The role of education in protecting children in conflict

by Susan Nicolai and Carl Triplehorn

ABSTRACT

Wars deprive millions of children of an education, yet education in emergencies has not traditionally occupied a prominent place in humanitarian thinking. No one dies from not going to school, and other life-threatening needs – for food, water, shelter or healthcare – can at first glance seem more pressing. Amid conflict and crisis, education programming has been viewed as a luxury, and a task best left to the development community.

This paper argues for a reappraisal of the position of education in emergency programming. It explores the links between education and the wider protection needs of the children it assists. It suggests that, as protection in conflict emerges more clearly as a legitimate humanitarian concern, so the role of education as a tool of protection must be more clearly understood. How does conflict affect a child’s education, and what impact does this have on an affected individual’s social or cognitive development? In what ways can education enhance the physical and psychosocial protection of children in war-affected or displaced communities? What risks does education programming in these contested environments present, for children and for agencies themselves? What is currently being done, and how could it be done better?

This paper does not offer definitive answers to these questions. Education in emergencies is a young area; the evidence of its impact is often anecdotal, and although its status as a humanitarian concern has gained legitimacy in recent years, it has yet to be accepted across the humanitarian community. Much more needs to be done to enhance our understanding of the links between education and child protection in emergency situations.
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The impact of conflict on children's education

It is difficult to measure the impact of conflict on children and their education. One can attach numbers to some aspects of suffering – two million children dead in the past decade, six million seriously injured, one million orphaned or separated from their families, and twelve million left homeless (UNICEF, 1999). For other less physical aspects, numbers do not come as easily. Terror and violence cause psychological damage, the extent of which varies from child to child, with potentially serious effects on social and emotional development. The cognitive development of children is also harmed during war, as skills such as literacy, numeracy and critical thinking are delayed. In her landmark study of the impact of armed conflict on children, Graça Machel describes how conflict harms children not just physically, but socially and emotionally:

Not only are large numbers of children killed and injured, but countless others grow up deprived of their material and emotional needs, including the structures that give meaning to social and cultural life. The entire fabric of their societies – their homes, schools, health systems and religious institutions – are torn to pieces (Machel, 1996).

Education for all

A child’s right to education is enshrined in a number of declarations and conventions. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 outlines the right to free, compulsory elementary education, and states that education should work to strengthen respect for human rights and promote peace. Parents have the right to choose the kind of education provided to their child. The Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 states that, in situations of military occupation, the occupying power must facilitate institutions devoted to the care and education of children. Protocol I (1977) states that schools and other buildings used for civil purposes are guaranteed protection from military attacks. Protocol II states that children shall receive an education in keeping with the wishes of their parents. The rights of refugee children are protected in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which guarantees the right to elementary education, and states that they should be accorded the same opportunities as nationals from the host country. Beyond primary school, refugee children are treated as other aliens, allowing for the recognition of foreign school certificates and the awarding of scholarships.
The Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 calls for states to make primary education compulsory and free to all, and to encourage the development of accessible secondary and other forms of education. The Convention mandates an education that builds on a child's potential and supports their cultural identity. The Convention emphasises psychosocial support for conflict-affected children, and outlines the principle of non-discrimination, including access for the disabled, gender equity and the protection of the linguistic and cultural rights of ethnic minorities. The Convention also protects a child's right to recreation and culture.

Finally, the Rome Statute of 1998 outlining the legal jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC) includes protection for educational institutions under Article 8, which covers war crimes. The ICC protects against ‘intentionally driven attacks against buildings dedicated to religion, education, art, science, or charitable purposes’. A number of regional agreements also address issues of education. References to the right to education are found in the Protocol to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1952); the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man (1998); and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1999).

Education has also been subject to a series of international conferences and agreements. In 1990, the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) in Jomtien, Thailand, agreed to universalise education and reduce illiteracy. Aggressive targets were set aimed at achieving universal basic education by the end of the decade. The global commitment to basic education was revisited ten years later, at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal. When considering EFA, the Forum’s 1,100 participants clearly meant education that went beyond merely formal schooling. Thus, according to the Dakar Framework for Action, delegates committed themselves and their governments to:

- ‘expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;
- ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality;
- ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes;
- achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;
- eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls’ full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality; and
- improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognised and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills’.

The goals of universal primary education and gender parity were adopted as Millennium Development Goals by the UN General Assembly on 6 September 2001.

Measuring conflict’s impact on education

Education in emergencies (often used interchangeably with emergency education) is primarily carried out in situations where children lack access to their national and community education systems due to the occurrence of complex emergencies or natural disasters. Because modern conflicts are chronic and recurring, the sector tends to use the word ‘emergency’ in its broadest sense, encompassing not only the first days or months after an event, but also the effort to deal with the ongoing effects of the crisis, and reconstruction.

Within the context of EFA, emergency education does not negate states’ responsibility to educate their people; rather, it provides the space for the international community to assist where the government is unable or unwilling to provide education.

Attacks on schools are one of the most easily quantifiable ways of gauging the effect of a conflict on education. During 2001, for instance, Israeli soldiers shot at nearly 100 schools in the Occupied Territories, using rubber bullets, live ammunition and tear gas. Another 71 schools came under attack through tank shelling or rockets fired from helicopters (DCI, 2002). In East Timor, the violence of September 1999 destroyed between 80% and 90% of school buildings and related infrastructure (UNDP, 2002). Iain Levine, Chief of Humanitarian Policy at UNICEF, suggests that such attacks can occur because education represents state authority; in some circumstances, such as in southern Sudan, schools along with health centres may be the only public buildings in rural areas which can be targeted.
The impact of conflict on education may also be felt more indirectly, as part of a wider pattern of disruption and dislocation and the effects of state collapse. The Machel study notes that formal education is at risk during war ‘because it relies on consistent funding and administrative support that is difficult to sustain during political turmoil. During the fighting in Somalia and under the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia, public expenditure on education was reduced to nearly nothing’ (Machel, 1996). In Mozambique, wartime damage to schools left two-thirds of the country’s two million primary-school children with no access to education (UNICEF, 1996).

Children’s reduced enrolment and attendance at schools is another potential measure of conflict’s impact on education. Emily Vargas-Baron of the RISE Institute claims that, of the approximately 115m children worldwide who are out of school, a large majority are living in nations affected by complex crises (Vargas-Baron, 2001). The Oxfam Education Report states that two-thirds of countries in Africa that are experiencing or recovering from conflict have enrolment rates of less than 50% (Watkins, 2000). Just 3% of refugee adolescents – some 50,000 children – attend anything beyond primary school (Refugee Education Trust, 2002). For internally-displaced children, the prospects can often be worse; access to education in parts of Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and southern Sudan are minimal. In Somalia, it is estimated that only 9% of school-age children (and only 6% of school-age girls) are attending school (UNESCO, 1999).

Risks in education

While education is generally considered a force for good, conflict can distort its benefits and introduce additional risks. Schools may not always be safe: for example, Chechen schools have been bombed during class hours because they were deemed to be sheltering military targets, and grenades have been thrown into classrooms (Peterson, 2001). Teachers too may be at risk; in Colombia and Sudan, teachers have been threatened and killed (McCallin, 2001).

Education may be connected to recruitment by facilitating access to children; in southern Sudan, for instance, schools have been used as a convenient way of assembling young men for military service (Sesnan, 1998). In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), schools have been a common site of
### Table 1: Education in conflict-affected countries: a comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries or territories with major current conflicts</th>
<th>Universal primary education by 2015</th>
<th>Gender parity in primary education by 2005</th>
<th>Children out of school in 1999</th>
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<tr>
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<td>543,900</td>
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<td>Data unavailable</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Data unavailable</td>
<td>No estimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
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<td>No estimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>1,130,000</td>
</tr>
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<td>Burundi</td>
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<td>248,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Federal Republic of Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Serious risk of not achieving</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>No estimate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This table has been developed by cross-referencing conflict-affected countries identified in Sommers (2002); analysis regarding the projected achievement of EFA goals and numbers of out-of-school children are from UNESCO (2002). Where estimates are lacking, this is due either to inconsistencies between enrolments and UN population data, or a lack of UN population data by age.
child recruitment by Rwandan-backed rebel groups. Propaganda teams from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka have positioned recruitment booths near schools, and used street theatre to induce children into joining the military. In northern Uganda, fighting forces have kidnapped schoolchildren directly from classrooms. One rebel group in Burundi abducted more than 150 students from two schools in November 2001, setting fire to several classrooms as they did so (HRW, 2002). The prospect of education may itself serve as a rationale for joining an armed group. In southern Sudan during the 1980s, boys were lured hundreds of kilometres from their homes by promises of education, only to find that the ‘schools’ promised to them were also military training camps (HRW, 1995).

The stress that conflict places on communities can make the school environment itself more threatening. Corporal punishment, for instance, seems to become more common in schools during times of conflict. While teachers in many countries may see caning and slapping as an appropriate disciplinary tool, war can exacerbate its use as teachers take out their frustrations and stress on their pupils. In conflict areas of West Timor, Buton and Ambon, for example, teachers’ use of physical punishment, ridicule and humiliation to control and discipline children appears to be connected to the stresses they themselves experience (Van der Wijk, personal communication). The risk of violence or abuse in an educational context may be particularly acute for girls; in West African refugee camps, teachers regularly ask female students for sexual favours in exchange for good grades (UNHCR and SC UK, 2002). In Kosovo after 1999, fear of rape or abduction kept many Kosovar minority children, especially girls, away from school.

The broader economic pressures people affected by conflict face may also inhibit schooling. War-affected children from the most economically disadvantaged backgrounds are discouraged from attending school due to the expense. In extreme cases, such as the exploitation found in West Africa, young people may deliberately put themselves at risk, for example...
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through prostitution, to pay school fees. Even when
officially ‘free’, hidden costs remain, such as for
uniforms, books and transport. Survival pressures may
cause children to be removed from school and set to
productive work; girls may be married off earlier than
usual, or parents may be forced to exclude one child
from school for the sake of the education of other
family members. Bedreldin Shutta of Save the
Children recounts one instance in Sri Lanka where a
mother reported that she would not hesitate to
encourage her elder child to join an armed group if it
meant money to pay for the education of her two
remaining children.

In societies in conflict, education systems may them-
selves be politicised. A UNICEF study highlights a
variety of ways in which education can be manipu-
lated to the detriment of children:

• the uneven distribution of education as a means of
  creating or preserving positions of economic,
  social and political privilege;
• education as a weapon in cultural repression;
• the denial of education as a weapon of war;
• education as a means of manipulating history for
  political purposes;
• education as a means of diminishing self-worth
  and encouraging hate;
• segregation in education as a means of ensuring
  inequality and inferiority; and
• using textbooks to inhibit children from dealing
  with conflict constructively (Bush and Saltarelli,
  2000).

Thus, during the crisis in Rwanda and Burundi
education was used to heighten ethnic tensions
between Hutu and Tutsi, conditioning the population
to accept ethnic discrimination and propagating a
culture of mutual fear and pro-rapeptive self-defence
(Degni-Segui, 1997). In Serbia, the education system
was used to subjugate the Kosovar Albanians; in Sri
Lanka in the 1970s and 1980s, government textbooks
presented Tamils as the historical enemy of the
Sinhalese (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Governments
may deliberately block access to education for certain
groups. In the mid-1990s, for example, the Zairean
government sought to prevent Rwandan refugees
from having access to schooling (UNESCO, 1999).

Many young Palestinians in schools in Lebanon have
a ‘distorted and unclear perception’ of their own
history because curricula are required to teach from a
Lebanese perspective (Chaty, 2002).

Box 3: Addressing the manipulation of education: Palestinian summer camps

In the Occupied Territories, summer camps have a long tradition. They are also suspected of being used to
militarise the children that attend them. In response, the Palestinian Ministry of Youth and Sports and
UNICEF organised two national workshops in spring 2001, one in Gaza, the other on the West Bank. A set
of principles for the organisers was established, which were then used to guide and monitor activities:

• equity, equal opportunities and impartiality;
• a sense of belonging among the children;
• participation;
• self-respect;
• tolerance and dialogue;
• non-exploitation;
• consideration of individual variations among participants;
• consideration of the needs of different age groups;
• a child-focused approach;
• non-violence (physical and psychological);
• the inclusion of children with special needs and disabilities; and
• freedom of expression.
This paper understands the relationship between protection and education in conflict as two-fold, involving both protecting a child’s access to education amid conflict and displacement, and using education to protect a child from the risks that such situations present. In recent years, protection has occupied an increasingly important position on the humanitarian agenda, with agencies going ‘beyond the conventional view of how people are dying, to embrace … how people are living’ (Martone, 2002). This humanitarian concern for protection arose out of the horrors of the 1990s: ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, the Rwandan genocide, atrocities in Sierra Leone. Since then, humanitarians have begun to explore what kinds of practical actions can be taken to protect civilians both from physical harm, and from wider violations of their human rights (IASC, 2002a).

Protecting children

Children constitute a particularly vulnerable group in times of war by virtue of their dependence on adult care (OHCHR, 2001). Conflict and displacement can present particular threats, such as separation from family, abduction or recruitment by fighting forces, or exposure to targeted violence or landmines. At the same time, pre-existing threats, such as sexual or gender-based violence, labour exploitation or malnutrition and disease, may increase.

Efforts to protect children in times of war date back to the early years of the twentieth century; in 1924, for instance, the League of Nations adopted the Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child. Today, the standards for child protection during times of conflict are largely based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and its Optional Protocols (2000); the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) and its Protocols (1967); and the Geneva Conventions (1949) and Additional Protocols (1977). Another important source is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the subsequent International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). Regional instruments such as the European Convention on Human Rights (1950) also make specific reference to children.

Following Machel’s landmark UN study in 1996, a number of key initiatives have been taken.

- The appointment in 1997 of a Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict.
- The UN’s adoption of the CRC’s Optional Protocol prohibiting the participation in hostilities of those below 18 years of age. This was spearheaded by the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, a network of humanitarian agencies.
- High-level meetings to focus attention on the plight of children in war, such as the Oslo/Hadeland
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- Action for the Rights of the Child (ARC), a rights-based training initiative by UNHCR, Save the Children, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and UNICEF which has developed a series of resource packs on conflict-affected children’s rights and needs.
- The Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, an NGO initiative that prepares reports on the situation of children in specific conflicts, and makes recommendations to UN and international actors to improve child protection.
- A set of Inter-agency Guiding Principles on Separated Children developed by the Working Group on Separated Children, as a means to strengthen the tracing and reuniting of separated children.
- The Sphere Project, which has established minimum standards in disaster response as a way to improve the quality and accountability of humanitarian action. The particular needs of children are being incorporated as a cross-cutting sector in current revisions.
- A number of innovative agency-based initiatives, including the Emergency Stand-by Teams of Save the Children Sweden and Norway, and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC); UNICEF’s Child Friendly Spaces initiative; and the series of participatory adolescent field studies led by the Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

Child protection in practice

In practice, children’s protection is variously seen as a legal, social and physical concern (IASC, 2002b). Defining its scope beyond the legal framework is, however, difficult. In an external evaluation of UNHCR’s efforts to protect refugee children, for instance, there was confusion among staff as to what child protection meant, and what the agency’s policy actually entailed (Valid International, 2002). Few written definitions of child protection exist. The Oslo/Hadeland Conference described the international protection of children and adolescents as ‘the gamut of activities through which … rights are secured by the international community’ (NRC et al, 1999). Save the Children has developed a draft definition of child protection as ‘action to prevent or address harm caused to children because their rights to security, survival or development are threatened – directly or indirectly – by the acts of third parties, including armed groups’.

This paper sees child protection as a ‘continuum’. At one end lie efforts to address violations of a child’s rights, such as tracing and reuniting separated children, demobilising child soldiers and ensuring that schools are safe zones for children. Other protection activities focus on securing governmental and community respect for children’s rights through training, advocacy and strengthening local mechanisms of enforcement and dissemination. These activities are often combined with the delivery of assistance and services to address gaps in the rights of specific groups, such as girls, minorities and children with disabilities. Protection-related elements are often included in these activities, but not as their primary aim.

Box 5: UN Security Council resolutions on children in emergencies

A number of UN resolutions refer to the security and protection of children during emergencies. Resolutions 1261, 1314 and 1379 on children and armed conflict mandate international action to protect the security and rights of children in situations of armed conflict. Education is a part of each of these resolutions.

Resolution 1379 (2001) requests the agencies, funds and programmes of the UN to:

- devote particular attention and adequate resources to the rehabilitation of children affected by armed conflict, particularly their counselling, education and appropriate vocational opportunities, as a preventive measure and as a means of reintegrating them into society; and
- promote a culture of peace, including through support for peace education programmes and other non-violent approaches to conflict prevention and resolution.

Resolution 1314 (2000) reiterates the importance of ensuring that children continue to have access to basic services, including education, during the conflict and post-conflict periods.

Resolution 1261 (1999) stipulates ‘the provision and rehabilitation of medical and educational services to respond to the needs of children, the rehabilitation of children who have been maimed or psychologically traumatised and child-focused mine-clearance and mine-awareness programmes’.
The role of education in protecting children

Within the international humanitarian community, there are increasing calls for education to play a role in enhancing child protection, both as a service to be supported and delivered, and as an ‘enabling right’ which assists children in accessing their other rights (Pigozzi, 1999). The Oslo/Hadeland conference on child protection in November 1998 claimed that ‘Experience shows that education has a preventive effect on recruitment, abduction and gender based violence, and thereby serves as an important protection tool’ (NRC et al, 1998). In UNHCR’s Global Consultations on International Protection, education is similarly described as ‘an important protection tool’. Materials produced by the ARC declare that education has a ‘direct protection function in monitoring the development and progress of children’ (UNHCR and Save the Children, 2000).

Certain aspects of education can inherently protect children: the sense of self-worth that comes from being identified as a student and a learner; the growth and development of social networks; the provision of adult supervision and access to a structured, ordered schedule. Maintaining education and its ‘built-in’ protective components can thus provide vital continuity and support for children living through crisis. At the same time, education can offer an adaptive

Box 6: Factors protecting children

Action for the Rights of the Child (ARC) lists the following set of protective factors that shield parents and children from the worst effects of conflict and displacement (UNHCR and Save the Children, 2000).

Characteristics, assets or resources of the individual
- cognitive competence – a reasonable level of intelligence, skills in communication, or realistic planning;
- a positive sense of self-esteem, self-confidence and self-control;
- an active coping style rather than a passive approach – a tendency to look to the future rather than to the past; and
- a sense of structure and meaning in the individual’s life, often informed by religious or political beliefs or a sense of coherence.

The child’s immediate social environment
- good and consistent support and guidance from parents or other care-givers;
- support from extended family and friendship/community networks and teachers and the re-establishment of a normal pattern of daily life;
- an educational climate which is emotionally positive, open and supportive; and
- appropriate role models which encourage constructive coping.
response, addressing some of the particular conditions that arise from conflict. Thus, teaching in a conflict-affected environment can pass on potentially life-saving information, or impart basic skills in literacy and numeracy that may be crucial to a child’s survival. Table 2 summarises some of the ways in which education may enhance child protection. The right-hand column in the table refers to the relevant articles in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Child-focused humanitarian activity in conflict situations tends to assist a relatively limited number of children most affected by the crisis. Vulnerable groups might include child soldiers, separated children, children living on the streets, the sick or malnourished, those with a disability and child-headed households. The urgency of their predicament, along with their high profile and discrete numbers, makes them an appealing focus. However, efforts that target vulnerable groups without taking into account the needs of their peers tend to create inequity and foster resentment. Jane Lowicki of the Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children points out, for example, that in Sierra Leone a number of demobilisation projects have provided free education to former child soldiers. Non-combatant young people who are not able to attend school seem to resent this; they see themselves as the real victims and as more deserving.

Table 2: The potential protective elements of education in emergencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical protection</th>
<th>Article 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provides a safe, structured places for learn and play</td>
<td>Articles 31, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaches out to all children, without discrimination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offers means to identify children with special needs, such as experience of trauma or family separation</td>
<td>Article 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engages children in positive alternatives to military recruitment, gangs and drugs</td>
<td>Articles 33, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care and supervision can be provided by teachers, in consultation with the parent or guardian</td>
<td>Article 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offers children basic knowledge of health and hygiene</td>
<td>Article 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can improve children’s nutrition by the provision of nutritious daily meals as part of school feeding;</td>
<td>Article 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepares children for appropriate work which is not harmful or threatening their health or security</td>
<td>Articles 32, 34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psychosocial protection</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gives children an identity as students, averts inadequacy felt by children out of school</td>
<td>Article 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides a venue for expression through play and cultural activities such as sports, music, drama, and art</td>
<td>Article 13, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitates social integration of vulnerable children such as separated children and former combatants</td>
<td>Article 20, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supports social networks and community interaction for children and their families</td>
<td>Article 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides a daily routine and offers a sense of the future beyond the immediacy of war or conflict</td>
<td>Article 38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitive protection</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helps children to develop and retain the academic skills of basic education, i.e. literacy and numeracy;</td>
<td>Article 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offers means for children to access urgent life-saving health and security information;</td>
<td>Article 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishes children with knowledge of human rights and skills for citizenship and living in times of peace;</td>
<td>Article 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthens children’s evaluative skills in responding to propaganda and disparate sources of information;</td>
<td>Article 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourages young people to analyse information, express opinions, and take action on chosen issues</td>
<td>Article 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The international community is increasingly aware that all children living in the midst of war are vulnerable and need protection (Kastberg, 2002). Schools and recreational activities can bring some elements of physical protection to the majority of children—providing a safe place to play, offering an alternative to destructive behaviour, giving access to nutritious meals or providing regular adult supervision. For children who have been especially victimised by the conflict, coming together for educational activities may make it easier to identify those needing special help, and programmes can be tailored to their specific needs. Follow-up work to find children who do not attend school will further aid in identifying the at-risk, while education staff from the community can be invaluable in identifying children facing threats due to separation from their families, susceptibility to military recruitment or experience of sexual exploitation. They will also understand the impact of gender, ethnicity or disability on children in their own community.

In terms of a child’s psychosocial health, education offers a regular routine, opportunities for self-expression and the chance to engage with peers. The very status of ‘student’ can be valuable, protecting a child from forced recruitment, or bolstering a sense of identity and inclusion; in Liberia, for instance, former combatants sought to attend school to redefine themselves as something other than soldiers (HRW, 1994). By gathering children together, education programmes can support socialisation, establish peer networks and encourage children to understand and accept views other than their own (Tomaševski, 2001). Regular routines enhance children’s development and assist in their recovery from conflict. Education activities are important in establishing daily schedules that create a familiar and comfortable rhythm and establish a sense of structure and purpose (McCallin, 1999). For families, schooling provides a schedule for the week, while also marking special times such as weekends, holidays and school breaks. A child’s attendance at school also grants parents the time and space to rebuild their livelihoods, re-establish sources of income, or simply come to terms with their experiences.

School attendance also encourages children to regain some hope in the prospect of a better future. Goals such as completing homework, preparing for exams or completing a school certificate, regular assignments and tests and rewards such as gold stars and celebrations at the end of term provide children with achievable short-term and long-term objectives. These can be essential when finding a reason to continue the struggle to live in a conflict-affected society. This sense of hope can extend into a child’s relationship to the community. During conflicts, children lose the sense of what it means to be a good citizen and how to live in a non-confrontational way. In places where war has lasted for years, some children will never have seen how a stable family or community functions. Education can respond to this need through building children’s skills in listening, problem-solving and conflict resolution (Baxter, 2000).

Instruction also transmits vital basic skills, such as literacy and numeracy and the capacity for critical thinking, as well as imparting important information. In circumstances of crisis, academic learning is not a luxury. Knowing how to read, write and do basic maths is essential for children in protecting themselves. Reading skills enable children to gather information about their environment—whether from signs, newspapers, health brochures or medicine bottles. Writing skills enable children to sign for services and write letters seeking assistance. Children may need basic mathematical skills to manage their household’s flow of money.

Research shows that children and adolescents in war do not see themselves as passive victims, but as ‘active survivors of experience’ (Boyden and Levinson, 2001).
Every day, children make decisions about what is in their best interests based upon their knowledge and life experience. Deciding to volunteer for the military or to venture into a heavily landmined area may be logical decisions, based on need. Children’s responsibilities can also extend to caring for younger siblings, especially when separated from their parents. Providing children with accurate information from sources that they can trust strengthens their ability to cope with conflict at a practical level, to analyse situations and make decisions. In crisis situations, thousands of children fall victim to dangers which simple health and hygiene education could have prevented. In most cases, these children are living in a new environment; they do not know the location of landmines, the importance of immunisation or hygiene or how to minimise the risk of a disease like HIV/AIDS and cholera. They might not understand the consequences of sexual activity or drug use. Education in schools is one of the most practical means of conveying the kind of messages that enable children to make safe decisions.
Although education has long been an important component in development work, its appearance on the humanitarian agenda is relatively recent; even a decade ago, few humanitarians considered education within their scope of action. Education had been seen as neither indispensable to human survival nor required for subsistence. In recent years, however, attitudes have started to change and education has begun to emerge as an issue of humanitarian concern. Thus, Machel called for ‘educational activity to be established as a priority component of all humanitarian assistance’ (Machel, 1996). The absence of education for children dooms them to remain recipients of assistance; the Humanitarian Charter and its call for the right to life with dignity serves to support the inclusion of education in humanitarian response (Sphere Project, 2000).

Emergency education seeks to give shape and structure to children’s lives, preparing them with skills to survive conflict, and promoting justice, stability and respect for human rights. Its aims tend to be threefold: fulfilling a child’s right to education in the immediate response phase, mitigating the psychosocial effects of conflict and achieving protection-related objectives.

An increasing number of assistance agencies have included education as an emergency response. There is, however, no standard definition of ‘education in emergencies’ at the inter-agency level. In a 2002 review of the sector by Margaret Sinclair, a long-time leader in the field, emergency education was defined as ‘education specifically organised for emergency-affected children and young people … where children lack [or have restricted] access to their national education systems’. Its scope is not exclusive to school systems; rather, emergency education can be seen as a ‘short-hand for schooling and other organised studies, together with structured activities arranged for and with children, young people, and adults’ (Sinclair, 2002). These other activities might include recreational and cultural programmes, human rights and peace education, landmine awareness, HIV/AIDS prevention, out-of-school literacy classes and skills training.

The birth of a sector

Education began to gain recognition in humanitarian terms in the early 1990s, with initiatives such as ‘RAPID ED’, a working group which hosted a series of meetings on emergency response; the NRC’s campaign to include education as the ‘fourth pillar’ of humanitarian response, in addition to food, shelter and health care; a ‘Declaration on Principles of Education in Emergencies and Difficult Circumstances’, proposed at the Oslo/Hadeland Conference; and the Global Information Networks in Education (GINIE), which serves as a ‘virtual learning community’ for education innovation in countries in crisis and transition (www.ginie.org).

Agencies continue to show a strong commitment to working together and developing the emergency education sector. Two more recent initiatives – the Interagency Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE) and the Working Group on Standards for Education in Emergencies – facilitate information-sharing between organisations and the establishment of consensual standards for education response.

The INEE was established at the Interagency Consultation on Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis, held in Geneva in November 2000. Against the backdrop of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the EFA Declaration and the Dakar Framework, the INEE aims to ‘promote access to and completion of education of high quality for all persons affected by emergencies, crises or chronic instability’. Its objectives are:
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- to share knowledge and experience;
- to promote greater donor understanding of education in emergencies;
- to advocate for education to be included in emergency response;
- to make teaching and learning responses available as widely as possible;
- to ensure attention is paid to gender issues in emergency education initiatives;
- to document and disseminate best practices in the field;
- to move towards consensual guidelines on education in emergencies.

INEE’s members include UN organisations, international agencies, national NGOs, research institutes and universities, advocacy organisations, bilateral funding agencies and national governments. It is led by a steering group comprising UNESCO, UNHCR, UNICEF, CARE US, IRC, NRC and the Save the Children Alliance. It operates four task teams covering networking, materials, monitoring and evaluation, and post-primary education. The website (www.inneesite.org) includes a set of guides for good practice. INEE’s secretariat is based at UNESCO in Paris.

From 2003, the INEE is to host the Working Group on Standards for Education in Emergencies. This group emerged from a meeting in March 2002 organised by key NGOs – CARE, IRC, SC UK, SC US, NRC and Catholic Relief Services (CRS) – and involving a broad range of non-governmental and UN agencies. The meeting identified a commitment to ensuring a level of quality and accountability among education programmes serving children and adolescents in situations of crisis; and a belief that education in emergencies could not remain outside the mainstream of humanitarian programming, but must be seen as a priority response. Inspired by the Sphere model, the Working Group on Standards followed in January 2003, with representatives from ten NGOs and three UN agencies. Developing standards is expected to take two years.

Agency efforts in emergency education

This section offers an overview of the main agencies working in the sector, and some of their central activities.

UN agencies
The main UN agencies involved in education in emergencies are UNICEF, UNHCR, and UNESCO (including its institutes). WFP also plays an important role in emergency education through its school feeding programme.

UNICEF protects the rights and best interests of children living in poverty in developing countries, including children affected by armed conflict, who are identified as a vulnerable group in need of special protection. According to Pilar Aguilar, head of the organisation’s education responses in emergencies, UNICEF is ‘moving more towards working inter-sectorally’; to this end, it has developed an integrated services model in the form of ‘child-friendly spaces’. There is also a focus on rapid educational response, as demonstrated by UNICEF’s commitment to ship emergency education and recreation kits within 72 hours of an emergency. The ‘School-in-a-Box’ supplies materials for up to 80 students and a teacher. Contents include pens, pencils, chalkboards, chalk and paints. Using a locally developed teaching guide and curriculum, teachers can establish makeshift classrooms almost anywhere. In 2001, 19,000 kits were delivered to over 30 countries. UNHCR and UNICEF have a Memorandum of Understanding, which assigns UNICEF the primary role for in-country situations, and UNHCR in refugee situations (Sinclair, 2002). This has helped to organise overall response in recent emergencies.

UNHCR coordinates international action for the protection of refugees, part of which includes ensuring primary education for all refugee children (UNHCR, 2000). UNHCR’s Department for International Protection (DIP) has included education in its recently-adopted Agenda for Protection. UNHCR’s education work has included developing curricula initiatives in the areas of education for peace, conflict resolution and human rights, and environmental awareness. However, the review of UNHCR’s child-related efforts in 2002, while seeing education as one of the keys to ‘operationalising’ the protection function, warned that budget reductions threatened this capacity (Valid International, 2002).

UNESCO’s emergency education work emphasises the need to extend support beyond the short term. The Programme for Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction (UNESCO PEER), based in Nairobi, has developed a set of mobile teaching-learning materials called the Teacher Emergency Package (TEP). First established in Mogadishu in 1993, UNESCO PEER has expanded to the rest of Somalia and Somaliland, and the refugee camps in Kenya, Djibouti, Yemen and Ethiopia. It played a principal role in education response for the Rwandan crisis (Devadoss et al, 1996).
In 2002–2003, the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and Section for Support to Countries in Crisis and Reconstruction are developing a joint programme to ‘build governments’ capacity to plan and manage education in emergencies’. Beginning with the documentation of case studies that illustrate different emergency profiles, researchers will review education responses in East Timor, Honduras, Kosovo, Palestine and Rwanda. In addition to drawing out lessons learned and producing a series of policy studies, materials will be developed to conduct training with ministries of education (Talbot, 2002). Concurrently, the UNESCO International Bureau of Education (UNESCO IBE) is undertaking a study on curriculum change and social cohesion in conflict-affected societies (Tawil and Harley, 2002). Research will take place in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Guatemala, Lebanon, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, Rwanda and Sri Lanka.

The World Food Programme is the largest organiser of school feeding programmes throughout the developing world. In 2001, 15m children were fed in schools in over 57 countries (WFP, 2003). WFP provides food for students and teachers, usually in the form of school meals, as part of its emergency response. WFP focuses on increasing girls’ enrolment; in Pakistan, for instance, a programme providing edible oil to girls was credited with increasing the school attendance of Afghan refugee girls (IASC, 2002a).

The ICRC
The ICRC’s work in education is part of its mandate under the Geneva Conventions. The Exploring Humanitarian Law project designs curriculum materials on international humanitarian law for adolescents (Tawil, 2000). In selected crises, ICRC provides assistance for schools, such as in the Mindanao region of the Philippines, in Chechnya and in Bosnia.

NGOs
International NGOs working in the emergency education sector include the Academy for Educational Development (AED), CARE International, CRS, the Christian Children’s Fund (CCF), IRC, NRC and the Save the Children Alliance. A number of regional and local NGOs also play a lead role in implementing education response in their areas of operation. As this group is vast, this section looks at the work of some of the more prominent agencies engaged internationally.

IRC set up a Children and Armed Conflict Unit in the wake of the Machel Report of 1996. In 1999, the post of education technical advisor was established, and the scope of IRC’s work in this area has continued to expand. With a focus on rapid response and displaced populations, IRC operates education projects in nearly 20 countries. In Africa, it has formed a protection consortium, which includes education, along with CCF and Save the Children US. IRC will host the focal point for the Working Group on Standards.

The NRC includes education as one of its ‘four pillars’ of humanitarian response. It operates Norwegian and African Standby Forces, ready for deployment in 72 hours, many of whom are seconded to UN agencies. The NRC is operational in 11 countries around the globe, and has developed Teacher Education Packages and human rights education programmes. NRC has been a major advocate of the sector, and currently chairs the INEE steering group.

In 2001, the International Save the Children Alliance began to work closely together on strengthening their education response. Since then, a joint set of training materials has been prepared, and shared principles for programming developed. Of the national
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Box 7: Sida's guidelines on humanitarian assistance in education

Sida's guidelines, Education in Situations of Emergency, Conflict and Post-conflict, state that the agency will consider:

1. Supporting countries in situations of emergency, conflict and post-conflict to meet the education needs of children, young people and adults.
2. Supporting and assisting Swedish, international or local NGOs to build up capacity to intervene in the education sector.
3. Supporting various international networks and participating in them in order to advocate the importance of education.
4. Supporting UN agencies and other organisations to deliver education services and promote long-term sectoral development.
5. Promoting and supporting research in this area.
6. In exceptional cases, supporting individual scholarship funds/programmes.

Box 8: Education in emergencies: resource implications

Implementing successful educational programmes in poor areas is expensive. Calculating these costs is not, however, straightforward at country level, let alone globally. According to the EFA monitoring report in 2002, Afghanistan's projected education support requirements for 2002–2003 ranged from $70m to $437.5m. The report estimated that, if man-made crises or natural disasters caused a 25% increase in the annual costs of primary education in just four or five countries, an extra half a billion dollars would be necessary globally (UNESCO, 2002).

Education programmes require continual support; in some cases, they become more, rather than less, expensive over time. Effective education programmes should give more children access to education, and greater numbers of children should be retained in the education system. This requires additional school staff, space, furniture and learning materials.
UK’s Department for International Development (DFID) has explored the impact of conflicts on education in a study partly meant to inform internal policies on the subject. The US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Bureau for Population, Refugees and Migration (BPRM) have both shown signs of interest; they are major funding sources especially for US NGOs, as is the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) for Canadian agencies. ECHO has also shown a new openness to including this sector in its work.

Operational frameworks

As collaborative initiatives between agencies advance, the best practices necessary to provide quality education in times of crisis will become increasingly clear. Even so, the diversity of crisis, agency mandates and funding mean that it will be impossible to put forward a generic approach to education in emergencies. Factors such as the capacity and priorities of the local or host government, the availability of facilities and the presence or otherwise of pre-existing education systems and staff will all influence implementation decisions, as will the level of distress and violence the affected population has experienced. That said, general frameworks have begun to emerge.

The phased approach

The phased approach to education in emergencies seeks to develop programming through the different phases of a crisis. The three-phase model of Rapid Educational Response was first proposed in a joint publication by UNESCO, UNHCR and UNICEF (Aguilar and Retamal, 1998). Suggested for use in the initial months following large-scale displacement, this model proposes that education in emergencies should focus initially on establishing recreational programmes, which then move into non-formal education and eventually the establishment of formal education. This model includes the caveat that phases may be implemented simultaneously, and implies that at some point no educational services exist for refugee and displaced children.

The ‘Immediately, Sooner, Later’ matrix, a more detailed model of phased response developed by Sinclair and Triplehorn, was proposed as a flexible guide for humanitarian actors’ educational activities. This matrix includes the overarching themes of protection and psychosocial support that were not addressed in the earlier model. Additionally, it posits that, within emergency education, there are certain core areas – including academic subjects, life skills and capacity-building – all of which must be included regardless of the context. Implementation follows a general progression, but is not bound to a specific timeframe. (The ‘Immediately, Sooner, Later’ matrix of response is in Annex 1, page 30.)

The child-centred approach

While useful in articulating how education programmes can be rapidly implemented and how they can change over time, the phased models used in isolation focus on the operations of the humanitarian agency, rather than the children and their communities. The ‘Circle of Learning’, proposed in work for Save the Children, provides an alternative that puts children at the centre of the decisions determining the response (Nicolai, 2003). The accompanying diagram (Figure 2) provides an overview of four

Box 9: The phased approach in West Timor

At the height of the violence in East Timor in September 1999, over 250,000 refugees poured over the border into West Timor. Many children were living in crowded camp environments, and few had access to local schools which were already under-resourced. UNICEF, along with its implementing partner the Atambua diocese of the Catholic Church, began setting up ‘tent schools’ in camps.

The programme initially aimed at recreation and psychosocial support. A modified Indonesian curriculum was introduced, which focused on literacy, mathematics and life skills. By mid-2000, when over two-thirds of the refugees had returned to East Timor, UNICEF began negotiating with the district education authorities to enrol refugee students within local schools, and for the local authorities to take over managing some of the ‘tent schools’ (Jiyono, 2000). However, the murder of three UNHCR workers in September 2000 and the subsequent UN evacuation meant that no support could be given to this process. As the ‘tent schools’ had no links to the formal system, most were soon closed. Six months later, SC UK returned to West Timor, and found local schools stretched far beyond their capacities. As it was no longer safe to work within the camps, the organisation focused on building capacity within local schools to integrate refugee children.
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education approaches, which could potentially be implemented simultaneously:

• Support for existing governmental and community educational systems and initiatives.
• Special measures to return children to school, such as sensitisation and community-awareness campaigns for girls, minorities and returning refugees and IDPs and accelerated learning programmes for young people and demobilised child soldiers to help them achieve a recognised level of education, and where possible return to the classroom.
• Out-of-school alternatives, like literacy and life skills education for displaced children who do not plan to return to school.
• Coordinating non-school-age programmes for young children and adolescents, such as early childhood education provided within refugee camps, or vocational skills’ training for young refugees.
Education programmes can protect children, but they can also put them at risk. While this paper argues that the protective benefits of education outweigh the negatives, this is not proven and cannot be applied to all situations. Recent humanitarian interventions, in West Africa, Guinea or Sierra Leone, for example, have shown that education activities may subject children to abuse, or make them more vulnerable to military recruitment. These risks deserve serious attention, but they should not cause education to be discounted as a tool of protection. Programmes should be designed to enhance education’s inherent protective aspects, while frank and simultaneously addressing the potential risks.

Maximising the opportunities

Protection is a developing field, and humanitarian agencies have few frameworks to guide them in integrating protection into their activities. The recent IASC publication *Growing the Sheltering Tree: Protecting Rights through Humanitarian Action* provides a possible framework through a series of practical field-based examples (IASC, 2002a). In encouraging an integrated approach, the suggestions are structured around four pillars of protection based on suggestions first made by Diane Paul (Paul, 1999). The four areas identified as central to putting protection into practice are: leadership and collaborative work in protection; negotiating access to people under threat and ensuring the right to humanitarian assistance; ‘conscious’ presence (the strategic implementation of programmes to promote protection and prevent violations); and programme process (assessment, planning and evaluation).

Applying these areas specifically to education in emergencies and its potential to enhance child protection, this chapter considers:

- the leadership potential within the education structures of conflict-affected communities;
- education’s role in enhancing access for vulnerable children;
- the importance of visible presence as a deterrent to violence against children; and
- the role of teachers and schools in implementing education efforts and gathering and giving out protection-related information.

Community leadership

A community’s concern for its children can be one of the best protection resources, and can be reached through schools. Diane Paul, editor of *Growing the Sheltering Tree*, suggests that school representatives could act as a ‘protection liaison’, providing a central point for sharing information. Education committees would make ideal allies in such a protection role; indeed, they may themselves become an important psychosocial tool. In some situations, such as the Community Education Committees in the Belet Wayne district of Somalia, committees have received psychosocial training to enable them to enhance their parenting skills to deal with traumatised children within their community.

Education committees are likely to comprise community leaders with an interest in child protection, as these are the same issues that affect their own children. The first role of the group should be to encourage children to attend school, and parents to participate in education activities. While they may not initially be familiar with the idea of protection, individuals from the committee could be trained, in turn training others, on children’s rights, local laws or the identification of vulnerable children.

Education committees can potentially play a larger role in protection. As an example, humanitarian organisations typically include child rights in their
training of education committees; what is lacking, however, is follow-up to make protection manifest. This lack of follow-up can make school education committees believe that their purpose is to mobilise resources to build the school or raise money, rather than taking a more comprehensive view of providing for the welfare of their children. In Liberia, IRC-trained Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) identified students not attending school, and teachers followed up with the individual families. For girls, this was commonly due to pregnancy; in some instances, PTAs were instrumental in young mothers returning to school.

By their nature, education committees are well-placed to identify allies and extend local networks concerned with protection. In Kosovo, where PTAs were poorly developed, the IRC supported local women’s groups to conduct house-by-house surveys of the educational needs of all the girls and women in their villages. This identified girls who had never gone to school, as well as those being prevented from attending. In both instances, the women’s groups worked with local schools to develop appropriate programmes and advocacy. In Rwanda, UNICEF developed partnerships with education committees to identify at-risk children, as well as potential interventions. The Committees then developed projects which linked education and protection. Examples include support for the education of orphans, domestic workers and child-headed households, and accelerated learning for children who had dropped out of school or who had missed their first chance of enrolment (Baldah, personal communication).

Children can also take the lead in their own protection, and often address a wider range of education-focused goals through their activities. At an Afghan refugee camp in Bajaur Agency, Pakistan, for example, Save the Children supports groups of children to participate in ‘reflect-action’ circles to identify their protection concerns. Important issues typically span a range of topics, from latrines to early marriages, but many centre around schooling. Thus, the group brought its concerns about teaching aids being resold by school staff in the market to the attention of community leaders, who have since taken action (Save the Children, 2002). In Liberia, Don Bosco facilitated the formation of a child protection network through elections of school representatives, called junior counsellors. This group prepared a detailed report of abuse in schools, such as money or sexual favours being exchanged for good grades. The report led to the dismissal of many teachers and the introduction of codes of conduct for teachers and students (McCauley, undated).

facilitating access
When providing protection, access to vulnerable children is vital. This is usually thought of in terms of humanitarian space: the use of aid to reach vulnerable people and so increase a sphere of influence. UNICEF, for example, has promoted the concept of children as ‘zones of peace’ and facilitated ceasefires or ‘days of tranquillity’ that enable the provision of services to children. In the DRC, initiatives such as these have enabled students in rebel-held areas to sit for state exams (Kastberg, 2002).

In education, access also means such issues as school enrolment and attendance. In conflict areas, this may be acutely difficult as ‘many children who should be in school are hard to find, hard to get into school, and it is hard to make sure they remain there until completing, at the very least, their primary education’ (Sommers, 2002). Whatever their source, barriers to children attending school are indicative of larger protection issues – discrimination, security, poverty or geographic isolation. Education programmes need to be aware of obstacles to access, and incorporate strategies to overcome them. Thus, emergency support may seek to eliminate barriers such as school fees or difficulties around non-payment of teachers or lack of equipment, for example, thus facilitating access for children who might not otherwise be able to fully participate. The concentration of people within refugee camps may offer an opportunity to expand educational access to children who previously

Box 10: ‘Child-Friendly Spaces’
Developing designated safe areas in the aftermath of acute crisis can be an important mechanism of protection for children. In refugee camps, for example, the simple demarcation of an area with rope, plastic tape or stones can preserve a space for children that can later be developed into a school or a playing area. UNICEF’s ‘Child Friendly Spaces’ provide integrated educational, health and social support services for conflict-affected families. The concept was first used in 1999 in the Kosovar refugee camps in Albania and Macedonia. While school classes and recreation served as core activities, the model offered a structure for ensuring that other children’s services, such as early childhood care, psychosocial counselling, infant feeding, nutritional support, basic health care and hygiene, were available. The concept has subsequently been adapted for use in Afghanistan, Angola, East Timor, El Salvador, Guinea, Kosovo, Liberia and Turkey (Siegrist 2002, personal communication).
did not have it due to poverty or a lack of schools in their areas. Sometimes, the challenge can be as basic as a failure to recognise a school as a school. In Tanzania, for instance, it took two years for the government to permit refugees from Burundi to receive ‘formal’ primary education. Previously, schools in the refugee camps had been referred to as Child Activity Centres, which were not able to provide children with the same certification as formal schooling. The government still does not allow refugee children to receive formal secondary education (Eversmann, undated).

Presence as prevention

Presence, most commonly understood as the presence of outside observers, can offer a sort of ‘protecting witness’ for civilian populations. In the protection lexicon, this means that international witnesses are on the scene (IASC, 2002a). Thus, visible support of schools and safe areas places the participating children under the protective umbrella of the supporting organisations. This presence, shown through agency stickers and flags and by monitoring in marked humanitarian vehicles, may be a deterrent for individuals or parties wanting to harm children.

Local groups or communities may play this role themselves. In Sri Lanka, for example, the LTTE was less likely to conscript children from areas where international organisations were involved with local partners (Shutta, personal communication, 2002). Although international actors were not physically present at all times, it was clear that local groups were in easy contact with them. Similarly, in Kosovo IRC and CCF sought to generate community support for the education of Roma children. This took many forms: in some communities, Roma children were escorted to school by other children; in more hostile areas they were escorted by parents. Both organisations also sought to include the Roma in wider community activities, such as sport or cultural activities like dance.

Assessment, dissemination, reporting and monitoring

Multi-sectoral assessment should include an effort to understand the capacities of existing community services, such as schools. This helps to identify where the international community is not needed, and areas where support can be offered for a limited period of time. As a means of identifying potential violations and threats, OHCHR’s training manual on human rights monitoring states that the assessment of children’s rights should include reference to the role of ‘structures’, including ‘access to schools and health care; the strength of immediate and extended family structures; and the effectiveness of government ministries with responsibility for issues affecting children. Analyses should be aware of both modern and traditional structures’ (OHCHR, 2001). Humanitarian actors should also survey beneficiary communities to determine protection concerns.

Educational activities can ensure daily attention is paid to children. In this respect, education differs from health programmes that monitor only the sick, and from food-distribution programmes with their periodic character. Teachers at schools are aware of children’s needs and can facilitate screening for children who require special assistance. If children do not come to school, teachers should be asking where they are – and following up. Teachers can also provide information about:

- where families can be registered, or where a child tracing form can be submitted;
- how to obtain medical and social services, and information on food distributions;
- where to report crimes, including general security information;
- news from home, such as the current status of peace negotiations;
- announcements from community groups, such as women’s group meetings; and
the role of education in protecting children in conflict

Box 11: Assessment questions which link education and protection

Protecting children is often guided by knowing what to look for and what questions to ask. The following are a series of questions that may be asked of children, parents, education officials and leaders to identify links between protection and education.

**Education and protection needs**
- How has the conflict affected education? Where are children presently learning? Have school operations been affected by the conflict, by closures, double shifts or home schooling, for example? Can the international community reach all of these sites?
- Do education activities exist? Who does and does not attend them? Why? Is it because of the language of instruction, discriminatory messages by teachers or textbooks, a lack of accreditation, the need to work, discrimination, disability?
- Do children urgently need vital information to protect themselves, for instance on HIV/AIDS, family planning or landmine awareness?
- Do children have access to opportunities to earn a living through vocational education and apprenticeships?
- Is the area safe? Is it cleared of landmines or unexploded ordnance? Does learning occur in a structurally-sound building with sufficient sanitation facilities?

**Educational and protection capacity**
- Does attendance protect or endanger children? Are children at risk when they are in or travelling to educational activities?
- Are teachers and facilitators trained? Who monitors their work? Would they be interested in further training?
- Is the community involved in providing education? What is their role in child protection? What types of cases have they dealt with? How inclusive is the participation? Which sections of the community are involved, and which are not? What groups work with children, aside from those associated with schools? Can activities be linked?
- What systems are in place to monitor child protection issues, such as student attendance and matriculation data? Who interprets and follows up on this? Is this disaggregated by ethnic group and gender? What inequities are presently being addressed within the community?
- What is the protection role of the local and national officials from the Ministry of Education?
- What is the role of the international community in protection and education? Is presence being used for the specific benefit of child protection?

- human rights education, on such instruments as the Convention on the Rights of the Child or the Refugee Convention, translated and explained.

If the proper mechanisms exist, teachers and students can report abuses, rights violations or general concerns. Essential to any such process is trust, confidentiality and follow through on the part of the agency. Because this could potentially become too political or unsafe, proper oversight is important. In Pakistan, IRC’s protection unit learned of domestic violence from the agency’s extensive teacher network. Teachers knew that the abuse was happening, but did not know where to go or what to do with the information. Women’s centres were eventually created to help deal with this issue (Smith, 2002, personal communication). In early 2003, the IRC piloted a protection reporting form for teachers (see Annex 2).

Monitoring educational activities can provide a barometer of children’s protection needs in the larger community. For example, marked drops in the attendance of girls could be an indicator of stress, if scarce financial resources lead families to invest in boys over girls. In some countries, UNICEF maintains databases of children enrolled in school to provide information to monitor and prevent recruitment (Mahalingam, 2002). This kind of monitoring needs to happen at the local level; collecting national or regional statistics has limited direct effect on child protection. The value of monitoring lies in empowering local communities to identify issues and the means to address them. If the government or an
Minimising the risks

By their very nature, educational activities in conflict-affected societies can place children at increased risk. As described in chapter 1, schools may be a target of attack, while gathering school-age children together to teach them may offer easier opportunities for military recruitment than are present when children are dispersed. The importance of education to conflict-affected communities may be such that the prospect of schooling splits up families that might otherwise stay intact, or the education expenses may leave children with little alternative but to put themselves at risk, through prostitution for example. Depending on the circumstances in which they are developed, emergency education programmes need a realistic appreciation of these potential risks, and need to take precautions to minimise them. Whether in a family, a school, a church or a mosque, individuals with access to children can help, or they can hurt. The more that protection is considered as a crucial element of education, the more likely it is that schools will be safe places.

Attack

Attacking a school not only endangers students, but also creates fear within the community at large. Ultimately, the security of schooling depends on the larger security environment, which is a question of politics and the mechanisms of reconciliation, disarmament and demobilisation. But on a local level, opportunities may be available to improve the security of emergency education programmes. Thus, advocacy may encourage belligerents to accept education as an illegitimate target, for instance by emphasising that attacks on schools are considered a war crime. Lessons may be moved to a safer place, such as a local home. Communities can be encouraged to take steps to ensure the safety of their children on the way to and from a school, perhaps by escorting them.

Recruitment

Education may facilitate recruitment, but it may also be an important mechanism of prevention. As with attacks on schools, it is unlikely that the presence of an emergency education programme will prevent a determined effort to recruit children, though agencies may help reduce the risk by, for example, making sure that lessons are not conducted in isolated areas, or on the edge of a community, and that steps are taken to ensure the safety of children travelling to and from school. Monitoring school attendance may indicate when children have been abducted, and this information may be important in negotiations for the return of abductees.

Education may be more important in the case of voluntary recruitment, and when efforts are being made to discourage former child soldiers from re-enlisting. Thus, the Machel study argues that ‘education, vocational opportunities for former child combatants and the economic security of their families’ are the ‘determinants’ of successful social reintegration and the prevention of re-recruitment (Machel, 1996). The UNHCR has recommended that efforts to prevent recruitment should include ‘educational, vocational … and recreational activities’, particularly for adolescents (UNHCR, 2002).

Separation

In crisis situations, communities commonly perceive education as their only tangible hope for a better future. In its pursuit, children can be separated from their families, potentially exposing them to greater risk than had the family stayed together. In south Sudan, an extensive survey of 1,000 ‘Lost Boys’ by Save the Children identified education as their ‘first priority in life, even more than a chance for family reunification’ (McCallin, 2001). In many cases, these boys, now men, have never regained contact with their families, though they have retained the desire for education.

To minimise the risk of separation, emergency education programmes should as far as possible be planned so as to keep families together. In Chechnya, the significance of family was emphasised, with children identifying a close, caring and respectful relationship within the family as the most significant factor in their well-being (Betancourt et al, 2002). To minimise separation, special arrangements may be needed for students in their last year(s) to help them complete their courses. In refugee or IDP areas, repatriation should be coordinated with the end of the school year so that children can complete the term and remain with their families. Boarding schools should be discouraged.

Exploitation

In areas of conflict or crisis, children and their families may compromise or endanger themselves to pay for school fees, uniforms, materials or books. Teachers may be implicated in this; in West Africa, for example, teachers have been found to abuse their pupils (UNHCR and SC UK, 2002). In response,
female teachers assistants may be placed in the classroom, as has happened in refugee camps in Guinea. In this way, opportunities for sexual exploitation are curbed, the teaching pressure is decreased and children receive more individual attention (Watson, personal communication). A code of conduct for humanitarian personnel has been developed by the IASC Task Force on Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse, and its applicability to teachers and other education professionals involved in humanitarian programmes could be explored so that harassment is clearly defined and punishments for transgression laid out. Workshops on children’s rights, as well as on more practical subjects such as classroom management techniques and supportive learning, may be helpful in addressing issues around the increased use of corporal punishment in emergency settings.
Conclusions and recommendations

Education can play an important role in enhancing the protection of conflict-affected children. In many conflict situations where state systems have collapsed or are inaccessible, communities themselves organise simple schools and educational activities for their children. It is the responsibility of humanitarian organisations to build on these efforts — not only so children can learn, but also to strengthen the protection which communities, families and children themselves can provide.

A right in and of itself, education can also be a valuable means of realising children’s other rights. Through schooling, children can learn about the human rights to which they are entitled and the obligations which these entail. Education helps to develop children’s ability to express themselves, contribute to their culture, and care for their health. For older children, education can help in the transition to adulthood by providing leadership, reproductive-health training and job skills. Education also plays a role beyond just preparing children to attain their own rights — it offers a structure that can potentially guard against abuse, neglect and exploitation on into adulthood.

The key conclusions of this paper are:

• **All children are at risk.** Child-focused humanitarian responses should not centre solely on the relatively limited number of children most visibly affected by conflict, namely child soldiers, separated children, street children and child-headed households. Conflict harms all children in an affected area, and inequities in service can permanently solidify communities’ perceptions of difference.

• **Education may prevent further risk.** Education programmes support children’s psychological and social well-being by re-establishing a normal routine and peer networks. These stabilising forces may mitigate further psychosocial risk and may deter children’s participation in at-risk behaviours such as early sex, drugs, crime and delinquency.

• **Education may facilitate the integration of children.** The acceptance of children into education programmes is indicative of acceptance into their families, communities and society. At each of these levels, education can enhance how they are perceived as individuals and negate stereotypes of race, gender, ability or experience.

• **Organisers and providers of education, such as teachers and youth workers, play an indispensable role in shaping the lives of young people.** In many situations, parents are unable to provide and guide the development of their children. In these instances, trained and untrained adults, as well as youth and children themselves, provide important guidance and support.

• **Child protection, while a continuous and on-going process, must constantly be re-evaluated for threats.** Child protection is never ‘finished’. In post-conflict areas, activities may be initiated that put children at less risk, but in other cases they may increase children’s risk. Implementing agencies must constantly evaluate their programmes for risk and continually increase their inclusiveness.

• **Educational systems and curricula can perpetuate the divisions within a society and fuel a conflict.** Protection issues therefore have to be reflected in national education policies and response strategies, as well as in the development and revision of curricula.

Save the Children recommends that:

• **Education should be recognised as a core part of child protection.** When considering practical actions for protecting children in emergencies, the humani-
tarian community must acknowledge the role that education can play and expedite its inclusion in emergency response. To operationalise this, implementing agencies, governments and donors should review their organisational policy and practice, budgeting and staffing. To ensure that education is not lost amongst the other humanitarian priorities, funding should be specifically allocated for the development of educational programmes. As protection is never finished, concrete plans and funding should be allocated for the transition from emergency interventions to long-term sustainable development programmes.

- **Schools and educational facilities should be designated as ‘safe areas’**. With the adoption of the Rome Statutes, the targeting of schools and educational facilities can be prosecuted as a war crime. This should be emphasised in communications with parties to a conflict. Communities in areas of conflict should also be encouraged to treat schools as safe spaces, and should be supported in this. Any reconstruction should include clearing adequate play space for children, removing dangerous objects such as shrapnel and broken glass and fencing off the area. Agencies may consider elaborating a consistent response among themselves in the event of trespass.

- **Teachers and organisers of educational activities should be supported in meeting their responsibilities in this area.** Teachers, youth workers and in some instances children themselves are the key determinants of the quality and relevance of the educational experience — not buildings, furniture or school supplies. Any individual organising activities for children should receive training to help them understand and identify child protection concerns. Monitoring, reporting and mechanisms to follow up on child protection cases should be included in any programme. As a condition of employment, all individuals working with children should be asked to sign a code of conduct that articulates appropriate behaviour and proper relations with children. Where appropriate, these should be developed with local education authorities and community leaders.

- **Children should be actors in their own protection.** More than adults, children know the dangers they face in schools and communities. Children should be actively involved in all aspects of educational programming, including assessment, planning, implementation and monitoring. Whenever possible, young people should be supported to identify and implement their own protection activities.

  - **Barriers to educational access should be identified and addressed.** Educational programmes should aim to include all children. This implies designing programmes that minimise impediments to access, such as poverty, gender, disability or membership of a particular social or ethnic group. Initiatives should be developed to identify children whose education has been disrupted due to conflict, discrimination or persecution, and to support them to continue and complete their education. Where cost prevents attendance, education should be made free, or at least subsidised.

  - **Curricula should encourage peace and respect for human rights.** In a conflict situation, what happens in the classroom often reflects what is going on outside. In areas of conflict, curricula should be reviewed for bias, and messages that reinforce division and negative stereotyping should be removed. Activities and programmes that introduce concepts of tolerance, human rights and conflict minimisation should be encouraged, and students should be supported to think for themselves about what is happening around them.

Child protection should be an integral part of all emergency education activities, and should be a fundamental criterion in the approval of a programme by NGO staff, host governments and donors. Emergency education is a young and developing field, and there is no consensus among implementing agencies as to what constitutes ‘best practice’. Thus far, there has been little concerted effort to implement education projects which consciously seek to further the aims of child protection. There is a need for in-depth research into education projects that aim to enhance the protection of children. While this paper provides a theoretical overview and a number of examples that illustrate the relationship between sectors, it cannot draw firm conclusions on its own.
References


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List of interviewees

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Jo Boyden, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford
Tim Brown, Refugee Education Trust, Geneva
James Darby, Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute, London
Lise Lester, Amnesty International, London
Lain Levine, Humanitarian Policy & Advocacy Unit, UNICEF, New York
Jane Lowicki, Children and Adolescent Project, Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, New York
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Chris Talbot, UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris
Nemia Temporal and Catherine Skonhoft, Senior Education Officers, UNHCR, Geneva
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Jill Clark, IRC, New York
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SC Sweden, South Sudan
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Dieneke van der Wijk, SC UK, Indonesia
David Walker, IRC, Sierra Leone
Mattito Watson, SC US, Guinea
## Annex 1: The ‘immediately, sooner, later’ matrix of response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme examples</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sub-topic</strong></td>
<td><strong>Immediately</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sooner</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overarching themes</strong></td>
<td>Protection: Monitoring the condition of children</td>
<td>Collection of statistics on children and young people, including gender, persons with disability and at-risk groups, their educational status and requirements</td>
<td>Community survey to identify non-school-going children and young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organisational themes</td>
<td>Monitoring the condition of children</td>
<td>Advocacy for education of children not attending school due to discrimination, disability, poverty etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psychosocial: Recreational, expressive and community service activities</td>
<td>Organisation of ‘structured activities’: simple recreational, educational, expressive and community service activities</td>
<td>Incorporating psychosocial issues in teacher training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Academic component</td>
<td>Formal education</td>
<td>Unified system of schools established (at least at primary school level); Some secondary school classes in progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-formal education</td>
<td>Pre-school groups</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Life skills component</td>
<td>Life-saving information outside of or not covered in the curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Urgent preventative health, HIV/AIDS; environmental information, landmine awareness messages</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Preliminary training of teachers and community workers in life skills; Audit of school subjects to remove hate messages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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## Annex 1: (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Sub-topic</th>
<th>Immediately</th>
<th>Sooner</th>
<th>Later</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Management</strong></td>
<td>NGO educational advisors</td>
<td>Deployment of educational coordinators</td>
<td>Proposal writing and securing funds</td>
<td>Progressive handover to teachers, school administration and local partners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-formal education manager hired</td>
<td>Identification/hiring/training of programmatic specialists in teacher training, and life skills specialists</td>
<td>Where appropriate, strengthening of district/national government education offices</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Participatory educational needs assessment</td>
<td>Education coordination meetings with other partners, donors and UN</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Training of staff</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Supplies</strong></td>
<td>Site selection and shelter</td>
<td>Safe areas for child-related activities, within walking distance for children</td>
<td>Cost-effective shelter (taking account of climate), typically good roof and floor, low-tech walls</td>
<td>Where applicable, construction of schools For refugee schools, priority to locations where schools can later be used by nationals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plastic sheeting and mats or special school tents</td>
<td>Access for the disabled Construction with minimal impact on the environment</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Educational areas should be marked and fenced</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Make/female latrines for students/teachers</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Potable water supply</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Furniture</strong></td>
<td>Blackboards and supports, teachers’ chairs</td>
<td>Benches/desks of the correct size for students preferably made by refugee youth apprentices. Oldest students receive desks before younger</td>
<td>Chairs and tables for teachers for school administration Locking cabinets for school books and administration</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Student materials</strong></td>
<td>Start-up set of exercise books/slates, pens/pencils and recreational materials</td>
<td>Textbooks or similar tests based on area of origin curriculum (aim for third consumable supplies) Supplies to promote participation e.g. second-hand clothing, sanitary materials, food incentives</td>
<td>Replenishment of consumable supplies. Additional items added according to local and programmatic needs. Supplies for new programmes e.g. girls’ literacy support, youth writers, sports groups</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Additional exercise books for adolescents/young people Learning materials for life skills and recreation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher/facilitator materials</strong></td>
<td>Exercise books, pens, textbooks, teacher’s guides for preparing lessons</td>
<td>Refugee/IDP professionals should hold writing workshops to produce emergency-related materials Development of guides focusing on developing the classroom skills of para-professional teachers</td>
<td>Mass reproduction and distribution of textbooks, teachers’ guides, curricula and education aids Life skills strengthened and controversial areas resolved</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Resource materials for psychosocial and life skills education</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Registration and student attendance books</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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Annex 1: (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Sub-topic</th>
<th>Immediately</th>
<th>Sooner</th>
<th>Later</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capacity-building and building operational systems</td>
<td>Teachers, school officials and youth leaders</td>
<td>Volunteers teaching and working with children</td>
<td>Assessment of volunteers’ skills and development of on-going in-service training</td>
<td>Design of in-service training to lead to recognised qualification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quick in-service training, and on-the-job support</td>
<td>Payment of ‘incentives’ to full-time workers to establish daily consistency, lessen turnover and improve quality</td>
<td>Certification of trained teachers and school officials by government bodies</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Psychosocial support for teachers/ youth leaders</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>School management committees/ PTAs</td>
<td>Concerned parents and leaders identifying space, shelter and coordinating volunteers</td>
<td>Committees selected and approved by community</td>
<td>Committees in returnee areas, trained in development of sustainable educational systems</td>
<td>Associations of PTAs from different schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government and NGOs</td>
<td>Identification of educational professionals and inclusion into planning educational programmes</td>
<td>Strengthening local/refugee organisations’ resource base, including administrative materials transportation and communication</td>
<td>Progressive increase in responsibilities of local partners, leading to handover of management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assessment of implementing capacity of local, governmental and regional organisations</td>
<td>Training in financial management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annex 2: IRC child protection reporting form for teachers

Teachers: Please complete this form and deliver it to the IRC Education Manager as soon as a child protection problem comes to your attention. If you are not certain of any information, please indicate this on the form. This information is strictly confidential.

PART ONE:
Date: __________________________

Teacher (person completing this form): _____________________________________

School name and address: ___________________________________________________

PART TWO: CHILD INFORMATION
Child’s Full Name: __________________________________________________________

Sex: Male – Female ______, Year or Date of Birth: __________ Nationality: __________

Place of Residence: _________________________________________________________

UN Number: IRC Number: ___________________________________________________

PART THREE: PROTECTION PROBLEM
Please check all that apply:
• sexual violence/exploitation • economically exploited/overworked
• no longer regularly attending school • physical abuse
• recruitment attempt/abduction • other threat to well-being or safety
• in need of food/care/medical help • separated child
• death of child • behavioural/psychosocial problem

Please provide more details, including, if relevant, the names of perpetrators, dates and whether the problem is a single incident or a trend:

How did this problem come to your attention?

TO BE COMPLETED BY THE IRC EDUCATION MANAGER:

Name: __________________________________ Date received from teacher: _____________

Date of report follow up with teacher who filed original report: ______________________

Follow-up action taken, including dates and contact with care-givers as well as discussions with and recommendations of local community groups (i.e., PTAs, care and protection committees). If relevant, please describe follow-up with social services, medical services, psychosocial counselling and legal proceedings:
Annex 2: (continued)

Teachers: if you become aware of any of the following problems, please fill out the attached ‘Child Protection Reporting Form for Teachers’ and submit it to the IRC Education Manager as soon as possible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROTECTION PROBLEM</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>Relevant CRC Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Violence/ Exploitation</td>
<td>A child who has been raped, prostituted, or has suffered sexual/gender-based violence</td>
<td>Article 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Abuse</td>
<td>A child who has suffered physical violence</td>
<td>Article 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Need Of Food/ Care/ Medical Assistance</td>
<td>A child who is undernourished, ill, or lacking basic hygiene, cleanliness, or adequate garments</td>
<td>Article 6, 19, 24, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of Child</td>
<td>The death of a child should be reported so that, if possible, steps can be taken to prevent related deaths and protection problems in the future.</td>
<td>Article 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Exploited/ Overworked</td>
<td>A child whose labor is exploited and/or is obliged to engage in labor harmful to his or her health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development</td>
<td>Article 6, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment Attempt/ Abduction</td>
<td>When an armed group attempts to recruit or abduct a child into their activities</td>
<td>Article 35, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated Child</td>
<td>A child who is separated from his or her natural parents or normal care-givers and may be living in a foster home or without care-givers</td>
<td>Article 9,10, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioral/ Psychosocial Problems</td>
<td>A child suffering from psychological trauma may act in an anti-social or aggressive manner. They may also experience sleep disturbances, excessive fear, aches and pains, depression, anxiety, passivity, helplessness, guilty conscience or thoughts of death</td>
<td>Article 6, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Longer Regularly Attending School</td>
<td>When a child who was regularly attending school is suddenly absent, seemingly without a sound explanation. This could indicate any of the above protection problems.</td>
<td>Article 28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Descriptions of protection problems, as well as types of protection problems, should be enhanced according to local social and cultural contexts. If possible, relevant national laws should also be included with international laws.
Network Papers

Network Papers are contributions on specific experiences or issues prepared either by HPN members or contributing specialists.

1. ASF-CIS (Celula Interc-Secções), Mozambique: A Data Collecting System Focused on Food Security and Population Movements by J. Duasachar (1994)
3. An Account of Relief Operations in Bosnia by M. Duffield (1994)
5. Advancing Preventive Diplomacy in a Post-Cold War Era: Suggested Roles for Governments and NGOs by K. Rapaport (1994)
7. Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and NGOs in Disaster Relief ed. J. Borton (1994)
30. Protection in Practice: Field Level Strategies for Protecting Civilians from Deliberate Harm by D. Paul (1999)
41. Politically informed humanitarian programming: using a political economy approach by Sarah Collinson with Michael Bhutta, Martin Evans, Richard Fanthorpe, Jonathan Goodhand and Stephen Jackson

Good Practice Reviews

Good Practice Reviews are commissioned ‘state of the art’ reviews on different sectors or activities within the relief and rehabilitation field. Prepared by recognised specialists, and subject to peer review, they are produced in a format that is readily accessible to field-based personnel.

2. Emergency Supplementary Feeding Programmes by W. Shoham (1994)
4. Seed Provision During and After Emergencies by the ODI Seeds and Biodiversity Programme (1996)
The Humanitarian Practice Network (HPN) is an independent forum where field workers, managers and policymakers in the humanitarian sector share information, analysis and experience.

HPN’s aim is to improve the performance of humanitarian action by contributing to individual and institutional learning.

HPN’s activities include:

- A series of specialist publications: Good Practice Reviews, Network Papers and Humanitarian Exchange magazine.
- Occasional seminars and workshops to bring together practitioners, policymakers and analysts.

HPN’s members and audience comprise individuals and organisations actively engaged in humanitarian action. They are in 80 countries worldwide, working in northern and southern NGOs, the UN and other multilateral agencies, governments and donors, academic institutions and consultancies. HPN’s publications are written by a similarly wide range of contributors.

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