STRENGTHENING RESILIENCE AND RESPONSE TO CRISES

EVIDENCE BRIEF 2: ACCOUNTABILITY

CAMBRIDGE EDUCATION

11 2017

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1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   STRENGTH OF EVIDENCE

The literature reviewed for this theme shows consensus around how education systems should be supported in 'hot conflict', protracted crises, or natural disaster contexts. The provision of education services in emergencies should ideally led by a national government, or aligned to national government policies or systems in all three contexts. The evidence is thin related to how national governments can best be supported to lead. The evidence is strongest on what works with regards to capacity building in fragile states, which can be a hot conflict or protracted crises context, or both. The evidence related to how education systems can support disaster risk resilience is also quite strong. EiE programming to date has not focused strongly on long-term planning and systems building. The key limitation of the evidence is, therefore, that there is a lack of research looking specifically into these issues in relation to EiE. The Evidence Brief includes examples of harmful impacts of short-term planning on education provision. More insight into the negative consequences of short-term education programming will be helpful guidance while the focus shifts towards long-term planning and building resilient local systems.

1.2   RESEARCH QUESTION AND DEFINITIONS

The following research question was formulated to explore the evidence around accountable provision of education services during emergencies:

How to support and strengthen education systems (state and non-state providers) and engage through national and regional authorities to make services more equitable (budgeting, civil service management etc.)?

It is important to understand and define the concepts within this question.

State providers of education are national governments (either refugee-hosting governments, or governments of countries affected by crisis) and include both decentralised authorities (regions, provinces, and districts) that often have levels of autonomy over services, including education, as well as semi-autonomous entities with specific responsibilities (e.g. assessment, teacher management etc).

National and regional authorities in this context are national and subnational levels of education authorities of state providers of education. The level of decentralisation in a country determines the mandate of regional authorities. Besides education, other government departments may be involved in education provision: in relation to this theme, the Ministry of Finance is particularly important, but Ministries of Youth, Gender, Social Welfare, Labour (technical education) and Health (Early Childhood Development) can also play an important role.

Non-state providers of education can be humanitarian agencies (in particular UNHCR and UNICEF), NGOs and INGOs, civil society organisations, faith-based organisations, private schools, bilateral donor-funded programmes, and in some cases (armed) opposition groups. Bilateral and multilateral donor-funded programmes are often closely aligned to government systems and work in partnership with Ministries of Education, but this is not always the case. Sometimes bilateral donors provide direct budget support to state providers of education.

Equitable services in this context means a needs-based, fair, and even distribution of resources. At a basic level, this may be equal access to enrol in schools and an even distribution of resources including materials, grants, teachers. Services are inequitable when the quality of teaching and learning varies widely between regions or subgroups of the population, for example due to inequitable resource distribution or use of a different language. In a conflict context, the equity principle is important as inequitable access to services and resources can fuel tensions and is considered a structural cause of conflict, particularly when resulting in unequal economic and social opportunities.

This brief will explore evidence around various aspects of an accountable system. These are, firstly, clear principles, standards and norms, or a legal framework, with which education service provision must comply that can be monitored and evaluated. This is key for holding education providers to account for the services they deliver. Key questions are ; Is the provision of education in emergencies by non-state providers governed by quality standards?. Are these quality standards fit for purpose and followed by implementers? Are state providers following principles of equity or equitable legal frameworks when providing education in crises?

Secondly, the brief will look at capacity development and other system strengthening aspects. Transparent and accountable planning and budgeting for education is key to an accountable system. Resource distribution must be based on principles of equity and inclusion. Fragile states are often characterised by low administrative capacities and resource constraints. Limited resources are often controlled or captured by a small elite. Is there evidence of capacity development that has successfully strengthened government capacity to plan and budget for education during crises? What evidence is available about the strengthening of government systems at national or local levels for the provision of education in hot conflict, protracted crises, and natural disasters? Are there examples of what has not worked well in terms of planning for education in emergencies? The monitoring of whether education service providers deliver on plans and abide by set principles is also an important consideration. This links to the evidence presented in the Evidence Brief 'Data, Monitoring, and Evaluation', and will not be presented in great detail in this theme.

Thirdly, there is a growing body of research into education and peacebuilding and the potential positive and negative impacts of education policies on social cohesion. This is typically considered in the aftermath of conflict and the evidence review found examples of studies that were based on experiences in the Balkans, Rwanda, and Latin America where conflicts have ended over a decade ago. Given that this relates to policy making, a key function of an education system, and touches on issues of equity, a reference to this field of research was deemed relevant.

Another aspect is evidence around alternative education programmes that sometimes run parallel to the formal education system. In some countries efforts have been made to bring alternative forms of schooling into the formal system, providing certification and regulatory oversight through departments of non-formal education within a MoE. Are non-formal education programmes an effective way to reach children during emergencies? Can pupils enrolled in these programmes transition to the formal education system? What does the evidence say about the effectiveness of these programmes?

Finally, the evidence around education systems and disaster preparedness and response is explored.

2   KEY FINDINGS FROM LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of relevant literature on accountability and accountable education systems in the context of EiE produced the following findings:

1. The literature review points out that national ownership for education service delivery has multiple benefits over providing services through non-state actors[1]. It is more sustainable and potentially contributes to peacebuilding and national unity. There is evidence that short-term planning and funding cycles potentially do more harm than good[2]. In countries where donors cannot engage with national governments for political reasons, shadow aligned systems should be considered when bypassing the state. It must be noted that education systems in fragile states are often already weak

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[1] (Debiel, 2005) (Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, & Valiente, 2014)
[2] (McKinnon, 2014)

before the onset of conflict or other emergencies. National ownership for education service delivery may require external technical support or capacity development[3].

2. There is no clear-cut approach to systems strengthening in emergencies. Capacity development approaches should be designed based on context and conflict analysis. Several studies highlighted that capacity development in conflict-affected contexts should be interpreted as both building practical capacities (of individuals or institutions) and political will, i.e. the capacity to plan for inclusive development[4]. Studies suggested that capacity development in conflict-affected areas must be based on political economy analysis to create meaningful change[5].

3. Two studies highlighted the importance of 'process before product' in relation to capacity development in conflict-affected contexts[6]. Officials of the Ministry of Education in Afghanistan, for example, gained self-confidence through leading and participating in the development of strategic plans for the sector. This outcome was considered as important as the plan itself[7].

4. Several studies highlighted that governance reform is more successful if it is cross-sectoral. Given the politicised nature of reform (i.e. it is value-based with a focus on democratic principles of equity and inclusion), it is likely to carry more weight if the same approach is followed in other sectors[8].

5. There was consensus in the literature around the importance of principles, norms, and standards to guide implementation[9]. This was found to be important in two ways: first, at a global level, to hold donors to account for funding pledges for EiE; and second, at a local level to enforce quality standards of behaviour and approach. The review found limited evidence on the effectiveness of INEE Minimum Standards for EiE. It was not clear how widely these are in use in EiE programmes globally. One study found that the Minimum Standards lacked focus on long-term aspects of education planning and were mainly suited to short-term responses[10].

6. The review found that equity and equitable service delivery need to be given priority in education planning, especially in conflict-areas. One study highlighted that global education policy goals are predominantly informed by efficiency concerns, but if an education system in a conflict-affected context does not address inequities, there is potential for further or renewed outbreaks of conflict and therefore equity should be given priority[11]. For example, inequitable representation of certain groups in a country's curriculum was found to be a possible source of tension and return to conflict[12].

7. Findings from studies on the linkages between education, peacebuilding and social cohesion support a focus on systems strengthening, including strengthening policy formulation capacities for example in the area of curriculum reform[13].

8. The review found some examples of non-formal education (NFE) programmes with potential links to the formal education system that could be used to reach marginalised or displaced groups in emergencies. If this is to be explored in other contexts, lessons must be learned from the evaluations of these programmes. For example, in the case of Columbia, the NFE programme failed to deliver on academic achievement, because of flaws in the programme design such as the short length and lack of training for teachers[14]. Pupils enrolled in the NFE programme could therefore not easily transition

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[3] (Davies L. , 2009)

[4] (Davies L. , 2009)

[5] (Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, & Valiente, 2014)

[6] (Sigsgaard (ed.), 2011) (Davies L. , 2009)

[7] (Sigsgaard (ed.), 2011)

[8] (Davies L. , 2009) (Watson & Yohannes, 2005)

[9] (INEE, 2012) (Davies L. , 2012) (Save the Children; Norwegian Refugee Council , 2015) (Nicolai & Hine, 2015)

[10] (Weinstein, Freedman, & Hughsons, 2007)

[11] (Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, & Valiente, 2014)

[12] (Shah, 2012)

[13] (Tawil & Harley, 2004)

[14] (Vega & Bajaj, 2016)

to formal education. There is some evidence these programmes do contribute positively to peacebuilding and have positive socio emotional impacts on pupils[15].

9. The review found numerous studies on the impact of education and girls' education on resilience to natural disasters[16]. These studies showed that higher levels of education have a direct effect on reduced loss of lives and livelihoods during natural disasters. In societies with low levels of women's empowerment and education, women were found to be disproportionally affected by disasters[17]. Education can help to make them more resilient.

10. There was consensus in the literature that disaster risk reduction efforts are most successful when led by national government institutions and mainstreamed in the education system[18]. UNESCO's International Institute of Education Planning (IIEP) recommends the inclusion of disaster preparedness plans into education sector planning, based on sector diagnostics that should include data on a country's vulnerabilities to natural disasters (or conflict)[19]. Depending on their capacity, ministries may require technical support to carry out this diagnosis. The review did not find evaluations of this approach.

3   LIMITATIONS OF THE EVIDENCE REVIEWED

The literature reviewed for this brief shows that evidence on how to strengthen education systems during emergencies is very limited, particularly in hot conflict contexts. It is clear from the literature review that to date most EiE programming has not taken a long-term approach focused on resilience and systems. There are examples of current programmes that follow this approach. They are referred to in the Evidence Brief, but some are too recent to have produced conclusive evidence on their effectiveness. The Evidence Brief includes examples of harmful impacts of short-term planning on education provision. More insight into the negative consequences of short-term education programming will be helpful guidance while the focus shifts towards long-term planning and building resilient local systems.

4   CONCLUSION

The provision of education services in emergencies should ideally led by a national government, or aligned to national government policies or systems. A government-led response is more sustainable and has the potential to contribute to peacebuilding and national unity in the longer term. Education also plays a key role in disaster risk resilience. A government-led approach to emergency preparedness for natural disasters is preferred to ensure all schools are equally informed of and follow disaster-proof construction rules.

How this ideal scenario can be realised in situations of hot conflict or protracted crises is less clear from the evidence. In many conflict-affected states the national education system is already weak. Refugee-hosting nations may have stronger education systems to start with, though as the case of Lebanon shows, these systems can be overwhelmed by a large influx of refugee pupils, putting a strain on resources and affect education quality. In both cases these systems need to be strengthened to effectively lead the provision of quality education for refugees and IDPs.

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[15] (Datzberger, 2017)
[16] (Pichler & Striessnig, 2013)
[17] (Neumayer & Plümper, 2007)
[18] (Save the Children, 2015) (Kirk, 2008)
[19] (MacEwen, Bird, & Choudhuri, 2011)

Focus on capacity development that is cross-sectoral and politically aware

Capacity development is most effective when it is cross-sectoral and accounts for the political context, meaning driven by democratisation values such as equity, transparency, participation, and rights. Capacity development can be targeted at individuals or institutions. Who or what is targeted, and which system components are prioritised for support, should be based on a context and conflict analysis.

Focus on equity over efficiency

Equity and equitable service delivery need to be given priority in education planning and delivery in conflict-areas. Education can have a positive impact on peacebuilding and social cohesion, but inequitable education service delivery can fuel tensions. In order to realise these positive impacts on society, a long-term and systems approach is necessary based on the principle of equity.

5   ANNEX 1- SUMMARIES OF DOCUMENTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following summaries of literature reviewed have been sorted along the various aspects of an accountable system identified in the introduction to this brief.

Please note that the titles for the following summaries contain hyper-links to the full-length documents that can be found online. To access a hyper-link, press 'Ctrl' and click on the bolded title.

5.1   STANDARD, NORMS AND PRINCIPLES

INEE Minimum Standards Handbook (INEE, 2012)

The handbook contains 19 standards, each with accompanying key actions and guidance notes. The handbook aims to enhance the quality of educational preparedness, response and recovery, increase access to safe and relevant learning opportunities and ensure accountability in providing these services. Accountability is defined by INEE as:

> An explanation of the meaning and reasons for actions and decisions that consider the needs, concerns and capacities and circumstances of affected parties. Accountability is about the transparency of management processes including the use of financial resources. It is about the right to be heard and the duty to respond. In education, accountability means holding education providers responsible for the quality of their service delivery in terms of student knowledge, skills and attitudes; teacher behaviour; and school or system performance.

The Minimum Standards' indicators must be adapted to each local context to be relevant. Training and awareness raising is crucial to promote their use in the field. INEE aims to promote learning from practical experience implementing the Minimum Standards in programming. A number of case studies from around the world can be found on their website[20]. Case studies are written and submitted by programme implementers themselves. An independent evaluation of the Minimum Standards could not be found, but the last revision of the Minimum Standards was an open and accountable process during which a wide range of stakeholders provided criticism and inputs. The latest case study dates back to 2013. The Standard's focus on community participation appears to be cited often as a useful aspect to practitioners. UNHCR's refugee education policy is based on the INEE Minimum Standards.

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[20] http://www.ineesite.org/en/minimum-standards/case-studies

Weinstein, Warshauer Freedman, and Hughsons (2007) criticise the Minimum Standards for its too narrow focus on emergency interventions and early reconstruction. The Minimum Standards fail to address long-term priorities such as curriculum reform and are not based on a research foundation with inputs from education and child development specialists. Ensuring education is a priority in humanitarian interventions should also include a priority focus on long-term aspects of education and a recognition that education plays a role in societal reconstruction after an emergency and should therefore be considered from the start of a response.

Education in emergencies and protracted crises - Toward a strengthened response (Nicolai, Hine, & Wales, 2015)

This think piece explores how the international response and provision of education in emergencies can be improved. One of their recommendations is to establish and adhere to a set of consolidated principles as the basis for education in emergencies interventions. They argue that this would provide necessary clarity about multiple global commitments to education in emergencies that have been made in recent years, and have proposed a draft of these principles as an attachment to their publication. Clear principles can help to hold national government, humanitarian, and development partners to account for their support to education in emergencies and set out clear expectations for beneficiaries. One of the five key objectives of the Education Cannot Wait fund launched at the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in 2016 is to '*Improve accountability in the humanitarian and development systems by sharing knowledge and collecting more robust data in order to make better-informed investment decisions'.* Improved political agreement on the importance of EiE such as this declaration can help strengthen accountability at a higher level by reinforcing public commitments made to support the fund.

Breaking the cycle of crisis - learning from Save the children's delivery of education in conflict-affected fragile states (Davies L. , 2012)

This report on Save the Children's experience delivering EiE finds that 'legal accountability' is one of six underpinning principles for successful education in fragile and conflict-affected states. This is interpreted as a broad framework that should cover both people's right to education and standards, such as teachers' code of conduct or the quality of temporary classrooms following natural disasters. The report recommends considering community laws within such a framework. The other five principles identified are:

- Community buy-in, to ensure quality control at the lowest levels;
- Participation, of students, parents and teachers in drawing up suitable codes of conduct;
- Resources provided on time;
- Motivation to teachers including remuneration and/or non-pay incentives;
- Understanding and acceptance of the overall vision for education by teachers and the community at large.

If a programme addresses all six principles there is a strong likelihood of positive impact and change. However, if even one principle is neglected, this may lead to tensions, putting the overall programme results at risk.

WALK THE TALK, Review of Donors' Humanitarian Policies on Education (Save the Children; Norwegian Refugee Council , 2015)

This report finds that including 'standards for quality and accountability, monitoring and evaluation requirements' is a key element of good donor policy. Requiring adherence of donor fund recipients to INEE's Minimum Standards was also cited as positive donor practice in interviews with practitioners.

5.2 CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT AND OTHER SYSTEM STRENGTHENING ASPECTS

National Ownership and Capacity Development

Donor engagement with national governments in conflict-affected contexts can be politically sensitive and may not always be possible during hot conflict. Fragile and conflict-affected states may lack a legitimate central government, that may not exercise effective control over the entire country's territory. In other cases, donors may not want to provide support to a government that is an active party to a conflict, committing human rights or other abuses, or providing services in an openly discriminatory way. Somalia is an example of a country where a central government was largely absent during an extended period. As a result, basic services were delivered in an uncoordinated way through non-state providers, mainly UN-agencies, and NGOs (Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, & Valiente, 2014).

Dealing with fragile states - Entry points and approaches for development cooperation (Debiel, 2005)

This paper states that a donor's choice to work through government systems or bypass them depends on the effectiveness of state institutions and their political legitimacy. Four scenarios for donor engagement in fragile states are identified:

1. Systems and policy alignment (where the state is functioning reasonably well and legitimacy is relatively high): direct budget support would be possible;
2. Systems alignment (where governments lack legitimacy and where the priorities of donors and the government differ): direct budget support would not be considered, and sector programmes would involve strict conditionality and monitoring;
3. Policy alignment (where institutions have disintegrated, but government has embarked on reforms supported by the population);
4. Shadow alignment (where institutional and political breakdown is far advanced, but design support measures to gear them as far as possible to existing budget classifications, planning cycles, reporting procedures etc., or to established administrative units).

The paper highlights the importance of 'shadow' systems alignment when going down a route of engagement with non-state actors for the provision of services, so that a transition to government service provision can happen in the medium to long term.

A review of relevant literature shows consistently that national ownership for education service delivery has multiple benefits over providing services through non-state actors, as it is more sustainable and potentially contributes to peacebuilding and national unity.

The Political Economy of Education Systems in Conflict-Affected Contexts (Novelli, Higgins, Ugur, & Valiente, 2014)

This publication includes important considerations for donor engagement on systems and policy making. It considers three stages of education policy making (agenda setting, formulation and implementation) and synthesise the literature on each from a political economy perspective. It finds that the literature on policy formulation shows that national ownership and legitimacy of policy formulation are necessary conditions for education reforms. Education provision in conflict-affected contexts has the potential to contribute positively to peacebuilding, social change, and national unity. This can only be realised if education is provided not in a fragmented way, but part of a more systemic strategy. It also finds that global education policy goals are predominantly informed by efficiency concerns that are somewhat disconnected from the political economy realities and priorities of a conflict-affected country. If an education system in a conflict-affected context does not address inequities, there is potential for further or renewed outbreaks of conflict. Equity, therefore, should be given priority over efficiency. Embedding education policy support in local political economy realities is key

for effectiveness and realising objectives in conflict-affected contexts that may go beyond education outcomes (e.g. peacebuilding or state building outcomes).

Capacity Development for Education Systems in Fragile Contexts' (Davies L., 2009) and 'Learning for state-building: capacity development, education and fragility' (Davies L., 2011)

These two papers provide the most complete overview of the relationship between education, state fragility and capacity development. The papers include important considerations for how DFID can engage to strengthen education systems through capacity development. Education systems have the potential to change the 'dynamics of fragility' and improve a state's legitimacy when education is provided in an equitable way. Strengthening education systems can also be highly politicised due to ideological underpinnings and the impact of education on people's futures. When equity is not guaranteed, education provision by the state can impact negatively on social cohesion, erode trust, and fuel further conflict. As outlined above, depending on the engagement with national governments, donor support for capacity development of education systems can take the form of increased support for 'change agents', for example civil society groups or other non-state actors in the field of education. Strengthening their voice in the public discourse on education may be an appropriate response when support to the national system is not appropriate.

Systems' capacity development can be targeted at individuals or at administrative and institutional levels of government. Contextual and conflict analyses that are cognizant of political realities should inform donor's capacity development planning and prioritisation. Table 1 below summarises the needs and issues in fragile contexts when considering capacity development in education.

Table 1: Needs and issues in fragile contexts when considering capacity development in education.

Organisational dimension	Need for: - Financial systems and information systems - Basic accounting for schools on fees, levies, etc. - Job descriptions - Regulatory frameworks for decentralised levels - Understandings of the meanings of decentralisation and power-sharing - Transparent teacher appointments - Reporting and report writing - Monitoring and evaluation
Institutional culture dimension	Existence of: - Hidden rules, norms, values - Creative accounting and allowance culture deriving from history of poverty - Contexts of hierarchy meaning deference, fear, and possible abuse of power - Patronage, clientelism, gendered power - Norms governing reciprocity in exchanges (favours and gifts) - Lack of initiative or concern about improvement resulting from decades of conflict or oppression - Need to combine personal incentives with institutional improvement
Enabling environment/ political context	Problem of: Political elites contesting nature of and power over education

	• Absence of genuine political will around social cohesion or social, caste or gender equality • Ethnic or religious conflict may have been made worse by education; need for capacity development in non-discriminatory curriculum materials and civic education • Questions of what constitutes 'the community', and possible divisions and disputes within and between communities • Endemic corruption as a norm

Fragile contexts are characterised by corruption, violence, a lack of transparency and trust, and informal relationships. Capacity development in education that targets state-building will therefore produce fragile results. Davies argues that capacity development is most effective when it is cross-sectoral and is based on an analysis of the fragility context. Capacity development is not neutral, because it is driven by democratisation values such as equity, transparency, participation and rights. Interventions are more effective when they consider the socio-psychological aspects of capacity building, because of the behavioural changes that may be required for tackling issues such as corruption or nepotism. Capacity development should target people who are powerful enough to enact – or block – change, for example educational elites. In fragile contexts, the focus should be on support that strengthens social cohesion, rather than "piece-meal injections of technical know-how". The paper provides several examples of capacity development that have strengthened social cohesion. In Sri Lanka, the Ministry of Education's curriculum development unit scrutinises textbooks for representation of particular groups (Sinhala, Tamil, and Muslim) as part of a national policy on education for peace and social cohesion. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the EU provided support to curriculum development and brought together teachers from the three entities – Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia – who previously worked separately, to develop the new harmonised curriculum. The paper also argues that development partners who support capacity development initiatives should ensure that research, monitoring, and evaluation activities include indicators of state building. Davies summarises these five features as ACSPI:

- **Analysis** (of the political context);
- **Coherence** (sectoral and cross-sectoral);
- **Survival orientation** (account for people's existing agendas for survival and other social-psychological factors);
- **Power** (target those with power to effect or block change);
- **Indicators** (related to state building).

Business Case, Emergency Education System Stabilisation Programme for Lebanon (DFID, 2014)

The design of DFID's Emergency Education System Stabilisation Programme for Lebanon recognised the importance of national ownership for sustainability. The Business Case found that providing further support to UNICEF for non-formal education provision to Syrian refugees was not the preferred option as it is too "reliant on continued emergency funding to support its quasi-parallel delivery systems threatening sustainability".

Synthesis Research Report - State-building, Peace-building and Service Delivery in Fragile and Conflict-affected States (Dolan, et al., 2012)

This report presents findings from a one-year research project exploring the question: "[w]hat contribution does service delivery make to building the legitimacy of the state in the eyes of its citizens?". This question is explored in case-studies on Rwanda, Nepal, and South Sudan. The report finds that in cases where the state does not have the capacity to deliver quality services, state legitimacy is strengthened if the state allows non-state actors to provide services instead of providing poor quality services themselves. Even if non-state actors provide services, state legitimacy may be enhanced in the eyes of citizens if they perform an oversight and

regulatory function. The research also finds that equitable service delivery can positively contribute to state legitimacy, while inequitable delivery can undermine state building. Transparent public financial management and budget monitoring can help to build confidence in the state. Involving citizens in accountability mechanisms that empowers them to hold service providers to account can help to build social cohesion and state legitimacy. In conclusion, strengthening state building and peacebuilding through service delivery is largely determined by *how* services are delivered and to a lesser degree by *who* delivers the services.

Education in Emergencies: The Case of the Dadaab Refugee Camps (McKinnon, 2014)

A case study that looks into education provision for refugee children in the Dadaab Refugee camps in Kenya. Somalian refugees in this camp have not been able to return home for over 20 years. The study shows that education provision has been persistently underfunded. Short-term planning and funding cycles and the absence of a longer-term development approach potentially do more harm than good. The risks of a short-term and underfunded response include unsafe school environments, not only in terms of appropriate facilities, but also in terms of not being able to provide a safe space for children, girls in particular, to learn.

Super Synthesis of the evidence of 'What works best in education for development' (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2017)

This synthesis draws from 18 systematic reviews, meta-analyses, and comparative reviews of 'what works' in education for development. While the focus of this synthesis is not on education in emergencies, the findings are still relevant as they relate to systems, especially if the design of education in emergencies programmes are to follow a more developmental, long-term planning approach. By condensing this vast literature into an operational guideline, the synthesis identifies which interventions have been shown to have the greatest impact on education quality and participation in a development sector context. Two overarching themes emerged. First, the research clearly shows that the success of any intervention is dependent upon understanding the challenge to be addressed, and having a solid appreciation of the country context. Second, the evidence shows that any single intervention will only be successful if implemented in accordance with larger education sector dynamics, given the many inter-connecting parts of a functional education system; in other words, ensuring a systems-based approach to programme implementation.

The weight of evidence summarised in the synthesis shows that the lowest 'evidence of impact' is in the 'Sector Planning/Financial Reform' domain. This reflects the fact that it is challenging to draw a causal link from investment in systems capacity to how this impacts students' participation and education quality. However, it does not mean that investments in EMIS or the capacities of education officials is not worth it. The synthesis states that if a context analysis identifies that these areas are in need of strengthening, it is still worth the investment. Improved planning and budgeting indirectly enable better outcomes, like student retention and improved learning.

On the road to resilience: Capacity development with the Ministry of Education in Afghanistan (Sigsgaard (ed.), 2011)

A UNESCO IIEP publication that provides a rich account of the challenges encountered in rebuilding Afghanistan's education sector after 30 years of conflict, and while civil war is continuing in parts of the country. Capacity development efforts must be cognizant of these contextual factors. Capacity is defined as not only service delivery capacity, but also as the capacity to commit towards equitable development objectives. It is possible to develop both capacities, but the development of political will requires solid political economy analysis. In order to reform and deliver education services that contribute to state and peace-building, the capacity of the Afghan MoE needed strengthening. The MoE was largely dependent on development partners for capacity development as they also controlled a large part of the budget. The publication includes findings from five case studies of development partners who have provided capacity development support to the

Afghan MoE since 2006. The publication distils ten key lessons learnt that are relevant to include here in full as they may apply to systems development in other (post-) conflict contexts:

1	**Building trusting partnerships takes time and is required for high-level political backing.** Decade-long engagements in Afghanistan allowed agencies to gain credibility and develop trusting partnerships with the MoE.
2	**People come and go, but systems remain.** Service delivery and implementation of MoE policy hinges on systems. They enable planning based on facts, and can reduce corruption and reliance on individuals.
3	**Put processes before products.** Agency collaboration with MoE on policy documents such as the NESP, the 'Afghanized' INEE Minimum Standards for Community Based Education (CBE), and national policies for CBE, inclusive education, and Literacy gave impetus to Capacity Development (CD) and enabled donor coordination. In the process, the MoE gained self-confidence, a prerequisite for the ability to commit and engage.
4	**Donor flexibility and long-term commitment is helpful.** Donor support for CD activities in this book adhered to the Paris principles on aid effectiveness by engaging over several years, showing flexibility, and taking 'responsible risks', e.g. by permitting sudden project changes and accepting participatory design instead of long-term plans.
5	**Donor coordination is needed for salary harmonisation.** Coordination mechanisms such as the HRDB could be instrumental in solving a major staffing challenge – the salary disparity between the parallel systems of civil servants, funded by the MoE, and national technical assistants (TAs), funded by donors. Agencies could improve aid effectiveness by collaborating with the MoE to map and harmonise TA salaries.
6	**Choose pragmatic and basic solutions.** The CD partnerships often began with the basic infrastructure, such as supplying office space or teaching generic skills like English and computer literacy. Pragmatic compromises were necessary.
7	**Gender is also a human resource issue.** Only 26 per cent of all MoE employees are female. Many women refrain from competing with men for high managerial positions because of internalised stereotypes of female inferiority. Agencies need to scan all activities for opportunities to increase gender participation.
8	**Nation-building should be based on decent, non-ideological education.** Through equitable, non-ideological education provision, the state might one day make itself relevant to its citizens and become less dependent on foreign aid. Decentralisation of education – how much, what responsibilities – is a key question in the larger scheme of building an Afghan nation and state.
9	**A plan is a statement of will and self-confidence.** The policy documents mentioned have been criticised for being unrealistic. However, in Afghanistan's political process, ambitious national plans signal a will for drastic change, and may create hope and self-confidence – invaluable resources when everything is a priority and everything a challenge.
10	**Sustained financial support is a must for achieving national development objectives.** Investing in developing MoE capacity is an investment in national capacity at large, which is a precondition for nation-building and socio-economic growth. Adequate financial resources are needed to absorb the remaining 42 per cent of out-of-school children, as outlined in the ambitious National Education Strategic Plan-II.

Capacity building for decentralised education service delivery in Ethiopia (Watson & Yohannes, 2005)

The publication examines the cross-sectoral national capacity building strategy in Ethiopia. The strategy had three elements: human capacity; procedures; and organisational structures and relationships. The strategy targeted all educational levels, but also finance and justice sector reforms. The authors suggest that one of the success factors that contributed to increased capacity at lower levels of government was broad political, cross-sectoral consensus about the importance of improved performance through capacity development and a commitment to national development values.

Teacher Management Systems

Building effective teacher salary systems in fragile and conflict-affected states Brookings and CfBT Education Trust (Dolan, Golden, Ndaruhutse, & Winthrop, 2012)

A key element of a functional education system is the system's ability to pay its teacher fair salaries on time. Sommers (2005), quoted in this paper, finds that a functional teacher pay system is closely linked with expanded access to education and has an indirect positive impact on education quality. In fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS) contexts, establishing and/or supporting a functional teacher pay system is especially challenging, because financial infrastructure may be limited or destroyed and the ability of the government to manage or fund the teacher payroll may be reduced.

The paper summarises options for donor engagement in the area of teacher salary systems in FCAS in a report that draws on detailed country case studies in the DRC, Sierra Leone, and Afghanistan as follows:

- Strengthening an existing system incrementally;
- Significantly adjusting an existing system to sustainably improve it;
- Bypassing the existing system.

As above, contextual and conflict analysis will determine the most appropriate approach for donor interventions on a case by case basis. The study provides an analysis of components that make up an effective teacher pay system to provide entry points for institutional capacity development or other types of donor support. These five components are banking, public financial management, auditing, payroll and EMIS/TMS. Factors that determine the efficiency of the system are the resources (domestic, external, or other) available to flow through and the capacity of the government to manage the system functions that fall under its remit.

5.3 EDUCATION POLICY-MAKING AND SOCIAL COHESION

Education Inequality and Violent Conflict: Evidence and Policy Considerations (Education Policy and Data Center, 2016)

This policy brief finds evidence that rising inequalities in education can increase the risk of conflict, and consequently, experiencing conflict can exacerbate pre-existing education inequality based on database research spanning conflict data for 100 countries over 50 years. Data show that inequalities increase the longer the conflict lasts. The longer the conflict, the harder it becomes to return to pre-crisis levels of lower inequality.

School voices – challenges facing education systems after identity-based conflicts (Weinstein, Freedman, & Hughsons, 2007)

This paper explores the role of education in the social reconstruction of countries after mass conflict. The study focused on societies that faced periods of ethnic violence in the 1990s, namely Croatia, the UN-administered province of Kosovo in Serbia-Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rwanda. Their findings strongly support a long-term focus on systems, both in the immediate aftermath of an emergency as well as during reconstruction. The paper includes a literature review of the role of education in societal reconstruction and

peacebuilding. The authors divide education reconstruction into four areas: curricular, physical, ideological, and psychological. They find little research evidence of effectiveness of NGO- or UN-run programmes in peace education that address these aspects and note these are often uncoordinated and designed without taking into account local needs. These interventions too often focus on short-term changes in attitudes, while the role of schools in developing children's values over time is insufficiently recognised.

The authors aim to contribute to the literature by bringing in the voices of those often not heard in education planning: parents, teachers, students, and administrators. It is important to understand their everyday education experience during or after conflict to ensure that abstract notions of peacebuilding translate into realistic policies. Three themes are recurrent in the case-study findings. First, a fear of return to conflict lies at the core of attitudes towards school. Secondly, this fear manifests itself by a tendency to control discussion in classroom environments, or general interpersonal and institutional mistrust. Thirdly, the teaching of history – with the questions of 'truth' and how the memory of conflict is represented – is tense and controversial. The study concludes that 'school voices' are important, but that the structure of the educational system and the socio-political environment in which it operates are as important if long-term change is to be implemented. Further, the importance of sustained attention to curricular development with significant collaboration with teachers and local school officials around sensitive subject areas such as history and literature is key. The authors recommend the inclusion of education in economic and social reform processes post-conflict and to avoid a silo approach to societal reconstruction.

Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion, chapter 1: 'Education and Identity-based Conflict: Assessing curriculum policy for social and civic reconstruction' (Tawil & Harley, 2004)

This UNESCO publication explores the following research question: how do the forms of educational governance, processes of curriculum policymaking, and of curriculum development (1) contribute to either a shared sense of national identity and citizenship which is inclusive and respectful of diversity or (2) exacerbate social divisions, tensions, and identity-based conflicts? It includes case-study findings from Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Guatemala, Lebanon, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, and Sri Lanka. One of the authors' critical conclusions is that "education policy reform is likely to be most effective and sustainable when initiated by a sovereign national education authority in a context of relative security and stability. The need for a national educational authority, socially acknowledged as legitimate, which can construct and define education and curriculum policy at the nation state level, places this discussion in the framework of education and development, rather than that of education in emergencies."

Goodbye conflict, hello development? Curriculum reform in Timor-Leste (Shah, 2012)

This study suggests that timing and an analysis of the state's capacity and willingness for reform are important determinants of the success of curriculum reform. While quick action may increase the state's visibility and enhance political legitimacy, if curriculum reform is not based on national narratives that are credible and inclusive of all groups in society, the reform may do more harm than good. If grievances are not addressed, there is a risk that they contribute to tension or return to conflict. In fragile states, the capacity and resources to carry out this reform often take time to build.

5.4 NON-FORMAL EDUCATION (NFE)

Continuity Education in Emergency and Conflict Situations: The Case for Using Open, Distance and Flexible Learning (ODFL) (Creed & Morpeth, 2014)

This paper explores the potential of distance learning during emergencies. Based on findings from a case-study in Sri Lanka, the paper argues that open and distance learning with linkages to formal education has strong potential to reach marginalised groups of learnings during conflict and emergency situations. Sri Lanka has faced conflict as well as other emergencies, such as the 2004 tsunami. The Open School initiative started in

2005 and began running programmes from 2007 onwards, which were led by the National Institute of Education (NIE) with support from GIZ. Targeted at drop outs and out-of-school children in marginalised areas, specifically adults and children affected by conflict in the north and east, it was set up to help Sri Lanka meet its Education for All goals. Open School learning is flexible in terms of hours and can be distance or home-based. Open School certificates are equivalent to formal schooling certificates. The paper argues for the systematic integration of ODFL into the existing national planning for conflict and emergency zones. It could play a significant and cost-effective role in these regions and also, more widely, in facilitating links between the non-formal and formal sectors and improving the quality of provision.

The right to education in protracted conflict: teachers' experiences in non-formal education in Colombia (Vega & Bajaj, 2016)

This publication looks at the experiences of a government-civil society partnership programme, Círculos de Aprendizaje (CA)/learning circles. The programme aims to restore the right to education of marginalised children, including internally displaced children. Colombia's regulatory education laws and constitutional mandates reflect a commitment to education equity. However, in practice the right to education is not guaranteed to all, due to the realities of regional, ethnic, and cultural diversity. CA is an adaptation of the Escuela Nueva/New School programme, a multi-grade model originally implemented in Colombia in the 1970s that has been internationally commended and replicated in many countries of Latin America, Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa (see Farrell and Hartwell 2008; Colbert 2009; UNESCO 2010). The CA programme's purpose is to reintegrate marginalised – i.e. displaced and otherwise vulnerable children – into the educational system.

Through qualitative research, this paper presents a rich picture of teachers' everyday education experiences in the CA. The findings show various limitations to teachers' work in conflict settings with marginalised students. Some of these challenges relate to the impact of conflict and violence on children's lives, for example dealing with aggressive students who have experienced violence in their past. Some challenges could be addressed through better programme design, training, and ongoing professional development and support, which was found to be non-existent. The most important finding is that, while there are meaningful experiences and positive social emotional development outcomes, the CA programme fails to deliver on academic achievement. The CA programme therefore falls short on delivering on its promise to ensure the right to quality education for marginalised students. Students largely did not reintegrate to the formal educational system after completing the CA programme. The paper recommends that non-formal education (NFE) processes, such as CA, should last more than one year, or as long as needed to successfully transition students to government schools. NFE programmes should also put in place tracking systems to monitor students' academic progress and integration into formal education.

Peacebuilding through non-formal education programmes: a case study from Karamoja, Uganda (Datzberger, 2017)

This publication explores the role of NFE programmes in Uganda. The study focuses on the Alternative Basic Education Karamoja (ABEK) programme. The study finds that the programme had a positive impact on the security and conflict conditions in the region and that alternative and flexible modes of education can play a role in overcoming structural and indirect forms of violence. The study suggest that further research is needed to explore the potential role of alternative education in formal education sector planning in conflict-affected environments. This will also require education governance reform and budget allocations to ensure the sustainability of alternative education programmes in the long term. The study did not include data on learning outcomes or academic achievement of pupils enrolled in the alternative education programme.

5.5   EDUCATION AND RESILIENCE TO NATURAL DISASTERS

Explorations of the evidence of the connection between education systems and resilience to natural disasters shows that higher levels of education of a population correlate with reduced loss of life and livelihoods during natural disasters. The evidence shows that education reduces vulnerability to shocks. This is explored in more detail in a special issue of Ecology and Society, a peer-reviewed journal, entitled Education and Differential Vulnerability to Natural Disasters.

Vulnerability to Hurricanes in Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic: The Contribution of Education (Pichler & Striessnig, 2013),

This journal includes a case-study which found that a better educated population had clear short-term effects on reducing vulnerability due to increased awareness about crucial information, faster and more efficient responses to alerts, and better post disaster recuperation. However, there were also important longer-term effects of educational efforts to reduce social vulnerability through the empowerment of women, as well as its effect on the quality of institutions and social networks for mutual assistance creating a general culture of safety and preparedness. Another case-study from Nepal found that more educated people had significant effects on lowering the number of human and animal deaths as well as the number of households affected by floods and landslides.

The gendered nature of natural disasters: the impact of catastrophic events on the gender gap in life expectancy, 1981–2002 (Neumayer & Plümper, 2007)

This study finds that the higher women's status, the smaller is the differential negative effect of natural disasters on female relative to male life expectancy. Women belong to the most vulnerable group during disasters. However, where men and women do have equal access to education and women participate fully in the various groups and organisations that respond to catastrophes, their death rates do not differ significantly. This is relevant because it shows the importance of equitable education provision to both boys and girls.

Education sector planning: working to mitigate the risk of violent conflict (MacEwen, Bird, & Choudhuri, 2011)

This background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011 includes a review of education sector planning for both conflict and natural disasters. The paper argues that education sector planning should involve analysis that identifies the core vulnerabilities of a country. These could be related to natural disasters or conflict. National level education planning based on this 'sector diagnosis' can help to mitigate the impacts of natural disasters. National governments may need capacity development support to produce this analysis. The report includes examples of IIEP's experience working with MoEs in Ethiopia, Uganda, and Nepal to ensure the inclusion of education in emergency into national education sector plans. The long-term engagement with Nepal provided an opportunity for raising awareness within the MoE of why education should be prioritised following disasters. In Ethiopia one of the expected outcomes is the inclusion of information on emergency situations in EMIS. Another example from Kenya demonstrates work done on specific education indicators for disaster risk reduction and emergency response in 2010. The report includes examples of planning initiatives of the IIEP, but as these were all still ongoing or in initial stages, there was no evidence on the effectiveness of these plans during implementation in a disaster response.

Save the Children's Experience in Disaster Risk Reduction in the Education Sector in Asia: 2007-2013: Preparing for the Post-2015 agenda (Save the Children, 2015)

The report provides a comprehensive overview of Save the Children's Comprehensive School Safety framework and its application in a range of disaster-prone countries in Asia. The framework addresses school safety

standards, school disaster management and curriculum development. Save the Children has worked closely with Ministries of Education to ensure that emergency preparedness plans for the education sector were developed (e.g. in Timor Leste) or on the integration of Disaster Risk Reduction in the national curriculum (e.g. in the Philippines, Vietnam and other countries). As part of emergency preparedness planning, they have provided school-level training on risk and hazard mapping. The report is a summary note produced by Save the Children and not an evaluation on the effectiveness of these interventions, however it gives a good overview of current practice.

Building back better: post-earthquake responses and educational challenges in Pakistan' (Kirk, 2008)

An estimated 17,000 students were killed in their classrooms as a result of the 2005 earthquake in Pakistan and 6,000 schools were damaged or destroyed[21]. This UNESCO IIEP publication documents the experiences of sector planners, managers, and implementers of the education sector response to the quake. The magnitude of impact demonstrates the importance of emergency preparedness in disaster-prone areas. The study highlights the importance of the involvement of the government to provide leadership and co-ordination between sector initiatives and different levels of government during the relief period and afterwards. The study finds that the vision of 'building back better' proved hard to realise as funding for more longer-term recovery and reconstruction was scarce. Regarding Monitoring and Evaluation, the study finds that larger INGOs involved in the response developed monitoring framework that were based on the INEE Minimum Standards in some cases. Smaller national NGOs had weak capacity to meet monitoring standards set by UNICEF. A key finding and recommendation is that there was no sector-wide monitoring and reporting framework, while this would have strengthened coordination and the quality of response. Monitoring and evaluation was furthermore weak on qualitative aspects such as the impact of teacher training and capacity building.

5.6   UPCOMING RESEARCH IN THIS FIELD

A new **Research for Results in Education programme (R4R)** in Lebanon[22] will generate evidence on student and teacher performance across school types as the basis for policy recommendations to strengthen the efficiency and quality of education services by public, private, and non-state providers. The R4R Programme combines research on the education services delivered at the school level with a system-wide analysis and a communication and stakeholder engagement plan.

The **EC-funded IMPACT programme in South Sudan** is an example of donor engagement in the area of teacher payment and management systems that includes both the provision of resources for teacher salaries, as well as the development of a teacher management information system. The programme has a nationwide focus, and the Ministry of Education is closely involved in programme governance and maintains a technical oversight role through monthly meetings. Implementation started in April 2017. Relevant lessons learnt may be produced in the near future.

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