

EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES IN SOUTH ASIA

Reducing the Risks Facing Vulnerable Children

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Reducing the Risks Facing
Vulnerable Children

**Centre for International Education and Research (CIER),
School of Education, University of Birmingham, UK
and
UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia**

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Contents

Foreword	vii
Acknowledgements	ix
Executive Summary	xi
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Background to the research	1
1.2 Methodology	3
1.3 Our approach to vulnerabilities	3
2. Complex Vulnerabilities	6
2.1 Groups or clusters of vulnerability	6
2.1.1 <i>Gender-related disadvantage</i>	6
2.1.2 <i>Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and refugees</i>	7
2.1.3 <i>Minority groups/caste/ethnicity</i>	8
2.1.4 <i>Economically disadvantaged</i>	9
2.1.5 <i>The invisible</i>	10
2.1.6 <i>Differently affected</i>	10
2.2 Educational sites and personnel	11
2.3 Multiple vulnerability	12
2.4 Hidden or forgotten disasters	13
3. Learning Spaces	15
3.1 Child-seeking	16
3.2 Child-friendly	18
3.3 Child-enabling	19
3.4 Watchpoints	21
3.5 Underlying principles	22
4. Matrix of Strategies	24
4.1 The summary matrix	24
4.2 Timing and phases	28
4.3 Monitoring	30
5. Conclusion – Potential Innovations	33
5.1 Issues and concepts	33
5.1.1 <i>Scale and priority</i>	33
5.1.2 <i>Forward looking – building capacities, not ‘return’ and ‘rehabilitation’</i>	34
5.1.3 <i>‘Outsider’ and ‘insider’ perceptions of risk, ‘emergency’, vulnerability and needs</i>	34
5.1.4 <i>Industrial disasters and environmental victims (including military pollution)</i>	35
5.1.5 <i>Emergency as opportunity</i>	35

5.2 Future developments	38
5.2.1 <i>Neutrality</i>	38
5.2.2 <i>Long-term post-emergency strategies</i>	38
5.2.3 <i>'Up-system' education</i>	39
5.2.4 <i>Regional strategies</i>	40
6. Bibliography and References	41

COUNTRY STUDIES

Afghanistan	55
1. Emergencies	55
2. Vulnerabilities	55
3. Strategies	58
4. Issues	58
Bangladesh	61
1. Emergencies	61
2. Vulnerabilities	62
3. Strategies	65
4. Issues	68
Bhutan	70
1. Emergencies	70
2. Vulnerabilities	70
3. Strategies	71
4. Issues	72
India	73
1. Emergencies	73
2. Vulnerabilities	73
3. Strategies	75
4. Issues	76
Maldives	79
1. Emergencies	79
2. Vulnerabilities	79
3. Strategies	81
4. Issues	83
Nepal	85
1. Emergencies	85
2. Vulnerabilities	85
3. Strategies	89
4. Issues	93
Pakistan	96
1. Emergencies	96
2. Vulnerabilities	97
3. Strategies	99
4. Issues	100

Sri Lanka	102
1. Emergencies	102
2. Vulnerabilities	102
3. Strategies	104
4. Issues	107

ANNEXES

Annex 1 People and Organizations Visited	113
Annex 2 Schedule of Interview Questions	118
Annex 3 Annotated List of Existing Toolkits and Manuals Related to Education, Vulnerability and Emergencies	119

Foreword

Much has been written about marginalized and underprivileged groups in the context of social inclusion. Many children, especially girls, are denied their right to education either because they are never enrolled in school, or forced to drop out at an early age. It is also widely recognized that emergencies make such children even more vulnerable to the loss of their education, whether these emergencies are conflict-related, natural or man-made disasters.

Children rarely suffer from a single vulnerability. A girl from a rural area is likely to come from a poor family; a street child may also be an orphan; refugee children, who have lost all feeling of security, are particularly vulnerable to violence and – again, especially girls – sexual abuse. Caste and ethnicity in many countries in the South Asia region add dimensions that interweave with all other factors.

Vulnerability is a complex issue. Every vulnerable group in every country is different, and emergencies often create newly vulnerable groups, such as orphans, refugees and internally displaced families. As a result, there is no 'one-size-fits-all' solution. Nonetheless, the needs of vulnerable children are rarely disaggregated.

The present research study is perhaps unique in providing this much-needed disaggregation, both by vulnerable groups and by individual countries in the South Asia region. Each country in the region is currently experiencing or has recently suffered one or more emergency. Nevertheless, each emergency is different, and is set in the context of different country scenarios, and so each country requires a tailored solution.

The study looks at clusters of vulnerability and notes that several vulnerabilities typically affect each individual child. The report reminds us that not all disasters are due to the forces of nature, with industrial accidents sometimes causing as much or more damage as natural disasters. The report underlines that schools and other learning spaces are vitally important for all children during disasters and emergencies. While access to school, of itself, does not address the specific needs of vulnerable children, it does provide a safe environment through which more focused strategies can be developed and individual needs can be addressed.

The eight individual country studies presented provide in-depth analyses of the circumstances and complexities in each country, together with suggested strategies for reducing vulnerabilities. The report also notes that disasters and emergencies frequently offer opportunities for longer-term change for increased enrolment, improved facilities and equality in schools. The study provides country-based examples of how this is happening in South Asia.

We hope that this valuable research, which provides a conceptual approach for application before, during and after emergency situations, will be read and used by policymakers and field workers at regional, national and local levels to enhance risk reduction for vulnerable groups.



Daniel Toole
Regional Director



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From Centre for International Education and Research (CIER), University of Birmingham

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From UNICEF ROSA

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Executive Summary

There are widely differing statistics on the numbers of out-of-school children across the globe, but nonetheless it is agreed as a huge problem, particularly in poor countries. A large proportion of these children are out of school because of conflict or other emergency, and many more of them are girls than boys.

While there is much documentation on the impact of conflict on education, and acknowledgement of the importance of rebuilding and reforming education during and after emergencies, there is little that distinguishes the needs of particular groups (or individuals) except at broad levels.

This research was therefore commissioned by UNICEF in order to identify those whose education is the most vulnerable in times of emergency and to suggest ways of reducing this vulnerability. The research is intended to stimulate discussion on future action.

Specifically, the research had the following terms of reference:

- To identify those whose education is potentially vulnerable in times of emergencies, from the wider literature and from national data in South Asia.
- To document policies and institutional arrangements within governments and agencies within the region for reaching existing identified disadvantaged groups during and after emergencies.
- To review literature on the impact of emergencies on vulnerable groups and tools to overcome it.
- To suggest tools for monitoring/tracking children at risk of dropping out of education.
- Develop a matrix of evidence-based risk reduction measures for vulnerable/ disadvantaged groups to lessen the impact of a future emergency – conflict and natural disasters.

The research was conducted by a team from the Centre for International Education and Research (CIER) at University of Birmingham, through literature reviews and through visits to selected countries of the South Asia region to interview key people and visit educational sites. Local researchers in seven of the eight countries also assisted in the study. The study was intended to provide a **conceptual overview** as well as a **synthesis of practical strategies**. Eight country studies were developed, from which the evidence was drawn for the matrix of strategies and potential innovations.

Vulnerability is a highly complex and interwoven issue. It is possible to list the intersections of different sorts of potential vulnerabilities – gender, ethnicity, poverty, disability, displaced, etc. – but, clearly, none on its own is a particular predictor, and different combinations become salient in different contexts and at different times. Emergencies often act as a magnifier for pre-existing disadvantage or for discrimination as well as creating new vulnerable groups, such as orphans, refugees and IDPs. The findings on **complex vulnerabilities** as they relate to education in emergencies are outlined in the study under six headings:

- Gender-related disadvantage
- Internally Displaced Persons and Refugees
- Minority groups/caste/ethnicity

- Economically disadvantaged
- The invisible
- The differently affected.

These groupings clearly intersect in different ways in different locations, although many common patterns were found. Vulnerabilities in terms of **educational sites**, including problems of **educational personnel**, are also outlined. But the ability to identify the various configurations of vulnerabilities does not necessarily lead to strategy to tackle these.

The task of reducing educational vulnerability in children can be summarized as:

- **Making them visible**
- **Making them safe**
- **Making them capable**

The overall principle is that of non-exclusion, but also then enhancing capability for the future. The premise is that by creating and building on 'good' schools or learning spaces, founded on the rights of the child, the vulnerable will be more likely to have their concerns addressed.

While some targeted interventions are possible and important, there should equally be a focus on the supply side of education, providing good learning spaces or schools for all, and 'building back better', in order to ensure inclusion of the vulnerable and promote capability.

This task translates roughly into three emphases, or domains, within education – that learning spaces should be:

- **Child-seeking** (finding out who is not in school before, during or after emergency, and encouraging them to come or to return)
- **Child-friendly** (schools that are inclusive, advocate human rights, promote child-centred learning methods, are gender-responsive and are actively engaged with the community)
- **Child-enabling** (schools that provide skills and capacities for personal survival and for future prevention or mitigation of disaster, including political skills)

Four major principles cut across these three domains: neutrality, participation, flexibility and value-added.

These domains clearly overlap; however, they may well be linked into the phases of humanitarian aid in and post-emergency, looking at immediate needs and then longer-term strategies, while acknowledging that conflict is never linear, and that disaster can strike again. The report develops a matrix of strategies for each of the domains, providing both general strategies and specific or targeted strategies.

Questions of **sensitivity** are crucial, and a further matrix is developed delineating urgent versus long-term and controversial versus non-controversial strategies. Urgent controversial strategies include AIDS awareness, contraception, demilitarization of children and avoiding occupational hazards; while long-term controversial strategies include swimming lessons for Muslim girls, gender neutral vocational training, family planning, rights and challenging abuse of power.

Common issues and concepts emerged across the case studies, some of which are not very evident in the mainstream literature. Relevant questions raised include:

- How is an ‘emergency’ **defined** and **classified**?
- Do media stereotypes of vulnerability, and ‘sexy’ areas of work for NGOs, often **mask** less obvious but more widespread vulnerabilities such as post-conflict domestic and school violence, or the sexual abuse of boys?
- How do perceptions of **time** differ? When does an emergency begin and end?
- Do locations of **strategic importance which reflect political interests** often receive more attention and support after a disaster than communities with less influence and power?
- Why are emergencies and disasters usually conceived as circumstances that affect a **large group** of people? Family and personal disasters – like a fire and collapse of a house, or social banishment for not following cultural norms such as not giving a young daughter in marriage – do not attract the same level of response. Yet the vulnerability can be greater, especially in relation to adverse impacts on education.
- At State levels, is most emphasis put on repairing and developing **physical infrastructure**?
- To what degree is the international response to major disasters influenced by **geopolitics**?

There is a need to balance the emphasis between the mega-emergencies, those which are ‘politically correct’, and those to which the response may be partly driven by a desire to attract donors. Priorities should more clearly reflect the degree of vulnerability and suffering of the ‘*peoples* of the United Nations’.

The concepts of **return, resettlement, recovery, revitalization** and **rehabilitation** are common, but seem to go against the ‘**build back better**’ ethos. ‘Rehabilitating’ children is often similarly fraught. Hopefully, unless the cost is prohibitive, there will *not* be a return to a form of infrastructure, school management or lifestyles that compounded the problems caused by the natural disaster, for example bullying, violence, poor school construction, or exclusion of specific groups from life-saving knowledge, e.g. girls and STDs.

In addition, some people may not want to return to poor environmentally degraded areas, or communities that they were not part of, or which were alienating them for not accepting harmful cultural norms. Schools can be seen as complicit in enforced return for political reasons.

While emergencies can and do increase vulnerability, they can also offer **opportunities for longer-term change** in terms of equality and quality of provision. A key aspect of emergency as opportunity is the acceptance of the **suspension of cultural and other norms**, if they are an impediment to providing emergency assistance. From this study, there are many local reports of girls and boys, or low caste and high caste children, interacting in education projects in ways that were deemed unacceptable previously. The assistance to the earthquake victims at Bam, Iran, by USAID, and the Indian aid to Pakistan for the 2005 earthquake, are contemporary macro-examples.

The phrase ‘build back better’ does not refer just to physical infrastructure. The ‘tyranny of the urgent’ should become replaced with medium and long-term strategies which protect children as children and in future as adults. Some examples where the possibility of an emergency can enable creative and protective teaching include:

- If there is ethnic conflict and discrimination in society which is represented in the school by possible ethnic tensions, then the emergency preparedness curriculum would explore not just physical preparation in earthquakes or cyclones, but the principle of **mutual assistance** in time of need.
- The message is that an emergency will override social barriers, and that if we want to be helped, we should help others. Thinking about disaster enables a clearer picture of the need for **reciprocity** than just doing anti-racist work or simply telling children to love one another.
- In India, it was felt that there were positive outcomes from **groups learning together** who would normally be segregated by class, caste or location. An important message is that everybody can make a difference, however small, which helps students' sense of agency.
- The IASC Gender Handbook similarly points out that emergency can be a time to show and teach the value of **respect for women**. In Sri Lanka, an examination of the textbooks found gender stereotyping, and prior to reprinting post-tsunami, the MoE eliminated this.

This study has emphasized capabilities as well as protection, and these capabilities are not just personal in terms of survival, but are capabilities in participating in civil society and building secure societies.

Many international NGOs and donors exit when the immediate impacts of an emergency have been stabilized, but education often requires a **longer-term form of intervention**, and systems to link the emergency response with the ongoing mainstream services. Relevant areas include the following:

- **Retention** of children in school sometimes seems more problematic than basic enrolment. Return home from camps sometimes means the end of school attendance.
- **Integrating** children into school is often fraught because this can only happen at one or two points during the year. If children have to wait 11 months for entrance, they are likely to find rewarding alternatives in the labour market, and the window of opportunity for reintegration is lost. UNICEF and other agencies might lobby for an international change of practice, based on the Right to Education.
- After emergencies, particularly war, there are '**lost generations**' of older young people whose education has been disrupted. These young people are often invisible to education planning because they do not fit the system, yet their needs are significant. UNICEF and other agencies might advocate for special remedial provision for lost generations, or encourage the non-formal and private sectors to respond to this need.
- Emergency relief measures and reconstruction can also contribute to reproducing and exacerbating vulnerability, including access to education. Schools and projects are not automatically 'safe spaces' for children in the aftermath of an emergency. Responses can create **iatrogenic impacts** – the cures that cause illness. The post-emergency response needs to be aware of and able to respond to this, but often mainstream state provision reflects a 'business as usual' ethos. Research about the nature and causes of iatrogenic impacts, and feedback into the emergency response system, would be a valuable preventive strategy.

Disasters and emergencies do not respect national borders. One of the distinct strategic advantages of UN and some other organizations working in emergencies is that they can take a **regional rather than national perspective**, when appropriate. This strength might be developed, but not just in terms of the usual UN concept of a region as a collection of adjacent countries. Considerations include:

- **Cross-border families** are often marginalized, and sometimes ostracized, in emergencies, because it is not clear who has responsibility for them. Even NGO programmes are often nationally rooted, and have difficulty using resources and providing services a few kilometres across a border.
- Sometimes in emergencies the nearest necessary public services are across a border. Access to the **nearest appropriate service** might be facilitated.
- Refugees are often held in border regions, for political reasons, and become completely cut off from families and other social networks, at a time when this form of support is vital. Good **communication facilities** in these centres are needed, e.g. assistants to write confidentially for illiterate people, effective electronic communications, and in recipient communities the transfer to paper format and delivery to families and others.
- In relation to the education of migrant returnees, UN personnel might formally **accredit educational experiences** and achievements, and provide educational profiles of children ('international school reports') in relevant languages, if the national system is unable to accredit attainments in emergency settings or national certificates are not accepted in other countries. Similarly, if children have lost previous school certificates and reports, agencies might help families to create portfolios of educational experiences – which schools/projects were attended, what subjects were taken, etc.
- In emergencies, **'regions' are often physical, not geopolitical**, for example coastal communities in two or three adjacent countries, hill communities across mountain ranges, towns around the epicentre of an earthquake. Risky chemical plants and nuclear power stations are often sited near borders or on the coast, and vectors of pollution cross borders.

The eight **country studies** of the South Asia region are provided in a separate section of the report. Each takes the same format, identifying the causes of vulnerability, the types of vulnerability, strategies to deal with these, and issues arising. These provide the localized evidence and detail which have informed the previous sections, and generated the conceptual frameworks.

Finally, the report provides an annotated set of **toolkits and manuals** which relate to education, vulnerability and emergencies, and can be used for further study of specific aspects of risk reduction for vulnerable groups.

Introduction

1.1 Background to the research

This research had the following terms of reference:

- To identify those whose education is potentially vulnerable in times of emergencies, from the wider literature and from national data in South Asia.
- To document policies and institutional arrangements within governments and agencies within the region for reaching existing identified disadvantaged groups during and after emergencies.
- To review literature on the impact of emergencies on vulnerable groups and tools to overcome it.
- To suggest tools for monitoring/tracking children at risk of dropping out of education.
- To develop a matrix of evidence-based risk reduction measures for vulnerable/disadvantaged groups to lessen the impact of a future emergency – conflict and natural disasters.

The research was conducted by a team from the Centre for International Education and Research (CIER) at the University of Birmingham, July–October 2008, through literature reviews and through visits to selected countries of the South Asia region to interview key people and visit educational sites. Local researchers in seven of the eight countries¹ also assisted in the study. The study was intended to provide a conceptual overview as well as a synthesis of practical strategies, in order to stimulate discussion on future action. A relatively 'outsider' role from the research team was also to enable a 'neutral' stance in interviewing, rather than one coming from a specific NGO.

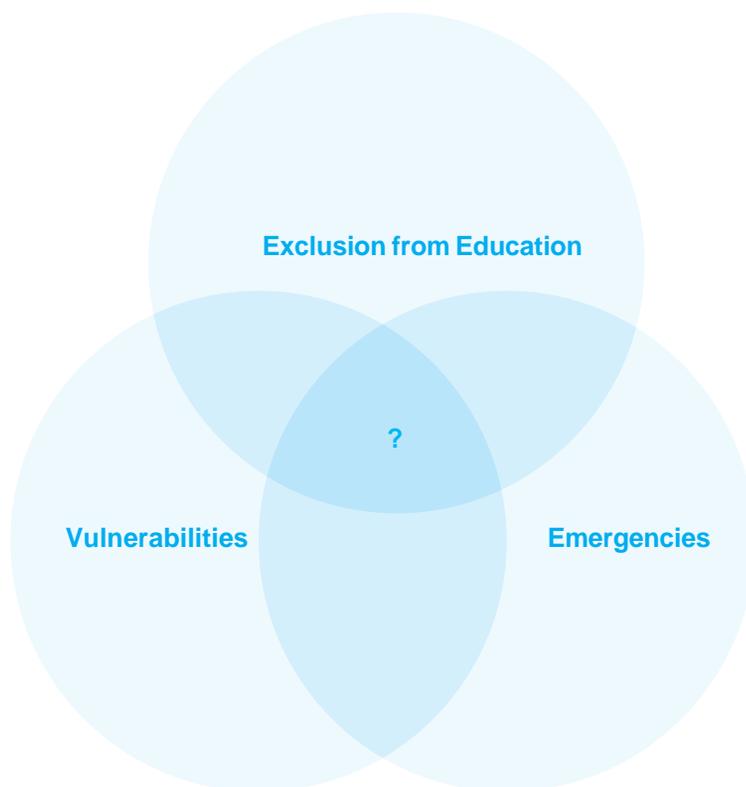
The audience for the study is programme managers in agencies or governments, particularly those concerned in trying to systematize reaching out to the vulnerable in and around times of emergency. Much of what is in the study will be very familiar to those already working in the field; but it is not always synthesized across countries, nor placed in a conceptual framework. The originality of the research was that while there is much documentation on the impact of conflict on education, and acknowledgement of the importance of rebuilding and reforming education during and after emergencies, there is little that distinguishes the needs of particular groups (or individuals) except at broad levels; it was felt that interventions tended to be blanket ones which did not take cognizance of nuanced and complex combinations of disadvantage. The focus was to be those who are likely to drop out of school (or not begin at all) and otherwise lose educational opportunities in contexts of emergency. The question was, who might we be missing when education projects and reconstruction happen?

There are widely differing statistics on the numbers of out-of-school children across the globe, which depend on the definitions used and the methodology employed. Nonetheless it is agreed as a huge problem, particularly in poor countries. Figures range from 72 million (Save the Children, 2008d) to 162 million (UNESCO, 2005a), but with agreement that there are more girls than boys out of school.

¹ *Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka (but not Afghanistan).*

While figures are produced that indicate a large proportion (e.g. 37 million) living in 'conflict-affected fragile states', or stating that 43 million children are out of school because of conflict, it is difficult to find the source of such statistics or how they are arrived at. The UNESCO survey on *Children Out of School* used household surveys to establish who the out-of-school children were in different countries, and showed that these were more likely to be girls, have mothers with no education, in the poorest 20 per cent of households, in rural areas and with orphan status. However, the study made only one mention of conflict, in the context of Somalia and Ethiopia, and none of natural disaster or emergency. Hence there is a definite gap in knowledge on the precise impact of emergency on the likelihood of children being out of school, and for how long. Agencies will make estimates of the number of children not being in school in a locality after an emergency such as a tsunami (Oxfam, 2005), but we do not know how this relates to how many were not in school anyway, or who will never return.

The UNICEF Annual *State of the World's Children* Report 2006 entitled *Excluded and Invisible* (UNICEF, 2006) does talk of armed conflict escalating the risk of exclusion from school for children. It then goes on to consider the various general factors in exclusion – income inequalities, rural areas, girls, ethnic discrimination, disability, etc., but does not say how particular vulnerabilities to exclusion are affected by conflict. This study therefore puts together three overlapping areas of focus, which are not always considered together in terms of their intersections:



1.2 Methodology

The workplan for the study involved a combination of desk research and fieldwork, and a combination of insider and outsider perspectives. The process followed the following stages:

- Identification of a conceptual framework and research questions through documentary analysis.
- Fieldwork in-country by local researchers identified through CIER and UNICEF networks. The fieldwork included interviews with stakeholders, including NGOs and governmental organizations, based on a schedule of questions (see Annex 2). Local literature was surveyed, and a country report prepared.
- Visits by CIER team members to four countries (Nepal, India, Maldives and Sri Lanka) to gather data and to visit key sites of promising practice.
- Ongoing review of literature to inform the conceptual framework and to add to the data on policy and practice. Literature included theoretical papers, national and agency policy documents, local and comparative research reports, and toolkits and other practical resources.

This report is based on this process, with feedback on its contents from UNICEF staff across the region and from the local researchers. It was interesting to uncover divergent interpretations from among the interviewees and among those giving feedback – not so much on who were the vulnerable children, but on the origins of strategies or programmes and on the success of these. In the report and in the country studies we have tried to indicate where a statement derives from the view of one or more interviewees and where it is found in literature. We were aware that newspaper reports may exaggerate dramatic events and aftermaths. The aim was not so much to make judgements on the quality of the evidence in any case or from any source, but to surface as wide a range as possible of ideas and instances.

1.3 Our approach to vulnerabilities

All the literature and interview data will confirm that vulnerability is a highly complex and interwoven issue. It is possible to list the intersections of different sorts of potential vulnerabilities – gender, ethnicity, poverty, disability, displaced, etc. – and all the various toolkits will do this. Clearly, none on its own is a particular predictor, and different combinations become salient in different contexts and at different times. Emergencies often act as a magnifier for pre-existing disadvantage or for discrimination as well as creating new vulnerable groups, such as orphans, refugees and IDPs (Save the Children, 2008c). These are well known, and this study does not aim simply to rehearse the lists or even restate the real or hypothetical combinations (poor, low caste girls, or HIV positive, displaced, illiterate youth and so on). The focus of this study is education, and this report will use this as a cohesive reference point in proposing strategy. The Hyogo Framework for Action 2005–15 articulates a worldwide consensus that disaster risk reduction is an integral part of sustainable human development, not a side issue of limited, technical interest or concern (Wisner, 2006). Priority 3 of the Hyogo Framework focuses on education to build a culture of safety and resilience.² This study

² *Hyogo Framework for Action 2000–2015: Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters.* <http://www.unisdr.org/wcdr/intergover/official-doc/L-docs/Hyogo-framework-for-action-english.pdf>.

understands resilience to include the capacity to respond, to recover and to prevent disaster wherever possible, and will make a particular emphasis on such capability.

There are many tools and sets of guidelines already available which relate to education in emergencies or to vulnerability. This research has taken note of these, and an annotated list of some of the tools available, and how they relate to the concerns of this study, is given in Annex 3. On examining the tools, it is possible to identify a need for this research and its focus, as the tools can be very general – or, when identifying complex types of vulnerability, merely give a list of questions for agencies to ask, rather than propose specific strategies to deal with complex intersections. Tools will also borrow from each other in compiling lists or providing data. Where the existing tools do provide evidence or relevant detail, these have been incorporated into this text.

We start from the definition of ‘emergencies’ from the United Nations Report *Right to Education in Emergency Situations* (UN Human Rights Council, 2008):

‘Emergencies’ are any crisis situation due to natural causes such as earthquake, tsunami, flood or hurricane, or to armed conflict, which may be international (including military occupation) or internal, as defined in international humanitarian law, or post-conflict situations, which impair or violate the right to education, impede its development or hold back its realization.

We would however want to acknowledge two points: first, that ‘natural’ disasters have also man-made components, which relate to the different socially structured vulnerabilities before and afterwards, as well as elements of causation or lack of prevention of the disaster; and second that natural and man-made may intersect, as when a natural disaster occurs in a conflict zone. This is further compounded by the ‘slow disasters’, such as land erosion. The phrase ‘complex emergencies’ is often used for the situations that are man-made and compounded by a natural disaster.

The study aims to be practical and realistic in terms of what is proposed. Another reason for focusing directly on schools or other learning spaces is the difficulty of monitoring. Ideally, as many sets of guidelines suggest, there should be data collected routinely *before* an emergency, so that there is knowledge of who should be in school, with data broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, community, the marginalized, etc. (e.g. UNICEF, 2007). The reality is that this data may be very suspect or non-existent, and may anyway be destroyed in the emergency unless there are central or electronic records. This study did not find many examples of such routine preparedness by NGOs or government offices and of their use in strategy.

There are even more difficulties of establishing who constitute the out-of-school in a particular country or locality: by definition, they are not visible to educational authorities, or their attendance may be partial or sporadic. While it is possible to conduct sample surveys of households in a community to find out how many children are in and out of school (as suggested by INEE, 2004), it is doubtful whether (particularly in an emergency) this is a valuable use of time; and also the data is hugely temporary, depending on availability of food or work which may determine whether children go to school or, at a particular time, are seen as more useful elsewhere. While it is useful to compose lists of children in and out of school, in an emergency other families may move in, some children may move out, and the list does not reflect the number of school-age children in that locality any more. In many countries across the world there is a ‘missing generation’ who

have never been to school, having been recruited as child soldiers, or having been confined to the home. However, we do give examples of monitoring which has been successful in and after emergencies, and summarize these in Chapter 4.3.

This study therefore has four parts as well as substantive Annexes. The first part (Chapter 2) summarizes the major combinations of vulnerabilities which are derived from the wider literature and from the case studies, but in terms of those educational vulnerabilities which become more evident in emergency. The second (Chapter 3) proposes a model of educational strategy with three emphases (child-seeking, child-friendly, child-enabling) which would address vulnerabilities as well as ‘building back better’ (UNICEF, 2005a) for *all* children after an emergency. The third part (Chapter 4) centres round a summary matrix of measures which arise from Chapters 2 and 3, which does identify particular targeted groups, linked to educational strategies. It also explores questions of timing or phases, and of monitoring. The final conclusion focuses on potential innovations in the conceptualization of education in emergencies, and identifies elements of the ‘strategic niche’ for non-governmental organizations.

The eight country studies of the South Asia region are provided in a separate section of the report. Each takes the same format, identifying the causes of vulnerability, the types of vulnerability, strategies to deal with these, and issues arising. These provide the localized evidence and detail which have informed the previous sections, and generated the conceptual frameworks.

Complex Vulnerabilities

This chapter first identifies groups or clusters who would be particularly vulnerable educationally in an emergency. This does not catalogue all vulnerabilities in these groups, but tries to restrict it to existing disadvantage which might be exacerbated by emergency or new vulnerabilities created by disaster. It then looks at 'educational sites' which are also vulnerable in themselves, or which might contribute to vulnerability. It draws attention to the intersection of multiple vulnerabilities, but also signals the notion of emergency as an opportunity, which is taken up in Chapter 5. The chapter also draws attention to hidden or forgotten emergencies.

2.1 Groups or clusters of vulnerability

2.1.1 Gender-related disadvantage

It would be generally agreed that girls as a broad category are at greater risk during an emergency, because of traditional gender disadvantage. 'Normal' patriarchal cultures are strengthened during emergencies, as people seek comfort in routine relations, roles and hierarchies. If girls are routinely denied access to education, this is unlikely to change. Afghanistan, for example, is traditionally seen as a site of educational difficulties for girls (although in Kabul they currently attend schools and projects freely). The links of gender disadvantage with poverty and economic vulnerability are well documented (Mujahid-Mukhtar, 2008). Cultural barriers often cited are limited roles for girls and women, differential treatment of girls in nutrition and health, men viewed as breadwinners, a male dominated education system, gender-differentiated child-rearing practices, low status of women, lack of knowledge of the social and personal benefits of education, gender stereotyping and threat of sexual violence (UNICEF, 2007).

Specific areas related to emergency in many or all countries which have been highlighted in this study would be:

- *Early marriage* (girls are pushed into marriage because of fragile and insecure situations, increased poverty, death of bread-winning relatives, and therefore they leave school). After war, there are fewer men, so girls are pushed into polygamous marriages (as in Afghanistan), but conversely, therefore, men are forced to accept more than one wife. Older people have not adapted their norms to accept single unattached women, as in other post-conflict locations. In Nepal, children, especially girls, whose parents remarry are seen as more vulnerable in this second marriage.
- *Child labour* (sons recruited in conflict, the need to work, displacement causing vulnerability to be incorporated into trafficking and sex trade). Domestic labour, normally girls, is often not viewed as 'child labour' although this can prevent school attendance.
- Boys are more likely to receive *kits and educational materials* because of 'normal' male preference in and out of schools (interview data, Nepal).
- *Protectionism/lack of independence*. In the context of the tsunami, in the Maldives secondary schools do not exist on every island, and parents may be reluctant to send their daughters to neighbouring islands for fear of pregnancy and also fear of sexual abuse. In cyclones in Bangladesh, many women died while waiting for their relatives to return home and accompany them to a safe place.

- *Abuse.* Sexual abuse, rape, gang rape and physical abuse all get worse in the camps and in situations of emergency with the breakdown of law and order and lack of supervision. Men experiencing loss of status are more likely to engage in domestic violence.
- *Trafficking* for prostitution increases, particularly post-emergency when police or security force protection is withdrawn (interview data, Nepal). During conflict, boys may be recruited or taken for enforced labour. Kidnapping and abduction are a threat as well as trafficking.
- *Religious taboos and misinformation.* Oxfam reported that in some cases in the tsunami the heavy and voluminous clothing worn by Muslim women and the cultural barriers that prevent girls from learning to swim contributed to the death by drowning of many women and girls. The same clothing also restricted some women from running to high places or from climbing trees. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many men survived by doing just this. There are reports from many of the tsunami-affected countries of Muslim women who perished because they were too afraid to leave their home with their head uncovered. Conversely, in some cases the waves were so strong that women were stripped of their clothing and there are reports of naked women refusing to climb into rescue boats manned by males from their villages (Pittaway *et al.*, 2007).
- *Marginalization* of females during humanitarian and reconstruction efforts after the tsunami, with lack of consultation about needs and with response efforts almost exclusively headed by male staff. Refuges and camps often showed little regard for women's health, safety and privacy.

However, gender-related disadvantage does not always mean girls come off worst: in conflict, boys may be more likely to be recruited as child soldiers, and hence lose schooling; in economic difficulties caused by disaster, they may be taken out of school because they have greater earning power. Conversely, there is evidence from Nepal that females joining insurgent groups (e.g. Maoists) may experience higher status there and participation in decision making, and that in this sense, conflict has increased rather than decreased female status. Much depends on their role, whether combatants, supporters or dependents (Plan, 2008a). While an ex-combatant woman may enjoy a more equal status within a relationship or marriage with another ex-combatant, when an unmarried woman otherwise wants to return to her family or community she is seen as 'spoiled', as she would not have been protected in the same way as non-combatants growing up in traditional or conservative cultures.

2.1.2 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and refugees

While these groups which can be caused by an emergency are clearly vulnerable generally, there is sometimes a difference relative to other groupings in that they are identifiable, and that they receive help. In some countries, those formally identified as IDPs may be the more fortunate ones, as they can claim assistance, including educational support. They are visible in the camps, whereas the 'lone IDPs' who are fleeing a personal emergency, or who do not have the political knowledge to claim official IDP status, can suffer problems of discrimination or exclusion in a new community. IDPs may not want to, or be unable to, return to their own communities, and have resettled: at what point do they cease to be IDPs, especially in normally nomadic societies where there is much seasonal migration for work?

Specific issues relating to education and emergency are:

- Internal displacement exposes children to forced military recruitment; they may become direct targets in the conflict or be subject to unequal or biased educational service provision (Sri Lanka).

- Refugees suddenly become a minority, with loss of status and position; there is lack of choice, including educational choice. Afghan refugees in Pakistan complain that they are given very little choice about where to live – the camps nearer Afghanistan cannot guarantee security, and food or shelter cannot be guaranteed in Peshawar. There are the well-documented issues of language and curriculum of their new schools, as well as problems of ‘return’. Afghan refugees in Pakistan for example are now being sent back, causing a highly uncertain situation for them with all this movement.
- There is pressure on remaining schools after an emergency to accept more children, which means larger classes, therefore a decrease in quality and in drop-out for all children. ‘Hosting’ refugees amounts to an education emergency in affected communities, with jealousies and feelings that incomers drain resources or hold ‘our’ children back. Refugees may have services that the surrounding communities lack.
- Children and families may move several times before settling in one place where they could stay more than six months. If they go to school, children drop out continuously when they cannot keep up or catch up. Older children may be forced to learn with younger children, to match their perceived learning levels, which causes distress and a lack of self-esteem.
- Security in the camps is a problem (see above), as is health, for example with cholera in Pakistan.
- Relocated communities in the tsunami can suffer: in Sri Lanka, various buffer zones in the coastal areas were established to impose limits on where people could live after the tsunami, but some were far from the sea, and parents tend not to send children to school in these circumstances, as this could show acceptance of the unsatisfactory situation.
- Refugee and IDP children may be more subject to abuse and trafficking; children living with ‘host’ families are more likely to be abused.
- There can be drug and alcohol problems of parents (and children) in IDP camps.

2.1.3 Minority groups/caste/ethnicity

In all countries there are pre-existing patterns of social stratification based on ethnicity, caste, tribe or clan. These are highly linked to social class and socio-economic status. Emergencies will tend to mean that low status groups are further disadvantaged or discriminated against, as power to attract resources is not evenly distributed. Conflict may be between different ethnic groups, or with a majority group and there is rarely a win–win resolution of the conflict; even if the conflict is not directly related to ethnic or other status, as in natural disasters, the lack of capacity to claim rights and resources post-conflict means more polarization. Areas under conflict may find it more difficult to respond to natural disasters, as has been reported for reconstruction after the tsunami in LTTE-controlled areas of Sri Lanka. Recommendations for action suggest projects focusing on a specific group, e.g. safe play areas for children from a specific ethnic group, or education facilities for a specific religious group (Save the Children, 2008a), although there is a danger of focusing, say, on one caste which may cause attitudes to that group to harden.

Specific educational examples would be:

- Caste in India and Nepal is a major discriminator, with restrictions and prejudice made worse in emergency. They receive less relief and are the last to have electricity and water restored during rehabilitation. Their neighbourhoods may be redeveloped for others’ use. Obviously this will affect education. Teachers in low status schools (e.g. predominantly Dalit) are less likely to return after conflict.

- ‘Other backward classes’ (OBCs)³ in India are also vulnerable, and may in fact constitute a majority of the population. Ethnic Nepali children suffer extreme discrimination in Bhutan: in southern Bhutan, where schools were closed during the unrest, recently re-opened schools prioritize admission for ‘real Bhutanese’ students.
- Muslims in India and Nepal are more likely to be poor and out of school. If displaced during emergencies, they may find it difficult to find appropriate schooling. Muslims in Buddhist areas in Sri Lanka may be disadvantaged. However, it is important to distinguish between different Muslim sects – for example, among Afghan refugees in Iran, Sunni children in a Shiite school were reported not to want to pray with other children, and would want to hide the fact that they were Sunni.
- Other ethnic groups and scheduled tribes may experience linguistic vulnerability as well as that on other axes. Examples would be Veddhas in Sri Lanka, as well as Tamil children in Sinhala areas and vice versa.

2.1.4 Economically disadvantaged

Poverty on its own is not always a predictor of vulnerability, and clearly combines with other axes of disadvantage. Emergencies will highlight these. While homelessness in disasters can affect families in every economic stratum, their social capital becomes crucial, as does the network of relatives and friends who can provide support.

- The poor are likely to have poorer quality housing, in poorer or lower lying land (or conversely in steep hills) which does not withstand floods, cyclones or earthquake; therefore they can be displaced or live in the open not near to a school. Animals too are not protected, and subject to loss. Food shortages are made worse by emergency, and may mean migration to urban areas to find work.
- The ‘coastal poor’ in countries like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka were attracted there by the range of resources that are accessible to them rather than other areas inland; but they may be unaware of the potential dangers. They may have no title to the land that they occupy, therefore constituting the ‘hidden poor’ and not recorded in statistics.
- Unemployment is clearly part of economic disadvantage: the poor are the first to lose their livelihoods as they work as day labourers in the fields; children therefore are occupied in scavenging for food or working as child labourers or child porters. They may be occupied in looking after smaller children while parents queue for food or handouts and try to rebuild their lives. Education is low on the list of priorities for economic survival, and poorer children return to school last. As parents face increased hardships and poverty as the result of slow-onset or recurrent natural disasters, the only option for parents may be to withdraw their children from school or send them out to work (Save the Children, 2008c).
- Rural children are more likely to be out of school, particularly when poor; natural disasters may mean that distances to the nearest school become even greater.

³ The Central Government of India classifies some of its citizens based on their social and economic condition as Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Other Backward Class (OBC). The OBC list is dynamic (castes and communities can be added or removed) and will change from time to time depending on social, educational and economic factors. For example, the OBCs are entitled to 27% reservations in public sector employment and higher education. In the constitution, OBCs are described as ‘socially and educationally backward classes’, and government is enjoined to ensure their social and educational development.

- The rapid recent increase in food prices in Bangladesh and elsewhere has had an impact on school attendance, both because children have become hungry and less attentive and because parents have been less able to meet educational expenses. Parents have also been forced to cut back on the use of kerosene for night lighting thereby reducing the evening study period for students (Raihan, 2008).

2.1.5 The invisible

Children without a formal identity (estimated to be 50 million globally) are never registered and therefore deprived of access to education. In emergencies, they have no claim to resources or proof of age when relocating. It is more difficult to resist recruitment into insurgent or security forces. Children of different ethnic groups may be deprived of nationality and identity.

- **Street children** may come under the category of invisible, as they are harder to track and monitor, and also may not be in formal school. However, there is a debate as to whether they are particularly vulnerable during emergencies, as they are used to surviving, and have personal and social resources which the newly homeless do not have.
- The **out-of-school** by definition tend to be more invisible. They are more vulnerable during emergencies, since, as in Sri Lanka, most of the educational and emergency provisions utilize schools, and the out-of-school tend to be invisible among service providers. The turning away of children in Afghanistan from orphanages, schools or projects can precipitate them being involved in the sex trade, as dancers or working with truck drivers.
- Those in **detention centres and prisons** may not receive help, although UNESCO Afghanistan has a de-institutionalization project. Children of prisoners suffer economic hardship as well as low self-esteem and alienation.
- **Returnees** who have been out of the country for a long while face educational issues of language, continuity and social integration, and most will not appear on official records.
- Children of **migrant and nomadic families** who migrate seasonally in search of work will often not appear on records.
- **Cross-border families** may wish to remain outside formal structures, particularly schools. The ancient Silk Road tradition has now been relabelled 'cross-border trade'; families may be criminalized as 'smugglers' or labelled as terrorists just because of their geopolitical history. The education of senior public officials about these groups is probably as important as educating the people themselves.
- Another form of wish to be invisible concerns those in Afghanistan who are at risk because of perceived **association with Western occupiers**, such as the UN, or other international aid agencies. Retribution can range from low-key harassment to killings.

2.1.6 Differently affected

This is a broad category of children who are differentially affected by emergency, or who have pre-existing conditions which may be exacerbated by emergency:

- **Those with disabilities.** Those with physical and mental disabilities are less likely to survive a disaster. Special facilities or education are not always prioritized during emergencies. Schools that refuse to take children with disabilities in 'normal' times are even less likely to accept them after an emergency. Children may have been injured by landmines, and all need landmine education.

- **Traumatized children.** Children experiencing conflict and witnessing the violent death of relatives and friends suffer a range of traumatic conditions. Children were scared of going back to schools after the tsunami, and even after four years were reported to be 'very jumpy' and emotionally unstable at school.
- **Orphans**, especially where there is lack of social welfare support. Absence of orphanages may be a problem, or conversely orphanages may be a site for abuse or trafficking of children. Agencies such as UNICEF and World Education may be against the institutionalization of children, including orphans, and there can be lack of integration mechanisms and support.
- **Child-headed households.** The child can be of either sex, but additional responsibilities (economic and caring) mean such children are unlikely to go to school.
- **Child soldiers and ex-combatants.** Such children have not just lost schooling, but may be traumatized as well as stigmatized on their return. They may be placed in classes inappropriate to their age.
- **Drug users** (living in badly bombed buildings in Kabul, for example). In the Maldives, there is strong social stigma against drugs and children will be expelled from school if caught with them. There are few rehabilitation centres or organizations to help them.
- **School failures.** Those who were failures before an emergency often use the crisis as an excuse to drop out of school.
- **War children or 'lost generation'** need to 'catch up' within rigid school systems which make this impossible. They may be jealous of the younger generation whose education was not disrupted, and fear the future.
- **Children in conflict zones.** There may be security checkpoints preventing access to school (also for their teachers) and/or danger of mines.
- **Children of prisoners** (criminal or political). These may suffer low esteem as well as economic hardship.
- **Children in detention centres and prisons** themselves. UNESCO runs a de-institutionalization project in Afghanistan, which also includes children in and from orphanages.
- **Children of sex workers.**
- **Children of the HIV affected** and from homes where there are **diseases such as leprosy.**

2.2 Educational sites and personnel

As well as the 'demand' side, it is possible to identify problems and increased disadvantage attached to the 'supply' side of education:

- **Schools being destroyed.** Schools (and higher education institutions) can collapse during earthquakes and cyclones, at worst with students and teachers still in them. In Nepal, buildings are mostly non-engineered and constructed in stages, without thought for earthquake safety measures. The National Society for Earthquake Technology (NSET) has a programme of retrofit or reconstruction of schools, but can reach only a small number. There is now a programme of mason training as well as earthquake safety measures.

However, a particular concern in physical school vulnerability is corruption in the contracts and the use of building materials, which make schools more likely to collapse in natural disasters. There are numerous examples of such corruption in Pakistan and China, and these can even persist after

the disaster. In Bangladesh, this was identified (in interview) as ‘building back worse’ rather than ‘building back better’. In China, authorities also asked parents not to complain about the buildings which caused the death or injury of their children, and offered them financial incentives. The experience of poor building standards also creates fear in children and parents on their return. Collapsing schools constitute an emergency in themselves (Harber, 2005).

- Schools used as shelters or taken over for IDPs, disrupting education.
- Schools built or rebuilt on ground where social distance is an issue. If the site is seen as a burial ground in the sense that people died there, it will not be popular. As one interviewee said, ‘The school is a graveyard for them.’
- Children not going to school for fear of being recruited into the militant groups there, or on their way.
- In the Maldives, if schools were destroyed on one island, there was reported to be sometimes reluctance to accept children into schools on other islands, although others were welcoming.
- Child labourers and domestic workers in their own home or others’ homes are hard to accommodate within standard projects or schools. Older children may be disruptive and are seen as ‘unlovable’ by staff.
- Temporary schools (and even permanent ones) may lack sanitary facilities which particularly put off girls as well as female teachers.

An important issue in the maintenance of vulnerability of certain groups constitutes the officials who manage the system and the schools. These will typically be male, dominant group, high caste and at least medium socio-economic status. They are likely to be the same groups during and after emergencies, and it may require a change in mind-sets to make them responsive to the notion of child-seeking or equitable schools. The question is what incentives are possible to make them change such mind-sets. How can a high caste teacher be persuaded to teach and interact with low-caste children? How can heads of School Management Committees be persuaded to allocate scholarships equitably? One study looked at the community-based education system in Nepal and found that the use of community-based School Improvement Plans brought the elites into the process, creating incentives and an interest in the process. The majority population were less willing to tolerate direct targeting of opportunities for Dalit girls, but would agree to strategies under the heading of ‘Education for All’ (Gardner and Subrahmanian, 2005). Chapter 5 documents some ‘up-system’ strategies for training and awareness of elites. Teacher education, whether emergency or ‘regular’ training, also needs work on inclusion and diversity.

2.3 Multiple vulnerability

Although it is possible to identify specific groupings or sites, as above, two important issues are immediately clear: first, they intersect in myriad ways within and across the clusters; and second, therefore, it is difficult to draw a boundary around ‘the vulnerable’ or even ‘the most vulnerable’. It is commented in the India report how, even if gender is taken out of the equation, much of the population is vulnerable. Caste alone is said to affect well over 50 per cent of the population, and while there are exceptions, Dalits are generally poor, disenfranchised, less educated and more subject to abuse. The vast majority of the population could be considered vulnerable, and if they are vulnerable along one parameter, they are much more likely to have multiple vulnerabilities. Everyone has what has been

called different ‘vulnerability bundles’ (Fulu, 2007), arising from the complex interplay of political, economic, social and ideological practices.

In recognition of the multi-dimensional nature of poverty, De Kruijk and Rutten (2007) have developed a Human Vulnerability Index in relation to the Maldives. This takes a series of living standard dimensions (income poverty, electricity, transport, communication, education, health, drinking water, consumer goods, housing, environment, food security and employment) and their indicators and weights them according to local perceptions of importance, thereby enabling progress (upwards and downwards) to be measured over time, between genders and by region within the Maldives. If poverty, gender and locality are key factors in disaster impact this allows for some element of emergency and post-emergency planning of all types, including that of education.

A third complication is that of time – when do emergencies begin and end (if they do) for those at risk? A vulnerable orphan might temporarily be looked after well by a family, but then becomes a drain on resources and is abandoned or exploited. Vulnerability is often associated with the perceived social ‘value’ of children (Zelizer, 1994), in practical terms for labour, or emotionally as post-emergency ‘victims’. This can change dramatically as social and economic priorities shift. Schools can provide a neutral agency to maintain and enhance the ‘value’ of children if their environment is sensitive.

2.4 Hidden or forgotten disasters

There seems to be a significant gap in the literature about education in emergencies, and in the field data from this study. There is virtually no mention of industrial disasters such as Union Carbide/Bhopal, nuclear industry/Chernobyl, large-scale mine disasters, and military pollution. The UN definition in the Introduction seems to exclude industrial disasters, and resultant environmental victims. Yet reports of industrial disasters show very distinct educationally related problems which may not occur in other forms of emergency. Perhaps this gap arises because governments are reluctant to promote an awareness of these forms of emergency, and that gap is ‘reproduced’ in the literature of international organizations. Another reason may be that the settings are unattractive to aid workers – decaying, polluted unhealthy concrete towns, with aggressive and apathetic populations – as compared, for example, with the coastal regions affected by a tsunami.

The Lapindo Brantas industrial disaster in Indonesia in 2006 led to heat mud covering 17 schools, 15 factory units, rice paddies, and caused 1677 IDPs. Victims are still negotiating about land rights and compensation (*Jakarta Post*, 2008). Robert Lifton’s research in Hiroshima indicated relevant aspects of ‘environmental victim syndrome’, which are also reported in other similar contexts (Williams, 1998), including:

- Alienation and bullying of children – by peers, teachers and communities – because they are seen as ‘contaminated’.
- Exclusion of children with conspicuous disabilities arising from the disaster, e.g. severe burns, facial disfigurements, loss of limbs, hair loss, psychological trauma.

- Spoiled marriage opportunities for girls (and perhaps boys) who are seen as contaminated and thought likely to be infertile or to produce babies with birth impairments.
- A deep mistrust of governments and public officials and public services.
- The rapid migration away from affected areas of teachers and other public service providers who can get jobs elsewhere.
- Social apathy, lack of initiative, lack of long-term thinking, impaired decision-making skills, breakdown of local governance (e.g. meetings of village elders), denial, false norms, and intellectual decline because of stress and depression or neurotoxic impacts.

Strategies and tools for emergencies ought to include this important issue of environmental disaster and pollution, but this is rare. There is one mention of a programme 'Educating children on technological risk reduction in Ahmedabad, India' in a special edition of the journal *Asian Disaster Management News* devoted to education (Rego and Roya, 2007), but everything else relates to natural disasters or conflict. While most of the large-scale industrial disasters have occurred outside the South Asia region of this study (apart from Bhopal), this does not mean they could not happen; for example, factory fires which release pollution could occur anywhere.

Whether disasters are recognized or not, including the 'man-made' aspects of the causes and impact of natural disasters, means even more complexity in vulnerability, but even more need for awareness in education at all levels and the building of capability to prevent such disasters and/or claim rights subsequently.

Learning Spaces

As the previous chapter concluded, the complexity and time dynamics of vulnerability make planning for precise interventions difficult. Paradoxically, the ability to identify and list the configuration of vulnerabilities within certain groups does not lead directly to strategy to deal with this. Especially during an emergency, it is not possible to start working out the variations (which sometimes come down to individual levels) in order to target intervention. The philosophy and conclusions from this research are that learning spaces (schools, temporary shelters, camps) are the places to begin analysis and identify strategy. Focusing on identifying the vulnerable and getting them to school (as with the MDGs) can overlook the fact that the learning spaces themselves can be inimical to learning or to the well-being of the child – and in fact create more vulnerabilities. The task of reducing educational vulnerability in children can be summarized as:

- **Making them visible**
- **Making them safe**
- **Making them capable**

The overall principle is that of non-exclusion, but also then enhancing capability for the future. The premise is that by creating and building on ‘good’ schools or learning spaces, founded on the rights of the child, the vulnerable will be more likely to have their concerns addressed. This does not mean that there should not be some targeted interventions for particular groups, and examples of these will be given where relevant. But the task of identifying specific and permanent combinations of vulnerability in order to drive policy is not realistic. It is more cost-effective to focus on what is provided, the supply side, in order to see how the demand side (the children and parents) can be affected by this.

A UNICEF report on Child-Friendly Schools (Keane, 2006) found that most objectives (and therefore evaluations) related to quality and that there was little on inclusion, especially for children from socially excluded groups. In Bangladesh, for example, the benefits of inclusive education had not reached all marginalized groups uniformly, with those who remained ignored being children from ethnic and linguistic minorities, children of ‘bede’ (boat gypsies), street children, children with social stigma, working children, and children who were physically and intellectually challenged. It would be an important task to analyse why education was not reaching them, but it is another to identify single targeted strategies for each of those ‘groups’, as many intersect. A different UNICEF report (Barr *et al.*, 2007) stated (in relation to Dalits) that a social exclusion approach was better than defining poverty in terms of economics. The PLAN report on girls ‘in the shadow of war’ speaks of how girls are pulled out of school because of concerns for their safety and increased domestic responsibilities, and recommends ensuring girls have equal access to gender-sensitive and youth-friendly education and health services before, during and after conflict, as well as access to skills training (Plan, 2008a).

The three principles for children above (making them visible, making them safe and making them capable) translate roughly into three emphases within education, that learning spaces should be:

- **Child-seeking**
- **Child-friendly**
- **Child-enabling**

These clearly overlap and are not distinct time-linked stages; rather, the process is overlapping and circular. (More is said on timing and phases in Chapter 4.2.) However, they may well be linked into the phases of humanitarian aid in and post-emergency, looking at immediate needs and then longer-term strategies, while acknowledging that conflict is never linear, and that disaster can strike again. Distinctions between urgent and long-term are returned to in Chapter 4. The personal needs of teachers also need to be addressed, as many of them can be 'out-of-school'. In each of the domains elaborated on below, we provide examples of **good practice**, or **promising practice**, which could be adapted for use in different contexts. These strategies have been derived from the eight different country studies.

3.1 Child-seeking

'Child-seeking', firstly, relates to the problem of the invisibility of many vulnerable children, and is a term which we first noted in the Maldives. In this effort, people in the school and community, with the help of authorities or NGOs, try to establish who does not come to school, or who drops out, and why, and to recruit them by providing various forms of incentives. There may be issues of legislation here, to prevent discrimination or active exclusion. Child-seeking schools would also establish whether the school or learning space is in the right place, and map distances to be travelled, or establish whether there are taboos on the land the school is on, or on the journey to get there.

It would be important to work with the various initiatives that provide **safe spaces** after an emergency.⁴ These may not be directly educational, but have attracted children to come while parents were queuing for food or resources, or were rebuilding. Significantly, some children attended who had dropped out of school previously, and enjoyed the activities and relationships. Schools have been reported as not valuing these, as the child-friendly styles did not match the school ethos. But in Bangladesh, materials from the centres were sent to the schools to encourage more child-friendly approaches. Parents were reported (in Nepal for example) as simply using them as a drop-in centre, and it is not always clear in different countries whether children attending safe spaces always return to school afterwards, but the spaces are seen as able to bridge the gap, give children confidence and prepare them for the more formal setting.

Examples of promising **strategies and practices** in child-seeking schools would be:

- **Monitoring systems**, with class registers so that teachers know who should return after an emergency and visit homes (if still there) to encourage them to return. After displacement, teachers finding children they used to teach at the original school, as students find it easier to go to temporary schools when they could see familiar faces.
- **Monitoring systems** to identify which schools are affected by an emergency, and visiting children in shelters to check they are all right, and again encouraging them to return. Children themselves becoming monitors and encouraging others to return. In Sri Lanka this was seen as better than using adults or police, who are often mobilized for this sort of work, as 'softer' tactics work better.
- Using the emergency as an opportunity to **register** children, especially girls. PLAN in Nepal has a programme for children called 'Write me down, make me real'.

⁴ E.g. *Child Friendly Space Initiative in Bangladesh (Save the Children)*.

- **Outreach work**, such as the ‘street educators’ and ‘street schools’ for street children around the world, or the itinerant teachers who follow nomadic Kurdish herders.
- **‘Welcome to school’ packs** for girls (as is done in rural areas in Nepal).
- **School feeding** programmes, including ‘Food for learning’ (girls being given two litres of cooking oil for 80% attendance in Nepal).
- **Scholarships** for the economically disadvantaged and/or for Dalit girls; ‘Dalit’ motivators who visit homes or give extra tuition (Nepal).
- **Grants** for shoes, uniforms and books after the tsunami (Maldives) – a clean image of students was important to them. A bag to carry books can also be provided.
- **‘Back to school’ project** with printed T-shirts saying this, so that this could be worn as a uniform until the ‘proper’ uniform could be distributed.
- Running (or working with those who run) **child lines**, who may be able to identify out-of-school children (as long as confidentiality is not compromised).
- Teachers or others working with traditional communities to encourage them not to lock females away for 4–10 days during menstruation (Nepal) or working on **menstruation management** (India).
- Deploying final-year education students as **temporary teachers**, making it possible to reopen schools as soon as possible after emergency (Maldives).
- **Open school programme** (Sri Lanka) including two schools in prisons. This has no age limit and serves children in remote areas and in war and disaster affected areas. Teachers are mobile and reach children where they are, during different seasons.
- **Early Learning Centres and mobile crèches.**

In India, the NGO ‘Mobile Crèches’ sets up learning centres for children from birth to 12 years of age. In addition to running as early learning centres and schools, they run a feeding programme based on cheap and nutritious meals, monitor basic health such as weight and immunization, and keep careful attendance records of otherwise invisible children. The centres are set up on the building sites where poor migrant workers driven to urban Delhi by seasonal flooding are employed; without Mobile Crèches, the children of these migrants would almost certainly not attend school and many would be neglected and at risk on dangerous construction sites.

- **Catch-up programmes, condensed curriculum**, with less time needed. This is particularly important for returning child soldiers or for the ‘lost generation’ who have missed out in conflict.
- **Home–school modules and booklets** for children in conflict zones who cannot come to school every day.

In Sri Lanka, designated local adults gather 4 or 5 children together living nearby to work on a home–school module booklet; a teacher may circulate across these cluster groups and work with local adults and children.

- **Transportation** for students (and teachers), for example by providing bicycles; children helping disabled children to get to school, perhaps using wheelbarrows.
- **At checkpoints**, teachers or other adults to help children get through and get to school.
- Staff visiting sites where street children often congregate, to encourage them to go to school, or running **transitional schools** to enable catch-up.

In India, PRAYAS runs homes for street children aged 6–18. Staff seek out these children in the Delhi slums in stations and temples where they congregate. Others are identified through a toll-free child helpline which guarantees intervention within 24 hours of the call. The children are offered non-formal education and a welcoming and accepting environment which recognizes their street experiences of both trauma and independence. Many are eventually enrolled in flexible transitional schools which prepare them for entry into government schools.

- Training and provision of **female teachers** for some ethnic communities – and for girls generally. INEE have useful guidelines on this (INEE, 2005a).
- **Equivalency programmes** which ensure that student accreditation can be transferred between state and non-state education providers, as in Thailand.
- **Building links** between schools in peace-time or ‘normal’ time which might improve parent resolve to send children to unfamiliar schools or increase tolerance in schools receiving new children (e.g. Maldives).

3.2 Child-friendly

‘Child-friendly’ is a very common term, with a programme developed by UNICEF and others in many countries. Characteristics are that they are proactively inclusive, advocate human rights, are academically effective, are healthy and safe, are gender-responsive, and are actively engaged with the community (UNICEF, 2007). In a survey of 80 schools in Bangladesh, 52 did not have separate toilet facilities and those that did have were mainly reserved for the teachers (Action Aid, 2005). Child-friendly schools not only try to provide facilities but also attempt more equitable relationships.

As these are well known, there is no need to elaborate fully on all the areas around child-friendly schools, but our concern in terms of vulnerability would relate to the issues of protection, security and safety – both in school and on the way to and from school, and mentally as well as physically. Examples of **promising practice** would be:

- **Physically safe schools** able to survive in natural disaster (schools on boats, schools on stilts, dismantlable schools held together with nuts and bolts, etc.). Physically safe schools are also those built to good standards, where they are less likely to collapse because of lack of attention to earthquake safety or because of corruption. In Sri Lanka, community participation with an NGO allowed inclusion of roof water catchment and storage in a school destroyed by the tsunami (Wisner, 2006). (See Box on next page.)
- **Psychological safety.** Psychosocial care for those with trauma; discussion at school about the tsunami afterwards, and lessons about it, to share experiences. One to one, or community level approaches using theatre and singing to talk about issues. Pakistan talks of ‘healing classrooms’.
- **Non-violence.** Absence of bullying, sexual harassment, corporal punishment, and developing alternative methods of ‘discipline’. Providing a training manual for teachers on alternatives to corporal punishment.

In Bangladesh and other countries faced with the possibility of more and more serious flooding, a more long-term solution for the delivery of education may be to build only schools that can survive, i.e. ones that float. One charity (Shidhulai Swanivar Sangstha – ‘Self-Reliance’) is already doing this by building schools on boats (Hari, 2008). Another possibility is to build schools on tall concrete stilts, which could also act as shelters and rescue points in an emergency such as a cyclone. The idea of building cyclone shelters-cum-schools has been around in Bangladesh for 20 years or so.⁵

- **Sanitary facilities for girls.** Separate toilets for girls and boys with locks. Safety and the location of toilets is an issue. Provision for handwashing, with clean water and soap, and health education to stress this. Provision of sanitary pads at the school, for students and teachers. INEE recommend the participation of girls and boys in decisions on location as well as in maintenance, as ‘knowers’ of sanitation, hygiene and menstruation issues (INEE, 2005b).
- **Active learning methodologies** based on participation, expression and investigation, which help in the aftermath of a disaster.
- **Flexibility.** Schools flexible in time to accommodate working children of all categories (home, domestic labour in other homes, child labourers, the ‘tidal workers’ in fishing communities). Curricula programmes need to be flexible during and after emergencies, as for example children may be moved from one region to another where there are different political motivations and their learning experiences will contrast (Nepal); abbreviated/accelerated programmes with prioritized learning skills may facilitate catch-up for children returning to school. In Nepal, UNICEF negotiated with schools to accept ex-cantonment children at any time of the year.
- **Teacher compensation** (see INEE, 2008a). Flexible administration for teachers, to enable them to receive their salary in new or temporary schools. Temporary housing for teachers and their families, if necessary.
- **Community involvement.** Communities becoming more involved in management of the schools (India, Nepal).
- **Physical safety.** Children developing and documenting their safety plans, or School Emergency Response plans for each school, displayed on the wall so that teachers and students can familiarize themselves with them (India, Sri Lanka). This would include how to secure building contents to prevent injuries and deaths from crushing or falling, and simple things to prevent equipment and books flying around in laboratories and libraries during an earthquake.
- **‘Sanctuary’.** A safe space to play, make friends, do sports, interact with trusted adults, which is available at all relevant times.

3.3 Child-enabling

The notion of ‘child-enabling’ takes forward some of the precepts of the child-friendly school, to focus on preparing children for their future security. It also has the key aspect of developing **capability and skills** to strengthen society in the future against vulnerability. This includes advocacy skills and orientations to

⁵ <http://us.oneworld.net/places/bangladesh>.

challenge violence, injustice or corruption as well as personal capability for a secure life. It was mentioned in Chapter 2.4, for example, how disaster victims had to organize themselves to advocate for their rights. Schools can prepare for such competences.

A child-enabling school might involve knowing and using rights (as in UNICEF's Rights Respecting Schools in the UK); preparedness for emergency (as in disaster preparedness programmes for earthquakes); and preparedness for the future (life skills programmes, visibly relevant curriculum). This would include schools which acknowledged the reality of child labour. A recent UNICEF report on Dalits in Nepal and India (Barr *et al.*, 2007) advised encouraging children to participate in the management of the school.

A Rights Respecting School is one where all children, and crucially, teachers and parents know the Convention on the Rights of the Child and what this means for learning and relationships in the school. This relates to aspects such as the right to express an opinion on decisions that affect you and to have that opinion taken into account, the right to freedom from violence and abuse, the rights of refugees, the right to healthcare and clean water. Teachers are sometimes wary of according children rights, but are persuaded when they see behaviour and learning improve as children and teachers learn to respect each other.⁶

Examples of **strategies** in schools relating to **rights**, including **participation rights**, would be:

- **Children's Clubs (India, Sri Lanka, Nepal)** which carry out Disaster Risk Response (DRR) activities, or who monitor teachers' behaviour in terms of issues such as smoking or corporal punishment.
- **Child Rights Forums**, where children talk about their rights and how to protect themselves, setting codes of conduct for the school.

In the Child Rights Forums in Nepal children talk about their own protection and how to fulfil responsibilities to others at their level, and about the duties of adults. They decide the activities of the forum, for example smoke-free schools, rules and regulations of the schools and extra-curricular activities. In harvesting season, they collect produce, sell it and sponsor out-of-school children. They are trying to encourage more Dalits and Janajatis in. They discuss issues such as child marriage and trafficking.

- **Children participating in decisions.** Various forms of student councils and representation; children's committees.
- **Children's Declaration** for protection of their rights during the Constituent Assembly (Nepal).

Examples relating to **emergency preparedness** would be:

- **Swimming lessons** (particularly for girls and disabled children in the school), acknowledging challenges for female traditions of modest dress.

⁶ See UNICEF UK website: http://www.unicef.org/uk/tz/teacher_support/rrs_award.asp.

- **Hazard awareness education** (earthquakes, tsunami, cyclone, floods), including health messages, to minimize loss of life. This would include child-led Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR), where children conduct assessments and engage in awareness campaigns (Save the Children, 2007; Centre for Disaster Preparedness, 2007). They identify problems and draw up ‘our suggestions to those in authority’.

DRR in Bangladesh also includes practical skills such as making portable clay ovens for the shelters, building bamboo bridges to help evacuate the most vulnerable (the elderly, children, pregnant women and people with disability), bamboo shelves for high storage; making early warning flags; making bamboo rafts and storage boxes; and using sign language for hearing impaired people during an emergency.

- **Emergency plans** in the school.
- Discussion of when an emergency can **override cultural and religious restrictions** and norms, such as dress. (See Conclusion chapter.)
- **Health education.** This may involve child-to-child work to educate families as well as direct teaching and learning in school. Agencies such as UNICEF will work with host families for displaced children to make sure that children benefit from immunization campaigns, vitamin A supplementation, etc.

Examples relating to future preparedness for **economic and other survival** would be:

- **Life skills.** Schools for domestic workers in Kathmandu, teaching exam curriculum but also about religious sites and tourism, so that children could act as guides.

In one assessment of the life skills of school-age children in Pakistan, it was found that those who had not been to school did better than those who had (Christian Children’s Fund, 2007). Irrelevance to future economic needs is a key aspect of drop-out.

- **Research skills.** Children involved in data collection on needs after emergencies (after earthquake in Pakistan, rapid assessments during flood in India, consultation sessions in Bangladesh, and identifying Child-Led Indicators for use in monitoring and evaluation (Nepal, Sri Lanka and India).
- **Training by specialists,** e.g. lawyers and police (children’s rights), health educators (reproductive health), military (mine and munitions awareness), employers (job opportunities, careers guidance).

3.4 Watchpoints

As well as examples of good practice, a number of watchpoints were identified by respondents or in the literature:

- Do not exclude children who do not have an immediate desire to be educated, or who appear ‘undesirable’, because this denies them access to other services and social networks.
- Schools should not insist on birth registration or other certification as a condition of acceptance in the school, just in the interests of data, or bureaucracy.

- User-friendly ways to transmit information on scholarships and entitlements should be found, so that recipients such as girls and/or their parents can find out about them even if they are illiterate.
- Location of schools or tents is important, so that Dalits do not have to cross the space of other caste groups, or if they do, it is without harassment.
- Be aware of the 'kids looking in through the window' – older children from 'lost generations' who need remedial/adult education.
- Do not reinforce exclusionary practices through elitist hiring tendencies within aid agencies, schools and NGOs.
- Have sensitivity to the presence of military/formal personnel: when returning to school this makes children anxious (e.g. Sri Lanka, Nepal).
- The psychological effects of disaster can be pervasive and sustained with/without intervention (e.g. after the tsunami), and psychosocial support is not just for the early 'humanitarian' phase.
- Guidance is needed for scheduling the operation of refuges or safe houses, so that people know what to do (e.g. providing a routine that could be reassuring and more effective, and children are occupied). Modesty in such routines should be respected where possible (e.g. arrangements for washing).
- It is claimed that children who are in school are less vulnerable to being recruited into armed groups or being trafficked (Save the Children, 2008d); however, there may still be the danger of being abducted on the way to school or even in classrooms, and parents may be reluctant to send their children for this reason. Safe ways of getting to school are important.
- Equipment such as computers put into safe spaces or schools can then be taken over by gangs. New resources may mean the school itself is a target, as is any sign of wealth. There needs to be community 'buy in', and use for example by women's or savings groups, so there is greater impetus for protection.
- Targeted programmes for one group only need care: one programme in Nepal worked to empower girls' groups to protect themselves, but the girls pointed out that there was a need to engage the boys for this really to work. In all programmes for 'the vulnerable' there can be a danger of focusing only on 'victims'.

3.5 Underlying principles

Cutting across these three domains of child-seeking, child-friendly and child-enabling are yet more principles or concepts:

- **Neutral spaces** for learning (an 'educational Red Cross'). This does not mean that the content of learning cannot be 'political', for example in citizenship education, but that schools should not be taken over by political parties, security forces,⁷ or even cultural events not linked to the school. This was the original impetus for 'Schools as Zones of Peace' in Nepal.
- Children as **participants** in assessment, decisions and actions (taking part in seeking others, taking part in governance, child-to-child learning). The voice of children is key in understanding *their* perceptions of vulnerability (see Appendix 1 of the Afghanistan country study) and hence

⁷ Also mentioned in INEE (2004).

determining priorities; and decisions made which draw on children's experience give ownership for them as well as participatory skills.

- **Flexibility** of schools, to enable working children to attend during break times, at night or seasonally, to incorporate different religious backgrounds and needs, to enable joining of school at any time of the year and to accommodate the learning experiences of returnees or IDPs. Flexibility also includes the use of a school or learning space and its resources for the community, as long as this does not reduce learning time for students. It also may mean taking the school to the children rather than the other way round.
- **Value added.** Schools need to be viewed by children and parents as worthwhile places to go to, which would justify the opportunity costs, especially after emergency. In camps, children need something to do, and may not need an incentive; but elsewhere, there are crucial choices to make. This is particularly true at the margins: in extreme food insecurity it does not matter how enticing the school is, children will be taken out in order to work; yet in less critical times, participants can be persuaded of the balance of the value of education in the long term. Children can see going to school as worthwhile, if only as beneficial places for friendship with other children or teachers. Retention can sometimes be more problematic than basic enrolment, which suggests that education should provide more immediate rewards – for example life skills or vocational training rather than the deferred gratification of formal exams.

Examples of principles in practice in the model for learning sites

	Child-seeking	Child-friendly	Child-enabling
Neutrality	Absence of bias in admissions to school	Schools not taken over for political purposes	Critical thinking and acceptance of diversity
Participation	Children seeking out other children	Democratic classrooms, where children have freedom of expression	Preparing for community participation and leadership
Flexibility	Admission times to suit a variety of needs	Flexible learning hours and learning rates	Enabling adaptiveness and creativity
Value added	Establishing school-going behaviour so that it is sought again afterwards	Providing learning and socio-emotional support relevant to what children want	Providing curriculum and/or credentials which will help economic survival

Matrix of Strategies

4.1 The summary matrix

This chapter attempts to chart the particular vulnerabilities against the educational strategies, in order to provide a tool for selection of plans or focuses. The matrix on the following pages summarizes the tools or strategies that can be used in preparing emergency responses so that vulnerable children are not further disadvantaged. As with Chapter 3, it uses the three concepts on the supply side of education (child-seeking, child-friendly and child-enabling) and shows firstly where strategies apply specifically or more obviously to one cluster of vulnerability, and secondly where they apply across the clusters. These are all strategies that have been found to be successfully used, and are not merely ideas to try.

These three domains are not necessarily phases relating to the stage of disaster or conflict. They could operate at any point, and overlap considerably. They are distinguished to enable identification of objectives and hence perhaps an attempt at monitoring 'success'. However, within each domain, there could be considerations of timing, although one would need some sort of three-dimensional model to map this more accurately. Timing issues are therefore discussed afterwards, particularly in terms of what is controversial or sensitive. The chapter concludes by considering questions of monitoring of the strategies employed.

A. CHILD-SEEKING

	Gender related	Social divisions	Economic	IDPs	Invisible	Differently affected
Specific or targeted strategies	<p>Welcome-to-school packs</p> <p>Giving food, cooking oil for attendance</p> <p>Scholarships for girls</p> <p>Providing learning spaces close to home</p> <p>Female teachers</p> <p>Birth registration</p>	<p>Scholarships for Dalits or Janajatis</p> <p>Provision of Dalit teachers and Dalit motivators</p> <p>Provision of uniform or no insistence on uniform if this is a barrier</p>	<p>Locating schools permanently or temporarily where poorer families are based</p> <p>Provision of uniform or no insistence on uniform if this is a barrier</p>	<p>Not excluding because of no birth registration</p> <p>Catch-up education: transitional or bridging schools; accelerated programmes</p>	<p>Identify who has not been attending school</p> <p>Outreach workers – ‘street educators’</p> <p>Seeking street children in settings where they congregate</p> <p>Children identifying out-of-school children</p>	<p>Not placing ex-combatants and other returnees in inappropriate classes</p> <p>Catch-up or accelerated programmes</p> <p>Recognizing years of schooling spent by refugees</p> <p>Children helping disabled peers to get to school</p>
General strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Abolition of school fees, and outlawing ‘illegal’ school fees ■ Holistic treatment of children’s needs; e.g. providing basic medical care on site; feeding programmes; providing a free biscuit or mid-day meal so that children do not go to school hungry ■ Triangulating records from different sources to identify at-risk children; asking local citizens, parents and children who are not at school or in learning spaces at the moment; children as ‘monitors’ noting if their friends are missing/at school/coming to school ■ Children’s clubs negotiating with parents about allowing their children to attend ■ Keeping accurate records of attendance and storing these safely ■ Use of childlines for the reporting of vulnerable children ■ Collaboration with other agencies – e.g. police, welfare agencies; liaising with social workers and counsellors to identify and support the needs of the family ■ ‘Back to School’ T-shirts and other free educational resources to encourage attendance ■ Making parents happy to leave their children at school safely in an emergency, while they are attending distribution points or attempting to rebuild their lives ■ Using the emergency as an opportunity to register children, especially girls, but not making this necessary to attend school 					

B. CHILD FRIENDLY

	Gender related	Social divisions	Economic	IDPs	Invisible	Differently affected
Specific or targeted strategies	Toilets and sanitary pads; washing facilities Teachers not exploiting girls for grades Non-stereotypical textbooks	Non-stereotypical textbooks Accessible language of instruction Access to water for all castes	No school uniform (or supplying clothing) Identifying bursary schemes to retain children in school Working with social services and parents on poverty-related issues	Organize parents' meetings between host and new communities Students learning about the places where new students come from Guidance in school on how to live with host families, and on rights	Curriculum which does not assume previous schooling Teachers and students visiting homes	Abled children working with children with disabilities Differentiated learning for differently abled
General strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Safe schools physically: schools on boats, schools on stilts; scrutinizing for corruption in construction ■ Codes of conduct for teachers ■ Absence of corporal punishment, and teachers trained in alternatives ■ Child-centred learning strategies and interactions ■ Space for play; employing story-tellers and counsellors; schools in a box and recreation kits ■ Provision of clean drinking and washing water; child-friendly toilets ■ Flexible provision in schools, in time and space ■ Provision of ongoing psychosocial care and counselling for children and families ■ Nominated responsible carers – the 'extended family' ■ Context relevant curricula which is seen as adding value ■ Absence/sensitivity of military personnel 					

C. CHILD-ENABLING

	Gender related	Social divisions	Economic	IDPs	Invisible	Differently affected
Specific or targeted strategies	<p>Education on gender discrimination and rights</p> <p>Swimming lessons</p> <p>Discussion of gender violence</p>	<p>Use of texts which interrogate social divisions</p> <p>Communication skills</p> <p>Peace and social cohesion education</p> <p>Building networks with other schools</p> <p>Children's clubs advocating respect for minorities</p>	<p>Life skills for employment and/or for self-sufficiency</p>	<p>Giving new forms of social and economic independence</p>	<p>Transitional schools which prepare previously out-of-school children for entry</p>	<p>Giving disabled children skills for economic survival</p>
General strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Children as decision makers within the school; children's clubs involved in changing school and community culture ■ Older children supporting younger children in multigrade classes ■ A curriculum which deals appropriately with disaster preparedness AT THE RIGHT TIME – i.e. not while children are still traumatized ■ Hazard Awareness education and Disaster Risk Reduction for natural disasters; identifying risks in and around the school, evacuation drills, etc. ■ Landmine education ■ Child-to-child methods to spread hazard awareness messages ■ Developing skills for critical thinking and saying 'no' with confidence to things they do not want to happen ■ Basic first aid ■ Basic hygiene, handwashing and learning about the spread of disease ■ Learning advocacy skills to spread health and non-violence messages in the community 					

4.2 Timing and phases

Conventional approaches to describing aid interventions in crisis distinguish three phases: humanitarian, reconstruction and long-term development, and, in conflict situations, a fourth which is conflict mitigation or peace-building (e.g. USAID, 2008). These are not discrete, but would relate to different emphases at particular points of a crisis, for example with humanitarian aid tapering off in favour of the reconstruction phase during which government recoups authority from international agencies and sets future priorities. Our three-way model does not map onto these phases of a crisis, but does have timing issues. There has been a debate about whether an emphasis on education is appropriate during the humanitarian phase, although this is perhaps now accepted. Yet it is interesting that the USAID Education in Crisis Framework, which maps goals onto phases, has the ‘protection of vulnerable children’ as part of the humanitarian phase but the ‘delivery of services to neglected and strategic populations’ as delayed to the reconstruction phase. The philosophy behind the whole of our study, and the reason for its commissioning, was *not* to delay equity considerations until some later point in an emergency, but to identify and tackle them from the beginning. (Questions of the discourse of ‘reconstruction’ and ‘restoring normalcy’ are discussed further in Chapter 5.)

However, it is clear that there are two main timing questions for certain of the strategies outlined in the matrix. The first is **temporary versus permanent strategies**. The permanent strategies would be those that (ideally) occur pre-, during and post-emergencies, on a continuous cycle, to ensure the inclusion of vulnerable children and act to prevent or at least minimize drop-out when an emergency occurs. Temporary ones might occur at any point, but often immediately post-emergency, as in the provision of clothing or food to go to school. Yet this raises the question of when to stop a temporary programme. One problem with permanent education in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR), for example, is that of *over-familiarization*. If there is too much, too often, when no disaster looks imminent, it becomes normalized and boring. Children (and teachers) switch off, as with experienced passengers undergoing airplane safety instructions. But airplanes and schools are different, and schools can be more flexible and sensitive in the timing and content of DRR learning. The obvious strategy seems to be the child-centred one, to start from where the children are and what they want. The various Child-to-Child guides outlined in the Annotated List of Manuals (Annex 3) tackle relevance of various DRR programmes, but also children’s centrality in the process of delivery, so that they feel a sense of agency and responsibility rather than just being on the receiving end of DRR curriculum. This helps maintain interest and immediacy, so that what needs to be a mandatory and important programme can build skills and peer learning.

Some strategies for inclusion may remain at the temporary level. The provision of scholarships or incentives for disadvantaged groups, for example, ought in theory to be short term, continued on the basis of monitoring (see next section). Like any ‘compensatory’ programme, once equity has been achieved, then targeted quotas or policies should be discontinued. If on the other hand they appear after some while to have little or no impact on equity, then it may be necessary to divert those funds or efforts into other activities for inclusion.

Most of the strategies in our matrix would be at the permanent level, particularly in Child-Enabling. The temporary ones would be found in Child-Seeking and Child-Friendly, such as 'Back to School' T-shirts or for some of the strategies around inclusion of ex-combatants and IDPs (where it is assumed that after some distance in time from the emergency these will not be distinct categories). Yet, as discussed in the Conclusion, much would depend on whether the emergency itself is permanent, and IDPs a constant feature of society. It is impossible to generalize across countries and contexts about duration of interventions.

The second question in timing is the **degree of sensitivity**. A particular example is again with DRR activities in schools. It may not be appropriate to engage in earthquake response drills and activities when children are traumatized immediately following an earthquake, or to insist on swimming lessons when children have nearly drowned or have just seen relatives drown. From our study, the psychologists in India said this sort of routine activity should wait. However, other sorts of immediate response should happen as soon as possible and cannot afford to wait, for example mine risk education. (A useful resource on mine risk education is referred to in Annex 3.) Another immediate necessity is health education in terms of washing hands and avoiding disease following a natural disaster.

Sensitivity also arises in terms of the more controversial political issues. For example, it is immediately (and always) important that safe learning spaces are built whereby there is no corruption in the construction process. In the long term, children should be enabled to learn about corruption and how to identify and challenge it at different levels. So child-friendly schools are those that are constructed to good standards, not shoddy and corrupted ones; child-enabling schools are those which prepare children to tackle corruption. The importance of this is indicated by it being given a whole area of its own in the USAID *Education and Fragility Assessment Tool* (USAID, 2006; see Annex 3). Relevant questions they ask are 'Are teachers models for students to emulate (in terms of honesty and transparency)?' and 'Can formal and non-formal education offer an attractive alternative to corruption?' – that is, anti-corruption preparation can be both direct and indirect in terms of the ethos and relevance of the school. In the long term, children can be given skills to claim rights after corruption in the wider society, particularly when this causes a disaster of its own as in the Lapindo Brantas example, where victims have organized into forums around the compensation issue.

Sensitivity in terms of cultural or religious practices and norms also needs consideration. Therefore, instead of the standard 'before and after' approach to education in the context of emergencies, it may be more effective to consider **urgent** and **long-term** needs in relation to **controversial** and **non-controversial** issues. Broadly the strategy would be to work from the **non-controversial** towards related **controversial** topics, as outlined in the following table. This can be used as a tool to identify the non-controversial and controversial issues at national or subnational levels.

	Non-controversial	towards 	Controversial
Urgent	<p>Information and skills that may prevent immediate harm, or improve well-being, which are readily accepted by the population</p> <p>e.g.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Personal hygiene ■ Reproductive health ■ Mine awareness ■ Avoiding toxic pollution 		<p>Information and skills that may prevent immediate harm, or improve well-being, which may not be readily acceptable because of cultural or religious beliefs or misunderstandings among the population</p> <p>e.g.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ AIDS awareness ■ Contraception ■ Demilitarization of children ■ Avoiding occupational hazards
Long-term	<p>Knowledge, skills and awareness that may prevent harm, or improve well-being, in the context of future emergencies, or assist long-term survival, which are readily accepted by the population</p> <p>e.g.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Swimming lessons for boys ■ Gendered vocational training ■ Parenting skills ■ Responsibilities ■ Respect for law 		<p>Knowledge, skills and awareness that may prevent harm, or improve well-being, in the context of future emergencies, or assist longer-term survival, which may not be readily acceptable because of cultural or religious beliefs or misunderstandings among the population</p> <p>e.g.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Swimming lessons for Muslim girls ■ Gender-neutral vocational training ■ Family planning ■ Rights ■ Challenging abuse of power

4.3 Monitoring

Finally this chapter considers the collection and use of data on education and emergencies, and how this is linked to strategy and policy – such as in the typologies above, but beyond. It is obviously important for agencies to estimate numbers affected by emergency, for purposes of attracting immediate aid, and for planning humanitarian interventions. Such data is useful in estimating the numbers of children out of school because their schools are destroyed following a natural disaster, as this is time-bound, and relatively precise targeting of the reconstruction needs is possible.

However, other sorts of emergencies, particularly those relating to conflict, are less easy to quantify in terms of effects on education. Such effects may take place over years, if not decades; in poor countries there is little accurate data on who were in school initially, who dropped out because of conflict, or who would have dropped out anyway. As indicated in the Introduction, the figures on out-of-school children vary wildly, and such variation is compounded in times of emergency, often remaining at the level of gross estimates. This study has not been able to unearth any significant and robust quantitative data on

the intersection between educational exclusion, vulnerability and type of emergency which would assist decisions on national policy making.

It is important that damage assessments are inclusive of education and well-being, and not just about infrastructure. The Pakistan earthquake assessment was more inclusive, because of joint lobbying from the different agencies involved. However, a methodology which links certain sorts of educational vulnerability to certain sorts of emergency in purely quantitative terms is, in the view of this study, not feasible nor even desirable to attempt, given the complexity. The study has moved on from a deficit model of 'the vulnerable' to identification of specific responses in education. This would match the shifts in strategy for those with special needs in education, whereby the focus for educators now is less on clinical diagnosis of the cause of 'the problem' and more on what is needed to enable functioning. Clearly, these are linked, but it is more effective strategically to analyse the provision than the 'victim'. A child may be traumatized because of flood, earthquake, armed conflict, displacement or any combination – and indeed trauma counselling will have to establish what has happened – but the key priority is that trauma counselling is available. Similarly, children may drop out of school because of food insecurity, fear of armed forces, discrimination, repeated academic failure, boredom or again any combination: putting percentages on these likelihoods is less productive than seeking to provide education which is inclusive, safe and seen as worthwhile.

However, some monitoring can be done which, linked with qualitative research, would enable some prioritizing or targeting:

- Maintaining pre-existing data on student populations, disaggregated as much as possible. Maldives, for example, is working on mapping children with Special Educational Needs in 10 atolls. After an emergency, such records enable comparison with who is in school or receiving help, and what the patterns are.
- Schools can be encouraged by the Ministry of Education to keep good student records on attendance, and store them safely, so that long-term absences which can be linked to specific events can be noted at school level. This would be mainly for the purposes of seeking children out and encouraging return, and, in an ideal world, identifying any patterns (gender, class, caste, etc.) in drop-out or return. BRAC in Bangladesh was cited as having an organized monitoring system to identify schools affected by emergency, and then BRAC project workers visiting children from BRAC schools in the shelters to encourage them to return to school.
- Monitoring of the effects of emergency is useful. During the conflict, Save the Children (US) for example was monitoring in 11 districts of Nepal, looking at school closures; teacher and student threats; abduction and recruitment; attacks on schools; inappropriate use of schools; and children's forced political participation.
- Data on the success of targeted programmes could and should be kept, again by schools or local authorities, which would be able to assess impact (for example, if more girls came than before because of scholarships or food programmes, or more children suddenly attended when school fees were abolished, or those in accelerated or catch-up classes achieved as well as those in 'normal' classes). However, as pointed out in the country studies, it has to be acknowledged that it is difficult to evaluate whether success or failure of a project is attributable to the nature of a particular strategy or to the extreme contexts (both favourable and unfavourable) in which education operates.

- Data on successful 'transition rates' could be kept, to establish, for example, who went from a refugee camp to a school outside or vice versa. (It was found for example that in Pakistan some children in camps were attending school for the first time, but did not continue afterwards, possibly as there were no schools.) Another important transition rate is between 'bridging classes' and entry into formal school, where the final take-up may be variable.
- There has been some success with Community-Based Education Management Information Systems (C-EMIS) in Nepal. Community-based education tries to provide greater decentralization but also accountability. The C-EMIS has revealed the exclusion of low-caste and ethnic minority children from primary schools, and enabled the preparation of community-based School Improvement Plans, which encourage out-of-school children to return and the disadvantaged to be aware of opportunities available to them. Using the community to collect data can tackle the partial and politicized allocation of school places and scholarships (Gardner and Subrahmanian, 2005).

In any country or context, the question is who is responsible for such data. Much should be the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, even if in fragile states the Ministry itself is under-functioning. However, community and children can be and have been involved in collection and dissemination of data, with successful results (Save the Children, 2007). Linked to responsibility is motivation: unless those collecting or being asked for data see the point, there is the tendency for this data to be skewed or fabricated in the interests of time or because of fear of how the data will be used. Ownership and a clear sense of the data being useful for something are key.

Conclusion – Potential Innovations

Common issues and concepts have emerged across the case studies, some of which are not very evident in the mainstream literature. These may contribute to developing the conceptualization of education emergency responses, and strategic planning, in the future (Section 5.1). Some ideas may contribute more specifically to defining the ‘strategic niche’ of UNICEF and other agencies in emergency responses (Section 5.2). The more familiar issues are therefore not repeated here.

5.1 Issues and concepts

5.1.1 Scale and priority

UNICEF responds to 350–400 emergencies a year, of which 85 per cent are dealt with by country offices. But in many countries, when is there *not* an emergency of some sort? Relevant questions include:

- How is an ‘emergency’ **defined** and **classified**? It is not just ‘the urgent’, or ‘the biggest’. The UN definition given in the Introduction seems incomplete, for example by not including industrial disasters (see below), or isolated bombings. (Was 9/11 an ‘emergency’?)
- Do media stereotypes of vulnerability, and ‘sexy’ areas of work for NGOs, often **mask** less obvious but more widespread vulnerabilities such as post-conflict domestic and school violence, or the sexual abuse of boys?
- How do perceptions of **time** differ? When does an emergency begin and end? ‘A day can be a very long time in the life of a child.’ Is it understood how emergency activities fit into longer-term personal and organizational strategies? Even one damaging incident experienced by a vulnerable child in relation to schooling during the sensitive time of an emergency can have damaging consequences for a lifetime.
- Do locations of **strategic importance which reflect political interests** often receive more attention and support after a disaster than communities with less influence and power, as suggested in relation to Pakistan? Conversely, are **politically sensitive emergencies** ignored, for example military action by, or in collaboration with, national armies?
- Why are emergencies and disasters usually conceived as circumstances that affect a **large group** of people? Family and personal disasters – like a fire and collapse of a house, or social banishment for not following cultural norms such as not giving a young daughter in marriage – do not attract the same level of response. Yet the vulnerability can be greater, especially in relation to adverse impacts on education. Some victims even state, ‘I wish I had been caught in an earthquake, because then I would get help.’ ‘Emergency’ and ‘vulnerability’ need to be conceptualized firstly in terms of impacts on people, rather than the scale of events.
- At State levels, is most emphasis put on repairing and developing **physical infrastructure**? National disaster planning often does not seem to embrace a specifically educational aspect, which takes into account human resources, the knowledge and capacities of local people, and emergency-relevant education interventions such as psychosocial support. Perhaps this arises because there is a belief that international agencies will attend to this aspect, which coincidentally brings foreign currency into the country.

- To what degree is the international response to major disasters influenced by **geopolitics**? For example, in comparison with the ongoing large-scale response to the 2005 Pakistan earthquake, in Iran, in 2003, the city of Bam similarly suffered a major (6.6) earthquake (40,000 dead; 12,000 injured; 200,000 living in tents). Many schools were destroyed. An estimated 1,200 teachers died (900 in Pakistan), and 10,000 students (18,000 in Pakistan). At the time, 4500 Afghani refugees were living in the area. The Iranian government did not interfere with an immediate international response involving around 50 countries, including EU and US. China was among the first to assist. But this was not ongoing in terms of educational reconstruction, and the event was soon forgotten by the international community.

There is perhaps a need to balance the emphasis between the mega-emergencies, those which are ‘politically correct’, and those to which the response may be partly driven by a desire to attract donors. Priorities should more clearly reflect the degree of vulnerability and suffering of the ‘peoples of the United Nations’.

5.1.2 Forward looking – building capacities, not ‘return’ and ‘rehabilitation’

The concepts of **return**, **resettlement**, **recovery**, **revitalization** and **rehabilitation** are common, but seem to go against the ‘build back better’ ethos. What does ‘rehabilitating’ the education system in Afghanistan mean: back to what – the Communist era, Mujahidin, Taliban? ‘Rehabilitating’ children is often similarly fraught. Hopefully, unless the cost is prohibitive, there will *not* be a return to a form of infrastructure, school management or lifestyles that compounded the problems caused by the natural disaster, for example bullying, violence, poor school construction, or exclusion of specific groups from life-saving knowledge, e.g. girls and STDs.

In addition, some people may not want to return to poor environmentally degraded areas, or communities that they were not part of, or which were alienating them for not accepting harmful cultural norms. Schools can be seen as complicit in enforced return for political reasons.

Conceptually, the purposes and aims of emergency education might be better considered in terms of:

- A forward looking aim to help children to ‘be able’ to survive, in relation to probable, if unpredictable, futures, not mythical or undesirable pasts. In Sen’s terms, building *capabilities*.
- ‘Habilitation’ (or abilitation), which is a more appropriate term than ‘rehabilitation’, but the word is unfamiliar.

‘Enabling’ might be a reasonable compromise, and has been adopted within our model.

5.1.3 ‘Outsider’ and ‘insider’ perceptions of risk, ‘emergency’, vulnerability and needs

There seem to be significant differences between ‘outsider’ (UN, INGO) and ‘insider’ (local people) perceptions and priorities. Do outsider views dominate because of international agendas and the need to attract donors? For example:

- Female gender issues are often emphasized, but **male difficulties** – such as older boys being forced to marry and abandon education to support a family, as among Afghan refugees – are rarely noted.

- The emergency needs of refugees may prevail over the **emergency needs of the host communities**, for instance those whose schools are taken over to provide shelter or emergency schooling. Host communities may see refugees as ‘holding our children back’ or conversely – if, for example, urban children are in rural host communities – as being too sophisticated, as bringing modern/western ideas, as being a threat to local custom particularly about dress and gender divides.
- Conceptions of low subjective well-being usually derive from **western psychosocial models**, and therefore may not accommodate the fears expressed by children, such as ghosts, increased traffic, foreigners, damaged buildings, and places where people were killed.

In the immediate context of an emergency, it is reasonable that ‘pre-cooked’ solutions will be applied, but are emergency workers sufficiently quick (and able) to revert to the norms of participation and listening to local voices which UNICEF would usually apply?

5.1.4 Industrial disasters and environmental victims (including military pollution)

The gap in the literature and in definitions of ‘emergency’ which relate to industrial disasters was outlined in Section 2.4, together with the description of ‘environmental victims’ of extreme pollution. There are immediate and long-term impacts, individually in terms of disability and contamination, and socially in terms of migration and mistrust of government. There appears to be reluctance (by governments?) to promote awareness of the impacts of such disasters.

These impacts suggest responses in terms of:

- awareness training within international NGOs
- emergency teacher training
- education planning
- developing community attitudes.

The likelihood of industrial disasters, either in isolation or as an aspect of complex emergencies, should be encompassed within generic emergency planning. This would include effective ‘knowledge capture’ when industrial disasters happen, about the distinct impacts on education, and perhaps stronger advocacy about the needs of industrial environmental victims.

5.1.5 Emergency as opportunity

While emergencies can and do increase vulnerability, there are views and experience that disasters can sometimes offer opportunities for longer term change in terms of equality and quality of provision. Relevant historical examples include the introduction of school meals in Britain, which resulted from the discovery of the poor nutritional status of soldiers fighting in the 1900 Boer War, and Educational Psychology and Occupational Therapy which were affirmed as professions in the wake of World War II. More recently:

- Ongoing democratic reforms in the Maldives were perceived to be in part catalysed by the tsunami and the resulting international attention on the country.
- In Pakistan, the camp schools for children who had come down from high altitude and remote locations represented ‘a significant window of opportunity for increasing school enrolment and establishing patterns of school attendance in populations otherwise not reached by the government’s education outreach initiatives.’ Eighty per cent of the children in the camps had never been to school before.

- Historically marginalized groups have been actively recruited to act in leadership positions in the rebuilding of their communities. As mentioned under gender, the recruitment of women into armed forces during conflict can improve their status and sense of agency (although the stigma attached to female returning ex-combatants may make this short-lived).
- In Kabul, the crisis has led to improved female access to education, although arguably this is simply a return to how things were in the 'crisis' of the 1970s Russian era.
- It has been found that combining services for water and sanitation and education, hence ensuring an integrated service provision, means that the educational spaces constructed after an emergency are better than those that were there before, and attract more children as well as being open to the community.
- UNICEF found in Somalia and Sri Lanka that they could bring female teachers into the camps. Even if this was short-lived, the one year was 'better than nothing'.
- In Darfur and in the Pakistan earthquake it was possible to attract more girls to school. Girls could also be reached through distance learning, so allowing them to complete (UNICEF, 2005b). Therefore it is not just a question of rebuilding schools, but thinking about how the type of education provided might be significantly improved.
- The online publication *Positive Muslim News* reports stories such as Muslims working with Hindus to help victims of the stampede at the Chamunda Devi temple.
- Oxfam (2005) reported their cash-for-work projects after the tsunami, whereby they promoted equal wages for equal work (which had not been the tradition), and saw this as a mechanism for lifting families out of poverty.
- Accounts of reconstruction after the tsunami found that when children were consulted about house building, better designs were used for observation of children and play space for girls; that Dalit schools had better construction (fire resistant roofs instead of thatch), and could be used for the community as well; and that there was greater inclusiveness among fishermen and Dalits as they realized their interdependence (Save the Children/CARE/UN, 2007).

This study locates opportunities within education for social 'building back better' – which implies building human, not just physical, resources – and for using the possibility of an emergency to enable creative and protective teaching. For example:

- If there is ethnic conflict and discrimination in society which is represented in the school by possible ethnic tensions, then the emergency preparedness curriculum would explore not just physical preparation in earthquakes or cyclones, but the principle of **mutual assistance** in time of need.
- The message is that an emergency will override social barriers, and that if we want to be helped, we should help others. Thinking about disaster enables a clearer picture of the need for **reciprocity** than just doing anti-racist work or simply telling children to love one another.
- In India, it was felt that there were positive outcomes from **groups learning together** who would normally be segregated by class, caste or location. An important message is that everybody can make a difference, however small, which helps students' sense of agency.
- The IASC Gender Handbook similarly points out that emergency can be a time to show and teach the value of **respect for women**. In Sri Lanka, an examination of the textbooks found gender stereotyping, and prior to reprinting post-tsunami, the MoE eliminated this.

A key aspect of emergency as opportunity is the acceptance of the **suspension of cultural and other norms**, if they are an impediment to providing emergency assistance. From this study, there are many

local reports of girls and boys, or low caste and high caste children, interacting in education projects in ways that were deemed unacceptable previously. The assistance to the earthquake victims at Bam, Iran, by USAID, and the Indian aid to Pakistan for the 2005 earthquake, are contemporary macro-examples.

Islam is often portrayed as creating significant impediments to assistance, and is worthy of specific attention to assess the degree to which the anecdotes reflect misunderstandings, and how beliefs can contribute to positive outcomes. Scholars point to a verse in the Koran [2.286], ‘Allah does not impose upon any soul a duty but to the extent of its ability ... do not impose upon us that which we have not the strength to bear; and pardon us and grant us protection and have mercy on us’; and [2.223], ‘no soul shall have imposed upon it a duty but to the extent of its capacity.’ This is taken to mean that the ‘duty’ to follow rules can be excused if it goes beyond a person’s ‘ability’ and ‘capacity’ to fulfil that duty, for example in an emergency. There is a notion of ‘reasonable excuse’, for example in relation to saying prayers at the prescribed times, if there is a more urgent demand. Temporary marriage (*mutah*) can be used to overcome the norms of gender separation – according to Umar, ‘The Holy Prophet allowed *mutah* [marriage] during a period of emergency.’ This may just have afforded protection to lone women, and may not have entailed intimate relations, but if it did, any resultant children would be legally protected. In Islamic states such as Iran, in emergency contexts, it is accepted by professionals ‘for sure’ that:

- If female rescue workers are not available to carry out a rescue, it is acceptable for men to respond even if this means touching. In training, the scenario of a woman in a shower when a building collapses provides a discussion along the lines that: a woman rescue-worker should be sought if immediately available, a towel or other covering can be handed to the woman if practical, but if not men may take the necessary action, covering the woman as soon as possible.
- Similarly, medical students are taught that it is preferable for women to have emergency or other treatment from a woman doctor, but if a woman is not available a man can respond. That is common, particularly in rural areas, or when specialist skills are needed.
- In warfare, it is acceptable that unrelated men and women can live together and sleep in the same room, if that is the only way to fight efficiently. This was practised during the Iran–Iraq war, sometimes through *mutah*, but might apply to other emergency situations such as temporary shelter after an earthquake.

These precepts are little different from the way that western rescue and medical services would operate in the same situation. The guiding principle is that it is important to show respect for how people, particularly women, feel about rules and themselves – their dignity, self-respect, perception of social status – rather than an unquestioning respect for the rules themselves.

Therefore, the reports that during the tsunami Muslim women drowned because they would not accept help from men in rescue boats, or were impeded by heavy clothing which they would not abandon, seem to demonstrate a **vulnerability caused by misunderstanding beliefs**. Not least, there is nothing in the Koran that precludes girls learning how to swim. This proposes the need to educate about the emergency circumstances in which cultural norms can be suspended or adapted.

Whilst the adverse influences of religion in disaster contexts are often noted anecdotally, there seems to be **no research** about how and why this occurs, and how religious and other traditional beliefs and customs might be deployed in a positive way, particularly to redress harmful misunderstandings.

However, the notion of ‘emergency as opportunity’ should not be extended to legitimize the ‘creative destructionist’ view surrounding current ‘humanitarian intervention’ – the notion that any violent intervention is acceptable because ‘rehabilitation’ can redress any resultant harm. And, contrary to popular western myth, the Chinese character for ‘crisis’ (weiji) does not mean ‘danger + opportunity’.

5.2 Future developments

5.2.1 Neutrality

A key strength of UN organizations and some international NGOs is that, stemming from the historical ICRC ethos, they are generally perceived to be neutral. This has important implications:

- This study suggests that one of the main compounding factors affecting children in emergencies is that they may be excluded because of the **abuse of power against ‘others’** (e.g. Dalits, girls, children of fishermen).
- Schools are often used for **factional or political purposes**, or as military bases, which endangers children and staff and deters attendance.
- Children and others are sometimes made vulnerable through **association with western international organizations** that are perceived to be ‘the enemy’. This may mean being ostracized or even subjected to violence, or that people simply do not attend the school or project out of fear, or from a genuine belief that the organization will promote unwanted western values. NGOs often want to ‘show the flag’, to increase visibility and encourage donations. In terms of the ‘do no harm’ principle, neutrality should be paramount, even if that means anonymity. Even the UN is sometimes not perceived as being neutral, for example in Afghanistan.

Neutrality should not only be a **conspicuous ethos** of international local NGOs, but perhaps also a **condition of emergency aid** to government schools and local NGO projects. Outside the context of emergency, the approach might be different to accommodate local traditions that are not harmful, but neutrality is essential in post-emergency contexts.

Schools run by **private companies** are often better at presenting a neutral image, because there are obvious financial costs if they are seen as partisan or an external influence. Parents rarely know the cultural or national identities of the CEOs and financial backers, and a neutral space for educational and social development is created. International agencies might consider working through the private sector – reflecting the UN Public–Private Partnership (PPP) schemes – if neutrality cannot be achieved in other ways.

It is also important to ensure that the principles of neutrality and fairness are **implemented within UNICEF** and other agencies. Fieldwork found that some senior officers – government, NGO and UN – are from privileged backgrounds and are not sensitive to issues of vulnerability. One person in this category stated unequivocally that as everyone was vulnerable during an emergency, it was a ‘waste of time’ to pay particular attention to specific groups.

5.2.2 Long-term post-emergency strategies

Many international NGOs and donors exit when the immediate impacts of an emergency have been stabilized, but education often requires a longer-term form of intervention, and systems to link the emergency response with the ongoing mainstream services. Relevant areas include the following:

- **Retention** of children in school sometimes seems more problematic than basic enrolment. This suggests that schools should provide more immediate rewards, for example life-skills or vocational training, and then work gradually towards the ‘deferred gratification’ of formal exams. Return home from camps sometimes means the end of school attendance.
- **Integrating** children into school is often fraught because this can only happen at one or two points during the year. If children have to wait 11 months for entrance, they are likely to find rewarding alternatives in the labour market, and the window of opportunity for reintegration is lost. MoE officials are often completely unaware that in many countries (e.g. UK), migrant children can enter school at any time of the year, even if they do not speak the language of instruction, or have had a very disrupted educational experience previously. It is the duty of the education system, and the professional responsibility of teachers, to accommodate such children properly. UNICEF and other agencies might lobby for an international change of practice, based on the Right to Education.
- After emergencies, particularly war, there are ‘**lost generations**’ of older young people whose education has been disrupted. (In Iran – the ‘burnt generation’.) These young people are often invisible to education planning because they do not fit the system, yet their needs are significant. At primary level, the education post-emergency response now often benefits the generation that was not directly affected by war. UNICEF and other agencies might advocate for special remedial provision for lost generations, or encourage the non-formal and private sectors to respond to this need. Military educators involved in humanitarian assistance do this through adult education programmes.
- Emergency relief measures and reconstruction can also contribute to reproducing and exacerbating vulnerability, including access to education. Schools and projects are not automatically ‘safe spaces’ for children in the aftermath of an emergency. Responses can create **iatrogenic impacts** – the cures that cause ills. The post-emergency response needs to be aware of and able to respond to this, but often mainstream state provision reflects a ‘business as usual’ ethos. Research about the nature and causes of iatrogenic impacts, and feedback into the emergency response system, would be a valuable preventive strategy.

The phrase ‘building back better’ does not refer just to physical infrastructure. The ‘tyranny of the urgent’ should become replaced with medium and long-term strategies which protect children as children and in future as adults. In terms of conflict or extremism, it could be argued that this might be protective of society generally. This study has emphasized capabilities as well as protection, and these capabilities are not just personal in terms of survival, but are capabilities in participating in civil society and building secure societies.

5.2.3 ‘Up-system’ education

The main focus of education in emergencies is children, specifically those who are seen as vulnerable. But what are the learning needs of elites, particularly in relation to the vulnerability of children? There are obvious needs such as technical skills, emergency planning, and preparedness, but there may also be needs in terms of developing attitudes:

- Religious and other local leaders may need to be trained to teach local people about **religious and cultural misunderstandings** in the context of an emergency (see ‘Emergency as opportunity’, above).
- When communities are imbalanced because of loss of life among particular groups, especially young men, community leaders need to be helped to **develop local cultural attitudes**, for example

a greater acceptance that women may marry late or remain unmarried, that women may take over male roles and jobs.

- Community elites can be part of unfair allocation of school places or scholarships, but can be encouraged to be involved in transparent data collection on children out of school, and in developing School Improvement Plans to address this.
- There is evidence of prejudicial attitudes among local staff within aid agencies, including the UN, which need to be redressed through **professional development**.

The status of the UN puts it in a unique position to provide these forms of 'up-system' education, which may not be acceptable from other sources.

5.2.4 Regional strategies

Disasters and emergencies do not respect national borders. One of the distinct strategic advantages of UN and some other organizations working in emergencies is that they can take a **regional rather than national perspective**, when appropriate. This strength might be developed, but not just in terms of the usual UN concept of a region as a collection of adjacent countries. Considerations include:

- **Cross-border families** are often marginalized, and sometimes ostracized, in emergencies, because it is not clear who has responsibility for them. Even NGO programmes are often nationally rooted, and have difficulty using resources and providing services a few kilometres across a border.
- Sometimes in emergencies the nearest necessary public services are across a border. Access to the **nearest appropriate service** might be facilitated.
- Refugees are often held in border regions, for political reasons, and become completely cut off from families and other social networks, at a time when this form of support is vital. Good **communication facilities** in these centres are needed, e.g. assistants to write confidentially for illiterate people, effective electronic communications, and in recipient communities the transfer to paper format and delivery to families and others.
- In relation to the education of migrant returnees, UN personnel might formally **accredit educational experiences** and achievements, and provide educational profiles of children ('international school reports') in relevant languages, if the national system is unable to accredit attainments in emergency settings or national certificates are not accepted in other countries. Similarly, if children have lost previous school certificates and reports, agencies might help families to create portfolios of educational experiences – which schools/projects were attended, what subjects were taken, etc.
- In emergencies, **'regions' are often physical, not geopolitical**, for example coastal communities in two or three adjacent countries, hill communities across mountain ranges, towns around the epicentre of an earthquake. Risky chemical plants and nuclear power stations are often sited near borders or on the coast, and vectors of pollution cross borders.

The EC concept of Euroregions (e.g. Baltic) provides a useful model, which has political credibility. Within this approach, communities are perceived as a region because they face common problems, not because of national identity. Agreements can be reached about using 'nearest appropriate services' even if they are across borders.

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COUNTRY STUDIES

This section presents the Country Studies of the eight countries in the ROSA region. As explained in the Methodology (Section 1.2), these studies are the result of interviews conducted with key stakeholders in each country and literature search on themes related to the links between educational exclusion, vulnerability and emergencies for each country.

It must be emphasized that each study as presented here is a synthesis and summary of data available to the study team at the time, to enable focus and some comparability between contexts. An attempt has been made to select only material that relates to the Terms of Reference and aims of the study, so they are not the full reports from the local researchers nor transcripts of interviews. Inevitably, there was sometimes disagreement between interviewees (for example on who is the most vulnerable, or which agency first started an initiative), but we have tried to present the consensus view.

Each study is presented under the same headings:

1. *Emergencies* (the particular natural and man-made disasters to affect the country)
2. *Vulnerabilities* (the groups affected)
3. *Strategies* (what has been tried to lessen the vulnerability)
4. *Issues* (the complexities of the problems emerging)

The studies are the raw material from which the analysis and conceptual work in the main study was derived. They are referred to in the main text, and the detail of some of the reporting and arguments can be found if required.

The list of people and organizations visited is given in Annex 1.

Afghanistan

1. Emergencies

It is misleading to see education emergencies in Afghanistan only in terms of recent events, or war.

For much of the past century, Afghanistan has experienced severe political violence and turmoil. In terms of educational development, the best period coincided with the era of minimal external interference (1926–78), when compulsory education was established and girls started to attend school. During the 1970s, 60 per cent of the students at Kabul University were women. The Soviet occupation (1979–89) maintained but did not expand this emergent system. Decline set in with the arrival of the Pakistan/US backed Mujahidin (1992–96). The Taliban (1995–2001) then closed girls' schools and restricted the curriculum for boys to religious 'non-modern' content. In 1999, less than one-third of children were enrolled in schools (Samady, 2001). From 2002 there was significant international intervention. In 2005 the enrolment rate was 86.5 (% gross), but completion rate was only 32.3 (% of age group) (World Bank, 2007). In terms of completing an education, it might be argued that the situation now is little different from the Taliban era.

The media interest in conflict often masks other emergencies. In 2002, in Nahrin, NE Afghanistan, around 2000–5000 people died in a magnitude 6 quake, and around 30,000 homes were destroyed (CNN, 2002). In 1998, 7000 were killed in the same region. Around 2000 people have been killed, and a total of 79,800 made homeless, due to floods since 1954, and landslides and avalanches have killed 799 people, injured 64, and made 110 made homeless. These official figures are likely to be an underestimate. There are significant ongoing 'slow emergencies' because of land erosion, water shortages, HIV/AIDS, famine, and military detritus.

2. Vulnerabilities

The view of 'vulnerability' by outsiders can provide an unbalanced view of the nature of the problem in Afghanistan and similar settings. It is helpful to view descriptions of vulnerability from outsider and insider standpoints.

Outsider views

- Reflecting media concern, most international experts stress the educational difficulties of **girls**. For example, an Amnesty report (2007) tells of a Taliban military rule book which states:

Anyone who works as a teacher for the current puppet regime must receive a warning. If he nevertheless refuses to give up his job, he must be beaten. If the teacher continues to instruct contrary to the principles of Islam, the district commander or group leader must kill him. Schools set up by NGOs are to be closed or be burned down.

However, in Kabul, girls attend schools and projects freely, and outwardly seem little different from girls attending school in any low-income country.

- **Working children** – in Kabul, numbers are said to have risen from 40 to 60,000 in 10 years (de Berry, 2003). Rural child labour will be greater. Children are said to be involved in **smuggling** drugs across the border into Pakistan and Iran.
- **Domestic labourers**, normally girls, are often not viewed as ‘child labourers’ yet this aspect can prevent school attendance.
- Children are likely to be involved in **sweatshop** labour – e.g. carpet making – and this may increase as economic activity picks up.
- Girls and boys are known to be involved in the **sex trade** (e.g. dancers, children working with truck drivers), and related **trafficking**. Being turned away from an orphanage, school or project can precipitate this.
- **Street-living children** – projects believe that there are very few such children, but press reports suggest otherwise.
- **Nomadic children (and families)** are evident in the centre of Kabul. Family ties are usually strong, but they can become detached/abandoned.
- **Drug users** – the ‘poderi’ who live in the badly bomb-damaged ruins. The Nejah Rehabilitation Centre estimates that the number of drug users has increased from 4000 to 60,000 in ten years; 2000 are female. It is claimed that babies are being born addicted, and children working in the carpet trade are given opium to encourage compliance (Meo, 2004).
- There are few **disabled children** within projects and schools, and seemingly no children with significant mental disabilities. It is estimated that there are 200,000 disabled children in Afghanistan; 75 per cent do not go to school (IRIN, 2008). Emergencies compound access problems, for example pushing wheelchairs along damaged paths, or getting to temporary schools in sandy or muddy areas.
- **Violence** against children, in schools and at home, is significant. Girls living with extended families are vulnerable to sexual violence from a young age.
- Children in **detention centres, prisons and orphanages** have the same educational needs as others. UNESCO runs a de-institutionalization project.
- **Children of prisoners** suffer economic hardship, low self-esteem and alienation, which lead to school avoidance.
- The UN has been addressing the **militarization of children** but considers that this work is now not a priority.
- Projects report that children often appear to have experienced **criminal influences** and, for example, request only to be taught English, IT and religion which is taken to imply a ‘curriculum for terrorism’.
- In 2001 there were around 3.6 million **refugees**. Subsequently there are many **returnees** – 2 million in 2002 alone. There are educational issues of language, curriculum continuity, special needs and social integration. Most of these children will not appear on official records.
- **War detritus**, particularly **land mines**, affects many rural and some urban regions. Most projects provide land awareness mine education.

- **IDPs** – this decade, one-fifth of Afghans are or have been refugees or internally displaced. Children will not appear on records, and have no ID (World Bank, 2007). Many people have been displaced more than once.

Insider views

- **Older children** in large families complain that they must stay at home to look after siblings, or go to work. They are hard to accommodate within standard projects/schools. They may be disruptive, and are ‘unlovable’ for staff.
- Children who are ‘**school failures**’ before an emergency often use the crisis as an excuse to drop out of school.
- Children indicate that **policies reflect group stereotypes** – ‘we were all the after-war kids’ – and ignore personal differences and problems. If children complain about personal difficulties, they are told by teachers and families, ‘Thank God you are OK. Stop making a fuss about stupid things.’ ‘Everyone wants to be a hero. The war problem is the fashion. Teachers and other professionals get their status by addressing the fashionable problem.’
- The war-child ‘**lost generation**’ (Sengupta, 2006) suffers stress because of the need to catch-up within rigid school systems that make that impossible – ‘We were jealous of the younger generation whose education was not disrupted.’ ‘They fear the future.’
- **Boys often suffer** in gender-specific ways. They are pressured to get a job, while girls go to college or university. Later, it is easier for women to find employment because they are more educated, can be flexible and accept lower salaries, and benefit from the non-financial rewards of employment. Culturally, their men have the responsibility to be the breadwinner. Boys in this circumstance often opt to join **the army** as it provides a safe, secure and respected lifestyle, and education of some sort.
- After war, there are **fewer men** so, rather than return to school or college, ‘girls are pushed into polygamous marriages and men are forced to accept more than one wife’. Older generations have not been re-educated to accept single women, although many young people would prefer this to bad marriages which impede further (or remedial) education.
- Children in communities that **host refugees** are often jealous of the extra attention and resources given to the incomers.
- Refugee children suddenly become a **minority** in an alien land, with ‘strange accents’, ‘weird clothes’, ‘bad style’ or low ‘rural status’. (In Iran, ‘Afghan’ is now a term of abuse.) Migrants from rural areas find that school is ‘more serious’ in towns, and cannot cope.
- International projects often assume that **all Muslims are the same**. Sunni children in a Shiite school ‘will not want to pray with the other children, but will want to hide the fact that they are Sunni.’
- **Cross-border families** often wish to remain outside formal structures, particularly schools. Afghanistan is central to 2000 years of Silk Road tradition, which has become ‘cross-border trade’ only recently. Families are often criminalized or labelled as ‘terrorists’ just because of their geopolitical history. The education of senior public officials about the true nature of these groups is probably as important as educating the people themselves.
- Informally, children and local people mention **association with western occupiers** as putting them at risk, and this would include the UN. Retribution can range from low-key verbal harassment to killings. International agencies often want to ‘show the flag’ and promote their international

identities for fund-raising purposes, but this can create an additional and probably avoidable vulnerability.

- **Children's perceptions** of vulnerability are circumstantial and not also predictable, ranging from 'ghosts', and 'crazy people', to 'places where trees have diseases'. The Save the Children/UNICEF study (de Berry, 2003) provides excellent insights. (See the end of this country study.)

3. Strategies

Afghanistan has probably experienced the largest external education intervention of any country in the world, from capacity building within ministries assisted by the EC and other major donors, and bilateral aid for teacher training, to small local NGOs working with a few dozen children, and niche interventions such as 'Clowns sans frontiers'. Strategies therefore represent the whole spectrum of state-of-the-art international education interventions, many reflecting a children's rights approach. Broadly speaking, for emergency education work in Afghanistan, there is probably not a significant problem of resource shortages, human or financial.

- It is therefore hard to **evaluate** whether successes and failures are attributable to the nature of a particular strategy, or to the extreme contexts (both unfavourable and favourable) in which education is operating at present.
- It is similarly hard to assess the success of **scaling-up**. Many interventions which seem inappropriate are made to work because of massive cash incentives and readily available expertise. In contrast, small-scale projects may demonstrate seemingly appropriate strategies, but scaling up is often hard not only because of the social exigencies but also because activities were not designed to permit this, for example because they depended on specific external experts.
- The most conspicuous emergency ethos within international projects is **psychosocial**. Therapists use a blend of indigenous games and music, and western techniques, to normalize children's lives. But this is inevitably small-scale, and training local staff is slow and not seen as a national priority.
- The teaching of **parenting skills** is seen as a way to address domestic violence against children, and to provide a supportive educational environmental for them. But this does not get much donor support, and there is reticence among parents to accept this 'western intervention' unless there are other immediate benefits.
- The **Healthy School Initiative** provides facilities which particularly assist girls to attend school, through providing separate toilets and health advice and resources (Winthrop and Kirk, forthcoming).

4. Issues

- **Retention** seems more problematic than basic enrolment. This suggests that education should provide more immediate rewards, for example life-skills or vocational training, rather than the 'deferred gratification' of formal exams.
- **Returning** children to school is fraught because this can only happen at one or two points during the year. If children have to wait 11 months for entrance, they are likely to find rewarding alternatives in the labour market and the window of opportunity for reintegration is lost.
- There is much mention of the '**lost generations**' of older young people whose education has been disrupted since the Russians left. (Similarly in Iran the 'burnt generation', or Australia the 'stolen

generation'.) The most recent aspect will be returnees from Iran and Pakistan. These young people are often invisible to education planning because they do not fit the system, yet their needs are significant. At primary level, the education emergency response now benefits the generation that was not directly affected by war. Those who suffered worst since the Mujahidin may now be in their 20s and early 30s.

- The idea that **girls (or other groups) are intrinsically educationally vulnerable** is misleading. For example, it is not female characteristics that prevent girls from attending schools (except for short periods if they are pregnant). The problems are social, not biological. Arguably much of the **victim-focused approach to 'vulnerability'** amounts to treating the symptoms not the disease.
- The educational implications of an emergency are not just 'down system' concerning victims. There is often a need to educate **'up system'** personnel – local, national and international – about the nature of certain communities and their specific needs.
- Emergency funding and resources are substantial in Afghanistan, but serious problems pertain. This demonstrates the **limits of intervention**, and international agencies could learn a lot about these boundaries, instead of promoting a western utopian belief that there are solutions to all problems and that progress is intrinsically linear towards a modern society. 'Need more resources' and 'developing the right strategies' is not always the panacea for educational emergencies. In Ban Ki-moon's words, 'principled pragmatism' might be a more appropriate approach.

21 October 2008. Chris Williams

This report uses data from fieldwork carried out among vulnerable children and NGO projects by the author for the EC in 2004: 'Towards an urban children vulnerability initiative'. This supplemented and was updated by insights from e-interviews with people currently working in Afghanistan, and interviews with Afghan refugees and professionals who have worked with them, in the UK.

From: *The Children of Kabul*, Save the Children/UNICEF (2003), pp.45,30
Children's perceptions of vulnerability

Physical Dangers for Children

Results of children's mapping activity:

Most frequently drawn places of danger, in order of frequency

1. traffic on the streets
2. destroyed houses (ghosts)
3. mined areas
4. places where mad dogs are
5. military posts
6. airport (noise of planes)
7. mountains where children collect firewood
8. high roofs/walls
9. electricity lines
10. places where mad people are
11. open wells
12. water courses and rivers
13. swings
14. hospitals
15. places where drug addicts are
16. water pumps
17. water tankers
18. toilets
19. old battle grounds
20. stagnant water
21. places where there are strict people
22. places where there are thieves
23. the zoo
24. places where the trees have diseases
25. places where foreigners are
26. gas shops
27. TV/video shops
28. Taliban's house
29. ovens
30. places where mosquitoes are
31. places where snakes are
32. places damaged by the earthquake
33. kite shops
34. the Palace
35. rubbish heaps
36. places where people gamble
37. places where there are many camels

Children of Kabul Talk About Worry

Most common worries

1. ghosts
2. hearing bombs and explosions and worrying about war starting
3. seeing someone suffer from sickness and worrying about them getting better
4. having hard work and worrying about how to do it
5. earthquakes and worrying about being killed
6. crossing the road when there is a lot of traffic
7. dying
8. when someone else in the family has a worry
9. no food in the house
10. a lot of work because with many guests in the house
11. exams
12. insults from a father
13. hearing bad news

Children of Kabul Talk About Fear

Things that children are most commonly afraid of

1. ghosts
2. darkness
3. people with guns (including ISAF)
4. bombs and explosions
5. dangerous places
6. earthquakes
7. when mother goes out of the house
8. crazy people
9. boys who wink at and follow girls
10. being alone

Bangladesh

1. Emergencies

The main emergencies both experienced by, and increasingly threatening to, Bangladesh come from the sea in the form of tidal surges, cyclones and flooding, the frequency and intensity of the last two being associated with global warming. It is warned that 5 more metres of sea water will cause Bangladesh to disappear. These emergencies are elaborated on below.

Floods. Bangladesh is beset with disasters: in the last 10 years there was significant flooding in 1998, 2004 and 2007. In addition there is regular flooding that is counted as part of normal life in Bangladesh. In 2008 alone, thousands of people were made homeless by the floods but no emergency has been called because the duration of flooding was not seen to be very long. Flooding particularly impacts on people living on the banks of the Jamuna river and on the island chars (large sand banks which form in the river). Every year the river erodes the banks of the river with a resultant loss of homes and other assets for those living in the villages on the edge of the river. They have no option but to migrate since there is no available land nearby to rebuild their homes. For those living on the island chars, life is unpredictable: if the river changes its course the island disappears – it may last for 1 year or 20, but there is little indication of when it will be overtaken by the river. A similar situation occurs near the coast where those living on the costal chars are subject to the same sort of regular loss of homes and livelihoods. A further area, the wetlands or haors, may be waterlogged for 6 months of the year; this impacts on people's livelihoods and on their ability to move around – here, migrating for part of the year together with coping with the water-logging, is part of normal life – risk reduction strategies are minimal. Water-logging also occurs in lower-lying urban areas where drainage of flood waters is not very effective – in this case it is the urban poor who suffer most. The situation is getting worse with climate change – more areas are seeing substantial flooding as a regular occurrence; normalcy for many in Bangladesh is 'losing your home' and rebuilding on an almost yearly basis. In turn this impacts on the education of the most vulnerable children who live in the chars, the haors and the low-lying land which is susceptible to flooding.

Cyclones. Cyclone Sidr hit the coastal districts in the south of the country in November 2007. Initially there was a significant impact on all sectors of the community directly hit by the cyclone. It was, however, the poorest families who lost their homes and their animals (where they had them) since they had little protection from the elements. In the worst hit areas infrastructure, including schools, was destroyed, sanitation and water supply severely affected and livelihoods opportunities reduced. Where people could, they stayed on their land to secure it and prevent other people moving in. Nearly 1000 children were orphaned and many families are still homeless.

Other emergencies that can impact on education. Conflict and political tensions are evident in Bangladesh but their impact is far less than in other countries in the region. Following the election of the Bangladesh National Party to power in 2001, Hindu minorities suffered persecution. There was also conflict in the Chittagong Hill Tracts between the Bengali majority and the Ethnic minorities. Whilst the

Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord was signed in 1997, tensions still remain and the army has a significant presence in the area. Being hilly, the area is subject to disasters such as landslides (due to the *Jhum* – slash and burn culture – and to the felling of trees for wood). 2007 saw a plague of rats brought about by the bamboo flowering (something that happens every 40–50 years – eating the flowers makes the rats 8–10 times more fertile).

Bangladesh is on the fault line for earthquakes – and a small earthquake was felt in Dhaka on 20 September 2008; however, there have been no earthquakes on any significant scale.

Almost every year many people in Bangladesh suffer from food shortages – the *monga* period referred to in the report from CARE on the northern regions as a ‘cyclical phenomenon of poverty and hunger’ results in people migrating to the urban areas to find work. Poverty and migration both have an impact on the education of the poorest children affected by *monga*.

2. Vulnerabilities

The poor. Natural disasters tend to exacerbate pre-existing vulnerabilities of populations already at risk. The coastal poor are particularly vulnerable to ‘natural’ disasters from the sea as they are attracted to the coast in the first place by the range of resources that are frequently more accessible to the poor than in other areas inland:

As a result when these hazards hit the coast they often turn into disasters that affect different people in different ways. The most prepared, enabled and empowered people are often able to avoid, cope with or adapt to these events. By contrast the poor are often unaware of the potential danger, or are unwilling, or unable, to respond to it. (*DFID/Sustainable Coastal Livelihoods Project South Asia, 2001:5*)

In every emergency it tends to be the poorest who suffer most. Whilst many lose their homes, it is the poorest whose homes cannot withstand the impact of cyclones or whose homes are built in low-lying areas so are susceptible to flooding. The poor also are first to lose their livelihoods since they work as day labourers or in the fields – after the emergency many of them lose employment opportunities. Hence there is little money for food and children are occupied scavenging for small fish or looking after other children and animals while the parents queue for handouts and try to rebuild their lives. Education is low on the list of priorities and the poorest children often return to school last, resulting in loss of understanding because they miss so much schooling. Recently, the poor in Bangladesh have been further hit by very rapid rises in the prices of foodstuffs, which has impacted on school enrolment (Raihan, 2008).

According to this report, the poor are likely to be the least documented group. In many coastal areas the poor occupy land they have no title to, in areas that are remote, hostile and seldom visited. This means that they are the hidden poor, invisible to the authorities and not recorded in any set of statistics. Children are also particularly vulnerable to becoming ‘invisible’ and removed from education, that is:

- Children without a formal identity because they are never registered and therefore deprived of access to education (50 million globally).

- Children without parental care – orphans, those in detention, some street children, child soldiers.
- Children who are exploited by child labour in the sex trade and private domestic service.

(UNICEF, 2006)

Children of sex workers, sweepers and tea garden workers are also vulnerable.

One particular vulnerability is the increasing numbers of poor in urban, slum settings. In Dhaka, for example, 40 per cent of the population are considered by the World Bank to be poor. Educational indicators, such as attendance rates, in urban slums are already lower than the national average. With climate change, rising sea levels, river erosion and floods displace many who seek refuge in urban cities, thus creating unrecognized and invisible (legally) slums. Children are especially vulnerable in these settings.

Gender. Enarson (2000:5) describes the root causes of women's vulnerabilities to disasters and emergencies:

In general, around the world, women are poorer than men ... Women are disproportionately employed in unpaid and non-formal sectors of economies. Inheritance laws and traditions, marriage arrangements, banking systems and social patterns that reinforce women's dependence on fathers, husbands and sons all contribute to their unfavourable access to resources and their lack of power to change things. The health dangers that result from multiple births can contribute to interrupted work and low productivity. Traditional expectations and home-based responsibilities that limit women's mobility also limit their opportunities for political involvement, education, access to information, markets and a myriad of other resources, the lack of which reinforces the cycle of their vulnerability.

Enarson (p.6) also puts forward the following categories of highly vulnerable women in the context of natural disasters:

- Poor or low income women
- Refugee women and the homeless
- Senior women
- Women with cognitive or physical disabilities
- Women heading households
- Widows and frail elderly women
- Indigenous women
- Recent migrants
- Women with language barriers
- Women in subordinated cultural groups
- Socially isolated women
- Caregivers with numerous dependents
- Women in shelters/homeless
- Women subject to assault or abuse
- Women living alone
- Chronically ill women
- Undocumented women
- Malnourished women and girls.

Dankelman *et al.* (2008:51) report in relation to Bangladesh that:

In a cyclone, even if a warning is issued, many women die while waiting for their relatives to return home and accompany them to a safe place.

In interview data and journalistic accounts, incidents of rape, gang rape, molestation and physical abuse of women and girls in the course of unsupervised rescue operations and during residence in temporary shelters are mentioned (although it is difficult to substantiate these fully). Lack of security is certainly the issue. What is clear is that:

... the disaster context itself often generates an environment where gender stereotypes flourish as mass anxiety, social disintegration and life-threatening danger cause people to cling to familiar patterns [so that] women are often ignored in camp meetings and consultations. (*Pittaway, Bartolomei and Rees, 2007:310*)

In Bangladesh, girls of primary school age do not appear to be more badly affected than boys, but few statistics exist to support this assumption – girls look after other children and the home whilst boys forage for food. Teenage girls, however, are particularly affected by disasters. For example after serious flooding or the cyclone whole families went to stay in communal shelters. With little seclusion, security becomes a significant problem for teenage girls. Whilst some girls were sent to a safe place at night to ensure their security, the tendency to give girls to marriage after disasters is increased. Often the girls are under 16, but ensuring their security and having one less mouth to feed perpetuates this practice. Some work has been done by NGOs around counselling girls and their families and on trying to create safe spaces for women and children in the cyclone shelters – however, little is written about the impact. The girls are likely to be withdrawn from school on marriage and hence their education comes to a halt. Research carried out related to the female stipend programme in Bangladesh (Thornton *et al.*, 2005), however, found that some married girls did continue in school (though they kept quiet about the fact that they were married) in order to continue their education and receive stipends from the government given to girls attending secondary school.

Mathieu (2006:27) also makes the important point in relation to girls in South Asia and beyond (which is also relevant to children as a whole) that:

Globally, a poor reporting of girls' own perceptions of education and experiences of conflict constitutes a barrier to a better understanding of their psychological and physical needs. Their opinions are seldom asked even when decisions are made affecting their lives. In most of the studies, it appears that the analysis of the situation of girls was conducted without input from them.

Ethnic minorities. There are small pockets of ethnic minority people living in many parts of Bangladesh. The largest communities are in the Chittagong Hill Tracts where the majority of people come from different ethnic minority groups. They are marginalized when it comes to provision of services including education. They have their own languages and a different culture from the plain land Bengalis who account for about 98 per cent of the population. Educationally the government model of schooling, with

2–3 roomed schools and 3–4 teachers is not relevant in the Chittagong Hill Tracts where communities are small and communication between villages difficult (making it difficult for teachers to get to the schools). Hence many children in the area are without education – many NGOs run small schools for the children but sustainability is problematic as funds will often only be given for 3–5 years. Migration from one area to another is also a significant issue for those living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The *Jhum* (slash and burn) culture and disasters such as landslides and the plague of rats causes many families to migrate. As a result children’s education is disrupted and they are unlikely to return to school.

Children generally. Children are mainly smaller and less powerful than adults and this makes them vulnerable in an emergency. Save the Children (2006a:16–22) note that when a flood emergency occurs in Bangladesh children in the food shelters suffer from lack of space, sharing rooms with strangers, lack of privacy (especially girls), physical abuse, sexual harassment, not being involved in decision making and information and not getting enough food because of being beaten or pushed out of queues, food snatching and being offered only scraps at the end. There were also particular problems with children in terms of evacuation and rescue concerning separation from families, losing treasured possessions, tensions with parents, being regarded as a burden, getting lost in the confusion, becoming head of household in the case of the death of the parents, and parents even selling off children or marrying them off at an early age.

Children with disabilities. Disability is on the agenda for primary education in Bangladesh – there is currently a component in the Government’s Primary Education Development Programme 2 (PEDP 2) which focuses on inclusion, including the needs of disabled children. There are a few schools for children with specific disabilities, including those with no sight and those who cannot hear. However, very few children with disabilities attend mainstream school and little is known about whether emergencies impact on their education.

3. Strategies

Infrastructure and psychosocial support. In Bangladesh, beyond restoring infrastructure, the consideration of education in emergencies is relatively new. Risk reduction and response strategies have tended to focus on provision of food and shelter for affected families, on provision of clean water and sanitary facilities, on preventing the spread of disease, on repair and reconstruction of buildings and on restoring ‘normalcy’ as soon as possible. For education this has meant getting the schools up and running again, including repairing and rebuilding where necessary and making sure that students can take exams that they missed in alternative spaces. There has been no real consideration of the needs of particular vulnerable groups and an assumption that once schools are restored children will return and continue their education. However, unless water, sanitation systems and privacy are properly restored or even improved, for example, they could constitute a continuing reason why female pupils are reluctant to attend school (Mathieu, 2006:78/9). In a survey of 80 schools in Bangladesh, 52 did not have separate toilet facilities and in those that did have them they were mainly reserved for the teachers (Action Aid, 2005).

UNICEF has designed an emergency kit of recreational items for 25 children aged 3–5 containing, for example, crayons, pencils, erasers, a tennis ball and toy plastic animals which could be of use both during the emergency and in the period immediately afterwards.

Yet post-emergency education would also need to take into account the deep psychological damage done, often manifesting itself in stunned and disengaged behaviour. The Coastal Livelihoods report referred to above regards this as 'one of the most neglected aspects of rehabilitation' and obviously affects children as well as adults. This suggests that it is not just a case of rebuilding schools post-emergency but that the type of education provided might need to differ in significant ways, a point which will be returned to under 'Issues' below. However, in Bangladesh, NGOs (SCF UK, Plan International) deliver training on risk reduction for education in emergencies to selected schools in crisis areas. Much of the training is linked to the regular programmes of NGOs which promote more child-friendly learning approaches through provision of attractive materials, including story books and recreational materials.

Schools as safe spaces. The implications for education would seem to be in overcoming the 'tyranny of the urgent' to think about medium to longer-term complex gender and social issues. This means not only access to schooling for those out of school both before and because of the emergency but also what goes on in schools. This includes preventive initiatives such as those in use in Bangladesh, to work with school communities to minimize loss of life when cyclones strike (Bensaiah, Sinclair and Hadj Nacer, 2001). In Bangladesh, cyclone Sidr marked a turning point in consideration of children's needs in emergencies. With so many agencies involved in giving relief, a number of NGOs turned their attention to how children could be supported in the immediate aftermath. Initial strategies included the use of megaphones telling people to look after their children – in the rush to get relief many just abandoned their children on the roadside. NGOs also attempted to ensure that children as well as adults received food after Sidr.

The next step was the setting up of 'safe spaces' or 'child-friendly spaces' (under the coordination of UNICEF). Different models were used by each NGO but the basic concept was to provide a safe space where children could go whilst the parents queued for food and attempted to rebuild their lives. In the centres children were given food, they played games, drew pictures and talked about the cyclone. Since the centres were open to everyone, children from the most vulnerable groups – the poorest, the disabled – and those who had previously dropped out of school attended. People initially were very sceptical – why have activities for children when everyone is suffering so much – however, this attitude changed once the centres were started. Parents valued the support and the fact that their children were being fed – as a consequence more and more children were attracted to the centres.

NGOs reported that the schools eventually put pressure on the NGOs to close the 'safe spaces'. The children had become very attached to the volunteers – they had enjoyed the games and the drawing and were sad to see the centres close. Materials from the centres were sent to the schools to encourage more child-friendly approaches and there was a hope that children who had previously dropped out of school would re-enrol at the beginning of the next school year. However, reports suggest that those who had previously dropped out did not return to school, though no data exists to confirm this.

The centres come under the 'child protection' heading rather than the 'education' heading in the UNICEF Sidr report (though child protection is included within the UNICEF Education section). In this regard, the activities do not cover 'formal' educational activities like reading, writing, maths, etc. Whilst they provide a valuable educational opportunity in terms of socializing, talking, art, music, etc. they are not recognized as providing 'education' per se. Were the centres to place more emphasis on reading stories and writing about experiences as well as drawing pictures of the impact of Sidr, this might help those

children who have dropped out of school to build up the confidence to re-enter school after the disaster. Given that the centres were running for 2–3 months in many cases, using them as a catalyst to encourage the most vulnerable children to return to school by bridging the gap between the play approach and the more formal might have been a possibility.

This appears to have been the first time that this concept has been used extensively in Bangladesh. Whilst it worked particularly well after the cyclone, using the same approach following floods may be problematic. The poorest often end up in makeshift houses on the side of the road with the flood waters on one side of their homes and the road on the other. In this context it is not always possible to find a safe space large enough to accommodate all the children.

Monitoring. Working on education with and for the coastal poor, and children in general, in a post-emergency context would be greatly enhanced by any improvement in recording, registering and monitoring systems to reduce invisibility and facilitate provision. Very few organizations visited by the field researcher in Bangladesh had organized monitoring strategies beyond compiling lists of which areas had been affected by emergencies and which schools destroyed or damaged. The main tool for recording which children returned to school after emergencies was the class registers. Teachers were aware of which children had not returned, and visited their homes to encourage them to return. NGOs such as BRAC had similar strategies. They have an organized monitoring system to identify which schools are affected by the emergency – project staff then visit children from BRAC schools in the shelters to check that they are all right and to encourage them to return to school after the emergency.

Educational sites. In Bangladesh and other countries faced with the possibility of more and more serious flooding, a more long-term solution for the delivery of education may be to build only schools that can survive, i.e. ones that float. One charity (Shidhulai Swanivar Sangstha – ‘Self-Reliance’) is already doing this by building schools on boats (Hari, 2008). Another possibility is to build schools on tall concrete stilts, which could also act as shelters and rescue points in an emergency such as a cyclone. Work on this has already begun in Bangladesh (<http://us.oneworld.net/places/bangladesh>). For those children who need to work in order to support themselves and their families (about 4.9 million children in Bangladesh), special schools can be set up that operate during break times and at night. In those established by Save the Children, working with the government and non-government organizations, 2,500 children between the ages of five and twelve have attended (www.savethechildren.org.uk/en/975.htm).

Hazard awareness education. In Bangladesh, the National Disaster Management Advisory Committee is working with the Ministry of Education to increase hazard awareness in the school curriculum; the Disaster Management Bureau runs education programmes to increase public awareness of hazards and their prevention (Ferdausi, 2007). Discrepancies, however, are noted between conception and implementation of school disaster curricula in terms of inclusion in the curriculum, teacher professional development and school construction (Saadi, 2006:4). However, Saadi also provides (pp.5–6) two examples of NGO school interventions for cyclone and earthquake preparedness activities in Bangladesh which involved training on first aid, simulation exercises on evacuation and taking shelter, developing warning signs and signals and storing life-saving materials. A further example that could be used by teachers is the book *For Life – Disaster Preparedness in Bangladesh* (2007) authored by a series of NGOs and covering such topics as the importance of community meetings; making portable clay-stoves

for the shelters; making bamboo bridges to help evacuate the most vulnerable people (the elderly, children, pregnant women and people with disability) in case of floods; bamboo shelves for high storage; making early warning flags; making bamboo rafts and storage boxes; carrying out first aid; using sign language for hearing-impaired people during an emergency.

Moreover, once educated in hazard awareness, children themselves can be educational agents of change:

Children can be the most effective agent for spreading the information and strengthening the knowledge base in the community and society at large. In a country like Bangladesh, where the literacy level is only slightly over 50%, and the percentage of educated people is far lower, children going to secondary school and higher secondary schools are considered sources of knowledge, and revered as such. Therefore, the teaching they receive and thus take from the school to their families and communities can be powerful means of communication of the messages of disaster reduction. (Haider, 2008:3)

In Bangladesh, simply getting the government to spend more money on education may be helpful, as at 2.2 per cent of Gross Domestic Product expenditure on education is the lowest in South Asia (*INEE Bi-Weekly Bulletin*, July 2008, Vol. 1).

Post-emergency community care in the curriculum. A letter from a teacher at the International School in Dhaka, Bangladesh in the *Times Educational Supplement* (12/9/2008) noted that in their school community service and international understanding are part of the curriculum and the pupils pull together to help those less fortunate than themselves. He argued that understanding global issues and that everybody can make a difference, however small, is important especially at the time of emergencies and disasters. When cyclone Sidr devastated parts of Bangladesh students, staff and parents sent clothing and blankets to the area worst affected.

4. Issues

The editorial of the *Challenging Times* newsletter for March 2008 in Bangladesh on the comprehensive disaster management programme has the heading 'Building Back Better – Is it a Reality?' This would refer not only to physical rebuilding but also to the ethos and culture of the school. In the light of this it is also important to try to reduce or stop the high rate of physical punishment in schools of pupils in Bangladesh, another disincentive for attendance, and eliminate gender biases in school textbooks (Action Aid, 2005).

DFID (2005:1–3) have argued in relation to girls and secondary education in Bangladesh that reform needs to 'push the boundaries' to move beyond the prominence given to 'educating our girls' to the realization that educated women can more effectively manage not only their own lives but the lives of their families as well. Education can have a lasting impact beyond school. It argues that going to secondary school has given girls confidence to express opinions:

- On when they want to get married and to whom
- On how long they can study

- On whether they would like to work
- On how many children they would like.

But they also suggest that a new approach to secondary education is required which:

- Is more practical and relevant to everyday life
- Gives students skills to solve problems
- Gives students the knowledge to make their own decisions with regard to health, reproduction, careers, etc.
- Is accessible to students of average ability and not just the brightest
- Is responsive to the needs of employers in the job market.

Very importantly, there needs to be continued efforts at educating about gender relations, targeted particularly but not exclusively at men and boys, so that behaviour necessary for survival is discussed and acknowledged as appropriate and important in an emergency context and violent and abusive forms of masculinity are confronted and challenged. This may well amount to a considerable change, especially in terms of parental attitudes. One piece of research on female education in Bangladesh concluded that:

In important ways, girls' schooling does not enhance their capability to have control over their own environment ... When people speak about schooling, there is no sense that girls have a right to schooling. Parents are not willing to postpone a marriage so that daughters can finish school. (*Arends-Kuenning and Amin, 2001:140*)

Finally, relevant to the need to change schools as well as just replacing them is the note of caution expressed in the *INEE Bulletin* (July 2008) that non-government Islamic schools (Quomi madrassas) are alleged to be operating as recruiting grounds for potentially violent groups and this could provide the conditions for the recruitment of child soldiers should conflict develop.

Bhutan

1. Emergencies

As a landlocked mountainous country, the emergency situations specific to Bhutan relate mainly to its topology and climate:

- Earthquakes – Bhutan lies in one of the most seismically active zones – e.g. 2006 in Sandrupjongkhar.
- Glacial lake outburst flooding – occurs when moraine dams in glacial lakes are breached, usually due to melting glaciers – 24 lakes are currently considered hazardous, with the most recent documented damage in 1994.
- Flash floods – during monsoon season – e.g. 2004 in six eastern dzongkhag.
- Forest fires – during dry winter months – 803 recorded from 1994–2004.
- Landslides – occur when rain loosens destabilized soil – often block Thimphu–Phuentsholing highway and hamper communication and delivery of goods.

While these are all potentially life-threatening, the emergencies experienced by Bhutan are generally not on the same scale as in some other countries of the region. Records, however, are not very comprehensive and so the precise extent of impact is often not known. It is claimed that disaster awareness and preparedness is low among the population generally:

At present the society at large is not fully aware of the landslides or other natural hazards ... the Department of Geology and Mines alone seems responsible for the mitigation of landslides. Therefore, there is a need to educate the public at different levels about the dangers of landslides ... a strategy that envisions a society that is fully aware of ... and routinely takes action to reduce both the risks and costs associated with those hazards. (*Kuenza et al, 2004, pp.6–7*)

2. Vulnerabilities

Internal and external sources paint rather different pictures of vulnerability in Bhutan. Internal sources point mainly to the poor and unemployed. Most of the population is rural and these are more likely to rely on subsistence farming and therefore to be poor. Young urban girls are the most likely to be unemployed. Domestic violence is also cited as a traumatizing factor which can heighten vulnerability. In infrastructure and construction terms, people living or working in old buildings, new urban developments, valley and riverside settlements and on steep hills are more vulnerable to the kinds of emergencies experienced in this country.

Reports from outside the country highlight potential vulnerabilities created by the status of some groups (although we have not found references linking these specifically to emergencies). According to some reports, ethnic Nepali children are deprived of nationality and identity; denied the right to return to their own country; denied access to education; unable to use their own language officially; and subject to violence and other abuses (Human Rights Watch, 2007). However, it is not possible to confirm this from

inside the country. Part of Bhutan's development strategy is an increase in 'Gross National Happiness': this is not explicitly linked to human rights, although UN agencies in the country have attempted to do so.

In terms of educational vulnerability, access to education is compromised by the location of schools and the conditions of the buildings (see *Common Country Assessment Report*, 2006) which must also engender disaster vulnerability. However, while net primary enrolment is still problematic (83.7% according to UNDP, 2006), this represents a considerable expansion from 53 per cent in 1998. The remote nature of many communities has led to a trend to boarding schools: almost half of schools have boarding facilities, which are described locally as old, big and dirty. Traditional Monastic schools co-exist with modern schools and are largely attended by children from poorer families: the combination of old buildings and greater poverty among the students is likely to create vulnerabilities.

3. Strategies

Very little documentation is available on strategies. Emergency response, apart from at a local or charity (usually His Majesty's) level, is in its infancy in Bhutan. Monitoring students or children after an emergency has never been done, according to respondents interviewed by the local researcher. In 2006 the Royal government instituted the Disaster Management Division under the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs. A framework sets out responsibilities and treats disaster as a cross-cutting issue, involving several Ministries and Departments. There appears to be no reference to departments which might be concerned with socially vulnerable groups, or to education, as part of the list. However, in 2007 a joint workshop was held between the Ministry of Education, the Disaster Management Division and UNICEF, which resulted in the drafting of Schools Disaster Management guidelines. Again, while we have not seen the whole document, there is no obvious reference to the protection of vulnerable groups as part of the guidelines. Further workshops and training days in 2008 led to the following outcomes:

- Distribution of Education in Emergencies kit (UNICEF, 2007) to District Education Officers
- Distribution of guidelines for preparing school disaster management plans
- Site visits to analyse school vulnerability (focusing on buildings)
- Recommendations for school-specific and dynamic plans to respond to local situations
- Drills for earthquakes and fire, and first aid training.

There have been some attempts at child-friendly schools which would help in encouraging children to attend. Teachers and teacher educators participated for example in a workshop on Child Rights linked to the use of corporal punishment in schools. One of the more effective classroom management techniques learned dealt with preventing 'discipline' problems by using active teaching methods such as Circle Time, when adults and children sit together with an emphasis on speaking openly and listening actively about issues that concern them. It was felt that whilst Circle Time can have an important place in the curriculum as an opportunity to develop speaking and listening skills in children, it also can provide a forum for discussion of important issues that affect children's lives such as relationships, non-discrimination, fairness, rights, tolerance, respect, cooperation and non-violent conflict solving, and as such may help to prevent behaviour and classroom management problems (Heijnen, 2004).

A women and child friendly police station has been established in Thimphu – this seems an excellent idea but makes one worry about the nature of the rest.

Various multilateral and bilateral organizations active in Bhutan also have contingency plans for emergencies, some of which are country-specific. However, a trawl through those available does not point to specific attention to the combination of education, emergency and vulnerability.

4. Issues

Working with some vulnerable groups may be problematic in Bhutan, due to their status. There are NGOs working with women (e.g. RENEW for victims of domestic violence and sexual assault) and rural communities (e.g. Tarayana foundation), but organizations working with the Nepalese minority or with refugees are likely to be outside the country. In extensive interviews conducted by the local researcher, vulnerability seems to have been conceptualized by respondents in terms of where people or schools were located – i.e. on steep hills or near rivers, or in what kinds of buildings, e.g. old or bamboo.

As co-ordinated and planned disaster response in itself is a new phenomenon in Bhutan, it is perhaps not surprising that at this early stage the most basic priorities are being set before giving overt attention to the needs of specific minorities. However, there is also an opportunity here to mainstream these ideas before habits of overlooking become engrained, and it is commendable that these initiatives are coming to the fore and being mainstreamed within the government.

India

1. Emergencies

Most of the events that fall under the category of emergency have been issues in the recent past in India. The most significant include:

- Floods – e.g. annually in Bihar, occasionally acute in Assam
- Tsunami – 2004 in Nicobar Islands, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu
- Conflict – e.g. ongoing in Kashmir
- Landslides and extreme snowfall – including Kashmir
- Earthquakes – e.g. Gujarat 2001
- Cyclones – e.g. Orissa 1997
- Drought – e.g. Gujarat 2000
- Slum fires – e.g. Delhi 1988
- Social unrest – e.g. Orissa 2008.

The picture of emergencies is complex in India, and it is a massive and complex society. Twenty-two out of 32 states and territories are 'disaster prone' (Ray-Bennett, 2007). According to an international estimate, in 2001, 788,190 people were affected by disasters (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2004), while the Norwegian Refugee Council estimates that in 2006 there were over 600,000 people displaced by conflict alone in India (NRC, 2007). How 'emergency' might be defined in this context is problematic as many people arguably live in a constant state of emergency. Some emergencies are seasonal, such as the annual monsoon floods in Bihar province.

2. Vulnerabilities

Vulnerability is a multidimensional function of hazard exposure, population density and coping capacity over time (Singh *et al.*, 2003). We might distinguish between vulnerabilities created by an event, and those which are already present in the person (e.g. a child orphaned, made homeless or disabled by the tsunami and one already vulnerable in this way). Among the key vulnerabilities to affect children in India are the following, along with the particular issues in relation to emergencies:

- **Caste** – Dalits face well-documented prejudice and restrictions which are likely to be exacerbated in resource-stringent times of emergency. They may tend to receive less relief and support from aid groups and Indian authorities, e.g. the last to have electricity and water supplies restored during rehabilitation (APWLD, 2005:9) or their neighbourhoods being redeveloped for others' use (STC 'Turning the Tide'). When they do receive specific targeted aid, higher castes may perceive this as unwarranted. OBCs ('other backward classes') are also vulnerable, to a degree, and constitute over 50 per cent of the population (although statistics vary depending on the source).
- **Seasonal migrants and displaced persons** are hard to monitor and track. Perennial vulnerability is often the cause of migration, due to seasonal flooding, and migrants often work and live in poor and exploitative conditions. Children are likely to be out of school.

- **Out-of-school children** – also harder to track.
- **Disabled children** – those with physical and mental disabilities are less likely to survive a disaster. They may require special facilities or education that is not prioritized during emergencies.
- **Muslims** – in some States are more likely to be poor and out-of-school, and experience greater disparity in education.
- **Members of scheduled tribes** – like Dalits, tend to experience vulnerability on a number of axes, including linguistic.
- **Street children** – harder to track and monitor. Lack of shelter and not belonging to a family or institutional unit compound vulnerability during emergencies.
- **Abused children** – e.g. through domestic abuse, labour, or trafficking. Usually hidden so hard to track/monitor. Emergencies can create possibilities for abuse.
- **Gender** – girls are more vulnerable to trafficking for prostitution during disasters, while boys are more likely to be taken for enforced labour. In patriarchal cultures – this varies across India – girls are less likely to be able to access schooling and other resources.

All of these groups are defined in policy, such as that for EFA, as well as being cited by respondents, but despite the obvious intersections these are apparently not explored. There is also much regional disparity, with rural children more likely to be poor and out of school, and the regions of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan accounting for the largest proportion of out-of-school children, according to statistics compiled by a local researcher. Remoteness may not in itself be a vulnerability, but can become one when there is an emergency.

What is surprising in India – even if gender is taken out of the equation – is how much of the population is vulnerable. Caste alone is said to affect well over 50 per cent. There is no doubt that it is the vast majority of the population could be considered vulnerable, and if they are vulnerable along one parameter they are much more likely to have multiple vulnerabilities. One respondent placed the percentage of vulnerable children at 80 per cent of the population.

However, there are of course degrees of vulnerability and a useful phrase perhaps is ‘most vulnerable’. Caste is particularly problematic and central to the issue in India. Dalits are (with exceptions that prove the rule) poor, disenfranchised, less educated, and more subject to abuse. On the other hand, the correlations are not tidy: Ladakh, in Jammu Kashmir, where the population is virtually 100 per cent from scheduled tribes, and which is snowbound 6–8 months of the year, is said by an STC representative to be approaching 100 per cent school enrolment, and so cultural attitudes and local initiatives are highly relevant.

Gender seems to be fairly well mainstreamed, at least within the NGOs, and there is evidence that some of the particular needs and vulnerabilities of women and girls are being attended to in the emergency response (e.g. the dispatch of packs of sanitary ware so that menstruating women preserve dignity), although existing disparities could be exacerbated during emergencies. Water disasters figured again as a particularly problematic situation for women – often they cannot swim, are wearing saris, and they prioritize saving their children, so there have been initiatives concentrating on teaching girls to swim (e.g. Stalin, 2008).

The trauma of displacement, and the chaos in the immediate aftermath, make children much more vulnerable to trafficking for child labour and prostitution. According to the NHRC, on average over 44,000 children go missing each year, and trafficking has a major role to play in this (Save the Children, 2007b).

There is also the question of when emergencies begin and end for those at risk. A vulnerable child orphaned by a disaster might be temporarily looked after by a compassionate family. However, as a drain on scarce resources, particularly if they have multiple disadvantages (e.g. a disabled Dalit girl) they are unlikely to be adopted permanently.

3. Strategies

States are responsible for disaster management based on a Ministry of Home Affairs National Disaster Framework. They do an initial impact assessment after an emergency – i.e. lives lost, health, facilities, materials, and teachers. There is some disaggregation in counting heads, according to UNICEF, along the lines of gender and disability. The Ministry of Urban Development has also produced a ‘vulnerability atlas’ mapping the most vulnerable areas (see Arya, 2007). National government and the UNDP have pushed for each state to have a disaster risk reduction policy but there seems little evidence of these being in place. There is not an adequate national policy for the vulnerable to help to mitigate disasters (Ray-Bennett, 2007), although it does signal the need for attention to vulnerability:

Community involvement and awareness generation, particularly that of the vulnerable segments of population and women, has been emphasized as necessary for sustainable disaster risk reduction. This is a critical component of the policy since communities are the first responders to disasters and, therefore, unless they are empowered and made capable of managing disasters, any amount of external support cannot lead to optimal results. (*Ministry of Home Affairs, 2004*)

There is some question of whether emergencies create opportunities for improved educational provision and opportunity for vulnerable groups. Several respondents mentioned the positive outcomes of groups learning together who would normally be segregated by class, caste or location, but documented evidence was lacking (with the exception of STC’s ‘Turning the Tide’).

Using existing facilities as centres had much potential – e.g. pre-schools which already are part of a national ‘integrated child development scheme’. Alternative learning centres in second communities for migrants – see Mobile Crèches below – keep attendance records so that there is a record of migrants.

Innovative rebuild designs have been tried – e.g. floating schools, dismantlable schools held together with nuts and bolts.

Community-led responses are notable – insiders are in a better position to gather data on who has been affected, and to suggest locally appropriate solutions. However, they are not necessarily sensitive to the needs of the vulnerable and care has to be taken to ensure that disadvantaged populations play an active role in decision making. In some programmes, children have been active in decision making in relation to rehabilitation (e.g. STC ‘Turning the Tide’). The STC report *Child-Led Disaster Risk Reduction* reports children in one village producing a map that documented all escape routes, resources,

dangerous areas and vulnerabilities to potential disasters – while acknowledging that multiple community visits will be needed to prepare a good quality and useful community map. In Tamil Nadu, children have played an active role in campaigning and raising awareness of Child-Led Disaster Risk Reduction issues, delivering lectures, plays and songs on community radio, after being trained in media usage for effective information dissemination.

Teachers are often used in community-leadership and administrative roles during emergencies. This may say good things about their status, but it exacerbates problems of teacher supply.

Campbell and Yates (2006) refer to developments in India where disaster management has become part of the secondary curriculum and involved training for over 1000 teachers. However, there is no evidence that this refers specifically to the vulnerable.

Observed positive practice

Mobile Crèches operates on sites where migrants work and sets up early learning centres for the children (ages 0–12) of the labourers. These children would normally be neglected and would be unlikely to receive schooling due to unstable migration patterns, parental priorities, and lack of knowledge of local services. The centres operate on building sites: there are 20 such projects in the National Capital Region. Each centre integrates education, health and nutrition. Children are divided into groups based on age, in order to prepare them for school entry. The centre visited had three groups running at once in a small corrugated zinc structure. There was a feeding programme and medical monitoring going on in the same place, and careful records of each child were kept. Basic medicines were administered and children bathed. MC is a model of a multi-functional and inclusive facility at an appropriate location for access by vulnerable groups, and its training for teachers to work with this target group is widely applauded by advocates.

PRAYAS runs children's homes for street children, ages 6–18. Staff visit railway stations and temples where such children often congregate. They are also referred through child welfare agencies and the police. They run a toll-free 24-hour child helpline which children or concerned adults can ring for immediate help. An intervention is achieved within 24 hours of the call. In addition, they run 'transitional' schools where street and slum children can either 'catch up' to join regular schools, or receive vocational training. PRAYAS estimates that 50 children a day run away from home to Delhi – these children are hard to trace and identify in emergencies but organizations like PRAYAS are more likely to have useful records than a school. Their non-formal and flexible approach stands as a model of appropriate education for children who have been traumatized and who do not find rules and routines easy, and their approach to identifying and 'bringing in' street and other vulnerable children is a good example of how to prevent children from disappearing and losing educational opportunities. Both could be valuable in emergency situations.

4. Issues

Teacher training is widely believed to be poor on many fronts. It does not interrogate prejudices against vulnerable groups; pedagogy does not allow questioning of the authority of teacher and text. Teacher

attitude was widely cited as a problem in relation to vulnerable groups. Corporal punishment is widespread and Dalits are much more likely to be victims of it. The National Council for Teacher Education was singled out by respondents for its corrupt practices in giving affiliations to inappropriate institutions. STC, among other NGOs, is involved in teacher training; the UNESCO 'diversity toolkit' was cited as a useful resource, which is being adapted into Hindi currently. In addition, few human or technical resources exist in the country to adequately address the psychosocial trauma children experience during emergencies or their counselling needs.

What is an appropriate curriculum for education in emergencies? Should it concentrate on reducing further risk and planning for future disasters, or sustaining literacy and numeracy development during the crisis period, or counselling, or escapist activities to keep children happy and occupied (such as the storytelling advocated by UNICEF or the drawing used in child-friendly schools)? How far should para-educational roles such as health monitoring be part of the process?

What is 'sensitization'? This seems to be a widely-prescribed panacea for reducing risk to vulnerable groups but is it really effective? Sensitization does not equal political rights and the veneer of the process can disguise deep inequalities. Much will depend on who does it and how. There was triangulated evidence from a number of respondents that many individuals who hold top jobs – whether in government, in NGOs, or in UN organizations – are themselves from privileged backgrounds and that they are not sensitive themselves to issues of vulnerability. One person in this category stated unequivocally that as everyone was vulnerable during an emergency, it was a 'waste of time' to pay particular attention to specific groups.

It was, in fact, very difficult to get most respondents to stick to the vulnerabilities issue – it was clear that many of them had not given it much thought, with the exceptions of people from NGOs who specifically work with vulnerable groups. Equally, government personnel will have different priorities along party lines – some parties far more radical and emancipatory in their agendas than others.

There is a problem of lack of co-ordination, and occasionally competition, between education aid providers. There is little learning between sectors (e.g. STC's child-friendly spaces have useful messages for state and private schools). A co-ordinated response is needed so that aid does not flood in where absorption capacity is limited and efforts are not duplicated at the expense of the most vulnerable. For example, most NGOs do seem to have strategies for attending to the needs of girls, but what about other vulnerable groups? However, there are also positive examples of co-ordination, e.g. Tsunami Relief and Rehabilitation Coordination: 'a unique organization of several CSOs coming together to tackle the problem of exclusion in the dispensation of R & R' (STC 'Turning the Tide', p.114).

Whereas emergency response mechanisms present a set of challenges, prevention mechanisms are inadequate. For example, in areas of recurrent floods, children are not always aware of their role or actively engaged in flood prevention. Likewise, in areas of recurrent social conflict, education is not used as a means for conflict prevention and resolution; rather, schools mirror the tensions and struggles in the larger community.

Government schools generally cater for the lower socio-economic groups, and vulnerable children (including girls) are more likely to be there (most parents who can afford it send their children or one chosen child – i.e. a boy – to private schools). This may be a good site for monitoring and meeting needs.

As two consultants noted, a day can be a very long time in the life of a child. Even one damaging incident experienced by a vulnerable child in relation to schooling during the sensitive time of an emergency can have damaging consequences for a lifetime.

Maldives

1. Emergencies

Tsunami. The tsunami hit the Maldives on 26 December 2004. Over 100 lost their lives, 10 per cent of housing stock was destroyed, livelihoods (particularly in the tourist industry and fishing) were affected, and 15,000–30,000 (5–10% of the population) were initially displaced. Of these, 10,000 were on the 14 most affected islands (Brown, 2005). There were also psychosocial problems as a result, causing difficulties with sleeping or eating or just general anxiety. Thirty-seven per cent of schools were affected, with nine destroyed and 31 severely damaged, leading to cramped classrooms and a reduced timetable (NDMC, 2005).

The Tsunami had a limited impact on social indicators such as poverty, health and education that are included within the Millennium Development Goals. This is first because although people's incomes initially fell they subsequently recovered very quickly. As a result, there was a significant reduction in poverty. The second reason is that other MDG indicators, such as life expectancy and literacy, reflect long-term investment in health and education and are thus more resilient and less likely to be affected by a short period of crisis. Indeed, after the Tsunami the people from the most-affected islands perceived that education and health facilities had actually improved. For the displaced population, this was because they had moved to islands with facilities that were already better, or that were upgraded to meet the needs of the expanded population. (*World Bank-ADB-UN, 2005:10–11*)

However, there are still significant implications for both marginalized and vulnerable groups and education, as discussed below.

2. Vulnerabilities

Gender. Disasters occur in highly gendered contexts:

[T]he social experience of disasters affirms, reflects, disrupts and otherwise engages gendered social relationships, practices and institutions. How men and women are impacted by, and respond to, a disaster is directly related to existing gender roles, relative socio-economic status and political power differentials in pre-disaster situations. (*Fulu, 2007:843*)

Gender can also be significant in terms of vulnerability as women frequently find it difficult to cope in disaster situations when law and order breaks down and women become the most vulnerable. In emergencies, unequal gender relationships can be exacerbated and result in differential impacts. Women face societal pressure to marry and bear children and there is an expectation that these traditions will follow the completion of secondary school. More girls than boys transfer from primary to secondary school (99% girls compared with 90% boys) and there are also slightly more girls at lower secondary level, but more boys proceed to higher secondary level (Maldives MoE, 2008). Secondary

schools do not exist on every island and parents are reluctant to send their daughters to neighbouring islands for fear of pregnancy: females have less freedom of movement than boys (Razee, 2006). During the humanitarian and aid reconstruction efforts after the tsunami the needs of women and girls were marginalized; this is not uncommon in disaster responses (Fulu, 2007). An evaluation by Patel (2006) criticizes the assessment processes in the relief response of the tsunami, the lack of consultation and the gender bias of male administrators. According to Fulu (2007), response efforts were almost exclusively headed by male staff and refugees showed little regard for women's health, safety and privacy.

Children were also identified as a vulnerable group, especially:

- Children with a single mother or parent (there is no welfare support system for these families).
- Children without families – since families play a big part as social welfare systems. While relatives do look after orphaned children, and treat them as their own, there is a lack of social welfare or income support for families. Orphanages are very newly established (there are only a couple near the capital island).
- Children who are drug addicts or who have parents who are drug or alcohol addicts. There are strong social and legal stigmas attached to these, so once children are caught with them they are expelled from school completely. There are very few organizations that then help children who are out of school with these issues (there are few rehabilitation centres).
- Children with parent(s) in prison (criminal or political prisoners).
- Secondary school children (children who live near the resorts can get employment when they are relatively young).
- Both boys and girls have responsibilities in the home, with reports in interview that sometimes the adults treated them like servants. Girls do household work such as cooking, cleaning and washing and boys do repairing and maintenance work in the house.
- Children on islands where schools have been completely destroyed as there was occasionally some reluctance to accept them into schools on other islands, perhaps because of pre-existing differences. UNICEF worked on this via meetings of parents, teachers and island chiefs. However, for the majority, people were reported to be quite welcoming of IDPs and assisted them 'beyond the call of duty'.
- Children as carers: one interviewee reported a case where two children (aged 10 and 8) were looking after the one-year-old baby; the boy was carrying the baby when the tsunami struck and was not able to hold onto the baby, who drowned. Both children needed serious medical and psychosocial treatment for a long time before being able to attend and study at school.
- Emerging trends in 'sex tourism'.

Children with disabilities. Children with special needs have only recently been focused on in the Maldives. Some parents might not send such children to school, unless there are facilities for them. School or local educational offices cannot force children to come to school, and schools can refuse to admit children with special needs by saying 'lack of resources'. There is one school (in Male') that has classes for hearing-impaired children but the school only has two teachers who are trained in special educational needs, so that the numbers of students who can come are limited. In late 2008, one school for the visually impaired opened and there is another school for children with other types of disability (e.g. Downs Syndrome). But these are all on Male', and even in Male' teachers in mainstream schools are not trained to work with children with special needs. There is an NGO (Care Society) providing workshops and training for teachers. In the South Islands, the Care Society is doing some pilot work on

educating children with Downs Syndrome for 2–3 months separately, then mainstreaming them gradually to local schools. Maldives has a lack of teachers and each teacher has to work with 25–30 students in a class. While many interviewees thought parents would send children with disabilities to school if they could, even after the tsunami, others reported that parents with special needs children might not send them to schools because they are afraid of bullying. An emergency such as a tsunami is therefore likely to exacerbate the existing, unequal position of children with a disability. UNICEF is currently working with the Educational Development Centre in mapping children with special educational needs in 10 atolls.

Opportunity and complexity. It is important at the same time, however, to remember that,

... disasters also offer opportunities to challenge gender and social inequalities by setting changes in motion. For example, it could be suggested that the ongoing democratic reforms in the Maldives – including the state media monopoly and wider spectrum of public debate on social issues – were in part catalysed by the tsunami and the resulting international attention on the country. Other opportunities for positive change could include the active recruitment of historically marginalized groups to act in leadership positions in the rebuilding of their communities. (*Fulu, 2007:844*)

Fulu (2007:854) makes a further important point about the complex interplay of different types of vulnerability:

Indeed, the vulnerability approach which focuses on the underlying socio-political, root causes of hazardous places and disaster processes rather than physical hazard agents or superficial symptoms presents an important perspective ... everyone has different ‘vulnerability bundles’ which result from a complex interplay of political, economic, social and ideological practices and vary in a given hazard. For example, a poor woman who is eight months pregnant has different vulnerabilities to a wealthy fifty year old woman whose children are grown, or a thirteen year old girl going through puberty. Given the complex interplay of factors, it is problematic to link the identity of all women with the all-encompassing, universalizing categorization of vulnerability.

In recognition of the multi-dimensional nature of poverty, De Kruijk and Rutten (2007) have developed a Human Vulnerability Index in relation to the Maldives. This takes a series of living standard dimensions (income poverty, electricity, transport, communication, education, health, drinking water, consumer goods, housing, environment, food security and employment) and their indicators and weights them according to local perceptions of importance, thereby enabling progress (upwards and downwards) to be measured over time, between genders and by region within the Maldives. If poverty, gender and locality are key factors in disaster impact this allows for some element of emergency and post-emergency planning of all types, including that of education.

3. Strategies

Resources. As elsewhere, two pupils interviewed in the Maldives mentioned the importance of books and stationery; repairing toilets; and facilities to bathe after the tsunami. When the tsunami happened, UNICEF initially assisted in providing consumables to the schools (such as chalk, pencils, pens, books, and other stationery); and as the school uniform was an important part of schools in the Maldivian

culture, and because it helped children get back to normal, T-shirts were printed saying 'Back To School' and distributed to be used as a school uniform until proper uniforms could be provided to all the children. Vouchers for school uniforms and shoes were provided later. The view of some female adult interviewees, including a teacher, however, was that teaching–learning materials were more important than uniforms, school bags, etc.

Teachers. Many teachers in the Maldives are from Sri Lanka or India. Some teachers who were back at home during the holiday when the tsunami struck did not come back to the Maldives because they were afraid, so schools faced problems of teacher shortages. Regarding this issue, the Faculty of Education and the Ministry of Education decided to send the students in their third and final year of teacher-training to necessary schools in the islands to work for at least one month, until the regular teachers returned or new teachers could be recruited. UNICEF assisted the Ministry of Education by providing support for the huge travel costs.

Psychosocial support. The psychosocial team met many children who were so affected by the tsunami that they were unable to concentrate on school work, and the conditions became so severe that they had to be given professional treatment. The children interviewed reported receiving psychosocial support, but only once. They remember drawing, painting and talking to people just after the tsunami. They shared their stories with groups, and after the sharing session, they said they felt more relaxed and less frightened. They reported that it was useful to have people coming to explain what happened in detail (about the tsunami). Even though they did not know how helpful it would have been if they had had more counselling opportunities, they both liked the one session they had. In an interview with 13 children of 13–14 years old, they said that it would have been helpful if the tsunami was discussed at school and people understood what had happened. A team from Male' came to help with psychosocial care two weeks after the school had started, but they thought they should have received the care earlier. According to these respondents, there were no lessons at school or discussion about the tsunami, although students themselves talked about it among themselves from the first day they went back to school. They thought that school should have special lessons for students who were affected by the tsunami and psychosocial support for children who were most directly affected by it. These groups could be of all ages. (Some of the respondents seemed to have been affected by tsunami very directly. They said they were 'in the waves'. They wanted to share their experiences with friends.)

The principal of a school which had a large number of IDP children said that the American Red Cross conducted a psychosocial support programme for children and their parents, and volunteers from the school were trained as psychosocial support facilitators to extend the assistance when necessary. This helped the parents to identify signs of distress and how to deal with these. In an interview with adult IDPs, parents noted that the psychosocial programme they received together with their children helped them a lot. Importantly, they said it would have helped more if they had been given easy-to-read books on signs and symptoms of distress and the best way to go about dealing with the issues children were having.

Schools as safe spaces. UNICEF officers in the Maldives said that 'Child Friendly Schools' (introduced by UNICEF and the Ministry of Education) had been introducing an active learning methodology based on participation, expression and investigation since traditionally Maldives had 'rigid schooling' (e.g. only

teachers speaking in the lesson, students copying notes from the board and being given tests). This, one officer thought, helped (mainly primary) school children cope better with the aftermath of the tsunami. IDP interviewees confirmed that the Child Friendly School approach helped the students overcome most of the difficulties they might have had, as the style of teaching–learning in such classes enabled the students to feel free to talk and discuss their feelings and fears without any inhibitions.

Within the child-friendly schools, UNICEF promote the idea of ‘**Child Seeking Schools**’ so that they will look for the children not attending them. This would be particularly important at the secondary level (where the child-friendly approaches have had less impact), as at the primary level most of the children come to school anyway. However, this tends to exclude children with disabilities and there are no social services looking for children to attend school. The adult group interviewed said that children could help (and sometimes would be expected to help) in reconstruction efforts after an emergency, but only after school hours, and that going to school was important.

Hazard awareness education. One UNICEF officer reported that UNDP is working with the MoE in preparing School Preparedness plans for two atolls and training teachers there, looking at the India example. American Red Cross and UNDP are working jointly on providing psychosocial support training to teachers. There is the development of a rapid assessment toolkit, and UNICEF and government counterparts have conducted training on education in emergencies. Workshops are now planned to take this forward in six areas (5 zones and Male’).

4. Issues

Community. In relation to the Maldives, Pardasani (2006) has drawn attention to the importance of community participation in rebuilding social capital such as educational infrastructure and how this must be done in a culturally sensitive manner. However, it may be that it is the very culture and community that has caused problems of inequality and vulnerability in the first place, in the way that certain groups have been treated, thereby increasing their risk in times of emergency. Change and continuity therefore have to be delicately balanced in post-emergency reconstruction of education.

Hazard awareness education. While some strategies were in place, as discussed above, according to the interview with the 13–14 year olds there is no emergency plan at their school. They thought it would be a good idea to learn about the tsunami, and measures to be taken, and how to escape and do mock drills. While some NGOs are in fact involved in training on disaster preparedness by schools, one UNICEF officer interviewed stated that in terms of preparation nothing had really been done. It would appear that, nationally, there are no emergency plans for schools yet. Few have been trained so the same consequences would happen again if another tsunami struck. Individual people who know about emergencies might be able to help but procedures are not written down and disseminated. The development plan exists in writing – for example, ‘schools need to have an emergency plan or to become community focal points’ – but it is not clear who will be in charge, where they go, how parents should be contacted, etc.

Focus groups of IDP interviewees confirmed that teachers did not have any idea of how to deal with the tsunami situation, as this was the first disaster of such magnitude to hit the Maldives, and teachers also

needed knowledge of psychosocial support. In 2007, UNICEF asked the Ministry to change and adapt the UNICEF South Asian toolkit to the Maldivian situation, but this has not been fully achieved. UNICEF does not have authority to do this alone, so it is necessary for the Ministry to take it up.

Swimming lessons. There is a need to find practical ways of providing swimming lessons for women and girls. Also, important here would be the inclusion of disabled children in school and the provision of swimming lessons to them as well. The two pupils interviewed said that there is now a swimming class for children (sometimes for example in the morning, but this practice seemed sporadic). PE does not usually include swimming. Most schools have rules about not going swimming during the school day, though it is acceptable at the weekend.

Nepal

1. Emergencies

Nepal is subject to both natural and man-made emergencies which impact on education. Natural disasters in Nepal have wide-ranging implications: humanitarian, environmental, political, demographic, economic and infrastructural (Pathak, 2007). The floods mean that schools are destroyed or that those that remain are used as shelters. Even a normal monsoon season means that in parts of Nepal for two months a year children cannot get to school because the rivers are too high.

Conflict is generally distinguished into two types: ideological and ethnic. The long-running ideological armed conflict between Maoists and government meant disruption of schools, with teachers being threatened or even killed, and so were reluctant to teach even if they were there. Some schools aligned themselves during the conflict, but then if local control changed, they faced problems. Children were affected by the actions of both sides, used as informants as well as being directly recruited. The conflict led to displacement, killing and torture of family members and hence trauma (European Commission, 2007). The new Consolidated Peace Agreement has led to a cessation of the violence, but there is a feeling that this is fragile.

Ethnic conflict is ongoing, categorized as a 'Phase 2 conflict', between different communities and communal groups, particularly in the Terai. This is seen by some as not so easy to solve as the ideological conflict and as affecting women and children the most; and with those who look different being disadvantaged.

The above emergencies are compounded by food insecurity and a perception of increased general criminality because of open borders. Because of the 'political' school environment, schools have been open perhaps only half the year in total because of strikes where workers closed the schools. Teachers did not want to take risks by keeping the schools open.

Educational provision has been significantly affected by the conflict: buildings destroyed, scarcity of teachers, threats and intimidation to teach the 'Maoist curriculum', schools being used for military purposes, non-attendance, fear of abduction and displacement (Amnesty International, 2005:8–11).

2. Vulnerabilities

Girls. There is general agreement from interviewees and literature that girls are the more vulnerable, the 'overarching category', although linked to other categories. Girls are more vulnerable to educational loss generally because of the following factors:

- *The home:* Parents do not see investment in girls' education as valuable – a repeated phrase is 'it is like watering your neighbour's plants'. If food is scarce, boys get it; girls are more likely to have health problems because of malnutrition. If parents are asked about disability in the home, they do not mention girls.

- *Marriage:* With the dowry system, the girl looks after the home or cattle, and again, no education is seen as necessary. Child marriage is common, particularly for those in a destitute situation. Widows are often young, 15–16 years old, and may never remarry. Army and Maoist widows may get compensation, but others nothing.
- *The school:* Girls may be ignored by teachers – according to one interviewee, when textbooks and kits come, the boys are given preference. There is a lack of toilets in the school, or they are without locks or water. ‘Since there is no toilet in the school, they have to go far away from the school for toileting. As such this situation has compelled girls to leave the classes at regular intervals’ (Tribhuvan University, 2006a).
- *Menstruation:* In parts of Nepal, the tradition (‘baribil’) is that a female should not go out or meet people for 10 days in the first menstrual cycle and 4 days in the subsequent cycles. They may stay in a cowshed or a small cave-like structure popularly known as a ‘chaupadi’ for this time.
- *Child labour:* There are an increasing number of female child porters. Boys are taking other jobs or are recruited into the army. Parents first educate their sons, so that girls pick up work; on the other hand, if a boy can earn more, he will be taken out of school.

In or after emergencies, particular gender issues emerge:

- *Recruitment:* Both boys and girls were abducted en masse from schools for indoctrination. The security forces suspected boys to be aligned with the rebellion groups. However, when the Maoists asked for one child per household, parents would take a girl out of school to give to them. CAAFAG (Children Associated with Armed Forces and Armed Groups) girls especially need to earn, as they are less accepted by the community, especially in reintegration, and therefore do not attend school. However, there is a view that women’s involvement in the Maoist army has challenged their subordination.
- *Trafficking:* The post-conflict situation affects girl child labourers – when law and order breaks down, victims are trafficked into the entertainment industry, into massage parlours and as sex workers within Nepal. (An estimated 15,000 children work as child sex workers.) Girls are being trafficked younger and younger.
- *Displacement:* Girls displaced to urban areas are vulnerable and at risk of being trafficked or abused. Many are still not in education. Girls are abused in the camps. Other studies say that boys and girls are equally likely to drop out because of conflict. Only 39 per cent of those who dropped out because of displacement were going back to school in their new places. However, women are seen as more active in decision making and are more mobile and supportive of each other during crisis (Rana-Deuba, 2005).

Dalits. Dalits (untouchables) throughout Nepal are subject to discrimination. Segregation by caste has compromised the quality and availability of education for Dalit children (Centre for Human Rights and Justice, 2005). Untouchability is found in 205 different practices (Barr *et al.*, 2007) – entry to houses, inability to perform religious services, access to common resources such as water, etc. In rural areas, they may be made to sit at the back of the class, and are treated as untouchable by their teachers. Dalit teachers are themselves socially segregated. Particularly in Western Nepal, schools maintain separate drinking wells for Dalit and non-Dalit children, with Dalit children punished if found drinking from non-Dalit taps. If there is limited water, then only teachers and high caste children drink; children can have skin problems and infections by being forced to drink or bathe in the same water as buffaloes. Beating and humiliation of children in the name of discipline is common, especially lower caste chil-

dren. There are higher rates of teacher absenteeism when students are mainly from Dalit and tribal communities. The highest proportion of child labourers come from Dalit groups (Save the Children USA, 2004). Reasons that keep Dalit children out of schools generally are:

- Enrolment, examination fees, textbooks, uniform, etc.; they can no longer contribute to the household. Parents do not know about government incentive schemes, and are unable to follow the school application process. Finances are drained by other sources (religious festivals and alcohol). Homes are densely populated, with bad lighting.
- Education is not part of experience of Dalit households. Parents do not see education as an advantage for survival, as good jobs depend on family connections and are limited by caste identity and occupational possibilities. Dalits lack awareness of their rights to scholarships, quality education and ECD.
- Some speak in their mother tongue at home, for example Maithili rather than Nepali, so teachers cannot communicate with them. Schools are intimidating and unfamiliar places.
- Schools are handicapped by poor quality and overcrowding, especially grade one where underage siblings also attend and there can be 100+ children. Teachers are frequently absent, with the worst drop-out in Grade 1. Dalit children who get the Dalit support programme in non-Child Friendly schools seem to show little impact of this, still dropping out or failing to appear for exams, obviously not being included in the school.
- There can be fear or ridicule or harassment from others in the community if parents send their child to school. There is peer pressure from non-school-going friends.
- Most Dalit children are not registered at birth, so cannot register formally in the school; some families have no citizenship status – nor do landlords want citizenship which entitles families to land ownership.

These vulnerabilities are exacerbated in emergencies. The precise impact of conflict on Dalits is unknown, but it is safe to assume that they are more affected because of their socio-economic position. The military targeted Dalit teachers in particular, who were vulnerable to false accusations by their peers. Dalit children were especially vulnerable to abuse from both sides (CHRJ, 2005). One-third of children leaving for India over a 3 month period were Dalits (Barr *et al.*, 2007), although they may fare worse when they get there. Their attendance problems at school were exacerbated by hostilities (STC US, 2004). When schools were forced to close for a day, it could take 5/6 days before everyone started coming again. Students were reportedly frightened of coming, knowing that children were taken from school to serve in rebel forces.

Dalit girls are seen as especially vulnerable (UNESCO, 2005b) because of illiterate parents' lack of awareness of the importance of education for girls; finance, including avoidance of government scholarships for Dalits because of the stigma attached (Acharya *et al.*, 2003); and domestic responsibilities, with the ability to earn money from age 13–14.

Ethnic and other groups. The Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES, 2007) talks of 'hardcore unreached groups' (although not mentioning conflict). These are: minority language groups, ethnic minorities, people who need to migrate seasonally as labourers and nomadic groups who engage in subsistence living in the forests. Muslims (4.2% of the population and the third biggest religious group) are an educationally disadvantaged group with a very low literacy rate. Only about 14 per cent study in main-

stream schools, with 80 per cent in madrassas (including a greater flow of girls), and these were affected by the floods. They have larger families (6/7 children). If they are IDPs, they have difficulty finding a suitable school. Janajatis are also discriminated against, and are just above Dalits in the pecking order. The language differences of ethnic groups mean difficulties of accessing doctors and being able to explain symptoms, as well as understanding educational literature.

Internal displacement. With IDPs, there is a problem of definition – whether for example ‘victims of conflict’ include those who flee out of fear of violence. There is a debate about whether some IDPs are better off than those staying at home, and about whether only the elites go to IDP camps, or the ‘politically active’ who claim IDP status to get support from NGOs. It is perceived that the most vulnerable would not have the courage to register as an IDP at the District HQ, especially those fleeing the security forces. There has been much out-migration to Indian cities for people with no power connections in Nepal, but perhaps social connections. There is a view that ‘we need to close the IDP chapter now’, in that there is much resettlement and many do not want to return.

A report cited by Human Rights Without Frontiers International (2005:8) remarks that Nepal is one of the countries where displaced children have difficulties accessing education. However, one study (Tribhuvan University, 2006a) found children’s performance was better or satisfactory at the schools of destination – there was better quality, fewer strikes, more teachers and greater security. Language was not a barrier, although the children could sometimes not understand maths, environmental science or English. However, there was an increment in the teacher:student ratio, and hence pressure on resources. There was some trauma because of homes being looted or destroyed, beating of parents, etc. The loss of livelihood skills needs to be addressed in education, as IDPs are no longer farmers or landowners.

Poverty. In floods and landslides, the poor are clearly affected the most. There is agreement, however, that poverty measures on their own do not give information about other aspects impacting on children’s lives, such as access to water, shelter, health education and transport; nor indebtedness, dependence, isolation or physical disability. One view is that poverty on its own is not decisive, but becomes so if combined with second marriage and/or alcoholism (Acharya *et al.*, 2003). (Alcoholic parents are a specific aspect of children’s vulnerability.) The key issue in poverty is lack of opportunity and choice, which undermines the ability to protect children from hazard or exploitation (Christian Children’s Fund, 2003). Charging school fees illegally does not help school access (Oxfam, 2006). There is the view that ‘every child out of school is a child labourer’ – that the economic responsibility of children means that it is not enough just to give them scholarships.

Child labourers. Children work in portering, mining, brick factories, carpet factories (heavily female and Janajati, but declining), domestics (these are often Janajati, as elites will not take Dalits), transport, recycling and trafficking. There is the view that it is a myth that conflict forces children into child labour – it is the same communities, the same groups. But post-conflict affects child labourers. Victims are trafficked into the entertainment industry: when the police presence left, this exploded. Indian tourists are back, wanting massage parlours and sex workers. There are an estimated 15,000 children working as child sex workers. Parents’ mobility, especially fathers migrating for work in or out of Nepal, has exacerbated this, with the son having to work on the farm. Conflict meant greater migration and displacement; there can be discrimination against these in their new community, and there is a cultural

loss. The 'dalal' (middle man or broker) persuades children into work, gives an advance – a form of debt bondage – and sends them away for a year. These dalals are very powerful in times of food shortage and in the community; they can tell others not to employ particular people. Nonetheless, families think children will be spoiled in Kathmandu and try to bring them home eventually.

Birth registration. There are a number of issues in not having a certificate of age. In Nepal, the Birth Registration Act lacks a provision for registering children born outside marriage. Refugee children and children orphaned or born of rape are not eligible for registration. All this is aggravated by insurgency. Armed conflict can exacerbate rural–urban disparities in birth registration levels – they cannot get to centres. Women particularly have difficulty in passing on citizenship to their children if the father is stateless. When children are not able to prove their age, recruitment into armed forces may be justified on appearance.

Remoteness. This is of two types. There is geographical remoteness (e.g. lack of roads and bridges; distance from school). Even one headteacher said he would not send his child to school, because it was 3 hours walk, the child was needed for domestic work, and there was danger of abduction. If there is no electricity for a secondary school, children may have to go 10 km to study in a HQ campus. In the wet season, they have to cross rivers. People may have land, but no papers. The 'village' they live in may not exist, so there is no government support. There is also social remoteness, as school is new territory for some communities, and seen as occupied by elites.

Disability. The highest proportion of disabled people without access to education was found in the mountains (77%) as opposed to the hills (56%) (Bhatia and Turin, 2004). There are a growing number of physically handicapped now who were injured in the conflict. Women with special needs experience additional discrimination, and are at risk of physical and sexual abuse, as well as being less likely to be educated.

Additional vulnerable groups are noted by The Lutheran World Federation Nepal (2008) as including people with communicable diseases and people affected by HIV/AIDS.

3. Strategies

Strategies can be categorized into programmes which target specific groups and those which are generally beneficial for all.

Targeted programmes

These include the following.

Dalit support programmes. These give financial support, but there are also 'Dalit motivators' who visit families, giving extra tuition; there are attempts to provide more Dalit teachers. **Scholarships** are also targeted. In some ways scholarships are unlikely to make much difference to the economics of sending children to school, but scholarships for Dalits are seen as a good way of targeting social exclusion (Vaux, Smith and Subba, 2006). The balance between scholarships for Dalits and for poorer girls is a debate (more Dalits supported the Maoists, and scholarships for these groups reflect Maoist interests).

IDPs are supported by being given clothes, a bag to carry their books, etc. The UNICEF-led campaign which involved World Vision and Decentralized Action for Children and Women managed to enrol 5,000 displaced children in schools within 3 months. SMCs and PTAs in the schools are encouraged to give them a good environment, creating a school fund for them. There is advocacy work with host families and guardians to recreate links or to make new identifications. Lutheran World Federation distributes educational materials to flood affected students, and emphasizes community capacity building.

Food for education. As well as midday meals, girls get 2 litres of cooking oil per month in 23 districts in remote areas of food shortage, based on 80 per cent attendance. The government has identified pockets of starvation. The World Food Programme mentioned the school feeding programme, and is monitoring improvements in school enrolments.

There are various programmes of **Safe spaces** or **Out-of school children's programmes** which provide educational and other opportunities for children unable to go to formal school (mostly because they are working). Such alternative education programmes (2 hours per day) have a long-term goal to transfer children to formal schooling, and raise awareness of the value of education. Tuladhar (2004) reported that attendance patterns at out-of-school programmes were fairly good, but it was not the same children all the time. There were positive benefits, such as behaviour change, communication, good manners, personal hygiene, improvement in Maths (although primary teachers did not think this strong). But parents and children treated them a bit like 'drop-in' centres; there was little monitoring or supervision; and facilitators showed irregular attendance and received low salaries. Achievement was not as good as for school-going children.

Rehabilitation centres are transit centres for girls and boys, around 500 per year, perhaps identified through a helpline. They do not keep the children long, perhaps 3–6 months. They reunite with the family if possible, give educational support, some vocational training for 14–15 year olds, or send to a permanent child care home.

Girls are targeted through the **provision of female teachers** for some ethnic communities. There is a government policy of giving at least one female teacher per school. The **Welcome to School** programme was launched in the lowest performing VDCs, at admission time in April, giving incentives for girls, based on the successful World Education model for girls aged 10–14.

Child labour. World Education's 'Brighter Futures' programme focuses on children and child labour. There are two categories: working children and children at risk.

World Education also works to stop children being institutionalized in orphanages where they could be subject to abuse and trafficking, and to reunite families.

General programmes

More general programmes which would particularly help the vulnerable include the following.

Child Friendly Schools (linked to **Schools as Zones of Peace**) aim to create a new school culture, stopping corporal punishment and therefore reducing drop-out and encouraging school-going behaviour

and normalization. Community members develop the School Improvement Plan. There is a training manual, giving alternatives to corporal punishment, and providing workshops for teachers. Child Friendly Schools are seen as having a significant difference in enrolling and retaining Dalit children (STC US, 2004). The warm, encouraging atmosphere allows Dalit children to make better use of the assistance provided by the Dalit support programme.

Children's clubs are also part of this (probably 10,000 now), with children engaged in activities for school improvement such as monitoring teachers' behaviour: 'the teacher becomes aware when child club members are there: they will throw away their cigarette, throw away their stick. Children become critical.' In the **Child Rights Forum**, they talk about children, about how to protect themselves, fulfil responsibility to others at their level, and about the duties of adults. Children decide the activities of the forums, e.g. smoke-free schools, rules and regulations of the schools and extra-curricular activities. In harvesting season, they collect produce, sell it and then sponsor out-of-school children. While to start with it is the boys and those of good family background who join, there are attempts to make the clubs more inclusive, and the gender balance is now about 60:40 boys:girls. They are also trying to get Dalits and Janajatis in. 'In some clubs, Dalits are leading because they have capacity!' The slogan is 'non-discrimination'. One teacher is the facilitator and is given training. Children's clubs protect against child marriage, and try to stop trafficking.

Schools as Zones of Peace (now Save the Children Alliance). This was initiated in war time to protect children, as part of the 'Children as Zones of Peace' initiative, and is developing into a national framework, integrating peace into the national curriculum (INEE). The translation has been piloted in 500 schools. It is a spiral model in grades 4 and 5, and there are workshops for teachers (although it is found they deviated somewhat from the curriculum, so they are not trainer-proof). As well as curriculum, there is protection of children from punishment, harassment and abduction, and the development of codes of conduct. In 'Children as Zones of Peace' (a CWIN initiative), children become aware of their right to be protected. CWIN (2006) also initiated a Children's Declaration for protection of their rights during the Constituent Assembly.

Early Childhood Development. This creates a space within the community protected from social disapproval (which is very important for Dalits); new ways of relating can be practised, with a will to move beyond exclusion (STC US, 2004). It was felt that children who had attended ECD centres could cope better, could talk and were less likely to drop out of school. They said they were not scared of a Maoist with a gun, not scared of a drunken father.

Continuity of education. A general strategy is to apply pressure to keep schools open, and not to permit them to close for strikes and other disputes. There needs a political consensus that schools, like hospitals, will not be attacked, and legislation that school attacks will be criminalized. As part of Schools as Zones of Peace (see above), at district level, all political parties agreed not to close the schools, and signed an agreement. But this is different in different contexts, depending on the danger (physical, abduction, etc.). After the war period, cases of using the schools have been minimized, so it is felt the campaign has worked. There are discussions of human rights and child rights principles, and how schools should show neutrality and non-alignment. Interestingly, UNICEF is seen as not controversial and able to appeal to national government not to close schools. Priorities can however still be political

– there has been a delay in printing textbooks as the government printing press was occupied by the printing of ballot papers.

School culture and learning. There is pressure to make schools more attractive, enjoyable, fun and less violent, as well as to reform the curriculum to be more relevant, both to local issues and to practical projects. Curriculum and textbooks have changed (for example concerning occupational caste, and showing Dalits making a contribution to the nation). The schools for domestic workers in Kathmandu will include income-generating projects, as well as enable students to get work in offices, computing and shops. One school was establishing a new curriculum in religious sites and tourism, to enable students to work there. There was a view that unemployment is a source of frustration and drop-out, but that entrepreneurship needs to be encouraged, with agencies or schools working with the local Chamber of Commerce. Schools can provide a safe space to learn and take risks; in learning for self-employment, students can learn to deal with customers. There is a need to move from subsistence to commercial agriculture: females are not allowed to migrate, so they have to be efficient farmers. (However, there is debate about vocational education as such, and in centres this is seen as the least effective.)

Schools also need to be more *flexible* in time and space: UNICEF negotiated with schools to accept ex-cantonment children any time of the year. Schools need to accommodate working children, as some of the schools for domestic workers in Kathmandu do, and take children at any time of the year. One programme of upgrading schools to be able to take older children, and minimize distances they had to travel, meant an increase in girls coming, with 85 per cent of those who passed the exam being girls. Distance education through radio has been mentioned. There needs to be a 'liberal promotion policy', with continuous assessment based on performance and attendance. There is work to improve the School Management Committee and the participation of women. Teachers have been conducting mobile meetings once a month to identify a problem and try to solve it.

The **Child Helpline** started 10 years ago. Anyone can call in confidence, and talk about physical abuse, sexual abuse, corporal punishment by teachers, or exploitation of child labourers. There are good connections with police, who try to investigate, as there is a feeling that 'we can't rescue them on our own' and that cases have to be verified by going to neighbours or teachers. There is also the experience that 'we create many enemies', and are threatened. In terms of abuse, it has been found that there are no real social patterns by profession or caste. One medical representative was chaining his child up!

Monitoring. There is agreement that monitoring and identification of the marginalized has to be done at local level, where the knowledge is. There are a number of routes for this:

- The *Bal Committee* (Child committee) suggests that children can be involved in finding out other children and families who were severely affected. Data on families and children in and out of school can be established by headteachers, the VDC secretary and voters' lists in the village (government data is seen as unreliable sometimes, as one child can be enrolled in two schools).
- *Child Protection Committees* (221 established by Save the Children) identify the children most at risk. Membership is very open, and they receive training in forming a group, minute taking, how to function, etc. Sometimes they get young people in, but it is felt not often enough. The *para-legal*

committees established by UNICEF for mediation in the community are all women, initially to stop trafficking, then land disputes, then domestic violence. They are able to identify children at risk.

- The *Community-based Education Management Information System (C-EMIS)* is run by Save the Children Norway. Their experience is that exclusion is caused by household poverty, landlessness, migration and social marginalization, and combined with institutional barriers such as registration requirements and partial and politicized allocation of school places and scholarships. C-EMIS tries for greater decentralization but accountability, and has revealed the exclusion of low-caste and ethnic minority children from primary schools, but showed that incentives to school managers work. Using C-EMIS has enabled the preparation of community-based School Improvement Plans. Out-of-school children can be identified and encouraged to return. The disadvantaged can be made aware of opportunities available to them.
- One programme had a social audit once a year, with the community invited to audit performance, transparency and the allocation of scholarships. Save the Children (US) is monitoring in 11 districts, looking at: school closures; teacher and student threats; abduction and recruitment; attacks on schools; inappropriate use of schools by political parties and for cultural events; and children's forced political participation and in rallies, etc.

Birth registration programmes are important in vulnerability because:

- Children are less likely to become separated from families when there are clear records
- Clear proof of age avoids early marriage and mistreatment of young offenders who are otherwise subject to adult standards of justice
- They avoid further disenfranchisement of groups that are already marginalized
- They strengthen cross-border arrangements and citizenship
- They help prevent under-age recruitment and child labour; aid the fight against trafficking and sale of children
- Selective abortion becomes visible through skewed gender balance in statistics
- They are a tool for state planning and budget allocation.

Plan (2008) has various campaigns to encourage people to register, including the children, with a 'Write me down, make me real' programme. There is one view that the government should provide a number tag for all children. An emergency is an opportunity to register children, especially girls. However, it is important for schools not to exclude children because of lack of registration.

4. Issues

The school. Lack of quality and relevance is one reason for drop-out. 'There is no programme to enable the children in terms of both knowledge and skills to deal with the real situations' (natural disasters, child labour, epidemics, HIV/AIDS, drugs, etc.) (MoES, 2007). Children need life skills, not livelihood skills. The School Management Committees are charging some school fees in order to keep the extra teachers, which is contradictory to the government declaration of Free and Compulsory basic education. So children work for 10 days and go to school for 10 days to pay the fees. It is felt that government does not distribute the teachers fairly, with no minimum school size, and hence huge imbalance in teacher:student ratio. Because of patronage, schools are built in the wrong place, or teachers sent to

the wrong place. It is supply driven, rather than using data on needs. There is still violence and corporal punishment in schools. Dalit teachers do not necessarily make for a child-friendly school: a code of conduct is needed. Schools are used for 2–3 day long marriage ceremonies or closed for other festivals. School Management Committees are seen as elite (Gardner and Subrahmanian, 2005), with mixed patterns of election. They may use the school to store the stock during harvest season.

Scholarships. There is some corruption in the lists for scholarships, by SMCs or the District officer, and parents misuse it too. It is felt that scholarships should be given in instalments, and not in straight cash which parents could spend on anything. Headteachers receive the money, but may decide to divide it equally among the girls, rather than giving it to Dalits, as they see this as easier. They also feel that 90 per cent of their children are poor and all are deserving.

Schools as Zones of Peace. This is seen as a worthy idea, but that the implication that all children up to school-leaving age should have no part in the political crisis is unrealistic. What are children supposed to learn about in Social Studies classes if it bears no relationship to the current conflict? Can issues such as Dalit exclusion and minority language be separated from conflict? Why should schools be exempt? In practice, neither of the parties showed much respect for the ZOP campaign. Maoists were painting walls with slogans, teachers were afraid to remove them and then came under threat from security forces. Checkpoints are frequently located near schools, or schools used as polling booths (Vaux, Smith and Subha, 2006). There is a view that the 'zones of peace' idea is now being applied to too many areas, so that it loses its power.

Targeted programmes. One programme worked to empower girls' groups to protect themselves, but the girls pointed out 'Unless you also engage the boys' this would not work. However, people did start admitting sexual abuse in the schools. The 'one female teacher per school' policy does not always work: there may not be enough female teachers locally, or they come from the elites so that families do not respond to them. Schools sometimes misunderstand the policy, and restrict staff to one female teacher only!

Safe spaces. It is not enough just to create a 'safe space' and put in a new computer which gets taken over by gangs. If books and computers are bought by schools, one needs to make sure they do not then become a target, in that any sign of wealth is a target. There needs to be 'community buy in', so that for example women's groups or savings groups also use the computer and premises, or the library is open to all. This would mean greater protection of new resources.

Location of buildings. In one case, a school was under fire and children lost their lives. People did not have the courage to go to the school – it was a 'graveyard' for them. So it was important to make alternative arrangements and create another venue. In another case, there was an issue of Dalits being unable to cross forbidden land to get to a reconstructed school.

Disaster risk reduction. There have been various earthquake education strategies, including the Kathmandu Valley Earthquake Risk Management Project and the School Earthquake Safety Programme (SESP), which has training and an Earthquake Safety Day (Dixit, 2004; Shiwaku *et al.*, 2007). However, it has been felt generally that 'There is an absence of well-developed disaster preparedness and

prevention laws and policies in place in Nepal, with much of the existing framework focused on the post-disaster response phase ... the absence of well-developed human settlement policies and regulation of environmental damage contribute to disaster risk exposure' (IFRC, 2004:24). The European Commission (2007) in its Strategic Paper for Nepal wants 'tangible direct benefits' and provides funding for organizations who meet specific criteria and are involved in approved activities, such as improving rural infrastructure of public services (like schools), strengthening community capacity through training, and developing disaster preparedness (European Commission, 2007:2–3).

Pakistan

1. Emergencies

The vision of emergencies in Pakistan is significantly driven by media images and international agendas. The most conspicuous events get the most attention, but these are not necessarily the most harmful to education, nor are those affected necessarily the most vulnerable.

The 2005 earthquake in northern Pakistan remains uppermost in people's minds at present, in which 18,588 school children and 873 teachers died. In NWFP, 46 per cent of schools (2,159) were destroyed or severely damaged; in AJK 96 per cent (3,794). 3,800 schools were badly damaged but repairable; 5,600 schools needed to be rebuilt (INEE, 2007).

Districts	NWFP			
	Completely Destroyed	Repairable	Students Died	Teachers Died
Abbotabad	91	1215	19	2
Mansehara	100	966	2102	79
Batagram	517	154	20	2
Shangla	199	319	2	0
Kohistan	252	529	1	1
Total	2159	3183	2144	84

Districts	AJK			
	Completely Destroyed	Repairable	Students Died	Teachers Died
Muzaffarabad, Neelam	1912	106	14819	566
Poonch	833	303	161	45
Bagh	999	159	1464	178
Total	3794	568	16444	789

Other natural disasters such as floods, landslides, cyclones, and drought are common (WCDR, 2005). The possibility of a nuclear disaster – either a Chernobyl-type explosion, or low level contamination and pollution as in India – is another potential hazard. ‘Slow emergencies’ such as water-related diseases (Halvorson, 2003) and HIV/AIDS are severe, and are thought to threaten the lives and well-being of more people than natural disasters. Conservatism impedes an appropriate response to STDs (NLM, 1998). Environmental pollution such as fluoride and lead – in urban and coastal regions – can have a direct impact on learning abilities (Kadir *et al.*, 2007). Political and civil violence is ongoing and has an insidious effect on education, as do cultural attitudes and gendered abuses of power which reflect misinterpretations of Islam. The current economic crisis is severe (Buncombe, 2008), but is part of an ongoing ‘slow emergency’ of population increase, economic problems and poverty.

The Pakistan government has a well-established National Strategy for Disaster Management which makes a brief reference to education. From this experience, Pakistan is often a donor of materials and expertise to other disaster-struck countries where there are Muslim communities including Afghanistan, Chechnya, Indonesia, Iraq, Kosovo, Bangladesh, India, Iran and Sri Lanka. Supplies include appropriate women’s clothing (WCDR, 2005). It is interesting to note that while US aid for the 2005 Pakistan earthquake was \$50 million, Saudi Arabia donated \$133 million.

The challenge of coping with natural disasters is therefore less a problem of resources and strategy, but more of unpredictability, remoteness, and sometimes hostility to intervention.

2. Vulnerabilities

The *outsider* view of vulnerability reflects the international donor priorities:

- **IDPs.** In September 2008, UNHCR identified 300,000 IDPs from the conflict on the Afghan border alone (Watchlist, 2008). Then in camps, they face the threat of cholera. Many other displacements are occurring.
- **Refugees (from Afghanistan)**, who experience further problems in Pakistan. In 2004 Human Rights Watch complained that they are being given little choice about where to live – ‘they can either move to the camps nearer to Afghanistan, where their security cannot be guaranteed, or they can stay in Peshawar, where their food supply and winter shelter cannot be guaranteed’ (HRW, 2001).
- **Madrassas** in NE Pakistan are seen internationally as a training ground for terrorists, although often they have been the only dependable form of education provision in remote regions.
- The educational difficulties of **girls** are frequently stressed, including parental preferences for girls to work or marry young, and scarcity of trained female secondary teachers in rural areas.
- Displacement causes children to become **street-working children** (MoE, 2000), **domestic labourers**, involved in the **sex trade** and related **trafficking**. The absence of, or exclusion from, school or project can be a causal factor.
- The needs of **disabled children** were also raised in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, and it was expected that inclusive education principles and approaches would be prioritized by the sector. The ADB-WB (2005:16) early damage and needs assessment report stated: ‘A substantial number of students in these areas may now have special learning needs that would additionally require new teaching approaches and school design modifications for improved accessibility of

the disabled.’ This initial attention to particularly vulnerable children did not translate into clearly comprehensive education programming or detailed sector planning regarding mainstreaming of disability into education. UNICEF’s 2007–08 priorities included an objective of at least 30 per cent of the total number of schools accommodating children with physical disabilities (UNICEF, 2007). However, the initial attention to disability and other vulnerabilities did not remain a focus in the education response.

The more local or *insider* views provide contrasting perspectives:

- The five ‘Rs’, ‘**return**’, ‘**resettlement**’, ‘**recovery**’, ‘**revitalization**’ and ‘**rehabilitation**’ (UNDP, 2006), might entail returning people to ‘communities where communities no longer exist’, or to which those affected were immigrants or outsiders when a disaster struck, or where emigration to other places was formerly on a very large scale which suggests that ‘many people would prefer not to return’. Local environments might be so destroyed through the earthquake, or exhausted through environmental problems, that return is not wanted. ‘Schools are used politically to encourage and enforce “return”’. Over half the children in some camp schools (e.g. Meira) had not been to school before, and so it is unlikely that, in the long term, the notion of ‘return’ to school had any meaning.
- **Hosting refugees** itself amounts to an education emergency in affected communities. Jealousies arise – incomers may ‘pull our children back’, or ‘be too smart’.
- It was reported that ‘not much serious attention was given to **play** as a protection strategy’.
- Those formally identified as IDP groups are the ‘lucky ones’, because assistance, including educational support, is directed at them. Many **lone IDPs** – who may have fled personal disasters such as the destruction of the family home by fire, hostility from a local community because a family has rejected local custom (e.g. who their daughters will marry), been forced to leave a town because of the closure of an employer such as a factory or hotel – do not attract the same level of response. It is particularly difficult for these loners to integrate their children into schools in a strange community.
- As in Afghanistan, **cross-border families** often wish to remain outside formal structures, particularly schools. The national borders are very recent, and may change in the future. Families are often criminalized or labelled as ‘terrorists’ just because of their geopolitical history. The education of senior public officials about the true nature of these groups is probably as important as educating the people themselves. UN organizations are in a unique position to take a regional perspective, which does not let artificial borders hinder the provision of education and other services. For example, the nearest human or material resource might be just across a border, and it is considerably less efficient to bring resources from within the country (e.g. health textbooks).
- Difficulty securing good **marriages** for daughters, in unstable social and economic situations, is a significant vulnerability. The film-maker, Akmal Khan, reported meeting a teenage girl who had lost a leg in the earthquake and was getting used to an artificial limb: ‘It was heart-breaking, therefore, to see her look so sad. She kept on repeating that no one would want to look at her because she was a cripple’ (IRIN, 2007). This proposes the need to educate communities to have more accommodating attitudes towards people with disabilities.
- Questions were raised about the need to avoid **sensitive topics** such as death, when teaching general subjects to children who may be traumatized.

3. Strategies

UNICEF explains that the agency's determination to establish temporary schools in camps and villages 'was not only intended to ensure the fulfilment of a child's right to education but also to restore normalcy into the lives of children. Only by reinstating their daily routine and replacing their learning environments with child-friendly meeting spaces for siblings and friends could UNICEF pave the road to recovery' (UNICEF Pakistan, 2006: 21). Typical of the response was Save the Children's work within AJK, Muzaffarabad District, aiming for full coverage of primary and middle schools, which included:

- 117 schools given school clearance kits and cash-for-rubble clearance
- 142 tents given to 106 schools
- 153 school kits given to 124 schools – each containing a teacher's box, 2 classroom boxes, a sports and recreation box, chalkboard
- 150 teachers trained with a focus on teaching methodology and the use of the school kits
- 132 SMCs formed and 750 members trained (record keeping, disaster management, etc.)
- Textbooks distributed to children in grades katchi to class 8 in every school.

(Save the Children UK, 2007)

'Return' and 'resettlement' of displaced earthquake and other victims of natural disasters is commonly mentioned, as is 'reconstructing' and 'rehabilitating' schools and education. More specifically, immediate UN education recovery initiatives have included (UNDP, 2006):

- Advocacy – the 'Welcome to School' campaign
- Disaster management training
- Promoting Education for All
- Provision of temporary learning spaces
- Teacher training
- Education planning and management
- School reconstruction.

Related services have included:

- Child protection services
- Healthcare
- Disease surveillance
- Mental health services
- Physical rehabilitation services
- Water and sanitation in schools
- Nutrition programme.

A range of low-cost social interventions are reported, for example 'a healing classroom' to encourage psychosocial well-being, and 'child-friendly spaces' (Kirk, 2008). Save the Children and the Commission of Afghani Refugees (CAR) have helped Afghani girls and boys in refugee camps in Pakistan (NWFPP) to form Child-to-Child groups. Through these groups children learned about rights, health, disability, and social and community issues. They are reported to have become monitors of child rights in their schools and communities, promoting the right to education by visiting families whose children were not going to school.

Before this group was started there was no education for girls, now there is. Boys used not to eat together with the girls and now we do. Girls were not allowed to play sports, but now this has changed. We have motivated street children to go to school. We have spread messages to drug addicts. Children with special needs are coming to school. We have learned about the risks of mines. (*Child-to-Child group, Islami Khidmatgar, Ghandi Khan Khel Camp*)⁸

The role of religious organizations in the earthquake response was also significant – and controversial. As reported by the International Crisis Group, at least 17 Jihadi and humanitarian Islamic groups immediately mobilized in the affected areas and initiated relief activities such as food and non-food item distribution and health services. They were also active in the organization and management of IDP camps, working closely with the other relief teams, including the UN, international NGOs, the Pakistani army and foreign military assistance teams. Sufficient funding allowed them to provide supplies and services to the affected populations and to gain respect for so doing.

4. Issues

- **Iatrogenic impacts** – the cures that cause ills. Schools and projects provided for IDPs, and refugee camps, can pose further hazards – health and social.
- There is a tension between the problem of ‘insufficient data’ versus ‘information overload’, but also comments about the poor quality of data. This suggests the need for effective provision and training of **information officers** at all levels.
- The concept of ‘**return**’, ‘**resettlement**’, ‘**recovery**’, ‘**revitalization**’ and ‘**rehabilitation**’ seems to go against the ‘build back better’ ethos. Hopefully, unless the cost is prohibitive, there will not be a return to a form of infrastructure or school management that compounded the problems caused by the natural disaster, for example bullying, violence, poor school construction, or exclusion of specific groups from life-saving knowledge, e.g. girls and STDs.
- The camp schools, accessible to children who had come down from high altitude and remote locations, represented a significant **window of opportunity** for increasing school enrolment and establishing patterns of school attendance in populations otherwise not reached by the government’s education outreach initiatives. Although this may not have been true across all affected areas, it was reported in the Islamabad Education Cluster meeting of 3 January 2006 that 80 per cent of the children in the camps had never been to school before.
- As in Afghanistan, **retention** seems a problem. ‘It is unclear to what extent school attendance had been sustained as the camp schools gradually closed, and as the camps were consolidated and closed, and as residents returned to their homes.’
- There was concern that ‘vulnerability’ was addressed within the **child protection** clusters, and therefore omitted from discussion within the education clusters.
- Locations of **strategic importance which reflect political interests** (e.g. good relations with the Nazims) are said to receive more attention and support after a disaster than communities with less influence and power. ‘The involvement of political bodies in rehabilitation process caused serious injustice among all the rescue work, especially in the construction of school buildings ... the helpless have been badly ignored.’

⁸ Source: O’Kane (2006); cited in Heijnen-Maathuis (2008).

- At State levels, most emphasis seems to be put on repairing and developing **physical infrastructure**. Disaster planning does not seem to embrace a specifically **educational aspect**, which takes into account human resources, the knowledge and capacities of local people, and emergency-relevant education interventions such as psychosocial support. Perhaps this arises because there is a belief that international agencies will attend to this aspect, which coincidentally brings foreign currency into the country (UNDP, 2006).
- The international response to major disasters seems to be significantly influenced by **geopolitics**. In neighbouring Iran, in 2003, the city of Bam similarly suffered a major (6.6) earthquake (26,000 dead; 12,000 injured) (BBC, 2003). Many schools were destroyed. An estimated 1,200 teachers died (873 in Pakistan), and 10,000 students (18,588 in Pakistan). The Iranian government did not interfere with an immediate international response involving around 50 Islamic and western countries, but this was not ongoing in terms of educational reconstruction, and the event was soon forgotten by the international community.

Sri Lanka

1. Emergencies

People in Sri Lanka have faced various long-term and short-term emergencies, including ongoing conflict, the recent tsunami (2004), coastal erosion, landslides, seasonal droughts, floods and cyclones (which are, as interviewees said, 'increasingly more difficult to predict').

Conflict and security concerns. The decades of war claimed thousands of lives in Sri Lanka. The growing hostilities between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE led to the end of the cease-fire agreement in January 2008 (Save the Children, 2008a). Conflict continues to disrupt education, with reports of attacks as recently as August 2008 causing the displacement of thousands of children – including those about to take national examinations. Consequences of war also include the loss or insufficiency of school materials needed, the inability of children to attend, or traumatic experiences which affect their mental health (Jayaweera and Gunawardena, 2007). Basic access to education is further hindered with IDP occupation of school buildings and damage caused by aerial/artillery attacks (INEE, 2008b). It was reported that in some areas, children do not go to school due to the fear of being recruited into the militant groups there. A counsellor who was interviewed said to have identified a 'lack of hope in life' among children in the region, and that that is becoming a barrier for some students to attend educational activities.

Tsunami. The tsunami in 2004 affected nearly 70 per cent of the Sri Lankan coastal belt, and affected all major population groups. According to the World Bank record, it left around 40,000 people dead, 5,600 missing, more than 15,000 injured and 300,000–500,000 displaced (Save the Children, 2007; LHRD, 2007). Many families were displaced and children moved with families several times before settling in one place (where they stay for more than six months). These children tended to drop out of school soon after they realized that they could not catch up with the level of the achievement required. The tsunami affected economically disadvantaged fishing communities the most, and trauma among children in those communities is clearly identified. School principals and teachers interviewed said that many children were scared of coming back to school just after the tsunami, and even nearly 4 years after the event, children are still 'very jumpy' and emotionally unstable at school.

Other natural disasters. Other disasters in Sri Lanka include coastal erosion, seasonal droughts, landslides, floods and cyclones. Children who are forced to leave their homes due to conflict or natural disasters are reported to be more vulnerable to sexual, physical and mental abuse (Save the Children, 2008a).

2. Vulnerabilities

Although the gross enrolment rate in primary education is relatively high (97%: boys 99%; girls 94%), 3 per cent of children do not enrol in school at all, and 18 per cent of those enrolled drop out before the end of compulsory education (ADB, 2005). Children are generally considered vulnerable in emergency

situations, but the following groupings of children were considered to be the most vulnerable in education in emergencies in Sri Lanka:

- Children in the **conflict-affected areas** in the North and North-East (including child soldiers).
- **Internally displaced children** due to the conflict and previous natural disasters.
- Children in **fishing communities** where the family income is often inconsistent.
- Children of the **plantation workers and bonded labourers**. Historically, the lack of education investments has caused low educational levels across generations.
- Children in **indigenous** (Veddhas) **or nomadic communities**. Access and language issues make it difficult for them to benefit from current educational provision.
- Children in **remote regions** where teachers or educationalists are not available. The areas which have little rain suffer the most: the lack of crops during the dry season affects children's nutrition.
- Children of **minority groups** within majorities (e.g. Tamil children in Sinhala communities and vice versa; Muslim children in Buddhist communities).
- Children in **relocated coastal communities**. Various buffer zones in the coastal areas were established to impose limits on where people could live after the tsunami, and relocation and resettlement schemes were created. However, some of these communities were relocated far away from the sea; parents tend not to send children to local schools in these circumstances, as this could show acceptance of the unsatisfactory relocations.

Vulnerabilities within the groups can be categorized as:

- Children from **economically disadvantaged** families. These are considered to be the main vulnerable groups in times of emergency (e.g. children in slums; street children).
- Children with **special needs**, especially severe mental and physical disabilities. There is a lack of institutional provisions, as well as capacity and awareness of the needs of these children among teachers and educationalists.
- **Children from single or no parent families**. There is a lack of universal welfare/support systems for single parents, and very limited institutional provision for children with no parents. It is said that there is high risk of abuse for those who stay with relatives or non-family members. Recent economic migrations of parents are also affecting children left behind.
- Children who **experienced trauma** because of emergencies (especially the loss of family members) (Wickrama and Kaspar, 2007).
- Children with **drug or alcohol problems**, or those with **addicted carers**. Drug and alcohol abuse is identified more frequently among coastal communities and within IDP camps.
- Children with **parents working as 'home guards' or in the army**. As a second level of protection, civilians were recruited to work as 'home guards' by the government in North and North-East border or in high-risk areas. It was reported that the cases of abuse or neglect especially occur when both parents are away on duty. The duties are not coordinated fully to have one parent at home.
- Children who do not have a **balanced diet** are seen as being at risk of suffering educationally. Repetition in diet is common among less-resourced families (e.g. coconut and rice only). Rates of obesity have also risen in recent years.
- **Gender** is not regarded as an obstacle, especially for primary education. However, it was noted that girls tend to drop out from secondary education more than boys, and that some suffer from

sexual violence or harassment in the communities, or on the way to places of learning (e.g. on the bus or on the deserted road).

- Castes are rarely mentioned as an obstacle for accessing primary education. However, this element invites other social vulnerability factors such as the economic stabilities of the family and communities.
- **Children who are not at school** are vulnerable, since most of the educational and emergency provisions utilize schools, and those who are not at school tend to be invisible among service providers. These children include **children in prison or detention centres** and **working children**, including those in domestic services.

3. Strategies

It is impossible to list all of the strategies and actions taken for children and their education in Sri Lanka here, but below are some of the innovative interventions identified during the research.

Providing flexibilities in the education system

- Providing educational facilities for IDP children was seen as crucial after emergencies. UNICEF worked to achieve various **administrative flexibilities**. For example, during the war displacement, teachers were not going to school as they were only paid if they were at their original schools. Similarly, textbooks, uniforms and school meal funds were sent to the schools where students were supposed to be. These individual administrative changes made it possible for the schools acting as a hub for teachers and students who were displaced to work effectively with the newly attached schools. UNICEF and the government are working to institutionalize emergency response by setting up 28 focal points around the country to provide rapid response and information in the case of emergencies.
- **Open School programme.** The Department of Open School at the National Institute of Education (NIE) runs 11 schools in Sri Lanka, including two schools in prisons, with support from the GTZ remedial education team. There is no age limit for students at this school, and it serves children in remote areas, and in war and disaster affected areas. The Open School qualification opens a route up to the university level (Open University). Teachers are mobile and usually reach children where they are (e.g. during the agricultural seasons, children are in the field; during drought seasons, they move to the area where water is; during the rainy seasons, students cannot come to the learning centre, so lessons need to be held near their home). Teachers are often selected from the feeding areas and, therefore, can move with the students. Schools are often based in religious or community communal places.
- **Home-school modules** (UNICEF, NIE, MoE). Some students in the conflict-affected areas cannot come to school every day. On those days, designated local adults gather 4 or 5 children living nearby and work with them on a home-school module booklet. Teachers circulate across these cluster groups and work with local adults and children.
- Not being able to catch up with the level of study is one of the reasons that children drop out of school. The **Remedial Education** programme (GTZ) is provided for drop-outs and slow learners, as is **'catch up education'** (UNICEF, SCiSL and others). UNICEF and NIE have produced a **'condensed curriculum'** for primary students, which helps children to learn important points in half the time normally required for them to catch up after a break in education.

Creating child-friendly and safe learning spaces. Making school a welcoming place to children was said to be *'hugely important – otherwise children won't attend'*.

- **Child Friendly Schools** (e.g. UNICEF, SCiSL, Plan International) initiatives are taking place. Various practices and philosophies are introduced to make schools more child-centred.
- Geographical distance to get to learning spaces (especially secondary schools) discouraged students from attending educational activities (especially in the areas with various risks). Some schools supported **transportation** for students, for example by providing bicycles.
- Ensuring the **safety of the route to learning spaces** is also important (including landmine awareness education). In conflict-affected areas, security checkpoints are often set up, and this prohibits children coming to school smoothly (e.g. it takes time to go through, and some teachers get angry with children if they are late). Experiences at checkpoints could be a trigger for children to stop coming to schools. Interventions, such as providing the student register at checkpoints or placing a teacher or personnel to assist the processes, are needed.
- Schools are encouraged to develop their own **emergency preparedness plans** by the government and various NGOs (e.g. GTZ, UNICEF, Save the Children, 2007), although the extent to which these plans are available is unclear.
- The need for **community solidarity** was mentioned to prevent adolescent abduction (both boys and girls).
- **Peace and community cohesion education** (e.g. MoE, GTZ) is conducted to provide opportunities for children to think about various types of conflicts and to develop non-discriminatory attitudes. The National College of Education also gives pre-service teacher training in this area.
- International NGOs have been working with the government to reduce the number of **child soldiers**, including rehabilitation of these children and raising its profile as an issue that can be talked about.

Providing psychosocial support for children and communities

- **Psychosocial care** and related training has been provided by various organizations (e.g. GTZ, UNICEF, Guidance and Counselling Unit of NIE, MoE, Red Cross) for children, teachers and communities. Most psychosocial support systems for children are provided at school. Originally, some resistance in talking about emotive and personal issues in one-to-one settings was identified in the communities which had never had this support before. In these circumstances, the community level approach was employed by using 'forum theatre' techniques – with dramatists and singers talking and singing about common issues and allowing the audience to contribute. These attempts were seen as inclusive in terms of access for citizens (these are held in their community centre), reaching non-school attendees.

Developing skills of children

- Save the Children in Sri Lanka has introduced 'child-led risk reduction' planning which helps students develop awareness, skills of mapping and mitigation of risks, and ideas for advocacy. It promotes the idea of *'Children as resources, not only as service receivers'*. GTZ and the MoE run Disaster Risk Management Programmes for students. The *'Life competencies and civic education'* (NIE, 2006) curriculum at school developed by NIE also aims to develop students' skills in coping with difficult situations and *'to say no with confidence to something they do not want to happen'*. Some NGOs (e.g. Save the Children in Sri Lanka) have started to equip students with researching

skills so that their voices can be heard clearly to reflect their needs, as well as equipping them with skills of advocacy.

Monitoring and looking for children who are not at school

- Monitoring and identifying children who are not at school was seen as the weakest area in the work related to emergencies, education and vulnerable children. Strategies of looking for children who are out of school are not written down or shared across the organizations, and it is left to local officers or aid workers in the area to identify those children.
- However, there were some successful interventions identified. During the big displacement that occurred in Trincomalee and Batticaloa at the end of 2006 (over the space of 18 months), the MoE and UNICEF asked individual teachers to go out and find the children they used to teach at the original school. This was seen as the most effective strategy, and students found it easier to go to temporary schools where they could see familiar faces. At IDP camps in Batticaloa, children themselves became monitors and encouraged fellow students to go to schools. This was better than using adults or police, who are often mobilized in this kind of work: *'softer tactics work better'*.

Setting up mechanisms within the government to respond to emergencies

- The National Child Protection Authority (NCPA) was established in 1998 to protect children from any form of harassment and violation. According to the Number 16 'Tsunami Special Provisions Act', children affected by the tsunami were under the special protection of NCPA (Wijemanne, 2005).
- After the 2004 tsunami, the government created a Parliamentary Select Committee with the intention of analysing the current status of disaster risk management and making recommendations. The Sri Lankan Disaster Management Act Number 13 of 2005 provided a framework for disaster management and encompasses approaches that are proactive rather than reactive.
- The Act led to the establishment of a National Council for Disaster Management (NCDM) and consequently, a Disaster Management Centre (DMC). The DMC is the primary agency for managing disaster risks in Sri Lanka and implements the directives of the NCDM (Hettiarachchi, 2006). Disaster work in Sri Lanka also operates under the Ministry of Disaster Management and Human Rights (MDMHR) (Hettiarachchi, 2006; Jayawardane, 2006). There are 25 district offices of DMC and MDMHR across the country. The regional disaster management committees, together with village level committees, oversee the relief work and information provision. A number of information leaflets on various possible disasters have been created and distributed to schools. MDMHR is also currently providing vocational training to 39 ex-child soldiers.
- The Tsunami Education Rehabilitation Monitor (TERM), under the direction of the MoE, was established in July 2005 to oversee the rebuilding of the 183 schools affected by the tsunami. TERM coordinated international efforts provided by numerous NGOs (e.g. World Vision, UNICEF).
- National disaster preparedness and district disaster preparedness plans have been developed by the government and various NGOs.
- Teacher Centres and Educational Resource Centres have been set up across the country, and it is hoped that they will provide focal points for education in time of emergency.

4. Issues

The following issues have been identified for future interventions:

- **Lack of information and access to the North and North-East**

Both within governmental and non-governmental organizations, there is very limited information on children and their educational situations in the conflict-affected areas in the North and North-East. Internet connections are not set up sufficiently to send correspondents, and the postal services are unreliable. The few information sources include teachers, educationalists, or aid workers who come out from the nearby affected areas to visit training courses and meetings in the capital. However, the numbers of these people are not sufficient to understand the real picture of what is happening to children and their education in the area.

- **Lack of systems and strategies of ‘tracking down’ children who are not at or have left school or learning spaces**

There are very few strategies implemented or promoted for educational institutions to seek children who have not come to schools or who have left schools. An interviewee talked about the importance of identifying those children since *‘it’s not [that] children don’t come to school, but [that] they can’t come to school’*. Displacement of children during and after emergencies makes this task difficult; the lack of existing practices of seeking children in the communities was also identified, even during non-emergency time. Many social welfare services for children take place in school (e.g. psychosocial support; emergency preparedness training; healthy meal schemes), therefore children who are not at school miss out, not only on education, but also on the various services provided.

The reasons for this were considered as: lack of sense of urgency or awareness of the needs of searching children who are not getting educational provisions among educationalists; lack of universal social service and social workers. Newly trained counsellors are informed to follow up children who have dropped out. However, one often finds that the social issues surrounding those children are hard to be resolved alone, especially without strong social worker support (e.g. finding bursaries for children; sorting out employment issues for families). Sarvodaya Street Children Project seeks children in need: *‘We have to go out. Some children we can see, but others are not ... you have to go out and research.’* The strength of this organization is their capacity and experience in not only ‘identifying children’, but in ‘consulting with parents/carers’; ‘giving out grants for families (e.g. on housing)’; and ‘seeking out job opportunities for carers’. It would be impossible for schools to operate in this way, but it would be important for schools to communicate and work with existing local services to identify students who are missing out on education and services provided at school.

- **Little inclusion of children with special needs** (including those who are injured or ill)

Compared with other vulnerable groups of children, children with special needs are often forgotten or are mentioned very little in relation to vulnerabilities in education generally. The school enrolment of children with special needs is very low in Sri Lanka. Schools can refuse children with special needs due to the ‘lack of resources’. There are no hospital schools for those who have been injured during the emergency. Although schools have a policy of inclusion, it was reported that parents with special needs children fear that their child will be bullied in school. The lack of training

for teachers in mainstream schools to work with these children is also apparent. Children with special needs are an ‘invisible’ group of children in Sri Lanka.

■ **School being not necessarily a safe place**

Sometimes school itself or the routes to schools can be unsafe for children. It was reported that some schools became recruitment grounds for military activities in the conflict-affected areas, and that children could face sexual or physical violence on the way to their school. Research by Save the Children in Sri Lanka (2007) reported that corporal punishment was more prevalent in the war-affected North and East compared with other areas of Sri Lanka, and this might be due to school being a microcosm of general violence in a militarized context, and due to the high stresses of living in such areas. There was also a general increase of corporal punishment in the schools in Southern and Eastern provinces after the tsunami. Some interviewees mentioned that after the tsunami, it was difficult for some teachers to understand why students were behaving strangely or ‘badly’ at school, even though this was possibly due to their trauma from disaster. The lack of understanding of psychosocial issues could have been a contributing factor to the above result. In situations where people are stressed, initiatives such as Child Friendly Schools and making schools and routes to schools safe for children become crucial.

■ **Lack of provision for children with drug or alcohol issues**

Usage of drugs is illegal, and children who have drug issues are expelled from schools. At the same time there is very little provision available for them to turn to or to rehabilitate them.

■ **Lack of flexibilities and ‘alternatives’ in education systems**

Apart from ‘Open School’ and ‘Home School Modules’, there are very few flexible and alternative education provisions identified for those children who might not fit into the existing schooling system. Although the MoE and NIE are currently working on a mapping exercise on out-of-school children and inclusive and alternative education provisions, in most cases students have to be physically on school premises to receive education.

Rigid achievement levels and competitive schooling do not help either. Achievement in core subjects, especially mathematics, is seen as crucial in schooling. Some students who come back to school after being displaced or are having difficulties due to emergencies are reported to find it difficult to catch up with their peers and so drop out. Competitiveness has escalated in recent years with children going to tuition classes after school. This means that those who cannot afford to pay for the extra classes are left further behind.

■ **Need of a list of vulnerable groups of children in emergencies**

The main vulnerable factors and vulnerable groups of children are said to be well established and identified. However, different respondents listed vulnerable groups differently and sometimes missed out certain vulnerable groups of children (especially children with special needs). The list of vulnerable children was often not at hand, and it seemed there was no commonly agreed list of vulnerable groups of children in relation to education and emergencies. It is debatable whether a determined list creates further invisibilities of certain groups of children or not, but it might be

useful to have a list of children whom agencies and governments will ‘watch out for’ in future events. When this is in practice, regular updates of the list will be crucial.

- **Welfare and social services depending on mother and families**

Social welfare systems exist, but are not universally received and accessed across the country. There is dependency on parents (especially mother) and family members to look after their children. When that safety net is not there, children suddenly become very vulnerable. The interviewees claimed that a child without a mother or parent is reported to suffer more physical and sexual abuse and slips down in education. There is a recent trend in family breakdown due to various reasons, including disaster and conflict (e.g. widows), divorce, and women (including mothers) migrating to the Middle East to earn a living as housemaids. The reliance on family support itself would not be sufficient enough for the future to protect children.

- **Need for more communications across departments and organizations**

The tsunami increased country efforts to have Disaster Risk Reduction strategies. However, during the interviews it was noted and reported that all efforts to respond to vulnerable groups of children who might not get educational input during and after the emergencies are sometimes not coordinated fully. The reasons for this were the lack of communication within and across the different departments of the governmental and non-governmental organizations. The organizational arrangements could make it difficult: for example, the Ministry of Disaster Management does not have the mandate on schools, but the MoE does; at the same time, the MoE does not have responsibility for single mother support mechanisms which might impact on whether a child comes to school or not. Stronger collaboration and information exchanges were viewed as important to make the best use of investments and efforts. These exchanges and discussion could usefully happen, not only at higher levels (e.g. Education Sector Framework), but also at more practical and grassroots levels (e.g. discussing successful interventions and ways of implementation).

ANNEXES

Annex 1

People and Organizations Visited

Afghanistan

Matloob Hussain, National Co-ordinator, TdH

Joon Teewen, Director, ORA

Andrew Young, AIDS Coordinator, ORA

Paul George, Senior Programme Advisor, UNDP/ANBP-DDR, Afghanistan's New Beginnings Programme. De-militarization of Personnel

Farzaneh Yazdani, Rehabilitation Counsellor

Carlos Alfonso, Correspondent, ECHO

Staff and children at:

Terre des Hommes (TdH)

Aschiana, Children in Crisis (CIC)

Enfants du Monde/Droits de l'homme (EMDH)

Afghanistan Demain (AD)

European Commission, Vulnerable Children Programme

Bangladesh

Hassan A. Mohamed, Education Manager, Education Section, UNICEF

Ohidur Rashid, Project Officer, Quality Education Team, Child Development and Education Section, UNICEF

AH Mufique Ahmed, Divisional Coordinator, Barisal Division, UNICEF

Md Nazrul Islam, Programme Officer, Barisal Division, UNICEF

Prabin Khisa Tatu, Consultant, Education Section, Barisal Division, UNICEF

Probak Karim, Learning Advisor, Plan Bangladesh

Chowdhury Mufad Ahmed, Joint Project Director, Primary Education Development Project II, Directorate of Primary Education, Government of Bangladesh

Helen Craig, Senior Education Specialist, The World Bank

Shahidul Hasan, Programme Manager, BRAC

Hasan Al Farooque, Team Leader Education and Manager Disaster Risk Reduction through Schools, Action Aid Bangladesh

Habibur Rahman, Head of Education, SCF USA

Anal Sarkar, Program Manager, Emergencies Education Program, SCF USA

Md Shahidul Islam, Assistant Director (Education), Dhaka Ahsania Mission

Reza Mahmud Al Huda, Team Leader, Education Program, CARE Bangladesh

Sajeda Yasmin, Technical Coordinator, Education Program, CARE Bangladesh

G. Nayeem Wahra, Head of Programme, Programme Support Unit, Save the Children UK

Mosharraf Hossain, Programme Officer, SCF UK
Ruhul Amin Liton, Upazila Field Officer, CODEC
Mr Suvash Chandra, Head Teacher, Sanirvar Uttar Charakgachia RNGPS
Mrs Banani Romi Pal, Assistant Teacher, Sanirvar Uttar Charakgachia RNGPS
Mrs Shanaj Pervin Lovely, Assistant Teacher, Sanirvar Uttar Charakgachia RNGPS
Mrs Momena Akhter, Assistant Teacher, Sanirvar Uttar Charakgachia RNGPS
Muhammed Taher, Consultant, Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme (CDMP)
Julian Francis, Programme and Implementation Advisor, Chars Livelihoods Programme (CLP)

Bhutan

Government departments

Ms Sangeeta Pradhan, Education Loan Focal Person, Bank of Bhutan
Mr Dezang, Programme Officer, School Disaster Management, Department of School Education, Ministry of Education
Mr Tandin Dorji, Programme Officer, Department of Labour, Ministry of Labour and Human Resources, Thimphu
Mr Ugyen Tenzin, Programme Officer, Employment Division, Ministry of Labour and Human Resources
Ms Karma Dema, Head, Disaster Management Division (DMD), Department of Local Governance, Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs, Thimphu
Major Karma Tshering, Fire Services Department, Royal Bhutan Police, Thimphu
Assistant District Education Officer, Thimphu Dzongkhag
District Disaster Focal Person, Thimphu Dzongkhag
Mr Yeshey Lotey, Royal Insurance Corporation of Bhutan, Thimphu
Mr Ratan Rai, Vice Principal, Changzamtog Lower Secondary School, Thimphu, Bhutan

International NGOs/agencies

Ms Karma Denka, Programme Manager (Education), Save the Children, Thimphu
Mr Sonam Tshering, Emergency Focal Person, Save the Children, Thimphu
Mr Tek Bahadur Chhethri, Sr. Programme Officer, Education, Health and Urban/Environment Programme, Liaison Office of Denmark, Thimphu
Mr Banu, Programme Officer, World Food Programme (WFP), Thimphu, Bhutan
Mr Norbu Wangchuk, Programme Officer, World Health Organization (WHO), Thimphu
Mr Karma Chogyel, Field Security Coordination Officer, Focal UNDMT, UNDP, Thimphu
Mr Kinley Dorji, Programme Officer, JICA/JOCV, Thimphu Office
Mr Kencho Namgyel, WASH Officer, UNICEF, Thimphu
Secretary, UNESCO Bhutan Office, Thimphu
Ms Ruby Noble, Education Specialist, UNICEF, Thimphu
Mr Ramesh Chetri, Programme Officer, Austrian Coordination Bureau (ACB), Thimphu

Local NGOs/Corporations

Mr Dorji Wangchuk, CEO, Centennial Radio and previous General Manager of BBS, Thimphu
 Mr Jigme Thinley, Programme Officer, Youth Development Fund, Thimphu
 Mr Pema Gyelpo, Project Co-coordinator for Emergency, Tarayana Foundation
 Ms Fiona Stiedl, Researcher, RENEW Office, Thimphu
 Mr Thukten Yeshey, Ex-BBS Researcher and Freelance Media Researcher, Thimphu
 Ms Karma Eden, Manager, Mobile Section, Bhutan Telecom
 Mr Jamyang, Network Engineer, Tashi Info-com, Thimphu
 Mr Kinley Wangchuk, CEO, Radio Valley, Thimphu

Rehabilitation Centres

Mr Phub Dorji , Drop in Centre, Rehabilitation and Counselling Centre, Thimphu
 Mr Rinzin, Drop in Centre, Rehabilitation and Counselling Centre, Thimphu

Workshop attended on 28th August 2008 entitled 'School Safe from Disasters'. The workshop was targeted at the heads of the schools in Thimphu/Training of Authorities. The Principals were being trained on giving first aid and other information on do and don'ts during time of emergencies. The workshop was being funded by Government of Japan through UNDP and implemented by Disaster Management Division (DMD) and Standard Quality Control Authority (SQCA), Thimphu

India

Sanjay Kumar, Deshkal Society
 Shambusingh Yadav, Deshkal Society
 Sessa Giri, Independent consultant
 Renu Singh, Save the Children
 Dhir Jhingran, Room to Read (NGO); Formerly worked in state and national government
 Chetana Kohli, UNICEF
 Fragh Ahmed Jami, CARE India
 Bhagyalaxmi, Mobile Crèches
 Subir Shukla, Independent consultant
 Abhishek Pathak, PRAYAS
 Vivek Upadhyay, PRAYAS
 Naaz Khair, Independent consultant

Observations:

- Mobile Crèche multi-grade early childhood centre/school at building site employing migrant workers
- PRAYAS residential home for boys
- PRAYAS 'transitional' school in slum area

Maldives

Ameena Mohamad Didi, Project Officer, Education, UNICEF Maldives
Arif Rasheed, formerly Coordinator, Psychosocial Support, National Disaster Centre, and at American Red Cross
Mohamed Naeem, Child Protection Officer, UNICEF Maldives
Mohamed Waseem, Assistant Principal, Raa Atoll Education Centre
Group of 8 female IDPs, including one primary teacher from an island in Raa Atoll
Abdul Nasir Mohamed, Principal, Maafushi School
Mohamed Nizar, Maafushi School
Group of 2 and 13 students at Maafushi School

Nepal

Lava Deo Awasthi, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Education
Indra Karki, Officer, Planning and Coordination, Ministry of Education
Daniel Toole, Regional Director, UNICEF, ROSA
Susan Durston, Regional Education Advisor, UNICEF, ROSA
Frances Stewart, Deputy Director, UNICEF, ROSA
Sumon Tuladhar, Education Coordinator, UNICEF Country Office
Helen Sherpa, Programme Coordinator, World Education
Baikuntha Acharya, Teacher, Bal Byavasai Kendra Secondary School
Rama Devi Thapa, Head Teacher, Gyan Bikas Lower Secondary School
Rajkumar Dhungana, Education Coordinator, SC-US
Dr Krishna Pahari, GIS Adviser, World Food Programme
Siemon Hollema, Head, Food Security Monitoring Analysis Unit, World Food Programme
Suman Khadka, Child Protection Team Leader, SC-US
Dilli Prasad Guragain, Child Protection Coordinator, SC-US
Tarak Dhital, Director, Child Workers in Nepal (CWIN)
Rajan Sharma, Adviser, Founder President, Education Journalists Group
Joanne Doucet, Chief, Child Protection Section, UNICEF, National Office
Durga Sob, President, Feminist Dalit Organization
Gopini Pande, Director, Education, SC-Norway
Rebecca Crozier, Country Director, International Alert

Sri Lanka

Ita Sheehy, Chief, Education, UNICEF
S.M. Ariyaratne, Chief of Field Office, Galle Zonal Office, UNICEF
Dr Ulf Metzger, Programme Coordinator, GTZ Sri Lanka
Dr H.D.A. Lalitha, Subject Matter Specialist, Peace & Value Education, GTZ Sri Lanka
Evangeline Ekanayake, Technical Advisor, Psychosocial Care, GTZ Sri Lanka
Wasantha Peiris, Subject Matter Specialist, Remedial Education, GTZ Sri Lanka

B.J. Lasantha Sanjeewa Rodrigo, Advisor Monitoring & Evaluation, Save the Children in Sri Lanka
Nireka De Silva, Research Coordinator, Save the Children in Sri Lanka
Tahirih Qurratulayn, Strategic Programme Advisor, Disaster Risk Reduction, Save the Children in Sri Lanka
Amara Peeris, Chief Advisor, Sarvodaya Women's Movement, Moratuwa
E.K. Wijesinghe, Manageress, Sarvodaya – Street Children Programme, Borella
Michaela Kelly, Director, Programme Support, Plan International
K.P.N. Premasiri, Director, Co-curricular Activities, Guidance & Counselling Branch and Psychosocial Intervention and Counselling Program. Ministry of Education
Dr. J.M.K.B. Hajarjhan, Peace and Social Cohesion Unit, Ministry of Education
M.J.M. Saneer, Counsellor and Teacher Training Coordinator, Batticalloa Resource Centre on Guidance and Counselling
Maheswary Sabaranjan, Deputy Director of Education, Plantation Schools Unit, Ministry of Education
Renuka Peiris, Acting Director, School Health and Nutrition Unit, Ministry of Education
R.S. Medagama, Retired Director General of Education Reform Implementing Unit of Ministry of HRD, Consultant to the Ministry of Education
Asia Mendis, Administration Officer, Tsunami Education Rehabilitation Monitor, Ministry of Education
Sumith Parakramawansa, Assistant Director of Education (Planning), Provincial Department of Education, Southern Province
Sarath C. Vitharana, Principal, G/ Peraliya Sri Jinarathana Maha School
Rohini Mendis, Deputy Principal, G/ Thotagamuwa Vijayaba Maha School
J.D. Wijesekara, Assistant Teacher in English, G/ Thotagamuwa Vijayaba Maha School
Dimuthu Galappatti, Information and Media Officer, National Child Protection Authority
Colonel Keerthi Eakanayaka, Director – Operations, Disaster Management Centre
Palitha Bandara, Assistant Director – Training, Disaster Management Centre
A.H.L. De Soyza, Assistant Secretary, Department of Human Rights & Disaster Management
W.M.K. Weerakoon, Director, Department of Inclusive Education, Faculty of Education for All, National Institute of Education
S.A. Sunil, Guidance and Counselling Project, National Institute of Education

Annex 2

Schedule of Interview Questions

1. Who were the vulnerable groups in relation to education, that is, who was particularly harmed educationally by a disaster?
2. How did specific types of emergency affect these groups? How did they respond to the emergency and how did this impact on their response to education?
3. Under what conditions were they worst affected?
4. How do different vulnerabilities affect one another (e.g. disabled minority group girls)?
5. Who survived best, and why?
6. What did various agencies do educationally for these groups, either as pre-determined policy or as an unplanned response?
7. Under what conditions was post-emergency help or rehabilitation effective or not effective?
8. What made vulnerable people and groups easier or more difficult to identify and monitor?
9. How are various emergency tools used (e.g. school materials, checklists, communication systems)? What was helpful?
10. How were the children and their education monitored?

Annex 3

Annotated List of Existing Toolkits and Manuals Related to Education, Vulnerability and Emergencies

1. INEE (2004)

Minimum Standards For Education In Emergencies, Chronic Crises And Early Reconstruction

This is the most often mentioned and used manual. Anderson *et al.* (2006) confirm that the standards have been well received and used, although there is some criticism that they are not specific enough, for example in teacher:pupil ratios. Distinctions between standards and indicators are given. Both include prescriptions for action; it is not clear whether these are all tried and tested, but they do provide a coherent framework and philosophy which would underscore this report. There are various checklists which comprise lists of questions to answer. There is stress on assessing particularly vulnerable groups (CAFF, abducted children, teenage mothers, etc.) and drawing up a 'risk matrix' of vulnerable groups attached to natural disasters and environmental hazards. Of relevance in terms of strategy would be:

- Emphasis on community participation (including youth) to identify needs and to monitor and evaluate
- Action plan to include a code of conduct to ensure a culture of involvement (child protection, participation of girls and women, persons from vulnerable groups, implementation of teaching and learning)
- Children's participation, with children trained in practices that help protect themselves and others
- Promoting access to and security in schools; need for sanitation, water for personal hygiene, separate toilets, etc.
- System for sharing assessment findings and storing education data
- Need for satellite and feeder classes, bridging programmes, peer support, etc.
- Non-violent classroom management
- Learner-centred learning, life and livelihood skills
- Teachers' code of conduct.

2. INEE (2006)

Minimum Standards Toolkit

<http://www.ineesite.org/toolkit/>

This is the web-based resource which contains the 2004 Minimum Standards, plus a toolkit to help users adapt indicators to their local setting. It gives links to other toolkits, manuals and resources. There are also training materials and advocacy materials.

3. INEE (2006)

Good Practice Guides

<http://www.ineesite.org/page.asp?pid=1238>

These cover:

- Assessment, Monitoring and Evaluation
- Educational Content
- School Environment and Supplies
- Educational Structure and Management
- Training and Capacity Building.

The gender guides on teaching and on gender violence are useful. One guide particularly relevant to this study is:

- *Inclusive Education of Children at Risk – Towards full participation*
<http://www.ineesite.org/page.asp?pid=1060>

4. UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia, New York Headquarters, 2006

Education In Emergencies: A Resource Toolkit

This provides UNICEF'S principles and frameworks for action in emergencies:

- Education as a fundamental right
- Restoring a sense of normalcy
- Education of good quality
- Additional urgent learning needs
- Gender equality
- Children at risk (children with disabilities, unaccompanied minors, street children, children affected by HIV/AIDS, child soldiers, child labourers)
- Long term development perspective
- Opportunities to 'build back better' by introducing innovations
- Respect for parents and community as partners
- Partnership with local authorities
- Right of adolescents to basic education, formal and non-formal.

The kit provides various models:

- Summary chart of non-formal educational implication procedures
- Model of child-friendly spaces/schools
- Rapid Education Assessment checklists, including 'biggest constraints'
- List of 'specific protection concerns' which should be included in baseline data for preparedness – e.g. abuse by teachers, rebel attacks, exploitation which would intersect with potential vulnerability factors
- Guidance on temporary learning spaces and Child Friendly Spaces (CFS)
- Recommendations for promoting educational opportunities for the rehabilitation for vulnerable children
- Education indicators for Core Commitments for Children in Emergencies
- Section on gender in education in emergencies
- Annotated bibliography of materials for education in emergencies.

5. UNICEF (2005)

Emergency Field Handbook: A Guide For UNICEF Staff

This is an overall handbook, but has a chapter on education, outlining actions in three phases. A relevant section mentions HIV/AIDS, and the provision of post-rape care kits and access to information

6. Save The Children (2008)

Non-Discrimination In Emergencies: Training Manual And Toolkit

This is primarily a training manual, with modules and exercises, including how to run workshops. There are also useful information checklists. The manual points out that many agencies do not specifically highlight the rights of children in their responses, and suggests a Child Rights Situation Analysis. It contains:

- Non-discrimination checklist
- Checklist for a diversity-aware humanitarian response (both of these ask people to identify the vulnerable)
- Examples of discrimination and violation of UNCRC
- Examples and sources of discrimination in emergency and non-emergency situations.

Lessons for promoting non-discrimination:

- Map pre-existing sources of discrimination and where they stem from; map most vulnerable children; look out for new sources and forms of exclusions (emergency-related injuries, orphans, communities neglected in relief processes); identify how old and new have a bearing on survival, access to relief, access to rehabilitation, access to protection from abuse, access to decision making (NB no access to education!)
- Make services/projects inclusive
- Change attitudes, perhaps through school (origins of disability, capacities of girls)
- Non-discrimination legislation
- Actions/voices of children and young people themselves.

7. IASC (Inter-Agency Standing Committee) (2006)

Women, Girls, Boys And Men. Different Needs – Equal Opportunities. Gender Handbook In Humanitarian Action

This handbook is based on analysing the practical and strategic needs of females, using a human rights-based approach. The chapter on Education examines problems on the *supply side* (schools too far away; not accessible, especially to disabled girls; cannot attend without male companions; staffed by male teachers; minimal or no sanitation; risk of sexual violence; boys at risk too from forced recruitment) and on the *demand side* (impoverished families prioritize boys; rely on girls for household chores; generate family income; early marriage and pregnancy).

Recommendations are to be 'gender sensitive' and build on the different coping strategies of boys and girls, channelling health and survival messages. Need for education-related demographics, gender breakdowns of students, heading households, girl-mothers, separated from family, language proficiency. Questions are raised, and checklists provided such as:

- Are girls suffering from stigma because of war experiences?
- Latrines, sanitary pads, code of conduct for teachers.

- Division of household chores.
- Are learning materials stereotyped? Do they address gender related issues of sexual and reproductive health?
- Do PTAs exist? Do they have awareness of gender?
- Is there double disadvantage (e.g. disabled girls, young mothers, former child soldiers)?

Needs are identified as:

- Messages conveyed in gender-sensitive way on HIV/AIDS and STI, early marriage, 'healthy menstruation management', etc. Information and support for GBV?
- Therefore include women in education meetings (looking at timing, child care, etc.), engage in school-related activities, feeding programmes, escorting girls to school.
- Access and learning environment as in UNICEF reports.
- Ethical assessment so that teachers cannot use grades to exploit girls.

8. Inap/Provention Consortium (2008)

Responding To Earthquakes: Learning From Earthquake Relief And Recovery Opportunities

This has a series of lessons learned from earthquake relief. There is nothing on education as such, but it makes the point that every disaster widens the gap between the rich and the poor. Lack of attention to gender is a recurring failure in disaster response. Earthquakes usually kill more women than men. There was a higher number of widowers after the tsunami, leading to social problems. Widows in the camps were confined to tents because of cultural norms and could not queue to get registered or present their claims. Fisherwomen in India did not get compensation after the tsunami as they were not members of the fishermen's associations that controlled the compensation. There was an elite capture of compensation.

9. Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2008)

Disabilities Among Refugees And Conflict-Affected Populations: Resource Kit For Fieldworkers

Access to education for children with disabilities was one of the most successful areas in all the countries surveyed. No cases of children with disabilities being actively excluded from schools were found. Examples of early intervention programmes, training of SEN teachers, aids, home support and liaison. However, in some settings, education for children with disabilities was not actively encouraged either, and drop-out rates were high due to lack of training, aids, or flexible curriculum, and physical inaccessibility. More boys with disabilities attending, not clear why. Access to vocational skills training and income generation varied widely; sometimes excluded actively; barriers to employment. Easier in camps than in urban areas where competing in an open market.

P16 list of questions (some taken from INEE good practice guide on inclusive education) – do those with disabilities have equal access, schools physically accessible, facilities in schools, child-friendly spaces in schools or camps, etc.

10. GTZ *et al.* (2004)

Disarmament, Demobilization And Reintegration: A Practical Field And Classroom Guide

The reintegration section covers access to training and employment. DDR programmes need to include special training courses for ex-combatants, on-the-job training and vocational training. Should address the requirements of the informal sector, as most ex-combatants have no chance of finding employment in the small formal sector. Skills alone not enough; need basic knowledge of market structures and accounting as well. Training to make them qualify for grants and credit programmes. Just the training itself can have a positive social effect – elevates social status. Female ex-combatants face additional difficulties – prejudice, slander, rejection, thought of as prostitutes. For younger children, going to school means many learn peaceful means of tackling everyday routines and conflicts for the first time.

11. Wisner, B. (2006) ISDR System Thematic Cluster/Actionaid

Let Our Children Teach Us! A Review Of The Role Of Education And Knowledge In Disaster Risk Reduction

Based on Hyogo Framework for Action 2005–2015: Building the resilience of nationals and communities in disaster. This puts together education for sustainable development and Disaster Risk Reduction. It looks at:

- Knowledge management
- Education
- Risk awareness.

Mostly about teaching about risk reduction, safety, participatory assessment of vulnerability and capacity.

12. Save the Children (UNDATED)

Child-Led Disaster Risk Reduction: A Practical Guide

The programme objective is to strengthen children's skills so that they understand the risk of disasters in communities and are enabled to take a lead in reducing the risks and impacts of potential disasters.

The five components are:

- Understanding the context and forming partnerships
- Capacity building and awareness raising (of all stakeholders, including children)
- Programme implementation/Activities
- Monitoring and Evaluation, Learning and Documentation
- Advocacy.

Activities include:

- Familiarizing children with the concepts and terminology of DDR and the roles they can play
- Hazard, Vulnerability and Capacity assessments prepared and conducted by children
- Children developing awareness-raising campaigns
- Promoting simulations involving children, community members and government to reinforce and promote behaviour change
- Developing action plans
- Integrating DDR knowledge into the school curriculum.

There are many real examples of child-led activities in Thailand, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, India, Philippines, Pakistan, Nepal and Indonesia, and useful Appendices on child rights during emergencies and on frameworks for child-led assessment and needs analysis.

13. Child-to-Child Mine Risk Education – Activity Booklet

<http://www.child-to-child.org/resources/onlinepublications.htm>

Provides a comprehensive guide for peer-education and adult facilitation, including activities to:

- Help children understand the issues – what children already know, developing understanding
- Find out more
- Share ideas, prioritize and practise
- Take action
- Evaluate
- Do it better.

This is a comprehensive set of materials which would readily adapt to any situation, and any form of interactive learning.

14. Child-to-Child Helping Children Affected By Natural Disasters

<http://www.child-to-child.org/resources/onlinepublications.htm>

A shorter but similarly useful sheet, which provides a checklist relevant to any form of disaster.

15. USAID (2008) Education In Crisis Framework

This framework is for countries served by the USAID Asia and Near East Region. It is based on the 'do no harm' principle, but also 'rebalancing' decisions for those who have not received their fair share of services – ethnic or tribal groups that were out of power and whose struggle gave rise to violence; or groups that have lost power as a result of the violence. This is admittedly very political, so all stakeholders need to be involved. It gives examples of services immediately to those left out, such as:

- Accelerated learning (Afghanistan)
- Bridging programmes
- Teacher training (Pakistan)
- Life skills training (communication, interpersonal, health, rights, etc.) (Pakistan)
- Vocational skills training
- Early childhood
- Psychosocial
- Distance education.

It stresses the need to provide productive, community-based alternatives for youth and to meet gender specific needs (abuse, heavy workload, reproduction related health problems, very young war widows). Boys are expected to maintain masculinity roles, so are attracted to violence. There is a checklist of questions about gender.

16. USAID (2006)

Education And Fragility: An Assessment Tool

This has valuable questions about the impact of fragility on education (and how education contributes to fragility) for 11 areas (economy, governance, security, social, violence, corruption, exclusion, elitism, transitional dynamics, public disengagement, insufficient capacity), each under 5 headings (access, quality, relevance, equity and management). The agency's strategic approach is particularly concerned with issues of legitimacy and effectiveness in governance.

17. Fast Track Initiative (2008)

Support To Fragile States: Progressive Framework

This framework uses the notion of 'underserved' groups – e.g. geographic, girls, youth. It identifies the traditional groups – out-of-school youth, IDPs and former combatants. Relevant recommendations are for:

- Safe learning spaces
- Students active in school governance
- Involvement in civic projects
- Enterprise.

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