism.

iii) Teacher recruitment, training, accreditation was identified as an important issue for education in fragile contexts, partly because teachers are regarded as the most important investment to improve the quality of learning outcomes, but also because education systems in fragile contexts face additional challenges. Such challenges are in terms of recruitment of well-educated teachers (because the systems that produce new entrants are already weak), deployment of teachers to where they are needed most (because the fragile environment means that teachers are reluctant to move to the most challenging areas), and often in terms of acceptance of teachers from different backgrounds by local communities (for example, where communities are fragmented, or social cohesion is weak in terms of acceptance of diversity of language, culture or religion). Matching supply to demand is particularly acute in emergency situations where conflict and crisis may cause flight or displacement of existing teachers and systems have been destroyed.

iv) Violence, particularly related to gender was identified as a significant challenge in fragile contexts such as Liberia, partly because social institutions may have broken down and rule of law is weak. There are concerns about protection of children in such situations.
and schools play an important role in terms of how they deal with violence against children (and in many situations are the sites of violence against children), and how they contribute towards social norms towards violence within communities.

v) Out of school youth were identified as an important population that need to be engaged in by education, but this is difficult in situations of mass displacement such as Syria or limited economic opportunity such as Haiti. Concerns about youth radicalisation were mentioned by delegations in contexts such as Somalia, but there appears to be little agreement on competing theories about radicalisation and the role of education.

101. **Challenges specific to education in emergencies.** Many of the previous challenges also relate to the inclusion of education in emergency responses, but there were a number of challenges that seem to be particularly acute in emergency settings:

i) Lack of funding for education in emergencies seems to be a consistent concern in situations such as Somalia and Syria where education systems struggle to meet the demands. In situations like Myanmar and Jordan the experience is that financing instruments are not flexible or responsive enough, for example a lack of quick response mechanisms to assess extent of need, recruit teachers and procure education resources.

ii) Poor donor coordination was cited as a major concern in crisis situations such as Jordan and Syria, and there are concerns about coordination bridging the gap between humanitarian and development assistance in contexts such as Liberia. One suggestion was that the EU needs to develop an integrated approach to fragile states, possibly through closer, coordinated action between ECHO and DEVCO.

iii) Education for refugees and IDPs is the dominant concern in contexts such as Myanmar, Jordan, Syria and Somalia. The acute challenge is the sheer scale of displacement and the need for quick response, but there are also challenges such as the provision of psychosocial support and issues related to the quality of education that can be provided.

iv) Cross-border challenges for education (e.g. securing teachers, refugees education appropriate to origins of children) were identified as significant difficulties, but also the need for an EU response that might address cross-border challenges such as criminality, violence and illegal migrations. One suggestion was EU support for dialogue between education authorities in crisis regions with cross border challenges for education.

102. There are two strong messages that come through the consultation responses.

- The first key message is that there are significant challenges related to the working environment in fragile contexts that are difficult to include or address explicitly in traditional bilateral funding programmes. In general, these relate to the political economy of working with authorities, encouraging political will and creating better coordination between different actors, including donors.

- The second key message is that, irrespective of whether the context is an emergency, a more protracted crisis, or a development context, virtually all responses to the consultation identified weak capacity in areas such as analysis, planning, implementation and reliable data as particular challenges in fragile contexts.

103. On both fronts, it could be argued that bilateral funding can address these issues, but an additional difficulty in fragile contexts is that any capacity developed in already weak institutions may be continually destroyed by multiple, recurring and protracted crises. This presents an extremely difficult challenge for EUDs to support sustainable capacity development in fragile contexts and may be a good argument for prioritising support in these two areas.
Conclusions: Possible Options

104. Annex 4 provides a summary of challenges for education in fragile contexts that have been identified from the literature, analysis of actor priorities and feedback from consultations. Based on these four options are suggested as a possible focus for the EU GPGC thematic programme on Education and Fragility (€28m up to 2020).

105. It should be remembered that the overall EU support for education and training in developing countries, of which half are fragile contexts, is estimated at €4.7 billion for the period 2014-20. The total under the Global Public Goods and Challenges (GPGC) program is €265 million of which €175 million is committed to GPE. Whilst €28m is a significant amount of funding for the component on education and fragility, it represents an investment of just under €6m per annum and it should have a catalytic effect, adding value to what the EU is supporting and the wider global action.

Option 1: Provide focused support to strengthen institutions and capacities in fragile contexts

106. EU approach to statebuilding and sector budget support. Whilst capacity development is often included as a desirable feature of education programming, it is sometimes accused of being tokenistic and rarely included as a discrete objective with dedicated funding.

107. The consultation suggests that gaps exist in the following areas:

- **Analysis.** Two main aspects i) analysing political challenges for education programming in fragile contexts which could also draw on previous EC investments in political economy analysis; and ii) technical expertise in undertaking analysis - currently this is mostly done by external consultants, but the emphasis should be on building local institutions that have the capacity and credibility to provide critical analysis that could influence education policy and programming – it may also be possible to draw on current expertise within the EC Fragility to support training and design of sector based fragility and conflict analysis;

- **Policy.** There are already multiple actors advocating for education policies informed by situation, disaster risk, political economy, conflict sensitive, and peacebuilding analysis. GPE, GiZ, UNESCO IIEP, UNICEF, USAID all support such approaches, but two main challenges for those working within fragile contexts are how to make sense of the different approaches (which is also a coordination challenge for donors and development agencies), and how to integrate findings into education sector plans (which is partly about ownership). It may be possible for GPGC to provide support to address these two challenges.

- **Data.** Inaccessible data, weak and unreliable EMIS systems appear to be a common challenge in fragile contexts, but there is an additional challenge that data may be particularly sensitive because it can highlight inequalities that can potentially undermine or destabilise relationships between groups or trust in government. There may be potential to collaborate with the EEAS early warning system which currently does not include education indicators, so they may be potential to develop and test a set of education indicators that may be associated with deteriorating relations within fragile contexts.

108. In each of the above areas, the additional challenge in fragile contexts is how to build sustainable capacity within fragile contexts which may involve significant investment in identifying in-country institutions (government units, research institutions, civil society

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9 An EC Capacity4Development community of practice related to political economy analysis already exists
organisations) with some existing expertise in the specialised areas and the potential to build capacity and develop sustainable working relations with education authorities.

109. The German Backup initiative is one example of a capacity development programme with the aim of providing support for the development of GPE plans which is demand led with a dedicated GIZ team assessing applications and managing and supporting outcomes. GPGC funding cannot be used to fund EC staff in this way, so it would be necessary to put the overall initiative out to tender, i.e. invite bids that can put together the skills needed in all three areas (perhaps through a consortium of agencies), or put out a call for proposals in each of the three areas, but this runs the risk of fragmenting support and adding to management costs.

110. Joint involvement of DEVCO and ECHO in steering the project is desirable from the point of view that the need for capacity development in these three areas is necessary in emergency as well as in protracted crises and in development situations.

**Option 2: Strengthen knowledge and evidence on a specific aspect of education in fragile contexts**

111. The consultation helped identify a number of gaps within aspects of education in fragile contexts, but given the scale of funding it would be important to focus on where there are particular challenges for education in fragile and conflict-affected contexts. The following are some possibilities:

- **Teachers.** The GPGC has funded the International Task Force on Teachers for EFA (TFAS), so a decision would be needed on whether there are aspects of teacher policies and practice (recruitment, deployment, training, accreditation) that could be addressed through this forum or through any new global initiative that may emerge from the background paper being prepared by the EC, EI and UNESCO the Oslo Summit in July 2015.

- **Learning Outcomes.** The new Education (Goal 4) places an emphasis on learning outcomes which has the potential to further highlight the difficulties of these being achieved in fragile contexts. DFID has initiated some research in partnership with the UK Economic and Social Research Council to identify the specific barriers to achieving learning outcomes in difficult environments, including urban, rural and border settings. There will be a need to test possible responses to improve learning outcomes in such settings.

- **Equity.** The new development goals reinforce the emphasis on equity and many agencies already include this as a priority. UNESCO UIS is leading on the work of a global, technical expert panel on specifying indicators of inequality for post-2015 agenda and the GMR will continue to focus on this area. A main gap (already highlighted above) involves the political challenges and technical difficulties of securing disaggregated data to monitor inequalities in fragile context, so politically sensitive and innovative solutions will need to be found if the SDGs related to equity for Education are to be achieved.

- **Social Cohesion.** The OECD and EC both have strong interest in social cohesion, although much previous work has focused on developed countries. However, we know less about social cohesion in fragile contexts and even less about the contribution of education in these situations, although aspects such as trust between groups, language of instruction, citizenship education, tolerant attitudes towards diversity are often mentioned as important. Developing and testing such indicators could be an important complement to the SDG focus on learning outcomes.

- **Education and Peacebuilding.** The area which receives least attention from other agencies is research on the role of education in transitional justice (in terms of reparations,

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education reforms as part of conflict transformation and reconciliation processes). Some work in this area is currently being undertaken by the International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) and would seem to be consistent with EU interests in supporting longer term processes of peace and stability.

- **Youth.** The main gap in relation to youth is actually being able to demonstrate whether political, economic, social and cultural engagement programmes have a positive impact in fragile contexts, alongside the need for more robust evidence related to competing theories about the more contentious issue of radicalisation.

112. The overall approach could be to invite innovative responses from EUDs related to the chosen theme, possibly involving pilot studies that have a research and evaluation component built in from the outset. Again, the opportunity exists to include fragile contexts that include emergencies, protracted crises and development environments and encourage strong cooperation between DEVCO and ECHO. Overall management could be contracted to a partner agency or consortium of agencies with strengths in project management, the focus theme and research. Knowledge outputs would need to be complementary to existing knowledge generation by agencies such as DFID, USAID and UNICEF.

**Option 3: Regional support on cross-border challenges for education in fragile contexts**

113. There were strong inputs from EUDs in crisis affected regions concerning the inability to meet the needs of refugee children and providing quick education responses in situations of mass displacement. There are clearly huge gaps in funding and weaknesses in the response mechanisms, but it would be unrealistic to expect that GPGC could make an impact on these challenges in terms of plugging gaps.

114. However, a very particular set of issues do arise in these situations in terms of cross border challenges for education. These include lack of coordination between donors, funding needs where it is unclear whether refugees education can be met from support to the country of origin or the host country, issues about whether it is possible to employ teachers from one country in another, which language of instruction curriculum materials should be used, accreditation and recognition of qualifications across borders.

115. It is clear these concerns are most acute in emergency situations, but they are enduring issues in protracted crisis and may also have implications for non-crisis affected countries in the same region (for example, the role of education in contributing to responses to illegal migration, trafficking, cross border crime). The implication is that GPGC could play a very specific role in such situations, for example by using EU convening power as a means of engaging education authorities from different countries on effective responses to cross border challenges for education, and to provide funding to facilitate and support potential solutions.

**Option 4: Contribute to a strategy for education in emergencies and protracted crises**

116. There are currently strong arguments being made that the international aid architecture is failing education in emergencies, financially and in terms of quick, flexible and coordinated responses. It could be argued that this problem is very specific to education in emergencies and a programme like GPGC needs to operate across a range of fragile contexts and not just those in acute crisis. The sheer scale of the funding crisis, particularly for refugee education is also daunting, so any contribution from GPGC would be modest by comparison and need to be extremely focused.

117. One suggestion from a number of participants in the debate is the creation of a new global fund for education in emergencies. A technical working group has been established, led by UNICEF, with funding from DFID, USAID and Norway, to develop the business case, and
political momentum seems to be building for setting up a common platform to improve the current aid architecture by creating a dedicated fund or a new modality for education in emergencies by the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016.

118. Within this changing context the option of contributing to such a fund from GPGC could be a consideration by the EC. The may be a number of attractions if it is a global fund addressing needs in many of the fragile contexts where EU education programmes operate. A joint donor approach may help coordination and be efficient in terms of management and transaction costs. However, at this stage many of the formative issues have yet to be resolved in terms of remit, scope of work, management of such as initiative.

119. Despite this, there will be a need to take account of this emerging global development. Once establishment issues have been clarified, an option may be to contribute to such a global fund via GPGC, particularly if it is possible to earmark funding to focus on a specific challenge such as capacity development in fragile contexts. Whether or not it is possible to make such a decision at present, GPGC support for education in fragile and conflict affected contexts can still be developed in a way that is supportive of the need to operate in emergencies as well as protracted crises through one of the previous options indicated above.
References


INEE (2105) Report from the INEE Global Consultation on Education in Emergencies and Protracted Crises, NYC: INEE.


