Human rights education in humanitarian settings: opportunities and challenges

Megan Devonald

Overseas Development Institute, UK.

Nicola Jones

Overseas Development Institute, UK

Silvia Guglielmi

Overseas Development Institute, UK.

Jennifer Seager

George Washington University, USA.

Sarah Baird

George Washington University, USA.

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Megan Devonald
Nicola Jones
Silvia Guglielmi
Jennifer Seager
Sarah Baird
m.devonald.gage@odi.org.uk

Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence, Overseas Development Institute, UK.
Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence, Overseas Development Institute, UK.
Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence, Overseas Development Institute, UK.
Milken Institute School of Public Health, George Washington University, USA.
Milken Institute School of Public Health, George Washington University, USA.

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Keywords: human rights, education, humanitarian, refugees, adolescents, Rohingya, Syria

Introduction

Although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that '*Everyone has the right to education'* (United Nations [UN], 1948, Article 26), there are currently 3.7 million refugee children who do not go to school (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2020). The recent Global Refugee Forum highlighted education as a key area where refugees fall farthest behind (UNHCR, 2019a). Globally, 79.5 million people were forcibly displaced in 2019. Around 26 million were refugees and approximately half were under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2020).

Education is both a human right in itself and a method of ensuring people are aware of their rights; it can thus help to prevent further rights violations (Human Security Network, 2003). This is particularly important in humanitarian settings, as human rights education (HRE) teaches key values, such as respect, empathy,

cooperation and dignity of self, to foster peace and social cohesion (Reimers & Chung, 2010; Starkey, 2012). Non-formal education schemes play a vital role in providing HRE in refugee settings. One such scheme in Jordan, the *Makani* programme, for Syrian refugees and Jordanian host communities, teaches life skills and provides learning support and child protection activities. It teaches children concepts of rights and abuse using a human rights approach that ensures staff '*not only promote but also respect human rights*' (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2019 p.79). In Bangladesh, Temporary Learning Centres (TLCs) provide informal education and life skills training for Rohingya children. Although TLCs focus less explicitly on human rights, the life skills component is designed to teach them to make healthy choices and respect their community. Both programmes are implemented by UNICEF, with the same child rights ethos at the forefront of their design. This article compares the extent to which HRE is embedded in each of these programmes by assessing how far they deliver education *about, through* and *for* human rights (UN, 2011). It starts with an overview of HRE before going on to discuss the HRE theoretical framework we have used. It then presents the methodology used, and describes the findings from mixed-methods research on adolescents, their parents and key informants in Bangladesh and Jordan. It concludes by discussing programming implications.

Overview of HRE

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that: 'Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms' (UN, 1948, Article 26). Subsequently, further declarations have been adopted-such as the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN, 1966) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989)-which state that education should develop respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In 2005, the UN World Programme for Human Rights Education was created to build 'a universal culture of human rights' (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], 2005). The programme's fourth phase (2020-2024) is focused on expanding HRE for young people in formal, non-formal and informal settings, prioritising the most marginalised (OHCHR, 2019). Adolescence is an important target for HRE, as it is a unique developmental phase where significant cognitive and social transformations present a critical window for intervention (Viner et al., 2015). During this life stage, young people begin to explore their identities and positions in society. Consequently, HRE can be important in shaping adolescents' moral understanding and their ability to seek transformational change (UN, 2016).

Context

Syrian refugees have been in Jordan for almost a decade. While they initially faced significant rates of exclusion, over the last five years their educational opportunities have improved markedly (Jones et al., 2019). They are able to attend formal school, following the introduction of a nationwide double-shift system (UNHCR, 2019b), and there is non-formal education through the *Makani* platform, which reaches approximately 100,000 vulnerable refugees and host community children and adolescents. In Bangladesh, our study focuses on the Rohingya population, one of the most world's most discriminated groups (Human Rights Council, 2018). The Government of Bangladesh refers to the Rohingya as Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals while the United Nations system refers to them as refugees (Inter-Sector

Coordination Group, International Organization for Migration, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees & United Nations Resident Coordinator for Bangladesh, 2020). In this article, this population is referred to as refugees. Although they have been fleeing from Myanmar for generations, 2017 saw 500,000 people cross the border in just one month (ISCG, 2017). Approximately 860,000 refugees currently reside in 34 makeshift camps in the Ukhia and Teknaf *upazilas* (administrative divisions) of Cox's Bazar District–one of Bangladesh's poorest regions (Milton et al., 2017). Notwithstanding international commitments to guarantee refugee education (UNHCR, 2018), Rohingya adolescents have been denied this basic human right. This is partly because their lack of legal refugee status places them in a 'legal and humanitarian limbo' (Bhatia et al., 2019). Moreover, the limited capacity and political will to absorb Rohingya into the education system or workforce excludes them from host community structures. The implications for the Rohingya can be seen clearly in education; refugee children only have access to non-formal education, predominately NGO and UN-run, in TLCs (UNICEF, 2020a).

HRE theories and programmes
The UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (2011) highlights three key dimensions of HRE that provide a useful framework for analysing pedagogical programmes: education *about* human rights (providing an understanding of human rights principles and values); education *through* human rights (ensuring the way HRE is taught aligns with the principles of human rights); and education *for* human rights (empowering participants so that they can exercise their own human rights and promote the rights of others). As these dimensions suggest, HRE is not achieved by merely adding human rights to the curriculum and works best when embedded in both *content* and *process* (Bajaj, 2011a). Didactic methods of teaching HRE have been criticised as only focusing on human rights content; thus, participatory teaching that include critical reflection is promoted (Tibbitts, 2017). Furthermore, as outlined by UNICEF (2007), an enabling environment for HRE can be achieved through ensuring teacher behaviour and school policies are consistent with a human rights approach.

Empowerment is the ultimate goal of many HRE programmes. Tibbitts' (2017) transformational model is aimed at empowering individuals, promoting social change and is often focused on participants who have personal experiences of human rights abuses, such as refugees. HRE in refugee settings is a relatively unexplored field of research, yet there are some examples where integrating human rights into humanitarian education has facilitated positive social change. For example, UNRWA schools across the MENA region have provided opportunities for young Palestinians to articulate a sense of identity and belonging (Shabaneh, 2012).

However, a number of specific challenges, such as continued exposure to human rights abuses, can impact HRE programme implementation. This is highlighted in Osler and Yahya's (2013) study of HRE in post-conflict Kurdistan, where denial of rights (particularly girls') in both society and schools can cause a disconnect between the course content and the learner's own experience, due to learners' inability to claim the rights they have been educated about. Similarly, HRE in Palestinian Authority schools in the Occupied West Bank have been criticised for not accurately representing the reality under which Palestinians live, and some teachers and students who have experienced rights denials have disengaged from HRE (Abu Moghli, 2020).

Some HRE programmes do not address the broader political and cultural climate in their content. In a study of HRE in Rwandan secondary schools, Russell (2018) found that the curriculum focused on abstract principles of HRE rather than tackling issues relevant to Rwanda, such as multiculturalism and political rights. The focus on non-controversial topics highlights some of the challenges of implementing HRE in sensitive political landscapes. In a peace education programme in a refugee camp in Kenya, gaps were found in its rights-based curriculum, which failed to discuss serious abuses of power or difficult gender topics, such as domestic violence (Solem, 2017).

Further systemic problems can arise–a review of life skills and citizenship programmes in the Middle-East and North-African [MENA] region found that although non-formal interventions reached vulnerable populations, they were poorly coordinated, lacked long-term sustainability and sporadically implemented (UNICEF MENA, 2017). Further challenges stem from a lack of teacher training and low prioritisation by donors and governments (Robiolle Moul, 2017).

Teachers' political and professional landscapes can also shape HRE. A review of teachers' roles in HRE found that a lack of training, beliefs that do not align with HRE and the use of HRE rhetoric without achieving it in the classroom can have negative impacts However, teachers who challenge society's cultural norms are highly instrumental to the HRE process (Jerome, 2018). A study of an NGO-implemented HRE programme in India found that teachers play vital roles as advocates of human rights in the community (Bajaj, 2011b).

Much of the existing evidence base, however, looks at HRE in high-income countries (Hahn, 2020; Bajaj, Canlas & Argenal, 2017) and there is a lack of evidence for low-income countries, especially concerning refugees. There is also more work being done on the scholarly ideals of HRE, but little empirical research on what works in practice or that centres on the voices of the young. This article aims to bridge these gaps by offering insights into two contrasting approaches to HRE in refugee contexts. It assesses how two non-formal education programmes embody the UN's three components of HRE: education *about*, *through* and *for* human rights. This framework is used because its multidimensional approach allows assessment of the programmes' contents, teaching methodologies and empowerment-orientations.

Methods
Our research draws on data from a mixed-methods longitudinal study, Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE). This study generates evidence about 10–19-year-old adolescents' capabilities in low- and middle-income countries, in order to understand what assists their development. It is run by a consortium of research institutes in six focal countries, as well as in the UK and the US. The data was collected by local research teams in local languages and the analysis was carried out jointly by national researchers and researchers in the UK and the US (see Jones, Baird & Lunin 2018). This article focuses on refugees in Jordan and Bangladesh, these countries being selected due to their high proportion of refugees and their contrasting approaches to refugee education.

Data collection

The research sites in Jordan spanned five governorates (Amman, Mafraq, Irbid, Zarqa and Jerash) and three contexts–host communities, informal tented settlements and UN refugee camps. In Bangladesh, data collection took place in Cox's Bazar across 32 of the 34 camps in which Rohingya refugees reside. Data collection took place in Jordan in 2018 and 2019, and in Cox's Bazar in 2019.

In this paper, the quantitative sample focuses on younger adolescents (10–14 years) only. In Jordan, the sample consists of 1,593 Syrian adolescents (788 females and 805 males). In Bangladesh, the sample consists of 608 adolescents (293 girls and 315 boys).

We collected further data using interactive qualitative methods with a subset of adolescents purposely selected from the quantitative sample (117 in Jordan and 73 in Bangladesh) to ensure a mix of participants and non-participants, camp and host community residents, in-school and out-of-school adolescents, adolescent mothers and adolescents with disabilities. The qualitative sample included adolescents from two age groups (10-14 and 15-18), in order to capture insights from older adolescents who are part of non-formal education programming tailored towards young people of 15+, such as the *Makani* Social Innovation Labs. The findings also stem from qualitative interviews with parents and programme facilitators (see table 1). Data was collected through face-to-face individual and group interviews by local researchers of the same sex as respondents. Group interviews were conducted in single-sex groups of the same age category, and all three groups (students, parents and facilitators) were included in separate focus group interviews. Data collection involved a number of participatory methods such as the 'most significant change' exercise with *Makani* participants in Jordan (Jones, et al., 2019).

Table 1: Overview of sample

	Female	Male	Total
Quantitative fieldwork (Jordan)			
Adolescent interviews, (10-14)	788	805	1593
Total	788	805	1593
Qualitative fieldwork (Jordan)			
Individual adolescent interviews, (10 – 14)	39	27	66
Individual adolescent interviews, (15 – 18)	34	17	51
Most significant change focus group discussions	13	11	24
Parent interviews	21	15	36
Makani facilitators	15	37	52
Innovation lab participants	9	8	17
Total	131	86	246
Quantitative fieldwork (Bangladesh)			
Adolescent interviews, (10 – 14)	293	315	608

Total	293	315	608
Qualitative fieldwork (Bangladesh)			
Individual adolescent interviews, (10 – 14)	16	18	34
Individual adolescent interviews, (15 – 18)	26	13	39
Parent interviews	6	6	12
Focus group discussions	9	9	18
Key informant	5	4	9
Total	62	50	112

Ethical clearance for research was obtained from the Overseas Development Institute's Research Ethics Committee and UNHCR in Jordan, and Innovations for Poverty Action in Bangladesh. Ethical clearance for both countries was also obtained from the George Washington University Committee on Human Research Institutional Review Board. Verbal assent was obtained from participants under the age of 18, as well as verbal consent from their caregivers. Researchers flagged any safeguarding issues that arose in interviews and directed the respondents to the appropriate services.

Data analysis
The quantitative analysis compares a set of outcomes for Syrians participating in the *Makani* programme vs. those not participating, and Rohingya enrolled in non-formal NGO schools vs. those not enrolled. We look at means overall by program participation and non-participation, and then participation/non-participation separately by gender. Means are weighted (in Bangladesh) to make results representative of study communities. After comparing means, we conduct a regression analysis of the same comparisons that are controlled for wealth (measured with an asset index), household size, age, location, whether the household head is female, and gender (dropped in the gender-specific regressions). These characteristics were chosen as they are (i) unlikely to be impacted by the programs, (ii) drive participation in these programmes, and (iii) affect adolescent outcomes independent of programme participation. Controlling for these observable characteristics allows us to unpack whether differences in outcomes persist once accounting for selection into the programme. All differences discussed in the text are statistically significant at the $p<0.05$ level. In the quantitative tables provided, the x in the last column indicates whether the difference is still statistically significant after including the controls in the regression table ($p<0.05$). The o indicates $P<0.1$ after adding controls. Gender-disaggregated tables are available on request.

While we do not have questions that directly measure uptake of human rights knowledge, we do have measures of the skills gained by adolescents through learning about human rights including skills that support advocating for human rights. The outcome measures we focus on in the quantitative analysis include: (i) whether the adolescent reports talking to someone about experiences of peer violence and (ii) talking to their mother or father about bullying (*about* human rights); (iii) the degree of 'togetherness' felt in the community (*through* human rights, Jordan only); and (iv) having a trusted friend, being able to express his or her opinion to an older person,

and a measure of adolescent resilience (*for* human rights) (the Child and Youth Resilience Measure, Resilience Research Centre, 2018).

For the qualitative analysis, transcripts were translated into English, transcribed and coded thematically using the MAXQDA software by a small team of research assistants familiar with the context. The codebook is informed by the GAGE programme's conceptual framework, which has a capabilities lens highlighting the interconnectedness of adolescent well-being domains such as education, bodily integrity and freedom from violence, and voice and agency. At the same time, differences in impact by gender, age and disability are explored (GAGE Consortium, 2019). The quotes in the article were selected as illustrative of the main findings.

Strengths and limitations

A limitation of the study is that it relies upon the self-reporting of students and teachers. Future studies would benefit from the addition of classroom observations to complement the findings. The study is strengthened by the high numbers of participants in both the qualitative and quantitative sample. The incorporation of mixed-methods methodology was used to examine overall trends in the data, in addition to detailed explorations of respondents' experiences.

Results

Makani overview

The multi-donor *Makani* programme was initially developed under the No Lost Generation initiative in response to the lack of school places in Jordan for Syrian refugees. More recently, *Makani* has evolved to focus on complementary, non-formal tuition, life skills and child protection services. The programme operates its courses in three-month cycles; participants can sign up for one or multiple courses in each cycle, depending on availability. National and international NGOs provide session facilitators and run centres in host communities, while in Azraq and Zatari camps, UNICEF works directly with Syrian volunteers to deliver a core curriculum adapted by each provider to fit local needs. *Makani* serves as a key pathway to formal schooling and has explicit links to UNICEF's education-labelled cash for transfer programme, *Hajati*. At the time of the quantitative survey, 394 of the 1,593 young adolescents surveyed (179 females and 215 males) attended *Makani*.

Temporary Learning Centres overview

The initial Rohingya crisis response in 2017 focused on securing safe, child-friendly spaces in the camps for vulnerable young children (Tay et al., 2018). In 2018, a second response phase focused on procuring quality education in the camps. Education sector coordinating agencies UNICEF and Save the Children, alongside the Government of Bangladesh, set up TLCs to ensure learning progression for children and adolescents. Partners and the Bangladeshi government also developed, and are continuing to expand, the Learning Competency Framework and Approach – a tailored syllabus designed to bridge the gap in Bangladeshi and Burmese learning materials and curricula for 3-24 year olds. Following negotiations between the governments of Bangladesh and Myanmar and humanitarian partners to allow the Rohingya access to the Myanmar curriculum in the second quarter of 2020, this was indefinitely paused due to the COVID-19 pandemic (ISCG et al., 2020). At the time of

the quantitative survey, 323 of the 608 young adolescents (159 females and 164 males) attended NGO-run non-formal education centres.

Education about human rights
Makani

The *Makani* programme is premised on UNICEF's child rights-centred approach and, as such, its curriculum includes a substantial human rights content. Facilitators, many of whom have a teaching background, are from the local community (Jordanian with Syrian refugee volunteers in host communities, since Jordanian labour law restricts types of employment for refugees and Syrians within camps predominantly to low-skilled occupations in the construction and agricultural sectors). They are given child protection training and are also able to refer to specialist services. These facilitators report that a key part of their role is teaching new students about the concepts of 'rights' and 'duties' or 'responsibilities', and creating a safe space where young people feel secure enough to talk about rights violations. As a *Makani* facilitator in a host community noted:

> We communicate concepts…they know what their rights are…you may be subjected to violence and this affects your personality. I teach them about the safe places to go and talk about their rights…A lot of students come when they feel safe and say about things that have happened to them.

The right to protection from violence is given prominence in child protection classes. A number of adolescents, especially girls, explained that they had been taught the differences between physical, psychological and sexual violence, and the importance of reporting risks of or exposure to violence to a trusted adult. This is reflected in the quantitative data; 48% of *Makani* attendees know where to seek support if they experience violence, compared to 39% of those not attending (see table 2). This result is further supported in the regression analysis; even after controlling for household characteristics, *Makani* participants are 8.6 percentage points more likely to know where to get support. We also observe gender differences in the likelihood of talking to someone about peer violence: male *Makani* participants are 9.2 percentage points more likely to talk to someone about peer violence than non-participants, whereas female *Makani* participants are less likely than their non-participant peers to talk to someone. We also see that Makani boys are more likely to talk to their fathers about bullying than non-participants. We hypothesize that this gender difference is because peer violence for girls often takes the form of harassment by boys, and reporting this risks family honour (Presler-Marshall, Jones, Baird & Malachoswka, 2019).

Table 2. *Makani* and No *Makani*, Jordan

						Makani				
						Current Makani	No Makani	Difference		
Sample size						394	1198			
	N	mean	Sd	min	max	mean	mean	Makani – No Makani	Signif. (p)	
=1 if CR has a role model (inside or outside of household)	1593	0.73	0.44	0	1	0.77	0.72	0.06	.028	
=1 if CR has talked to someone about peer violence (among victims)	760	0.43	0.50	0	1	0.40	0.44	-0.04	.360	
=1 if CR has talked to someone about home violence (among victims)	786	0.10	0.30	0	1	0.10	0.10	-0.01	.812	
=1 if CR knows where to seek support after being hit	786	0.41	0.49	0	1	0.48	0.39	0.09	.002	x
Feelings of togetherness in neighbourhood (1-5)	786	3.60	1.35	1	5	3.86	3.54	0.27	.001	
=1 if talked to father about bullying/ harassment at school	786	0.58	0.49	0	1	0.60	0.58	0.02	.438	
=1 if talked to mother about bullying/ harassment at school	786	0.40	0.49	0	1	0.44	0.39	0.05	.078	x
Child and Youth Resilience Measure Total Score (higher scores=more resilience)	786	74.65	6.06	46	84	75.68	74.31	1.37	.000	x
=1 if has friends he/she trusts	786	0.70	0.46	0	1	0.76	0.68	0.08	.001	x
=1 if member of group	786	0.64	0.48	0	1	0.71	0.62	0.09	.001	o
=1 if comfortable expressing opinion to people older than him/her	786	0.68	0.47	0	1	0.76	0.65	0.11	.000	x
=1 if feels comfortable expressing opinion to people in age group	786	0.91	0.28	0	1	0.90	0.92	-0.01	.445	

In the qualitative data, Makani facilitators described situations in which child protection classes have supported participants to report human rights abuses:

> A girl who was 14 years old [was] exposed to sexual harassment by her father at home. When she started to receive the sessions at the centre we talked about violence, its types and the ways of protection. Additionally, we told them what to do if…exposed to this violence. Then, she told us that she is exposed to harassment. After that, we dealt with her and informed the Family Protection Department [who] took the girl to an accommodation centre.

Makani has a strong focus on child marriage, given the linkages between poverty and pressures to marry off daughters, as well as fears of sexual harassment en route to school and risks to family honour (Presler-Marshall et al., 2019). As a *Makani* facilitator in a Mafraq community centre explained:

> 'We worked a lot on the topic of early marriage to raise awareness… The adolescents now demand their rights and they said to their parents that they don't want early marriage.'

Similarly, a 13-year-old Syrian refugee girl from an informal tented settlement–where the rates of child marriage are typically high–said she had participated in role plays at Makani that explored the risks of early marriage:

> We acted in a role play about early marriage…I learned that early marriage before 20 years is bad because then you become more mature…now I think girls should focus on studying first.

Facilitators also explained that, where possible, human rights content is woven into the curriculum across subjects rather than just being taught in a specific course on life skills. A facilitator from a host community centre gave this example:

> In Arabic lessons we [look] at the effects of physical violence…I ask the students to draw a picture of a child affected by violence and another not exposed to violence. We discuss how this happens, how can we deal with violence…I also showed the students a video about bullying and then we discuss the story. So the lesson becomes about bullying and how to prevent and report it, but also about Arabic at the same time.

Makani centres also hold outreach sessions for parents to discuss the importance of education and the risks of child marriage and child labour to future trajectories. Parents' reactions are mixed; some appreciate the focus on their children's futures, while others emphasise that early marriage is part of their cultural heritage and that employment options are highly limited for refugees.

Temporary Learning Centres
In principle, the TLC approach in the Rohingya camps is also grounded in transformative action, whereby educating refugees is believed to enable a 'multiplier effect of empowering them, reducing their dependence on the host government, and contributing to long term peace and social cohesion' (Cox's Bazar Education Sector, 2019b p.20). Life skills components in the syllabus are designed to teach self-care through healthy, safe choices and respect for the community and environment (Cox's Bazar Education Sector, 2019a). The facilitators at the TLCs are locals from Rohingya camp communities, and have received training from UNICEF. Despite this, pilot classes have mostly focused on basic hygiene management. A teacher piloting learning competency level 3 and 4 life skills modules in Camp B said 'neatness and cleanliness, washing hands, health and hygiene' were prioritised in lessons. She went on to explain:

> When I first came here, I found [Rohingya pupils] didn't wear shoes in toilets, they didn't wash their hands with soap…For one boy, 1 month passed without bathing. I planned to resign from the job…Then gradually everything has changed. Now, everyone is neat and clean.

Although better self-care is a welcome change, life skills components only cover a limited portion of HRE. Moreover, the pending approval of learning competency advanced levels has resulted in 'an alarming 83 percent of the [Rohingya] adolescents and youth aged 15-24 years old [being without] access to any educational or skills development activities' (ISCG et al., 2020 p.70). Although not following a set curriculum, NGOs have set up classes and home-based learning to teach skills such

as sewing and tailoring to older adolescents (Olney, Hague & Mubarak, 2019). Though this could help adolescents earn money in the camps, uptake remains low. Indeed, our quantitative data finds that only 2.4% of adolescents benefitted from skills building and vocational training programmes. The programmes teach life skills (albeit with no explicit content to foster HRE for global citizenship), communicate health messages and may lead to work opportunities with NGOs operating in the camps. However, they are not intended to provide transferrable skills for outside the camps, reinforcing the fact that the Rohingya are confined within their immediate communities and cannot leave their settlements (Bakali & Wasty, 2020). A 16-year-old girl from Camp C explained: 'We didn't have any chance to go to school [in host communities]. We don't go out. What will I do?'

Education through human rights
Makani
Makani centres employ a learner-centred, participatory pedagogical approach aligned to education *through* human rights. In this regard, the overwhelming majority of adolescents in the qualitative sample contrasted the approach of *Makani* facilitators with the authoritarian style of schoolteachers, who often rely on corporal punishment rather than a relationship based on communication, and fostering values of respect and responsibility. As a 12-year-old boy from a refugee camp noted:

> Makani facilitators don't hit students but they control the students...The facilitator at Makani says 'I am like your father and you should respect me'. The facilitator uses innovative lessons to develop close contact with the students and so students want to listen.

Similarly, a 15-year-old girl from a refugee camp emphasised that the teachers focus on explanations and learning, rather than on punishment:

> In Makani, if you did something wrong or cause trouble, they will not punish you... They explain why it is wrong and will make you aware of the consequences. At school, they will punish you so that you do not want to repeat the same mistake again!

Multiple *Makani* participants emphasised that they appreciated the opportunity to express their views and engage in a dialogue with the facilitators and participants, which was in stark contrast to their experience of non-interactive, unidirectional teaching in school. As a 16-year-old Syrian girl from the host community explained:

> The first aim at school is to educate us what is in the books, but Makani is different. They allow us to express our opinions and they give us a space to develop these skills... At school if we talk about any topic the teacher says 'The session is not for discussion–I should only explain the lesson and then leave'. But at Makani they educate us about dialogue methods.

The importance of appreciating diversity and fostering social cohesion was also explicitly taught in *Makani* classes, and identified as a positive benefit of the programme by participants. A 17-year-old Syrian refugee girl from Mafraq described

a valuable learning opportunity she experienced interacting with diverse nationalities at the centre:

> The activities in the beginning encouraged us to get to know new people from different countries. The girls weren't only from my country – there were Jordanians, Somalis, Egyptians...In the beginning the relations were formal, but when we cooperated together and did group activities – we learned to appreciate each other and recognise that there are few differences between us.

In the quantitative data, younger *Makani* participants also indicated stronger feelings of community togetherness compared to non-participants. Other participants described learning about inclusion from interacting with people with disabilities, as one 18-year-old Syrian refugee recalled:

> I drew a painting of a group of students studying, and one of them is a disabled student. The painting also has a girl who wears the hijab and another who does not. I captioned the painting 'we should study with each other, regardless of clothing, religion or whether we have a disability'. The teacher told me: I am proud of you and your drawing.

Temporary Learning Centres
Although the life skills content in the syllabus for Rohingya at levels 3, 4 and 5 has only been piloted, the teaching pedagogy and ethos delineated in curriculum blueprints is perhaps most closely aligned to HRE processes. While all subject teaching is meant to mix direct instruction with independent learning, life skills teaching involves empowerment, reflection and teamwork (Cox's Bazar Education Sector, 2019a). According to the Education Sector's Education Strategy, life skills teaching is overtly learner-centred and aims to develop a student's observational and analytical skills, instilling 'do no harm' principles.

Evidence of the translation of empowerment and 'do no harm' into adolescent behaviour is reflected in the quantitative data, which shows that adolescents attending NGO-run education centres are 14.1 and 12.3 percentage points more likely to talk to their fathers and mothers, respectively, about bullying they experience compared to those not attending, after controlling for household characteristics. Whereas 52% of adolescents in NGO-run programmes reported talking to their fathers about bullying, only 33.5% of non-participants do; likewise, 40% of adolescents in education programmes talk to their mothers about bullying compared to 25% of non-participants (see Table 3).

Table 3. Current NGO and No NGO, Bangladesh

						Current NGO	No NGO	Difference		
Sample size						323	285			
	N	mean	Sd	min	max	mean	mean	NGO Program – No NGO	Signif. (p)	
=1 if CR has a role model (inside or outside of household)	608	0.49	0.50	0	1	0.46	0.56	-0.06	.260	
=1 if CR has talked to someone about peer violence (among victims)	280	0.22	0.42	0	1	0.21	0.24	-0.03	.628	
=1 if CR has talked to someone about home violence (among victims)	434	0.03	0.18	0	1	0.04	0.03	0.01	.625	
=1 if CR knows where to seek support after being hit	608	0.54	0.50	0	1	0.46	0.63	-0.17	.000	x
=1 if talked to female guardian about bullying/ harassment at school	607	0.43	0.50	0	1	0.52	0.34	0.19	.000	x
=1 if talked to male guardian about bullying/ harassment at school	608	0.33	0.47	0	1	0.40	0.25	0.15	.001	x
Child and Youth Resilience Measure Total Score (higher scores=more resilience)	585	75.70	5.14	48	84	75.65	75.75	-0.10	.834	
=1 if has friend he/she trusts	608	0.84	0.37	0	1	0.84	0.85	-0.01	.653	
=1 if member of group	608	0.64	0.48	0	1	0.65	0.63	0.02	.607	
=1 if comfortable expressing opinion to people older than him/her	608	0.50	0.50	0	1	0.48	0.52	-0.04	.392	
=1 if feels comfortable expressing opinion to people in age group	608	0.84	0.37	0	1	0.82	0.85	-0.03	.294	

However, although basics like how to report bullying are being learnt, there are limits to how much depth the teachers can bring to discussions, due to their own limited training. Some inexperienced teachers have received as little as five days' training on the Learning Competency Framework Agreement (UNICEF, 2020b). As a teacher in Camp B explained:

> No, [I have never taught before]. I had training in Chittagong – an eight-day basic   training and monthly refreshers. After one year of teaching, I had another five-day basic training.

While the Rohingya overwhelmingly perceive learning centre teachers as kind, the sentiment is that they lack qualifications. During a focus group discussion (FGD) in Camp B, one adolescent boy explained: 'some teachers know only [the] alphabet I think… They don't teach well.' Another boy participating in an FGD in Camp C stated: 'Yes, both boys and girls are treated well. [But teachers] are always busy with [social media apps]. They don't [teach well]…especially when there are no field officers to check on the staff.'

Education for human rights
Makani
HRE's third pillar fosters skills for active citizenship, broadly defined as empowering individuals to exercise their rights and respect the rights of others. Here, *Makani* social innovation labs teach technology to older (15+) adolescents and young people. Sessions are typically run by engineering or computer science graduates equipped to teach hard and soft skills, such as leadership and team building. Adolescents are then encouraged to apply their learning to problems they want to tackle in the community. Examples range from sensors in clothing to enhance the mobility of people with visual impairments, to female-only mobile phone repair services, to tree planting to improve local air quality. While participants spoke enthusiastically about the

technical skills they learned, they were equally passionate about soft skills. For example, a 15-year-old Jordanian girl from a host community explained:

> I was hoping to be a leader in my community, but I didn't know what a good leader was. When I received the training, they taught us what the characteristics of a leader are and how he or she behaves in different situations.

Similarly, a 17-year-old Syrian refugee girl living in a host community in Irbid said she had learned the importance of young people contributing and volunteering for the greater good of the community: 'Young men and women must be self-reliant. They must have ideas for the development of society and use their skills to improve the community around them…'

For younger adolescents, active citizenship can be observed in increased confidence in talking to older people and the fostering of problem-solving skills. Although not directly linked to human rights, such a development can build the capabilities needed to contribute to social change in their communities. A 12-year-old Syrian girl from a refugee camp explained:

> They taught us how to deal with problems. We participated in raising awareness campaigns, wrote people's problems, and suggested solutions. We could solve the verbal harassment in the street by strengthening our personalities.

Importantly, given the early childhood violence and trauma that many displaced young people have experienced, the *Makani* curriculum also covers conflict resolution techniques which can indirectly influence adolescents' ability to act in their community in ways that align with human rights values. A number of older adolescents highlighted how much they valued this aspect of the sessions. A 17-year-old girl living in a host community in Irbid explained how she used her conflict resolution skills with quarrelling friends:

> One day my friends had a fight…it looked as though it was impossible to intervene, but I remembered what we had learned about interfering in a quiet, positive way…I went to one of the girls and told her that the other girl cares for her irrespective of how she behaved. I talked to her in this way and then after that they went back to being good friends. This was because of my strengthened confidence.

Improved conflict resolution skills are also evident in the quantitative data with younger adolescents; 76% of *Makani* participants feel comfortable expressing opinions to people older than themselves, compared to 65% of non-participants. Controlling for other factors in regression analysis, this corresponds to a 7 percentage point increase. Moreover, *Makani* participants are 5.6 percentage points more likely to have a friend they trust and have higher levels of resilience and improved mental health, two factors that may be influenced by learning negotiation and conflict resolution skills (Bordone, 2018).

Temporary Learning Centres

By contrast, education for human rights appears lacking in the education offered to Rohingya refugees. While the Education Strategy seeks to foster social cohesion by enhancing education systems in the host community and including host community members in implementing activities in the camps, the reality is quite different. Rohingya adolescents remain segregated from neighbouring communities and risk becoming a lost generation with no progression towards active global citizenship. This sentiment was crystallised by a 17-year-old boy in camp B: 'If any country takes any step for educating us, I [would] go abroad.'

Discussion

This article highlights the stark differences in the integration of HRE in two non-formal education programmes in refugee settings. In Jordan, the *Makani* programme provides an example of a promising practice of HRE, incorporating human rights, either explicitly or indirectly, throughout the three pillars of the UN framework: education *about*, *through* and *for* human rights. The use of this framework allowed the study to analyse multiple programme components, including the content, process and support for adolescent empowerment. The curriculum ensures adolescents are aware of their rights, and teaching methodologies are participatory in nature to allow open dialogue between students and teachers. Although the programme promotes the skills needed by adolescents to be involved in social change in their communities, it did not include focused human rights action and more work could be done to link adolescents to youth human rights initiatives. In contrast, for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, although education policies and strategies aim to employ a human rights approach, the reality on the ground does not reflect this. In particular, human rights content is lacking throughout the curriculum and adolescents are not encouraged to develop the skills necessary for active global citizenship. Nevertheless, TLCs did appear to produce positive impacts on reporting incidences of bullying to parents, pointing to adolescents' increased awareness of their right to be free from violence.

The findings draw attention to the inherent value of HRE in humanitarian responses. In Jordan, the *Makani* programme aligns closely with Bajaj's (2011a) theory of HRE for coexistence–focusing on multi-ethnic or post-conflict states and aiming to foster social cohesion–as the programme brings together participants from different nationalities and backgrounds and supports peaceful cohabitation. It provides examples of participants acting as mediators in their community thanks to their skills in conflict resolution and engaging actively in society through community awareness projects, consequently encouraging future participation and integration in their host country. In Bangladesh, the separation of refugees in programming reinforces their segregation and hinders social cohesion. This reflects the current refugee response in Bangladesh, which focuses on humanitarian assistance rather than sustainable integration into the host community.

In contrast to studies of HRE by Solem (2017) and Russell (2018), who found programmes that avoided challenging dimensions of human rights, the *Makani* programme in Jordan directly addresses culturally sensitive and difficult topics such as child marriage and gender-based violence. Adolescents were given the tools to acknowledge their own human rights and report the human rights abuses they observe in the community (such as instances of child marriage and violence). This is

most probably due to the integration of awareness sessions with parents and the establishment of strong reporting mechanisms.

These findings highlight the essential role of thorough teacher training in ensuring a human rights approach is integrated into programmes. In Jordan, facilitators are provided with in-depth child protection training and this translates into positive results in the teaching and learning process. In Bangladesh, due to their limited training, teachers struggle to provide in-depth tuition and there is a need for more investment at the input level if the ambitious goals in the design documentation are to be realised.

This research highlights the importance of both non-formal education and wider life skills that are centred on human rights for refugees, especially given that schools in many low-and middle-income countries only teach academic subjects in a non-interactive way. The findings point to implications of the adoption of a human rights approach in non-formal education in humanitarian settings. To provide appropriate support to adolescents, programmes must be properly resourced, particularly with regard to facilitator training (given the low levels of education among volunteer teachers and low literacy rates among adolescent participants). In addition, programmes should promote social cohesion and, where possible, include both host and refugee populations to encourage participants of different nationalities to work together. It is equally important to guarantee enabling environments with strong reporting mechanisms where participants feel safe to talk about potential rights violations. Finally, owing to the sensitive nature of some human rights topics, programmes need to be adapted to each context and cater to the target population's specific needs.

In sum, non-formal programmes with HRE components – such as *Makani* in Jordan–can allow refugee children, who are often in situations where their rights are denied, to gain awareness of their rights and develop the skills needed to become empowered community members and can, in turn, support social cohesion.

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