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**Exploring Diverse Adolescents & Youth Education Across the Displacement
Linear:**

Education in Emergencies (EiE) Experiences and Colonial Entanglements

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Abstract

This thesis explores diverse, forcibly displaced youths' experiences of education in emergencies (EiE) responses in South Sudan, the UK and Jordan and how colonial legacies continue to permeate the types and modes of education programmes that are designed, funded, and implemented. This thesis draws on the Black radical tradition (BRT) as a conceptual and methodological framing. In addition, connecting EiE and BRT scholarship enables new discourses that counter hegemonic and ahistorical narratives of aid to surface and instead illustrate power asymmetries, coloniality, and conflict-affected communities' cultural wealth in challenging limited educational opportunities. This study intends to contribute to critical EiE scholarship, highlighting the heterogeneity of forcibly displaced youth and challenging universalising discourses that erase the EiE experiences of racialised and othered identities.

To explore the research inquiry, I use a multi-sited, multi-scalar research approach to co- design a digital storytelling action research praxis with 60 young people in South Sudan, Jordan and the UK, alongside 26 key informant interviews with EiE practitioners to address the research areas. The key findings highlighted that intersectionality matters in EIE, in that forcibly displaced young people's educational experiences are intimately connected to their situated positions, often shaped by colonialism. Similarly, these dynamics profoundly impact and shape the EiE sector. Notwithstanding, some young people resist limited education trajectories, in myriad ways, from leveraging family and community networks to exercising personal agency, seeking out, and setting up learning opportunities. A secondary objective of this study is to challenge the dominant modes of knowledge production and ways of working in the EiE field and to interrogate its conceptual framings by bringing to the fore the issues that young people want to highlight in their educational experiences when enabled to do so through using the digital storytelling research praxis.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, the work presented is entirely my own.

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Abbreviations

ANSA Armed Non-state Actor

BRT Black Radical Tradition

CBO Community Based Organisations

CPAR Critical Participatory Action Research

DSAR Digital Storytelling Action Research

ECW Education Cannot Wait

EiE Education in Emergencies

GCSE General Certificate Secondary Education

INEE Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies

INGO International Non-governmental Organisation

LGBTQ+ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer+

NGO Non-governmental Organisation

PAR Participatory Action Research

SPLA Sudan People's Liberation Army

SPLM- N Sudan People's Liberation Movement- North

UASC Unaccompanied and Separated Child

UN United Nations

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNICEF United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

US United States

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Equitable, educational access is one of our time's most pressing global challenges. By April 2020, as the Covid-19 pandemic began its grip on the globe, 91% of school-age children were out of school, as authorities in one hundred and eighty-four countries decided to close educational institutions of learning, impacting 1.6 billion learners (UNICEF, 2021a, p. 5). International non-governmental organisations (INGOs), United Nations (UN) agencies, and institutions that shape the global education architecture declared that the world faced a global education emergency and unprecedented 'learning loss' (Angrist et al., 2021; UNICEF, 2021a).

The narrative of learning loss calls into question how education is defined; indeed, scholars like Petar Jandric and Peter McLaren argue that 'the idea of learning loss applies only to a capitalist ideology which sees education as the production of an obedient workforce'(2021, p.7). Educational exclusion, or being out of school, is profoundly entangled and embedded within historical and contemporary 'circuits of dispossession and privilege' (Weis & Fine, 2012, p.174), unjust structural policies, and learners' identity markers that interplay with educational access and transitions. Moreover, the prevalent narrative of 'learning loss' obscures global and localised educational disparities before Covid-19. A significant point of my argument within this study is that even before the pandemic, access to education was the exception rather than the norm for children and youth growing up in displacement situations and impacted by emergencies (Burde et al., 2016).

This thesis explores the diverse experiences of displaced youth as they endeavour to access and remain in education in South Sudan, the UK and Jordan; it also seeks to uncover the extent to which colonial legacies permeate educational programme design, funding, governance, and implementation. Chapter one discusses my motivation to explore EiE, outlines the research rationale, sets out the research objectives, and introduces the critical terminology and concepts that frame the research study. The chapter begins by situating EiE research within a transnational context to render visible young people's educational experiences in South Sudan, Jordan, and the UK, situating them within power structures, as objects of social policies, and as historical actors. The chapter argues that education for displaced young people 'is a

complex set of interactions between global and local realities' (Bengtsson & Dryden-Peterson, 2016, p. 329). I then provide a brief overview of the conceptual framing and methodology. Next, by telling my own stories of working in the field of EiE, I seek to be transparent about my intentions and ethical about my approach to this research. I discuss my positionality as a researcher and EiE practitioner, my connections to power structures and dispossession narratives, and thus show how reflexivity promotes and informs accountability, trustworthiness, clarity, ethics, and my integrity as a researcher. In this section, I make the case that for educational research to be transformational, researchers must retrace their personal, educational journeys and be open about how self-awareness of their proximity to—or distance from— marginality can guide the research in ways that are quite critical. I argue that researchers must strive for inclusivity when designing research at the margins, as well as upholding a commitment to the need to make the invisible visible and lastly, must critically reflect on how the researcher's power may be disrupted by building in points to cede power throughout the research design process. Following this, I outline the design and organisation of this thesis before finally highlighting the significance of the study's contributions to the field of EiE and beyond.

1.1 What is Education in Emergencies?

'Education in emergencies' refers to the quality learning opportunities for all ages in crises, including early childhood development, primary, secondary, non-formal, technical, vocational, higher and Adult Education. Emergency education provides physical, psychosocial, and cognitive protection to sustain and save lives. Common situations of crisis in which education in emergencies is essential include conflicts, situations of violence, forced displacement, disasters, and public health emergencies. Education in emergencies is a wider concept than 'emergency education response', an essential part of it.'

(INEE, n.d.)

As the opening quote underlines, education in emergencies (EiE) presupposes that people affected by diverse crises should have access to learning opportunities. The field of EiE rose to prominence during the late 1990s as humanitarian practitioners grappled with the increasingly protracted and complex nature of conflict and resulting long-term displacement and the need for education responses in humanitarian contexts.

In 2000, United Nations (UN) agencies, donors, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), academic institutions, practitioners and individual members established the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) to bring cohesion and coordination to the field (Versmesse et al., 2017). Since its launch over two decades ago, INEE —self-styled as a member network— has become an authoritative voice in EiE. Members have founded inter-agency working groups, organised conferences, conducted research, and developed technical resources such as minimum standards for EiE [across multiple educational sub-fields]. 'Key' educational stakeholders, including donors and INGOs, dominate INEE workstreams, operating under the auspices of enabling people affected by crises to continue their education (Cardozo & Novelli, 2018).

People forced to flee their homes due to crisis are likely to have disrupted educational trajectories (Morrice et al., 2020). As of June 2022, over 100 million people have been forcibly displaced globally (UNHCR-UK, 2022). Most forcibly displaced people reside in neighbouring countries to their origin, with many finding themselves in contexts where they may face myriad barriers to integration (UNHCR-UK, 2022). However, fewer than 1% of refugees who manage to reach a second country and claim asylum safely can relocate, more commonly referred to as 'resettlement' to a third country (UNHCR, n.d.). Furthermore, although there is no definitive data on the length of time spent in displacement, estimates suggest that at least half of all forcibly displaced people spend at least five years in exile, with over 11 million people spending more than twenty years displaced because of protracted crises (Devictor, 2019). Little data exists within UNHCR on the population of globally displaced persons within the aged 15-24 age category. However, evidence suggests that most youth fall within the category identified by UNHCR as 'Persons of Concern' (Evans et al., 2013, p. 58). An estimated 77% of secondary school-age refugees were out of formal education, with less than half of refugee children who started primary school making it to secondary school (UNHCR, 2021). Although figures vary across countries, on average, less than 5% of those with refugee status attend higher education, compared to 37% of non-displaced learners globally (UNHCR, 2021, p. 7). These statistics show that crises impact education globally on a massive scale, indicating that forcibly displaced youth are less likely to progress through all education levels. Furthermore, due to the complexity, longevity, and scale of global displacement today, understanding the complex, multiple

and often mutual ways migration, displacement and education interact is more pertinent.

Despite this, most education responses in crisis contexts do not extend beyond the primary school level (Bengtsson & Dryden-Peterson, 2016). There are myriad reasons for the lack of investment in post-primary education, some of which will be unpacked in this thesis. However, a recent study by Hares and Rossiter (2021) illustrates that donors who fund education in crisis contexts have very different educational spending priorities. For example, USAID (the US department that oversees foreign aid) allocates much of its education aid to basic education, whilst Germany—the largest donor of educational aid—continues to allocate the greatest share of its funding to post-secondary education, with a large share being allocated to fund higher education scholarships within German institutions (Hares & Rossiter, 2021). Moreover, although \$16.2 billion of funding went towards education in 2019, recipient countries determined about 50% of how that funding was spent (Hares & Rossiter, 2021). The implications of recipient countries not having complete determination over how what, and where educational funding is spent indicates that there are profound power asymmetries across the educational aid architecture.

Furthermore, much of the funding does not cross borders; some goes towards the core operating costs of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other stakeholders within the education aid ecosystem (Hares & Rossiter, 2021). Finally, education remains one of the least funded humanitarian sectors, despite 'the amount of humanitarian funding for education [having been] increased five times between 2015 and 2019 – and accounted for 5.1% of humanitarian funding in 2019' (Sherif, 2021). However, by the end of 2020, funding for EiE had retracted to 2.9 %, indicating that despite record numbers of people in forced displacement globally, educational access is decreasing (Zubairi, 2020).

Quantitative data is invaluable in enabling us to grasp the scale of the issue. Yet, statistics do not illuminate how education is defined, who these learners are, or why they are displaced. Neither can statistics shed much light on the key donors defining EiE (nor how they became donor countries), why post-primary school opportunities are rare, or how the barriers or enabling factors students confront interact to define their educational trajectories. These questions are critical to understanding educational experiences and finding their answers can encourage the adoption of solutions that

mitigate the factors detrimental to the educational experiences of forcibly displaced learners. As the thesis will outline, understanding their education experiences is vital.

A limited body of studies has captured young people's experiences as they transition between education systems yet are rarely attentive to multiple phases of displacement. For example, Morrice et al. (2020, p. 389) argue that education systems, often based 'on assumed linearity and normative pathways, present structural barriers' to displaced youths' entry into and progression through the education system. Although education access is often positioned as a 'durable solution' and route to inclusion (Burde et al., 2016), a paucity of research explores whether this is a reality for forcibly displaced children and youth. Existing evidence indicates that displaced learners' histories can be hidden from their teachers and lecturers by factors such as language barriers, cultural misunderstandings, and stereotypes (Dryden-Peterson, 2016); adding complexity to the exclusionary practices that hinder young people's abilities to navigate and transition across and through education systems. These gaps in understanding forcibly displaced learners' previous experiences are crucial because, as Sarah Dryden-Peterson posits, 'whether or not these experiences are made visible or understood post-resettlement, they remain part of the educational trajectories' and people do not leave them behind (Dryden-Peterson, 2016, p. 144). The void in analysis by practitioners of pre-resettlement educational experiences of forcibly displaced learners has constituted an unknown or 'black box' in effectively designing education services (Dryden-Peterson, 2016, p. 133)

There is a significant lack of understanding of how displaced students navigate post-secondary education (Morrice et al., 2020). In addition, the existing literature has not considered the transitions into higher education for people with diverging documentation status and how age, gender, and other social categorisations impact forcibly displaced students' education trajectories. Although scholars have begun to examine displaced youth's transitions from secondary education into higher education (Arar, 2021; Dryden-Peterson, 2010; Streitwieser et al., 2019), the limited data is possibly indicative of the paucity of interventions in the provision of post-primary education in conflict-affected countries (Dryden-Peterson, 2012; Nicolai & Hine, 2015). Furthermore, evidence suggests that displaced youth face exclusionary policies and practices that construct barriers to their access to education (Morrice et al., 2020), resulting in few displaced students reaching higher education globally (UNHCR, 2020).

Lastly, there is a paucity of literature on EiE from inter and transdisciplinary perspectives. Audre Lorde's much-circulated quote, 'there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not lead single-issue lives' (1982), is an important reminder for those working in EiE to look beyond education to understand and address education exclusion. This thesis posits that understanding why young people affected by crises are likely to be out of school, college, or higher education requires a broader analysis of the wider structures and ecosystems beyond education that impact their lives.

In summary, this introduction to EiE highlights some gaps in the literature. In seeking to close this gap, it illuminates the realities of millions of young people affected by global crises, who encounter numerous barriers to accessing higher education and continuing along their educational pathways. For these reasons, my study centres and explores the educational experiences of displaced youth. However, whilst this thesis aims to amplify some of the voices behind the statistics, it makes the case that it is essential to understand the broader historical and contemporary dynamics that shape, restrict or enable educational access for forcibly displaced youth.

1.2 Coloniality and EiE

In October 2020, the INEE released an Anti-Racism and Racial Equity Statement offering an admission of culpability in perpetuating a deeply racialised and hierarchical system:

'We recognise and acknowledge that we are a part of a global humanitarian system that, while holding good intentions for the world's most vulnerable, is implicitly colonial in nature. Because of this, the INEE Secretariat acknowledges the ways in which we reinforce and perpetuate white supremacy culture and institutional racism through some of our structures and actions. It is essential that we face these flaws in our systems – and ourselves – head-on and take steps, to dismantle these structures and take more inclusive and racially responsive actions to advance our mission of ensuring the right to a quality, safe, and relevant education for all who live in emergency and crisis contexts.'

(INEE, 2020).

At this juncture, it is essential to unpack some critical terms within the INEE statement. For Okun and Jones (2000), white supremacy is defined as a 'historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and people of colour by white peoples and nations... to maintain and defend a system of wealth, power, and privilege.' The INEE secretariat's admission of its reinforcement and perpetuation of white supremacy culture and institutional racism indicates the presence of systemic inequality, in addition to the multiple barriers to education access outlined in the opening paragraph. Other INGO organisations have also released similar statements, acknowledging systemic racism prevailing within the humanitarian aid sector and, by extension, underpinning the EiE system. To paraphrase critical race scholar Gloria Ladson Billings (1998), it may be surprising for white supremacy 'to crop up in a nice field' like EiE. However, as the INEE statement declares, humanitarian aid 'is implicitly colonial by nature' (INEE, 2020).

As used in the INEE statement, the term colonial refers to a policy or ethos of using power and influence to control another nation or people. By the 1930s, for example, a quarter of the world's population lived in the British empire (Bhambra, 2022). Despite the sweeping independence movements of the 1960s, which saw most colonial territories gain sovereignty, many scholars consider independence illusory (Bhambra, 2022). Many scholars across multiple disciplines argue that colonialism endures through the continuing occupation of territories and financial and monetary systems that disadvantage and dictate conditions to formerly colonised states (Nkrumah, 1965) to the hierarchical valuing of Eurocentric knowledge, which Quijano (2000) and Mignolo (2013) describe as 'coloniality.' For Mignolo, coloniality not only results in epistemic violence but is also intricately connected to racism and forced migration, as 'immigrants and refugees' are seen as less human due to 'epistemic classifications' rooted in colonialism (2017, p. 42). Mignolo's critical scholarship on coloniality and that of other scholars will be discussed further in chapters two and six.

Like the INEE statement, many scholars agree that aid is colonial (Baughan, 2020; Rutazibwa, 2018, 2020). Pallister- Wilkins for example, draws on the scholarship of W.E.B. Du Bois (Dubois, 1920, as cited in Pallister-Wilkins, 2021) to highlight that humanitarianism has a key historical and contemporary role in creating, regulating and reproducing 'whiteness'; allowing 'white supremacy culture to go unchallenged and to thrive' (cited in Pallister-Wilkins, 2021, p. 98). Likewise, Bian (2022) argues that the

emergence of the humanitarian sector, and consequently EiE, is intricately connected to histories of empire and colonialism, which persist in the present and influence how we construct and understand 'race' today. Moreover, as the INEE underlined in their statement, 'expertise is covertly racialised in the contemporary humanitarian aid sector' (Bian, 2022, p. 2). I will return briefly to these racial paradigms later in this chapter and develop them in greater depth in chapter two, where I also discuss how ideas and racialised practices that flow from race discourse have been contested. In a sector where few studies acknowledge how constructions of race and racism shape educational experiences and where acknowledgement of racism scarcely features in advocacy, policy, research, or programmatic design (Oddy, 2020; Sriprakash et al., 2019), the INEE statement demands a seismic shift in the field.

It is a shift that is timely and long overdue. While there is a growing evidence base around EiE, it is disconnected from the broader literature on equity and inequality in education (Shuayb & Crul, 2020). In early 2021, I conducted a cursory search of the INEE database (which houses 2696 resources) and Google scholar, which —with the exception of the INEE Statement on Anti-Racism and Racial Equity— revealed the absence of references to race and racism within EiE literature. This is despite most displaced children, youth and teachers finding themselves in educational spaces in formerly colonised countries, along borderlands, hostile frontiers, and resettlement contexts where they become racialised or 'othered' and are subjected to discriminatory policies that impede access (Oddy, 2020). To date, few studies have examined how white supremacy, racism, and other forms of discrimination manifest in EiE or the diverse ways in which systemic and localised inequities impact educational experiences. Unfortunately, as Sriprakash et al. (2019) outline, despite pervasive forms of racism on a global scale, the field of Education and International development continues to fail to substantively engage with the production and effects of racial domination and ethnic marginalisation across its research, policy, and practice domains.

For EiE scholars specifically, the INEE statement is a call to action to critically reflect on and address the reproduction of racial injustice in the sector and to substantively engage with the production and effects of marginalisation and othering across its research and policy. As the opening of this section indicated, millions of young people affected by crises are out of school, college, or university. I undertook this PhD between 2018-2022, years in which much of the world witnessed a global racial

reckoning¹, increased awareness of climate change, and a pandemic that led to the closure of schools and universities worldwide. As recently as February 2022, as the global media captured images of mass displacement from Ukraine, another narrative began circulating on social media platforms broadcasting the rapid escalation of hostilities between Russia and Ukraine. Captured video images showed thousands of black and brown 'international' students from across the globe attempting to flee war-torn Ukraine. Stories and videos emerged of students being refused entry onto trains and becoming the objects of police violence as they were detained at border crossings (Brooke-Holland, 2022). These images of distraught black and brown students caught the eyes of millions worldwide, bringing to the mainstream the stark realities of the global colour line in action and the racial coloniality of Europe's borders.

Scenes of Black and brown students forcibly detained at borders, juxtaposed against images of European universities offering scholarships and fee waivers for Ukrainian students, inadvertently reveal the implication of racism in shaping education access, education opportunities, and forced migration (Dryden-Peterson & Brehm, 2022).

That systemic racial inequity prevails within EiE, a sector tasked with enabling learning opportunities in displacement, is a cause for concern. An admission of a 'white supremacy culture' and 'institutional racism' (INEE, 2020) by the leading network group in the field calls into question the way issues are framed, what and how statistics are counted, and the conceptualisation of the field itself. The prevalence of extractive knowledge production practices (Shuayb & Brun, 2021a), rooted in colonial ideology and praxis, homogenises the experiences of forcibly displaced youth, making it imperative that their experiences are analytically centred. Finally, given the under-investment in EiE, it is even more critical that the sector is fully accountable to the populations it serves. If not, EiE will likely continue perpetuating inequitable structures, institutions, and educational responses; in the end, the most marginalised people will end up paying the life-long cost of education inequity (Oddy, 2020).

In summary, the introduction to this chapter has outlined the multiple and complex issues that impact EiE today. Millions of people affected by crises cannot

¹ In the wake of the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor by law enforcement officers in the US, mass protests erupted globally from late May, 2020. Protestors took to the streets in over countries on seven continents to stand in solidarity and to challenge their own contextualized experiences of racism and oppression. See (Albaih, 2020; Ofisun, 2020; Paris, 2021)

access or thrive in formal educational spaces due to the many barriers outlined above. As will be seen, organisations and humanitarian systems given a mandate to enable forcibly displaced youth to access quality education are unjust, perpetuating exclusionary and discriminatory norms by design. Given the complex dynamics, forces and interactions that shape aid, it is impossible to understand young peoples' EiE experiences without situating their present experiences within more comprehensive histories and structures that are attentive to the multiple dynamics that shape EiE. As the following sections will outline, this study significantly broadens our understanding of the EiE ecosystem. It thus offers a substantive contribution to a growing field of critical scholarship.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

Project title: Exploring Diverse Adolescents & Youth Education across the Displacement Linear, Education in Emergencies (EiE) Experiences and Colonial Entanglements

Complex issues require multiple lenses. As such, three primary aims, or objectives frame the research, instead of a specific, singular research question, to address the critical gaps in the sector, as well as addressing the rationale for the research project.

Objective one: Identify the intersections and impacts of identity markers (gender, age, ethnicity, migration status, dis/ability, and others) to highlight the diversity of learners' experiences in crisis contexts.

Objective two: Examine colonial legacies and whether power dynamics, privileges and concepts of race continue to influence the programmes funded for adolescents and youth in emergencies.

Objective three: Explore research as praxis through a multi-sited, digital storytelling action research (DSAR) with forcibly displaced youth to mitigate extractive knowledge production approaches.

There are multiple reasons for my choice of these research objectives; to grapple with the multiple barriers to education outlined in the introduction section and to

understand how youth, as a subset of forcibly displaced people, experience education. Firstly, to understand the colonial legacies of aid, it is imperative to explore the extent to which racism, one of its main derivatives, impacts young peoples' educational experiences. Approaching these problems with an intersectional lens requires acknowledging how intersecting oppressions shape educational experiences (Weis & Fine, 2012). This is a declared aim of Objective one.

Secondly, historians argue that understanding the present is only possible through a historical lens. Taking heed of Dryden-Peterson's (2015) critique of the failure of refugee education (as a field and inclusive of the stakeholders operating within it) to recognise individual learners' educational experiences prior to displacement, objective two is attentive to the past. To understand an individual's prior experiences, it is important to consider how broader histories have shaped educational experiences and why and how specific identity markers enable or prohibit educational opportunities.

Thirdly, responding to questions two and three is only possible through engagement with those involved in the ecosystem through their roles, positions, and proximity to power, and those at the forefront, the recipients of EiE interventions; as this thesis, reveals, however, recipients of aid vis a vis being an aid practitioner are not binary, static, or fixed identities with easily defined proximities to power. Finally, to enable counter-narratives to emerge, objective three proposes multi-sited, multi-method critical participatory inquiry as the epistemological praxis to inform this thesis. I briefly introduce my methodology employed within this thesis and outline it in greater detail in chapter three.

Having outlined the problem, research rationale and objectives, the following section declares my positionality and discusses my rationale for choosing this topic. Actors within the EiE field committed to social and epistemic justice must turn inwards. Critically reflecting on our positionalities is the first step towards understanding how asymmetric power dynamics are invoked and reinforced (and contested) within the EiE ecosystem.

1.4 My role as a researcher and motivations for studying the topic

Education research, politics and beliefs are not separated from knowledge and method, nor are they separated from the gendered, racialised structures imbued with meaning from globalising and colonial practices (Patel, 2014). As discussed in more detail in chapters two and three, Patel's observations on positionality within research reflect the long history of theoretical critique in the writings of Black feminist scholars such as the Combahee River Collective (2014), Kimberle Crenshaw (2013) and Patricia Hill Collins (Collins, 2019; Collins & Bilge, 2020). These represent a few of the Black², critical feminist scholars who have contributed to conceptualising intersectionality as a theoretical and analytic tool used to understand better how multiple axes of oppression, such as race, gender, and social class, intersect to define individual experiences of the world. In brief, intersectionality recognises the many axes of oppression and their intersections with each other, including proximity to power structures, oppression, and domination.

As mentioned above, the INEE illuminates how institutions and organisations have often been presented as neutral, with little analysis of how the colonial past informs structures and participants. Furthermore, across humanitarian aid more broadly, attention to the stakeholders within the field is rarely attentive to intragroup differences, leading to essentialising and ahistorical conceptual framings of subjects. Intersectionality is a critical concept for EiE research. Through an intersectional lens, qualitative studies with diverse youth in situations of forced migration offers a nuanced mode of analysis; it offers researchers a tool for understanding how social categories and identities intersect to shape their diverse and complex lived experiences.

As an emerging scholar, I return to intersectionality alongside critical theories demanding that researchers consider how their distinct identity markers inform, privilege, and dominate research processes. I am mindful that positivist research paradigms do not generally attend to positionality, power differentials, or personal biases and that the racial oppression characteristic of mainstream academic research risks reproducing the same oppressions that critical approaches seek to disrupt. As such,

² Multiple scholars have contributed to the development of intersectional feminism and additional scholars shall be discussed further in chapter three and subsequently throughout the thesis.

I offer this personal vignette to outline where and how I situate myself within the EiE field.

'As a Black, dual heritage, British, working-class, cis-gender female adult, my multiple identities, experiences of erasures and absenteeism of certain narratives in education settings, I entered the academy as 'the researched and the researcher' (Sheik, 2021). Born in London to a White British mother and a Nigerian father, I grew up in rural Wales. This country had been historically colonised and culturally and linguistically oppressed by England. In the 1990s in the UK, there was little representation of multi-ethnic families and few educators of colour, particularly in rural communities. The only narrative of Africa was one of deficit, poverty and images of starving children being tended to by white charity workers, which starkly contrasted with what I had been taught at home. I had first-hand experience of educational spaces being sites of racialisation and othering, capable of sustaining and reproducing the colonial matrix of power and the global 'colour line', described over a century ago, where negatively racialised students can be both hyper-visible yet simultaneously invisible.

It was not until I went to Cuba when I was 21 that I experienced an education system in a Black majority country. I was introduced to South-South education humanitarianism, and recipients of scholarships were not labelled refugees or aid recipients but simply students. They were South Sudanese; they were Palestinian; they were Zapatistas. I realised how biased my formal education had been to that date. Cuba was also my introduction to a type of humanitarian aid that is overtly political and driven by principles of solidarity instead of charity. These experiences led to my career as a teacher, specialising in Citizenship and Political education through a scheme called Teach First which positioned itself as a type of social-justice initiative to address educational disadvantage in poor areas of the UK, before later becoming an EiE practitioner. I worked in 15 different countries as an aid worker in various technical and managerial roles focusing on education. Due to my experience as a secondary school teacher, I was acutely aware that post-primary education was underfunded or deprioritised, regardless of context or the organisation. Furthermore, I witnessed and became increasingly uncomfortable with the exclusionary practices in the EiE sector, including all-White, Western meetings and working groups, where little thought was given to the highly unrepresentative nature of the work.

Notwithstanding, self-reflectivity means I must also reconcile my complicity within the exclusionary EiE sector. Whilst migration and racism have shaped my educational and career trajectories, I have never experienced forced displacement, thus limiting my understanding of the complexities of pursuing education in displacement. Although the inequities and institutional racism that I had seen and experienced in my role as a racialised practitioner had driven my desire to engage in critical research, I acknowledge that my position as 'an insider' in the humanitarian EiE sector, alongside being cisgender, able-bodied, UK educated, a UK passport

holder and fluency in English indicated a degree of complicity and proximity to whiteness within an ecosystem that positions those with the closest proximity to displacement the furthest from positions of power and influence. These dynamics influenced how I had access to places and spaces that others did not. Additionally, these identity markers influenced the way people perceived me. For example, I recall that after a teacher training session that I was delivering in Uganda, during the lunch break, two participants came to sit with me, joking, 'Let us sit with the one who sits closest to power.'

My colleagues were acutely aware of my positionality, and their observations offer a frank reminder of the complex ways that colonial legacies are not static yet continue to adapt and evolve, even inviting those on the margins. Grappling with these tensions and a deep desire to understand and challenge the inequities I witnessed in the EiE sector shaped my desire to pursue a doctorate. I entered the academy acutely aware of how 'coloniality', to borrow from Mignolo (2021), touches me in multiple ways'.

I share this personal reflection because it lends credence to the importance given within critical scholarship to lived experience and the tensions, nuances and possibilities of power that arise from self-reflexivity. Scholars like Kolb (2014) and Gibb (1988) put forward conceptual frameworks that the importance of reflection for experiential learning. Likewise, self-reflectivity is critical for working within structures and institutions saturated with systemic inequities. Pursuing doctoral studies and seeking to enter the ivory tower as a peer-reviewed academic, I am upholding and adhering to a specific epistemology about knowledge production. However, as a researcher, I can attempt to delink methodologically and epistemically from dominant ways of thinking and doing by striving to recognise where coloniality touches the body. Self-reflexivity is, therefore, imperative, especially for scholars (such as myself) who have been educated in what was once 'the heart' of the most extensive empire in the world (Bhambra, 2022).

Recognising one's proximity to power should not immobilise critical inquiry. Instead, self-reflexivity as praxis demands that even those who find themselves on the margins of academia should be prompted to consider the possibilities of transformation that come with our 'insider' privileges; they demand that we be ever attentive to mitigating or minimising our colonial imprint when conducting research. With this insider knowledge of exclusion, I believe that I must take responsibility for working towards disrupting the invisibility of 'race' as it shapes the educational experiences of

young people, families, and teachers: in other words, amplifying the imperative that equity is an integral part of EiE discourse and knowledge production. For example, Remi Joseph-Salisbury and Laura Connelly advocate for 'constructive complicity' (2021, p. 20), suggesting that critical, antiracist praxes are imperative for scholars seeking to work in service to and with communities whilst yet recognising a degree of complicity within academia, which is itself inherently exclusionist. Their work builds upon that of the late Walter Rodney, who, as early as 1969, called for academics to go beyond merely challenging the racist and colonial epistemological foundations of bourgeois scholarship, by grounding intellectual inquiry in struggles and pedagogical frameworks that reject eurocentrism (Rodney, 2019). I heed Rodney's call for Black intellectuals to 'ground' with, to sit, listen and learn from and with disenfranchised groups (2019, p. 67), provoking myself as a researcher, to 'move beyond [my] own discipline' (2019, p. 66), and to generate knowledge that serves collective, rather than personal gain. Given my positionality and the dynamics outlined in the opening section of this chapter, attention to a congruent conceptual framing and research approach is necessary. My 'constructive complicity' (Joseph-Salisbury & Connelly, 2021, p. 20) informed the research method for this study and will be discussed in section 5 of this chapter. Before this, however, it is essential to define some critical terms that inform this study.

1.5 Definitions of key terms and concepts

At the beginning of this chapter, I briefly discussed how colonial discourse and coloniality ground INEE's anti-racism statement. Although additional terms will arise and be unpacked in the subsequent chapters, I now focus on defining six other key concepts that will be central throughout the thesis.

1.5.1 Education

For millennia, philosophers of education have grappled with defining its purpose and meaning (Shimbori, 1979). As such, in this section, I do not put forth a singular definition of education; I recognise the necessity to outline how education is conceptualised in this thesis. In the opening quote of this chapter, education is conceptualised as a 'quality learning opportunity' that emphasises lifelong learning

opportunities (INEE, n.d.). The INEE definition of education follows in the trajectory of the United Nations (UN) rhetoric of recent decades, which underlines humanistic, formal, and non-formal as integral and valued parts of lifelong learning. For example, Delors's report for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) proposed an integrated, humanistic vision of education based on two key concepts, 'learning throughout life' and the four pillars of learning: knowing, doing, being, and living together (1996).

If operationalised, Delors' concept of education would demand the radical transformation of most national education systems. As Delors argued, formal education invariably emphasises certain types of knowledge, such as standardised testing, assessments and metrics, to the detriment of others essential to sustaining human development (Delors, 1996). Chapters two and three of this thesis build on critical educational scholarship informed by the BRT, whereby education is envisioned beyond the metrics and assessments. Rather, this thesis will examine broader definitions of education modes that encompass more comprehensive definitions, including 'processes of transmitting from one generation to the next knowledge of the values, aesthetics, spiritual beliefs, and all things that give a particular cultural orientation its uniqueness' (Shujaa, 1994, p. 15).

1.5.2 International Development and Humanitarian Aid

International Development and humanitarian aid are both fields that aim to alleviate suffering and improve the lives of people in need. However, as noted by Lie (2020), both fields have distinct discursive origins and institutional trajectories. According to Lie's (2020, p.5) analysis:

'Humanitarian action is mainly exogenous, meaning that interventions, ideas and funding come from outside of the affected country, building on universal principles and often in response to the host state's lack of will or capacity to sufficiently cater for its own citizens. Contrary, development aid is organised around certain governing partnership principles, meaning that both donor and recipient institutions—be it NGOs, state, or multilateral institutions—are supposed to jointly programme and implement projects and that external actors should underpin the policies and priorities of the recipient. In such efforts, the ambition is that those on the receiving end should have 'ownership' to externally funded processes and policies, and the donor agencies should align their approaches and policies with those of the recipient.'

Traditionally, the segments of humanitarianism and development differ in structure and content regarding how aid is provided and what type of aid is given. These practices are shaped by different guiding principles that can be subject to different interpretations and context-specific usage (Lie, 2020, p.5). For example, humanitarian aid is typically provided in response to an immediate crisis or emergency, with the primary goal of providing immediate relief to those affected. In contrast, international development typically involves longer-term planning and investment to build sustainable systems and structures supporting ongoing progress (Lie, 2020, p.5). However, the boundaries between the two fields are increasingly blurred as humanitarian actors expand their scope beyond their traditional temporal and conceptual remit. Civil society organisations, such as international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), national non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as well as national and international governments are all part of humanitarian aid and international development eco-systems (Novelli et.al.,2014).

In recent years, there has also been an expansion in thinking around what constitutes an emergency or humanitarian situation. For example, reference to the ‘humanitarian-development-peace nexus’ in policy is increasingly common in recognition of the interconnection and interdependence of humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding efforts in addressing and resolving complex crises and conflicts (Lie, 2020, Mendenhall, 2019). Furthermore, in recent years, governments, particularly in the UK, has used aid budgets to fund domestic programming. Domestic programming refers to policies and programs implemented by the government or civil society, such as an International non-governmental organisation (INGO) to address poverty and inequality within its borders (Pickering- Saqqa, 2019). By the end of 2023, over a two-year period, a total of £5bn will have been removed from the UK aid budget, traditionally earmarked for overseas humanitarian aid, to house refugees (Wintour, 2023). At present, the UK spent ‘more than three times its overseas aid budget on housing refugees in Britain than on helping to alleviate poverty in Africa in 2022’ (Wintour, 2023). As Pickering-Saqqa (2019) notes, ‘this has led to discussions about the legitimacy of spending aid budgets in this way’; and highlights the evolving landscape of aid.

Just as there are calls for a more expansive conceptualisation of emergencies in general, the geographical remit of educational aid is also changing. Shirazi (2020), for example, argues that current definitions of EiE are too narrow and fail to capture the

complexity of emergencies that are increasingly becoming part of the education sector globally. Shirazi critiques EiE's current focus on natural disasters, epidemics, and armed conflicts despite the prevalence of structural violence, systemic racism, and mental health crises (2019). He argues that these emergencies are not recognised as such and are not dealt with effectively because they do not fall within traditional conceptual framings of EiE (Shirazi, 2020).

This thesis will also problematise contemporary framings and remits of international development and humanitarian aid. It is worth noting here that many scholars (Connell, 2020, Escobar, 2012, Rodney, 1972, Nkrumah, 1965) have been critical of mainstream conceptualisations and approaches to international development, and aid more broadly, which they argue are rooted in colonialism and perpetuates global inequalities. Raewyn Connell, for example, critiques the dominance of Western social theory in shaping the field of international development, arguing that this has led to the marginalisation of non-Western perspectives and a narrow understanding of the complexities of development (2020). She also highlights the need to shift the focus of development towards the needs and aspirations of marginalised communities (Connell, 2020). Similarly, Arturo Escobar, in his book *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World,* critiques the ways in which development has been used as a tool of Western domination, arguing that it has led to the imposition of universalising and often harmful models of development on non-Western societies. He argues for a more pluralistic and context-specific approach to development that considers local knowledge and values, and that challenges the hegemony of Western development models. In his book *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism,* Nkrumah argued that the post-colonial economic and political structures in Africa were designed to serve the interests of Western powers, perpetuating underdevelopment, and dependency (1965). Similarly, Walter Rodney, was critical of the way in which Western aid and development programs perpetuated underdevelopment in Africa and the Global South. (1972).

As shall be highlighted in chapters two and three, EiE is intricately connected to international development through its colonial origins and, within academia, is considered a sub-field of Education and International development (Swindell et al., 2022). For a long time, humanitarian and development organisations have agreed that rebuilding education should start as soon as possible during a crisis and should be done

simultaneously as providing other types of aid (Mendenhall, 2019). Advocates for EiE argue that education interventions should address the immediate needs of learners affected by crises and contribute to longer-term development and peacebuilding efforts (Burde et.al., 2016, 2019). When considering traditional, binary understandings of international development and humanitarian aid, EiE challenges the divide precisely because it sits across the humanitarian-development-peace nexus (Mendenhall, 2019).

Furthermore, funding for EiE often comes from development and humanitarian funding streams (Novelli et.al., 2014; Burde et.al., 2016). As noted by Education Cannot Wait (ECW), a prominent funder and advocate of EiE, although their entry point is through ‘the multilateral humanitarian coordination system established specifically for crises, ECW works with host-governments and brings in local development groups from the outset to facilitate joint analysis, design, and programming towards learning outcomes through collective outcomes’ (Education Cannot Wait, 2019). ECW’s position illustrates that at a policy level, EiE is positioned as being integrated across humanitarian and development to ensure its effectiveness and sustainability (Education Cannot Wait,2019).

This thesis takes a similar stance that EiE sits across humanitarian aid and international development because it involves both immediate responses to crisis situations and longer-term efforts to support education systems and promote development. This stance been integral in the decision making around site selections for this research, which will be discussed later in this chapter. In addition, mindful of the wider critical development studies literature, this thesis will also examine the power structures and inequalities that underpin the global Education and International development system

1.5.3 Youth

Youth remains a contested concept, having different meanings across space and time, factors that analyses must consider (IASC, 2020). For example, as Liebel argues, Eurocentric constructions of childhood continue to heavily influence global definitions and understandings of childhood (2017, p. 14). Similarly, childhood and youth are often treated as transhistorical and transcultural categories, 'as if [they have] existed everywhere and at all times in much the same way' (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2006, p.

267). Notwithstanding, young people affected by crises are likely to experience the limbo-like suspension of their identities as they transition between childhood, adolescence and adulthood; war and conflict often disrupt families and communities so that significant cultural milestones that traditionally mark and require communal rites of passage from one state to another –from unmarried youth to married adult, in this case– are no longer observed, thus delaying formal entry into adulthood (IASC, 2020). For clarity, throughout this thesis, I use the term 'youth' as a shorthand that encapsulates the experiences of young people who self-identify within that category (alongside multiple other identity markers) rather than rigid externally imposed age parameters.

1.5.4 Forced migration, refugees, and asylum seekers

More recently, the term 'forcibly displaced' and 'forced migration studies' has gained traction in scholarship and humanitarian aid. 'Forcibly displaced' encompasses several distinct immigration statuses often conflated or used interchangeably: refugee¹, asylum seeker², and internally displaced person³. I also use 'forcibly displaced youth' most often throughout this thesis to resist the categorisation and labelling of people according to their status by often arbitrary, hostile and racialised immigration policies. Notwithstanding, scholars such as Vergara-Figueroa (2018) have noted the problematic status of the term 'forced migration'. She argues that although terminologies may be helpful 'as ... legal and political concept[s] to formulate policies of temporal protection, these terms are ill-disposed to 'comprehending the complex, structural, institutional, and everyday dimensions of the phenomenon' (2018, p. 7).

However, as will become evident in chapter two and the findings chapters, I also heed Vergara-Figueroa's call that forced migration 'needs to be un-thought, both epistemically and politically, from a black feminist perspective' (2018, p. 2). By engaging with critical theories such as intersectionality, this thesis seeks to move away from pathologising and essentialising the diverse identities and lived realities of forcibly displaced youth (Doná, 2007a). In addition, by using concepts from the BRT (discussed in detail in the next chapter), I seek to illuminate the multitude of systemic inequities young people encounter, the plurality of journeys that shape their educational experiences, as well as their agency in contesting injustices, derived from as well as causing displacement. In doing so, forced migration and displacement are framed

through engagement with the everyday structural and institutional dimensions that impact young people's lives in and out of the classroom.

1.5.5 'Global South' and 'Global North.'

As EiE scholars Shuayb & Brun (2021) note, 'Global South' and 'Global North' are contentious and ill-defined terms. These terms reinforce binary ways of thinking that fail to recognise the heterogeneity and complex dynamics at play within and across geopolitical relations. Nevertheless, these terms' meanings and how they inform ways of seeing the world remain deeply ingrained within academia; literature and programmatic policies of humanitarian aid, including EiE, are no exception. I apply Boaventura De Sousa Santo's distinctions between 'Global North' and 'Global South' for this study. He argues that:

'The global South is not a geographical concept, even though many of its populations [living] in countries of the Southern hemisphere. The South is a metaphor for the human suffering caused by capitalism and colonialism on the global level and the resistance to overcoming or minimising such suffering. It is, therefore, an anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist, anti-patriarchal, and anti-imperialist South. It is a South that also exists in the geographic North (Europe and North America) in the form of excluded, silenced, and marginalised populations, such as undocumented immigrants, the unemployed, ethnic or religious minorities, and victims of sexism, homophobia, racism and islamophobia'

(2016, pp. 18–19)

De Sousa Santo's definition of these terms provides a further rationale for the research design of this thesis. First, by including the UK as a site of study, this thesis addresses a shortcoming in the field of EiE, whereby the experiences of forcibly displaced populations living in the 'Global North' are notably absent from the focus of the INEE network and aid agencies; typically, attention given to refugees centres on the [geographically and conceptually defined] Global South' (Shuayb & Crul, 2020, pp. 3–8). Second, this thesis will highlight numerous examples of 'structural and direct violence' in the Global North (Bengtsson & Dryden-Peterson, 2016, p. 330). A forcibly displaced person residing within a country like the UK does not necessarily equate to durable integration solutions or equal opportunities for them to pursue education. Thirdly, as will be discussed in chapter two, De Sousa Santo's definition of the Global South connects to paradigms within black radicalism, an intellectual current born out of

interactions between the Northern and Southern hemispheres, and which urges researchers and scholars to situate struggle within systems of thought, that are attentive to the intertwining of capitalism and colonialism as a global phenomenon. I will return to this in the 'conceptual framing' section of this chapter, and more substantively in chapter two.

1.5.6 Race

As discussed in section 1.2, EiE actors like INEE reveal how the idea that race matters has permeated the sector. Contemporary scholars are in general agreement that race is a social construct deeply rooted in socio-political contexts with very real concrete repercussions (Bacchetta et al., 2018; Lentin, 2019). As race is a social construct, there is a process of becoming racialised, known as racialisation. Writing at the turn of the twentieth century, sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois drew attention to racialisation as a global phenomenon, arguing that the 'global colour line' undergirded structures and policies of exclusion and discrimination, entrenching hierarchical values on lives and systems of knowledge (Dubois, 2019). Harsha Walia defines racialisation as the 'social, political, economic, and historical processes that utilise essentialist and monolithic racial markings to determine a person's positionality in each context' (2013, p. 61). This thesis will also demonstrate that although race as a social construct was formed for dominance, people can and often 'do create political and cultural homes and networks'; and contest, refuse and negotiate 'socially constructed categories' such as race (Patel, 2022, p. 91).

In my discussions around race, I draw on the works of critical scholars in the fields of forced migration (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Danewid, 2017; De Genova, 2018; Walia & Smith, 2013) and education (Fine, 2018; Gerrard et al., 2022), whose scholarship positions capitalism and race as iterative and mutually constitutive historical structures. For Walia, race and racialisation processes are intricately connected to displacement, bordering, and imperialism, resulting 'in a hierarchy of national and imperial identities' (2013, p. 265). According to Gilmore, racism is 'the state-sanctioned and extra-legal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death, in distinct yet densely interconnected political geographies.' (2007, p. 247). Gilmore's definition of racism poses an interesting provocation to EiE scholars, as illustrated by the earlier example of African students brutally assaulted by European

border guards or images of negatively racialised Syrian and Afghan refugees desperate to reach safety, being detained by border police in an active conflict, is a literal enactment of her words.

Furthermore, the racialised hierarchies in the Ukraine example underscore Walia's invoking of border imperialism (2013), exemplifying how although 'racial formation takes different forms across cultural, spatial, and historical contexts and conceptualisations of race take on different meanings across space and time, scholars argue that 'these scattered hegemonies also exhibit strong continuity or convergences of 'global raciality' (Bacchetta et al., 2018, p. 9). For example, as will be discussed in this thesis, Islamophobia is a form of structural and individual racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness and is deeply rooted and entangled within long histories of colonialism and imperialism (Garner & Selod, 2015). Islamophobia also illustrates how intersecting identity markers frame prejudice as 'expressions of Muslim-ness' and further reveals how religious faith interacts with other racialised identity markers such as skin colour, dress or ethnicity (All Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims, 2017). In this multi-sited study, paying attention to localised perceptions of race is essential, as practitioners and students share their experiences of racialisation and being othered within educational spaces.

In the opening section of this chapter, I highlighted a spectrum of educational challenges, thus shedding light on how racism even permeates humanitarian organisations that, paradoxically, advocate for the recognition and erasure of educational inequities. Indeed, critical race scholars perceive institutions as sites that actively produce, sustain, and reproduce racial power relations as an integral component of the systemic logic of historical capitalism (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Gilmore Wilson, 2017b). Consequently, for EiE scholarship, critical inquiry demands that educational researchers give analytic privilege to excavating and making visible the workings and functions of the structures, institutions, networks, and knowledge production, in turn, 're-placing lives in racialised histories' (Fine, 2018, p. 18).

1.5.7 Othering

Scholars across the social sciences have long drawn on the concept of 'othering' to examine how identity, belonging and unbelonging intertwine. The concept is closely

associated with Edward Said's influential Orientalism (though he did not use the term). Said noted that 'every culture requires the existence of another different and competing alter ego' (1995, p. 332). He speculated that 'the construction of identity... whether Orient or Occident, France or Britain... involves establishing opposites and otherness whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of their differences from us' (1995, p. 332). Said's conceptualisation of otherness is particularly useful for thinking about belonging or not belonging within educational spaces; orientalism is attentive to processes of othering, a constitutive element of any given society, which Said suggests is profoundly intertwined with empire. In this vein, Pailey (2020, p. 730) argues that we cannot theorise in international development and humanitarianism without acknowledging how colonialism and its contemporary manifestations continue to produce racialized 'phenotypic others'.

That scholars be attentive to processes of othering is vital; this thesis seeks to understand 'the broader dynamics, processes and structures that engender marginality' and which inform educational experiences 'across any of the full range of human differences based on group identities' (Powell & Menendian, 2016). As Powell and Menendian emphasise, othering can occur on a group or individual level (2016). Their perspective further underscores the importance for researchers to avoid homogenising or monolithic categories for young people affected by crises. It demands attention to their situated positionality, for example, due to the intersections of their immigration status, race, religion, and sexual identity. As will become evident in chapters two-seven, forcibly displaced youth are othered and included (or excluded) in myriad ways.

The above terms do not represent an exhaustive list of framing concepts employed within this chapter. In subsequent chapters, other concepts will be introduced and outlined. I want to signal here that I use all concepts and definitions with an awareness of their historical connotations, limitations, and legacies.

1.6 Overview of the conceptual framework

To address the prevalence of institutional racism and white supremacy culture within the EiE ecosystem, a new set of tools is necessary to 'define and seek a world where all can flourish' and 'see differences' as strengths (Lorde, 2018, p. 19). Lorde's much-quoted axiom that 'the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house'

invited white feminists to acknowledge and work to eradicate their racism and homophobia, for 'when the tools of a racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of that same patriarchy...only the narrowest parameters of change are possible and allowable' (2018, p. 19).

Lorde's words provide a provocation to the EiE sector to critically reflect on the approaches required to produce the social transformations that will secure educational justice. In EiE, for change to occur, an alternative theoretical framing is needed because applying the master's tools', 'will never enable us to bring about genuine change.' (Lorde, 2018, p. 19). In designing this study, I was acutely aware of power asymmetries and structural dynamics between myself as a researcher and the participants. To mitigate the possibility of reproducing extractive and non-reciprocal research practices, I employed a critical epistemology informed by the Black radical tradition (BRT).

The BRT emerged in response to colonialism and other forms of subjugation and, since its inception, has been at the forefront of resistance to systemic injustice. In his seminal book *Black Marxism*, Cedric Robinson defines the BRT as 'the continuing development of a collective consciousness informed by the historical struggles for liberation and motivated by the shared sense of obligation to preserve the collective being, the ontological totality' (Robinson, 2021, p. 171).

The rationale for employing these conceptual and analytical framings is discussed in detail in chapters two and three. Suffice to note here that the BRT challenges the elision of histories of colonisation and enslavement from forced migration and humanitarian studies (Carpi & Owusu, 2022; Sikka, 2020). For example, the Atlantic trade in Africans over four centuries can be conceptualised as the largest migration in history; human beings were transported thousands of miles around the Atlantic Ocean before being enslaved in the so-called New World (Lenette et al., 2018). In their discussion, Capri and Owusu argue that the separation of forced enslavement from forced migration studies is a deliberate act, neatly capturing how the field has 'become an entry point to study areas where the so-called white saviours turned into aid providers' (2022, p. 22). Given the problematic and racialised undercurrents of EiE, a conceptual framing that recognises and foregrounds an analysis of colonialism and recognises the imperative to be uncompromising in its contestation of 'white

supremacy' culture (INEE, 2020); it is here that the BRT provides a pivotal, robust, and counter-hegemonic lens.

Contrary to supposition, the BRT is not solely concerned with the socio-economic and socio-political materiality of people racialised as Black. Anti-colonial scholars such as Rodney were broadly inclusive in their definition of blackness, speaking of the experiences of 'people in Asia, Africa...and in the Americas' (2019, pp. 9–10). Likewise, in *Black Marxism*, Robinson included a chapter that drew connections between the degraded state of the eighteenth-century English working class and the colonisation of Ireland (2021). In these chapters, Robinson illustrated how people employed 'intellectual and emotional inventories' available to them to come to terms and react to 'their experiences' (2021, p. 29). Moreover, the inclusion of the chapters underscores how 'dislocation, poverty and exploitation,' and racialisation move and transfer within and across groups (Robinson, 2021, p. 29).

Robinson's analysis of the English working class and the colonisation of Ireland illustrated how differentiation between distinct groups in European society would serve as a template for future iterations of imperialism and expansion. These examples by Robinson and Rodney indicate the multifaceted nature of racialisation, as it goes beyond phenotypes and insists on understanding how race, class, and colonialism are intimately connected. The forcibly displaced youth whose EiE experiences are central to this thesis are situated within and across these margins. Connecting the BRT with EiE enables a broader understanding of the systemic structuring of global displacement through collusion with 'capitalism, colonial empire, and epistemic hierarchies' (Walia, 2013, p. 8).

The breadth of concepts, paradigms and multidisciplinary scholarship within the BRT responds to calls for more interdisciplinary research within the fields of forced migration. As will be seen in chapter two, the BRT is not a standalone theory; Notably, many of its framing concepts are derived from theoretical approaches beyond black radicalism, as well as multiple other critical fields, including feminism, critical education pedagogies (Friere, 2017; Giroux, 1991; Illich, 1970), borderlands theories (Anzaldúa, 1987) and decolonial thought (De Sousa Santos, 2011). Scholars from multiple disciplines, who either self-identify with or acknowledge the influence of BRT scholars, employ its critical lens, drawing on global, national, and local socio-political formations to examine macro and micro-level phenomena.

The overlapping concepts that frame the BRT are discussed at length in chapter two; they help to provide critical insight into aspects of this study. As this thesis will illustrate by documenting young people and EiE practitioners' experiences, forcibly displaced youth are heterogeneous, and their educational trajectories, or journeys, are marked by global and local forces, both historical and present. However, whilst I engage with decolonial thinkers, I am keen not to position myself or this work as a 'decolonising' project. As scholars Tuck and Yang (2012) argue in their seminal article, the broad brush application of the term 'decolonising' dilutes its political meaning for Indigenous people in colonised countries, such as the United States, where the term is brought into play in the context of struggles around land repatriation. Another scholar, Olufemi. Taiwó (2022) warns against the elite appropriation of these theoretical concepts, which can be mobilised without radical transformation. Olufemi Taiwó also critiques the term, arguing that the widespread use of decolonisation for cultural and ideological scholarship denies the history and agency of countries that were formerly colonised and have been, in his opinion, sovereign states for decades (2022).

In Education and International development, decolonial discourses have also been critiqued. For example, Edwards Vickers took umbrage with a special issue of the *Comparative Education Review* (CER) journal on the theme of 'contesting coloniality,' deeming the 'highly generalising claims regarding the nature and significance of Western "coloniality," uninformed by any balanced comparative analysis of colonialism as a historical phenomenon' (2020, p. 166).

To a certain extent, this thesis partly responds to some of the critiques above. Notwithstanding, many overlapping genealogies exist between the BRT and decolonial discourse. As will be seen in chapter four, this thesis will demonstrate that when examining educational experiences in South Sudan and Sudan, formerly colonised countries may appropriate and reproduce the structures, hierarchies, values, and epistemic violence of their colonisers. Like decolonial scholarship, the BRT challenge the epistemological framings of education and aid and the assumptions that colonialism has ended, as will be discussed further in chapters two and three.

In chapters two and three, I show how by applying key concepts and theories that frame the intellectual thought of the BRT, this thesis troubles hegemonic narratives

around the EiE sector's inception, in addition to acknowledging critical inquiry as praxis (Collins & Bilge, 2020). Embedding intersectionality as an analytical lens invites recognition of forcibly displaced youth as dynamic catalysts, constituted by varied and sometimes contradictory and intersecting identities (Patel, 2022). In doing so, alternative narratives of EiE emerge, highlighting diverse types of educational aid that are possible and necessary. Finally, guided by critical scholars' reflections on citation practices (Mott & Cockayne, 2017), where possible, I have sought to expand conceptual framings and referencing practices by citing intellectuals that contribute to the BRT's continuation, as well as scholars from forcibly displaced backgrounds. My citational practice intentionally seeks to redress prevailing citation exclusion that is detrimental to the recognition, credibility and visibility of those relegated to the margins of academia. This has included referencing early career scholars, thesis, online academic contributions (e.g. twitter, blogs and podcasts) alongside academic journals and books.

1.6.1 Research design and locality

For this study, I chose to do multi-sited and multi-scalar research, working with forcibly displaced youth in South Sudan, Jordan, the United Kingdom (UK), and EiE practitioners across many geographical contexts. The multi-sited research design was chosen first to capture the complexity of interactions between global and local forces, to 'reveal systemic education inequity, levers for change and exceptional spaces of resistance' (Fine, 2018, p. 96), and to complement the conceptual framing of the BRT, whereby scholars such as Robinson (2021) foreground a systemic approach to inquiry.

Secondly, as the INEE definition outlined, emergencies are diverse. For example, today, South Sudan and Jordan host some of the largest protracted refugee camps in the world (UNHCR, 2022b, 2022a), whilst forced migration remains a contentious topic in the UK, where a hostile political environment has produced the most stringent policies toward people seeking asylum, and in the process, impacting on their education trajectories in myriad ways (El-Enany, 2020; Hill, 2017). Through incorporating the perspectives of forcibly displaced young people living in a protracted refugee camp setting in a conflict-affected country such as South Sudan, in urban cities in a low-middle income country such as Jordan, or within the UK, one of the wealthiest countries in the world that is positioned as a resettlement context-whereby forcibly displaced people, upon being granted asylum can rebuild their lives, this study's design

is attentive to the heterogeneity of displacement settings. As such it pushes back on tendencies (discussed in chapter two) within EiE literature to homogenise and universalise education experiences.

Additionally, although the three locations are disparate geographies and seem irreconcilable, Jordan, South Sudan, and the UK are connected through intertwined histories of British imperialism. Furthermore, although Jordan and South Sudan are frequent sites of study for EiE, I also included the UK as a site of study for EiE, heeding critique in forced migration and EiE literature that studies of displacement are Eurocentric and racialised (Bhambra, 2017), for they fail to account for migration from South to South (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2015), and conceptually exempt locations such as the UK as sites for EiE.

The Covid-19 pandemic partly enabled the move toward multi-sited research. Before this, it would have been challenging to obtain ethical approval to conduct face-to-face research in conflict-affected settings, such as South Sudan. In the absence of opportunities to travel, I conducted my research virtually. As discussed in chapter three, I adapted the learnings and methods from the pilot project for my PhD research, creating a digital storytelling action research (DSAR) praxis, informed by the BRT and CPAR, that I was able to facilitate virtually. I chose the three contexts as they are locations where I have previously worked and lived as an EiE practitioner. As a result, I had a good grasp of the broader context and contacts with gatekeeper organisations.

Notably, although I describe this study as taking place over three sites, as the findings in chapters 4-7 indicate, 60 participants from 12 multiple countries referred to multiple contexts in their narratives of educational experience, underlining the multi-sited nature of this study in the term's broadest sense.

1.7 Organisation of thesis

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters. In this introductory chapter, I have introduced the theoretical framework on which the study is based, outlined the development of my interest in EiE, provided background information about the research rationale and indicated what I set out to achieve in this study and how. The remaining chapters are organised as follows.

Chapter 2 further expands on this study's theoretical and conceptual frameworks. In this chapter, I outline some critical intellectual threads within the BRT. I then discuss convergences and overlaps with other currents within academia, such as decoloniality. Finally, following a theoretical grounding in the BRT, I discuss their relevance to EiE and young people's educational experiences.

Chapter 3 accounts for the research design and methodology used in this research. In this chapter, I discuss why critical participatory action research upholds and enables some of the theoretical concepts outlined by BRT. I provide a detailed overview of the research participants/co-researchers and the recruitment procedures, data collection, analysis and ethical considerations outlined.

Chapter 4 focuses on the findings of forcibly displaced youth from Sudan, now residing in a refugee camp in South Sudan and pursuing distance-learning diplomas and degrees. Using the conceptual BRT framework, the chapter begins with an overview of the context of forced displacement in South Sudan. Next, learners discuss their educational experiences before and during displacement. Lastly, examples of resistance are highlighted, documenting how young people navigate limited opportunities and leverage broader support networks that have enabled their educational trajectories.

In Chapter 5, the study reports the research findings derived from the experiences of young people who attend higher education preparation courses and distance learning in Jordan. As in the previous chapter, I adopt the BRT's assertion that researchers be attentive to structural forces and begin with an overview of the socio-political landscape of displacement in Jordan. Next, this chapter reveals how intersecting identity markers such as race and gender influence educational experiences prior to displacement and upon arrival in Jordan. In addition, young people reflect on how colonial legacies influence educational aid provision.

Chapter 6 reports the research findings related to young, forcibly displaced youth' now situated in the UK and attending a civil society-led course in preparation for further and higher education. Again, framing the chapter through a BRT lens, I begin with an overview of the UK's socio-political landscape towards displacement, both domestically and internationally. Next, I discuss the findings revealing how

immigration status, racism, Islamophobia, and other forms of othering intersect with a hostile environment policy and influence education experiences.

Chapter 7 concludes the findings chapters. Taking into consideration the BRT conceptual framing, this chapter reveals the systemic forces of education inequity and resistance across the three previous chapters to enrich the understanding of EiE. This chapter also introduces the perspectives of EiE practitioners to provide further insight into the structural dynamics that shape and restrain EiE for displaced youth.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis and summarises the major findings before presenting the study's implications for research and practice. Finally, I outline the research limitations before recommending further research and practice.

1.8 Significance of contributions to EiE, forced migration and humanitarian aid scholarship

As a form of critical inquiry, the DSAR methodology is unique to the field of EiE. To date, few studies have disrupted the meta-narratives of forcibly displaced youth by irradiating how context, situatedness, coloniality, race, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality intersect with other identities to shape youth educational experiences in emergencies. Furthermore, few studies draw on multi-model approaches that facilitate a deep understanding of the broader EiE ecosystem. Even fewer studies encompass the perspectives of youth and EiE stakeholders within a broader analysis attentive to global and national forces. Consequently, this study addresses a gap in the literature on humanitarian aid and EiE by offering fresh insights into the humanitarian aid field at a time when the sector is reckoning with itself.

The DSAR approach offers critical insights for policy and practice. When global displacement is at an all-time high, incorporating those traditionally excluded from research and design practice is critical. Moreover, as race, racialisation, and othering due to a wide range of identity markers form a part of many youths' lived realities, there lies a responsibility to disrupt the silence and invisibility of diversity in displacement contexts and this study makes a modest contribution towards addressing this gap. Further studies that embrace multi-sited, multi-model and systemic inquiry would

promote and strengthen the EiE and forced migration field's interdisciplinary scholarship and make clear why systemic change is necessary.

This thesis demonstrates that addressing education and marginalisation is complex. First, it insists that intersectionality matters in EiE, as people's educational experiences constitute interrelated and mutually reinforcing barriers and opportunities. Secondly, by applying critical BRT concepts such as racial capitalism, abolition and fugitivity (discussed in chapters two, three and eight), this thesis demonstrates the present continuity of a myriad of external and historical forces shaping education. In addition, the thesis highlights how people contest, challenge and devise alternative futures beyond the narrow parameters set by external stakeholders rooted in colonial legacies and concepts of what is possible. Finally, by bridging critical theory with EiE, the thesis details future perspectives of what transformative education for young people could look like by undoing and redistributing power, recentring and valuing the diversity of young people's educational experiences, and their future aspirations in humanitarian contexts.

Chapter 2 Reframing EiE through the Black radical tradition

2.1 Introduction

This literature review chapter introduces the Black radical tradition (BRT) as an epistemological and ontological praxis providing the tools Lorde seeks to question, disturb, and dismantle the foundations of an institutionally racist EiE sector and hence reveal the logics that upheld them for so long.

This chapter is organised into three parts. In part one, I provide an overview of the rich and deep interdisciplinary and international corpus of theoretical work within the BRT. As will become evident in the first part of this chapter, Black radicalism is not a singular, concrete, and clearly defined theory. Central to its primary theoretical framings are concepts and ideas that include racial capitalism, abolitionist thought, fugitivity, critical race theory, and culturally sustaining pedagogies; together, these are

invaluable in providing the knowledges that enable me to achieve the aims set of this research.³ These different yet overlapping and intersecting contributions, as deployed by the BRT, enable a multi-faceted exploration of the phenomenon under study, complementing each other and strengthening the case for EiE inquiry to apply multi-method, multi-disciplinary, multi-scalar approaches. A BRT interpretation demonstrates the interconnected, broader, and systemic contours of EiE, firmly positioning the field as an outcome of global forces and their local effects. Whilst it may be an ambitious endeavour to consider multiple tributaries of Black radicalism within this literature review, the dearth of EiE scholarship informed by Black radical scholarship warrants engagement with such critically engaged research, which, as the chapter will outline, has been an enduring weapon against racial regimes.

Part two of this chapter explores existing EiE scholarship through the BRT. In this section, I draw on the conceptual framing outlined in section one to review existing literature, identifying gaps and shortcomings within EiE research on intersectionality, racial capitalism, fugitivity and abolition. As the literature will demonstrate, reviewing the field through the polyvocal lens of the BRT gives insight into how hegemonic narratives shape EiE research and the broader sector. In addition, the conceptual framing demands a shift from viewing the field through the myopic lens of a particular organisation to examining the EiE system.

The chapter concludes that current EiE research cannot be the engine for social transformation without offering a radical epistemological challenge to epistemic injustice and sets us on a path to re-imagining a world where EiE becomes redundant.

2.2 The Black Radical Tradition (BRT)

In Robinson's ground-breaking *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, first published in 1983, Black radicalism emerges as a tradition of heterogeneous intellectual and activist inquiry emerging from African culture, languages, and beliefs (2021). However, as Johnson and Lubin point out, although there is some engagement with and criticism of Marxism, central to the book is the

³ Intersectionality also stems from the BRT and is discussed in chapter three in detail.

insistence that there exists a Black radical tradition (BRT) in contestation of capitalism (2017, p. 11). Robinson argues that the BRT was informed by historical 'struggles or liberation and motivated by the shared sense of obligation to preserve the collective being, the ontological totality' (2021, p. 171) Robinson's *Black Marxism* documents 500 years of struggle and resistance to oppression; he understood the study of history to be an essential part of anti-colonial theorising against epistemic and systemic erasure of the plethora of individual, spiritual, and collective endeavours that challenged enslavement and other oppressive systems. He also conceptualised struggle in far broader senses; resistance appeared in multiple forms, revolt and revolution being but two modes. Robinson noted, 'when separation was not possible; open revolts might fester, where rebellion was immediately impractical, the people prepared themselves through obeah, voodoo, Islam, and Black Christianity' (2021, p. 310). Cultural traditions, beliefs, and values not only excited rebellion, but their existence, demonstrated how enslaved populations maintained an ontology, despite imperialism, is also positioned as an essential part of the BRT (Thomas, 2019). For Thomas (2019), 'the [BRT] is a collection of cultural, intellectual, action-oriented labour aimed at disrupting social, political, economic, and cultural norms originating in anticolonial and antislavery efforts.'

As Kehinde Andrews suggests, the BRT is often erroneously understood as being of relevance only to the US condition; Andrews prefers to view the BRT as a 'politics of revolution, seeking to overturn the system of Western imperialism that oppresses the Black population worldwide' (2014, p. 6). Similarly, as a conceptual framing, in the preface to *Black Marxism*, Kelley, notes that Robinson centres 'on the colonial territories, marginalized coloured people of the metropolitan centres of capital, and those identified by Frantz Fanon⁴ as the 'wretched of the earth.'" (Robinson, 2021, p. xii). Black Marxism forces the reader to scrutinise modernity from the standpoint of those who lost everything due to colonial incursions, domination, and imperialism (Lentin, 2021). As such, the BRT is a critique of Eurocentricity congruent with

⁴ Franz Fanon, a psychoanalyst, was an important postcolonial and decolonial thinker; he was originally from the former French colony of Martinique (now an overseas department of France), but later became involved in the Algerian independence movement. In his seminal groundbreaking texts such as *Wretched of the Earth* and *Black Skins, White Masks*, Fanon incisively detailed the economic and psychological impacts of imperialism, as well as the internalisation of colonialism by both colonisers and the colonised. He was deeply connected to the independence leaders, and in a powerfully delivered speech at the All-African People's Congress held in Accra, Ghana, in 1958, Fanon exhorted delegates to adopt *all* forms of struggle, and not rely alone on peaceful negotiations. His painfully drawn description of colonised people as the 'wretched of the earth' has since been employed by many scholars in framing critical approaches to subjugated populations. See Rabaka (2009) for further readings and references to Fanon's canon of work, and his pivotal contributions to African independence movements.

decolonial scholarship that advances an epistemology that boldly critiques Eurocentric universalism (Lentin, 2021).

Robinson's *Black Marxism* paid homage to a long historical canon of authors such as W.E.B. Du Bois⁵, C.L.R. James⁶ and Richard Wright.⁷ Whilst their scholarship does not represent an exhaustive list of contributors to the BRT, 'their lives and circumstances were prisms of the events impending on and emanating from the Black radical tradition' (Robinson, 2021, p. 59). Moreover, their work highlighted the existence of a Black radical historiography, which could be defined as a radical re-conceptualisation of historical moments informed by the actions and movements of people at the margins of history (2021). For instance, in *Silencing the Past*, Rolph-Michel Trouillet dissects how power operates in history. One tool of disrupting how power flows in the narratives that are told about oppressed and oppressors is the erasure of particular groups; one such example is the erasure of the Haitian revolution⁸ from historical books; the world's only successful revolution to be led by enslaved Africans, whose since 1791 had waged an enduring militaristic revolt against French colonial power. When Haiti's self-liberated Africans eventually secured victory over one of Europe's mightiest powers, they propelled Haiti into historical narratives as the first republic in the western hemisphere. Trouillet argues that the elision from world narratives of such a cataclysmic event that shook the world leads us to understand how silencing enters historical production. He outlines four crucial moments; the moment of fact creation, the moment of fact assembly or archives, the moment of fact retrieval or making of narratives, and the moment of retrospective significance (Trouillot, 1995, p. 26). Robinson, Trouillet and other critical historical inquiries within the BRT underline hidden histories and highlight how past conditions continue to shape the present.

⁵ W.E.B. Dubois was a pioneering US-born Black sociologist, historian, and civil rights activist, at the turn of the 20th century. His research focus on racism, enslavement and capitalism was expansive and transnational. See Robinson (2021) for further reading.

⁶ C.L.R James was a Trinidadian scholar, most famous for his magisterial work *The Black Jacobins*, 's first published in 1938. This was a seminal work and comprehensively closely drawn account of the history of the Haitian revolution. James' recuperative scholarship demonstrated how seismic world-changing events could be written out of history by hegemonic colonial powers. See Robinson (2021) for further reading and references to his literature.

⁷ Richard Wright was a Black author from Mississippi, US, who used literary form as a method to critique Marxism and to explore the possibilities of Black nationalism. Wright's work illustrates the multidisciplinary of the BRT. See Robinson (2021) for further reading and references to his work.

⁸ When Haiti's self-liberated Africans eventually secured victory over one of Europe's mightiest powers, they propelled Haiti into historical narratives as the first republic in the western hemisphere; yet this narrative has been widely erased from world history. The Haitian revolution set off a chain of reverberations that would lead eventually to the end in 1807 of the centuries long transatlantic trade in humans. Historians are in no doubt that it was the Haitian Revolution that paved the way for the liberation of hundreds of thousands of enslaved peoples throughout the English-speaking Caribbean region, just over two decades later, in 1834, as well as supporting independence movements in Latin America. See Trouillet (1995) for further reading and references.

Robinson asserted that the BRT was expansive, dialectical, and informed by the anti-colonial and liberatory revolutionary struggles for Africa, the Caribbean, and the Americas. Furthermore, he saw the importance of plurality, arguing that it was 'not the province of one people to be the solution or the problem' (Robinson, 2021, p. 318). However, he noted, referring to the current state of the world, that 'a civilization maddened by its perverse assumptions and contradictions is loose in the world.' A BRT formed in opposition to that civilization and conscious of itself is one part of the solution' (Robinson, 2021, p. 318). Robinson's assertion demands that scholars acknowledge the polyvocality of resistance. Read in this light, the BRT represents a tradition of scholarship that is grounded in a commitment to securing social justice and one that calls for 'viewing individuals as products of historical forces and radical social movements' (Johnson & Lubin, 2017, p. 25).

Robinson's critical engagement with Marxist thought and his conceptualisation of racial capitalism⁹ reveals him to be a scholar deeply concerned with understanding and revealing how people's lives were mutually informed and shaped by macro and micro-level phenomena. He insisted that the forced migration of enslaved Africans formed the contours of civic and social life in the Americas, Europe, and Africa and peeled back the layers of coloniality to display an economic world system sustained by racial hierarchies. Robinson prompts us to perceive the BRT as a branch of intellectual inquiry that understands the pivotal role of racial capitalism's grounding within a transnational, world-systems approach. As global inequities continue to widen, racial capitalism as a conceptual framing has been expanded upon as scholars turn towards analyses of capitalism and race as iterative and mutually constitutive historical structures; they also delineate how institutions actively produce, sustain, and reproduce racial power relations as an integral component of the systemic logic of historical capitalism (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Gilmore, 2007; Lentin, 2021). Furthermore, racial capitalism is not necessarily Western; it exists globally (Bhattacharyya, 2018).

As an analytical lens, racial capitalism is congruent with critical forced migration studies. Robinson connected with 'the appearance of literally millions of Black refugees' (2021, p. 318) and how racial capitalism creates the conditions of

⁹ Although Cedric Robinson was not the first person to coin the word 'racial capitalism,' Black Marxism was one of the first studies to use the term as a world systems approach, e.g not location-specific to understand capitalism. For Robinson, all capitalism is racial capitalism.

dispossession and displacement. Scholars like Walia (2013, p. 4) argue that any study of forced migration should include racial capitalism within its inquiry frame. Walia is adamant that if former colonial powers like the UK and the USA refuse to engage in fair trade or to impose policies restricting domestic investment in national services in formerly colonised countries, migration appears to be the only feasible option in the face of deteriorating living conditions (2013; 2021). Contemporary trans- and interdisciplinary work in the BRT builds upon insights from abolitionists, feminists, anti-colonial scholars, and Marxist thinkers (Michael J. Viola et al., 2019, p. 6), foregrounding the macro-level phenomena of structural racism alongside its micro-level and intersectional formations.

However, attention to the workings of power and structural racism calls for scholars to examine how people and movements counter such oppression. At every historical juncture, people and communities have resisted domination; it is by confronting systems of oppression that new possibilities emerge. Within the BRT, resistance to racial capitalism has emerged through a constellation of practices from social movements, subversion, fugitive acts, and intellectual inquiry to counter white supremacy and escape enslavement (Robinson, 2020; Johnson & Rubin, 2017). As a conceptual framing, Black radicalism holds renewed significance in the twenty-first century; the resurgence of social protests for racial justice underscores how contemporary capitalism relies upon the elaboration, reproduction, and exploitation of racial difference (Johnson & Lubin, 2017, p. 14). For example, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, which sparked the INEE's statement on racial inequity discussed in chapter one, builds upon an extensive line of resistance to racial inequity, according to Robinson, being 'an accretion, over generations, of collective intelligence gathered from struggle' (Robinson, 2021, p. I).

2.2.1 Abolition

One of the earliest examples of collective daring to imagine an alternative to racial capitalism are the abolitionist actions of enslaved populations and the broader movement against plantation slavery across the Americas and the Caribbean. With dominant narratives, the abolition of slavery is often portrayed as a repentant, benevolent act bestowed by governments at the behest of white and free people's

campaigning rather than the outcome of enduring rebellions, fugitive acts, and, in the case of Haiti, the violent overthrow of its oppressors and establishment of an independent nation (Trouillot, 1995). For enslaved peoples, one of the most widely practised acts of resistance was escaping through physical and psychic forms of flight. Robinson intentionally used the idea of fugitivity to describe escaped enslaved people, to counter infantilising language and demonstrate enslaved populations' agency (2017, p. 3). In addition, enslaved populations dared to dream by reinforcing cultural and spiritual traditions, establishing fugitive maroon communities, and creating radically different lives from the racial capitalist system they endured. Escaping slavery came to be seen as an abolitionist act because abolition, at its core, demands not only the end of racism but the abolition of a capitalist order that 'extracts life from Black bodies... dehumanises all workers whilst colonising indigenous lives and incarcerating surplus bodies' (Johnson & Lubin, 2017, p. 12).

Today, the abolitionist tradition of resistance has resurfaced as scholars and activists seek to eliminate imprisonment, policing, and surveillance and create lasting alternatives to punishment and imprisonment. In recent years, abolitionist thought has resurfaced in the academic lexicon with currents within education to decolonise knowledge (Bhambra et al., 2018). In addition, abolitionist frameworks inform critical humanitarian scholarship, drawing attention to the existence, persistence and widely unchallenged presence of refugee encampments and hostile bordering practices that are seen as an extension of surveillance, warehousing of surplus populations, and imprisonment (Brankamp, 2021). Within critical border studies, these spaces are increasingly referred to as carceral geographies, '[s]paces in which individuals are confined, subjected to surveillance, or otherwise deprived of essential freedoms' (Herbert, 2009, p. 64). Yet as Ruth Gilmore Wilson points out, 'abolition geographies' also exist, these are the diverse 'place-making' and 'space-changing' actions people take to contest the distinct ways racial capitalism disenfranchises and subjugates them (2017a, p. 232). Notably, and as shall be returned to later in this chapter, abolition is not merely concerned with critiquing the status quo; as Ruth Gilmore Wilson explains, 'it is about building radically different futures and life-affirming institutions (Gilmore Wilson, 2017a).

Wilson Gilmore uses the example of how anticolonial movements employed education to build life-affirming institutions and as a way of 'articulating possible

futures' by reconceptualising education, noting its critical role in developing a new consciousness (Gilmore Wilson, 2017a, p. 233). However, connecting abolitionist thinking to EiE prompts a significant challenge to the dominant discourse within the field. Education is frequently positioned as the way to achieve equality, progress, and economic growth or as a protective and 'life-saving' force (Burde et al., 2016). However, as Gerrard et al. (2022) posit, education has been central to the global production and reproduction of racial inequalities. It is inextricably tied to reinforcing racial capitalism- 'it is how education has built its house' (Gerrard et al., 2022, p. 437). From this perspective, Gerrard et al.'s (2022) critique of the education system proposes that it is the opposite of life-affirming for many people. It would follow, therefore, that applying abolitionist thought to EiE could be considered fundamental to the field. Yet tensions between these positions are evident and shall be examined in part two of this chapter.

2.2.2 Fugitivity

According to Coles et al. (2021), 'fugitivity and abolition are not mutually exclusive', and as the previous section outlined, they 'are often employed in tandem in efforts to dismantle and free oneself from systems of negligence'(Coles et al., 2021, p. 104). Building on Robinson's (2021) conceptualisation of fugitivity, Coles et al. (2021, p. 105) broaden and connect the concept to education, considering it 'an act of escaping the status quo through various' forms of disengagement, and reluctance to confront repressive regimes that are harmful to the social and academic well-being of historically and more recently oppressed students, to conceive and construct freedom.

It is necessary to understand the centrality of fugitivity and education, alongside racial capitalism and abolition, to forced migration and EiE studies. Firstly, not only did these notions capture the act of struggling against borders and oppression; fugitivity also 'challenges the definition of "refugee" or "migrant" as an all-encompassing identity' (Sikka, 2020); as discussed in chapter one, repudiates agency, and entrenches ahistorical framings of displacement. Similarly, Harsha Walia deploys a fugitive approach to frame her text *Border and Study*, in which she traces the contemporary architecture of border controls to historical 'anti-Black technologies regulating mobility' (2021, p. 28). Walia documents how the eighteenth-century colonial government first introduced certificates of freedom for freed Black people and passes to be carried by

enslaved people to scrutinise, regulate and monitor Black peoples' movement in the US (2021, p. 29). For Walia, the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, which she describes as a form of spatial control deployed to criminalise enslaved people, crossing state borders in search of sanctuary from slavery, laid the foundations for border policing and immigration enforcement that continues into the twenty-first century (Harsha Walia, 2021, p. 29). Sadiya Hartman's widely discussed work on what she terms (cited in Walia, 2021, p. 31) the 'afterlife of slavery' makes visible hostile bordering practices that devalue life, grounded - on racial logic that creates 'skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration and impoverishment.' The imposition of immigration borders is emblematic of just one form of Hartman's afterlife, an enduring legacy of slavery, colonialism and imperialism, and is highly relevant for a study that engages with forcibly displaced populations.

Hartman's concept of 'after lives' pushes us to reflect on how racial capitalism, fugitivity, and abolition as paradigms interact to shape education in numerous ways. For example, descendants of the enslaved population in the Americas practised what Givens calls 'fugitive pedagogy', the pursuit of learning despite widespread prohibitions and 'in the face of physical violence and intensely racist intellectual and ideological currents' (2021, p. 16). Today, educational scholars engaging with fugitivity as a conceptual framing argue that it offers a 'site of possibility for educational theorising, curriculum development, and pedagogical practice' (Kazembe, 2018, p. 146). As a paradigm, fugitive pedagogy calls for exposing the physical and symbolic violence endemic to the current ordering of knowledge and its social arrangements, demanding something radically different (Givens, 2021, p. 272).

Stovall reminds us, too, that 'many of us were educated in fugitive spaces that go unnoticed' (Stovall, 2017, p. 337). Stovall draws on examples, such as historical uprisings by enslaved populations and contemporary movements, such as the Zapatistas¹⁰, to the BLM as creating radical learning spaces. He also amplifies the wisdom of elders, teachers, and community members and provides knowledge far removed from formal schooling, focusing on order and compliance as opposed to education (Stovall, 2018, p. 146). Fugitive spaces, therefore, is a praxis that 'dismantles

¹⁰ The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (E.Z.L.N.) rose to prominence in 1994, when the guerrilla movement in Chiapas, Mexico declared multiple municipalities as autonomous. Alongside providing a wide range of basic services, the Zapatistas also set up autonomous schools aimed to protect indigenous culture, values and languages, and to provide an education which was relevant to the rural context (Shenker, 2012).

the current conditions—that which might abolish the current ways of being that continue to dehumanize' marginalised groups (Stovall, 2018, p. 146). Furthermore, although not always conceptualised, fugitivity within modern education systems 'takes myriad forms, including school truancy, gender nonconformity, border crossing, and prison abolition' (Quan, 2017, p. 185). These examples of hidden pedagogies and hidden educators, for example, the roles elders play in educating young people, will be discussed in part two of this chapter and exemplified in subsequent chapters presenting the research findings.

2.2.3 Critical race theory and pedagogy

One way that education draws on the theoretical concepts discussed earlier is through critical race theory (CRT). Formed within the legal scholarship movement in the United States in the 1980s, CRT offered a paradigmatic shift in mainstream discourse that positioned racism as an individual act, bias, or prejudice, rather than being deeply embedded within legal systems, frameworks, and policies. William Tate (1997) argued that law and education have a 'paradigmatic kinship', as 'both educational research and legal structures contribute to existing belief systems and legitimising social frameworks and policy that result in educational inequities (p.197). The paradigm is constructed by 'political, scientific, and religious theories relying on racial characterisations and stereotypes' that legitimise stratification (Tate IV, 1997, p. 199).

In the 1990s, scholars such as Gloria Ladson-Billings (1998) applied CRT to educational research and practice, examining how structures of racism mutate to reproduce educational inequity both in and out of educational spaces. Other scholars have since expanded the CRT framework. For example, Latino Critical theory (LatCrit) emerged as a response to a growing Latino scholarship in the US, asserting that racism, classism, and sexism are experienced amidst other identity markers that lead to subordination, such as 'sexuality, language, immigration status, accent, phenotype' (Yosso, 2005, p. 72). Theoretical framings such as CRT evoke counter-hegemonic, counter-storytelling standpoints to Eurocentric ways of knowing and offer critical insights into power and the production of history, as evidence suggests that those facing oppression are often written out or silenced by global narratives. Over the past several decades, critical approaches to pedagogy have developed within education studies in response to the multiple issues rendered visible through CRT.

One example of critical pedagogies to have emerged from education scholarship informed by CRT is culturally sustaining or relevant pedagogies (Paris, 2021). As defined by Paris & Alim (2017), culturally sustaining educational approaches build upon decades of asset-based pedagogical approaches that educators embed in their practice to affirm and connect to students' cultural backgrounds. Culturally sustaining pedagogies are often framed as the practical application and continuum of CRT, as pedagogy is positioned as a medium for acknowledging and challenging structural inequities. Moreover, cultural-sustaining and asset-based (CSAB) methodologies reject narratives of deficiency that are often assigned to marginalised groups in educational spaces. Instead, CSAB pedagogy seeks to perpetuate, foster, and sustain linguistic and cultural pluralism, unsettling knowledge inequities and valuing distinct knowledge traditions (Paris & Alim, 2017).

An often-cited example of CSAB is Yosso's (2005) conceptualisation of community cultural wealth (CCW). Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital¹¹, where the knowledge of the upper and middle classes is considered capital in a hierarchical society (citing Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977 in Yosso, 2005, p.70), Yosso challenged dominant ideologies in the US that Black and Latinx students entered schools with a cultural deficit due to their socio-economic positioning in society. She developed an alternative framework of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005, p. 71). Yosso defined six forms of cultural wealth that, if drawn upon by educators, can help socially marginalised students 'experience college from an appreciative standpoint: aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistance.' (2005, p. 83). These pedagogical approaches are particularly relevant to education for forcibly displaced youth as they centre the learner and disrupt the tendency highlighted in chapter one of erasing the skills and knowledge people develop and bring as a consequence of being displaced. Furthermore, reframing learning spaces to recognise the talents, strengths, and experiences that forcibly displaced students bring to their higher education environment resists normative epistemologies that may further marginalise them (Paris & Alim, 2017). Notwithstanding, as the next section will outline, these approaches are often met with resistance.

¹¹ Within the field of sociology of education, much has been written about Bourdieu. He described the power was intricately tied to cultural capital. Children born into middle-class families were more likely to succeed in school because their knowledge, culture and attitudes were seen as an asset, or capital. Educators also viewed the cultural capital that middle classes brought to the classroom as an asset, which also attributes to their achievement in school. See (Boronski & Hassan, 2020) for further references to Bourdieu's work.

2.2.4 Critique of and backlash against BRT

Through rendering visible racial capitalism and histories of struggle against its imposition, Black radicalism offers an 'invaluable tradition of knowledge production that, if engaged and built upon, holds the potentiality for racial capitalism's ultimate undoing' (Michael Joseph Viola, 2021, p. 2). It is unsurprising, therefore, as Robin D.G. Kelley notes in Cedric Robinson's *Black Marxism*, that challenges to the status quo bring 'us to the precipice of fascism' (2021, p. xii). Post-racial ideologies that deny the existence of structural racism have gathered pace in the USA, the UK and France, where critical race theory has increasingly been subjected to demonisation because of its insistence that systemic inequities with education are acknowledged and dismantled. The UK's Education Bill, for example, was updated in 2022 whereby 'selecting and presenting information to make unsubstantiated accusations against state institutions', such as structural racism or anti-capitalist materials and 'promoting divisive or victim narratives that are harmful to British society' became a punitive act (Holmswood, 2022). These revisions have been interpreted as a veiled critique against CRT-informed teaching. (Holmswood, 2022).

Resistance to change, CRT's attention to counter-storytelling and Trouillet's demonstration of how knowledge is lost and intentionally erased provide important reminders that a racially-just EiE research agenda and more just research methods will need to deconstruct multiple walls of silence that have occurred at multiple moments. With such charges, EiE intellectual inquiry must be cognizant of the field's situated position, particularly in light of increasing calls for reflection on the epistemological foundations of education and the imperative to excavate hidden histories. The next section of this chapter, informed by the key concepts mentioned above within the BRT, seeks to connect these paradigms to EiE to garner an alternative framing of the field.

It is time to turn to the structures and systems of oppression embedded within EiE that rarely surface due to the colonial gaze of aid (Pailey, 2020; Rutazibwa, 2020); and colonial hierarchies within the EiE sector that determine who narrates the story of the issue, and the solution. In doing so, the chapter will bring to the fore the tensions within which EiE scholarship is crafted.

2.3 Bringing the BRT into conversation with EiE

2.3.1 Racial capitalism and early manifestations of educational aid

As Swartz & Kallaway (2018) sagely note, to understand the nature of our unequal global education system, there is a need to place analysis within a far broader historical context. Similarly, Monaghan (2019) calls for EiE research to consider historical approaches in refugee education research. Nevertheless, historical analysis is not neutral. On the contrary, particular epistemological and ontological views inform historical analysis that can universalise, essentialise, and erase multiple voices. The following example explains why an alternative conceptual framing, informed by the past, is needed in EiE and research.

In the late 2010s, INEE was pivotal in driving EiE research by housing a Journal of EiE and partnering with Dubai Cares, which invested \$10 million in a fund for EiE research (INEE, 2021). However, the limitations of historical research are evident in an EiE timeline launched in 2019 by INEE. The interactive timeline aimed to map the history of EiE by including 'the key interventions, conventions, actors, events, and publications that have shaped the EiE field over the past sixty years' (INEE, n.d.). UN agencies and INGOs are positioned as 'key actors' and attributed their ground-breaking interventions and policies that advanced refugee education over the documented sixty-year period. However, this timeline has multiple absences, as will be seen.

Firstly, over the 70 years covered by the INEE timeline, there are no references to pivotal moments, such as the monumental independence movements that swept the world during the post-World War Two period. No attention has been given to the centrality of education in the post-independence nation-building processes (Tikly, 2019). Furthermore, important cross-regional and multilateral alliances, organised by heads of formerly colonised states —such as the 1955 Bandung Conference, which brought together 29 African and Asian countries whose leaders offered concrete proposals for promoting economic, political, technological, and cultural spheres — (Timossi, 2015) are curiously missing from the INEE timeline.

For example, long before UNHCR's landmark 1985 document on refugee education, which features in the INEE timeline, Libya and Cuba had long supported anti-colonial and liberation movements by providing some former colonies with

educational aid. Since 1959, the Cuban government has granted thousands of students primary, secondary, and higher education scholarships. Scholarship recipients include a range of crisis-affected populations: 600 Sudanese 'lost boys', who arrived in Cuba from Eritrean refugee camps in the 1980s; over 1300 Namibians in the 1990s; several thousand Palestinians; and more than 4000 Sahrawi refugees have pursued secondary and tertiary education programmes in Cuba (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2015). The Cuban medical training programme also extends to students from low-income and marginalised Black and Latinx communities in the USA and beyond (Dubb, 2018). Along with the scholarship, Cuba offers other forms of educational support, such as the '*Yo, Si Puedo*' model for mass adult literacy campaigns; over six million people globally have acquired basic literacy through Cuba's literacy drive (Boughton & Durnan, 2014, p. 325).

National governments, non-state actors (such as Brazil's Landless Workers Movement¹²), and political and social actors in the Global South, including civil society associations, have requested educational support from Cuba (Boughton & Durnan, 2014). These projects are not considered 'aid' but solidarity-based humanitarianism for 'mutual benefit, solidarity, reciprocity and non-interference in the national sovereignty of other states' (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2015, p. 18). While this thesis does not seek to idealise Cuba's political ideologies, their education interventions directly challenge the idea that education aid and 'capacity building' come only from the 'Global North'. Furthermore, it raises the question of why the lengthy histories of Cuba and other nations' educational provision have been 'relegated to the margins, unacknowledged and erased from narratives of refugee education?' (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2015, p. 3).

Fiddian-Quasmiyeh's (2015) study of South-South humanitarian education aid also provokes broader reflections concerning *who* gets acknowledged in history and who is erased, challenging, and interrogating pre-established ideas and conceptual framings of EIE. The erasure of multiple moments (Trouillet, 1995) from the INEE's unilinear historical chronology of the sector is an example of hegemonic power that frames and centres in the West as the legitimate and sole provider of educational opportunities in displacement situations. Moreover, multiple vital global events that

¹² The Brazilian Landless Movement, or *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*, in Portuguese is a movement in Brazil, inspired by Marxism that through land-occupation, seeks to redistribute land to rural workers for small-scale farming and challenge dispossession, extractivism and exploitative land use which they see as being integral to capitalism. See X for further details

have impacted and shaped educational aid have been omitted from the INEE EiE timeline, exemplifying how diffuse forms of cultural domination distort the very nature of knowledge itself. Most notably is the absence of any reference to the demise of colonial empires in the mid-20th century; the forced removal of post-independent socialist-leaning leaders and reinstatement of authoritarian rulers; and the introduction of stabilisation and structural adjustment policies (SAPs)¹³ to curb mounting debt, that shaped 'a global extractive system of debt peonage', which underpins the global education architecture today (Tikly, 2019, p. 71). For example, countries subjected to SAPs 'adopted the global education policy menu and have been forced to comply with international frameworks of action' (Novelli et al., 2014, p. 4). These omissions and silences speak volumes about how the INEE timeline constructs a particular version of history and in doing so, exemplifies 'how the ignorance of the circulation of people, ideas, and emancipatory practices' within formerly colonised countries' preserves the hegemony of the North-South axis' (Vergès, 2021, p. 16). Attention to the historical ties and circuits of power that have shaped and informed EiE is needed.

As this chapter will propose, historical mindedness that builds on and radically critiques the past is essential to ground our understanding of the present and to inform our ability to envisage an equitable future for the sector collectively. Novelli et al. (2014) have long called for the need to link EiE scholarship to the broader political economy of education, including histories of colonialism, which is critical for the sector to address institutional racism. We cannot think about the future without reckoning with the past and the connected histories between coloniality, forced migration and enduring legacies of racial capitalism (Bhambra, 2014, 2017) that impact education systems today.

Re-placing EiE within racialised histories is highly relevant for three key reasons. Firstly, education was a tool of the empire; one Cecil Rhodes believed to be instrumental in 'the extension of British rule throughout the world' (Flint, 1974, p. 252). In her book that focuses on empire and education, Swartz intricately details how education in the UK developed in tandem with education in the colonies and settler-colonial² context (2019). The emerging UK education system, from 1833, was stratified

¹³ Stabilisation and structural adjustment policies (SAP), introduced to formerly colonised countries in the 1980s, included 'a range of measures related to fiscal austerity, deregulating the economy, and opening it up to international competition, rolling back the albeit of state in financing public services and encouraging privatisation' (Tikly, 2019, p. 71).

along the lines of class, with the workhouse, industrial and reform schools for poor and criminal children (2019: 39). Given the UK's highly stratified emerging education system, it is not surprising that a similar system evolved in the colonies.

Swartz suggests that 'stories of colonial education are central to understanding attitudes about difference, whether of class, race, gender or age' (2019, p. 2). Colonisers' perspectives informed the content of colonised people's education on the 'educability' of their subjects, a term understood as a preconceived idea of ability (McLeod & Paisley, 2016; Swartz, 2018). Whilst missionaries in the colonies saw education as a path towards converting enslaved and Indigenous subjects to Christianity; it was also overlaid by economic imperatives to develop a docile, colonised subject. Prosaic and practical knowledge, including numeracy and literacy, were favoured, with state educationists and missionaries drawing on pseudo-scientific discourse that affirmed colonised populations' limited capabilities and educability (McLeod & Paisley, 2016; Swartz, 2019). In addition to the influence of eugenics-style science with its pseudo-scientific proven hierarchy of ability, it was also not in the interest of the colonial power to have a highly formally educated, colonised population that would pose additional challenges against subjugation (Swartz, 2019). Thus, education spaces become central to the global production and reproduction of racial inequalities, inextricably tied to reinforcing racial capitalism (Gerrard et al., 2022). The colonial curriculum was crucial in maintaining these schools' interconnected racial capitalist system, including 'constitutive racial, gendered, and sexual hierarchies' (Fúnez, 2022).

However, defined, education was central to early nineteenth-century humanitarian movements within Britain and its colonies (Swartz, 2019). Although the rationale for and models of colonial education policies varied across colonial formations, colonial education sought to dissociate and dislocate populations from their contexts, perpetuate capitalist individualism, and destroy social solidarity (Rodney, 1972, p. xvii). As a result of rigid ideas about what education should look like and emerging racialised hierarchies that defined what and whose knowledge was valued, 'colonisers failed to recognise when education was already taking place' (Swartz, 2019, p. 5). For example, residential schools that forcibly removed Indigenous populations sprung up across the empire and continued long into the twentieth century in many locations. Kermit O (2022) noted that these missionary schoolhouses and boarding

schools, often designed like prisons, functioned 'as physical and psychological barriers between children, their communities, and the lands which sustained their cultures and livelihoods.' As a cog within racial capitalism, the formal school system severed the connection between humans, the land, and other sentient beings. This type of schooling buttresses the functioning of racial capitalism, which according to Gilmore (cited in Melamed, 2015, p. 78), is a technology of anti-relationality. As Lentin (2021) argues, racial capitalism 'potentiates us for service to capitalist accumulation rather than for the collective enrichment of ourselves, in symbiosis with the earth'. Consequently, as Fúnez (2022) highlights, colonial education had a significant role in maintaining 'learning as primarily a cerebral activity.'

Colonial education spaces also become important sites to 'produce and understand newly colonised subjects' (Swartz, 2019, p. 10). Schools 'became the sites through which the aptitudes—including the bodily and intellectual capacities—of individuals could be measured' by missionaries, researchers, and colonial officials (Swartz, 2019, p. 10). Of importance to this chapter, charity and faith-based non-governmental organisations (NGOs) often managed residential schools (Swartz, 2019), grounding the early foundations of Education and International development with imperial objectives that sought to categorised hierarchies of intellect through metrics and measurements.

Other scholars, such as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (2011), also examined multiple ways that imperial legacies and racism manifested in education and continue to do so. Education was also a tool of empire in other under-acknowledged ways. As Bhambra (2022) argues, the great sweep of institutional building in the 19th and 20th centuries, including the development of the welfare state in the UK, and universal primary education, was only possible due to the funding derived from its colonies through extracting resources, labour and collection of taxes by colonial subjects. Using archival data, Bhambra relates how war and debt-ravaged European countries like the UK used the money that colonies had been obliged to deposit in their banks as part of its colonial fiscal and monetary policy to service Britain's debts (Bhambra, 2022). In return, colonised territories were either lent or given a paltry £40 million; at the same time, their deposits in UK banks were over £250 million; which the British government repurposed to fund its welfare state-building instead of enabling the colonies to use that money for their own needs (Bhambra, 2022a, p. 13). The Colonial Development Act

was passed in 1948, establishing the early formations of today's aid architecture, which obscured the vast wealth colonisers had generated for the metropolis (Bhambra, 2022).

Similarly, in 1949, the US introduced a similar humanitarian aid initiative with its Four Programme (Francis, 2022). While it offered financial support to emerging economies with state and systems building on paper, the programme also placed conditions on aid, including trade tariffs favourable to US interests, products and expertise (Francis, 2022). The conditionality of aid will be discussed further in section four; however, these examples of the ubiquitous link between aid, trade and self-interest are essential to note, yet remarkably barely mentioned in EiE scholarship. For example, as outlined in chapter one, the INEE definition of crises does not consider turmoil and displacement as a result of colonial subjugation, continued Global North extraction and imperialism, or the imposition of IMF policies that limit social development in formerly colonised and often conflict-affected countries. Promisingly, a recent report by Equal 2030 noted that 'the legacy of colonialism and other historical injustices are central to the conditions of poverty, destabilisation, and violent conflict that are barriers to education in emergencies' for millions of children and youth today (Equal Measures 2030, 2022, p. 41). This indicates that for some EiE stakeholders, a tide is shifting towards analysis, recognising the broader dynamics that inform education today.

Secondly, education, international development, and the EiE sector continue to reproduce colonial dynamics through 'elitism, Eurocentric and content-driven curricula, consequently undervaluing indigenous knowledge' (Tikly, 2019, p. 2). Given the acknowledgement of INEE's 'white supremacy' culture (2020) discussed in chapter one, it can be argued that EiE interventions are based on Anglo-European epistemology inherited through the colonial project. This contrasts starkly with Black radicalism, where learning and being inspired by the resistance of others across borders has long shaped the tradition. Andrews describes this as a dialectically evolving form of intellectual inquiry that has travelled back and forth from Africa across the globe, manifesting and informing political movements from Pan-Africanism and postcolonial education initiatives to the Civil rights movements across the Americas (2010, p. 20). Within EiE, the hegemonic positioning of the 'Global North' as the knowledge producer silences the existence of multi-directional learning; or how formerly colonised nations' political ideologies can also shape education policies at the heart of the empire. For example, Ladson-Billings' example of the *Brown vs Board of Education* decision to

desegregate schools for Black and white children in the United States in the 1950s demonstrates the transnationality and power derived from social movements (1998). In her discussion, she argues that the desegregation of schools was not a benevolent act but a deliberate attempt to improve the United States' image with newly emerging independent nations in an effort to 'legitimise the political and economic philosophies and minimise the spread of communism' (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 17).

The *Brown vs Board of Education* case reinforces the need to analyse education policy and practice decision-making beyond national borders while challenging North to South's unidirectional knowledge flow. Moreover, not only should we question why the educational disenfranchisement of marginalised populations in the 'Global North' is not considered an emergency (Shirazi, 2020); the *Brown vs Board* case also presents a counter-hegemonic example of how dissent and resistance have the potential to force educational reform, even in the heart of an empire.

Thirdly, the field of EiE has a dubious historical relationship to colonialism, as Ruth Gilmore Wilson outlines, citing Wolch's paradigm of the 'shadow state,' whereby states and governments' devise intricate and complex ways to influence, co-opt and politically steer non-profits or non-governmental organisations (2017). Historical research indicates that EiE programmes were used for control, surveillance, and military goals, as part of the broader colonial project. For example, during the Kenyan Mau Mau War of Independence (1952-1962), fear that the missionary-inspired schools could become sites of dissent, the British colonial power banned many schools, including the Kenya Teachers College, 'whose campus was converted into a prison camp where proponents of resistance to colonialism were hanged' (Thiong'o, 2011, p. 166). In addition, British colonial authorities established internment camps across Kenya, detaining male children and youth to forestall 'radicalisation' or resistance to colonial rule (Baughn, 2020). A prominent INGO, *Save the Children*, collaborated with the colonial administration to secure funding and manage education programmes within the internment camps (Baughn, 2020).

These archival records, excavated by Emily Baughn, unearth INGOs' hidden histories of collusion with colonial goals and provide alternative views of the sector's earlier incarnations. However, as racial capitalism implores us to recognise, coloniality endures. Today, supporting education in crises enables narratives of 'benevolent

imperialism' to prevail, shrouding the violence of colonial rule and expansionism in the language of humanitarianism', whilst simultaneously positioning military acts as rescuing or liberating others (Shirazi, 2020, p. 60). EiE has become an integral part of the power dynamics of Western humanitarianism, primarily governed by the political interests and funding from governments in the Global North; yet, paradoxically, these same governments are themselves hostile towards receiving refugees and have demonstrated keenness to keep recipients of aid in the Global South (Shuayb & Crul, 2020). Additionally, 'benevolent' imperial powers can quickly retract funding pledges. For example, in 2019, the UK, a self-styled champion of education in crises, pledged to invest £25 million to fund EiE research. However, a couple of years later, the newly created Foreign and Commonwealth Development Office (FCDO) cut vast swaths of humanitarian aid funding, impacting thousands of recipients of educational aid in places like South Sudan (Sparks, 2021). The FCDO's actions illuminate the contradictory nature of aid and how donor decisions are rarely participatory or informed by the needs or desires of recipients.

In addition to the policy and practice of donor countries aligning EiE funding to issues deemed to be in the interest of national security (Department for International Development, 2015), EiE stakeholders have also become complicit in bordering regimes. For example, *Save the Children* is pivotal in the EiE ecosystem as co-lead for the Global Education Cluster, where it coordinates education responses to humanitarian crises alongside UNICEF (Cluster, n.d.). Yet, between 2012-2015, *Save the Children* Australia agreed to provide child protection, EiE, and youth services to Nauru, an island offshore from the mainland where the Australian government detained asylum seekers to deter their migration (Bessant & Watts, 2018, p. 51). Furthermore, the organisation agreed to 'sign-off on certain non-disclosure clauses' and 'other forms of Intellectual property' agreements embedded in the government service contracts' (Bessant & Watts, 2018, p. 51). Only when whistle-blowers 'forced' the organisation's hand did *Save the Children* Australia make 'public disclosures about the conditions in which the inmates lived' (Bessant & Watts, 2018, p. 51). The Nauru example, which involved one of the world's leading INGO agencies for child protection and EiE, demonstrates organisations' controversial, ethically dubious, and complicit positions in providing humanitarian education aid.

Furthermore, border imperialism and 'state practices of migrant detention create huge corporate profits' (Walia, 2013, p. 57). Thus *Save the Children Australia* was willing to sign non-disclosure agreements in exchange for accepting a government service contract, putting profit before advocacy. Moreover, the involvement of INGOs in hostile bordering practices signals the dubious line between the humanitarian imperative and the pursuit of funding, demonstrates prevailing colonial practices, and illustrates how EiE interventions can operate as a shadow state apparatus. EiE's contentious links with other structures of oppression will be discussed further in part three; notwithstanding, racial capitalism's attention to power and structural racism also calls for examining how people and movements counter oppression. Accordingly, the following section will outline how people and communities have resisted domination at every historical juncture.

2.3.2 Fugitivity and EiE

Education became (and continues to be) a central fugitive act 'in the face of physical violence and intensely racist intellectual and ideological currents' (Givens, 2021, p. 16). Taking a fugitive lens, today, fugitive classrooms can be found across conflict zones, from the Nuba Mountains of Sudan, where classes continue in caves despite aerial bombardment (Warren, 2020) or in Afghanistan, where undercover schools for girls seek to subvert the nation-wide ban on post-primary education for girls (Kermani, 2022). These examples illustrate that despite life-threatening consequences, people continue to create 'fugitive spaces' (Harney & Moten, 2013a; Patel, 2019; Stovall, 2020) to learn.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, from a Black radical lens, fugitivity and abolition go hand in hand. For Wilson, abolition 'is about presence, not absence and building life-affirming institutions' (2020). Attending Wilson's assertion of life-affirming institutions and applying an abolitionist and fugitive lens to EiE presents an epistemological challenge. Education has long been touted as an equalising force, yet as earlier examples highlighted, education can be the opposite of life-affirming. Furthermore, narratives that depict peoples' agency or resistance to EiE, for example, teacher and student strikes, are often absent from research. As Okello et al. (2021) commented about the inception of education in the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya:

'UNHCR did not start the schools in the camp. Professor Abdul Aziz did, under a tree. He taught for a decade, although you will find his name in no book.'

The example of Professor Abdul Aziz as an EiE pioneer illuminates the hidden, critical roles that crisis-affected people play in initiating and implementing education initiatives (Bengtsson & Dryden Peterson, 2016). Although communities are the first to help each other during crises, these examples of 'mutual aid'(Spade, 2020) remain excluded from EiE literature. However, the erasure of people's agency from official narratives and archives is not unique to EiE; as Walter Rodney, a formidable Black scholar and social activist, noted, 'historical knowledge' is 'a weapon of struggle' (2019, p. 52). The erasure of individuals, acts and movements (Trouillot, 1995) from official camp narratives calls for broader reflections as to why EiE scholarship and the field, in general, have been reluctant to name and celebrate those beyond INGOs who initiated formal education in crises contexts. Okello et al.'s (2021) example of the erasure of Professor Abdul Aziz from official narratives further underlines that EiE research that fails to attend to historical conjunctures risks becoming analytically irrelevant to understanding educational experiences, disadvantages, and injustices. In turn, counter-hegemonic and transformative agendas will not be able to emerge without a critical reflection on the diverging discourses that shaped the origins of educational aid.

Reinserting people, places, and events back into history is an essential act of contestation, rejecting ahistoricity and overarching narratives of white saviourism, epistemic superiority, and benevolence has been central to black radical scholarship. In recent years, scholars such as Hartman have used critical fabulation 'to (re)write history to fill narrative gaps in archives, honouring ancestors, communities, and people's rightful places in history' (Hartman, cited in Kermit, O. 2022). With such charges, EiE intellectual inquiry must be cognizant of the field's situated position, particularly when there are increasing calls for reflection on the epistemological foundations of education.

2.3.3 Abolitionism and the EiE research industrial complex

Racial capitalism applies a critical historical lens to outline how many forces and interlinking epistemological and socio-economic systems shape contemporary structures. This world-systems approach synergises with former US President Eisenhower's coined phrase 'industrial complex', where he forewarned the risk of military and business interests convening (Gilmore Wilson, 2017a, p. 42). Most recently, Black radical scholar-activists and movements have amplified the term 'the prison industrial complex (PIC)', linking incarceration to racial capitalism's racialised and gendered regime. The PIC considers the overlapping interests of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment to solve economic, social, and political problems, disproportionately impacting communities racialised as Black and Brown (The Critical Resistance, 2022). Moreover, multiple sectors and social movements have applied the 'industrial complex' concept to outline contentious circuits of power that can fabricate needs for the profit of the said industry, including the non-profit sector (Gilmore Wilson, 2017a). For example, humanitarian (Brankamp, 2021) and EiE scholars (Shuayb & Brun, 2021b) have used the concepts of the 'humanitarian aid complex' and 'industrial research complex' to outline the extractive, exploitative nature of aid and knowledge production. Furthermore, while Tikly (2019) does not explicitly use the term 'industrial-complex,' his proposition that education is central to the new imperialism, and a critical aspect of its vision of 'development' for the World Bank and the multilateral development agencies, indicates the sinewy linkages between multi-lateral institutions and educational governance in formerly colonised territories. Some scholars, for example, have argued that power imbalances permeate the field of Education and International development, and education can be used as a tool of colonial domination, neocolonialism, or tied to national interests such as trade and anti-terrorism (Takayama et al., 2017).

However, whilst it is promising that there is a growing body of critical humanitarian inquiry, as Joy James (2021) notes, most of the critical scholarship that seeks to define abolition and the industrial complex is not being generated by the people who are at the margins, but instead by those who are part of the 'academic abolitionism' apparatus. Notwithstanding, the apparatus, in this case, the university, can also be a site of struggle (Paperson, 2017). Referencing the 'industrial complex' removes any

commitment to scholar activism and abolitionist thinking when the term is disassociated from the Black radical interpretation.

An emergent body of studies examining EiE networks, organisations and work cultures offers critical insights into power, positionality, and racial inequity in aid. For example, within EiE, ‘current organisational practices, cultures and belief systems result in actors operating in silos and competing with, rather than working with, each other’(Fleming et al., 2021, p. 35). In addition, Menashy and Zakharia's (2021) longitudinal study on EiE global partnerships revealed the lack of diversity and active participation of non-dominant groups, outlining how major decision-making structures and bodies exclude local organisations and recipients of EiE aid (p.169). Furthermore, they noted that participants felt that the structural changes needed to address white supremacy remained out of reach (Menashy & Zakharia, 2021, p. 169). Whilst the paper did not detail why (or which) participants felt resistance, other studies shed light on the specific dynamics that shape the research industrial complex.

For example, Marchais et al.'s (2020) paper is one of the few studies on whiteness and race and how these conceptualisations operate within humanitarian research. Theoretically grounded in racial capitalism, they outline the demand for large-scale quantitative data collection in conflict-affected areas. Consequently, a research industry has emerged with a subsequent value chain that places white, western researchers at the top, followed by a group of national (i.e., Black and brown) research assistants, enumerators, fixers, and intermediaries whose inputs are often concealed (Marchais et al., 2020). Finally, the research subjects are located at the bottom, usually with the lowest socio-economic positioning, indicating how race and class intersect in complex ways (Marchais et al., 2020, p. 377). Whilst these examples are not EiE specific, Marchais et al.'s (2020) paper offer insight into the dynamics at play as they inform research in conflict-affected settings. Critically, they underline how implicit hierarchies that place different values on the diverse aspects of data collection justify sharp remuneration differences; or assumptions that financial compensation should not a priority for those collating data to support a community project (Marchais et al., 2020, p. 386).

Donor-driven aid EIE responses and unequal power dynamics dominate and can, in turn, flatten critical inquiry, as the objective(s) of the research are intricately 'linked

to the constant flow of data, rather than real engagement with the object and the subjects' (Marchais et al., 2020, p. 387). For example, a recent study in Kenya shows that refugee teachers earn less than 1/10th of the national teachers' salary (Equal Measures 2030, 2022). Notwithstanding, countless EiE research studies focus on teachers' professional well-being and development without considering how stark pay inequities impact performance and motivation. Ironically, the current payment system that shapes aid enables an international EiE data consultant to earn more in one day researching teachers' motivation and well-being in crisis than most refugee teachers earn in a year (Oddy, 2022). Therefore, EiE research projects must be reflexive as to whether they are 'relying on race as a regime of inequality to achieve their ends' (Marchais et al., 2020, p. 389) and contributing to its continuation.

Thirdly, academia and European and North American institutions that produce EiE research are complicit in multiple industrial complexes. As Paperson outlines, universities are machines attached to other machines— for example, war machines, media machines, and governmental and non-governmental policy machines (2017). In settler-colonial nations such as the United States, and centres of the former colonial powers such as the UK, universities have profited directly and indirectly in multiple ways from empire, whether through their investments in the transatlantic slave trade, being situated on unceded Indigenous lands, or through their investments, intellectual work, and partnerships with arms manufacturers; some of their stakeholders have vested interests in conflict or the fossil fuel industries that contribute to climate change, resource scarcity, events that can trigger large scale conflict, violence and displacement.

The relationship between EiE funding—including research funding—and its source is rarely explored; much comes from governments that perpetuate violence, reinforce hostile bordering practices, imprisonment, and the warehousing of surplus populations in detention centres, camps, and bilateral agreements to deter migration. Given these dynamics, it is not surprising that so little funding goes towards EiE, and the bordering of access to further and higher education programmes mirrors the domestic practices of donor countries.

Across EiE scholarship and practice, sites of deprivation, acts of land removal, hostile bordering practices, and state violence that impact marginalised communities

across the 'Global North' are unseen or hegemonically understood, consolidating the 'limitations of the humanitarian imagination' (Shirazi, 2020, p. 76). Even within academic institutions that fund studies on educational disparities in the Global South, dismal attainment gaps and pay inequities for racialised students and staff prevail (Arday et al., 2022). Furthermore, despite the emergence of decolonial discourse, which is often positioned as a means of radically transforming Eurocentric curriculums, it is questionable if these initiatives disrupt, dismantle, and redistribute resources when institutional research funding is derived from donors, and governments, who may be deeply invested in war.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, Sriprakash et al. (2019) noted the Education and International development sector's fixation on standards, metrics, and testing. In EiE, there has been an expansion of INEE working groups focusing on EiE data and assessments. Additionally, donors such as FCDO, USAID and Dubai Cares have invested significant sums into research and learning. Whilst this appears promising, it cloaks the existence of an 'assessment industrial complex' (Tenam-Zemach et al., 2021). Furthermore, funding these assessments and metrics is often ring-fenced for roles in the Global North—that oversee, administrate, design and print assessments, textbooks, and resources. As discussed earlier in this chapter, given the extensiveness of colonial histories of pseudo-science, problematic research, and the self-proclamation by networks such as INEE as to the continuation of white supremacy culture, the drive to categorise and code EiE should be considered from a critical standpoint.

As this section has elucidated, deep structural inequities inform EiE research. This reinforces the importance of self-reflectivity as praxis, as the discourse around structural racism can distance individuals from reflecting on their roles as beneficiaries of racial regimes and actively perpetuating injustice. As the concluding section will suggest, it is time for research agendas to look toward dismantling and imagining a radically different future.

2.3.4 Is it time to abolish EiE?

From the critical scholarship discussed in this chapter, particularly when connected to INGOs, EiE research and practice are often positioned to maintain systems and structures with a designated role in ensuring renewed funding instead of reflecting on and contesting the endurance of coloniality. However, this is not unique to EiE, but

reflective of NGOs in general, as Gilmore Wilson posits in her critique of the non-profit industrial complex, in which she argues that the purpose of a socially-just provision should be to gain liberation, not guarantee organisations' or systems' longevity (Gilmore Wilson, 2017b, p. 51). Wilson's critical reflections on the non-profit sector (more commonly known as the charity sector in the UK) offer salient reflections for EiE. For example, the creation of UN initiatives such as Education Cannot Wait³ or the Geneva Hub for EiE⁴, as well as INGOs that advocate for increased EiE financing, double down on the aid system instead of aligning themselves with movements for debt cancellation and reformation of structural adjustment policies; Tikly (2019) identifies these as crucial causes of the underdevelopment of educational systems in formerly colonized countries. Therefore, the compromised position of aid poses the question: is the sector ripe for abolition?

As a reminder, abolition is a branch of affirmative politics. Monaghan rightly advocates for EiE scholarship to capture the hidden histories of educational aid, 'as camps have and will continue to be established throughout the world,' therefore 'excavating the history of education in camp settings would inform choices going forward' (2019, p. 61). However, an abolitionist lens pushes us to question why camps are inevitable. Whilst this chapter has outlined the importance of revising the epistemological and ontological framing of EiE roots, an important question remains: which knowledge is produced for which audience? Finally, returning to Shirazi's (2020) provocation on the limits of the humanitarian imagination, abolitionist thinking prompts us to consider what kinds of spaces, relationships, ways of knowing, and even what forms of institutions might an abolitionist approach to the EiE field bring into being; increased access to a system that excludes, reinforces social hierarchies, and perpetuates a banking model of education cannot continue to be the primary goal.

For Moten and Harney, fugitive educational spaces are committed not to critiquing and improving the university but to 'abolition as the founding of a new society' (2013a, p. 114). Likewise, for school abolitionists like Kermit O. (2021), school abolition goes beyond reforms towards redesigning 'the many ways adults and young people engage in the co-construction of knowledge, shared struggle, mutual support, and building community toward a vision praxis — of collective liberation'. Similarly, in his paper, Stovall (2018) questions whether education can occur in formal institutions such as schools as they are currently designed. He argues that as a way forward, school

abolition should be 'centred in the activity of students, parents, teachers, and activists to revisit and build an abolitionist future in education' (Stovall, 2018, p. 56).

Notwithstanding, education abolitionists must also grapple with the reality that, at present, most people want and aspire to access existing models of the education system and, in the case of practitioners, the prevailing EiE 'ecosystem' (Fleming et al., 2021). Although exploited, the current system offers monetary support and positions to teachers (sometimes youth themselves) affected by crises (Ring & West, 2015) and other education support roles. Moreover, within the complex EiE ecosystem, hundreds of institutions, agencies, government bodies, coordination mechanisms and policy groups interconnect to support educational access (Burde et al., 2017, Fleming et al., 2021), albeit with massive inequities, facilitating formal and non-formal learning opportunities for millions of forcibly displaced children and youth.

History teaches us that even within colonial education structures, epistemic resistance and network building occurred, with many early African, Asian, and Arab independence leaders studying and meeting across colonial metropolises (Olorunshola, 2021). Resistance to the eurocentrism of knowledge continues today, with contemporary global movements inspired by the South African #Rhodesmustfall student-led campaign, underlining that systems of dispossession and inequity are multiple and transnational. They are reminders also that educational institutions, notably the higher education (HE) sector, remain essential sites for pushing the vanguard (Bhambra et al., 2018). However, as Patel argues, authentic learning in educational sites structured by racial capitalism occurs infrequently. Authentic learning, in this case, is genuine learning that appreciates devalued knowledge systems and acknowledges and seeks to combat systemic inequities. When it occurs, it should be interpreted as a 'fugitive act'—elusive, subaltern, and, as a result, under-theorized (Patel, 2016, p. 397). Consequently, in calling for abolition, critical EiE scholars must be mindful of Rutazibwa's reflections on the haste of dismantling aid: is there a risk of throwing the baby out with the bathwater? (Rutazibwa, 2018).

2.4 Conclusion

Black radicalism demands an interrogation of the prevailing ideas and conceptual framings of EiE. In this chapter, I have sought to illustrate the BRT's conceptual

framing that repositions EiE in the lineage of colonial, anti-colonial, and social justice struggles. Counter-narratives detail the rich history of fugitive education initiatives that render visible the relations between groups to structures of power, social policy and history and encompass multiple histories (or multiple starting points) to disrupt the linearity and singularity of pervading discourse. By revisiting history through a critical lens, the BRT elucidates how dominant narratives within the EIE field have painted a single story that separates its inception from colonial forms of assimilation and containment and removes from view the many afterlives of historical and ongoing coloniality that are present in countless spaces, practices, and social relationships. As a result, multiple erasures at multiple moments have shaped the EiE field.

This chapter has illuminated how education aid was a critical component of colonialism. Furthermore, the literature review illustrated how colonialism thrives, albeit under new guises. Reviewing EiE through the BRT demonstrates that the limited opportunities for adolescents and youth, discussed in chapter one, are but points on a long historical continuum of setting limitations on the nature of education that can be made available. In addition, this chapter has revealed the complex relationships between organisations and states and how EiE can be co-opted into and be entangled within multiple industrial complexes. Finally, as this chapter has argued, EiE is a critical convergence of coloniality, demonstrating that history is not episodic; instead, it informs contemporary institutional practices and educational experiences.

EiE's colonial entanglements leave no doubt that a radical epistemological challenge is needed to counter-hegemonic narratives and epistemic injustice that permeate EiE research. The chapter concludes as it began, reflecting on Audre Lorde's well-known dictum. Less quoted from the same passage, Lorde underlines the importance of self-reflection for 'the personal as the political [to] begin to illuminate all our choices' (Lorde, 2018, p. 21). For the EiE field, the personal as the political tasks scholars to reclaim and re-situate critical research firmly rooted in the BRT to ensure that epistemic erasure, co-option, sanitisation, and separation of critical scholarship from activism is minimised. Acknowledging the structural racism that permeates the EiE sector will not be sufficient to remove its presence. The BRT underscores the long *durée* of struggle, which signals that solutions to systemic and endemic inequity within the EiE ecosystem will not be addressed immediately. With its many tendrils, the BRT broadens our epistemic stance and compels us to identify and contest colonial

genealogies whilst responding to and mitigating the reproduction of exclusion through EiE's structures and knowledge production. With this conceptual framing, EiE research must embrace approaches that allow people to tell the stories they wish to tell, hold space for historically unheard conversations, and acknowledge and celebrate non-INGO-led initiatives to challenge the numerous epistemic erasures outlined in the chapter. As a result, in the next chapter, I will outline how this thesis's research questions and methodology seek to address and mitigate some of EiE's field shortcomings.

Chapter 3 Research design informed by the BRT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design, methods and ethics that underpin this study which focuses on diverse, forcibly displaced young people's experiences of education in emergencies (EIE) in South Sudan, the UK and Jordan. As outlined in chapter one, the research aims to examine colonial legacies and how power dynamics, privilege and concepts of race continue to influence education experiences for youth in emergencies, bringing to the fore the rarely acknowledged colonial entanglements of knowledge and practice in the sector.

The BRT discussed in chapter two is re-engaged to show how this translated into methodological practice. I begin this chapter by outlining the research rationale. I build on chapter two to demonstrate why a research design rooted in BRT is necessary, introducing and outlining the rationale for using critical participatory action research (CPAR), which I argue has a paradigmatic kinship with BRT. Next, I discuss the selection of site criteria and participant recruitment before discussing changes to the research design that were prompted by the Covid-19 pandemic. This is followed by detailing the data collection and analysis processes. Points of tension and difficulty are engaged in this section related to practical challenges and epistemological questions first raised in chapter two. Finally, I discuss fidelity, accountability, and validity within CPAR, which I underscore have framed my research praxis.

3.2 Colonial entanglements within EiE research: rationale for the research approach

As highlighted in chapter two, in recent years, many scholars have become vocal critiques of INEE and the wider EiE sector. In this section, I outline how asymmetric power relations between the researched and the researcher influence and intersect with EiE research and evidence in specific ways. EiE research has increasingly come under scrutiny as critical scholars point out the detrimental impact on the field as its contours have come to be informed by colonial logic (Takayama et al., 2017). Shuayb and Crul look specifically at EiE and highlight how 'scholars from the Global North dominate the editorial boards of the *Journal of Education in Emergencies* and are the authors of most published articles' (2020, p. 5). This is problematic because scholars such as Walter D. Mignolo (2011) argue that coloniality manifests globally, none more so than through power, knowledge, and its tendency to maintain the status quo, thus resulting in epistemic oppression. Moreover, the absence of a diverse editorial board indicates intellectual imperialism, further emphasised by the fact that displaced populations in the global North are rarely the subjects of research, as attention is placed firmly on the Global South (Shuayb & Crul, 2020, p. 5).

An emerging critique of EiE research surrounds its epistemological foundations, perpetuating what Gayatri Spivak (1987) calls 'epistemic violence', the erasure and/or silencing of local knowledge. As discussed in chapter two, Ralph Trouillet's warning that silence enters historical production at multiple moments is an important reminder that, as scholars, we bring a critical, intersectional lens to the sources and methods that inform EiE data and evidence. The situated gaze and focus of the sector's only journal EiE research agendas primarily on formerly colonised lands is a critical oversight, particularly if we consider De Sousa Santos's global North and South definition, as discussed in chapter one. EiE interventions exist in the Global North, where hostile bordering practices result in informal refugee settlements that dot the USA and Mexico border, in Northern France (Squire & Zaman, 2020), the Balkans, Greece, and in environments like the UK (Oddy et al., 2022) that exclude many forcibly displaced learners from national education systems. INGO headquarters, academic courses and practitioner networks are predominantly based in Europe and the USA (Shuayb & Crul, 2020). Despite most INGO headquarters (HQs) being in hyper-diverse metropolitans, there is a striking lack of diversity among staff and governance structures, particularly

among people with lived experience at the receiving end of EiE interventions (Oddy, 2020).

This has widened the epistemic void and disconnect from broader research and learning on educational inequity that has long existed in the geographic North (Shuayb & Crul, 2020). An example is the critique of Eurocentric bias in global youth and Education studies that perpetuate idealised Western, heteronormative, cis-gendered, and able-bodied childhood as the unmarked norm (Liebel, 2017). A similar critique has been raised in the field of forced migration. Lentin argues that an 'epistemic racism' exists within the field that does not engage with race-critical scholarship, exacerbated by the fact that much research is not done by 'Global South'¹⁴ researchers, which 'reproduces hegemonic white frames' (Hund & Lentin, 2014).

Thirdly, given EiE's deeply rooted entanglement with the colonial education project, as discussed in chapter two, the silencing and erasure of discourse around race are anticipated; notwithstanding, it is a problematic oversight. As Sriprakash et.al. note:

'Silence is often thought about as an absence, specifically as an absence that is passive. However, we see silence as active and dynamic; it is an act of erasure and misrepresentation'

(Sriprakash et al., 2019, p. 679).

Sriprakash et al.'s (2019) position on the intentionality of erasure is particularly salient given that displaced youth find themselves in education spaces in formerly colonised countries, along borderlands, hostile frontiers; they exist in resettlement contexts where they become 'othered,' face discriminatory policies and practices that impede access (Oddy, 2020). Furthermore, contextually specific formations of racism, ethnonationalism and ethnic strife underlie many of the major conflicts and disorders in the world today and, therefore, the experiences of forcibly displaced children and youth. While a few studies examine the experiences of forcibly displaced learners who find themselves negatively racialised in the United States (Haffejee, 2015), Canada (Mason et al., 2022) and Australia (Matthews, 2008), a paucity of literature explores how

¹⁴ As a reminder, in this thesis I am applying De Sousa Santo's definition of Global South, that acknowledges and is inclusive of marginalised communities globally. See chapter one, section 1.5.

constructions of race interweave with forcibly displaced childhood experiences in the global South, much less interconnect with their experiences of education.

The failure to theorise interconnections between race, forced migration and colonialism in the lives of forcibly displaced youth and how localised manifestations of racism and discrimination intersect with global South childhoods strengthen Sriprakash et al.'s (2019) argument, and emphasises Mills (2007) assertion of an inexcusable 'epistemological ignorance of race'. Race and coloniality are considered immaterial and irrelevant to be disregarded. Although there is a drive for increased EiE evidence by academia and other organisations, 'the discrimination, exclusion, and violence that learners experience due to racialised markers of ethnicity, religion, linguistic identity, nationality, and caste are rarely captured by the standardised metrics and indicators that dominate EiE research (Sriprakash et al., 2019). As a result, the multiple and intersecting identity markers that shape students, parents, and teachers' educational experiences, undoubtedly informed by their proximity or distance to power, are absent. For example, scant research offers any analysis of LGBTQ+ experiences in EiE nor how power asymmetries and horizontal discriminatory social norms between conflict-affected groups based on race, ethnicity or religion can reinforce and exacerbate differences (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Instead, categories that reinforce binary and universalising labels saturate policy, advocacy, and research documents, grouping diverse people who are now homogenised according to their immigration status or labelled as 'out of school' due to the sudden onset of an emergency, with little attention given to the root causes.

Notwithstanding, within the social sciences and stemming from the BRT, multiple paradigms, and theories, such as intersectionality, bring these underacknowledged issues to the surface. As discussed in Chapter one, intersectionality as a theory and analytic tool builds an understanding that analyses of individual experience grounded in a singular axis, e.g., race or gender, cannot shed light on the intricate layers of identity. One is never just a man or a woman but is racialised and gendered, and classed, to name just a few modalities; multiple axes of identity intersect and influence each other, including proximity to structures of power, oppression, and domination (Collins & Bilge, 2020). Recently a few EiE scholars have analysed their research through an intersectional framework, such as that by Cohen et al. (2022) on Iraqi refugee students in the USA; their approach enabled them to move beyond

individualised differences and to unpack and reveal how these differences interact with power. However, Cohen et al.'s (2022) paper is an exception to the norm. Furthermore, although it is promising that more EiE scholarship is attentive to differences, there is limited evidence that EiE research, programmes, or policies consider the historical relationships between educational experiences and power.

Given EiE's colonial entanglements discussed in chapter two, intersectional inquiry demands attention to how coloniality is manifested. As critical and intersectional inquiry expands, other scholars such as Natalie Clark contribute new paradigms: Clark's notion of 'red intersectionality' foregrounds the importance of resistance, indigenous sovereignty, and past and current forces of colonialism in analysis (2016, p. 51). Similarly, Collins et al. note that location politics are rarely incorporated into determining axes of power, identity, and knowledge in studies, overlooking 'questions of colonialism, imperialism, and coloniality' (2021, p. 702). Although Yuval-Davis (2015) does not explicitly connect coloniality to an individual's positionality, her example of situated intersectionality is essential to critical theory. Situated intersectionality analysis 'aims to explore the ways multiple axes of social power constitute particular (shifting and contested) social positionings, identifications and normative values; it focuses on 'some rather than others, depending both on the research (or political) questions driving the analysis, as well as the particular social divisions which are important space/ time locations and for particular people or groupings' (Yuval-Davis, 2015, p. 95).

Yuval-Davis argues that any comprehensive theory of social inequality must include attention to the individual within global, regional, national, and local orders of stratification (2015). Furthermore, Mayblin (2017, p. 1) points out that forcibly displaced people frequently draw attention to the global colonial histories that give context to their present situation. Unfortunately, these interconnections are not easily found in EiE academic scholarship; their near absence reinforces why these interpretations of intersectional analysis discussed in this section are essential in connecting discourse around racial capitalism, young people's educational experiences, and the coloniality of aid. In sum, intersectional inquiry highlights the necessity of looking at young people's identities and being attentive to the broader forces and actors, both historical and present, that shape EiE.

Notwithstanding, as Patel (2022) underscores, embedding intersectionality into education research presents challenges. Patel argues that a small number of categories, including the most frequently mentioned 'categories of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual identity, ability, and class', are requested to do sizable work out of the many disparities among people, roles, and groups and their oscillations within and across social settings (2022, p. 90). In recent years, among the critiques of intersectionality has been its US-centricity. Vrushali Patil argues that this focus has left 'unexamined cross-border dynamics, processes beyond the local level of analysis that nevertheless are integral to the unfolding of local processes' (2021, p. 853). In addition, intersectionality has largely ignored religion (cited in Collins et al., 2021, p. 706).

Although social distinctions are complicated and changeable, sorting people's identities into categories suggests a degree of immutability by the mere existence and the manner in that categories are normalised in social science; the fixedness of these enforces more absolutist definitions of who counts and in what categories they naturally belong (Patel, 2022). For example, refugee youth aggregates vastly different people together under the premise that displacement is the most critical part of their identity and frequently collapses significant disparities within those same groups (Patel, 2022, p. 91). Identity categories such as 'refugee' or 'immigrant youth' emphasis a resemblance that frequently does not correspond to the significant disparities that people within an imposed category, like 'forcibly displaced youth' hold (Patel, 2022, p. 91). Attentiveness to how categories are defined and who defines the categories, and assigns individuals to those categories, is necessary, as well as acknowledging that categorical similarities vary greatly.

To summarise, the deep colonial entanglements outlined in this section indicate intellectual imperialism, exemplifying what Mignolo (2000) posits as the coloniality of knowledge or the domination of a Eurocentric standpoint across EiE and within forced migration scholarship. The colonial entanglements and 'epistemologies of ignorance' (Mills, 2007) call for EIE research to pay attention to the historical relationships and circuits of power that have shaped and informed the sector. As the next section outlines, the absences or erasures of multiple experiences further direct our attention e to what and why particular realities are not being discussed, when they are included, and why and how such issues are discussed. For EiE researchers, this process must begin with

critical self-reflection of one's situated positionality within a complex system to reflect on how phenomena, paradigms, and languages are utilised in the sector.

3.3 Critical inquiry as praxis

3.3.1 Language, metrics, and critical inquiry as praxis

Language is central to how we understand and frame things; however, as the introductory section outlined, experiences of discrimination are nullified within Education and International Development (Sriprakash et al., 2019). EiE research often fails to connect accumulative circuits of dispossession and how lives and identity intersect with power systems. For example, unlike educational paradigms that focus on equity, within EiE discourse, some children and youth are labelled as 'out of school' or 'dropouts' instead of being considered 'pushed out' due to debilitating barriers that marginalise and ostracise different identity markers in any given context (Weis & Fine, 2015). Consequently, prevailing discourses that universalise 'out of school' children and youth fail to grasp the complexities behind educational disengagement and the ostracisation of certain groups and actively deflect attention away from how inequalities within education interlock and are co-constituted.

One example is how language and statistics limit or hide multiple EiE experiences. Regarding the misuse of statistics, Abdulrahman's (2021) example of the *Almajiranci* system in Nigeria (a classical form of Quranic education school) illustrates how colonial logic informs perception and values different education models. Due to 'contentious mainstream representational discourses', in Nigeria and externally, many of the 7–10 million boys considered as out-of-school are, in fact, *Almajiranci* students (Abdulrahman et al., 2021, p. 64). *Almajiranci* students are considered 'out of school' because the model of schooling they participate in does not correlate with Western education models. Abdulrahman's study points to the need for EiE researchers to challenge single-axis framings of what education is and looks like. Abdulrahman's study further exemplifies how hegemonic conceptions of what knowledge is deemed of value shape how metrics are designed and regulated.

It is rare for teachers, parents, and students to be consulted on the design of aid interventions as log frames, which determine the outcomes of a project, are pre-set by donors or developed by INGOs (Peace Direct, 2021, p. 28). In brief, log frames and the

programme outcome indicators determine what success should look like, for example, the number of children that should be enrolled, the percentage of children that pass end-of-year exams, and attendance. These examples demonstrate that statistics are never value-neutral, and that assessment and evaluation methods are informed by positionality, assumptions, and power asymmetries, resulting in 'concepts and language imposed by state and institutional donors' (Peace Direct, 2021, p. 28). For example, the EiE sector's current focus and drive to standardise measurements and indicators of success to address the 'learning crises' is epistemically narrow and perpetuates the paradigm that learning does not occur outside the classroom. Whether Indigenous, cosmological, or ecological knowledge, educational practices beyond literacy and numeracy are exempt from mainstream EiE measurement toolkits and evaluations. From a Black radical perspective, these traditions, along with the centrality of spirituality and culture, were pivotal in sustaining enslaved populations with 'the beliefs, myths, and messianic visions that would allow them to attempt the impossible' (Robinson, 2021, p. 310). Despite the growing emphasis on measuring socio-emotional learning within the EiE field, the secularity of EiE metrics diminishes the multiple sources of resilience people affected by crises draw upon when faced with adversity (Hajir et al., 2021).

3.3.2 Resilience as praxis

In the field of EiE, resilience has frequently surfaced in recent years, understood as the ability of individuals, communities, and systems to cope with and recover from adversity (Cardozo, 2015). EiE programmes that focus on building resilience argue that they help learners develop the skills and knowledge they need to overcome challenges and thrive in the face of adversity. Resilience, as defined in this sense, is portrayed as supporting the broader goals of EiE, such as protecting the right to education, promoting social cohesion, and reducing the risk of violence and exploitation (Mendenhall, 2019, Cardozo, 2015).

Yet, as noted by Shah et.al. (2019) while resilience has become a key concept in EiE literature, its definition and operationalisation are often unclear and oversimplified. Unlike Yosso's (2005) concept of community cultural wealth that was discussed earlier in this chapter, resilience within EiE is often viewed as an individual characteristic or trait that can be developed through education and training (Shah et.al., 2019, p.315).

Furthermore, from their extensive analysis of key EiE documents, '*students, teachers and families are most often the subjects of resilience and documents often transfer responsibility on to these individuals to sustain themselves in the face of shocks and crisis*' (Shah et.al., 2019, p.322). This perspective neglects the broader social, economic, and political factors, including 'inequalities and structural injustices' that contribute to resilience or vulnerability (Shah et.al., 2019, p.317).

Similarly, Hajir et. al. (2021) argue that resilience is often oversimplified, and that a more nuanced, and culturally informed understanding of the concept is needed. While Hajir et.al. (2021) suggest that resilience can be a useful concept when understood in a more nuanced way, in contrast, Shah et.al. (2019) are more sceptical of its value, arguing that it can reinforce existing power imbalances and neglect the root causes of vulnerability. This difference in perspective may reflect different views on the potential of reform versus the need for more radical transformation.

When compared to the BRT, which emphasises the need for systemic change and structural transformation to address the root causes of oppression and inequality, Shah et al. (2019) and Hajir et.al. (2019) scholarship shares a similar critique of the limited and superficial approaches to resilience in EiE. Both emphasise the importance of community participation and empowerment, which are central to the BRT's focus on collective struggle and resistance. Furthermore, Shah et.al (2019, p322) provocation for organisations to acknowledge and anticipate '*policy failure, interrogating the resilience of their own organisations and their own roles (and complicity) in shaping and defining risks, shocks, and their educational responses*' echoes scholars (Ladson Billings, 1998; Fine, 2016), informed by racial capitalism and CRT, demands for attentiveness to systems and structures, deemed integral for critical educational inquiry as praxis.

A narrow conceptualisation of what constitutes education connects with an earlier point about how knowledge production and products are developed in and flow from the Global North. Organisations and EiE networks like INEE draft educational policies and practices for emergency contexts 'without a sound epistemological approach giving the impression that the definition of their progress and sustainability is reduced to mere statistical data' (Alameldeen & Fatima, 2021, p. 78). Undoubtedly, a range of critical quantitative and qualitative approaches deriving from the BRT could be used by the EiE field to document the historical, social, political, economic, and racial

injustice dimensions of crises. For example, *Quant Crit* (Castillo & Gillborn, 2022), informed by CRT and indigenous statistics (Walter & Andersen, 2016), uses quantitative data and often minimises student data aggregation to highlight diversity within education spaces. It also uses interaction terms for demographic variables and shifts the gaze toward the mechanisms and impacts of oppressive systems, for example, looking at school disciplinary policies to highlight trends and divergences of punitive actions according to students' ethnic profiles (Van Dusen & Nissen, 2020).

Shifting the gaze from researching displaced communities to the structures and organisations mandated to support them is a significant challenge, particularly for EiE, given the power asymmetries discussed in chapters one and two. Poverty studies scholar Michael Rodríguez-Muñiz (2015) calls the lack of internal scrutiny a 'constriction of the scholarly imagination' or 'ontological myopias'. He insists that poverty studies have wrongly taken poor communities themselves as the focus of study rather than the systems and structures that produce poverty (Rodríguez-Muñiz, 2015, p. 91). This narrows 'the scope of vision' and 'regulate[s] what questions get posed and which dynamics get investigated' (Rodríguez-Muñiz, 2015, p. 91). A deeper understanding of the roles, motivations and perspectives of the professionals that set the parameters for the field is necessary to devise approaches to counter epistemic dominance and reposition expertise.

This chapter outlines the need for new theories to inform EiE scholarship and insists practitioners must go beyond collecting disaggregated quantitative data and turn towards what Fine calls 'just methods' (2016). These methods seek to subvert asymmetrical power dynamics across knowledge production processes whilst challenging approaches that situate learners as passive consumers of depoliticised learning content and systems. In the next section of this paper, I will continue to draw from the BRT to unearth hidden histories in EiE research and work towards producing scholarship in opposition to exploitation and oppression.

3.4 Critical inquiry

Given EiE's colonial entanglements, as discussed in the opening section, there is no doubt that a radical epistemological challenge is needed to counter-hegemonic narratives and epistemic injustice that permeate EiE research. This thesis draws on Hill

Collins's definition of critical, to mean 'criticising, rejecting, and trying to fix the social problems that emerge in situations of social injustice (2017, p. 39). She argues that critical inquiry is not merely about describing differences but also about taking a stand, imagining alternatives, and proposing viable action strategies for change (p.40). As outlined in chapters one and two, the tensions around the nuances of power and positionality that arose from my self-reflective practice drove me towards critical inquiry and praxes to avoid the perpetuation of exploitative knowledge production practices. For EiE research to move beyond this intellectual imperialism, there is an urgent need to embrace what Patricia Hill Collins (2019) describes as 'critical knowledge projects.' For Collins, critical knowledge projects attempt to resist dominant ways of thinking and doing (2019). An epistemological shift is needed in response, reframing research ethically and the implications of surfacing, documenting, and sharing these experiences.

Furthermore, researchers in this field must be acutely aware of their complicity within a 'research complex'. They must seek to move towards constructive complicity by paying attention to power and positionality and working towards more equitable and collaborative ways of working. From this standpoint, critical participatory inquiry seemed like the only viable option for my doctoral study. Whilst the breadth of critical participatory inquiry is significant, based on my experiences, I decided that critical participatory action research (CPAR) would be the approach of choice. The following section will discuss the origins of action research in further detail.

3.5 What is Critical Participatory Action Research (CPAR)?

CPAR has multiple genealogies and a long interdisciplinary history; stemming from grassroots organising and popular education and liberation movements around the globe (Fine & Torres, 2021, p. 14). For Patel, PAR is an epistemic stance that acknowledges that all agents in the process hold histories 'that are inseparable from the framing of research questions, design, data analysis, interpretation and meaningful actions' (Patel, 2015). Unlike traditional research paradigms, CPAR ensures that the 'microphysics of participation' (Doná, 2007b) is acknowledged and brought to the fore. Furthermore, the research is intricately linked to social change. Fals Borda, a Colombian sociologist, and activist, understood PAR to be a people's science, stating that it was an:

'Experiential methodology [which] implies the acquisition of serious and reliable knowledge upon which to construct power, or countervailing power, for the poor, oppressed and exploited groups and social classes – the grassroots – and for their authentic organisations and movement'

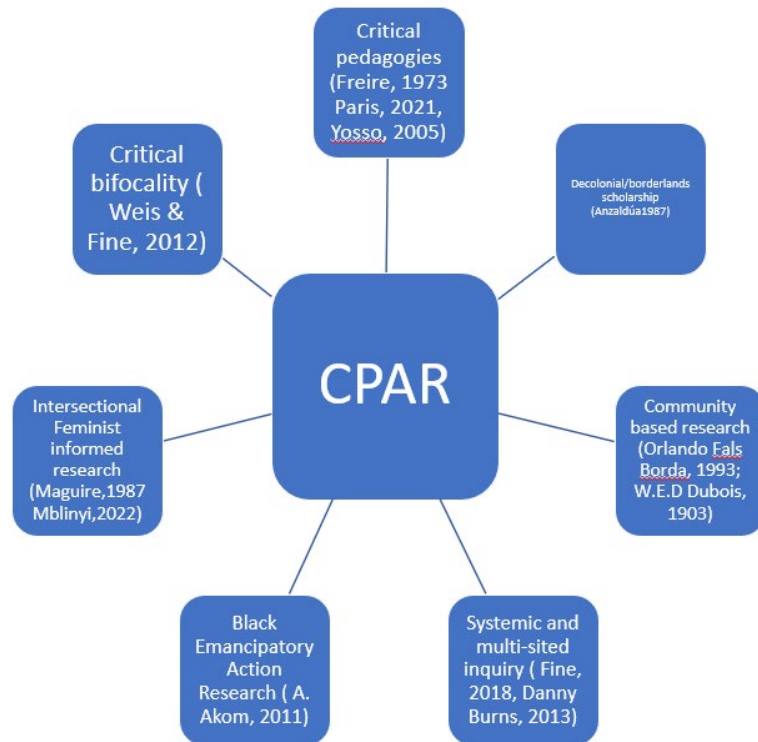
(1991, p. 3)

Fals Borda suggests that the acquisition of knowledge by researchers is fundamental to constructing and countering power. It connects to what Freire (2017) called 'praxis,' underscoring that individuals are not empty vessels and objects of inquiry but total participants in the inquiry. CPAR has emerged in recent years, focusing intentionally on questions of power and injustice, intersectionality, and action (Fine, 2018).

CPAR is a continuum of cross-disciplinary approaches to participatory inquiry. CPAR's genealogies traverse critical theories that span critical race theory (Aldana & Richards-Schuster, 2021; Fine, 2018), abolition and critical pedagogies (Ladson-Billings, 2005a; Paris, 2021), Intersectional feminist theory (Maguire, 1987), Black participatory action research (Akom, 2011), and Indigenous and decolonial methodologies (Anzaldúa, 1987; Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2016). More recently, CPAR scholars, particularly in the US, have explicitly drawn on black radicalism to situate lives in racialised histories (Fine, 2018; Monique A Guishard et al., 2021). Figure 1 on the following page illustrates some of the main contributors to CPAR.

Figure 1

Schools of thought and critical scholar-activists that inform CPAR



As Figure 1 above demonstrates, multiple genealogies and scholars have informed this thesis's approach to CPAR. Three contributors to CPAR are particularly relevant as they draw explicitly on the BRT. First is the Black Emancipatory Action Research (BEAR) framework Akom (2011) developed. The BEAR's 'community-engaged research driven by local and experiential knowledge, plus its' emphasis on structural racialisation; intersectionality, and 'the social construction of knowledge; the development of critical consciousness; love, healing and a commitment to social justice', poses a challenge to traditional research designs (Akom, 2011, pp. 125-126). For Akom (2011), the BEAR research orientation is an opportunity to integrate a theory of structural racialisation into qualitative research methods whilst building on existing critical scholarship.

Second, Weis and Fine argue that 'theoretically separating structures from lives, global from local, and privilege from marginalisation is no longer sufficient if education is transformational' (2012, p. 196). They define and integrate critical bifocality into their CPAR approach. Critical bifocality situates educational research within structural inequities, tracing circuits of dispossession in policies and institutions through 'connecting global flows of capital', ontologies and 'power with local practices and effects' (Weis & Fine, 2012, p. 196). Fine (2018) makes explicit the connection between critical bifocality and racial capitalism as it forces educational researchers to look not only at the students but also at the broader ecosystem that dispossesses and privileges distinct stakeholders (pp.13-15). Fine also positions CPAR, when informed by a critical bifocality, as an opportunity to challenge 'epistemologies of ignorance' (Mills, 2012 cited in Fine, 2018) as it insists that issues are situated within classed and racialised historical matrices (Fine, 2018, p.16).

Third, multi-sited and systemic inquiry share a paradigmatic kinship with scholars within the BRT, who drew upon multi-sited inquiry and transnational connections to make sense of pressing issues. For Burns (2007, p. 21), taking a systemic approach broadens and deepens action research, enabling a mode of inquiry that 'takes into account the whole' and seeks meaning in the complex patterning of interrelationships between people and groups of people.' He argues that for action research to be an effective tool for change, it must move beyond a particular group or organisational focus to work across organisations, networks, and partnerships, on multiple sites, at multiple levels (Burns, 2007, p.15). In doing so, multi-site CPA, informed by BRT, renders visible 'systemic forces of structural inequities across sites', possibilities for change and, importantly, 'threads of resistance' (Fine, 2018, p. 96). For displacement studies, moving away from a single-country case study offers an opportunity to analyse the geopolitics of migration (Dona & Veale, 2011), whilst for EiE, it enables us to think about the nexus between racialisation, education, and borders. Furthermore, systemic inquiry's attention to the interrelationships between people and groups (Burns, 2007, p.15) has also presented a challenge to EiE's 'ontological myopias' (Rodríguez-Muñiz, 2015, p. 91) towards knowledge production that points out these intersecting and interlocking systems that reinforce, and perpetuate hierarchies of knowledge, and set about fighting against structures of oppression.

Working with youth also introduces another power dynamic. For Fine (2018, p. 80), CPAR with youth is a 'radical epistemological challenge' and not a methodology because it involves an intergenerational and collective process of critical investigation that addresses the social conditions that affect youth. CPAR with youth often aims to shift power within the research process; instead of researching *on* participants, young people define the research questions and methods and are given the tools to 'name, interrogate, and address the social factors that oppress them' (Aldana & Richard-Schuster, 2021, p. 4). By doing so, CPAR avoids epistemic re-colonisation and extractive, 'damage focused' (Tuck, 2009) approaches, moving 'away from pathology and linearity' of traditional research designs (Tuhiwai Smith et al., 2018, p. 5). In the process, asymmetrical power dynamics across knowledge production processes are subverted. One of the principal ways that CPAR can subvert power dynamics is through its dialogical nature, to be discussed in the next section.

3.6 CPAR as dialogical inquiry

CPAR is an 'education process for researchers and participants' who analyse the structural causes of identified problems through group discussion and interaction (Maguire 1987, p. 29). Co-researchers should leave a CPAR process with the ability to conduct research and advocate for their issues independent of academic scholars (Monique Antoinette Guishard, 2015, p. 5). To enable the educational process, CPAR is rarely a one-off encounter; instead, co-researchers come together multiple times to collaboratively design research, share knowledge, and decide how to apply the acquired knowledge. According to scholars such as Fine and Torre (2021), whose praxes explicitly engage with the BRT, CPAR creates encounters, contact zones, or 'fugitive spaces' for critical knowledge production' (Fine, 2018, p.94). Within these fugitive spaces, 'pedagogical encounter[s]' occur that 'challenges both traditional notions of interviews as information extraction' and instead 'learning in and through dialogue is centred (Vossoughi & Zavala, 2020, p. 136).

Notably, creating and facilitating reciprocal and dialogical fugitive spaces has many synergies with culturally sustaining pedagogies and CRT, as discussed in chapter two; CPAR similarly amplifies cultural wealth and creates a dynamic whereby people's lived experience is upheld as expertise (Yosso, 2005). Cultivating care, trust and

fostering a sense of familiarity, intimacy, and support among participants is central to CPAR processes, where the process is as important as the product (Ali & McCarty, 2020). Therefore, the process and mode of delivery are critical and will be discussed in the next section.

3.7 CPAR method and modes of delivery

As discussed in chapter two, CPAR has some similarities with CRT; both employ multiple and mixed methods, such as 'parables, chronicles, stories, counter-stories, poetry, action, and revisionist histories' to counter-hegemonic praxis (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 14). In addition, using visual methods such as photos, graphic novels, video, and audio, enables different forms of expression and communication that are more inclusive of diverse types of knowledge production (Fine, 2018, Guishard et al., 2021). These methods are helpful for multilingual groups with diverging common languages. Participants decide the preferred medium of sharing data, dissolving the asymmetries of power between the researcher and the researcher (Guishard et al., 2021).

In recent years, CPAR has taken place both face-to-face and online. As with face-to-face CPAR, when facilitated online, creative art processes, such as photos, videos, and audio can capture, narrate and disseminate stories (Fine & Torres, 2021; Shirazi, 2022; Stornaiuolo & Thomas, 2017). These methods become modes of digital storytelling. Digital storytelling is especially valuable for working with displaced youth, for its shift away from victimisation narratives to reworking trauma narratives into acts of resistance and resilience (Thomas & Stornaiuolo, 2016). Hence, digital CPAR enables 'de-territorialised spaces of belonging' (Doná & Godin, 2019: X) as young people meet, connect, network, and share stories in a digital space, regardless of borders.

Doná & Godin's (2019) 'de-territorialised spaces of belonging' are made possible due to the magnitude of people connected today (an estimated 93% of refugees live in areas covered by 2G and 3G networks, and young people are digitally active (UNHCR, 2018). Moreover, as Dryden Peterson et al. (2017) highlight that even in refugee camps, which are typically viewed as forgotten places, young people 'engage in travelling' through globally situated interactions and [digital] connections' (p.1015).

The Covid-19 pandemic forced many essential services to move online, and in doing so, highlighted divides in digital access, inclusion, and digital literacy, and exacerbated the exclusion gap even further for socially disadvantaged groups (UNICEF, 2021a). Digital storytelling is not without its critiques. For example, in the current age of youth digital activism, it is essential to consider whether traditional gatekeepers such as academic researchers are needed to build and share knowledge when social media has enabled youth digital civic activism to flourish (Stornaiuolo & Thomas, 2017). Despite enthusiastic support for CPAR, as the next section will consider, it is also necessary to critically reflect on its utility.

3.8 Critique of CPAR

Critical reflection on the purpose and limitations of research is paramount. Although CPAR is lauded as a more ethical approach to research, the extent to which it always lives up to its radical research trajectory is questionable. For example, Khanna (2011) argues that 'highly racialised and gendered assumptions are embedded within youth participation discourse and practice' (p.26) and that all too often, PAR can flatten or erase the intersectional experiences of racialised and Indigenous youth.

In addition, Khanna (2011) highlights the limitations of implementing co-research within the confines of a doctoral programme and contests the notion that [C]PAR alone provides an easy escape from the underlying colonial formations of academic knowledge production (I return to Khanna's criticism later in this chapter). Furthermore, as Marjorie Mbilinyi (2022) and Fine et al. (2021) point out, participatory inquiry can be co-opted by international development agencies like the World Bank and depoliticised with tokenistic participatory components detached from its social justice origins. Moreover, while action is a core component of CPAR, in contexts where systemic and structural injustices reign, opportunities for external transformation may be minimal. Finally, as Tuhiwai-Smith (1999, p.3) cautions, there are limitations to research and that as scholars, we should be mindful (and humble) that taking apart the story, revealing texts, and giving voice to things that are often known intuitively does not help people improve their current conditions'. With these cautionary reflections in mind, in the next section, I will outline my interpretation and approach to CPAR, which shaped the research design of this thesis.

Part Two: A planned approach for data collection

3.9 The impact of Covid -19 on data collection

This chapter would be incomplete if I did not include some discussion on the negative and unexpected positive impacts of COVID-19 on the research process and methodology. COVID-19 was first identified in December 2019 in Wuhan, China. Shortly after COVID-19 was declared a public health emergency, various sweeping lockdown measures were implemented across the globe. UEL mandated that no face-to-face research should occur, and all research was to move online.

This research took place between January 2020- August 2021, with different contexts in distinct phases of the lockdown. This had implications for the research in several ways. Firstly, I had to change my plans to be physically present in the research sites and instead move to online research the research sites to online. This is discussed further in the research site section. Secondly, I needed to revisit safeguarding, and the ethics invoked to 'do not harm' from a digital perspective, as I discuss in further detail in the ethics section. Thirdly, the move online had contextual considerations in different contexts, primarily:

1) Participants in the Jordan group were already enrolled in a hybrid distance learning education programme and were familiar with online learning. As the students could no longer attend the gatekeeper organisation's learning lab, the organisation provided internet packages to ensure that students could continue accessing online classes and engaging with the research. The research occurred between February and May 2021; during this time, Jordan imposed a strict lockdown and curfew. Students' participation in the sessions was extremely high, and several students mentioned that they enjoyed the sessions partly because of the opportunity to connect with their classmates.

2) I began the research with students in Ajuong Thok in South Sudan in July 2021. Lockdown restrictions had eased in South Sudan, and students could access the camp's computer lab. The curriculum for the South Sudan group based in Ajuong Thok was already 100 per cent online; students, therefore, did not have to endure the negative impact of learning via Zoom. Moreover, the students were already familiar with using

the internet and learning apps. This was not the case for the first cohort based in Juba, where intermittent connectivity was a significant issue. Whilst promising practices for equitable remote learning and research globally, Covid-19 laid bare the uneven distribution of access to the technology needed to facilitate remote research and learning. After several weeks of struggling with connectivity issues, the partner had to adapt their distance learning support to home learning packages. Likewise, I devised a booklet with the session plans and activities for the students to use; however, I could not facilitate regular sessions due to connectivity problems. Hence, their data has not been included in this study as the absence of contact zones, integral to CPAR, presented a divergence in the methodology from the other two sites.

3) I began the research process with a cohort of UK-based students in February 2021. At this point, the UK was in a period of lockdown. Internet connectivity was not an issue. Many students had internet at home, and the organisation provided internet access packages for students who did not have internet access. Student participation in the sessions was also high, and similarly to the group in Jordan, several students noted that they enjoyed the social, interactive side of co-researching. This was an unintended but positive reflection on the power of CPAR.

3.10 Ethics

Ethical concerns were very central throughout the entire process of my research. First, ethical clearance was obtained by the University of East London (UEL) Ethics Committee (see Appendix A).

An information letter was shared with participants through each gatekeeper organisation's focal point (see Appendix B) and subsequently revisited at the first introductory meeting to ensure participant confidence (see Appendix C and D for consent forms).

Participants were informed about the study's purposes, responsibilities, and rights, including the right to withdraw and not to feel the need to contribute during the DSAR sessions. Assurances of confidentiality were given due to the sensitive context of being forcibly displaced or working for an INGO and are in line with established data protection protocols. Adopting the ethics of care informed by critical youth studies

standpoint (Ali & McCarty, 2020), participation in the project was voluntary. Before the sessions, participants were informed of relevant services if needs emerged. The approach aimed to ensure no harm was done to participants and strictly adhered to the organisation's safeguarding policies); respect the autonomy of those involved by ensuring informed consent and assent; consider the best interests of the research participants and ensure benefit to those consulted (or those in similar situations in the future) and promote inclusivity. Through ongoing risk assessments and risk mitigation strategies (e.g., co-creation of questions, reflections on the potential issue of posting certain narratives and images online, and debriefs), participants were not at risk of intentional or unintentional harm.

In any situation where risk assessments indicated that the risks of harm outweighed the benefits, a line of inquiry was not pursued. Participants set their own boundaries in designing and responding to research questions. For example, they designed the questions and choose whether to respond to the questions themselves or to interview others, and they remained in control of determining what information they wished to share and how.

All researchers were informed of referral mapping and procedures before workshops, and risk assessments and risk mitigation sessions were included in the research skills training. Building on the previous pilot of the Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) Education Storytelling online research project, I brought my prior experience facilitating with learners to create a safe digital learning platform. Before initiating the sessions, I worked with the partners to ensure that appropriate security protection procedures were in place to safeguard systems, staff and DSAR researchers. Additionally, I gave the students pseudo-names when referring to individual students' names. Fully informed consent was obtained from all participants. None requested the withdrawal of their data following completion. Participants were debriefed following data collection. Before starting the research, I read and signed the safeguarding policies of each organisation. In addition, I had been provided with information regarding relevant support services should any disclosures require further support.

The UEL ethics review board reviewed and approved the data management plan to safeguard ethical data handling. All anonymised transcripts have been stored on

UEL OneDrive, separately from the encrypted audio and visual data stored on my UEL H: drive and my password protected NVIVO 12 software. All recordings will be destroyed following a successful examination of the thesis. After submission, anonymised transcripts will be kept for three years (standard practice) to aid in future publications. The study was informed by and adhered to the gatekeeper organisations safeguarding policies and procedures.

3.11 Research participants

My research design included two main groups; young people in forced displacement and EiE practitioners. I used a purposive snowballing sampling approach. According to Patton (Patton, 2015, p. 264), 'the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth'. The rationale behind using purposive sampling for this thesis was due to the scale and heterogenous nature of displacement and the nature of the inquiry, which is rooted in attention to individual experiences of EiE rather than gathering conclusive generalisable data. As the following section will detail, I collaborated with gatekeeper organisations that provided educational services for forcibly displaced youth, hence the purposive sampling strategy. In addition, although I purposively approached EiE practitioners, a snowballing strategy emerged, as key informants (KI) recommended other colleagues to participate.

3.12 The rationale for research sites

When deciding upon the research sites, Patricia Maguire's critique of the need to study 'over there' and her assertion that it is only possible for participatory action researchers to attempt and sustain change in places that are part of their daily lives and 'near environment' echoed in my ear (Maguire, 2002, p. 267). Navigating the constraints of the global travel ban, I chose multi-sited inquiry based on my longstanding connections and experiences of working in locations in Jordan, the UK, and South Sudan, sites of substantial histories of displacement and hosts to forcibly displaced people. In chapters three-seven, I provide a detailed overview of the context in each setting.

To connect with young people, I partnered with three gatekeeper organisations, including a medium-sized faith-based organisation, a small, nascent international education organisation committed to co-design, and a national education charity focusing on refugee rights. Due to the do not harm principles outlined earlier, I decided not to publish the names of the participating organisations, as that could compromise the anonymity of the participants. All were committed to taking on board the learnings produced from the inquiry to inform their programmatic design. By collaborating with youth in the UK — one of the largest providers of humanitarian and educational aid — and two nations formerly colonised by the UK, this research aimed to expose the divide between research in the Global North and that conducted in the Global South, whilst further connecting the linkages and colonial entanglements of global educational aid. The findings in chapter four-seven contextual frame each location's education and immigration landscape.

3.13 Recruitment of participants

My first group of interest were the young people in situations of forced displacement. I selected the sites of South Sudan, Jordan, and the UK, where I had already lived and had organisational ties. I wanted the research to be iterative and inform the organisation, underlining the importance of action in critical praxis.

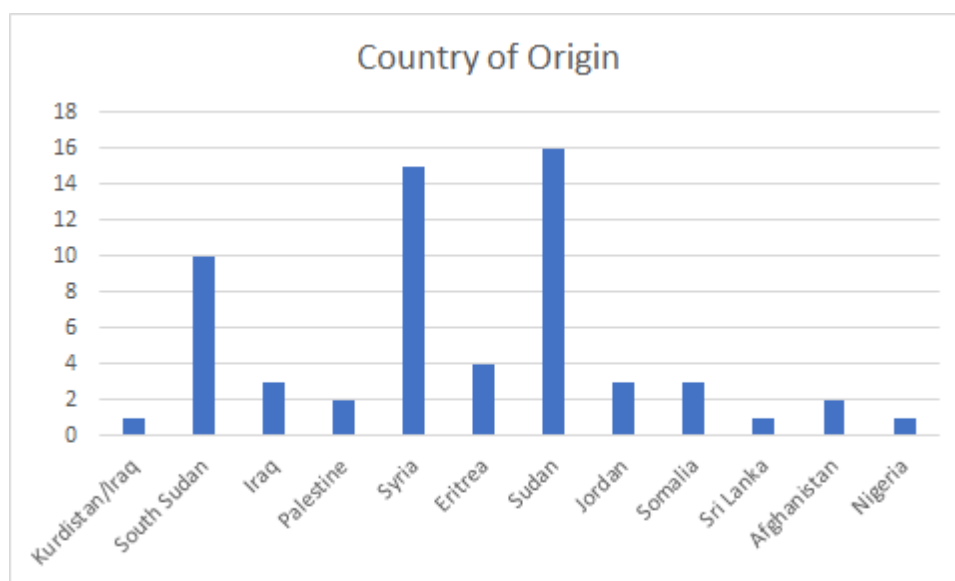
Through an NGO and a personal connection at an INGO, I connected with students in South Sudan enrolled in higher education distance-learning preparation courses. The students were living in Ajuong Thok refugee camp, a protracted refugee camp set on the border with Sudan, the capital of South Sudan. In total, 20 students from Sudan (10) and South Sudan (10) signed up to attend these sessions. They were divided into two cohorts, based on location, with one cohort in Juba and the other in the refugee camp. Unfortunately, due to connectivity issues in Juba, the sessions with the Juba cohort were not as well attended as the group sessions with participants based in Ajuong Thok.¹ Therefore, all the data used in this thesis is collected from Ajuong Thok, where students had permission to continue using a computer lab during school closures and where connectivity was not an issue.

I connected with a small INGO in Jordan, offering refugees a secondary school diploma programme. The students were living in Amman, the capital city of Jordan. In Jordan, a total of 30 young people from Iraq (3), Palestine (2), Syrian (11), Eritrea (2), Sudanese (6), Jordanian (3), Somali (3), now based in Amman, Jordan, took part in the research. Due to the group size, they were divided into two groups to ease facilitation online. In addition, they were divided based on their preferred time slot.

For the UK site, I connected with a national NGO. The NGO specialises in providing higher education preparation services to forcibly displaced youth. A total of 10 students signed up. The students were living in London and Coventry. In the UK, there was only one cohort of 10 participants from Sri Lanka (1), Syria (3), Afghanistan (2), Iraq/Kurdistan (1), and Eritrea (2), Nigeria (1). In recruiting the participants, the gatekeeper organisations circulated an email to their students, inviting them to attend an information session. In addition, I held online information sessions where interested students could learn more about the project. The gatekeeper organisations then prepared a list of email contacts for those students interested in participating. I then shared the consent letter and a doodle poll to agree on a time and date for our first meeting.

Table 1:

Country of Origin (as identified by the participants)



Across the three sites, 60 co-researchers signed up from diverse backgrounds, genders¹, sexual orientations, geographic origins, ages, religions, and migration statuses.

Table 2

Gender of researcher participants

Location		Male	Female
Jordan		24	6
South Sudan		15	5
United Kingdom		8	2

As the table demonstrates, 13 or 21%, of the participants identified as female, and the remaining 47, or 79%, as male. No participants identified as gender non-binary or transgender, which is discussed further in chapter eight, relating to the study's limitations. Fewer males participated in this study than females, indicative of the ability of forcibly displaced girls to continue their education in humanitarian contexts. Statistics indicate that girls in crisis-affected countries are half as likely to enrol in a secondary school than the global average and more likely to be out of school than boys (Equal Measures 2030, 2022). As I partnered with gatekeeper organisations which offered higher education preparation programmes for young people, the statistics above indicate that males would be further along in their education trajectory than females, which could be one of the reasons for most participants within this study being male.

3.14 Key informant interviews with EiE practitioners

To recruit EiE practitioners for this study, I used a purposive, snowballing sampling method, contacting practitioners through two main avenues- LinkedIn (a professional online directory) and the INEE's community of practice slack channel, one of the leading online communication channels for EiE practitioners.

To find practitioners on LinkedIn, I searched the platform, using keywords such as 'EiE advisor; 'Adolescent programming', 'Education and international development'. I emailed each person who responded to me and set up a brief pre-call with participants to explain my research. Following the call, I sent the informed consent form (see

Appendix D) and the semi-structured interview questions (see Appendix E). I also offered key informant interviewees the opportunity to fill in an (optional) anonymised survey link¹⁵ with the questions. The key informant interview questions were translated into French, Spanish, English and Arabic using Deepl.com and then reviewed by fluent speakers. I included a multilingual form to proactively enable a diverse range of practitioners to inform my research. Nine respondents (33%) selected the anonymised survey, with eight responding in English and one in French. I conducted nineteen interviews (70.2%) in English using MS teams. I read each participant's completed informed consent document at the beginning of every interview and secured recorded audio consent. Participants had the option to review the questions beforehand and to raise concerns about questions they did not want to be asked. This is in line with the participatory research approach. Below is a brief overview of the 26 participants who participated in the study.

Table 3

An overview of the EiE practitioners who took part in the study

Country of origin	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Role/Job description
Syria/Palestine	Arab	Male	Academic based in UK academic institution
U.K	White	Female	Academic and practitioner Based in UK academic institution
Spain	White	Female	Youth in Emergencies specialist based in a UN agency
Italy	White	Female	Senior EiE practitioner for UN agencies

¹⁵ The anonymised survey questions are the same as Appendix E. However, the link to the anonymised survey can also be found here <https://forms.gle/ZRkisugbptLevmLS7>

USA	Latino	Male	EiE roaming practitioner, based in HQ
Uganda	Black	Female	Regional EiE practitioner at an INGO
Canada	White	Female	Senior Consultant for UN agency
Sri-Lanka	South-East Asian	Female	Senior Consultant for UN agencies and INGOs
Sri- Lanka	South-East Asian	Female	Graduate student and practitioner
UK	White	Female	Senior EiE Advisor, based in HQ
Denmark	White	Female	Based in a HQ role, Scandinavia
Kenya	Black	Female	Senior EiE practitioner at an INGO
Data provided	not provided	not provided	Female EiE TA and consortium
Data provided	not provided	not provided	Female Education in Emergencies Technical Officer
Greece	White	Female	Education Coordinator and Greece Programme coordinator
Data provided	not provided	Female	Senior Consultant
UK	White	Female	Director for an education network and a researcher at a university in Lebanon

Data provided	not provided	not provided	Female	Programme Manager
Cameroon	Black		Male	Senior EiE practitioner at an INGO
The Gambia	Black		Female	Senior EiE practitioner at an INGO
Lebanese	Arab		Female	Community Officer
U.K	White		Female	Gender and EiE programming
Ethiopia	Black		Male	EiE Advisor

The findings from the KII and surveys with the EiE practitioners are discussed in chapter seven.

Figure 2

Gender of KII and survey respondents

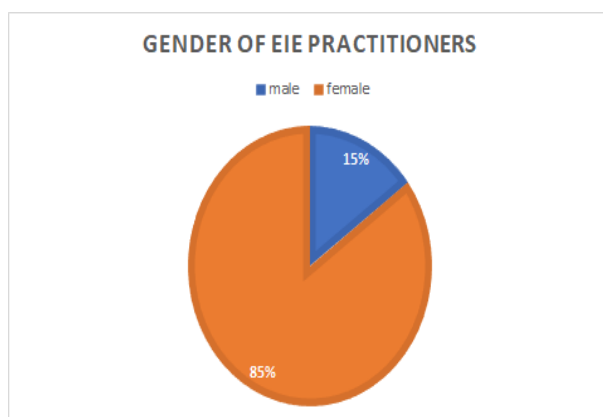


Figure 2 illustrates that 85% of the participants identified as female. Although there are no comprehensive studies on the number of EiE practitioners globally, it is indicative that a high percentage of female-identifying persons work in HQ and regional positions. Whilst I did not specifically target people working in headquarters or regional roles, the sample is indicative that people within these roles are more likely to access LinkedIn and the INEE slack channel and were more responsive to completing the survey or agreeing to a key informant interview.

3.15 Data collection methods

This section briefly discusses an educational stories research pilot that informed the DSAR. Next, I discuss the data collection methods used for each empirical chapter: The creation of the DSAR curriculum (Chapters 4, 5, 6); the key informant interviews and surveys with EiE stakeholders, presented in chapter 7. I will also provide information on the procedures by which these methods were undertaken and the analytical measures.

3.16 A pilot study (2018-2019)

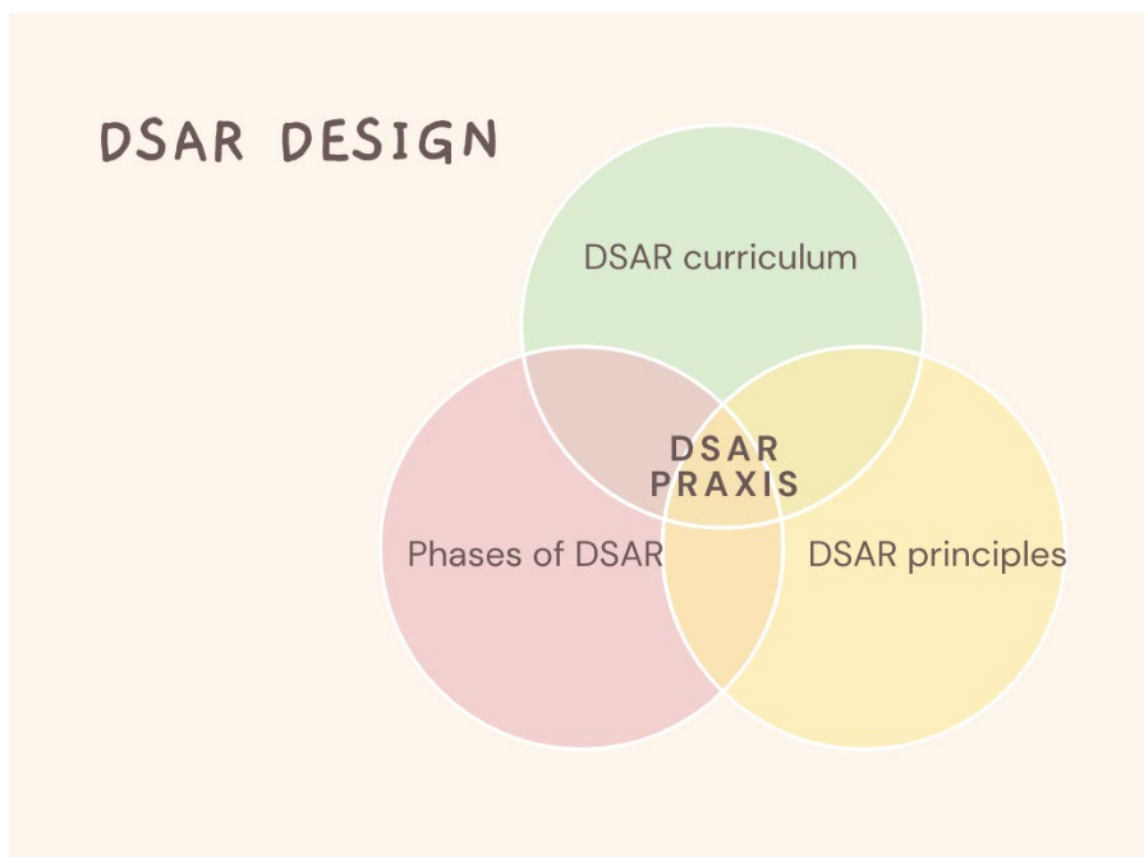
In 2018-2019 I was part of a collective of researchers at the Centre for Migration, Refugees, and Belonging (CMRB) that co-designed an Education Storytelling participatory research project with a small INGO based in Jordan and Lebanon. I co-designed and facilitated four sessions with a small group of students who worked for the INGO. With a small cohort of three consistent participants, the pilot highlighted the need for an excellent transparent relationship with the gatekeeper organisation and interactive and multi-methods to facilitate and share knowledge across cultures and languages. Based on the learnings from the pilot, I developed the DSAR course for young people and separate key informant interviews (KII) and surveys for EiE practitioners, mindful of the asymmetries of power that would be difficult to navigate if the two groups were combined. The DSAR praxis is discussed in the next section.

3.17 Digital Storytelling Action Research (DSAR) praxis

In this section, I outline the DSAR praxis. Firstly, I provide an overview of the curriculum. Next, I outline how the DSAR principles informed the content and facilitation of the process. Thirdly, I outline the phases of DSAR. Finally, returning to Collin's (2019) call for critical knowledge projects, I grounded my praxis in the interdisciplinary paradigms that inform CPAR, and the BRT discussed earlier in this chapter. The theoretical grounding orientated how I engaged in scholar activism and informed what I did methodologically at all levels of the research design process.

Figure 3

The DSAR Praxis



The DSAR praxis is the convergence of the three phases of the research; 1) DSAR curriculum, 2) DSAR principles that inform and guide the curriculum and facilitation and; 3) The phases of research implementation.

3.18 Overview of the DSAR curriculum

For over six weeks, each cohort attended online DSAR sessions (see appendices F-K for a detailed outline of the individual sessions), interweaving pedagogical encounters with research design, devising questions, and collecting stories centred around collecting Education experiences from peers, using mixed methods. 'Data' was also explicitly collected in this phase through dialogue from weekly discussions, which were audio recorded with permission. All interactions informed and constructed each data collection method. The DSAR course was facilitated in English as participants attended an INGO higher education preparation course, for which English was the medium of instruction. However, participants were encouraged to share stories in their preferred language. Participation in the research was voluntary, and as the groups already studied together, this accelerated trust and reciprocity. In the initial session, students worked together to outline ways of working, acknowledging that difficult conversations may occur, the importance of holding space, and deep listening.

Table 4

Overview of the DSAR course

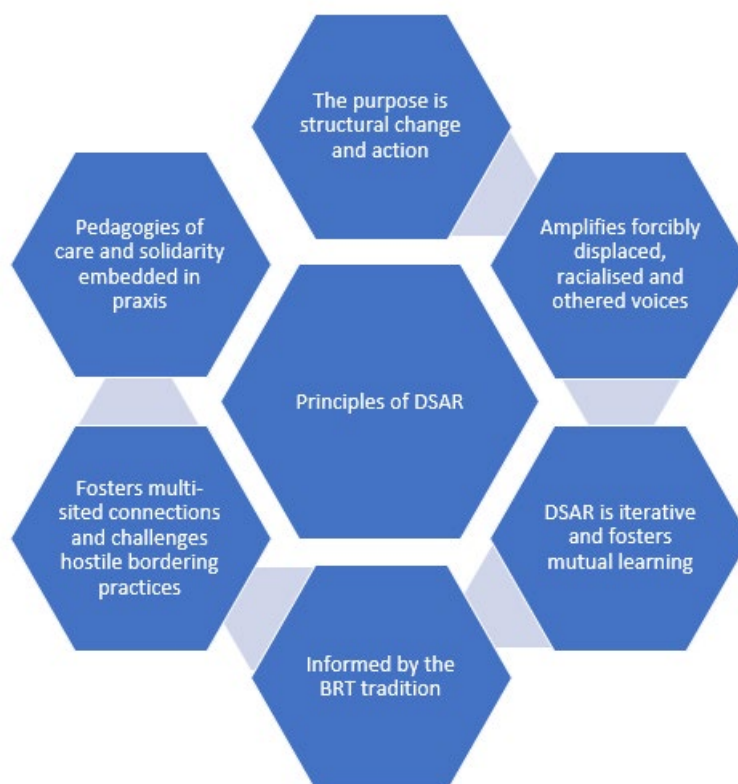
Session	Topic
Session 1	Expectations, Introduction to DSAR, Diverse types of research, Bias, and Validity.
Session 2	1) Ethics 2) Informed consent and risk mapping 3) Visual methods- Photography/ Drawings
Session 3	Visual/digital representation of life stories – Audio (Podcast), Narratives (blog)
Session 4	Identifying themes, Intersectionality and how our identities influence our educational experiences. Video as a way of telling stories.
Session 5	Presentation on data analysis (Using stories that you have collected)
Session 6	What next? Using data for advocacy. What do you want to do with your stories?

After the six sessions, students received a certificate of participation to acknowledge their valuable contributions. In the next section, I provide a more detailed overview of the DSAR.

Drawing inspiration from the Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development (APWLD) model of feminist action research (2017), I grounded the DSAR around six principles or values, which I discuss on the following page.

Figure 4

DSAR principles



3.18.1 Amplifying forcibly displaced, racialised and othered voices

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, EiE research has ignored the implications of transnational conflict dynamics, coloniality and racial injustice. For example, as a pre-task, co-researchers were asked to search for education information and forced displacement in their context. In the first session, we examined the collected resources, exploring who wrote the narratives, what images were used, and what stories were written. As the forthcoming chapters will illustrate, the data generated from these activities and the co-researchers' data collection created space to amplify the education, experiences, reflections, and critiques from a diverse range of young people.

3.18.2 Fosters multi-sited and challenges hostile bordering

DSAR aimed to challenge a hostile environment, isolating lockdown rules and bordering regimes, recognising that borders are geographic, political, subjective, and epistemic. It was impossible to have a mixed-site cohort for several practical reasons, such as time zones and limited time to foster an intimate fugitive space. However, each cohort could learn from one another as many co-researchers agreed their research would be shared with another group for prompts, discussion, and interpretation. This enabled participants to feel connected and informed of global situations of displacement.

3.18.3 Pedagogies of care and solidarity

Research that embeds critical participatory action research methods must also take responsibility for cultivating a culture of care simultaneously as enabling counter-narratives that underline social inequities as multi-pronged and manifest in systemic ways (Caraballo & Soleimany, 2019). The DSAR project, unlike focus group discussions or surveys, was not designed as a one-off encounter but involved slower scholarship. Researchers come together in a contact space for over two months to plan, develop, analyse, and decide how to distribute research findings for action. Whilst two months may not be considered a long time in action research; it challenges the humanitarian sector's speed-driven nature and culture of rapid assessments and extractive data collection practices. Furthermore, the DSAR occurred during lockdowns in the UK, South Sudan, and Jordan. Due to their marginality in the various locations, many students could not access other online learning opportunities. One of the consistent reflections across the three sites from students was an appreciation of having something to do during this time of limited movement. Students constantly appreciated and uplifted their fellow peers during the sessions, empathising with their stories and uplifting and celebrating each other's achievements.

3.18.4 DSAR is iterative, fosters mutual learning

The DSAR sessions become points of peer learning. Students shared their interpretation of key texts, audio and videos and contributed their mixed-methods data as learning resources within the sessions. Furthermore, the DSAR course was iterative, as each cohort challenged me to rethink and reframe sessions and activities differently. Furthermore, co-analyses exercises and sharing knowledge across sites redistributed

methodological and analytical power to the co-researchers, repositioning forcibly displaced youth as experts.

3.18.5 Informed by the BRT

The content of the DSAR was developed and facilitated by integrating key concepts from the BRT, such as culturally sustaining pedagogies, intersectionality, and critical race theories, which are discussed in detail in chapters one and two. See appendices five for an overview of the content of each DSAR session.

3.18.6 The purpose is structural change and action

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, there is a danger that CPAR can be co-opted, and it should not be seen as just using participatory methods to gather data. Action is an integral part of the praxis. Therefore, the final session of the DSAR focused on developing plans, using research to inform advocacy, and making collective decisions on how and where to disseminate findings. The final session further solidified the contact zones as a dialectical, fugitive space for radical and contingent possibilities.

Further details of the data research methods, including the application of these principles, can be found in the forthcoming section, 'Data Collection methods', in this chapter and the annexes. The following section will outline the research setting and context.

3.19 Facilitating DSAR sessions

In Appendices I, I share a detailed breakdown of the individual session plans; however, this section provides an overview of facilitating the DSAR. The first session began with establishing community agreements designed by the co-researchers. Community agreements grounded the session with a shared understanding of ways of working and underscored the importance of 'relational care' (Guishard et al., 2021, p. 10). Students participated through audio, chat, and online learning apps during the sessions. The initial session focused on a basic introduction to research concepts, establishing ways of working and the research area of focus, education. Seeking to promote transparency, I acknowledged my interest in exploring the research aim(s) initially, seeking permission from the group to begin with, these ideas and questions

while actively encouraging the researchers to raise different ideas and questions throughout the discussions to enable the co-construction of the research. For example, in session two, we focused on co-designing research questions. Figure 5 below is from the Jordanian cohort of students.

Figure 5

Jam board session to determine a research question



The sample of the research questions design indicates how participation was enacted at the research design stage. Although I had my research interests, as outlined in the main aims, I only pursued those lines of inquiry with the EiE practitioners, where I devised the questions. The DSAR participants decided the questions they wanted to ask, and as discussed in the next section, the data was then analysed from an inductive approach.

One of the benefits of using multiple engagement methods allowed group members to share and contribute anonymously. Using the Jam board, participants suggested questions they were interested in researching. Then, as a group, each post-it note was reviewed, critiqued, and considered from a risk-assessment lens.

Each DSAR session integrated research skills to serve participants in their current and future studies alongside dialogical inquiry around education,

intersectionality, power, and privilege. Visual materials were integrated into the sessions; for example, Chimamanda Adichie's Ted talk on *The Danger of a Single Story* (2009) was shown in session one to prompt discussion on the biases, perspectives, and the power of storytelling. In session 4, an interview with Egyptian feminist Nawal El Saadawi (2018) discussing her experiences of being othered in school due to her class and gender was used to introduce the concept of intersectionality (for a detailed overview of the contents of each DSAR session, please see appendices).

Throughout the DSAR process, I kept my journal and recorded my reflections on the process, tagging critical conversations and words that stood out as relating to the key themes. My facilitation approach drew heavily on the works of bell hooks (1994, 2013) and culturally sustaining pedagogies (Paris & Alim 2017; Yosso, 2005), whereby my role was to hold space and facilitate discussion; decision-making around the types of questions, data and dissemination remained firmly with the co-researchers. In the next section, I will discuss how data was analysed.

3.20 Data analysis

The process for analysis was ongoing, iterative, and involved different decisions about diverse types of data, among them texts, interviews, and visual arts. I was committed to enabling participation throughout the research process. In the following section, I outline how the data were coded:

3.20.1 Coding key informant interviews

Data was collected from the EiE practitioners in two ways: interviews via Microsoft teams or survey monkey. Following the interviews on MS teams, I used the teams' function to autogenerate the transcript and converted it to a word document. Then, the transcript was manually cleaned before being uploaded into NVIVO. Similarly, anonymous surveys were downloaded from google forms and imported to NVIVO. See Appendix E for an overview of the key informant interview questions.

The coding process took place over several months. First, I read the data to get an overview. At this point, I assigned my first set of codes, identifying keywords using

an inductive coding approach. Next, I went through the data line-by-line for a more detailed analysis. I identified critical themes from coded data, this time as related to the research questions. The identified codes and themes were non-hierarchical in structure.

3.20.2 Coding images and text data with DSAR co-researchers

Jointly coding data with co-researchers is a crucial component of CPAR (Fine & Torres, 2021). As multi-methods were used in this study, several approaches were used to code the data generated from the DSAR. I modelled the SHOWed photovoice methodology for analysing images with the DSAR participants. This method aims to generate conversation around the images and includes the following questions:

1. What do you see in this image?
2. Why did you take this picture?
3. What is happening here?
4. How does this relate to our lives?
5. Why does this condition exist?
6. What can we do about it?
7. How could this image educate others?

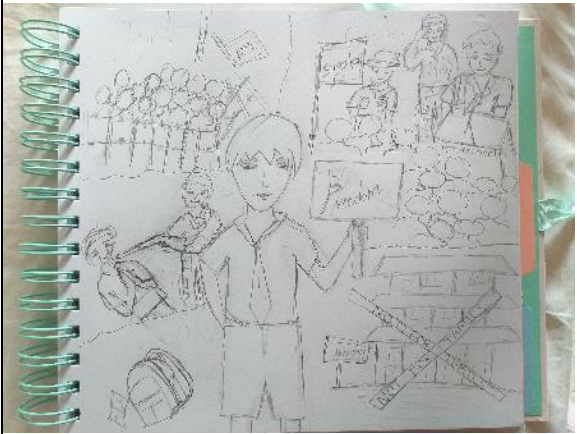
(Strack et al., 2004, p. 51)

Throughout the six sessions, students modelled the SHOWed method by analysing different artefacts they chose to share with the group. I also used visual methods such as video clips and images to stimulate discussion and model creative analysis methods.

The table below illustrates a group coding session with the UK-based cohort. In the session, the students' group coded one of the storytelling images that a fellow group member had collected using google docs. I then downloaded the document and transferred it to NVIVO 12 for secondary data analysis and further coding.

Figure 6

SHOWeD photo analysis

<p>The SHOWeD framework by using this set of questions:</p>	
<p>S: What is the first thing you notice about this picture? What do you see?</p> <p>H: What story do you imagine the picture is telling? What is Happening?</p> <p>O: How does it make you feel, or what does it make you think about? How does the story affect Our lives?</p> <p>W: Why are things this way? (Why does this situation, concern, or strength exist?)</p> <p>e: How could this photo Educate people?</p> <p>D: What can we Do about it? (How does this photo provide opportunities for us to improve life in your community?)</p>	<p>Strong will</p> <p>Resilient</p> <p>Struggle</p> <p>Injustice</p> <p>War and Freedom</p> <p>Questions? It is a story already</p> <p>The wrong aspects of society</p> <p>Miscommunication</p> <p>Abuse of power and authority</p> <p>He wants freedom</p> <p>He wants peace</p> <p>He has the solution for stopping the wars</p> <p>But war is unstoppable because war is so old it is getting more complex or better</p> <p>I know more about the war in Iraq / I am from Kurdistan</p> <p>The image reminds us about the struggles going on in the world that are easily forgotten because we are so far from the country where people are being suppressed</p>

3.20.3 Joint analysis of text

Session five of the DSAR included an introduction to qualitative research analysis session. Before the session, participants shared data that they felt sufficiently comfortable doing so to be analysed. During the session, using a sample of a collected interview or written autobiography, participants read the transcript and jointly coded the data through a google doc so people could simultaneously code. Next, there was a group discussion about the findings and how they had been interpreted. There were many moments for critical reflection during the data analysis phase of the research, with many students preferring to discuss and orally analyse the texts. The figure below is an example of a coding session.

Figure 7

Example of a coding text session with DSAR Jordan

Interview transcript	Codes (key words)	Preliminary themes
<p>My journey from a camp to Europe was a very tough one. For 18 years, I have been living in a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon called "Ein Al-Helweh".</p> <p>This camp is notorious for its continuous clashes between its political parties and factions and perhaps secretly, it is known for killing its children's dreams.</p> <p>Ein Al-Helweh with all its flaws empowered me to see what is beyond the walls surrounding it and to break borders and barriers between countries to finally settle in Europe.</p> <p>This road was full of hardships as I have fortunately gotten a scholarship to study at the University of Malta.</p> <p>'Honestly, I have always wanted to leave Lebanon since refugees future there is uncertain and depends on the political climate in the region with all its turmoil and danger, however, I always had in mind</p>	<p>journey from a camp to Europe 18 years Palestinian refugee camp Ein Al-Helweh".</p> <p>continuous clashes political parties and factions killing its children's dreams.</p> <p>of coming back and contributing for change.</p>	<p>Life transitions</p> <p>Journeys</p> <p>Conflict, War Government/policies/politics</p> <p>Unsatisfied Uncertain future</p> <p>Not giving up. Sense of connection/ sense of origin</p>

The joint data analysis sessions offered an opportunity to minimise bias and subjectivity in the data analysis process. However, due to time limitations, the quantity of data generated through the DSAR sessions, and being attuned to ensure that I was

placing manageable and realistic expectations onto co-researchers, in addition to the thesis write-up being my responsibility, much of the data was not jointly analysed. In the next section, I outline the process of analysing the remaining data.

3.20.4 My analysis of data (DSAR and KII)

After each DSAR session, I listened to the recording. Next, I made notes about the participants' main ideas and verbatim quotes, beginning to identify the emerging themes within the contact space discussions. Then, like the data analysis process, I followed with the key informant interviews and uploaded all the data generated from the DSAR project to NVIVO. This included stories, visual images, the content generated in the sessions (for example, from interactive jam board and google docs activities), and notes I had taken during the session. Finally, I coded these artefacts and looked for themes related to the research questions through the lens of selected concepts within the BRT. In addition to the key themes, I identified and coded related sub-themes, as illustrated in the table below.

Table 5

Coding key themes using NVIVO 12

Key Themes	Racial Capitalism	Intersectionality	Fugitivity	Resistance and abolitionist thinking
Sub/themes	Curriculum Concepts of Educability Decision-making in EiE Immigration status	Racial discrimination Faith-based discrimination Immigration status Language Poverty Gender	Aspirations Cultural wealth	Culturally sustaining education Alternative approaches to aid solidarity

Similarly, with the data from the KIIs and surveys, I uploaded the transcribed data to NVIVO 12 and coded, looking for the same key themes.

3.21 Turning research into action

CPAR 'is a way for researchers and oppressed people to join in solidarity to take collective action, both short and long-term, for radical social change. Locally determined and controlled action is a planned consequence of inquiry.' (Maguire 1987, p. 29). Any work with critical inquiry and praxis should 'explicitly challenges the status quo and aims to transform power relations and should not be simply a method for doing research but also a tool for empowering people' (Collins & Bilge, 2020, p. 37). As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, there is a danger that CPAR can be co-opted, and it should not be seen as just using participatory methods to gather data. Action is an integral part of the praxis, so I have included some of the 'action' outcomes in the methods chapter.

Each group decided to share their stories through digital media in diverse ways. Several participants from the UK cohort advocated for their organisation to include a page on the website designed by the learners who had taken part in the DSAR. The website was launched in July 2021, in line with Refugee week in the UK. Two of the students collaborated to produce a short film based on a comic strip made by one of the students who shared in a DSAR session her experiences of Islamophobia after celebrating examination success. In the short film, the student narrates her experience and how she overcame her struggles. The web page was also filled with other narratives of succeeding in education and overcoming challenges. The students wanted to show other forcibly displaced students their successes.

Several participants in the DSAR Jordan groups decided to use their stories to motivate other learners. This included posting short narratives and photos in student-led Facebook groups for forcibly displaced learners. Similarly, to the cohort in the UK, their objective was to connect with and support their peers.

Inspired by Ali and McCarty's (2020) advocacy of slow scholarship and methodologies of practice and care, I continued to work with the organisation and participants on several advocacy initiatives that stemmed from the DSAR. Furthermore, CPAR researchers such as Aldana & Richards-Schuster (2021) also emphasise that CPARs who are adult allies have a responsibility to leverage their privileges to convince a policy dialogue, where possible, to disseminate findings with people within systems of

power. As such, I co-convened an online seminar with the INEE posing whether it was possible to decolonise EiE, using preliminary points from the DSAR to stimulate discussion (2021). 185 practitioners around the globe signed up, and over 90 participated in the session.

Later in 2021, I was part of a collective of academics and practitioners who convened The Collective on Education, Decoloniality and Emergencies (CEDE!) first online conference to open the space to reflect on power issues and justice within the field of EiE (C. Collective, 2021). Over 50 presenters participated in the conference in December 2021, including three DSAR participants from Somalia, Eritrea, and Sudan, who presented their research findings on racial discrimination in Jordan. In addition, another participant from Syria spoke of his initiative to support forcibly displaced learners to find higher education opportunities. The conference was a humble attempt and intervention to re-centre people with lived experience of EiE as experts, to compensate presenters for their scholarship and push back on the often-critiqued exploitative practices of the ivory tower, as well as the EiE research industrial complex as outlined in chapter two.

3.22 DSAR: fidelity, validity, and integrity

Questions of fidelity undoubtedly arise with participatory action research. As the research is designed by and for people with the greatest proximity to the image being framed, considering how bias is mitigated to ensure validity is a valid concern.

As highlighted earlier, most CPAR studies that use qualitative and mixed methods aim not to generalise but to provide a rich, contextualised understanding of some aspect of human experience through the intensive study of cases (Fine & Torres, 2021; Polit & Beck, 2010). This is exemplified by Trickett et al. (2020), who suggest that the goal of participatory research is not only scientific but also to contribute towards social action. Fine (2018) suggests that the layered richness of most CPAR data creates space for what she calls 'provocative generalisability'. In later works, she unpacks the concept further, claiming that although CPAR may not be generalisable in a statistical sense, the data often resonates and sparks reflection and action across time and space (Fine and Torres, 2021, p. 82). Although the findings of this thesis are not generalisable in a

statistical sense, the commonalities and divergences in educational experiences across contexts strengthen the validity of the findings, albeit limited, due to data being discussed, critiqued, and coded from multiple perspectives.

Secondly, the participatory process among varied partners is part of the intervention to be understood as affecting both processes and outcomes. Dual analysis and dialogical inquiry, integral to DSAR, point towards more rigorous qualitative inquiry and analysis methods by 'strengthening construct validity through the critical participation' of people with lived experience of emergencies (Sandwick et al., 2018, p. 478).

Thirdly, as was made evident in the previous section that discussed research as action, the goals of participatory research often include community-level and individual-level changes. The components above were integral to the DSAR process. Nevertheless, as Cook (2022) states, changes that occur because of participating in PAR projects prove harder to document and may not occur immediately.

3.23 Summary

This chapter outlines how guiding methodological principles and my epistemological perspective translated into research practice. EIE forced migration studies, and global youth studies must reject essentialist and universalising narratives and acknowledge lives on the borderlands of marginality and at the intersections of race, class, sexuality, and gendered power relations. Education research informed by the BRT that stems from traditions of refusal and resistance enables a methodological pluralism critically needed to make visible the multiplicity of educational experiences in emergencies. Significantly, my thesis challenges representations of forcibly displaced youth through critical inquiry and praxis, expands the canon of legitimate knowledge, and reframes traditional researcher/researched relations to power.

This chapter claimed the DSAR process is multi-contextual, multidisciplinary, self-reflexive, and rooted in anti-racist, decolonial and critical pedagogies. The six principles examine where coloniality touches research processes, putting in place praxis to minimise, mitigate and disrupt epistemic injustice. Using mediums such as photos,

paintings, audio, video, and autobiographical narratives and presenting these on different digital platforms enabled a counter-narrative to EiE's quantitative, universalising and flattening portrayals of youth in exile. The knowledge claims I make in the later chapters of the thesis are grounded in the theory and praxis of this chapter and the previous two chapters. As a result of the DSAR praxis, this thesis is not solely about education but stems from groups of young people pursuing or seeking to pursue education. It is not a work of history, migration studies or immigration law. However, due to its conceptual framing within the BRT, past and present histories are included to understand young people's experiences of inclusion and exclusion. In the next chapter, I share the first findings from the cohort of co-researchers in South Sudan.

Chapter 4 Education against all odds: resistance, fugitivity and hope in South Sudan

This chapter will examine the educational experiences of forcibly displaced young people living in South Sudan. Firstly, in adherence to the BRT's attention to the wider political economy of education, the chapter begins by examining the macro-level context and the role of INGO and UN agencies in delivering humanitarian education aid programmes, drawing on racial capitalism's demand for attention to global structures and systems that shape contexts (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Robinson, 2021; Walia, 2021). The first section of this chapter uses secondary and primary data to foreground young people's education experiences. It reveals and illustrates the structural issues that inform their education experiences. Similarly, to the centrality placed on self-narrative and storytelling in CRT and other Black radical informed scholarship (Katsiaficas et al., 2011; Ladson-Billings, 2005b; Mckittrick, 2020), young people's voices are paramount in this study; however, the contextual overview situates their experiences within a broader political economy of education and shows how the international community and EiE programmes respond to crises. Furthermore, the theoretical concepts in this chapter build upon the literature review, and concepts like fugitivity (Givens, 2021; Patel, 2019), community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) and definitions are revisited when necessary to enhance understanding of the context. Insufficient attention has been paid

to the broader education ecosystem, and the approach taken in this study remedies what scholars such as Novelli (2014) have noted as a gap in EiE. Therefore, the first section enables the subsequent findings to be contextualised and understood.

The second theme examines different modes of humanitarianism, including South-South educational aid (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2015), as discussed in chapter two, whereby non-state and alternative educational aid providers play critical roles in continuing education in crisis contexts. This section's findings, similar to the BRT insistence on documenting resistance to oppression (Johnson & Lubin, 2017; Robinson, 2021), illuminate how different power dynamics and non-traditional humanitarian aid providers have been critical in providing EiE programmes for conflict-affected children and youth. These findings link to the thesis's broader aim of understanding coloniality within aid. Illustrating alternative narratives and actors underlines how communities resist and respond to crises, often without external saviours.

Next, the chapter explores the theme of 'de/colonising the mind', referring to the student's education histories, which were influenced by colonialism and have been a driver for displacement. In this section, we see how colonial concepts around who is capable of being educated, or educability, have shaped macro-level decisions around education provision. Again, these findings address the research questions and deepen our understanding of educational experiences and how these are informed and shaped by external ideologies. Fourthly, the final theme focuses on young people's experiences traversing borders in search of opportunities, hopes and dreams. In this section, we see how students resist limited educational opportunities and navigate across multiple borders through their agency and cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) to pursue their education dreams. Finally, the paper concludes with a summary, bringing together the key findings from the chapter.

4.1 Educational aid and decision-making in Ajuong Thok refugee camp

Ajuong Thok (meaning mouth of the lion in the Dinka language), Yida and Pamir refugee camps are on the border between South Sudan and Sudan. According to Nabil, a male student now residing in Ajuong Thok, the camps were established in 2012 by UNHCR after an earlier, informal settlement:

'Yida, was found not to be suitable for refugee settlement for the reason that it was on the border area between the Nuba Mountains and South Sudan.'

(Nabil, student and co-researcher, Ajuong Thok Camp)

According to recent demographic data, 125,521 refugees live in the three camps. 76% of the population are women and children (UNHCR, 2022d). In addition, 39,525 inhabitants are between 5-11; 26,612 between 12 and 17 years, and 19,770 are between 18 and 24 (UNHCR, 2022d). As table 6 illustrates, many INGOs operate in the camp (UNHCR, 2020).

Table 6

Overview of humanitarian actors in the Ajuong Thok refugee camp

Camp management	Danish Refugee Council (DRC)
Education	Lutheran World Federation (LWF)
Health	World Food Program (WFP), Samaritans Purse (SP)
Health, nutrition, and hygiene	Africa Humanitarian Action (AHA)
Livelihoods	DRC
Logistics	Action Africa Help International (AAH-I)
NFI and shelter	DRC
Protection (SGBV)	International Rescue Committee (IRC)
Child Protection	LWF
Protection (Access to Justice)	HDC

Water and Sanitation	SP
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Table 6 shows the many actors involved in a single camp; it is representative of many refugee camps whereby UNHCR is present but is not an implementing agency. Instead, UNCHR has a presence and often funds the different actors in the camp.

As Nabil notes, the original informal settlement, Yida, was considered too close to 'South Kordofan', a conflict-affected region within Sudan over the past three decades. For context, Sudan (including what is now South Sudan) had two distinct regions in recent history: the North, characterised as Arab and Muslim, and the South, which has a predominately 'Black, Nilotic population that also practices Christianity and Indigenous religions' (Warren, 2020, p. 2). However, these binary categorisations do not illustrate the complex nuances of identity within such an ethnically diverse nation. As Abel, one of the students, explains, even within South Kordofan, *'the Nuba community comprises more than 50 ethnic groups, speaking different languages, and multiple religions'*. Nevertheless, these diverse peoples have found a common identity as 'Nuba' through their shared mountain homeland and a history of shared oppression (Minority Rights Group, (2021, January 20).

However, years of political exclusion and racialised discrimination shaped the conditions for civil war. In the wake of the global BLM movement in 2020, there has been widening discourse around anti-Blackness in Sudan, where Arab and non-Arab ethnic groups co-exist. Many scholars have noted that racial discrimination, specifically anti-Black discrimination thrives (Albaih, 2020; Komey, 2016). Albaih (2020) attributes the contemporary context to pre- colonial and colonial British rule, origins. During the pre-colonial era, Nubian and Nuba ethnic groups were enslaved and transported to Egypt and the rest of the Arab world (Albaih, 2020). Later, as British colonialism was entrenched, colonial administrators deliberately manipulated relations between the different existing ethnic groups, which favoured some tribes over others. Over the centuries, although Arab tribes migrated south and intermarried, yet continued to engage in the slave trade, which solidified 'the belief of Arab superiority' alongside racial and ethnic divisions (Albaih, 2020). As Elradi (2018) outlines in her thesis, under the 1956 formation of the modern Sudanese state, people from South Kordofan faced

systematic marginalisation, culturally, politically, and economically by the state in order for the creation of a new hegemonic national identity (p. 105). Johnson highlights how 'Indigenous languages were forbidden, including their banning in schools in the Nuba Mountains. Nuba children were prohibited from attending school unless they adopted Arabic names and spoke Arabic in school' (Johnson, 2006, cited in Komey, 2016, p. 8).

As a result of these manoeuvrings, people from the Nuba mountains found themselves politically aligned with Southern Sudanese calls for independence. In 1984, the Nuba people joined the Southern People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM- N) to fight for independence (Warren, 2020). However, as the map below illustrates, it became divided between SPLM-N (Southern People s Liberation Movement-North), an armed non-state actor (ANSA), and governmental control. By the early 90s, the Government of Sudan had acquired a fatwa from Muslim clerics to legitimise a *jihad*, or holy war against the Nuba people (Elradi, 2018; Warren, 2020). However, when South Sudan gained independence in 2011, several regions, including South Kordofan, were not included in the succession, and conflict has continued (Warren, 2020).

Figure 8

Map of Sudan and South Kordofan

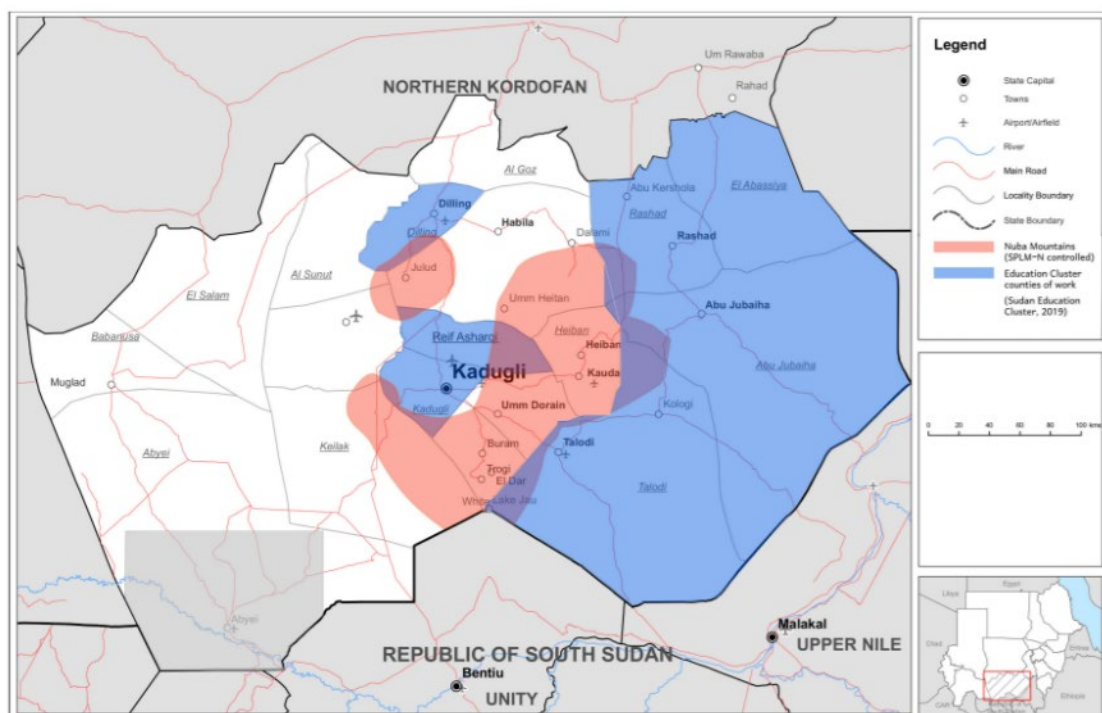
Source: (OCHA, 2020, p.22)



However, the situation in South Kordofan is representative of the 'forgotten' crises that receive minimal global media exposure and little humanitarian aid. For example, no government official or major aid organisation had visited South Kordofan for nine years before 2020 (Morgan, 2020). Since 2021, access to Government and SPLM-N-controlled areas of the state improved significantly following unilateral ceasefire declarations, but years of violence and conflict have severely damaged the already underfunded education system (OCHA, 2022). Notwithstanding, the education cluster, a UN (UNICEF) and INGO (Save the Children) led coordination mechanisms tasked to coordinate educational interventions in crisis contexts does not support interventions in the SPLA-N-controlled areas of the Nuba mountains (Warren, 2020, p. 4).

Figure 9

Education Cluster services in South Kordofan Province, relative to Nuba Mountains



Map based on OCHA/ReliefWeb

**Note: The Education Cluster documents its data according to county boundaries. However, the Nuba Mountains area controlled by the SPLM-N (the Northern branch of the SPLM) does not adhere to such boundaries. Areas of overlap do not indicate that Cluster work is being carried out in the Nuba Mountains. Rather, Cluster work is being carried out elsewhere within the county.*

Source (Warren, 2020, p. 4)

Due to the ongoing conflict, and limited access to essential services, including education, thousands of people from the Nuba mountains have crossed the border into

South Sudan, seeking sanctuary in the refugee camps. Notwithstanding, a civil war embroiled South Sudan from mid-December 2013 to mid-September 2018, in which 400,000 people died and several million were displaced (Mayai, 2020, p. 14). Refugees are coming to a country with equally huge education disparities. For example, UNICEF estimated that girls in South Sudan are more likely to die in childbirth than to finish high school (Greenberg, 2016). In addition, 70 per cent of schools were closed in conflict-affected states closed, including Unity state, where the Ajuong Thok refugee camp is situated, and as many as 400,000 children dropped out of school (Hodgkin & Thomas, 2016).

Students like Jamal, a young male from South Kordofan, navigate education in a dynamic, fluid, and complex protracted emergency context.

'In 2019, there was an attempt by UNHCR, that is known as the biggest donor for education services in Ajuong Thok and Pamir camps of South Sudan, hosting Nuba communities from South Kordofan of Sudan, instructing its education partner (LWF) to exclude refugees that are 18 years and have the interest of joining secondary. This year, 2021, any refugee who happened to be 14 years and interested in joining primary one is not given opportunities to enrol in school. Another challenge facing refugees here is that most of the youth are unable to acquire tertiary education due to the limited budgets; However, DAFI Scholarship is in action; it takes less than four refugee students annually to university compared to more than 2000 students that graduate each year in the Secondary schools of Ajuong Thok and Pamir. Given the above explanation, it is really clear that education opportunities in emergencies are unfair.'

(Jamal, a young male refugee and co-researcher from South Kordofan)

Jamal's excerpt introduces the multiple partners and power brokers in education decision-making in the camps. UNHCR is the largest donor of education services', indicating the dual role that the agency has as a protection agency; on the other, it is a provider and financier of aid. With this power, Jamal narrates how the agency instructed 'its education partner', the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), to 'exclude refugees over 18 years'. Jamal's observations outline where power lies in education programming decision-making in the camp. The decision-making and age limitations on education opportunities do not come from the refugee population from the camp nor local or

national authorities¹⁶ but from the agencies there to provide services for the population. His observation concisely outlines how hierarchies of expertise in displacement are reproduced. Unlike the theoretical foundations of action research discussed in chapter three, decision-making does not sit with those using educational services. Jamal's example echoes the critique of EiE discussed in chapter three, whereby EiE governance is held with INGOs and donors and not people affected by crises. Jamal is clear that a delineation separates the recipient of aid from the decision-maker.

A second narrative emerges from Jamal's words, suggesting that educational opportunities are not for everyone. Education providers have placed limitations on primary school enrolment, and anyone 'over the age of 14' who has not started 'primary one' cannot start. Implementing agencies often use age to ensure that education spaces remain protective and age appropriate. However, such blanket rules are problematic, particularly in South Sudan, where reoccurring cycles of violence and poor learning conditions have resulted in 2.8 million children being out of school (OOSC), with a 47.9% literacy rate for 15-24 years old. More than 70% of primary-level teachers are untrained, and most have not completed secondary education. However, the forcibly displaced population now living in Ajuong Thok and Pamir camps reside in a country severely impacted by war, in addition to coming from a context whereby access to formal education has been sporadic for much of the population for decades.

Given the brief overview of the context, it is unsurprising that 'a 14-year-old' from that region has had limited 'opportunities' to enrol in formal education. Decisions to classify children as overage to enrol in primary school or with few 'opportunities' outline how top-down decisions can obscure and perpetuate education inequity that EiE, as a sector, strives to subvert. Whilst, from this extract, it is not clear why the decision has been made not to allow 14-year-old children to enrol in primary school in a context where most children would be above their grade age, it does suggest that the concept of educability, as discussed in chapter two comes into play. An assumption and a glass ceiling are being placed on children who had limited opportunities to enrol in school prior to displacement. It also denies further and higher education pathways by denying primary school access. The lack of flexibility regarding a humanitarian agency

¹⁶ The General Education Act of 2012 for South Sudan does not place any mandatory maximum age limits on enrolling in primary or secondary education (General Education Act, 2012)
https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/default/files/ressources/general_education_act_2012.pdf

enrolment age for school enrolment correlates with Morrice et al. (2020) work. They outline that education systems, often based 'on assumed linearity and normative pathways, present structural barriers' to displaced youth's entry into and progression through the education system (Morrice et al.,2020, p. 389).

Furthermore, these exclusionary policies and practices fuel precarity as young people have limited opportunities to continue primary education. Even those who have completed primary school, Jamal perceives the 'attempt by UNHCR in 2019' to exclude any student over 18 who wishes to enrol in a secondary school as 'unfair'. There is a difference in perceptions of aid between Jamal and UNHCR. His perspective illustrates how universalising western norms that categorise 'youth' and school age as 18 and under may contrast with local definitions of who is of school age. Lastly, Jamal outlines that although '2000 students' in the camp finish secondary school each year, the limited number of 'DAFI scholarships' means they have nowhere to continue pursuing their education. For reference, the DAFI (Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative) scholarship programme, funded in partnership with UNHCR, offers qualified refugee and returnee students the possibility to earn an undergraduate degree in their country of asylum or home country (UNHCR, 2022b).

Jamal's extract outlines that external agencies like UNHCR place age restrictions on school enrolment and reinforces global studies that indicate the limited secondary and higher education opportunities for forcibly displaced populations (Dryden-Peterson, 2010; Kendall & Day, 2017). Whilst it is encouraging that tertiary education scholarships are available, in a camp where 47,150 of the population are between 18-59 years ago, only four students are funded to study degrees online per year. A total of 87 learners (LWF, 2021) have been supported through DAFI scholarships to attend colleges and universities online since Ajuong Thok's establishment in 2012, which equates to 0.18% of the population over 18 is supported to continue their educational journeys. Higher education enrolment in Ajuong Thok is dismally low compared to global statistics that estimate 5% of forcibly displaced students reach higher education, compared to 37 % of non-displaced populations (UNHCR, nd). Given the low level of higher education enrolment opportunities in the camp, understandably, Jamal perceives the limiting of 'education opportunities in emergencies' as 'unfair'.

Thus, this first section has sought to outline the context in which students reside. In addition, it highlighted that in the camp, LWF and UNHCR, as INGO and UN agencies, are the key decision-makers and hold the authority in deciding the type of education provided and to whom. However, as the following section outlines, the Ajuong Thok, Pamir and Yida camps students come from a context whereby the community has been critical in providing education. Therefore, delving into their previous educational experiences prior to displacement is essential to understanding the socio-historical context that has shaped their education trajectory thus far. Secondly, as students share their previous experiences of education, they counter the void or 'black box' in the field of refugee education, which scholars such as Dryden- Peterson argue has failed to connect the past to the present education provision that could inform resettlement education (2015, p. 133).

4.2 Alternative providers of aid during crises

As Swartz & Kallaway (2018) sagely note, to understand the nature of unequal education systems, there is a need to place analysis within a far broader historical context. Prior to displacement to Ajuong Thok, where aid agencies are firmly in charge of education programmes and decision-making, the civil war in South Kordofan had (and continues to have) a severe impact on students' ability to access education. Kamel remembers his childhood in South Kordofan, where:

'We could experience aerial bombardment, and some children could be injured, and others killed. After two years, the school moved to a place called Koje near small hills where children could take refuge in caves, small streams, and big trees. But bombardment was still intensive until children were transferred again to Smokin where there were more streams, and the community dug some trenches where children can hide when the aeroplane comes.'

(Kamel, student and co-researcher)

Kamel's example highlights that even prior to leaving South Kordofan, internal displacement shaped educational access. Aerial strikes have intentionally targeted schools (Hassan, 2014). However, another narrative emerges as Kamel illustrates how his community sought to continue education under 'aerial bombardment'. To minimise 'children being injured' and 'killed', he shares how the school's location changed several

times. Due to the conflict, communities strategically selected school sites nearer to 'streams' and where children could 'take refuge in caves'.

Furthermore, Kamel's extract illustrates how learning in war contexts is ever transient, as children and families experience multiple spatial movements searching for safer grounds to exist. Kamel's reference to the killing of classmates also indicates the perilous, even mortal, risks of bringing people together to learn in a conflict and the harrowing experiences of classmates dying. However, his account of the 'community digging trenches' where the children hid 'when aeroplanes came' demonstrates how people still wanted their children to learn despite the risks. These memories are deeply entrenched as years later, Nagwa, a classmate from South Kordofan, shares, 'at this point, I can undoubtedly show where I used to position myself during that time. I know my cave; I can even point out my cave'.

Figure 10

'The great Tunguli Mountain saved many lives during the deadly war.'



Source: (Nagwa, student, teacher and co-researcher)

4.2.1 Community cultural wealth and the continuation of learning in crises

Nagwa's photo illustrates her community's resolve to continue educating their children. The photo depicts the caves that Kamel mentioned, highlighting how local communities used the natural terrain as a shelter and a classroom. The image contrasts with INGO images of classrooms in conflict, which are often tents branded with an organisation's logo.

Nagwa explains:

'Our community-educated men thought it is not helpful for children to lose their vision without education. So, they collected children under trees and started to introduce the Arabic alphabet. By then, no one had any ideas about the English language. We were introduced to using your finger and writing on the ground the letters the teachers will show you to write at the end of the day you go back home with nothing, to some extent they also introduced us to using charcoal to write on big stones or rocks which seemed better because one can see what is written on the rock. Then practice it on your own because there was no chalk, blackboards, pens, or even exercise books. I think that was just to make children busy; no one saw future in that case.'

(Nagwa, student, teacher and co-researcher)

Nagwa and Kamel's narratives outlined how the community prioritised continuing learning despite living in an active conflict zone. Their communities were committed to teaching the younger generation, despite aerial bombardments and the 'lack of chalks, blackboards, pens or even exercise books.' Nagwa and Kamel's stories show that their communities refused to be subjugated even amid the perpetual threat of death; instead, they continued to seek ways to ensure that their children accessed formal education. The risks associated with congregating groups of children for study cannot be underestimated. In the 1990s, paramilitary groups, such as the People's Defense Forces (PDF), rounded up Nuba children from the Kadugli and Tulisci areas and sent them to Libya and the Gulf countries (Human Rights Watch, 1994; Minority Rights Group, 2021). Some Nuba ethnic groups, such as the Nuba Timu group that lived in the lower lands of the mountain ranges, were virtually eliminated, massacring males as young as six (Minority Rights Group, 2021). The students' examples of their community transforming the caves into places of learning and using the land and streams to 'hide' not only correlates with Given's (2021) conceptual framing of fugitive pedagogies discussed in chapter three but additionally is also an example of the Nuba's community centuries-long history of using the mountains as a place of refuge for those fleeing oppression, including violent slave raiders (Operation Broken Silence, 2019).

As Kamel explains, the fugitive schools that sprung up as 'caves' and near 'trenches' were not an end to people's struggles to access education. On the contrary, families and children made continuous sacrifices to enable learning to continue, demonstrating remarkable resilience.

'My mother could make a local brew to send me to school. I could cut grasses for sale; keep two to three chickens for my school fee. I remember I had only one pair of patched shorts and a red blouse from my sister, who gave it to me because of the cold.'

(Kamel, student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Kamel's story highlights the many people supporting his pursuit of education, including his agency to 'cut grass' and rear chickens to pay for 'school fees'. His mother and sister also supported his education, highlighting the critical motivation and financial support families play to support the continuation of learning during emergencies, yet are frequently overlooked in the EiE scholarship. Kamel's educational journey acknowledges women's roles in supporting his education, which offers a glimpse of the nuanced roles families and communities take to support the continuation of learning in crises. Kamel's reference to his mother's business of selling 'brew' and his sister's donation of clothing highlights support strategies often unseen in EiE discourse; his story also highlights that education was not free. Generating an income in conflict-affected areas to pay school fees is challenging. As Jamal outlines:

'I joined secondary school in 2008 but had to remain home for some years when my mother failed to raise school fees, and my two or three chickens could not bring much money. There was nothing like manual work that I could do to raise money to help myself.'

(Jamal, student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Jamal's excerpts show the creeping nature of crises as people's resources and capital slowly erode. Like Kamel, he kept poultry, and his mother contributed to his school fees. However, after enrolling in secondary school, he was forced to defer for 'some years' as he could not raise 'much money', and there were no opportunities to pay his school fees. As discussed in chapter one, multiple donors and governments have come on board to finance EiE programmes during crises in recent years, yet foreign government interventions remain minimal in the Nuba mountains.

4.2.2 Unconventional aid actors in South Kordofan

Aid organisations have acknowledged their failure to reach the Nuba Mountains (Warren, 2020). The lack of educational assistance to the Nuba mountains indicates the

non-neutrality of aid, the complexities and restrictions imposed by national governments, and donor anti-terrorism legislation limiting funding in non-governmental controlled areas. In South Kordofan, the lack of INGO and UN-funded education opportunities illustrates how EiE 'is a complex set of interactions between global and local forces'; aid is not necessarily driven or given according to need (Bengtsson & Dryden Peterson, 2016, p. 329). Notwithstanding, people from South Kordofan are not waiting passively for external funding for formal education to continue despite the lack of international aid. As Nagwa explains:

'To start with, I started my primary education in my village in Sudan, I was introduced to Arabic class from class one to 4, but the system got stuck because of the war, which was the country by then, there were no books to continue with Arabic system as it is known south Kordofan states were against the Government of Sudan, and we fall under the category of marginalised areas. So, the Arabic system was closed, and the organisation of NRRDO (Nuba Relief Rehabilitation for Development organisation) came in with the English system where I started fresh from primary one to 8, where I did my Kenya Certificate for Primary Education in 2007.'

(Nagwa, student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Nagwa connects the nexus between education services and political agendas. She describes how she started primary education under the 'Arabic system'; however, as she lived in South Kordofan state, whereby SPLA-N were against the Government of Sudan, education was 'closed down'. The state was no longer the education provider, and in the vacuum left, NRRDO came in 'with the English system'. For reference, NRRDO is a national NGO. Its presence in South Kordofan indicates localised, community-based and grassroots initiatives that have sprung up in the absence of international aid agencies.

In addition to national NGOs, individuals have also played a key role in supporting students from the Nuba mountains to continue their education. For example, Jamal shares:

'In 2012, January, I reached Yei, county of Central Equatoria state of South Sudan, where I happened to meet a good Samaritan lady ... that accepted to pay for my secondary education right from senior one to senior four and encouraged me to work harder in school.'

(Jamal, student and co-researcher, Ajuong Thok Camp)

Jamal's 'good Samaritan lady' is an example of many non-traditional educational stakeholders supporting continuing education for South Kordofan students. The student's education reflections do not mention or credit INGOs for providing educational services, indicating the absence South Kordofan, prior to their arrival at Ajuong Thok refugee camp. In the absence of a 'western' humanitarian aid (Fiori, 2013) model in a conflict, narratives of different actors, from individuals, parents, students, and armed actors, feature and are central to young people's education trajectories.

4.2.1 Curriculum and language of instruction: a challenge to and reinforcement of colonial logic

As Jamal recalls:

'In 2000, the rebels in Nuba Mountains brought teachers from Uganda to establish schools in the English language only. They demoted us to the primary one (P1) for a good foundation upon their arrival. I finished primary school in 2007 despite having no learning materials in school; I scored 282 marks out of 500, and we were never taught Kiswahili one day, but we sat for it (Kenya Certificate of Primary Education), which was brought to us in Nuba Mountains.'

(Jamal, student, and co-researcher)

The 'rebels' decision to bring in 'teachers from Uganda' to teach 'English language' offers essential insight into the multiple roles that Armed non-State actors (ANSA) play in EiE, an area that has received little attention in EiE scholarship (Geneva Call, 2017). However, it is not surprising that the SPLA-N would seek to provide education in the areas under their control, for ensuring education provision and decision-making power over the content of that education is a critical part of state-building and legitimising authority (Geneva Call, 2017).

Schools were established 'in English language only'. The decision by SPLA-N to introduce English as the language of instruction was politically calculated to distance South Kordofan populations from affiliating with the national state of Sudan, where Arabic is the language of instruction and governance. Secondly, Kamel's extract sheds light upon the lesser-known story of South-South humanitarian education in crises

discussed in chapter two, whereby Ugandan teachers from the 'Global South' moved to the Nuba mountains to teach.

The education provision in South Kordofan is starkly different from the Ajuong Thok refugee camp, where, as described in the opening section, international humanitarian aid agencies LWF and UNHCR are positioned as the providers of educational services. Finally, Jamal explains that students sat the Kenyan Certificate of Primary Education in South Kordofan, another example of South-South cooperation, as discussed in chapter two. The 'rebels' looked toward other African countries to support learning accreditation, countering the hegemonic discourse that frames and centres in the west and western INGOs as the legitimate and sole providers of educational opportunities in displacement situations.

However, Kamel and Nagwa's stories illustrate the odds students are up against in crisis contexts and how formal education assessments make few provisions for marginalised learners. These young people's narratives bring into play what has been termed the 'black box' (Dryden- Peterson, 2015, p. 133). As Dryden-Peterson explains, the 'black box' captures the lack of recognition of students' previous educational experiences by education providers. Furthermore, learners were 'never taught Kiswahili', but this was part of the end of primary school examinations and impacted their final examination results. However, the 'rebels' decision to implement the Kenyan curriculum demonstrates the importance communities place on formal and widely recognised qualifications. As Jamal recalled:

'I was made to believe that the Kenyan syllabus is more respected at the international level.'

(Jamal, student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Jamal's memory here sheds light on how different education systems are perceived and valued regionally. For example, a Kenyan education certificate is 'respected at an international level,' suggesting that students and educators want qualifications recognised beyond the nation-state because they live transnational lives (Dryden-Peterson et al., 2017; Dryden-Peterson & Brehm, 2022).

Nevertheless, as this section has shown, conflict, and political decisions regarding education, specifically adopting a new curriculum, prolonged the educational cycle as students were sent back to the first grade of primary school, as the system changed from Arabic and Sudanese to Kenyan English and Kiswahili. The students' experiences of repeating grades further strengthen Jamal's earlier argument that imposing age limitations on education enrolment in camps negatively impacts many young people who do not have linear education trajectories. Jamal indicates that he was 'made to believe' that the curriculum was better than other curriculums, suggesting a level of doubt. This prompts a deeper examination into the rationale behind changing the curriculum, which, as the students posit in the next section, is deeply rooted in resisting cultural imperialism in a context, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, whereby ethnicity has been weaponised.

4.3 Coloniality and education

In South Kordofan, learners are not taught about their history in formal schools due to the complex interactions of the national state, being an oppressed minority and living in non-governmental controlled areas. This is something that students lament, as Abel Komi, male, shares:

'It was unfortunate that I was not taught my culture, language, and traditions because I was learning the Kenyan syllabus, particularly in the schools under the SPLM control areas. Moreover, in all schools under the Khartoum government, Arabic was the only language of instruction, and African cultural practices were completely banned.'

(Abel Kobi, male student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Abel Komi's example illustrates how coloniality interacts with educational experiences. Komi describes growing up in an SPLM-N area. He studied the Kenyan syllabus, and his account of learning illustrates how macro-level decisions around education curricula play out in the classroom. Komi notes that all schools taught in Arabic under the Khartoum government, and all 'African cultural practices were completely banned.' Abel's example supports multiple findings by activists and researchers who suggested that as the Government of Sudan attempted to impose an Islamic state, it created an ethnocentric and religiously exclusive national school curriculum (Khomey, 2016). The national curriculum excluded the language and culture of regions such as the Nuba

Mountains to forge a hegemonic national identity (Warren, 2019, p. 2). Students learned of the differences in the curriculum through conversing with displaced youth who studied in different areas of (see figure one, earlier in this chapter). As Jamal recalls:

'I happened to interact with some colleagues who studied in the Sudanese capital Khartoum under a biased curriculum in the sense that it denied the learners the true history of Sudan, particularly the coming of Arabs in Sudan. Instead, the curriculum stated the word 'the coming of Arabs' with 'the coming of people.' The history was generalised to tell who a visitor in Sudan is. This is because our brothers and sisters from the Arab race who came to Sudan did not want to reveal to the young generation that Arabs came into Sudan and found there were already inhabitants of Sudan. This perception made some graduates who studied the Sudanese curriculum believe that Sudan is an Arab country.'

(Jamal, student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Abel's and Jamal's comments also give further gravitas to why the SPLM-N saw removing the curriculum put in place by the Khartoum government as critical in their areas of control. However, it is essential to give deeper context to their statements as the history of coloniality, governance, and education is complex in Sudan. As discussed in chapter two and the beginning of this chapter, education is always a political endeavour. By selecting a Kenyan syllabus from an African country, SPLM-N sought to counter the hegemonic identity imposed by the state instead of creating a different citizen, non-aligned to Khartoum, by language or shared histories. Furthermore, in East Africa, the Kenyan curriculum is held in high regard, according to Maina (2003), partly for its association as a continuation of an education system developed initially by its British colonisers. Here, a hierarchy of knowledge systems is at play, with the Kenyan curriculum, firmly embedded by its British roots, holding higher value than the Sudanese Arabic curriculum. Notwithstanding, the decision over curriculum has had multiple consequences for students, as noted in the previous section, whereby students recalled having to repeat multiple grades. Additionally, as Jamal laments:

'Being a person who is exposed to learn the curriculum from other countries such as Kenya and South Sudan, I feel that I have been denied access to know the history and culture and traditions of my own country Sudan, though Sudanese curriculum has been spoiled by bad politics of the country where the curriculum is designed to protect and defend the interest of the Islamic religion and hid some historical facts about Sudan, I still need to know about Sudanese curriculum, and this makes me feel excluded from the right to know about my country.'

(Jamal, student, and co-researcher)

Jamal feels that he has always been 'denied access to know' his 'own country', 'history, culture, and traditions.' For him, studying other curriculums has created a sense of separation or 'exclusion' from his own 'country'. This example highlights how education is formative in creating a sense of identity and belonging. The exclusion of culturally relevant pedagogy makes schooling a site of exclusion and alienation. Jamal recognises the limitations of the educational curriculum he studied at primary and secondary levels. However, his critical reflection indicates a rejection of colonial narratives imposed through his schooling. Furthermore, Jamal's assertion that he 'needs to know' the 'Sudanese curriculum' is an attempt to reconnect and form his viewpoint and could be seen as an attempt to decolonise the mind in the sense that he is rejecting prevailing narratives imposed upon him.

Students who studied under the Sudanese system highlighted its limitations. For example, Samer shares how 'learners were discriminated against because of their race, ethnicity, yet the school administration was negligent in handling' racial and ethnic discrimination. His words echo Warren's (2020) assertion of the systemic racism that shaped Sudan's educational system. As Nabil explains further:

'I was taught only the history of my country Sudan and that of other countries in the world. Concerning my cultural history and language, the regime that ruled my country by then was against the cultural history of the Black Sudanese my parents only taught, especially the Nuba and me, the language.'

(Nabil, student and co-researcher, Ajuong Thok Camp)

Nabil shared that the former curriculum was against 'Black Sudanese'. For Nabil and other students, the 'regime' racialised them as 'Black', and because of their racialised positioning, the formal education system omitted their 'cultural history'. Nabil shared that he was only taught his 'language by his parents', which, as discussed earlier, indicates parents' critical role in their children's education. However, this role becomes even more critical when ethnic identity is under siege. For example, during the 1990s, whilst under Sudanese government control, local authorities prohibited ritual wrestling and stick fighting, which relates to some Nuba peoples' cosmology, agricultural and religious practices (Minority Rights Group, 2021). Prohibition of these rituals implied

an indirect obstruction to the basic cultural traits and value systems which maintain and foster Nuba ethnic identity' (Minority Rights Group, 2021). Moreover, as Ngugi wa Thiong'o underlined, 'language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history' (Wa Thiong'o, 1992). Nabil's family's commitment to teaching 'languages' is another enactment of fugitivity that is essential to maintain their traditions as they continue to teach traditions prohibited by the state.

The roles of parents and communities in sustaining cultural practices despite prohibition correlate with Yosso's (2005) concept of cultural wealth, first discussed in chapter two. Yosso (2005) proposed the need to recognise the various modes of cultural wealth, such as aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capital. She suggests that disenfranchised youth bring these forms of cultural wealth to educational spaces to centre, highlight and privilege a multitude of ways of knowing. In a context where the government has issued a 'fatwa' to diminish the Nuba people (Human Rights Watch, 1994), maintaining and celebrating cultural wealth is critical to survival. For example, Nabil's family played a crucial role in instilling cultural wealth by teaching their language; the government sought to diminish all forms of Nuban capital. Community-led learning becomes even more critical in a context where arbitrary arrests and detention of Nuba-educated individuals during the 1980s and 1990s, especially in the Nuba Mountains region, were widespread (Human Rights Watch, 1994). In a context like South Kordofan, the parents' roles as educators may stem from a heightened necessity to maintain cultural wealth in the face of attempts of annihilation, land dispossession and assimilation. Maintaining cultural traditions and language and using the local terrain, such as the mountains, as a sanctuary space to instil knowledge despite widespread oppression is a fugitive act and a challenge to coloniality.

Furthermore, in the examples shared by the students, neither the Kenyan nor the Sudanese curriculum were adapted to accommodate the diverse learners. Therefore, in the context of state violence and dispossession, parents and communities have critical roles as informal educators responsible for ensuring that cultural traditions and language are protected and maintained.

Across the research findings, learners highlighted that the racial discrimination they faced was one of the key reasons for leaving South Kordofan. As Mondo explains:

I experienced discrimination in education, this was back in my country Sudan, by the former government during the reign of President Bashir against the Nuba people due to the political, ethnic, religious, and racial differences; these were never addressed, but rather we were continuously marginalised, and the option was to flee for protection and seek educational opportunities elsewhere.

(Mondo, undergraduate student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Other students, such as Marwan, similarly asserted that people living in South Kordofan were:

'Victim of racism practice which was taking place in the country where colour was used to offer good education opportunities and employment and hence making me flee my country Sudan to seek refuge in a foreign land where I have to access free education and other basic needs'.

(Marwan, higher education student and teacher)

Marwan and Mondo connect the 'discrimination in education' that Nuba people endured under the former government due to 'the political, ethnic, and race' differences within Sudan to shape their decisions to 'flee' and seek educational opportunities elsewhere. Their examples indicate how continuous marginalisation, and in this case, specifically anti-Black racism in education, can be a significant contributing factor toward forced migration. Again, their use of the word 'flee' parallels Given's conceptual framing of fugitive pedagogies (2021), as their accounts illustrate 'physical and intellectual acts of subversion' by Black people throughout their educational strivings' (p. 6). For example, Marwan seeks 'refuge' in 'foreign lands' to access 'free education', which is not available to him because of his racialised status in his country of origin.

4.3.1 The expansiveness of education discrimination

However, students such as Nairous suggest that the education discrimination they face in the Nuba mountains is not unique to their context alone. She states that:

'When we look at Africa in general, Africans are the most left behind with education due to the history of colonialism in almost all African countries. As Sudanese, particularly Nubans, we suffer in terms of education because we are marginalised and denied the right to education by the central Government of Sudan due to political differences; that is why we are granted opportunities for education in refugee camps'

(Nairous, student and co-researcher)

Nairous firmly holds accountable the 'history of colonialism' across the continent for leaving 'Africans behind with education.' Inequity in education is rooted in the 'history of colonialism'. She connects this to the central Government of Sudan and their educational policies that have seen marginalised groups 'denied the right to education', thus equating their governance with colonialism. Furthermore, Nairous's excerpt encompasses a colonial critique. She connects discrimination in Sudan not only to the national politics but also to 'colonialism' that resulted in 'Sudanese, particularly Nuban, suffering,' in addition to 'almost all the countries in Africa'. Because of these histories of oppression, Nairous believes students are now 'granted opportunities for education in refugee camps;' this could also be interpreted as education being a form of reparations. However, her use of the word 'opportunity' is illuminating for several reasons. First, it suggests that education is not guaranteed or assured. Instead, Nairous sees education as an 'opportunity,' insinuating its impermanence and the high value that she and other students place on learning.

As the next section will explore further, the high value that learners and their families place on learning prompts multiple moves, circumventing and resisting the limited options placed upon them. In particular, whilst this section has focused on previous experiences of education; the next section will discuss young people's current realities of studying whilst living in a refugee camp.

4.4 Resisting limited opportunities: traversing borders in pursuit of hopes and dreams

4.4.1 Crossing borders to pursue education

In pursuing education, young people from South Kordofan make multiple journeys.

'There were no schools during the 1990s because of the civil war in the country by then. Thus, by 2009 I sat for primary eight national examinations. The following year, which was 2010, I joined a secondary school. In 2011, war erupted in South Kordofan when I was still in form two. All schools were shut down, and I never thought things would get back to normalcy and I may continue my studies. That was the toughest moment for me. It was the time for me to choose to remain in the Nuba Mountains and join the class of illiterate people or go elsewhere and acquire an education. I chose to go to Juba, South Sudan, to do some manual work to

raise money to complete the remaining two academic years. I chose to go to Yei, where I finished secondary school in 2013 because remaining in Juba will turn me into a different person who will not help himself or society tomorrow'

(Jamal, student, teacher, and co-researcher).

Jamal's account of his educational journey and the complex decisions young people in South Kordofan must make to continue their education offers essential insights into the complexities of accessing and remaining in education during a conflict. Firstly, the cyclical nature of conflict shaped Jamal's disjointed multi-directional education trajectory, framed by various interruptions, regressions, repetitions, and progressions. Before arriving at the Ajuong Thok refugee camp, he moved at least three times, crossing great distances and an international border to pursue his 'secondary education.' Jamal's narrative builds on early findings in this chapter and emphasises how education can be disjointed, characterised by non-linear education trajectories and transitions (Bengtsson & Dryden-Peterson, 2016). His account of 'choosing to go to Juba to do some manual work' to 'raise money' highlights how some displaced students navigate educational access in contexts with limited access to education aid. He shares how he made the 'toughest' decision to leave his home or join the class of illiterate people'. In sharing that journey, Jamal reveals how he exercised agency in rejecting the limited opportunities for education in his immediate environment and actively sought out education across geospatial localities to become a person who may help 'the society of tomorrow'. In pursuing better education opportunities, young people are willing to move multiple times.

4.4.2 Familial support in crossing borders to continue learning

As Nagwa shares:

'It is due to migration from one place to another; that is how I got to this level of education because if I could have stayed in Nuba, I could not have got to this level. War broke out on June 6, 2011[in South Kordofan]. We all went home with no hope of school again; my elder brother had decided to send me to Kenya (Kakuma) to further my high school. So, I travelled to Kenya and joined Kakuma Refugees secondary school. This is where I finished my senior studies in 2014. Imagine if you were me taking seven years to finish senior education; what would you have done?'

(Nagwa, student, teacher, and co-researcher)

As Nagwa's story illustrates, families and networks have a critical role in supporting young people's aspirations. Many other students also shared that they have lived in multiple refugee camps, moving at distinct stages to pursue better education opportunities, often supported or encouraged by a relative. Nagwa's narrative correlates with King's assertion that displacement is rarely linear, and whilst there is the sending-society context, it must be recognised that the receiving-society context, the contextual settings of routes traversed, and places and spaces passed through are dynamic and fluid (2018, p. 35). However, Nagwa's are threaded with her frustration about the 'seven years' it took her to 'finish' her 'senior education.' The lack of post-primary opportunities in South Kordofan meant that Nagwa had to leave her home and family and travel to a refugee camp in Kenya to finish her 'senior studies.' Her example illustrates the unseen costs of limited education provision in South Kordofan, how this impacts people's time and the resilience and familial support needed for a young woman like Nagwa to finish secondary school.

Notwithstanding, some students saw studying across multiple locations as valuable. As Kaku states:

'In my opinion, the migration to other parts of the world like South Sudan and Uganda has sharpened my education so that I could have a more practical learning, which initially was a theory such as mountains, rivers and the ethnic groups of people.'

(Kaku, undergraduate student)

In this extract, Kaku sees that her experience of multiple displacements and forced migration has 'sharpened her education', reflecting that she has been 'able to have a more practical learning'. Instead of learning things only through theory and textbooks, Kaku repositions her lived experience of displacement, multiple geographies and people as experiences that have strengthened, not undermined, her education. Other students, like Nairous, explain the rationale behind multiple movements. As Nairous explains, 'you may find that young refugees in Kenya acquire better education than young refugees in South Sudan'. Nairous comment indicates the higher value placed on the Kenyan education system. It suggests that students chose to seek sanctuary in different

camps for pragmatic reasons, including accessing an otherwise inaccessible education system. These stories indicate a need, beyond the scope of this thesis, to explore in-depth the phenomena of moving around different camps to access education opportunities, as they offer insight into talents, strengths, and experiences that forcibly displaced students bring to the classroom.

4.4.3 Recognition of aid agencies' role in enabling educational access

In addition to family support and student agency, young people also acknowledge humanitarian aid organisations implementing education services in camps. Marwan shares:

'My education journey was supported by the Lutheran world service while in the refugee camps in Kakuma, Ajuong Thok and Bidi Bidi refugee settlement in Uganda'.

(Marwan, higher education student and teacher)

Like Kaku and Jamal's, Marwan's account is one of multiple movements. He outlines how the same organisation has been pivotal in shaping his 'education journey', whether in Kenya (Kakuma), Ajuong Thok (South Sudan) or BidiBidi (Uganda). His revelation of educational support from the same organisation in three different camps in the same number of countries suggests that LWF is one of the vital refugee education implementing agencies across East Africa. The opening section of this chapter highlighted the top-down decision-making within camp education, and learners attributed humanitarian agencies positively supporting their education in numerous ways. As Jeremiah explains:

'UNHCR, as an agency responsible for refugees, has helped so much with my education journey. If I did not go to refugee camps, I would not have gone this far with my education because I came from a poor family who could not support my education.'

(Jeremiah, undergraduate student, and teacher)

Jeremiah is clear that if he had not gone 'to the refugee camps,' he would not have gone 'this far' with his education. He declares that he would not have achieved educational access without the support he received, given his family's limited means 'to

support' his education. The education provision provided by 'UNHCR' has helped him further his educational aspirations. Educational aid, as Jeremiah highlights, has enabled him to continue his education.

Many other students shared how humanitarian education provided by humanitarian agencies had led to broader inclusion, specifically for girls. As Nairous, a young woman student, outlines, 'females were left behind with education due to cultures and traditions'. Abel, a male student, supports her claim:

'Of course, in Sudan, girls are not allowed to go to school in some societies. They believe that girls are meant to remain at home and carry out domestic duties as they wait to get married and generate income for the family.'

(Abel, undergraduate student, and co-researcher)

Female students mention how living in a refugee camp has given them access to opportunities, whether in Ajuong Thok or Uganda. For example. Kaku, was:

'Sent to Uganda by my uncle to pursue O Levels' that would have been difficult in the Nuba Mountains'

For Nagwa, the education that she has been able to pursue due to her proximity to humanitarian aid has been a transformational experience:

'I had one dream, and that dream was the "transformation of women in society". I strongly have a reason to dream of that because the way society used to see women in public would not help one be happy about it. According to life experience, women, in general, are mistreated. For instance, if a father has male and female children, the priority of who to go to school is given to boys. Then tell us, girls, that tomorrow you will be married, and that school will not help you. The work you need to know is domestic. Despite the fact that say what a man can do, a woman can do best, Girls and boys go to class, and they all perform the same even girls perform far better than boys, who will help tell me the difference between boys and girls other than what I know? I am pressing so hard to help my fellow ladies to struggle hard for the transformation of our communities. Ladies need to be given chances to express themselves in public and to have self-esteem. We are ready to stop gender violence against women and change the lifestyle of living. I say no to subjugation.'

(Nagwa, undergraduate student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Nagwa's extract illustrates how, through participating in education, girls are challenging social norms. She highlights that 'girls and boys go to class, and they all perform the same, even girls perform better than boys,' suggesting that the limiting narratives of what society deemed possible for women and girls are changing. Nagwa, a teacher, and distance learning university student, sees her role as being to 'help' 'fellow ladies to struggle hard to transform 'their communities'. Her extract rebukes dominant discourses of passivity or victimhood often ascribed to forcibly displaced girls or the tendency within EiE to portray women as a monolithic group with the same interests and desires. Nagwa is pushing back to 'change the lifestyle of living'. This change has repercussions for those living in the camp but Nagwa, Kaku, and other students' experiences also profoundly affect societal norms back in the Nuba Mountains. As Kamel comments:

'In my community, most girls did not have the opportunity to go to school, but parents were encouraged by students from their villages who went outside for studies and came back'.

(Kamel, third-year undergraduate student and co-researcher)

As more girls leave the Nuba mountains and return, they open the possibility to other students. The changing value placed on girls' education by Nuba communities is an important reminder that communities are not static but dynamic, ever evolving, and that displacement changes cultural and societal norms in many ways.

NGO commitments to inclusive education have also changed societal perceptions around people living with disabilities, who previously would not have been able to access education. As Naji explains:

'Disabled children were in one of the schools not allowed to learn together with other children just due to the perception that such child is unable to do what others do. However, the inclusive education system was later introduced, where all children were allowed to learn'.

(Naji, second-year undergraduate student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Naji, Kamel, Kaku and Nagwa's extracts shed light on how educational aid has positively impacted their lives, particularly those with intersectionally marginalised identities.

Notwithstanding, whilst free education in camps has improved access; some students correlate inclusion with increased class sizes, which have impacted the quality of education provided. Nabil explains:

'In the camp where I am currently residing, LWF is trying her best to offer quality education, but it is not to that extent. For instance, the schools here are inclusive and, at the same time, congested, making it difficult for learners to acquire education to the maximum. Besides, when Covid-19 broke out, many children remained without education for more than a year, and as a result, early pregnancies and marriages took place, leading to a decrease in the number of children in the schools. Moreover, there is a higher demand for education, especially at the tertiary level.'

(Nabil, student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Nabil's description of 'LWF trying her best' highlights the complexities of implementing 'quality education in a camp setting, particularly in the wake of Covid-19. He suggests that although the INGO is trying to implement quality education, this is not happening due to 'congested' classrooms. Overcrowded classrooms indicate the demand for education in the camp and the lack of sufficient funding to provide adequate education services. He shares the impact of school closures due to Covid –19 on the many children who have been 'out of school for more than a year'. In addition, he argues that school closures have resulted in 'early pregnancies and marriages', further decreasing 'the number of children in school'. The decline in school enrolment due to covid- related school closures show the precarity of educational access in displacement contexts and how crises disproportionately impact already fragile systems and structures.

Furthermore, Nabil's excerpt also indicates that disparities in education are even more visible in the case of Covid- 19. Across the globe, digital divides have negatively impacted low-income contexts where online provision is unavailable. School push-out (as discussed in chapter two) is particularly devastating in a context where students have already experienced multiple disruptions to their education.

In the face of uncertainty wrought by displacement and the Covid-19 pandemic, Nabil shares that there is still a 'higher demand for education, especially at the tertiary level'. As mentioned in Chapter 3 and briefly at the start of this chapter, all the students in South Sudan who took part in the DSAR were enrolled in higher education distance learning undergraduate degrees. DAFI scholarships fund the degrees; students' study online, many at UNICAF University, a private university with accredited higher education institutions in East Africa to offer distance learning undergraduate and postgraduate degrees. However, to reach this level of education, as highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, only 5% of refugees in the world access higher education (UNHCR, nd). Moreover, there are few scholarships, and many select only the top-performing younger students and often take students away from their locale (Ferede, 2018).

Many students spoke of the benefits of studying for an online degree during Covid and noted that their studies continued. As Nagwa explains:

'I came to Ajuong Thok camp in South Sudan, where one struggles to further education and finally got these connected studies although it was not what one wished to; I appreciate the offer. "One bird in the hand is better than two birds in the forest". So, I am lucky to have a chance with the DAFI program to achieve my dreams.'

(Nagwa, undergraduate student, teacher, and co-researcher)

The opportunity to study a funded degree in Ajuong Thok is not lost on Nagwa, although 'connected studies is not what one wished.' Nagwa's careful critique of the online university learning model of an online university is insightful, reminding us that degrees which keep people in encampment settings may not be desirable for all.

Nevertheless, pursuing a degree is a 'dream' for Nagwa, enabled through the support of education aid organisations. Likewise, other students, such as Abel, reflect that their educational journey has been '*assisted by the humanitarian agencies as through their counselling and guidance I was able to restore my hope and hence started pursuing my dream.*' In their narratives, Abel and Nagwa discuss education as an almost unattainable dream. Hence, accessing education becomes a restorative practice where students can again dare to 'hope' and 'dream.' However, their acknowledgement of the support, guidance and education opportunities humanitarian aid agencies have provided

also shows that the relationship between forcibly displaced populations and the humanitarian aid apparatus is complex.

4.4.4 Education as a means to reimagining the future

Whilst the chapter opened by narrating some of the asymmetries in power between forcibly displaced populations and humanitarian aid, on the other hand, Nagwa and Nabil's stories suggest that there is a profound appreciation for the opportunities that they have been able to access. Furthermore, the pursuit of education has taught students many things beyond the classroom. As Nabil explains:

'Finally, education from its roots (i.e., from the starting) is full of challenges and difficulties, but when you have a mission and vision to achieve, you will not give up in life; rather, you will have to strive for their accomplishment. For instance, if I had no vision, I would not have reached this far end. Therefore, education is all about vision and ambition to realise and perseverance or patience in life.'

(Nabil, student, teacher, and co-researcher)

Nabil's statement exemplifies how education has been life-affirming for him. He notes that education 'is full of challenges and difficulties', but he would not 'give up in life due to his mission and vision to achieve'. His educational journey has taught him about 'perseverance and patience in life. Nabil, Nagwa and many students from South Kordofan rejected the limitations imposed by political forces, further exacerbated by the lack of humanitarian assistance. Instead, they dared to imagine or dream of another reality, even if, as Jamal emphasises, *'it was not easy to cross the border. I made it putting my life at risk.'* Jamal's dedication, perseverance, and willingness to risk everything in the hope of an unguaranteed opportunity to study exemplifies the conceptual theories of fugitivity and abolitionist educational discourse, as discussed in chapter two. Their examples highlight how some forcibly displaced learners have been able to make another reality for themselves, rejecting the limiting opportunities ascribed to them in their present environment.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has presented the educational experiences of displaced learners from South Kordofan, currently residing in the Ajuong Thok refugee camp, and revealed a

black box of educational experiences that traverse borders and inform the contours of their present educational lives. Their narratives render visible the vital educational stakeholders, forces that enable or impede EiE, the persistence of coloniality in shaping past and contemporary educational experiences, and how cultural wealth and agency shape educational opportunities. Finally, regarding the study's research objectives, their findings indicate the persistence of colonial legacies, what Hartman refers to as the afterlives of slavery, and how these power dynamics, privileges and concepts of race continue to influence the programmes funded for adolescents and youth in emergencies.

The findings illustrate the political intersections of educational aid. As outlined at the start of this chapter, EiE can contribute to structural inequities through funding organisations that only work in government-controlled areas of Sudan, inadvertently penalising young people growing up in ANSA-controlled areas. On the other hand, in South Sudan, the educational aid system provides opportunities to many who would otherwise not receive an education. The excerpts demonstrate the complex relationships between aid agencies and the young people in the camp, as many are grateful and feel a sense of indebtedness for the opportunities to learn. At the same time, there is an awareness of top-down decision-making that conflicts and limits learning opportunities. Furthermore, the narratives underline that to understand education transitions, it is also necessary to understand the broader socio-political contexts that enable or impede education trajectories.

This chapter also introduced examples of non-state education stakeholders and how SPLM-N brought teachers from Uganda and instilled the Kenyan curriculum in their controlled areas. The findings from this chapter offer critical insight into how an ANSA provides education in the absence of INGO and UN support, recruiting teachers from Uganda to teach in South Kordofan. These examples are the type of humanitarian aid that rarely gets spotlighted. Notwithstanding, the INGO, NGO, and ANSA models of EiE demonstrated inflexibility, lacked culturally sustaining pedagogies, and highlighted how formal education school systems fail to provide tailored support to people who have undergone multiple disruptions.

These findings also highlight how coloniality impacts young people's educational experiences, from what constitutes education to the type of curriculum taught. Students shared their previous educational experiences in Sudan. They

highlighted how discrimination had shaped their formal education long before displacement, outlining how state-funded educational opportunities were scant and discriminatory practices within classrooms. The findings also demonstrated social networks and familial ties' role in educational experiences. Students shared how parents, uncles and siblings had critical roles in supporting education financially, sending young people to different camps, or teaching traditional values and culture.

Finally, the findings have illustrated that young people face multiple displacements and move in pursuit of their education. As outlined in the narratives, there is not one pathway toward higher education access. However, commonalities across young people's transitions to higher education highlight multiple, jarring obstructions; perseverance, ambition and community cultural wealth have played critical roles at different points. Whilst there is a continuum of precarity, there is also a continuum of hope, whereby some young people could enrol on higher education courses, take roles as teachers and advocate for classrooms inclusive of girls and people living with disabilities. These findings speak to the intersectionality of educational experiences in displacement as young people navigate and find education opportunities driven by ambition and a commitment to pursuing an education previously denied to them.

Not all these themes are unique to the context of Nuba refugees living in the Ajuong Thok refugee camp in South Sudan. The subsequent chapters, which focus on young people's educational experiences in Jordan, the UK, and EiE practitioners' reflections, explore asymmetries in power within aid, racial discrimination and colonial legacies prevail in other contexts. A discussion and conclusions chapter will follow the findings chapter, which draws out, analyses, and develops themes raised in this chapter. Finally, the thesis will revisit the research questions in chapter eight, identifying key findings, the study's contribution to literature and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 5 The intersectionality of race and othering in education spaces in Jordan: resisting colonial legacies through fugitive acts

5.1 Introduction

This chapter renders visible young people's educational experiences in Jordan, connecting their experiences to structures of power, social policies, and history. Mindful of Lois Weis and Michelle Fine's argument, informed by the BRT, that critical education research is insufficient if theory and findings are separated from structures, lives, global from local, and privilege from marginalisation (Weis & Fine, 2012, p. 195); this chapter begins with a critical overview of the political economy of education in Jordan, and outlining how macro-level structures, mechanisms and decisions around funding influence humanitarian education aid. This first section draws on primary and secondary data to understand the context of forced displacement and some macro-dynamics and funding that shape the EiE landscape in Jordan, which are crucial to understanding the structural conditions that intersect and inform educational experiences. The findings reveal a racialised and stratified humanitarian aid system, which allocates hierarchical locations of dispossession along the lines of nationality and, by extension, perceived race. The findings then outline the implications of racialised and hierarchical policies, which profoundly affect how diverse groups of young people are treated within educational spaces, bringing to light the micro-enactments of the unjust structural landscape. Finally, the chapter explores how individuals resist and contest colonial legacies and circuits of dispossession by taking up distinct roles and daring to dream of different futures.

5.2 Forced displacement and education in Jordan

For context, the World Bank has classified Jordan as a lower middle-income (World Bank, 2017). Few people are aware that Jordan hosts the second-highest number of refugees globally: 34% of the population are refugees (UNHCR, 2022c). In the past 15 years, the population of Jordan saw an 86.4% increase from 5.9 million people in

2006 to over 11 million in 2021 due to the massive increase of forcibly displaced populations (Department of Statistics, 2021). While most of the 1.5 million forcibly displaced people in Jordan are Palestinian¹ or Syrian, approximately 90,000 refugees are of other nationalities (UNHCR, 2022c). Iraqis are the largest minority refugee group, followed by Yemenis, Sudanese, and Somalis (UNHCR, 2022c).

Table 7

Country of origin

Country of origin		
Country	Total	%
Syria	672,952	88.50%
Iraq	66,362	8.70%
Yemen	12,777	1.70%
Sudan	5,893	0.80%
Somalia	656	0.10%
Other	1,423	0.20%

Source: (UNHCR, 2022c)

This diverse group of refugees comprise 27 per cent of Amman's refugee population (Education Working Group, 2021). In addition, 47% of refugees arriving in Jordan are under 17 (UNHCR, 2022b), and 29% of forcibly displaced people in Jordan are between

18-35 (UNHCR, 2022b). Thus, Jordan's forcibly displaced population, particularly those residing in Amman, could be characterised as diverse and young.

5.2.1 The humanitarian, educational aid funding landscape in Jordan

Over the past decade, in response to the scale of inwards migration, several international, multilateral funding pools have been established to support educational access. For example, the Jordan Compact, (also known as the London conference), was an agreement made in 2016 between the Jordanian government and donor countries, including Germany, Kuwait, Norway, Qatar, and the UK to improve the livelihoods of Syrian refugees by granting new legal work opportunities and improving the education sector (Barbelet et al., 2018). In return, and following numerous follow-up high-level meetings in Brussels in 2017 and 2018, Jordan agreed to improve education outcomes for Syrian refugees in return for preferential trade agreements with the EU, financial contributions from multiple donor countries, and loans from humanitarian and development partners (Barbelet et al., 2018). In 2016, the Accelerating Access Initiative (AAI) was established, a \$200 million flagship initiative designed to accelerate access to quality public education by offsetting the Government of Jordan's additional costs of providing formal education for Syrian children, including tuition fees, textbooks, furniture, teachers training and operational costs of schools (Jordan Times, 2021b, World Bank, 2020). This was co-founded by Australia, Canada, European Union, Germany, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States (Jordan Times, 2021b). Notably, all the donors that provide educational and humanitarian aid to the AAI funding initiatives are geo-politically considered the 'Global North.'

The rationale for the international community funding education for forcibly displaced populations in Jordan is multi-fold; however, it would be remiss not to consider that donor funding and focus on education significantly increased in the wake of mass migration to Europe in 2015 and 2016. Organisations and donors such as the FCDO increasingly positioned funding education as a national interest and a means to prevent irregular migration to Europe (DFID, 2017). Notably, despite the diversity of forcibly displaced learners in Jordan, certain nationalities have been explicitly prioritised for educational aid. Whilst foreign donors have given more than US\$356 million to education in Jordan since 2016 under UN-coordinated humanitarian response plans for the Syria crisis; the plans do not set enrolment targets or other goals for

refugee children's secondary education (Human Rights Watch, 2021). Launched in October 2021, the second phase of the AAI funding, for the first time, explicitly stated, 'the ministry, with the support from donors, will provide quality public education to an estimated 144,000 Syrian refugee children and 18,000 non-Syrian children' (Jordan Times, 2021b). The inclusion of other refugee groups emerged from persistent advocacy from organisations such as Saiyan, who, in 2019, led the founding of the One Refugee Approach Working Group of thirty-plus humanitarian organisations, which aims to ensure that the humanitarian response focuses on refugee vulnerability rather than nationality and that all programming abides by humanitarian principles (Baslan & Williams, 2021).

Since the start of the conflict, Jordan has allowed Syrian refugee children to access tuition-free public schools in host communities and opened accredited public schools in its refugee camps. Notwithstanding, despite Syrian children being situated, by virtue of their nationality, in a more privileged position than non-Syrian children and youth, significant barriers still contribute to their school dropout. Firstly, schools implement shift systems to cope with the demand for education, leading to spatial and social segregation along identity lines in many education spaces as well as reduced hours of contact for second shift students, which is designated for Syrian students, which leads to limited time to cover the curriculum (Assaad et al., 2018). Secondly, ample research demonstrates that Syrian children and youth are in precarious situations, including child marriage, child labour, and bullying (Alkhawaldeh, 2018; Salem, 2022; Sieverding et al., 2018). This impacts education trajectories; for example, the percentage of Syrian refugees enrolled in secondary school is 25% compared to a Jordanian average of 80 per cent.⁵, the net secondary-school enrolment rate of Syrian 16-year-olds stands at just 15 per cent, and 21 per cent of Syrian 17-year-olds are in Jordanian secondary school (Small, 2020).

In summary, this section has provided a brief overview of humanitarian education in the landscape of Jordan. The broadening of the AAI and the 'One Refugee' response indicates a significant policy change, which is sorely needed to minimise the current humanitarian framework in Jordan has been developed to respond exclusively to the Syrian refugee crisis, overlooking those fleeing other countries (Johnson et al., 2019: p). In theory, the widening of educational access is good for younger students. However, it does not encompass educational opportunities for forcibly displaced students who have

been excluded from education for many years. Nor does this additional funding address issues of school segregation and other negative factors discussed in the section. Unless those are addressed, significant barriers will prohibit most students' secondary and higher education eligibility. One student, Faheem, from Sudan, noted that *'there are many students who do not have access to schools, and no one knows this'*. The rest of the chapter presents the findings from the DSAR participants.

5.3 Nationality-based education support

Young people are acutely aware of the distinct levels of educational support based on nationality. For example, Omar, a Sudanese male student, outlines his experiences in pursuing education in Jordan:

'I think education for refugees and asylum seekers is one of the most straightforward rights we must have. However, unfortunately, during the period that I have spent in Jordan since 2014 as a refugee, I have not been able to find this opportunity because it is available just for some nationalities.'

(Omar, higher education course student from Somalia and co-researcher)

Omar is clear that education is 'right', which he has sought since '2014'; however, he has not been able to access education because it is only available 'for some nationalities', outlining how economic and social policies act as circuits that redistribute scarcity and dispossession. According to the Ministry of Education (MoE) policy, since 2017, all children, regardless of nationality or status, are entitled to enrol in school in Jordan (Education Working Group, 2021). However, without complete documentation, subsequent policy changes had minimal impact as schools continued to demand proof of residence, work permits and other identification documents (Education Working Group, 2021). Obtaining official documents, such as a UNHCR ID card, has been complicated due to UNHCR not registering any new arrivals (Human Rights Watch, 2021). In addition, non-Syrian refugees must pay registration fees of 40 Jordanian Dollars per child on enrolment (much higher than Jordanians and Syrians) and associated school costs such as books. Furthermore, in the wake of Covid-19 and the move to online learning, only students with a national ID number could enrol and access online learning, resulting in 62 per cent of non-Syrian refugees not enabled to enrol (Education Working Group, 2021)

Zeinab, a forcibly displaced female student from Iraq, shared a similar experience of being treated differently due to her nationality status.:

'I have experienced this and seen people treated differently because they were different, less status and less privileged than the others. They treated us differently as refugees when it came to paying certain tuition fees, while the rest did not pay. Unfortunately, there was no way to address these issues with the school.'

(Zeinab, higher education preparation course student and co-researcher)

Zeinab's reflections on being 'treated differently as a refugee' and expected to pay 'tuition fees while the rest did not pay' highlight the implications of a disconnect between policies and school-level practices of trying to enrol in an educational institution. As an Iraqi refugee, Zeinab was not entitled to the free education as her Syrian counterparts. She was acutely aware of a hierarchy of 'status' and that some are 'less privileged than others'. This resonates strongly with Omar's observations and supports Zeinab and Omar's claims of differentiated treatment towards refugees and Jordanians in educational spaces based on status, nationality and those who are 'different'. Furthermore, Zeinab notes that there was 'no address' for these issues in the school where the inequities occurred, indicating the narrow parameters available when challenging othering and discriminatory practices resulting in deepening dispossession circuits. In the following section, young people share why they think the disconnect between policy and practice occurs.

5.4 Racial discrimination within the humanitarian education aid system

The previous section outlined how funding decisions made educational access for certain nationalities more difficult than others. Omar argues that nationality, ethnicity, and race influence educational access in the following extract.

'I do not think refugees have access to educational opportunities at all. We might say they can attend primary and secondary school, which is sometimes unavailable. It is way more challenging to get higher education in a university ... In addition, when you are not of Arab descent, it is way more challenging to get a scholarship from an organisation. Even the UNHCR does not count other ethnicities if you are not Arab. I am not saying that those of Arab descent have everything. Some of them are like me, and they do not have access to higher education. However, they have a higher chance than African descendants or non-Arab ethnicities.'

(Omar, higher education course student from Somalia and co-researcher)

Omar's point that UNHCR does not count 'other ethnics if you are not Arab' alludes to several ways that 'minority refugees' are invisibilised. For example, until recently, UNHCR did not disaggregate education data on forcibly displaced populations, instead it used terms such as 'Syrian' and 'non- Syrian' (Janmyr, 2021, p. 4). This is problematic in a context like Jordan, with such a diverse forced displaced population. As discussed in chapters two and three, the erasure of distinct groups universalises experiences and fails to recognise the difference. Similar examples can be found in the wider region, like Lebanon, where Janmyr argues that the prevalence of 'insipid' terms like Syrian and non-Syrian used by agencies like UNHCR erasure minority displaced groups and hampers critically needed discourse and action on race and racism. (2021, p. 4).

Omar is specific that UNHCR, the agency mandated to support forcibly displaced people like himself, treats Arab, African and 'non-Arab' refugees differently. According to him, 'African descendants' are 'not prioritised' for educational opportunities.' Omar's observations uphold the conclusions of a recent study by Turner, who situates race as a principal analytical category in his critique of the humanitarian regime and its particularities in the Jordanian context (Turner, 2020). Turner's research that the entanglement of race discourse, in service provision and informed aid workers perceptions, were deeply wedded to pre-conceived racial categorisations. Amongst humanitarian aid workers, it was endemic to encounter homogenised representations of 'Africa' and 'Africans'; whereby socially constructed ideas of Africans as being 'passive, dependent, backward, and impoverished', reproducing the otherness and difference of Africans within 'well-established humanitarian and development discourses' (2020, p.146). Omar's reflections corroborate Turner's conclusions that racism is at the heart of differentiated treatment between 'African descendants' and 'Arab descendants.'

Furthermore, Omar's assertions correlate with the results of a study conducted in 2017, which showed that problems accessing education appear to be less regularly reported among Yemenis, identify predominantly as of 'Arab descent'; in contrast Somali and Sudanese refugees reported frequently being prevented from enrolling in schools (Mixed Migration Platform, 2017). However, it must be noted that the identities of 'African descendants' and 'Arab descendants' are not mutually exclusive and show how race and ethnicity interplay. An individual can be ethnically Arab and racialised as

Black. Blackness can come in many forms: Black Arabs, citizens of Arab nations of African descent, sub-Saharan refugees, and migrant workers (Al-Azraki, 2021; Amin, 2020). Furthermore, each group is integrated and excluded to different degrees (Amin, 2020). Omar's assertion, in this case, signals the 'multiple and differential, intersecting and co-constituting, construction of race, processes of racialisation and practices of racism as they manifest in distinct sites' (Bacchetta et al., 2019, p. 9). Whilst this chapter cannot provide an exhaustive history of anti-blackness in Jordan, scholars and activists note the prevalence of anti-Blackness, and W.E.B. DuBois 'colour line' runs across the region, highlighting that although racism may have diverging origins, it simultaneously exists within broader globalised hierarchies of race. Moreover, anti-blackness leads to institutional discrimination and thus has significant implications for other nationalities of refugees seeking asylum in Jordan (Turner, 2020, p.147).

According to Omar, one way that racial discrimination plays out is through the type of assistance that is offered to different refugees. He continues:

'Minority refugees from Africa do not have anyone to help them. Most of the organisations that operate here in Jordan do not prioritise the African, even though I acknowledge they are not the majority.'

(Omar, higher education course student and co-researcher)

Omar's experiences lead him to believe that 'organisations that operate in Jordan do not prioritise the African.' As a refugee from Africa, he suggests that from an organisational position, 'minority refugees', specifically 'from Africa', do 'not have anyone to help them.' He further discusses how this lack of 'help' impacts educational opportunities.

'Yes, there is racial discrimination by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. For example, there are many scholarships for refugees annually, but these scholarships are allocated to a specific nationality. We are refugees, but we cannot get a chance..... Governmental and NGOs, schools and teachers do not treat refugees and asylum-seekers of different nationalities equally. I found much racial discrimination between refugees.'

Omar perceives 'there is racial discrimination by the UNHCR' towards refugees asserting that 'governments, NGOs, schools and teachers' do not treat refugees equally, showing how macro-level policies discussed earlier in this chapter reinforce

discrimination at a micro-level. Omar's statement is striking as the leading organisation mandated to protect refugees is perceived to differentiate and racially discriminate 'between refugees.' His indignation about 'scholarships' being 'allocated to a specific nationality' demonstrates the inequities in aid based on nationality. International and overseas scholarship opportunities are overwhelmingly offered to Syrian refugees (Baslan & Williams, 2021; Johnston et al., 2019). Only recently, scholarships, funded by UNHCR's Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative programme, better known as DAFI, have been made available to all refugees, regardless of nationality, which covers the cost of higher education in the country of asylum (Education Working Group, 2021).

However, although the expansion of the DAFI scholarships scheme may be perceived as a positive advancement, Salima, a female student from Somalia, saliently notes:

'I do not want to stay and continue my studies here. I do not want to live somewhere where they shame my future children for our skin colour and me'.

(Salima, higher education preparation course student and co-researcher)

Central to Salima's discontent is racism, manifesting in a deep desire for an alternative for her 'future children'. During the DSAR, all the Somali and Sudanese participants remarked that they were 'only looking at scholarship opportunities abroad', thus positioning higher education as a route to resettlement. For Salima and others, studying abroad is the only viable solution in a context where there are few opportunities to enter the formal labour market within a society that 'shame[d]' people due to their 'skin colour.' These excerpts allow us to see, through the eyes of the young people, how racial discrimination is prevalent, its impacts on education trajectories, and how it can drive further displacement.

In summary, as the first sections have outlined, structural issues, in connection with other contextual relations of power, have created a humanitarian aid complex that is perceived to reinforce inequity in many ways. Omar and Salima's examples show the contradictory nature of the humanitarian-industrial complex system, as discussed in chapter two. On the one hand, the aid industry is positioned as a neutral and apolitical

sector, yet it is deeply embedded within and complicit in reproducing racialised inequalities (Ticktin, 2016). Furthermore, whilst there has been some cause for optimism over the past year, as organisations move towards a 'one refugee approach; due to the nascent stage of this discourse, and the day-to-day micro enactments of racism, that restrict educational access based on nationality and race, it is too premature to assess the extent this has resulted in concrete commitments towards change. Furthermore, young people perceive that UNHCR, a critical actor in the humanitarian sphere, operates a hierarchy of preferential treatment towards forcibly displaced populations. Zeinab, Salima and Omar face additional educational barriers due to their nationality; even displaced groups privileged by macro-level policies are subjected to disparate conditions compared to their Jordanian counterparts. From Zeinab and Omar's perspectives, it is evident that forcibly displaced youth do not perceive that the system has fundamentally changed.

5.5 Racial discrimination and othering within the classroom

As the previous section underlined, forcibly displaced populations confront discriminatory macro-level policies that produce differential outcomes in accessing education. The nature, experiences, and outcomes of forcibly displaced persons' encounters with education organisations are shaped by different variables, including nationality, race, and ethnicity. However, some students manage to access educational opportunities despite hostile exclusionary policies. This section delves into their experiences and how racial discrimination and othering continue to intersect with their educational experiences.

Fatima, who is of Somali origin but was born in Jordan, described how education spaces for her were also synonymous with experiences of discrimination:

'I have been able to be in many courses which some students used to discriminate, and I used to be one of them [discriminated against] because of my nationality or my Black skin, the school or programme do not do anything because the discriminated group is un-wanted, so they just blame you.'

(Fatima, higher education preparation course student and co-researcher)

Fatima outlines how she has attended many 'courses' where 'students' used to discriminate'. Due to her 'nationality' or her 'Black skin', Fatima feels she is treated differently in education spaces and discriminated against by some students. In these spaces, Fatima is racialised, othered and treated differently. Fatima's reflections on the school 'doing nothing to address racial discrimination' indicate that schools and politics can perpetuate exclusion by denying or minimising the imperative to address racism, reinforcing macro-level structural dynamics.

Furthermore, Fatima's reflection echoes Omar and Faheem's accounts of intersectional hierarchies in the aid industry, underlining the salience of acknowledging racism within institutions. The disinterest in localised manifestations of racism and discrimination and how these issues intersect with youth education experiences emphasises Mills (2007) position that an inexcusable 'epistemological ignorance of race', or a wilful reluctance to address racism as it manifests in educational spaces exists. For example, in the case of Fatima and Omar, key stakeholders such as schools and UN agencies are perceived, by their inactions to address racial discrimination and their perpetuation of practices such as hierarchical and preferential treatment of some nationalities over others, to consider race immaterial and irrelevant, to be disregarded (Mills, 2007). Mill's analyses are further rendered visible in Fatima's example when she states how when raising the issue of racial discrimination, 'they just blame you.' This resonates with anti-Racist scholar Sara Ahmed's argument, where she posits that often the person who shines a light on racism comes to be regarded as the problem, as opposed to the action itself (2006)

Besides limiting higher educational opportunities due to nationality-based scholarships, as discussed earlier, young people bear the cost of educational institutions' refusals to acknowledge racial discrimination in distant ways. Below is an extract of a conversation between Salim and Fatima, both of whom had attended secondary school in Jordan:

Salim: 'As someone from Africa, it is obvious that the racial and the stereotype you can face, on the other side as a refugee, with limited status, from Somalia and the perception people have from your origin. The fact that you are a refugee makes you silent and patient.'

Fatima: 'Yes, in secondary school, I just learnt Jordanian culture. They do not even know us'.

The conversation between Salim and Fatima indicates that racial discrimination is not a topic of discussion in their context. Salim's reflections of being 'silent and patient' echo societal expectations of being a 'grateful refugee' (Nayeri, 2017). He is clear that because 'you are a refugee', he cannot confront and challenge 'perceptions people have based on your origin' and the 'racial' 'stereotypes' he faced. Salim is silenced as a refugee because of his precarious positionality as 'someone from Africa.' Fatima, in response, indicates that she agreed with his perception of being perceived in a certain way.

Firstly, Fatima's testimony of only learning about 'Jordanian culture' speaks to the nationalistic maelstrom that permeates most education systems. As discussed in chapter three, the absence of underrepresented and marginalised youths' histories and cultures from the school curriculum is not unique to the Jordanian context. As discussed in chapter two, there has been a resurgence of global demands from racialised and othered youth to decolonise education systems (Bhambra, 2018). Fatima's words underline the importance of reframing learning spaces to recognise the talents, strengths, and experiences that forcibly displaced students bring to educational spaces to resist normative epistemologies that further marginalise and erase (Paris & Alim, 2017).

Secondly, Fatima's conversation with Salim, where she notes that 'they do not even know us', builds on her earlier remarks about being treated differently due to her 'Black skin'. Her comments exemplify Du Bois's notion of double consciousness. As discussed in chapters two and three, Du Bois was a historian and sociologist within the BRT. Writing from the embodied experience of being an African American in the US at the turn of the 20th century, he argued that although Black people's lives were hidden from most white people; however, Black people's in America had an acute understanding of white people as they also had to navigate the white world (Dubois, 2019, p. 3). Dubois's 'double consciousness' encompassed 'this sense of always looking at the world through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul through the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity' (Dubois, 2019, p. 3). This double consciousness paradigm echoes Fatima and Salim's conversation, as both express an understanding of how others perceive them. However, the othering that they experience is built on stereotypes, racial discrimination, and not being truly seen.

The implications of being unable to speak out about racism can have severe ramifications on educational trajectories because racial discrimination undoubtedly impacts children's and young people's experiences of education. For example, one mother from Somalia shared:

'My children do not like to go to school; they were verbally and physically abused by students and adults and faced bullying and name-calling because of their Black skin. My son often pretends he is unwell, but I know he is lying...but this is the least of my worries'.

According to the mother, her children are 'verbally and physically abused' 'because of their 'Black skin'. The mother's example correlates with a study conducted in 2017 where Somali and Sudanese students shared examples of being ostracised, teased for speaking Arabic as a second language, harassed, bullied, and criticised even when performing well (Mixed Migration Platform, 2017). The mother's extract underscores how racial discrimination causes lower attendance (a consequence of which could be lower attainment levels) or even dropping out of school. However, reframing dropping out to being 'pushed out' (Weis & Fine, 2015), as discussed in chapter three, is important in this example because it is evident, from the broader findings, that schools do not address racial discrimination.

Furthermore, the mother's example of her children's experiences of racial discrimination highlights how organisations and institutions, through their 'epistemologies of ignorance' (Mills, 2007), perpetuate a narrow understanding of the critical reasons behind school dropout or pushout, as discussed in chapters two and three. In the example the mother shared of her children's reluctance to attend, her children's decision not to attend school could be reinstated as a form of fugitivity (Robinson, 2021; Givens, 2021), as discussed in chapter two. The children fleeing an oppressive situation is a strategy to self-protect and enact self-agency and protection within an education ecosystem that does little to challenge discrimination.

In addition, whilst the mother says it is the 'least of her worries', it indicates broader challenges that forcibly displaced populations face in Jordan. A recent study by Johnson et al. (2019) found that asylum seekers and refugees in Jordan from countries other than Syria have limited access to refugee support services and funding, struggle

economically, and are more likely to take on high-risk work (p. 11). As Faheem, from Darfur, describes:

Since I am not Jordanian, I have to take whatever job comes my way. Usually, they are hard labour jobs that include working on building sites for ten hours+.

(Faheem, higher education preparation course student and co-researcher)

Amidst his pursuit of an education, Faheem must find 'hard labour jobs' and work on 'building sites for 10 + hours.' In this context, 'being verbally and physically abused', as the Somali mother described, may not seem as pressing as finding money to live. However, these examples outline the broader dynamics that forcibly displaced people must endure, highlighting the dehumanising conditions that children endure in the classroom, as replicated outside. Furthermore, whilst these issues do not directly relate to education, they illuminate how distinct groups are further subjected when aid is tied explicitly to nationality and indicate additional barriers that people may face in accessing education due to structural policies that create conditions that disenfranchise some groups more than others.

Notwithstanding, the physical and verbal racial abuse that young people encounter should not be minimised. Emerging evidence indicates systemic racism and interpersonal discrimination are adverse childhood experiences (ACEs). Moreover, ACEs can lead to long-term trauma and chronic stress activation without appropriate and timely intervention, affecting an individual's learning, behaviour, and lifelong health (Centre for Child Development Harvard, 2020). As psychosocial well-being and support are significant precursors to learning and essential for academic achievement, the 'psychological imprint of oppression on youth and the resultant embodiment of contradiction, complexity, and multiplicity that young people must navigate is critical (Katsiaficas et al., 2011, p. 132).

In summary, this section has discussed how students who are racialised as Black experience educational spaces such as schools in Jordan. Fatima's and Salim's educational experiences are marked by their positions in Jordan as Black, forcibly displaced youths. Evidently, given the diversity within Jordanian society, an education system that foregrounds new spaces for emotion, encounter, and engagement,

multilingual, culturally relevant instruction (Paris & Alim, 2017) with struggle and voicing could be profound. However, Paris and Alim note that this requires a concerted effort to embrace an inclusive, culturally sustaining curriculum and pedagogy (2017). Notwithstanding, as this chapter has indicated, the Jordanian education system and organisations that support education for forcibly displaced populations have yet to acknowledge and represent its pluralistic society. However, as the following section outlines, othering in education extends to other groups and identity markers. As the next section outlines, young people face other forms of discrimination that impede their education trajectories besides racial discrimination.

5.5.1 Intersections of immigration status and racialisation in education spaces

Besides racism, young people's educational experiences are influenced by a range of identity markers that either privilege, oppress or intersect. The screenshot below, taken during DSAR session four (see annexe for session overview), shows how different students critically reflected on their positionality in an education setting. As discussed in chapter three, revisiting Yuval's Davis's concept of situated intersectionality is helpful. Yuval Davis (2015) underlined that people's positioning is extremely sensitive to the geographical, social, and temporal locations and how particular categories of social division have different relative power in different spaces, such as educational sites (2015, pp. 5-6). Like Yuval- Davis's concept of situated intersectionality, young people share how education disadvantage is not the same for all forcibly displaced learners in this section.

Figure 11

Intersectionality, power, and positionality discussion

Intersectionality, a concept defined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), describes the social, economic, and political ways in which identity-based systems of oppression connect, overlap, and influence one another.



Source: DSAR session Jordan, February 2021

On the pink post-it notes, Zeinab, a student, noted that her passport and birth certificate gave her privilege. She expanded on her post-it notes, explaining:

'As an Iraqi refugee, I did not think I have privilege. But then I started to reflect and realised I had some. I have a passport. I know people here [in Jordan] without documents.'

(Zeinab, higher education preparation course student and co-researcher)

Zeinab acknowledges that she has a degree of privilege due to having documents. As outlined in the opening section of this chapter, the lack of documentation in Jordan prevents young people from accessing formal education. Although of interest, Zeinab does not mention race as a privilege, the absence of disclosing racial discrimination indicates that this is not a factor for her. For example, she later notes that:

'As for educational opportunities here in Jordan, you can easily access education, but it is not the same quality of education provided to Jordanians, nor half the attention given to them.'

(Zeinab, higher education preparation course student and co-researcher)

Her perception of access to education is vastly different from African refugees in Jordan, who, as noted early, face multiple barriers to access. Notwithstanding, as an Iraqi refugee, she is aware that she does not access the same education as 'Jordanians' and receives 'half the attention because she is a refugee. A recent report by Arnot and Seegar confirms Zeinab's perceptions that contact hours between teachers and students in the second shift (who are predominantly refugee students) 'are reduced 'by nearly 50 per cent to permit the delivery of a curriculum stripped down to its core academic subjects' (Arnot & Seeger, 2021, p. 19). Intersectionality, in this case, highlights the intra-group difference of 'non-Syrians' and the existence of multiple axes of identity that may govern an individual's relationship to power, in this case, education. This example highlights how young people are acutely aware of othering in educational spaces and how power is reproduced, contradictory and transitional. Furthermore, the conversations around power and positionality generated from the intersectionality activity offered opportunities for more nuanced discussions about the experiences and horizontal

differences among youth in contexts where they were racialised and othered in numerous ways, whilst being mindful of reinscribing differences or reproducing racialised stereotypes.

As young women, Fatima and Zeinab share gendered experiences of displacement; however, Fatima and Salim's reflections of experiencing racism within education spaces foreground another axis of oppression, illuminating once again how forcibly displaced students, racialised as Black in Jordan, face additional barriers to education. Their narratives illuminate the need to move away from homogenising groupings of displaced youth and instead recognise and acknowledge the multiple axes of privilege, the power that individuals have or do not have, and how these intersect with educational experiences.

Notwithstanding, although racial discrimination is not an issue for Zeinab, as an Iraqi refugee, the quality of education she can access differs from that of a Jordanian citizen. She describes how:

'I managed to reach the last grade of high school. I did the final exams almost three times to get them right and passed to get a chance, even if it was tiny to enter college to continue my education. However, the situation in Jordan is hard to earn money to live, let alone enter college, especially for refugees'.

(Zeinab, higher education preparation course student and co-researcher)

To successfully complete upper secondary education successfully, students must pass the *Tawjihi* exam. *Tawjihi* is the Secondary Education Certificate Examination, the final stage of school education (Nasrallah, 2022). It is worth noting that the *Tawjihi* exam is considered a challenging examination, with a 60.8% national pass rate in 2021 (Jordan Times, 2021a). Although there is scant disaggregated data on the number of refugees, by nationality, and gender, who sit the exam, in 2014, only 2% of Syrian students from both Azraq and Za'atari camps passed the *Tawjihi* (Relief International, 2019). Although *Tawjihi* pass rates have subsequently improved across Jordan recently (Jordan Times, 2021a), Zeinab is within a minority of forcibly displaced students who have sat and passed the exam. In order to do this, Zeinab sat the exam 'three times'. Despite having the certificate, which in theory would enable her to access a public university, she

describes her chances of getting into college as 'tiny', acknowledging that the 'situation is pretty hard when it comes to earning money, especially for refugees.'

Zeinab's experience of finishing high school draws parallels to Hassan, a Syrian refugee who had been living in Jordan since 2012. Similarly, he noted that:

'Many students fail and cannot complete their studies. In my school, no student could pass the secondary exams for about four years, and everyone had to repeat some subjects to pass, and the success rate was very low.'

(Hassan, student, and co-researcher)

Hassan's example demonstrates that Zeinab's experience is not necessarily gendered or nationality specific. Although the policies outlined in the opening section of this chapter indicate that although educational services predominantly target Syrian students, they are still in a highly stretched education system where 'the success rate' is 'very low'. Not only does the poor pass rate result in 'many students' failings, but logically, the repetition rate will impact education trajectories. In a context with limited work opportunities and an educational system deficient in supporting displaced learners to pass their exams, it is evident how structural conditions prohibit and diminish the higher education pipeline.

5.5.2 The intersections of class, racialisation and educational experiences

Fatima, Zeinab, Hasan and Salim's narratives of exclusion and struggle contrast starkly with Mahmoud's experiences as a young man from Syria. Mahmoud self-describes as coming from a well-off family, and before displacement, could attend private international schools in Jordan and across the region. As Mahmoud shares:

'I returned to Syria before the war to complete my secondary education. After the outbreak of the war, I had to travel to Jordan, and I did not feel alienated or new to me because I was living in another country, and I already knew a lot about Jordan. I can say that this experience helped me a lot. Many people suffer from integration into society, but in any case, Jordan is a quiet country that loves Syrians and Arabs in general, and I have been here for eight years. I have not faced any problems [but]...I witnessed many racist practices towards others in the school during high school, such as drivers, Asians, and some employees. It was disgusting.'

(Mahmoud, student, youth leader and co-researcher)

Mahmoud's reflections serve as an important reminder that young people's positionalities matter in situations of forced displacement. Firstly, his assertion that he had not faced discrimination since his arrival in Jordan, which he partly accredited to his familiarity with the culture and country. Mahmoud's 'problem-free' Jordan is quite different from his classmates' accounts, who are racialised as Black and African, or to a lesser degree, gendered and from other countries within the Middle East. Mahmoud notes that in his pre-war travels to Jordan, he:

'[Jordan] did not feel alienated or new to me because I was living in another country, and I already knew a lot about Jordan.'

Again, Yuval-Davis's (2015) notion of situated intersectionality helps us to recognise that forcibly displaced youths' narratives are not homogeneous, and markers such as being of a different social class can, in this case, ease a person's acceptance into society. Furthermore, his recollections of witnessing racism towards staff who were drivers, Asians, and some other employees during his prior educational experiences at a private school provide insight into where racialised people are situated in Jordan. Though he recognises the unfairness meted out because of their colour, people racialised as Black were not Mahmoud's classmates, but in lower-wage labourer roles. In addition, Mahmoud's perception that Jordan 'loves Syrians and Arabs in general' correlates with Turner's assertion that 'anti-Blackness should be understood within the specificities of the Jordanian context and broader globalised hierarchies; of race' (reference). Mahmoud is aware that he is welcomed and treated well because of his 'Arab' identity. By contrast, Omar, a Somali student, notes:

'I have faced great difficulties regarding my identity, language, culture, and colour since I came to Jordan.'

Omar's example resonates with earlier sections that illustrated how colour impacts educational experiences. However, he also considers how different facets of his identity, such as 'language' and 'culture', are irreducible to one another and intersect with situated axes of oppression. Furthermore, when examined through an intersectional lens, Omar and Mahmoud's stories challenge homogenising and essentialist discourses that allude to male privilege in education. Although Omar and Mahmoud are refugees in Jordan, their differences manifested through identity markers such as race, ethnicity, language, and class, their experiences and proximity to a privileged male status are vastly

different. The need to recognise gradations of vulnerability is further illustrated in the next section, where ethnicity and sexual orientation intersect with education experiences, illuminating that ethnicity alone is not enough to gain full acceptance.

5.5.3 Ethnicity and sexual identity

As noted in chapter three, there is limited data on the educational experiences of LGTQ+ youth in emergencies. The ethical considerations further exacerbate this absence in gathering such data in specific contexts that could jeopardise safety. However, one student Elia, from Syria, shared:

'My sexuality is a part of my identity that faces the most oppression. However, I see now, through being in class with diverse people and the struggles they face, that even though I do not think of myself as privileged, I do have some privilege. Here, one of my privileges is my skin colour.'

(Elia, student on a higher education preparation course, and co-researcher)

Focusing first on Elia's experience of oppression due to his sexuality, Elia's acknowledgement of their 'hyphenated-selves' (Katsiaficas et al., 2011) illustrates how identities can be simultaneous, interrelated and sometimes contradictory in terms of proximity to power. In addition, Elia's example offers a valuable lens through which to seek out the multiple erasures of genders, sexualities, and race from discussions of youthhood in displacement settings. At the same time, Elia's reflections that his 'sexuality' oppresses him but his 'skin colour' was a lever of privilege, another critical prism to further grapple with 'the multiple, intersecting, and co-constitutive structures of power and oppression (Isherwood, 2011, p. 161).

Elia's example further exemplifies how people are racialised impacts on educational experiences. This builds on the examples shared by Mahmoud, a Syrian student earlier, where he described feeling 'love' because he was 'Arab', and Zeinab, an Iraqi refugee, who noted that whilst she faced numerous structural disadvantages, she witnessed others being oppressed due to markers such as citizenship status and racial discrimination. Their experiences suggest that even in marginalised communities, proximity to power (in this case, as Al- Azarhi describes as 'white Arabs' (2021), class and other power structures still influence education experiences. However, Elia's example also demonstrates that no learner 'has a single, easily stated, unitary identity;

everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances' (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 9). For educationalists, this further underlines the importance of understanding learners' lives and how structural inequities, and societal norms interact with educational experiences. As all the examples have highlighted thus far, education in Jordan, from the perspective of forcibly displaced learners, is fraught with examples of discrimination.

However, it is essential to consider that discrimination in education is not unique to Jordan alone. This critical point will be discussed in detail in Chapter seven; many students have experienced discrimination before arriving in Jordan. However, the following section focuses on how young people navigate an educational environment. Many feel they are underserved by institutions and organisations, forge fugitive spaces (Givens, 2021), and build their opportunities.

5.6 Creating fugitive spaces

5.6.1 Personal growth through fugitive educational experiences

Throughout this chapter, young people have raised critical issues about the type and quality of education they have received in Jordan. Across their narratives are examples of racial immigration status and sexual discrimination. These examples highlight how education can perpetuate dominant ideologies and exclusionary practices (Gerrard et al., 2021). In the wake of this, it is no surprise that learners have created and sought out alternative learning environments and, when possible, seek to subvert the institutional systems and spaces they have been allocated. As Fatima advises fellow forcibly displaced students:

'Do not waste your time waiting for a chance; start with what you have and develop yourself. When I finished high school, I started taking any courses that I found. From English courses to computers, I developed my character and skills during these courses. I did not realise it then, but my friends started to tell me, 'You have changed; you are not like before'. It was true. I changed from how I used to think to how I talk, so do not lose this chance.'

(Fatima, student on a higher education preparation course, and co-researcher)

Fatima's advice to 'not waste... time waiting for a chance' but instead to 'start from what you have' demonstrates how young people act as agents and strategize their trajectories in exile. Allsop et al. term 'waithood' the prolonged period in forcibly displaced young people's lives as they experience displacement and limiting opportunities to pursue a future they desire (Allsop et al., 2015). However, Fatima's example challenges the concept of 'waithood.' Her actions of 'taking any courses' that she found indicate a degree of agency and self-autonomy. Fatima is using her 'waithood' tactically. She notices that she 'changed' along the way from 'how I used to think to how I talk.' Education has made a transformative impact on her sense of self.

Zeinab, like Fatima, was enrolled in a higher education preparation course at the time of this study. The course was a new initiative by a small INGO, whereby students could learn English and take a wide range of high school equivalency classes. Zeinab describes her experiences in this new education space. For her:

'It helped me balance my directions towards education and consolidate my values and principles towards forming myself. So many things changed when I came to Jordan, and my educational experience changed with it in many aspects because of changing parts of my personality. I became more open and accepting of the opinions and perspectives of the people than I was in my country because of meeting people from different nationalities and ethnicities and engaging with them, listening to their stories.'

(Zeinab, student on a higher education preparation course, and co-researcher)

From Zeinab's narrative, it is evident that she has experienced a sense of personal growth, becoming 'more open and accepting to others, as a direct consequence of being in an educational environment where other' nationalities and ethnicities' are valued. She describes how 'meeting people from different nationalities and ethnicities have enriched her educational experiences. As discussed in chapter two, her experiences in this educational space, where forcibly displaced students are seen as having 'cultural capital' (Yosso, 2005, p. 83), starkly contrast with Fatima's earlier example of feeling unseen and discriminated against in a formal educational setting. Through 'listening to their stories', Zeinab acknowledges, legitimises, and repositions her classmates as knowledge brokers and resists normative epistemologies that further marginalise them (Paris & Alim, 2017). Her sense of growth further supports the ideas of 'fugitive education spaces' discussed in chapter two (Givens, 2021; Patel, 2016; Stovall, 2018). The young

people attending the higher education course have been pushed to the margins by structural policies and the formal system that disenfranchises them. However, within these spaces, Fatima and Zeinab share that they have experienced personal growth and acceptance and challenged their way of thinking about the world.

Zeinab continues, noting that:

'Many things changed when I came to Jordan, and my educational experience changed with it in many aspects because of changing parts of my personality.'

For Zeinab, being displaced has meant 'many things changed' in her life, both educationally and 'changing parts' of her 'personality.' From her excerpts, there is a sense of growth in these changes. Her reflections parallel Giroux's (1991) work on critical border pedagogy. Building on Anzaldúa's concept of borderlands (1987), as discussed in chapter two, Giroux put forward the concept of 'border-crossers', where he posits that people moving in and out of physical and cultural borders that have been historically constructed and socially organised can enable new identities to form (Giroux, 1991, p. 53). Zeinab's sense of change and growth consequently to being displaced and being in an educational setting with diverse learners has enabled an encounter of 'different histories, languages, experiences, and voices to intermingle amid diverse relations to power and privilege', resulting in radical possibilities and transformative change (Giroux, 1991, p. 61).

These types of personal change have only been possible due to the educational environment. One student, Lydia, from Iraq, noted:

'The education here is unique as they guide you with questions, which help you find the answer yourself, pushing you to think more about situations and mindsets. This structure has guided me to the position I wanted to be in moving forward.'

(Lydia, student, and co-researcher)

Black educator bell hooks (2014) was heavily influenced by Paulo Freire's liberatory pedagogy and celebrated 'teaching that enables transgressions - a movement against and beyond boundaries. It is that movement which makes education the practice

of freedom' (hooks, 2014, p.20). Lydia's example of being pushed to 'think more about situations and mindsets' and 'moving forward' highlights hooks argument that the classroom can be a radical space that enables transgressions on multiple levels. 'With questions', Lydia has been 'guided' 'to the position' she 'wanted to be in moving forward.' In addition, Lydia and Zeinab's extracts emphasise the importance of self-reflection, outlined in chapters one, two and three, whereby through the lens of intersectionality, self-inquiry is discussed not only as a tool for noting the difference but as a form of critical praxis and coalition. The following section will outline what young people aspire to when they have been in environments that accept them and amplify their cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005).

5.6.2 Refusing the present and dreaming of different futures

Despite the debilitating policies described in this chapter that limit and disenfranchise learners to varying degrees, many young people refuse to accept the limited educational opportunities available in Jordan. Yet, as the following findings demonstrate, the word 'dream' frequently arose as young people discussed future aspirations, indicating optimism, even while hinting at the precarity and liminality of their lives in exile. For example, one student, Bar, a male student from Sudan, notes:

'I want to study music to express myself, what I went through in my country, and what is going on now. I am already writing and singing, but I want to study music and know more to improve my skills.'

(Bar, higher education preparation course student, from Darfur)

Bar uses music to document 'what is going on now.' By studying music to express his history, Bar demonstrates how music is a tool for self-expression and cathartic. Whilst music has long been connected to struggles of oppression and considered a tool for reimagining worlds and futures, in a context, racialised refugees have limited opportunities to be heard; as outlined in this chapter, Bar's dedication to 'improves his skills,' can also be read as an act of self-agency and advocacy for those in his 'country.' His desire to sing is, therefore, intricately tied to activism.

In addition, several participants saw their futures working in social justice. For example, Faheem describes:

'In my community, I can see that so much work needs to be done, such as unity, community design and economic changes – we need youth to communicate and shift this position. In terms of future education, my dream is to study Social Work as I would love to work with schools and different communities to learn more.'

(Faheem, student on a higher education preparation course, volunteer, and co-researcher)

Faheem's dream is to study 'social work' so that he can work with 'schools and different communities to learn more'. Similarly, to Bar, education is a tool for social justice, intrinsically tied to working in service of others, to 'unity, community design and economic changes.' Education is not for individualist purposes but societal transformation and the greater good of communities. As Ahmed reveals:

'Although I did not get the support I needed, whether accommodation, higher education, or financial aid, I managed and balanced to study myself, attend online courses, and improve myself. I never gave up trying and going forward. I remember working two shifts while I was participating in classes. Currently, I am taking courses from different institutions worldwide, and I dream to succeed and do my best to lift myself, my family, and my community.'

(Ahmed, student on a higher education preparation course, and co-researcher)

Ahmed's determination to pursue education and circumvent the limited opportunities afforded him as a Somali refugee in Jordan has taken him to enrol in online 'courses from different institutions worldwide'. This is an essential insight for several reasons. Firstly, distance learning underlines how youth exercise agency in rejecting and actively seeking education opportunities across geospatial localities. It solidifies this notion of critical bifocality that education for Ahmed (and many of his classmates who are also taking online classes) 'is a complex set of interactions between global and local forces' (Bengtsson & Dryden Peterson, 2016, p. xx). As Bengtsson and Dryden-Peterson underline, 'education of refugees helps us see how neatly education has been packaged into boxes labelled nation-state, but it does not always reflect how refugees seek opportunities (2016,p.xx). Ahmed and his classmates imagine and plan for lives that 'transcend nation-states' (Bengtsson & Dryden Peterson, 2016: p. xx) and starkly reject the limitations put on specific groups.

Finally, Fatima, Zeinab, Lydia, Ahmed and Faheem's extracts suggest a sense of purpose and optimism towards shaping their future, despite being in a context where deep inequities converge—thinking of the future in a context where multiple circuits of dispossession are undoubtedly fugitive practice. This idea of dreaming, of recreating a world, is a central theme within the BRT, which has a long history of radical speculation in imaging futures, reclaiming histories, and creating alternative realities, unbound by ideologies and structures designed to delimit marginalised groups (Kelley, 2002). Their reflections are starkly different from the extracts at the beginning of this chapter, which indicated little faith in institutions like the UNHCR. Nevertheless, the positive reflections on the transformative outcomes of an EiE intervention underscore that diversity exists amongst the diverse types of organisations within the EiE ecosystem (Flemming et al., 2021). The following section will explore further initiatives identified by the DSAR participants that indicate a demand for different educational models and humanitarian aid.

5.6.3 Abolitionist thinking, organising, volunteering, and creating change

Chapter two drew on the work of abolitionist scholar Ruth Gilmore Wilson, who argues that abolition geographies encompass activities, and actions that seek to build life-affirming institutions (Gilmore Wilson, 2017a). As a result of the multitude of issues described in this chapter that impact people's education trajectories, this section outlines the abolition geographies in Jordan, highlighting that young people do not passively wait for educational opportunities. Instead, some seek to change the systems and programmes in myriad ways.

Firstly, young people set up organisations. For example, Mahmoud, a Syrian refugee, set up a digital Facebook community for forcibly displaced students to share educational opportunities. With over 5000 followers, his initiative highlights how young people are, as Fatima described, taking the lead in creating the changes they wish to see. As Mahmoud outlines:

'For me, I believe that youth should be part of the decision-making and implementation. Youth is the greatest force for building peace, and at the same time, they are the greatest force for wars and conflicts. They are the leaders of tomorrow, and the future depends on them and not on others.'

(Mahmoud, student, youth leader and co-researcher)

Mahmoud is clear about the role he sees young people as 'leaders of tomorrow' should have in decision-making and implementation. His perspective and positioning of youth as 'the greatest force' offers a stark challenge to young people's constrictive and limited opportunities in informing decision-making in the formal humanitarian sector.

As young people's education trajectories are littered with disruptions and resumptions, spatial life conditions and identity and self-development interweave and intersect. In Jordan, young people find themselves acquiring, consequently and through decisive action, new roles. Indeed, Mahmoud's digital, community-led initiative is a form of mutual aid whereby communities come together and lead humanitarian aid, offering radically different approaches to formal humanitarian structures that can pathologise and exclude instead of sharing resources and community mobilisation (Spade, 2021).

Secondly, young people take on roles within the EiE ecosystem. As Faheem describes:

I felt grateful to make friends who introduced me to the Sudanese International Church. I reached out to the pastor and shared an interest in volunteering, as many refugee families in the community need support. Over time, the pastor also trusted me with interviewing families, evaluating their needs, and delivering a report on the validity of the needs. Pre-COVID, I was teaching via home visits and helping with community development...During the home visits, I enjoyed teaching English and would help refugees like myself. In addition, I enjoyed meeting people from all over through my work.'

(Faheem, student on a higher education preparation course, volunteer, and co-researcher)

Faheem's volunteering experience with the Sudanese International Church illustrates the role that often-overlooked humanitarian EiE stakeholders, such as faith-based organisations and refugees themselves, play at the grassroots in supporting social justice. As a volunteer, Faheem is 'trusted' to evaluate others' needs, deliver goods, and take on the 'teaching English' role. He also describes the pleasure he gets from his roles through 'helping with community development and 'meeting people from all over.' As a young community worker, a volunteer, a refugee, a 'non-Syrian, a humanitarian, he illustrates compassionate activism and solidarity with other people from his community

who are displaced and counters displaced youth's single-dimensional, passive and deficit narratives.

Furthermore, Mahmoud and Faheem's active roles in the community could be seen as a political action and stark rejection of a system that does not prioritise youth or include youth in decision-making or positions of authority. This is an oversight, as Faheem outlines:

'As we are born in this turbulent time and understand the problems of being refugees, I believe we can also find the solution. Therefore, I want to be a part of the movement that is happening now and help by using my skills and knowledge in any way I can.'

Faheem asserts that he 'understands the problems of being a refugee'. He brings to his work lived experiences of displacement and a deep commitment to using his 'skills and knowledge.' This is a stark contrast to the formal humanitarian aid industry, whereby 'the intersection between race, gender, social class, and the passport you hold determines how you are valued in the sector and whether your ideas will be taken seriously or not' (Ofisun, 2020). Notably, both Faheem and Mahmoud's stories decentre the INGO as the only education site and essential service provision. Moreover, Faheem and Mahmoud provide a counter-narrative, highlighting that being displaced can be generative and productive rather than simply debilitating, destructive and deficit-based. Due to their experience of displacement, their self-positioning as leaders challenges colonial notions of hegemonic expertise prevalent in the aid sector. Faheem and Mahmoud's call for those with lived experience to lead humanitarian endeavours goes beyond calls for reform and narratives to decolonise. Instead, they put forward an abolitionist standpoint, arguing for a radical reconstruction and repositioning of expertise, and demonstrate that a similar type of aid -mutual aid, exists that goes unnoticed but provides a vital service to displaced communities.

Thirdly, young people draw on their interpersonal networks for support. As Ahmed noted:

'My class, who are Syrians, tried to direct me to some organisations, but we did not find any.'

(Ahmed, higher education preparation course student, co-researcher)

While Ahmed could not find an organisation to support furthering his educational aspirations, he notes his support from Syrian classmates, indicating that solidarity coalitions emerge across marginalised groups. Networks and coalitions are crucial components of mutual aid solidarity. Ahmed's experiences suggest that the classroom can be a site for strategising, drawing inspiration, and forming collectives that enhance power (Remi-Salisbury and Connelly, 2021, p.216). Ahmed's example underscores that in the absence of adequate institutional support, interpersonal relationships and social support networks play critical roles in motivating displaced people to further their education and supporting them to overcome access barriers by providing the correct information about the system and peer-support networks.

5.7 Summary

To conclude, it is evident that the EiE ecosystem, constituting donors, ministries, UN agencies, organisations, and school administrations, has yet to grapple with how colonial legacies, biases, and racial and ethnic discrimination continue to exist and play out in enrolment, transitions, classrooms, curricula and across the sector. From this chapter, it is evident that many forcibly displaced voices feel silenced and invisible. Acknowledging that racism is a social determinant of health that profoundly impacts children, youth, and families is paramount for the EiE sector. Furthermore, in a global economy where access to formal secondary and higher education has lifelong consequences, denying people scholarship opportunities based on nationality embeds a racialised logic in capital accumulation and colonial ideals around educability and reinforces racialised subordination (Bhattacharyya, 2018). Undoubtedly, this chapter has illustrated that forcibly displaced young people face many barriers to continuing their educational journeys.

Notwithstanding, this chapter has also highlighted how communities of resistance have emerged. Resistance takes multiple forms, evoked through circuits of solidarity, coalition building and border pedagogies that see education taking place beyond national borders. All the young people's narratives reveal a high degree of ambition, imagination, and aspiration. These narratives show how much education plays a significant part in their life and ambition for the future. Formal and informal education plays an instrumental role. It is connected to their ideals of learning for the greater good and wanting to use their learning to make a societal impact. The student-led education

initiatives serve as a counter-narrative to hegemonic youth discourses in displacement. Despite extreme adversity, they reveal displaced youth as reservoirs of knowledge, innovation, and resilience.

The next chapter, based on findings with young people in the UK, reveals that similar threads of oppression and resistance emerge that challenge mainstream discourse on EiE and give us optimism about the future.

Chapter 6 In the heart of the empire: education within the UK borderlands

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the educational experiences of young people in the UK. In doing so, it responds to the research objectives that seek to document the heterogeneous educational experiences of forcibly displaced youth and how colonial legacies impact education provision. Whilst the UK is not considered a conventional site of humanitarian aid, as discussed in the introductory chapter, domestic programming has expanded in many traditional donor countries and increasingly aid budgets, traditionally earmarked for foreign aid are being spent internally (Pickering-Saqqa, 2019). Furthermore, by including the UK as a site of study, this chapter responds to Shirazi (2020, p.58) call for EiE to ‘revisit its spatial and temporal notions of humanitarian response’.

Similar to the other chapters, and in line with the BRT, the chapter also captures the counternarratives, or hidden stories of forcibly displaced youth's agencies in resisting limited opportunities that, according to scholars (Ladson-Billings, 2005b; Shirazi, 2022) have too often remained hidden. First, the chapter presents how a hostile policy environment shapes people's daily life, highlighting parallels to scholarship around racial capitalism that call for attentiveness to the wider structural forces that sort, categorise and determine peoples' experiences, including education (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Gerrard et al., 2022; Robinson, 2021). As the findings indicate, the UK's border

control politics creates a hostile environment that affords certain privileges, among them access to education based on immigration status. The narratives related by the co-researchers in this chapter strongly indicate that situated intersectionality is deeply informed by immigration status, which works to enable or limit educational access. Next, students share their journey towards learning, where previous experiences of education, lower expectations and unclear pathways and entry routes cloud education trajectories. Our understanding of the types of education provision for asylum-seekers and refugees both in the UK and before their arrival is much enriched by the contributions of the co-researchers. These findings are important furthermore because they illuminate how colonial logic manifests in the current UK education system, how the hierarchical immigration system and bordering practices intersect with education opportunities and what education providers envision as appropriate and possible for forcibly displaced youth. Similarly, to previous chapters, the third section focuses on narratives of resistance, aspiration and hope to demonstrate how young people seek to overcome limiting perceptions of their capabilities. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings, indicating different areas of discussion that will be unpacked in the discussions and recommendations chapter.

6.2 Forced displaced population statistics in the UK

According to UNHCR statistics, as of mid-2021, there were 135,912 refugees, 83,489 pending asylum cases and 3,968 stateless persons in the UK (UNHCR, 2022a). Compared to Jordan and South Sudan, the UK's forcibly displaced population is minute. In 2021, the World Bank ranked the UK as having the fifth largest economy in the world, unlike Jordan and South Sudan, who sit at 89, and 207 in the gross national product (GNP), respectively (World Bank, 2021). Moreover, unlike the other two sites, the UK was until recently at the forefront of financing EiE internationally (Sparks, 2021). However, as this chapter will illuminate, there exist profound discrepancies between its portrayal of championing education for forcibly displaced children and youth abroad and its internal practices.

Furthermore, despite being one of the most prosperous nations worldwide, it is essential to note that structural inequities are omnipresent in the UK education system and impact many students, not just forcibly displaced learners. As noted in chapter two, the development of national education in the UK was deeply interwoven with the

emergence and expansion of the empire (Swartz, 2019; Swartz & Kallaway, 2018), and even within the UK, educational stratification meant different educational opportunities for different classes (Swartz, 2019). Data published by Universities, Colleges, Admissions Services (UCAS) in 2019 showing that only 1 in 50 of the least advantaged fifth of pupils in England progress from school to higher education, compared with 1 in 4 of the most advantaged; indicating that educational inequities continue along intersecting class and ethnic lines (UCAS, 2019). However, as the following section outlines, immigration status further exacerbates and compounds precarity and diminishes education trajectories in distinct ways.

6.3 Welcome to a ‘hostile environment.’

In recent years, politicians have become increasingly vocal in their anti-immigration rhetoric. For example, in 2012, Home Secretary Theresa May stated that she aimed to 'create, here in Britain, a hostile environment for illegal immigrants' (Hill, 2017). However, as Osifo (2020) notes, the language adopted by Theresa May was intricately connected with that of the Equality Act 2010, where under s26(1)(b)(ii), harassment is defined as 'creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment' for another person. Thus, the new hostile environment sought to embed practices that, if practised against UK citizens, would amount to harassment under the law.

At the time of writing this chapter, in May 2022, the Nationality and Borders Bill was passed, enhancing the hostile environment towards those seeking asylum. The UK government plans to send asylum seekers who seek to enter the UK outside official resettlement schemes, now defined as 'illegal entrants' by prime minister Boris Johnson, to Rwanda, in exchange for foreign aid (Syal, 2022). It remains unclear how the new bill will specifically impact educational access; the reintroduction of stringent age assessment processes and deliberate vagueness around the possible criminalisation of children and adolescents seeking asylum in the UK does indicate that the Bill will harmfully impact young, forcibly displaced people's lives (Home Office, 2022). The latest iteration of the hostile environment policy accumulates a series of legislative policies that make asylum seekers' living conditions extremely challenging (Mayblin, 2017). Scholars such as El-Enany associate British immigration policies and practices as a continuation of British colonial power', 'an explicitly white supremacist project' that

categorises people 'into those with and without rights of entry and stay', sustaining and reproducing 'colonial practices of racial ordering' (El-Enany, 2020, p. 14). As critical scholars describe, the hostile environment is inescapable for asylum seekers and refugees in the UK, as everyday bordering and ordering becomes entrenched practice (Social Scientists Against the Hostile Environment, 2020). For example, Aalem, a 23-year male from Afghanistan, arrived in the UK as an unaccompanied and separated child (UASC). He described his initial months in the UK:

'It was 2016, I had recently arrived in the UK, and my uncle had bought a new car. My cousin and I were messing around in the car, you know, just having fun. My cousin took a photo of me and made it look like I was driving. The home office used this photo against me to try and prove that I was overage.'

(Aaelem, first year higher education student, and co-researcher)

Aalem's extract serves as an introduction to the hostile environment in action. A photo of two cousins, 'having fun' and 'messaging in a car', was taken and used as evidence in an asylum case to disprove his claim that he was a child when he entered the UK. As a result, simple acts, such as playing and having fun, become weaponised against those with precarious status.

Aalem arrived in the UK as a 16-year-old child from Afghanistan. The Home Office, in contesting his age, could have severely harmed plans for his care and protection, and his access to education, which he described as being 'desperate to access' upon arriving in the UK. In the UK, in theory, if not in practice, all children under 18 benefit from the same social and educational support and guidance accorded to British children under Section 20 of the Children Act 1989 (Allsopp et al., 2015, p. 163). However, once forcibly displaced children reach 18, the support and access to services, including education, changes depending on their immigration status.

6.3.1 Immigration status and educational access

Immigration status further compounds structural inequities for forcibly displaced people as they seek to access and remain in further and higher education in the UK. For example, Semira, originally from Eritrea, living in Coventry, described trying to navigate the UK education system:

'It is really confusing to understand what I can access. Because it all changes according to your status. As an asylum-seeker, I don't have the same rights as a refugee. I do not know when I will get refugee status. I can't get a loan to study. I can't get a job and pay my own way.'

(Semira, currently attending a non-accredited higher education preparation course, and co-researcher)

Semira outlined in her extract that 'as an asylum-seeker', she did not 'have the same rights as refugees. The lengthiness of processing asylum cases means that many people spend years waiting for their asylum cases to be reviewed (Walsh, 2022). However, as Table 8 below illustrates, a list of different hierarchical statuses has emerged in the hostile environment. Each category enables or disables access to further and higher education opportunities.

Status	Right to student support for Further/Higher Education
<p>Asylum seeker: A person who has submitted an asylum claim or is actively appealing a negative decision on an asylum claim</p>	<p>Yes, although this must be self-funded. If asylum seekers meet the academic admission requirements and the home Office requirements set out above (that is, they have not exhausted their appeal rights, have not committed immigration offences, and are not 'otherwise not permitted to study' – see the previous page), then they can be offered places to study in higher education</p>
<p>Refugee: Granted Refugee Status by the Home Office, in line with the Refugee Convention.</p> <p>Indefinite Leave to Remain A person who has indefinite leave to remain in the UK</p>	<p>To receive student support, students with Indefinite Leave to Remain will usually need to have been granted their Indefinite Leave before the first day of the first academic year of their course (1 September for autumn starters; 1 January for spring starters) and to have been resident in the UK for three years prior to the first day of the first academic year of their course.</p>
<p>DLR/LLR: Discretionary Leave to Remain/Limited Leave to Remain for any reason, including asylum.</p>	<p>Students who have applied for asylum and been granted Discretionary or Limited Leave will be eligible for 'Home' fees. In addition, some may be able to apply for statutory funding under the 'long residence' category.</p>
<p>Humanitarian Protection: Granted Humanitarian Protection (HP) due to an asylum claim.</p>	<p>Learners may be entitled to the 'Home' fee rate and student support if they have been granted Humanitarian Protection (HP) and are ordinarily resident in England on the first day of the first academic year of the course (1 September for autumn starters; 1 January for spring starters) and have been ordinarily resident in the UK and Islands for three years before the first day of the first academic year of their course.</p>
<p>Stateless Leave to Remain/ UASC Leave: A person under 17.5 years has been granted Unaccompanied</p>	<p>A UASC may be entitled to the 'Home' fee rate and student support if they have been granted Stateless Leave to Remain, are ordinarily resident in England on the first day of the first academic year of the course (1 September for autumn starters; 1 January for spring starters), and have been ordinarily resident in the UK and Islands for three years before the first day of the first academic year of their course</p>

Asylum-Seeking Child (UASC) status due to an asylum application.	
Calais Leave to Remain	A person may be entitled to the 'Home' fee rate and student support if they have been granted Calais Leave to Remain, are ordinarily resident in England on the first day of the first academic year of the course (1 September for autumn starters; 1 January for spring starters), and have been ordinarily resident in the UK and Islands for three years before the first day of the first academic year of their course .
Section 67 Leave to remain (sometimes known as the "Dubs amendment") placed a requirement on the Home Office to "make arrangements to relocate to the United Kingdom and support a specified number of unaccompanied refugee children from other countries in Europe	A person may be entitled to the 'Home' fee rate and student support if they = have been granted Section 67 Leave to Remain, are ordinarily resident in England on the first day of the first academic year of the course (1 September for autumn starters; 1 January for spring starters) and have been ordinarily resident in the UK and Islands for three years before the first day of the first academic year of their course.
Undocumented migrant	No recourse to home office support, mainstream benefits, or student finance

Table 8

Categorisations of asylum in the UK and implications for higher education

As Table 8 indicates, the differentiation of immigration status impacts access to a wide range of services, including further and higher education. It demonstrates that multiple levels in the immigration regime deny opportunities and are invisible and permeable for most UK citizens, particularly those not racialised as Black or brown (El-Enany, 2018, pp.11-12). However, even those who reach the coveted refugee status are not secure, as they usually are only granted leave to remain for five years. After five years of Refugee Status, people could apply for ILR, and after a year of ILR, there is an option to apply for British citizenship (UK Government, 2022). In the case of higher education, being granted refugee status gives the recipient permission to work and access a student loan. As an asylum seeker, Semira is acutely aware that she 'doesn't have the same rights as a refugee' and finds herself at the lower end of a hierarchical immigration status system, as outlined in the table.

6.3.2 Immigration status, employment, and financial implications for higher education

Semira, positioned as an 'asylum seeker' in the UK, cannot 'get a job' and pay her 'way'. Only after asylum seekers who have waited over 12 months for their case to be reviewed can apply for permission to work in the UK. After this period, asylum seekers can seek employment, but only in a role listed on the narrowly defined 'Shortage Occupation List'; (which tend to be lower paid roles); and therefore, 'most struggle to cover the costs of supporting themselves and their families' (University of Sanctuary, 2022). With no recourse to mainstream benefits, Semira and other asylum seekers must rely on state welfare provisions. It is worth noting that the aid that Semira relies on differs vastly in amount from the universal income accorded to UK citizens. According to Mayblin (2017, 2019), the UK government's financial support to asylum seekers is calculated based on fifty per cent less than what the poorest ten per cent of British citizens spend on basic income. Currently, asylum seekers subsist on £39.63, per person, per week, or £5.64 a day, for food, sanitation, and clothing (UNHCR, 2022a). This policy forcibly pushes people below the poverty line and serves to deter people from choosing the UK as a place to seek asylum, whilst encouraging those already here to leave (Mayblin, 2021). As Isakjee (2022) argues, processes such as the UK asylum system normalise extreme hardship and uncertainty for people seeking sanctuary (Isakjee,2022). Regardless of whether asylum-seeker like Semira have permission to work, all must cover tuition fees with no recourse to student finance loans.

Semira noted that she 'can't get a loan to study.' As discussed earlier, most asylum seekers in the UK, do not have the right to work. Furthermore, convoluted legal processes negatively impact Semira's education trajectory, who dreams of 'going to university to study business.' Semira did 'not know' when her asylum case would be processed. Without the opportunity to work or gain a 'student loan' to pay for her higher education studies, Semira's choices of pursuing higher education are limited. Semira's example highlights how the hostile environment legitimises the marginalisation of asylum seekers. In turn, this normalises the legal categorisation of people as worthy or not, reinforcing hostile, political violence in which the legal system is implicated (El-Enany, 2018, p.11). Consequently, policies that minimise opportunities to enrol in higher education, whether delays in processing asylum claims, limited opportunities to work or to access student finance, demonstrate how everyday bordering continues within the UK (Social Scientists Against the Hostile Environment, 2020)

Similarly, to Semira, Agamyia, a Tamil woman from Sri Lanka and an asylum seeker, reflected on the intersection of educational access and immigration status:

'Our social status is less, getting to uni as a refugee or asylum seeker is considerably more expensive, and our inability to take a student loan makes things difficult.'

(Agamyia, currently attending a higher education preparation course and co-researcher)

Agamyia considers that 'getting into uni' is 'more expensive' as a refugee or asylum seeker. Universities set tuition fees for asylum seekers at the same rate as fees for international students (Universities of Sanctuary, 2022). Setting student fees for young people like Agamyia, who are not permitted to work, and cannot access student financial support, is illustrative of another bordering practice. International student fees run into the thousands, presenting an additional hurdle to higher education access. Imposing international tuition fees is one of the ways that universities become 'border guard[s]' (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018, p.40), complicit in reproducing the exclusionary hostile environment policy and everyday bordering. Notwithstanding, as discussed in the third section of this paper, some universities contest this role by offering scholarships to asylum seekers and refugees.

Agamy's extract demonstrates how the hostile environment solidifies social stratification in that asylum seekers are positioned as having less' social status'. Agamy's comments prompt the need to consider asylum seekers positioning within the UK's more comprehensive society. Whilst some of the barriers to higher education for forcibly displaced adults are shared with other disadvantaged groups, there is increasing evidence that asylum seekers experience an extreme degree of denial of equal access to educational opportunities (Lambrechts, 2020). For example, Agamy's experience of her inability to access a 'student loan' made higher education 'difficult', alongside Semira's example of not being able to work, demonstrate how structural barriers accumulate, interrelate, and exacerbate each other, leading to 'super-disadvantage' (Lambrechts, 2020). This notion of super-disadvantaged is illustrated by Aalem's reflections on educational access for forcibly displaced students in the UK:

'Honestly, I don't think all refugees and asylum seekers have fair access to education because, number one, education needs money, like a lot of money for school and university; therefore, they need to work and provide for their children. But, as refugees and asylum seekers, that is not available a decent job that fulfils their needs because they're not citizens; they are refugees'.

(Aalem, from Afghanistan, first-year higher education student, co-researcher)

From Aalem's perspective, a person's immigration status profoundly shapes their education opportunities. He described how 'families' need to work and provide for their children because 'education needs money'. His reflections support the conclusions of wider research that suggests that even when education for asylum seekers and refugee children between the ages of 5- 18 is free, there are still hidden costs. Finding the costs of school equipment, clothing, and school trips is beyond the financial reach of a parent surviving on limited means (Gladwell and Chetwynd, 2018). As Aalem asserts, 'education needs money, like a lot of money, for school and university'.

As Aalem highlighted, even with the right to work, 'a decent job' is unavailable. Here, Aalem's words reflect Agamy's reflections on social positioning. Aalem indicated that even people with refugee status face barriers to finding 'decent' employment in the UK. His views are in line with a recent report that revealed how migrants in the UK face discrimination for multiple reasons. Some of the 'reasons might be shared with UK-born ethnic minorities (e.g., ethnicity, skin colour or religion);

others are more likely to affect the migrant population, for example, having foreign qualifications or a foreign accent' (Fernández-Reino, 2021, p. 5). Even refugee status, which is 'relatively valorised as compared with the irregularised migrant' (El-Nany, 2018, p. 11), has not shaken Aalem's beliefs that getting 'a decent job' is a given because 'they're not citizens, they are refugees'. As he outlined, multiple intersecting factors come into play that impede educational access and future trajectories. Refugee status is no guarantee for future success in the workplace or that a university education is within reach.

Aalem, Agamy and Semira's examples illustrate how the UK's complex, hierarchical immigration status impacts on educational access to higher education specifically. The next section will examine challenges to learning prior to higher education. Their examples of 'everyday bordering and ordering' (Yuval-Davis et al., 2017) show how citizenship status informs social positioning. Nevertheless, as Aalem's example suggests, status does not equate to belonging. Nevertheless, as Aalem's example suggests, status does not equate to belonging. Instead, the hostile environment demonstrates that the 'contested and shifting hierarchies of belonging' only partially relate to people's formal citizenship status (Yuval-Davis et al., 2017, p. 241). According to Aalem, Agamy and Semira's examples, the hostile environment fuels precarity and uncertain futures, and their examples illustrate why few forcibly displaced people reach higher education globally. The following section will outline some additional challenges to accessing education at multiple displacement points.

6.4 Journeys to learning

The following section narrates some of the many stories of young people tell about entering the UK education system, whether at secondary, further, or higher levels, despite such a hostile policy environment. Their journeys, from pre-arrival, waiting to enrol, navigating hostile further education environments, and obtaining higher education opportunities, are essential in understanding the implications of the hostile environment in educational settings, and moreover, demonstrate how colonial logic intersects with opportunities and experiences.

6.4.1 Pre-arrival in the UK

Before arriving in the UK, some forcibly displaced learners spent prolonged periods in informal settlements and refugee camps. As Aalem, who arrived in the UK unaccompanied, recalls:

'I spent many months in the jungle {Calais}. It was horrible; I couldn't sleep, and there were many rats. I wasn't interested in studying while I was there, even though some organisations and some of the older people in the camp set up, like schools. I just wanted to leave. So, every moment was focused on that. Sometimes though, I would just drop in, you know, and see what was going on'.

(Aalem, currently a first-year university student, from Afghanistan, and co-researcher).

Aalem's extract offers essential insight into the reality of spending many months in Calais or 'the jungle' before he arrived in the UK. For context, the 'Jungle' was a large, informal camp that sprung up in and around Calais town in 2002 after the closure of Stuttgart (Isakjee, 2022). Situated close to the rail and ferry border crossings, in 2015, Calais swelled in size as more people sought asylum in the UK. Between 2014 and 2016, Calais was the most significant informal settlement in Europe, with an estimated 10,000 inhabitants. It was unique 'in displaying extremely inadequate living conditions for large numbers of relatively long-term inhabitants in an informal European refugee camp' (Hall et al., 2019, p. 101). French authorities eventually burned it down to send a clear signal that the residents were not welcome; however, smaller informal settlements continued to rise along the French coastline; and these camps were characterised by precarity, rough sleeping, and elevated levels of state violence, as police routinely dismantled the camps several times a week (Isakjee, 2022). In addition, there is a highly racialised nature of the camp, 'situated on the border of two former colonial powers' (the UK and France) (Davies & Isakjee, 2019, p. 2). According to Thom Davis and Arshad Isakjee (2019, p. 2), Calais became a 'deliberately constructed place of inequality and abjection, for non-European peoples, in the heart of northern Europe.' As Aalem shared, life in the camp 'was horrible'. He remembered the squalid conditions, surrounded by 'rats' where he 'couldn't sleep'. In such precarious circumstances, where the constant threat of the camp's demolition—itsself an act of state-sanctioned violence—only exacerbated an already challenging environment, Aalem's energy and motivation were focused on leaving Calais. His narratives indicate that before arriving in the UK, he

spent months out of school, illustrating that for some forcibly displaced youth, their education journeys are non-linear and disrupted. Aalem experienced living in a highly politicised, low-resource setting. Furthermore, his description of 'the jungle' illustrate an image of deprivation and a counternarrative not associated with France. Aalem's experiences challenge quintessential, contemporary, and universal associations of 'Global North' childhoods (Liebel, 2017) and highlight De Sousa's insistence that the Global South exists in the North (Santos, 2016).

Nevertheless, education projects flourished even in such a disruptive and dynamic space. As Aalem described, 'some organisations' and 'older people' in the camp 'set up' 'schools,' indicating different stakeholders established various education initiatives. Within the camp, numerous self-established refugee-led and outsider-led volunteer education initiatives developed. Examples include the Jungle Books Library, the *Ecole Laïque du Chemin des Dunes*, *L'Ecole des Arts et Métiers* (The School of Arts and Crafts), the Darfuri School, as well as innovative university courses by the University of East London and the University of Lille emerged (Hall et al., 2019). These grassroots education initiatives proliferated in the camps as necessary forms of political practice developed due to a lack of local, national and INGO support for Calais residents (Hall et al., 2019, p.102). Furthermore, the proliferation of educational spaces from within and outside the 'jungle' exemplifies the 'fugitive spaces' (Givens, 2021) discussed in earlier chapters.

Aalem related that on occasion, would 'drop in' to see what was happening in the different education programmes. Aalem's non-committal approach to engaging with community-run education programmes offers several critical reflections for EiE discourse. Firstly, education is positioned as something viable and desired by all in situations of displacement. However, Aalem's singular focus on leaving Calais meant that education, at this moment, was not a priority, which challenges the narrative that structured forms of learning are needed and wanted by all, regardless of their situated context (INEE, n.d.). Secondly, the absence of state and traditional INGO actors also highlights the limitations of humanitarianism, how colonial logic determines where to focus support, confirming a disregard for sites of marginality in the Global North (Shirazi, 2020; Shuayb & Crul, 2020). Finally, however, camps such as Calais highlight that, in this case, the French state actively worked against caring for displaced populations within its territory (Davies & Isakjee, 2019; Isakjee, 2022).

6.4.2 Waiting to enrol in education

Students like Aalem, who arrive in the UK between the ages of 5 and 18, have the right to enrol in school. Local Authorities in England, Wales and Scotland must provide a school place for all school-aged children resident in their area, regardless of whether they have legal status in the UK (Gladwell, Catherine, Chetwynd, 2018)). However, Mani, a male student originally from Afghanistan who had spent years growing up in India and Belgium, explained that educational access is not immediate.

'Like many asylum-seekers, our journey in the UK started in Croydon. We then moved up north and stayed in a guest house in Birmingham for around two weeks. Then, finally, my family and I moved to accommodation in Wolverhampton. Finding a school and getting back to normality was a priority for everyone in my family. We were registering for the GP and searching for schools at the same time. It was very busy and very uncertain. Unfortunately, the schools I visited refused to take me in for the 2019-20 term because it was already November. I felt a bit confused at first because the schools would give me the application form, but I realised that it was for the next term!'

(Mani, sixth-form college student, co-researcher)

Gladwell & Chedyne's (2018) study highlighted how dispersal could be detrimental to young people's educational access. Mani's example offers insight into how the dispersal process impacted his initial enrollment into the UK system, outlined in section one. He describes the multiple movements, from Croydon to Birmingham to Wolverhampton, that his family make in their early months in the UK. For Mani and his family, finding a school and getting back to 'normality was a priority for everyone'. He described the multiple processes, from 'registering for the GP' to 'searching for schools', whilst feeling 'busy' and 'very uncertain'. His example shows that upon arrival in the UK, the sense of precarity and uncertainty does not quickly dissipate, nor should it be expected in a politically hostile environment (Hill, 2017) intentionally designed to deter people, as discussed in the first section of this paper. He and his family regard school as an opportunity to return to normality, underlining that school is not just a place of learning, but a space where individuals are able to feel that they are inextricably part of the normal quotidian community.

Mani's case highlights that forcibly displaced children do not enter the UK school system immediately. By November, schools refused to take him instead of

giving him an application form for 'the next term'. Similarly, as was highlighted in Chapter 4, education systems have not been set up for learners whose lives transcend nation-states. For example, Mani had come from Belgium via India and Afghanistan, yet because he did not enter the UK at the start of the school term, he was delayed from enrolling. Additionally, as noted in previous chapters, schools denied Aalem entry, highlighting what Morrice et al. (2020) identify as a flaw within education systems, often based 'on assumed linearity and normative pathways present structural barriers' to displaced Mani's entry into and progression through the education system (p. 389).

There is little information on how long children and young people in asylum-seeking families wait for a school place (Gladwell & Chetwynd, 2018). In Mani's case, if schools accepted him, he was expected to wait a couple of months until the new school term began in January. However, children have the right to enrol in education; many, like Mani, experience significant delays and difficulties obtaining school places. Evidence suggests that delays in enrolment are due to children being in temporary accommodation provided by the Home Office, whereby they are not considered residents in that area (Gladwell, Catherine, Chetwynd, 2018, p. 3). Consequently, most students will not start school within the policy target of 20 days, with a third of all secondary school-age students waiting over three months, with some as many as nine months (Gladwell & Chetwynd, 2018: 21). Over fifty per cent of students at further education level wait over three months. In this landscape, it is not surprising that Mani was rejected to start school in November; however, the lack of haste by school authorities to enrol him in education could be another example of everyday bordering practices (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018) that seek to entrench a 'hostile environment' (Hill, 2017).

Furthermore, his route of entry may also have some bearing; according to Gladwell & Chetwynd, resettled Syrian refugee children are obtaining school places more quickly than any other group and account for 53% of those starting within 20 days, indicating that nationality, as well as the route of entry, can also impact school enrolment (2018, p. 21). Based on the mode of access to the UK, the divergence in enrolment rates underlines how the hostile environment operates daily and further suggests, as was evident in the previous chapter, that hierarchies include other learners based on nationality. However, many forcibly displaced learners enter the educational

system despite the entry delay. As the following extract further illustrates, access is one step of the learning journey. Once in an educational setting, forcibly displaced youth must learn to navigate other challenges.

6.4.3 Navigating the hostile environment: Experiences within the UK education system

Teachers are often unaware of forcibly displaced students' former experiences. For example, once Aalem started school in the UK, he shared:

'When I got to the UK, I never spoke of that in school, and teachers never asked; anyway, I just wanted to forget.'

Aalem chose not to speak of his prior experiences in Calais, stating that he 'just wanted to forget when he arrived in the UK. He also recalled that 'teachers never asked'. The reasons why teachers did not ask for more information are unknown. They could have been privy to this through his caseworkers or their engagement with the media, where Calais was ever-present. Nor does not inquiring equate to not caring. However, as mentioned in chapter one, there is a void in analysing the pre-resettlement educational experiences of refugee children, resulting in a 'black box' (Dryden-Peterson, 2015), or disregard by education providers of students' previous educational experiences. These gaps in understanding have implications for young people's academic performance, psychosocial needs, sense of belonging and relationship with teachers and peers (Dryden-Peterson, 2015). The lack of dialogue between Aalem and his teachers suggests that tailored, culturally informed support that he may require, as a UASC, who had spent months out of school in Calais (as discussed in section two), would not be readily available. The gap in understanding could impact the success or failure of education support services for students like Aalem, who would be considered 'super disadvantaged' (Lambrecht, 2020) within the UK education system. The lack of tailored support for students like Aalem indicates the inequitable and under-resourced UK education system discussed at the beginning of this chapter. However, it could also be another example of a hostile environment (Hill, 2017) that intentionally limits resources and support that would create a welcoming environment for forcibly displaced youth.

Evidence suggests that even when displaced students are fortunate enough to enter education, whether at secondary, further, or higher education levels, students often experience higher education as overwhelming and alienating. Academic faculty are unaware of their issues (Lambrechts, 2020; Oddy et al., 2022). As Afran reflected, challenges can arise once a student has begun to study:

'Since I started, I have missed three semesters. I liked most of the teachers, but sometimes being enrolled was difficult. Often, I just didn't feel good. After I came to the UK, it took me a year or so to have some interest in just starting a one-day-a-week course as a beginner of ESOL for the first year. But then it actually made me want to learn more English and study more. '

(Afran, ESOL student, artist, and co-researcher)

Afran's extract highlights that students can struggle even when displaced students have been able to navigate the system and obtain entry. Afran highlighted that since starting his course, he had missed significant classes. He reflected that it 'took a year or so to be interested in starting a course once a week. Afran shared that he found being enrolled difficult at times, sharing that he often 'didn't feel good.' He described how it took him a year to gain 'some interest, in just starting a one day a week course as a beginner of ESOL' (English Speakers Other languages).

Afran's example correlates with evidence that suggests that stress levels may vary at different points of migration, for instance, 'pre-flight exposure to violence and war, traumatic experiences of flight and adverse post-flight stressors' (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016, p. 506). As Sullivan & Simonson indicate, 'immigration status can directly or indirectly affect forcibly displaced students' mental health and wellbeing during the post-migration phase' (2016, p. 506). Asylum seekers who continued to experience an uncertainty about their legal status in the UK described 'feelings of demoralisation, anxiety, and distress' (2016, p. 506). Notably, difficulties at school and language acquisition have predicted poor adaptation (Oddy et al., 2022).

Additionally, Afran did not attend classes frequently, despite mentioning that he 'liked most of the teachers'. From his extract, it is unclear if the teachers would be aware that students within their classes are trying to study alongside navigating a hostile environment. Connecting to Aalem's earlier extract, it is even more critical that educators integrate community cultural wealth models (Yosso, 2005), that are trauma-

informed because, in any given classroom, they are unlikely to be aware of some of their students' situations. Whilst trauma and stress should not be conflated; evidence suggests that trauma-informed education settings play a crucial role in mitigating, minimising, and reversing acculturative stress and exclusion by creating wellbeing spaces, peer support and connections (Oddy et al., 2022). Nevertheless, Afran described a process where he gradually started to feel that he wanted to 'learn more English and study more', suggesting that time was also necessary to help him adjust to his new context. Language acquisition became a drive for wanting to learn more.

As this section has outlined, building upon the opening section, young people's journeys to learning are diverse, with multiple disruptions and delays to entering the formal education system both before and upon arrival to the UK. In the examples discussed in this section, the state has an active role in dispossessing forcibly displaced youth's educational trajectories by delaying or not providing entry into the formal system. However, as the next section will discuss, once in the UK education system, whether at further (post-16 education) or higher education level, students encounter numerous hurdles, as educational services do not consistently tailor support to forcibly displaced populations; and education provision is informed by ideas and assumptions rooted in colonialism (Swartz, 2018).

6.4.4 Obtaining a place in higher education

Semira, from Eritrea, noted that her 'only hope is a scholarship.' Removing the right to work and prolonging asylum decisions whilst disempowering students to take out loans and pay for their education decreases not only the possibility of self-reliance but it forces the student to rely on aid, echoing multiple examples that have been shared in the previous two chapters; and demonstrating the pervasiveness of a regime that 'confine the claims of racialised people to those of rights, whether in the form of asylum or citizenship, to the exclusion of more empowering and radical claims of redistributive and reparative justice, which would entail the reinstatement of stolen colonial resources and futures' (El-Enany, 2018, p. 20). Educational aid is the only route for most students mentioned in this chapter to access higher education. Semira's sense of having to prove herself worthy of a scholarship indicates how some students perceive applying for financial aid. In the UK, several initiatives are underway to support learners, such as Semira. For example, the Universities of Sanctuary network developed in partnership

with other organisations in the UK, such as Article 26 and Student Action for Refugees, to empower and advocate for higher education institutions to provide entry and scholarships to forcibly displaced students (Universities of Sanctuary, 2022).

Even though it is promising that many universities now offer scholarships, scholarships are competitive, and unequal power dynamics are at play, as there is an expectation to disclose personal and traumatic information, with decision-making sitting with people far removed from the displaced population. For example, as part of the application, Semira described:

'I applied like everyone else in my college through the UCAS [Universities, Colleges Admissions System] system. But for a scholarship, I have to make extra applications. I have to write down why I should get this chance. I have to tell my story.'

(Semira, college student and co-researcher)

From the extract, there is an implicit understanding that to be considered for a scholarship, Semira felt that she must share the circumstances that have resulted in her needing a scholarship. The request for a 'story' could be interpreted in several ways. On the one hand, universities have a limited number of scholarships. They may want students to outline why they are not eligible to seek other financial support without going into too much personal detail. On the other hand, there is a sense, from Semira's words, that she perceived that she was expected to prove herself for this 'chance.' It is not enough, like 'everyone else' in college, to apply and, based on merit, be considered for a scholarship. Instead, she needed to tell a 'story.' Whilst there is little scholarship on students' experiences submitting scholarship applications, the retelling process could be traumatic. Furthermore, whilst the university is countering the hostile environment by offering scholarships, colonial dynamics are maintained as aid, and saviourism is the only way asylum seekers can enter the UK higher education system. This argument will be explored further in the next section and later in chapters seven and eight.

6.5 How coloniality informs education providers' perceptions of students' abilities

As discussed in chapter two, colonial education was informed by ideals of educability, an idea that colonised subjects were intellectually inferior (Swartz, 2018).

In the following extracts, concepts of educability manifest in several ways, including the courses where forcibly displaced students are placed. For example, one student, Mani, from Afghanistan, who had spent several years in Belgium and India before arriving in the UK, noted:

'I was enrolled in college- it was like a gap course- it was get ahead programme. The focus of the training course was to get more work-ready by looking at our strengths and weaknesses, building a CV, frequently presenting, and functional skills like Maths and English. To be very honest with you guys, I was a little bit disappointed by the course. I had suddenly gone from being a student in normal education to a class where not everyone took their studies seriously. The functional skills course was not as challenging as I expected; I wanted things to progress faster because I had already experienced so many delays with my education.'

(Mani, A-Level college student and co-researcher)

Mani's shared how he enrolled in a college after not being able to enrol in a school upon arrival in the UK. At the time, he was sixteen years of age. He was placed in a 'get ahead' programme and learned 'functional skills like Maths and English' to get 'work-ready'. Mani felt 'disappointed with the course' and described how he had gone 'from being a student in normal education' to one where he felt under-challenged. According to Gladwell and Chetwynd (2018), putting students into inappropriate education programmes, such as Mani, is not unique. In a nationwide study, they found that asylum seekers and refugees were routinely placed in Pupil Referral Units (PRU), designed for students who had been excluded from mainstream education or channelled into lower-level programmes as schools and colleges were concerned that admitting students onto GCSE or A-Level courses¹⁷ would negatively impact the school's results profile (p.28). Mani recalled that 'people didn't think' he could complete GCSEs, which indicates that college personnel held limiting assumptions about his academic capabilities and thus decided to enrol him in a lower-level course. These assumptions, as Swartz (2019), Gerrard. et al. (2022) and Fúnez (2022), highlighted in chapter two, do not come from a void. Instead, they argue that peoples' assumptions about capability, that are intricately connected to colonial concepts of educability.

¹⁷ GCSE stands for General Certificate of Secondary Education. In the UK, students sit GCSEs in multiple subjects, typically at the end of year 11. Without GCSEs it is challenging for students to progress to further or higher educational courses. A-Level stands for Advanced level courses. Students typically take 3 or 4 A levels, over two years, and based on these qualifications, can gain entry into higher education courses, advanced apprenticeships or employment.

Without GCSEs, Mani's possibilities of getting accepted into A-Level and, subsequently, universities in the UK would be extremely slim. He continues:

'Therefore, I kept looking for opportunities. I got to know English and Maths GCSEs were critical. I didn't want to waste a year. People didn't think I could do it. I saw a poster in colleges for extra lessons for GCSEs English and Maths. I went to see the teacher, and we spoke. I explained, and he was understanding. He gave me a pass paper and 1.5 hours to complete it. I hadn't studied maths for six months, but I got a good grade (5). He saw I was capable. He spoke to the manager and got me enrolled. I then said I wanted to do English as well; they were not sure, but I went to the courses for a month. And then lockdown happened. I ended up getting Grade 7 in both'

(Mani, A-Level college student and co-researcher)

As other students mentioned, Mani took it upon himself to find 'opportunities'. He understood that in the UK, 'English and Maths GCSEs' are a springboard to higher education, and he presented himself to a teacher, who gave him a test to establish his level. Mani's example highlights several things. Firstly, Mani had to self-advocate. He presented himself to the teacher and requested to join the catch-up classes. Once the teacher saw that Mani 'was capable of taking the Maths GCSE course', he pushed the college to enrol him in the GCSE English class. Secondly, through sharing his story with the teacher, Mani found an advocate within the staff body, who then went and asked Mani's behalf for him to be given a chance in the GSCE stream. Had this interaction not happened, Mani would have remained in the functional skills class, where he had been placed without assessing his skills. He described how 'they were not sure' but he 'went to the courses for a month, and then lockdown happened.' He got a 'Grade 7 in both' (equivalent to an A grade). By challenging the college's ceiling placed on his ability, Mani could get the 'normal education' he desired.

Mani's story of navigating the limiting, 'deficit' approach with which the college perceived him illustrates the importance of practitioners to Yosso's (2005) cultural wealth model, discussed in chapter two, which is intricately connected to challenging colonial logic that devalues the education traditions and abilities of certain groups. As a reminder, Yosso (2005) called for educators to recognise marginalised students' cultural wealth in the education space. Mani, through his self-advocacy, exemplified

'aspirational, social, navigational and resistance' wealth to the limitations imposed on him (Yosso, 2005, p. 83).

This section has outlined how education providers and routes into higher education have preconceived notions about the educability of forcibly displaced youth. Notwithstanding, whilst Mani's persistence in searching for 'opportunities' challenged his college's preconceived idea about his ability, the following section illustrates how some forcibly displaced young people also hold colonial-informed points of view regarding educational capabilities, which are challenged in the UK.

6.5.1 How coloniality informs students' perceptions of the UK education system

Students entering secondary, further, or higher education often perceive the UK system as prestigious. As Mani notes, upon starting college:

'It was only natural to feel a bit anxious and awkward, but I was glad that I had finally become a part of the British education system!'

From Mani's description, he felt a sense of pride that he was 'finally' becoming 'part of the British education system'. In his extract, education is not just a learning site but also inextricably tied to being a part of something bigger. 'British education system' is held in high regard. Other students shared similar reflections that illustrate the high regard for the British education system. However, one Nigerian student, Ifeoma, an asylum seeker, who had recently applied to university, noted her sense of apprehension about enrolling in higher education in the UK:

'We were taught differently, just to memorise things back home. It makes me worried about starting university here. We are a bit backward.'

(Ifeoma, currently pursuing a higher education preparation course)

Ifeoma's self-description of being 'backward' indicates the permanence of colonialism to the point that it has saturated her sense of self. El- Enany argues that people with personal, ancestral, or geographical histories of colonisation cannot escape their condition of coloniality (2018, p. 9). Ifeoma's self-reflection is not from a void but

informed by broader narratives and policies that subjugate, as discussed in chapter two. For example, upon arrival in the UK, forcibly displaced students who have previously studied at the university level are encouraged to send their qualifications to the National Academic Recognition Information Centre (NARIC) to get a statement of comparability. This officially recognised document confirms the recognition of an overseas qualification and its comparable level in the UK. However, as studies from the European Students' Union (Lukas et al., 2017) illustrate, many forcibly displaced learners find that NARIC downgrades their qualifications. In Ifeoma's case, she found that she would have to take English language exams before enrolling in a higher education programme:

'I did my full studies, right from secondary to university, in English back home, but here, I have to take ESOL or IELTS classes because they don't recognise my level of English. It is demotivating because I always thought I understood and spoke English well.'

(Ifeoma, currently pursuing a higher education preparation course)

Ifeoma comes from Nigeria; a former British colony; and English is the primary language of secondary and higher education instruction. However, she was channelled towards an ESOL course in the UK despite holding an undergraduate degree which was taught in English. Ifeoma's experience reflects a tendency in the UK to put 'all ethnic, religious, and social class groups of newly arrived children into the "English as Additional Language Needs (EAL)"category, restricting schools' ability to recognise other pedagogic needs, different migratory histories, and children's range of identities, talents, and capabilities' (Social Scientists Against the Hostile Environment, 2020). Moreover, there is a hidden but insidious message that positions the UK education system far above other countries, exemplifying Mignolo (2011) and Quijano's (2000) theory of 'coloniality of knowledge' in which as was seen in chapter two, perpetuates a Eurocentric paradigm that delegitimises knowledges other than those that originated in the west. As a result, Ifeoma's education trajectory became more disjointed and multi-directional, framed by various interruptions and repetitions, solidifying her limiting belief that she is 'backwards.' However, as the next section demonstrates, other students who sought to integrate into the UK system faced similar regressions yet also found themselves disillusioned with an education system that, from afar, they had held in such high regard.

6.5.2 Learning new cultural and racial literacies

Once in the UK education system, forcibly displaced learners may find their education perspectives challenged. As Mani explains:

'What I actually learned from my time practising for Maths GCSE was not Maths itself, but the structure of Edexcel Maths GCSE papers and how exams look and feel in the UK.'

Students' sense of self and confidence in their abilities can lead to them critically reflecting on their previous perceptions of the UK education system. Mani's experiences of the system counter his earlier perceptions and worry about joining the prestigious UK education system. Instead, he was taught to pass 'papers' and understand 'how exams look and feel in the UK.' Mani's reflections correlate with educationalists, such as Stotesbury, & Dorling (2015), arguing that it is common to 'teach to the test' in the UK, with schools and colleges focusing on short-term knowledge acquisition that is often forgotten after the examination. It upholds critique by Sriprakash et al. (2019) critique of the Education and International Development field, which, as discussed in chapter two, has its colonial origins in British colonialism and imperialism, continues to be dominated by learning assessments and metrics discourse of measurement.

The focus on passing tests, which impacts all learners within the UK education system, can be to the detriment of other skills and support systems that educational sites have the potential to offer. However, regardless of context, one of the critical challenges identified is the lack of information about available higher education opportunities (Lambrechts, 2020). As Afran notes:

'Sometimes, there can be not much support to start and find out about it all. For example, when studying ESOL in college, there's not always support for finding out more about the course and other accessibilities until you reach the higher levels of English, and then you do it yourself.'

(Afran, ESOL student, artist and co-researcher)

Afran indicates that wider support is not readily available. Afran's extract implies that from his experience, once students have a 'higher level', they can 'find out more about courses and other support services available'. These significant barriers challenge the notion that participating in further education or university is understood to facilitate

social and cultural integration (Bowen, 2014). Although initiatives exist, such as widening participation policies (Burnell, 2015) that support learners from underrepresented groups to return to formal education, once in the formal education system, Afran's example highlights the limitations of support for students like himself, who have experienced education disruption, and are now having to navigate 'finding out' about 'course[s]'.

Fluency in a language can have an enormous impact on accessing education opportunities. In Afran's case, he described how the ability to learn a language quickly and fluently either enables or impedes access to information about education opportunities. However, as the next section underlines, new literacies are also needed to navigate the UK education system that goes beyond linguistic fluency, to contest colonial logics inherent in educational spaces

Many students in this study spoke positively about being in ethnically and culturally diverse settings. As Farah, a female sixth-form student from Syria, mentioned:

'Before I came to the UK, I was scared. I was scared of what other people would think because of my hijab. But when I came to school, I calmed down. I didn't get any negative comments. There were people from everywhere.'

(Farah, A-Level student and co-researcher)

In the extract, Farah described how she felt afraid of what others 'would think' of her headscarf before she arrived in the UK. Her concerns indicate that she was aware of Islamophobia¹⁸ in the UK and feared being othered. Moreover, Muslim students hold multiple identities, such as their socio-economic status, ethnicity, gender and linguistic identity, and other forms of racialisation, which shape how a student may experience Islamophobia. As a young woman who wore a hijab, Farah was concerned about how people would perceive her.

¹⁸ As discussed in chapter one, Islamophobia is a specific type of racism targeted at Muslims. In the UK, the All-Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims proposes the following working definition of Islamophobia: Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of muslimness or perceived muslimness (All Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims, 2017).

Furthermore, Farah's concerns were valid, as according to a recent study by Jones & Unsworth, Islamophobia is much more widespread than most forms of racism in the UK (2022). However, despite her initial concerns about what she would face in school, she found herself in a classroom where she did 'not receive any comments'. Farah's reflections also highlight that she came to the UK with a 'single story' (Adiche, 2009) that she would face discrimination but found that there 'were people from everywhere' in her school. As such, her perception of the UK has changed, alluding to a new cultural literacy, or understanding of the UK from her situated position from the inside.

Notwithstanding, although Farah did not experience discrimination within the classroom, she recalled a distressing encounter online:

'Although I could speak no English when I arrived, within two years, I had passed 5 GCSEs. I also started to write poetry in English. My success appeared on social media, and I received lots of compliments and encouragement. Apart from one comment from a man that said, 'With this rubbish bag on your head, you will never succeed in your life. I was shocked by his response to my hijab until hundreds of people disagreed with him and supported me.'

(Farah, A-Level student and co-researcher)

Within two years of arrival in the UK, Farah managed to pass five GCSEs and write poetry in English. Her achievements were posted online, whereby she received 'compliments and encouragement.' However, she also noted that she faced abuse, wherein someone berated her in the comment section. Furthermore, she was 'shocked by his response' to her 'hijab'. Farah's story reveals how Muslims are 'homogenised and degraded by Islamophobic discourse' (Garner & Seloud, 2014, p.17). However, Farah's abuse is specific to her identity as a woman, whereby her dress becomes a 'visible physical marker' that transforms her body into a racialised others (Garner & Seloud, 2014, p.17). Farah's example also demonstrates how concepts of racialisation are dynamic and context-specific, because in her country of origin, Syria, the way she dressed would not have singled her out as different; instead, it is read as a symbol of belonging. In the UK, although Farah experienced a 'man' berating her for wearing a 'rubbish bag on her head,' 'hundreds of people disagreed with him.' The 'hundreds of

people' contestation highlights that othering is not static or inherent to a particular place, and people contest and stand in solidarity with people being othered in myriad ways.

6.5.3 New racial identities and racial literacies

Similarly, to Farah, other students noted that they were racialised and othered upon arrival in the UK. As a reminder, as discussed in previous chapters, racialisation is a process and situated gaze that instigates 'group-ness' and ascribes characteristics (Bacchetta et al., 2018; Lentin, 2019); transforming culturally and phenotypically dissimilar individuals who fall into either a bureaucratic category such as an asylum-seeker or are simply devotees of the same religion, such as Muslims, into a homogeneous bloc. As Ifeoma described her experiences in college:

'Before I left home, I never thought of myself as Black. It was just me. But here, I am someone else. So, although I don't tell people my immigration status, they just think I am another Nigerian, maybe not a Black British person, but they don't know.'

(Ifeoma, currently pursuing a higher education preparation course)

In her country of origin, Nigeria, Ifeoma never considered her identity through the lens of race. However, now in the UK, she felt she was 'someone else.' This highlights how racial categories are not static but fluid and malleable. In the UK, Ifeoma felt that she could avoid telling people about her immigration status because there was a 'Black British' presence. Consequently, although she had become racialised as Black in the UK, Ifeoma was not reducible to her 'immigration status' because she was afforded a degree of anonymity in a context where there were other 'Nigerians'. However, her position as an asylum seeker enabled her to see the complex categorisations and positionalities within the UK, which informed her decision not to 'tell people' her immigration status. In doing so, Ifeoma demonstrates awareness of the multiple factors that increase or diminish a person's privilege in the UK context.

Furthermore, Ifeoma's perception of the lower positioning of asylum seekers and refugees connects with earlier points raised by Agamy and Aalem at the beginning of this chapter. Both her and Aalem's perspectives towards othering indicate their awareness of being held in another's gaze, which defines their social identity, and by extension, their place within society, including education settings. In Ifeoma's example,

a new understanding, or racial literacy, emerged. Racial literacy is a term coined by Guinier (2004) to consider the knowledge, skills, and awareness needed to discuss race and racism and counter and cope with racism. Guinier argued that educational spaces needed to introduce the study of race as contextual rather than universal; emphasising the interconnection with power and read psychological, interpersonal, and structural dimensions (2004, p.3) connected to intersecting socio-cultural factors, including (but not limited to) gender, class, geography, gender, and other explanatory variables (pp. 114-115). Navigating a new country requires new forms of racial literacy, as highlighted by Aalem, who described an incident at college whereby he was working on a film project:

'I was filming a football player for this project. He was Black, and he was wearing a black top. I said he shouldn't wear a black top because of the background, which was also black. This was a big problem, and he said I was being racist. I was so embarrassed and felt bad because I did not mean my words that way.'

(Aalem, first year undergraduate student and co-researcher)

Aalem's extract illustrates how he found his actions being interpreted as 'racist'. He described feeling 'embarrassed' and 'bad' because he had not intended for his 'words' 'in that way. Through this interaction, Aalem was reminded that although he may be from a negatively racialised group in the UK, this didn't exempt his actions or 'words' from being read as discriminatory against others who were also racialised. Although Farah spoke positively of their experiences in multicultural settings earlier in this paper, Aalem's extract amplifies the need for racial literacy to be strengthened in educational settings for all students.

Supporting students to navigate a new country and new cultures that exemplify urban education spaces may be necessary. As Afran described:

'In ESOL, there are all types of identities; nationalities, statuses ... Just like in London itself. It starts from yourself, to be open-minded as an adult.'

(Afran, ESOL student, artist and co-researcher)

In the 'ESOL' class that Afran attends, 'there are all types of identities, nationalities and statuses.' He considers it important 'to be open-minded as an adult.' Like the examples in the previous two chapters, the education space becomes a contact zone, bringing a diverse range of learners together. However, the interaction between Aalem and the football player indicates that although forcibly displaced students may find themselves in ethnically diverse educational spaces, multiculturalism is not enough to create an anti-racist space. Notwithstanding, as the next section outlines, through these spaces, contacts and networks, the forcibly displaced learners discover and share opportunities with peers that enable them to continue their education.

6.6 Resisting the hostile environment: community cultural wealth

Finally, although the previous sections underlined the numerous challenges to entering the UK education system, promising practices from civil society organisations illustrate the critical roles different educational stakeholders can play in supporting students. For example, Tarek, a male student from Afghanistan, highlighted that transitioning to higher education in the UK is possible with external support. As he explained:

'It was the second time that I applied for a scholarship. Last year, I didn't submit all the correct paperwork, but I found out, through a friend, about a support scheme with Refugee Support Network (RSN), and I worked with a mentor who helped so much.'

(Tarek, peer mentor and college student)

Tarek's example highlights education-focused organisations' role in providing individualised support to forcibly displaced learners. For example, he found out about a support school run by RSN (now known as Refugee Education UK), a national education charity in the UK that supports learners' access to further and higher education opportunities. Notably, Tarek's source of information was from a friend, underlining the importance of personal networks in supporting educational trajectories. Moreover, he was directed towards a civil society organisation and not a mainstream education provider, such as a school or college, to get help. Finally, Tarek's example highlights how some forcibly displaced youth draw on social and navigational capital (Yosso, 2005) to make the most of educational opportunities. Likewise, another student, Semira, shared:

'My friends told me that if I get a scholarship somewhere, I can apply to immigration and get prioritised for moving to that place.'

(Semira, college student and co-researcher)

Semira's example further demonstrates how individual agency, informal networks, and connections enable students to employ 'a range of tactics to counter the system' (Allsopp et al., 2015, p.179). Semira's friends told her that she could find accommodation support in another area if she received a scholarship. Semira's friends gave her advice and enabled her to exercise her agency and provide peer-to-peer support to navigate the complex system, thus challenging everyday bordering (Yuval-Davis et al., X). Peer-to-peer support in enabling transitions to higher education is underexplored; however, Semira's example shows the importance of social wealth (Yosso, 2005) in navigating the UK's hostile environment. Semira's friends provided critical and much-needed insight as in another study; participants raised the issue of UK universities supporting students but not providing information regarding broader issues that moving to another city may have on their accommodation and benefits entitlements (Lambrechts, 2020, p. 810).

The wealth of knowledge that forcibly displaced learners acquire in navigating and resisting the hostile environment results in some learners taking on volunteer roles to support others. As Tarek explains:

'I volunteer, I take part. I am on a youth board. It is important because I don't want people to think I came to this country just to take things, you know. I help in different ways. I am also thinking about becoming a peer mentor, I have been in this country for some years, and I know things. It is so hard to find information, it has taken a lot of time to understand the system, and I have had a lot of help. I can now pass that on, so if another young person arrives, I can tell them how to apply for college, what to do.'

(Tarek, peer mentor and college student)

Due to their years in the 'country', Tarek felt that they were able to support other young people as a 'peer mentor'. In this extract, Tarek wanted to use knowledge they had acquired and 'pass that on so that if another young person' arrived, they would know how to 'find information' and 'apply for college'. Several other participants mentioned being volunteers. As Tarek explained, volunteering in a hostile environment with

limited work opportunities made him 'feel good'. In becoming a volunteer, he repositioned his experience of the hostile environment as a form of expertise. By assuming a volunteer position, Tarek rebukes notions of passivity or victimhood often ascribed to forcibly displaced young people (Doná & Veale, 2011). Similarly, as the following table illustrates, his co-researchers also have many ideas for supporting forcibly displaced youth.

Figure 12

Group discussion on turning research into action



Taken from DSAR session six, as the top line of post-it notes highlight, young people have many ideas about where support needs to be directed. Their ideas transcended their local environment, challenging hostile bordering practices by demonstrating solidarity with transnational issues. For example, as one participant noted, there was a need to support their 'community in Jordan and Syria', whilst another participant saw the importance of 'helping the people who suffer from societal problems, persecution or class.' Pressing issues were identified, from 'domestic violence,' 'mental health,' 'community issues,' and researching the experiences of 'academic refugees' were put forward. These suggestions indicate that they were acutely

aware that societal issues were not identity-specific, and instead, several notes indicate 'gather[ing] people together from [different]cultures and opinions,' which emphasises their ideals around coalition building. Furthermore, despite the multiple obstacles students face in enrolling, remaining, and progressing through the UK education system, many of the learners shared their optimism and refusal to give up.

As Farah shared:

'I believe there is no limit to what you can achieve, no matter your religion, gender, colour, or ethnicity. Everyone can achieve success in education'.

Farah believed there was no limit to what she and others could achieve, and her words demonstrate a firm sense of self-belief. Despite multiple constraints barring access to university, Farah was optimistic that anyone could succeed in education, even within a hostile environment. Similarly, Afran noted that:

'I want to study art; there are things that I can do.'

Despite the challenges that Afran has faced, he believes that there are 'things' that he 'can do.' The sense of optimism from Farah and Afran indicates that in the face of precarity, exacerbated by the hostile environment in the UK, some young people still maintain a sense of hope and do not give up on their dreams of continuing their education.

6.7 Summary

This chapter has presented a group of young people's experiences navigating the UK education system. The opening section outlined the hostile environment, which deepens social inequity in the UK through a series of policies and practices, including an immigration regime that many scholars argue is based upon colonial logic. The examples from students such as Semira, Aalem and Agamyia illustrated that whether at secondary, further, or higher education levels, the immigration regime imposed several restrictions and hurdles. Next, Aalem, Afran and Mani's examples demonstrated that education provision, whether at a further or higher level, is not set up to adapt to the forcibly displaced student's needs. From their examples, it was evident that teachers

often did not know that their students were forcibly displaced, which limited the amount of contextualised support they could provide.

Once in the education system, colonial logic around educability emerged from both the education provider and the student. From students reflecting on their experiences of being placed in lower-level classes to internalised feelings of inadequacy, grappling with broader societal issues, such as Islamophobia, and learning new racial literacies, their examples illuminate how education systems have a complex role in sustaining and challenging colonial imaginaries. Moreover, access to higher education is often only feasible through scholarships, perpetuating the economy of aid.

Notwithstanding, the findings explored that despite a hostile policy environment, forcibly displaced young people maintained high aspirations. Through peer support networks and civil society organisational support, young people learnt how to navigate the system and, in some cases, surpass the hostile environment's intent to dispossess and disenfranchise.

The last three chapters focused on young people's experiences. The next chapter examines the interconnections between the three contexts and introduces the reflections of EiE practitioners who are involved in designing educational programmes for forcibly displaced people. Engaging practitioners in the study links back to the conceptual framing of DSAR, which is rooted in action research and the BRT's commitment to examining the structures, and broader stakeholders that shape the educational experiences for millions of forcibly displaced youths globally. The next chapter sheds light on the similarities and differences across contexts and, in doing so, connects some of the pervading and limiting narratives and educational models that shape the EiE field.

Chapter 7 Intersectionality, coloniality and acts of fugitivity: EiE experiences across South Sudan, Jordan, and the UK

Black radicalism, which has provided the theoretical and methodological grounding for this thesis, has long proposed intersectional and international analysis, connecting the local and global and situating lives within a historical and structural analysis. Similarly, as outlined in chapter three, systemic, multi-sited action inquiry implores acknowledging interrelationships and interconnections that 'locates local action inquiry within a wider system taking into account both the effects that the system has on local issues, and vice versa' (Burns, 2007, p. 7). Notably, the past three chapters have demonstrated that colonial legacies manifest in myriad ways, with concepts of educability, and asymmetries in power at multiple levels of EIE programming, resulting in a multiplicity of educational experiences and trajectories for diverse cohorts of forcibly displaced youth. Accordingly, this chapter outlines the cross-commonalities and dichotomies across the three sites of South Sudan, Jordan, and the UK, responding to racial capitalism's premise that people's lives are mutually informed and shaped by macro and micro-level phenomena. However, this chapter aims not to universalise the experiences across contexts but to highlight the interwoven, interlocking and overlapping themes and divergences. By highlighting synergies and divergences across the three sites, the chapter will deepen our understanding of the complexities and possibilities of pursuing education when forcibly displaced, addressing the research objectives.

As noted in chapters one and three, intersectionality is a critical concept for EiE research to contest ahistorical conceptual framings of subjects and actors, in a sector where language and terminology are rarely attentive to intragroup differences. Bearing in mind the first research objective, that seeks to identify the intersections and impacts of identity markers on EiE experiences, the first part of this chapter will show that contrary to constructions of forcibly displaced youth as a homogenous group across sites, identity markers that intersect emerge as an essential feature in understanding education experiences, foregrounding how one's proximity or distance to power informs educational experiences.

The second part of this chapter responds to research objective two and exploring colonial entanglements of EiE. In this section, I will reflect on the endurance of coloniality, outlining the key findings across the contexts. Examining coloniality across the three contexts is a continuation of intersectional analysis. It responds to Vergés's (2021) critique of the limitations of intersectionality, which she claims often fails to acknowledge the colonial roots of socio-historical constructs of power. In this section, deeply entrenched paradigms, such as educability, across contexts will be discussed to deepen our understanding of the multifaceted nature of coloniality and its implications on young people's educational experiences.

Finally, the last section explores the 'abolition geographies', distinct 'place-making', and 'space-changing [fugitive] actions' (Gilmore Wilson, 2017a, p. 232) by forcibly displaced youth and other stakeholders to resist limited educational opportunities and design alternative educational trajectories. In adherence to the BRT that underpins this thesis and in response to research objective two these findings are essential to highlight the importance of recognising the often-erased narratives of resistance to subjugation (Kelley, 2002; Robinson, 2021).

Additionally, EiE practitioners' reflections will also be introduced throughout each section of this chapter. The rationale behind the inclusion of EiE practitioners is multi-fold. Firstly, due to their roles as project managers, advisers, and coordinators (see methods chapter for a full breakdown of participants), EiE practitioners have critical roles in shaping EIE experiences, including the continuities and discontinuities of colonial entanglements that unfold in the global and local EiE field. Secondly, the EiE practitioners contribute to a multi-vocal analysis of the issues raised by the young people, offering their perspectives from their situated positionality and relative power within the institutions and systems being critiqued. As Yuval-Davis reminds us, 'although the view from the margins produces other kinds of knowledge that are valuable (and often more attractive to study), it is crucial ...to understand the hegemonic centre and the ways people situated there to think and act' (2015, p. 4). Finally, practitioners, many of whom have extensive experience in the sector across multiple contexts, enrich the study by providing further evidence of prevailing discourse, convergences, and divergences across EiE contexts.

7.1 How identity markers shape education experiences

'Due to migration, one has not been able to access better education, the refugee camps are places with lots of problems which creates instabilities thus leading to unfavourable studies...ethnicity brings about inequalities that is why one was not able to find equal opportunity for education... disability is another thing that makes a person vulnerable to access education.'

(Nabil, from South Kordofan, now living in South Sudan).

Nabil's extract introduces and illustrates the first key finding from this thesis, that identity markers matter. According to Nabil, identity markers such as location, 'migration', 'disability', and 'ethnicity' impact educational experiences. Importantly, Nabil's extract also underscores why intersectional analysis is necessary to understand how forced displacement impacts people differently. His reference to 'refugee camps' as 'places with lots of problems' that 'create instabilities' indicates that location, or as Yuval Davis (2015) notes, situated positionality, also matters. Nevertheless, this finding was not unique to South Sudan. Across the three sites, it was evident that multiple, intersecting identity markers shaped education trajectories in distinct and specific ways. In the chapters, young people shared how their age, gender, socio-economic, cultural, and historical factors influenced their education and prior and current classroom experiences. Identity markers are not siloed. The key findings around how different identity markers overlap, and shape education trajectories are outlined in the following section.

7.1.1 How do the intersections of race, ethnicity, and language as identity markers impact educational experiences

From the analysis, the most prevalent finding across all contexts indicates that race, ethnicity, and immigration status intersect to enable or disable educational access and experiences—race matters, yet how people are racialised varies across locations. However, although racial formation took different forms across South Sudan, Jordan, and the UK, it also exhibited 'strong continuities' (Bacchetta et al., 2019, p. 3).

For example, in the UK context, a Nigerian student recounted that before displacement, when she had lived in Nigeria, a Black majority country, she had not

aligned her sense of self with blackness. However, now based in London, being Black allowed her, in educational settings, to conceal her immigration status, as she was perceived as just another Black person. In this situation, her proximity to Blackness in a city with a large and historic Nigerian population distanced her from being perceived as an asylum seeker, elevating her social status.

However, proximity to Blackness was not seen as an asset elsewhere. For example, as discussed in chapter four, the students from South Kordofan shared examples of racial and ethnic discrimination, which manifested in the lack of education provision, a discriminatory curriculum that negated their ethnic group, and an active conflict that remains to this day. In addition, some co-researchers perceived that they were discriminated against not only because they were racialised as Black but also because of their belonging to the Nuba ethnic group; a range of cultural, linguistic, and religious differences separated them from the dominant group in power racialised as 'Arab'. The Nuban co-researchers' educational experiences also echoed those of Sudanese students from Western Darfur (a region in Sudan with distinct ethnic groups from South Kordofan) who resided in Jordan. For example, Ibrahim from Western Darfur noted:

'We have been targeted by the government because we are from an ethnic group that considered us rebels. Because of that, we faced difficulty getting access to fair education'.

(Ibrahim, higher education preparation course student and co-researcher)

In many shared examples, race and education intersected temporally and spatially. Like the Nuba students, Darfuri students living in Jordan recounted experiences of being racially discriminated against prior to and contributing to displacement. However, across the three sites, there were differences in the continuities of racism and its impact on educational experiences. For example, although Sudanese students, (now in South Sudan), shared many examples of racial discrimination (like their Darfarian co-researchers, now in Jordan) prior to displacement, acute demonstrations of racism were assigned to the past. In Jordan, race continued to impede educational experiences and overt racial discrimination was part of their daily lives. Educational stakeholders did not

acknowledge the anti-Blackness that Sudanese and Somali students experience and macro-level policies that disenfranchised minority nationality refugee groups. This tells us that racialisation and racial discrimination within education spaces are neither linear nor constant, reinforcing the need for contextualised analysis of the dynamics within any given displacement situation. These examples illustrate how bordering, separating, and othering occur not just at the borders, but even after people have sought asylum.

For example, across the three sites, it was evident that regardless of context, whether in an urban setting in the UK or Jordan or a protracted refugee camp setting in South Sudan, bordering occurred along a continuum that interacted in complex ways with other social inequities. Findings in the UK and Jordan highlighted how a rigid external and internal bordering environment established a hierarchy of differences based on people's immigration status. In both contexts, co-researchers in the study highlighted how differential categories of immigration status impacted secondary school enrolment and access to student finance for further and higher education.

7.1.2 The intersections of race, hostile bordering, and education experiences

Hostile bordering practices manifested in diverse ways across the three contexts. Macro-level policies directly impact young people's educational trajectories, in tandem with race, ethnicity and language identity markers. For instance, racialisation, bordering practices and educational access overtly converged in Jordan. The policy environment (informed by both national and the international community) resulted in a privileging of Syrian refugees, with Iraqi, Somali and Sudanese forcibly displaced young people, being simultaneously invisible due to universalising terminology such as 'non-Syrian' (Janmyr, 2021; Turner, 2020) used by INGOs and UN agencies, and, until very recently, these groups were ostracised by policymakers. Within educational settings, students who were racialised as Black shared multiple examples of racial discrimination, and even students from Iraq who were disadvantaged by policymakers due to being 'non-Syrian' noted that they had more privilege than other 'non-Syrian' learners—bordering practices in this case corresponded with colonial logics which racialised, and organised people into a hierarchy connoting inferiority and superiority (Mayblin & Turner, 2021, p. 52).

Despite the findings indicating that race and ethnicity consistently impacted EiE experiences across the three contexts, aid agencies generally struggle to acknowledge

and respond to these issues. For example, an EiE practitioner (who remained anonymous) reflected:

'There have been a few programmes which recognised the differing status of young people - displaced, refugee, nomadic, and different ethnic groups - but programmes often struggle to meet their varied needs. Certain ethnic and linguistic groups have been excluded through lack of provision of education in their mother tongue.'

The EiE practitioner argued that disenfranchised 'ethnic and linguistic groups' can be further 'excluded through the lack of provision of education in their mother tongue.' This correlated with findings across the three contexts whereby the intersections of race and ethnicity could reinforce exclusion, which could in turn be exacerbated depending on a student's ability to speak the dominant language. As Ahmed from Somalia, now living in Jordan, shared, *'if you cannot speak the language, you will suffer more than that.'* His specific example suggests that even amongst groups racialised as Black in Jordan, there still existed levels of intra-group privilege within educational spaces, such as fluency in the national language. This echoed findings from the UK and South Sudan, where students outlined how language and lack of fluency in the dominant language of the context or the language of instruction in educational spaces hindered their education progress.

In summary, race, ethnicity, language, and bordering practices interact with educational experiences in unique ways across the three contexts; however, as discussed, there are commonalities. The following section explores further intersections, examining how gender, race and forced migration affect education experiences.

7.1.3 The intersections of race, gender, forced migration and educational experiences.

Across the three contexts, gender impacted education trajectories, but the extent of its influence depended on context. For example, gender was a critical identity marker in Jordan and South Sudan. However, no overt examples of displaced youth now in the UK highlighted gender as a significant determinant. Farah's example of being othered due to wearing a hijab in the UK nevertheless illuminates how Islamophobia is gendered. Farah's experience also highlighted intragroup differences, signifying that

forcibly displaced Muslim men and women could encounter different modes of racialisation and othering, in part contingent on the aesthetics of dress.

Similarly, in Jordan, the findings demonstrated that females and males faced different challenges. However, other intersecting variables also informed educational experiences. For example, Fatima's experiences of being a Black Somali girl raised in Jordan and enduring racial abuse within and outside of school illustrated Crenshaw's (1989) example of the importance of intersectional analysis. In addition, Fatima's 'othering' experience, based on her raced and gendered identity as a Black female student, made her educational experience even more precarious than her Syrian and Iraqi female colleagues. Non-Black refugees also faced discrimination due to their immigration status, but they were not subjected to the anti-Black racism that permeated Black, forcibly displaced people's lives in Jordan. Similarly, Black male participants in Jordan mentioned numerous examples of being racially discriminated, highlighting that mainstream discourse that broadly ascribes all males of being advantaged in educational spaces is not necessarily accurate.

Gender impacted educational experiences according to how forcibly displaced learners were racially perceived in Jordan. What was apparent in Jordan but also relevant across all three contexts was that poverty intersected with gender and education trajectories in nuanced ways.

For example, as Maryam, a young Syrian woman, explained:

'After the war in Syria, which claimed thousands of lives, I emigrated to the neighbouring country with my family. Under these circumstances, I could not complete my studies, and due to our poor living conditions, I was forced to marry someone I did not know in advance.'

(Maryam, higher education preparation course student, co-researcher)

Maryam's extract demonstrates the intersections of poverty, gender and their impact on education trajectories. Due to her family's 'poor living conditions', because of 'the war in Syria,' Maryam was unable to 'complete' her 'studies'. Instead, she was 'forced to marry someone that [she] did not know'. Her example reinforces evidence that poverty, juxtaposed with displacement, exacerbates gender inequity and adversely impacts crisis-affected girls' access to education (Equal Measures 2030, 2022).

Forcibly displaced males also encounter gender-specific vulnerabilities. For instance, they may be kept out of formal education due to societal expectations that they should work and contribute to the household income. Examples of the intersection between poverty, education and male-specific gender norms emerged strongly amongst students from Sudan, mainly when reflecting on their prior education experiences whilst internally displaced in their country of origin. For example, Faheem, a male from Western Darfur, stated:

For the first year, I could not attend school because, as the oldest male in the family, I wanted to support my mother in caring for my brothers and sisters. School was the last thing on our minds as we tried to figure out how to survive. My sisters could not help selling items because it was dangerous for girls on the streets. They were getting kidnapped and raped. My mother and I sold whatever we could on the streets and used the money to buy food and purchase more products to sell.'

(Faheem, higher education preparation course student, volunteer, and co-researcher)

As the 'oldest male in the family', Faheem felt responsible for supporting his mother and 'taking care' of his siblings. His sisters could not work due to the risk of gender-specific violence. So instead, he and his mother 'sold whatever' they could. During this time, 'school was the last thing' on their 'minds' as the focus was survival.

Faheem and Farah are two examples that highlight how gender-specific vulnerabilities influence education access and attainment in nuanced ways. These findings challenge dominant EiE and humanitarian discourse that invisibilise the gendered experiences of young, forcibly displaced men, as both females and males face disadvantages in their educational trajectories (Evans et al., 2013). As noted by a senior Education practitioner from Kenya, now based in the Global North:

'Girls are highly disadvantaged, but there exists reverse disadvantage... but the gender norms persist.'

By 'reverse disadvantage', the practitioner indicated that she was aware that males and females face different forms of subjugation and exploitation. Her perspective concurred with findings across the three contexts, where the young people narratives illustrated that whilst females would be more likely to be at risk of gender-based violence,

including kidnapping, rape, forced marriage or Islamophobia; male learners were pushed out of education due to expectations to contribute to household income, travel as unaccompanied children, as well as facing racial discrimination in school settings.

Whilst there were divergences in gender-specific vulnerabilities, there were interconnections between the experiences of forcibly displaced males and females. For example, the findings indicated that both male and female youth alleviate household deprivation. However, their approach (or the approach taken for them) is dictated by societal norms. Across the three contexts, poverty, induced or exacerbated by displacement, was a critical inhibitor of education progression for both males and females. As Roba, a community EiE officer from Lebanon, states:

'Many times, supervisors at the programme say, "don't let your child go to work," "make them come to school." At the same time, parents don't have any money ...they won't let their kids come to school and then stay without food or shelter. They [NGOs] should offer a job to the parent. Poverty is hard.'

Across the contexts, despite the deep levels of deprivation that families face and its impact on young people being able to stay in school, there were shortcomings within EiE programming to respond appropriately. 'Poverty is hard,' and as Roba's example shows, education providers fail to acknowledge and offset the root causes that 'push-out' marginalised young people (Fine, 2018, p. 14).

Finally, in South Sudan, a few examples illustrated that forced displacement challenged traditional gender norms and influenced behaviour change, which were welcomed by many young people. Whilst there were no reports of changes to gender norms in the findings from the other two contexts, this example is worth noting, for it illustrates that displacement impacts socio-cultural norms transnationally. As a reminder, in South Sudan, both male and female learners from South Kordofan acknowledged that displacement had positively challenged gender norms, creating conditions for girls to attend school and higher education offered within refugee camps across East Africa. Interestingly, the ripple effect of girls attending school in displacement impacted their communities back in South Kordofan, where it was noted that young girls were increasingly encouraged to attend school, much like their peers in the diaspora.

In summary, gender impacts young people's education trajectories. However, differentials of power, due to its differential effect on differently situated young, forcibly displaced people, significantly shaped gendered experiences of education. Notwithstanding, there was scant evidence of the educational experiences of young people who did not conform to gendered binaries. This limitation will be discussed further in chapter eight. The following section will examine the intersections of religion, ethnicity, and education experiences.

7.1.4 The intersections of religion, ethnicity, and education experiences

Scholars such as Grosfoguel & Oso (2015) have pointed out that racism, religious discrimination, and migration intersect and compound othering. Across the three contexts, some findings elucidated how being from a non-dominant or dominant religion impacted educational experiences. However, the form of othering differed according to context. For example, as discussed earlier, Farah's experience of religious discrimination in the UK was also gendered and racialised. Nevertheless, as a religious minority, Farah expected to endure Islamophobia in her school in the UK, despite never experiencing this prior to displacement as she had come from Syria, where, in contrast, as a Muslim, she grew up part of the dominant religious denomination¹⁹.

Across the contexts, proximity to a country's dominant religion mattered; notwithstanding, other identity markers either enhanced or countered a young person's situated positionality and influenced educational experiences. For example, forcibly displaced students from the Sudanese Nuba mountains, now living in South Sudan, also shared examples of how religion had been weaponised to discriminate against non-Muslim faith groups. As Jamal described:

'Being a Muslim in Sudan is a requirement to attain opportunities such as good employment from public institutions. It also gives learners from Muslim backgrounds the upper hand to be admitted in good learning institutions compared to non-Muslims.'

(Jamal, student, teacher, and co-researcher)

¹⁹ Syria is religious and ethnically diverse, including different forms of Islam, such as Sunni and various Shiite sects such as the Alawites and the Ismailis, as well as different Christian denominations., Druze, Yezidis, ba'hais and Jewish populations. Although the Syrian government has traditionally characterised itself as secular, 'and the ideologically secular Ba'ath Party has made concessions in order to retain power, which is reflected in the office of the presidency (who must be Muslim), in Syrian laws (which are based on Islamic law), and in government sponsorship for religious institutions' (Harvard Divinity School, n.d.) See also (Løland, 2020).

In Jamal's example, he perceived that a person's faith deeply impacted their ability to access 'learning institutions' and that 'non-Muslims' faced discrimination. Being a member of a dominant religious group was also perceived as a 'requirement to attain' 'good employment.' In this context, religion plays a crucial role in accessing quality education and has lifelong consequences regarding the type of employment students can subsequently obtain. However, as the earlier parts of this chapter (and chapter four, more specifically) highlighted, Islam was not the dominant religion in South Kordofan. In addition, young people faced racial discrimination. In this context, factors such as race and religion informed state-sanctioned educational marginalisation. Similarly, in Jordan, students from Somalia and Sudan may have been Muslims and shared a common faith with most Jordanian and Syrian refugees. However, sharing religious affinity did not equate to being perceived as equal, as many Black Muslim refugees recounted experiences of racial discrimination.

The evidence suggests that race and racialisation intersected with discriminatory religious experiences across the three contexts. As Grofuguel and Oso note, due to 'colonial histories in several world regions, the hierarchy of human superiority/inferiority can be constructed through various racial markers', including 'religion, ethnicity, language, culture, and colour' (2015, p. 636) Being forcibly displaced compounds these issues. In some cases, being of a different faith from the dominant population induced fear on entering learning spaces, particularly when the young person could be easily identified and 'othered' due to their religious affiliation. In summary, whilst the findings regarding religion and educational trajectories across the three contexts are limited, the evidence proposes that being from or outside of a dominant religion impacts education experiences.

7.1.5 Disability, forced migration and educational access

Disability continues to be a hidden marker in education trajectories. As one Senior Education practitioner from Kenya noted:

'Disabilities is the biggest gap in international development. Firstly, there is a huge gap in data. Secondly, even if they know how to make learning

inclusive, there is a whole issue of understanding the different types of disability. NGOs are struggling.'

As the EiE practitioner noted, 'disabilities are the biggest gap in international development', and research on the educational experiences of forcibly displaced youth with disabilities is scant (Hunt et al., 2021). This was reflected in this research across contexts where, unlike other markers, disability was rarely mentioned. One exception was an interesting finding in South Sudan, whereby displacement had led to the inclusion of learners with disabilities in schools within Ajuong Thok refugee camps. In the examples shared by co-researchers in South Sudan, INGO-led education provision in the camps had pushed toward inclusive educational practices, including children and youth who previously would not have participated in school.

Disability and how this intersects with educational experiences across contexts was not evident in this study; this is surprising given that 15% of forcibly displaced people globally live with a disability (UNHCR-UK, n.d.). Furthermore, 49% of children with disabilities reside in humanitarian settings and do not attend school (UNICEF, 2021b). There is no doubt that the high exclusion rate of children with disabilities would, in turn, severely limit the number of young people with disabilities participating in further and higher education. Furthermore, there was little evidence across the three contexts of how different disabilities intersected with other identity markers, such as race, gender, or religion, further marginalising or privileging educational experiences. However, it can be assumed that education exclusion of forcibly displaced learners living with disabilities would be compounded, as this study has demonstrated how multiple marginalised identities intersect and perpetuate educational exclusion.

7.1.6 The intersections of age, enrolment policies and forcibly displaced youths' access to education

Age intersected with structural policies that impacted forcibly displaced youth's educational experiences in several ways. Firstly, all three contexts indicate that educational models are designed with the assumption that people follow linear educational journeys. Universally, nation-states ascribe compulsory or primary and secondary education to their citizens between 5 –18 years. Notably, enrolment policies for forcibly displaced youth were set across the three contexts by actors external to the

forcibly displaced population. This impacted forcibly displaced people as policies did not consider the disrupted, non-linear, and culturally repressive educational journeys many forcibly displaced learners had undertaken before arriving at their host destination. As a result, many students had spent months, if not years, out of school at different periods of their lives. In this case, age, intersected with lived experience of forced migration, often adversely impacted an individual's ability to enrol in a formal education programme.

Consequently, age as an identity marker connects to Yuval-Davis's (2015) notion of situated positionality. If these learners were not displaced, they may have had linear educational journeys and would not have been considered 'over-age' for formal educational learning settings. However, their situated experience has meant that age became an enabling or prohibitive factor in accessing educational opportunities.

For example, a key finding across the three sites was the scarcity of post-secondary opportunities for learners above 18. As the case studies outlined, this was due to a combination of factors, from exorbitant fees for higher education imposed on asylum seekers in the UK and limited scholarship opportunities (or nationality-specific opportunities) for forcibly displaced students in South Sudan, Jordan and the UK. Furthermore, post-18 education opportunities were limited or costly even for national citizens. For example, an EiE coordinator in Greece suggested that education for forcibly displaced populations was not supported due to national policies for this age group. She stated:

'In my experience in Greece, there is an element around education over the age of 15 not being compulsory. This is the case in other contexts too. That means that younger children take priority.'

Like the EiE practitioner's statement, across South Sudan, the UK and Jordan, it was evident that 'younger children take priority' over older children and youth, partly because this age category aligned with national policies concerning 'compulsory' education. However, the findings indicated that age-restrictive enrolment policies adversely impacted forcibly displaced youth as they are more likely to have spent prolonged periods outside of school or in locations with limited formal education opportunities and therefore were more likely to be above their grade age. Consequently, the particularities of being forcibly displaced, interlaced with structural and systemic

norms around compulsory education, negatively impeded education trajectories (Morrice et al., 2020).

Moreover, societal norms around age intersect with education trajectories in myriad ways. For example, forcibly displaced youth were often further disadvantaged in many locations due to the age-old phenomenon of perceiving youth as a threat (IASC, 2020, p. 5). As a senior education practitioner from Uganda noted:

'In conflict-affected regions ... mobilising that [youth] age group always brings concern. Authorities are more concerned about any interventions that bring together young people in that age group. They are seen as a possible /potential threat of the status quo.'

From the practitioner's perspective, post-primary education programmes in 'conflict-affected regions' were perceived as a 'potential threat to the status quo,' highlighting how authorities homogenise and demonise youth. Recall, for example, in chapter six, a co-researcher who had arrived in the UK as a child recounted posting a photo of himself in a car, which resulted in the British home office using it as evidence that he was an adult and challenging his asylum case. Both examples highlight that forcibly displaced youth face suspicion and scrutiny due to their age, with limited educational opportunities due to a preference by education providers to provide resources for younger age groups.

The imposition of age restrictions on educational access by external agencies is interconnected with coloniality and, by extension, the continuum of bordering practices. Across the three contexts, examples of age is used as a bordering practice emerged. In the abovementioned UK example, although it is necessary to consider safeguarding all children when agencies are tasked to authenticate someone's age, a growing number of social work practitioners underscore adultification bias; a practice that sees children racialised as Black and Brown being perceived and treated as adults, emerging from a historical context of devaluation and dehumanisation of Black and brown people (Davis & Marsh, 2022). Similarly, age and bordering policies entwined in South Sudan, whereby the use of age as a criterion for enrolment in camps did not come from national governmental policies, nor were differentiated categories of asylum in place. Instead, stringent age-based policies stemmed from aid and UN agencies, who funded educational services in the camp, and were therefore able to implement 'bordering

practices' (Walia, 2013, Walia 2021) that prohibited access to young people who were deemed above age.

The examples of the intersections of universalising definitions of age and defining the parameters of enrolment are indicative of the power of humanitarian systems within each context. Furthermore, the findings illustrate how international agencies bring their own 'bordering' practices to other countries. Lastly, the fact that forcibly displaced people have limited say in the governance and decision-making to determine who should be able to enrol in educational services speaks to the pathology endemic in aid policy and practices and the continuity of colonial logic. These issues will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

7.1.7 Aid agencies fail to respond to the intersecting needs of forcibly displaced youth

Connecting to the previous reflections on the imposition of age restrictions on school enrolment, irrespective of disrupted education trajectories, another key finding from the study highlighted the EiE field's inability to see intersecting inequities. For example, despite young people vocally sharing that racism impacted their educational experiences across the three contexts, from the KIIs and surveys with EiE practitioners, education providers failed to understand the necessity for critical conversations around racial injustice. Regardless of where the practitioners were situated or their gender or ethnicity, all noted that the sector was slow to acknowledge difference, and consequently did not employ approaches that enabled intersecting inequities to surface. As one UK-based practitioner responded:

'The EiE is based on a Western model, designed primarily by Westerners who are largely blind to racism in general and in the humanitarian sector in particular.'

The EiE practitioner's response highlights the disconnect between the issues the EiE field perceives as important, and the students' findings over the previous three chapters. As they noted, 'EiE is based upon a western model,' designed by 'Westerners' who are 'largely blind to racism'. The consequences of the field's epistemic erasure of racial discrimination reverberated across the three sites, where young people bore the brunt of

aid agencies' failures to engage and respond to contextual formations of racism. The consequences, noted across all contexts were dire for young people: school pushout, disengagement, limited post-primary opportunities and distress. Moreover, the discourse was limited even when some organisations recognised the diverse needs of forcibly displaced students. For example, as one practitioner (location excluded) explained:

'These programmes are highly limited in addressing this issue, mostly framed around anti-bullying or inclusion, while not really recognising the complexity of the socio-political situation.'

Using ambiguous language by 'programmes' to describe racial discrimination further illustrates aid agencies' refusal to engage with the multiplicity of identities that forcibly displaced youth bring to educational spaces. The implications of this will be discussed further on in this chapter; however, it is worth noting here that across all contexts, students, whether sharing examples of racial discrimination prior to displacement or in the case of the UK and Jordan, its continuation, perceived that teaching staff were unaware (or complicit in) its perpetuation. Nevertheless, given the complex convergence of identity markers that resulted in students being oppressed in myriad ways across the three contexts, the lack of visibility and traction to move away from siloed approaches to addressing education inequities is surprising. Another EiE practitioner from the UK explained why she felt these issues were not addressed.

'The "technicalisation" of the sector has in part sought to depoliticise these issues to make them more palatable for donors. Power has been ignored. In addition, most of the people working in development are white (and in the case of EiE) female (like myself). There is an underlying white saviour complex to this work.'

According to the practitioner, the 'white saviour complex' limits the EiE sector's ability to recognise and respond to multiple forms of discrimination in myriad ways. In this extract, the EiE practitioner clearly outlined why the EiE field did not see intersecting inequities. For her, it related to the 'de-politicisation' of issues by the 'sector' to make them 'more palatable for donors'. She also blamed the 'people working in development', who 'are white', with an 'underlying white saviour complex'. From the EiE practitioner's extract, what becomes apparent is the 'power' dynamics within the EiE ecosystem. The practitioner's reflections highlight how race intersects with power at a macro-level; just as students across the three sites have indicated, race intersects with educational

experiences. Her example illustrates that 'most of the people' working in the sector do not have lived experience of being racialised and displaced, and this limits the lens through which they see or do not see problems. This reflection will be revisited in the next section of this chapter, whereby concepts of educability are deeply informed by coloniality, and the value attached to local knowledge vis external, Western systems and personnel, as well as who is considered part of the workforce.

With regards to who is recognised in the sector, the EiE practitioner's comments regarding the whiteness of 'people working in development' is a telling observation. As the tables below illustrate, based on the sample of 26 EiE practitioners²⁰ who took part in this study and shared information on their country of origin and self-described their racial and ethnic categories, the EiE sector is ethnically and geographically diverse.

Table 9

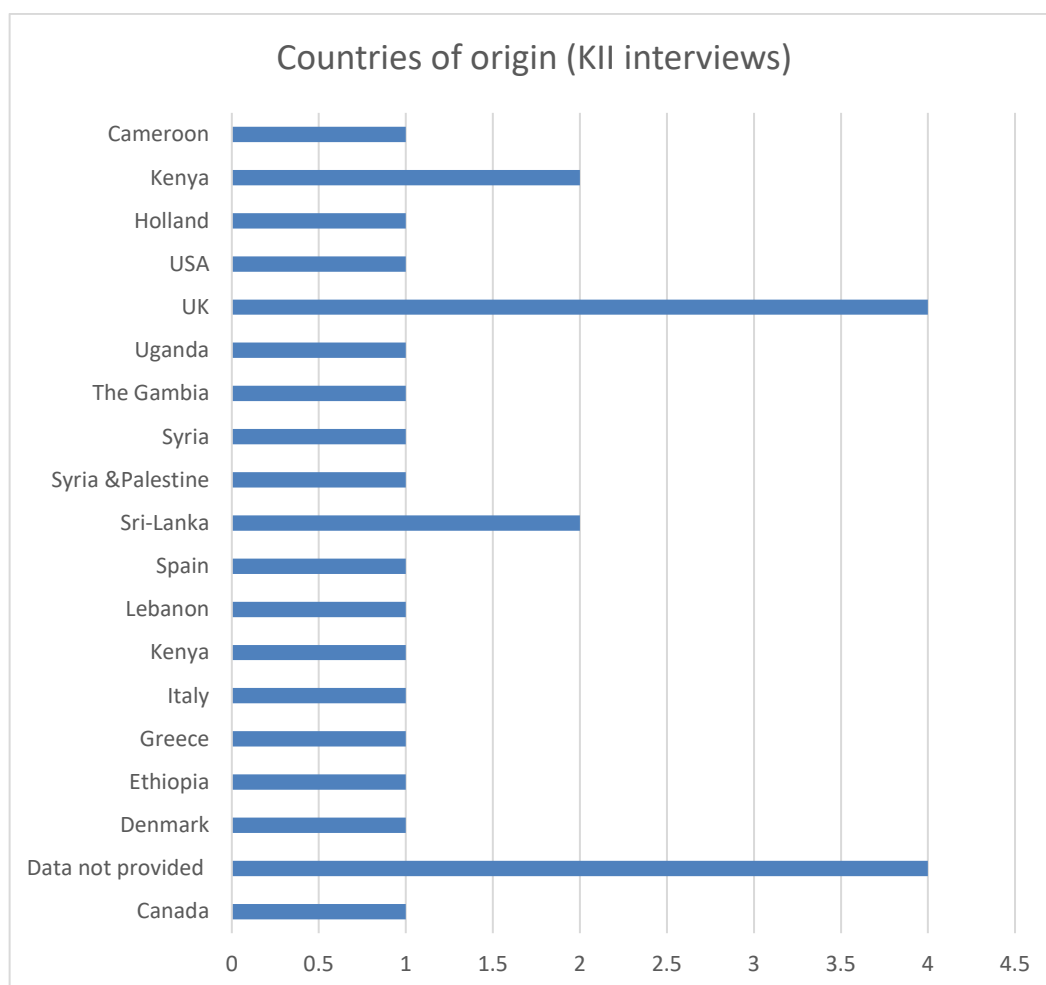
Self-described race and/or ethnicity of EiE practitioners

White (white, white British, white and Canadian)	10
Arab (Syrian and Arab, Lebanese, Arab)	2
Latino	1
Black (Black, Black Kenyan, Black Ugandan)	5
Data not provided	8

²⁰ As discussed in chapter 3, 85% of the respondents were female, concurring with the practitioner's suggestion that EiE is a 'female' dominant sector.

Table 10

Country of origin of EiE specialists



Although the KII is not a representative sample of the number of people who work in EiE, evidently it is not just 'white' people who work in the sector, which could be indicative that people who are racialised as Black and brown tend not to be visible or in positions of power. In addition, from the practitioners, and students' reflections of the EiE sector over the past three chapters, diversity alone does not necessarily mean diversity of thought. As another practitioner from Kenya noted, within the EiE sector, racism is a:

'hidden silence, people are too embarrassed and ashamed.'

Her example implies that 'people' are aware of racism but are ill-equipped to discuss these issues, further illustrating the EiE sector's inattentiveness to intersectional needs. This issue shall be discussed further in chapter eight.

Notwithstanding, other practitioners saw the inattention to the pervasiveness of racism within EiE due to the complex and politically charged environments in which aid agencies operate. As another EIE specialist, of Sri Lanka origin said:

'I feel that there has to be a little bit of nuance around how we deal with discrimination in an emergency context and the way that we, the instruments that we have, are the humanitarian principles. Rights-based approach. That is kind of the way that we address discrimination and try to support equity in emergency response. The reason we don't call it racism, which it obviously is, we don't call it racism because we need operational space If you go to the Ministry of Education and say you want to work on anti-racism. I just don't see that you would get very far.'

From the practitioner's perspective, the absence of discourse around 'racism' in 'emergency contexts' was rooted in 'instruments' derived from humanitarian principles. These principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality, and independence are fundamental to humanitarian action (Gibbons et al., 2020, p. 504). According to the principle of impartiality, for example, 'humanitarian action is based solely on need, with priority given to the most urgent cases irrespective of race, nationality, gender, religious belief, political opinion or class' (Gibbons et al., 2020, p. 504). According to the practitioner, these principles are critical to supporting 'equity in emergency response'. Furthermore, she indicated the limitations of educational aid, particularly as aid agencies need 'operational space' or permission to work in certain areas. Her example highlights the tensions agencies must grapple with- gaining access to work in contentious areas may come at a premium of not overtly speaking out about social injustices. In her extract, she indicated how key stakeholders, such as 'the Ministry of Education', may not support 'anti-racism', echoing the findings in South Sudan, Jordan and the UK; in each of these contexts, the state was often the perpetrator or indirectly complicit in racial discrimination. Lastly, the practitioner's perspective answers, some of the points raised by young people in Jordan, who felt that no organisation would acknowledge the existence of racism.

Yet others advocate that it is precisely due to humanitarian principles that aid agencies should acknowledge racial discrimination (Pallister-Wilkins, 2021). It was

evident across the three contexts that the lack of dialogue around racial discrimination was detrimental to learners. For example, in Jordan, students spoke about being racialised, unseen and heard and pushed out of school. Similarly, learners from Sudan described the racial discrimination they had faced in educational spaces before leaving their country. Racism also featured in the educational experiences of some young people in the UK. What is evident from this study is that race, ethnicity, and immigration status intersected and informed forcibly displaced students' experiences, albeit differently, depending on location and their situated positionality. As discussed in the next section of this chapter, policies that discriminate based on immigration status are rooted in colonial legacies of bordering. These colonial histories reverberate in the present, continuing to shape why students are othered due to their situated positionality (Yuval- Davis, 2015), as well as scrutinising how and who develops EiE programmes and the interconnections with coloniality.

7.2 Racial capitalism and EiE: Coloniality and educational experiences

Intersectionality as a critical form of inquiry encompasses moving away from homogenising and universalising categories and studying (and resisting) the intersecting power structures that create multiple layers of marginalization (Collins & Bilge, 2020). As discussed in the literature review, one of the critiques of intersectional analysis has been that scholars often fail to consider colonial histories and continuities in their analysis of power and positionalities (Vergés, 2021). For this reason, this thesis has sought to re-ground intersectional analysis within the BRT, using conceptual frameworks such as racial capitalism alongside intersectionality to strengthen the multi-dimensional analysis. Connecting racial capitalism and intersectionality pushes for a deeper exploration of the relationships that shape EiE, the continuation of colonial logics that pervade the sector, and how the social reproduction of educational inequities is shaped by the types of education provided.

This section will outline how coloniality influences young people's educational experiences at multiple points, firstly through conditionalities of aid and concepts of educability.

7.2.1 Coloniality and conditionalities of EiE aid

As the previous section highlighted, the EiE practitioners noted resistance to acknowledging the prevalence of racial discrimination that many forcibly displaced learners faced in education settings. Similarly, as noted in chapters one and two, there exists a reluctance by the aid sector to acknowledge its role in perpetuating power structures; yet, across the three sites, findings indicated that some young people were aware of the colonial dynamics of aid, that positioned them far from decision-making power structures. On the other hand, practitioners were acutely aware of coloniality in aid. For instance, one explicit example of aid as a mechanism that serves as a continuum of colonialism concerns the conditionalities applied to funding EiE programmes by specific donors. As a senior EiE practitioner from the UK stated:

'Why do we take money from colonial aid? For example, if we take USAID funding for an EiE programme, we must use US supplies, cars, and flights. Yet, there is no conversation around not taking this money.'

As the practitioner highlights, by placing conditions on donor funding, such as using 'USA supplies, cars and flights', a considerable proportion of an EiE programme funded by 'USAID' will be spent strengthening the donor's economy. Her extract correlates with the literature discussed in chapter two, which highlighted that, contrary to popular opinion, humanitarian and educational financial aid is not necessarily altruistic, and moreover, funding is often recirculated to the donor's own economy (Hares & Rossiter, 2021; Tikly, 2004). Furthermore, the practitioner's example of naming 'colonial aid' and 'USAID's' ability to dictate how the aid should be spent exemplifies Nkrumah's (1965) early warnings around aid conditionality, whereby he recognised that other countries would exploit international aid to exert their power long after a country's independence.

In a similar vein, across the three sites, financial aid was a crucial dynamic that entrenched and enabled, in obvious and more covert ways, coloniality within the EiE sector. For example, in South Sudan, the formal education system within the camp was funded entirely by donors, aid, and UN agencies, not the hosting state. Similarly, in Jordan, multi-lateral funding was provided to support the Government of Jordan in absorbing the financial cost of education. Like South Sudan, higher education scholarships came from UNHCR's DAFI scheme. There appeared to be deep contractions between a donor country such as the UK, which has been lauded in the past

for its generous contributions to EiE and its practices towards forcibly displaced populations at home. Scholarships and fee waivers were still the primary way that forcibly displaced students could further their education, signalling a continuation of a global refugee regime that subjugates people to positions of being recipients of aid, regardless of where they were located. Moreover, in the UK context, hostile bordering practices meant that learners awaiting asylum could not work for at least 12 months and would only be considered for roles where there was a national shortage, further illustrating how conditionalities of aid interact with racial capitalism in nuanced ways.

It was also evident across the three contexts that decision-making on how that funding was spent remained far removed from the people affected by crises. Given the colonial entanglements of aid and the conditionalities often applied to funding, it is not surprising that many practitioners, earlier in this chapter, acknowledged that 'western' practitioners dominate the field.' Now, considering the practitioner's example of conditionalities placed on aid by 'USAID', the dominance of western practitioners could be further understood as an illustration of how racial capitalism operates in this sector. EiE reproduces hierarchies and enables the recirculation of funding to western countries by centring 'western' people in positions of power, which in turn, work on donor-funded projects, where explicit conditions are placed that ensure that some of the money is reinvested in the donor countries' economies.

7.2.2 How coloniality informs educational content at a programmatic level

Coloniality also shapes the content of educational programmes and the forms of knowledge deemed of value. In Jordan, South Sudan and the UK, students spoke of being invisible within the host countries' education curriculum. In the UK context, students reflected on the narrowness of the UK education system, with one Eritrean co-researcher noting, 'nobody has even heard of my country'. Sudanese students from Western Darfur and the Nuba Mountains, who now found themselves in Jordan and South Sudan, respectively, spoke of coming from a country where the education system had explicitly discriminated against them based on racial and ethnic grounds. With such disfranchising histories of education, culturally relevant pedagogies should be integral to EiE programmatic design. Nevertheless, a common thread across the three contexts illustrated that forcibly displaced students felt invisible regarding their cultural representation within school curriculums. Ninety per cent of the aid practitioners who

participated in this study noted that a culturally informed curriculum was absent or deprioritised from their organisation's approaches to EiE programming. Two main arguments for this were presented. Firstly, as one senior EiE practitioner, from Cameroon noted:

'Our country has education systems inherited from the two European powers that exercised tutelage/colonisation in my country. This heritage is still present, and up to now, both educational subsystems claim their original identities. This can be seen in the curricula, teaching/learning methods, and teaching materials.' (Translation by author).

As he explained, in his country, vestiges of colonialism were 'still present' in his country's education system, manifesting through the 'curricula', 'teaching and learning methods' and the 'teaching materials' used in class. If limited value is placed on local knowledge within the formal curriculum, it is not surprising that EiE programmes would follow suit. A second key finding emerged from the practitioners KIIs is the perception that the people in charge of designing education programmes are 'divorced from the socio-economic and political realities in which these organisations and stakeholders are situated' (Keshavarzian & Canavera, 2021, p. 4). As an EiE specialist from the UK explained:

'We do cultural sensitivity checks of the curriculum, but the people doing those are not part of the ethnic/cultural groups that usually comprise our student body.'

Here, the practitioner reflected that although there were 'cultural sensitivity checks' to 'curriculum' design in their organisation, the 'ethnic/cultural groups' of those doing the 'checks' differ from the student body. From this excerpt it is evident that there is a clear differentiation between those who design the programmes and the end-users, e.g., students. This assumption was further strengthened by another EiE practitioner, who noted:

'From my experience, many EiE interventions, programmes, and proposals are designed by International (often white, middle class, Western-educated) education advisors external to the context, who work with local and national colleagues, staff, or researchers familiar with the context to develop the programme. Even if these advisors are based in the country for a number of years and know the context, there are still power dynamics at play which are legacies of colonial power relations. International

experience and knowledge are privileged over national and local experience and knowledge'

Prioritising and privileging the knowledge of '*white, middle-class, Western-educated*' advisors is an explicit example of 'colonial power relations' at play. From this example, EiE practitioners are often unfamiliar' with the context' due to their 'international experience and knowledge'; with international becoming synonymous with whiteness. Even when 'advisors' know 'the context,' the EiE practitioner suggested that the 'power dynamics' at play relate to 'colonial power' dynamics. Subsequently, if 'many of the EiE interventions, programmes, and proposals' are being 'designed' by 'education advisors' who may not be aware of their positionality, reinforced by 'colonial power relations', it can be anticipated that their biases would influence programmes. Insightfully, whilst students were vocal in sharing examples of how they had challenged UN agencies, practitioners noted numerous examples of coloniality, yet no examples of how they challenged the system. This is an important insight for critical humanitarian studies, which shall be discussed further in chapter eight; the findings challenge the paradigm of 'white innocence' (Danewid, 2017), in which the absence of critical discourse and programming around racism, for example, stems not so much from ignorance, but from an inertia that stalls the imperative action to challenge the status quo that sustains and upholds the claimed superiority of western education and knowledge production.

For young people across three sites, the lack of culturally informed programming was a key concern. For example, learners from South Kordofan noted that their educational experiences included an alienating national Sudanese curriculum from which their cultural history was excluded. Subsequent displacements and educational experiences informed by East African curriculums from Kenya, Uganda, and South Sudan meant little attention had been given to sustaining their cultural knowledge. Instead, parents took on critical roles in transmitting cultural knowledge. Similarly, in Jordan, Faheem, a student from Western Darfur, spoke of how his peers had to 'relearn' due to the normative educational framework in Sudan that had excluded Darfuri culture. As Faheem explained:

[At school] 'I never heard anything that related to my culture. They don't allow us to mention anything. I remember when I got there on the first day, I struggled to find a way to communicate with my teacher because he didn't even care if I understood the language or not. He was teaching us other subjects in Arabic, which I was getting punishment for. My parents couldn't

understand that was wrong because they were going through everyday cultural abuse of all communities without our realisation. So, when I came to Jordan, I started learning about Sudanese culture, especially Darfur.'

The coloniality of EiE is even more damaging as many of the young people involved in EiE programmes have experienced and continue to experience cultural exclusion from educational sites. For example, Faheem's extract highlighted how his 'culture' was oppressed in school even before displacement as a racialised and marginalised ethnic group in Sudan. Once in exile, co-researchers in South Sudan, the UK, and Jordan, all shared examples of continued exclusion within their new educational settings. These findings indicate formal education systems' nationalistic and hegemonic design (Bengtsson & Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Morrice et al., 2020). As a nationalist project, education is not set up to produce global citizens or champion minoritised groups even within national territories.

As a result of EiE programmes being designed in isolation from forcibly displaced communities, there was resistance to participation in some locations. For example, co-researchers in the UK noted infrequent attendance to college; whilst another young person reflected that during his time in Calais, he rarely attended the education programmes in the camps. A senior Education specialist from Kenya shared:

'Communities are cunning... I have relatives. They are all for education up until a certain level, and then they start saying that their children are being indoctrinated. But they are worried that nobody will work on the farm, nobody to do the crops. They want their children to maintain their livelihoods and culture.'

This example highlights how cultural norms and expected roles children should take on to support their family contest with the formal education system, which can be perceived as indoctrination. It highlighted how some families see education as not to ground people in their community but to actively distance children from 'their livelihoods and culture'. Given that across all contexts, the co-researchers and practitioners reflected that education systems do little to integrate non-dominant and marginalised knowledge systems, and few avenues through which parents can have meaningful input into the decision-making processes about the type of education their children receive; it cannot be surprising that at times, there may be conflicts of interest. Earlier in this chapter, the findings indicated that accessing formal education can change

societal norms. However, the EiE practitioner's reflections serve as a caution that even if displacement results in the broader group of young people participating in formal education, if EiE programmes are designed in isolation from the communities, tensions arise in which education is perceived as a colonial imposition, set to upset traditional ways of knowing and doing.

Although many of the practitioners were deeply critical of the current state of EiE, across the three contexts, it was evident that students wanted to continue their formal educational trajectories, even if they perceived formal education settings as sites of exclusion. As one Senior EiE practitioner from Kenya noted:

'Decolonising the curriculum is tricky. Whose agenda is this? Where is this coming from? In my experience, there is a lot of top-down driven agenda... although well-intentioned [it] ends up being potent. They are still from the global north, down to drive historical and geographical footprint.'

The findings have convincingly shown the centrality of education to the global production and reproduction of racial inequalities (Gerrard et al., 2022, p. 425). However, as the practitioner above noted, 'decolonising the curriculum is tricky' and can result in a recolonising act if it 'is a top-down driven agenda.' These reinforce earlier reflections that decision-making around EiE programming needs to shift to the people most affected by displacement. Furthermore, connecting to section one of this chapter, forcibly displaced youth are heterogeneous group. To avoid a 'potent' type of 'decolonising the curriculum', it is imperative that multiple stakeholders be involved, which, as the findings have suggested, is not widespread practice in the EiE field.

Finally, coloniality and concepts of educability impact everyone within the EiE ecosystem. As the Senior EiE practitioner from Kenya continued:

'There is an internalised acceptance that western education is the accepted education. When we see our brothers and sisters dying in the sea to study there, it is because they look down on their own curriculum. When we introduce conversations about multilingual instruction, the first people to shoot it down are the locals; we are colonised minds. They are speaking their western language in school. It is a society divider. Those that go to school can communicate in these languages, and those who can't are seen as low class. Speaking those languages is a measure of intelligence.'

According to the practitioner, 'our brothers and sisters' are 'dying in the sea' in pursuit of the ideal of education in the Global North. The EiE practitioner's reflections reverberate with the evocative images outlined by Robinson over forty years ago as he described the phenomena of refugeehood as an outcome of racial capitalism (2021, p. 318). Robinson argues that racial capitalism has created a world in which people assign possibility and futurity to be in the Global North, regardless of the stakes in getting there. The practitioner's perspectives evoke Wilson Gilmore's definition of racism, discussed in chapter one, as 'the state-sanctioned or extra-legal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death' (2017, p.228).

However, numerous examples across the three sites indicate why people may hold an '*internalised acceptance that western education is the accepted education.*' As illustrated in this study, young forcibly displaced youth originate from places where colonialism, war, poverty and precarity prohibit them from living their idealised lives, and they interact within an aid and immigration ecosystem whereby discriminatory policies and societal norms determine their education trajectories and reinforce covert messaging that western education equates to proximity to power. This internalised acceptance or endurance of coloniality is evident when the EiE practitioner describes how 'we' have 'colonised minds.', arguing that people 'look down on their curriculum,' which acts as a driver for displacement. The practitioner's example echoes the findings in chapter six, in which a Nigerian student seeking asylum in the UK described her previous education as 'backwards', or again in chapter four, where students from South Kordofan reflected on the different values placed on the English-language curriculum.

The EiE practitioner alludes to a 'we' when describing 'colonised minds', a choice of words that inadvertently recognises that coloniality impacts everyone, regardless of their origins (W. Mignolo, 2021; Wa Thiong'o, 1992). Despite practitioners' racial and ethnic diversity, in the examples shared in this chapter, EiE specialists acknowledged the sector's predilection and internalised acceptance' of 'western education' and deference to 'western languages.' Moreover, her critical reflections on the duality of coloniality are evident across the finding's chapters, whereby concepts of educability influence some of the young people's sense of self, but also the key stakeholders who determine EiE programme design, and educational pathways, based on their biases.

In summary, this section has illustrated that across all contexts, coloniality deeply informs EiE and is an integral part of the dominant 'white-saviour industrial complex' (Cole, 2012). As noted by Gerrard et al., 'systems of formal education cannot be separated from colonial and national projects that have sought to categorise, divide, oppress, enslave, and assimilate people based on race'(2022, p. 425). The findings across the three contexts, in addition to the practitioners' reflections illustrate how colonial projects intersect with educational experiences. As the next section outlines, by returning to the BRT's conceptual framing of fugitivity, young people, across all three contexts, resist and challenge EiE's shortcomings in myriad ways.

7.3 How young people resist limiting opportunities through fugitive practices

As discussed in the literature review, an integral part of the BRT recognises resistance to structural inequities. As a reminder, Tina Campt refers to fugitivity as 'acts of flight' (2014). Campt argues that 'fugitivity highlights the tension between the acts or flights of escape and creative practices of refusal, nimble and strategic practices that undermine the dominant category' (2014). Despite the structural and cultural barriers that impede educational access and multi-layered experiences of discrimination, the findings from the three contexts highlighted that young people reject limiting trajectories imposed on them. Instead, they navigate the structural constraints that arise from or are made more severe by displacement, as shall be discussed in this section.

7.3.1 Learning as an act of fugitivity

Across the three contexts, young people pursued online studies. In the context of the encampment and hostile bordering environments, online learning is a fugitive act, correlating with how Patel describes 'fugitive acts of learning' that occur within oppressive structures' (2016, p. 400). For example, by pursuing online courses at institutions far from hostels, refugee camps and marginalised neighbourhoods, young people rejected aid agencies' nationality-bounded aid scholarships and hostile bordering practices. Instead, they sought out opportunities that would enable them to pursue their educational aspirations free from the constraints and impositions. In doing so, they 'fled'—sometimes literally— and in doing so, circumventing the limited education opportunities available in their immediate context. Moreover, through recourse to accessing education through online learning demonstrates the learners creative and

strategic practises that undermine the delimiting opportunities offered by dominant EiE agencies.

Further findings indicated that online, self-directed learning represented a means of overcoming other forms of oppression. For example, Sudanese and Somali youth living in Jordan noted how they had undertaken research to understand their cultural history, knowledge that had been denied them prior to displacement. Others used their research skills to leave oppressive personal circumstances, such as Maryam, who used the knowledge and learning she found online, to leave an abusive husband:

' I began to search if there was any party to help me. I saw a post on Facebook that women's rights should be respected and not abused. I did not know all this. I searched more and found that there are organisations against domestic violence. These publications were urging me to recognise injustice. What I am subjected to... and that women must not remain silent about this violence.'

(Maryam, student, and co-researcher)

Maryam, through the internet, was able to access and read 'publications' against 'domestic violence'. Her example illustrates how learning can be a fugitive act, intricately connected to flight and freedom (hooks, 1994) because she obtained knowledge and strength to 'not remain silent about violence' and eventually fled her abusive partner.

Other forms of flight, informed by informal learning through networks, were also evident across the contexts. For example, young people and their families made strategic decisions on where to live, often moving across multiple camps in Uganda, Kenya, and South Sudan, decisions partly informed by perceptions of quality education. Similarly, in the UK, people circumvented the Home Office's dispersal system, applying for higher education scholarships at different universities across the country, and then lobbying the Home Office to be allowed to change their accommodation if successful in scholarship applications. These practices of moving to various places —internal migrations— shows young forcibly displaced peoples' innovation as they contested the 'global system of 'carceral humanitarianism,' which often inhibits free mobility and choice (Brankamp, 2021, p.109). In the examples, informal knowledge sharing derived from friends and fellow displaced students provided the necessary advice regarding

educational opportunities and ways of navigating the system, information that was not readily available from service providers.

Across the three contexts, the findings illustrated that parents, extended family members and peers had critical roles in supporting learners to continue their education. Multiple examples of familial contributions were shared, ranging from encouragement and continuous support, family members paying for students to study in other countries, and fugitive practices such as establishing schools in caves during times of active conflicts. Faheem, originally from Western Darfur, now living in Jordan, recalled:

'My mother highly valued education and realised how important it was for me, as the oldest son, to further my education. While I loved learning, our situation made attending school seem like a dream- it felt hopeless and hard to imagine that it would be possible to achieve a good life. It seemed like every time we found hope; it would be destroyed. However, my mother insisted that I attend school. I asked my mom, "how can I go to school when we need money to survive?" I worked year after year until I graduated high school to pay for school fees, uniforms, and books'.

(Faheem, higher education preparation course student, volunteer and co-researcher)

As Faheem's example highlighted, his mother insisted that he attend school, despite having limited means to support her son. Education was 'highly valued'; therefore, despite needing 'money to survive', he worked until he 'graduated high school' to pay for 'school fees, uniforms, and books. His mother played a critical role in encouraging her son to pursue his education, and Faheem himself made his dream possible by his entrepreneurial activities that allowed him to help finance his studies.

A second way that families supported education was through sustaining cultural knowledge. This was particularly salient amongst the co-researchers in South Sudan, who for decades, had endured systemic oppression by the Government of Sudan (Elradi, Abdelfadil & Eldihaib, 2018; Warren, 2020). Their examples highlighted how parents had maintained their local languages and traditions and sent them to school despite enormous hardships and risks. These examples are constitutive of fugitive acts in the context of cultural subjugation (Sikka, 2020; Stovall, 2020).

Young people and their families repositioned their experiences of different forms of marginalisation and subjugation as sources of strength and purpose across the three contexts. For example, Maryam noted that after escaping her abusive marriage:

'I applied to study for the diploma and tried to improve myself and teach English language courses, educating myself and researching more about women's rights. I would like to convey the idea of non-violence against women in society and the struggle to defend women and their right to live a life as human beings. By subjecting me to this violence, my goal is to educate every woman subjected to violence and intolerance of her right, as she is a free creature, and no one has the right to arrest her and force her to live under torture.'

(Maryam, student, and co-researcher)

Maryam's applied her experience of living 'under torture' and her subsequent escape from a violent husband as a call to free other' women' in similar situations. Having been subjected to 'this violence', her 'goal is to 'educate every woman.' As the extract illustrates, not only did she reposition her marginality as a source of strength that could help free others, but Maryam also demonstrated a sense of collective solidarity with other women going through similar situations. Peer-to-peer support and solidarity amongst and across diverse groups of forcibly displaced youth were other key findings from this study across the three contexts. For example, in South Sudan and Jordan, male students spoke out about societal gender-based violence and discrimination in schools. In the UK, people spoke of how their friends supported them in finding higher education opportunities and navigating the hostile policy environment.

Fourthly, although the previous section highlighted that aid organisations and EiE stakeholders grapple with engaging in racial justice discourse and were unable to understand the local context and dynamics; the findings indicated that forcibly displaced learners do not encounter the same discomfort. Across the three contexts, learners also shared their appreciation of learning from other forcibly displaced people and how displacement had taught them many things, such as being more open-minded, which they attributed to finding themselves in multicultural settings. In addition, students in the three contexts spoke of their sense of benefiting from being in multicultural classrooms due to their displacement. Furthermore, in some incidences, students felt a sense of personal development, which disrupt representations of victimhood (Doná &

Veale, 2011) instead highlighting their cultural capital (Yosso, 2005) attained precisely because of displacement.

These findings are supported by the theoretical concepts around fugitivity, as discussed in the literature review. For example, Harney and Moten (2013) state, 'fugitive study... is what you do with other people, the 'everyday interactions, working, dancing and suffering, some ineffable merging of all three'. The unrelenting and irrevocable 'intellectuality' of learning with and from other forcibly displaced students, in addition to the experiential learning that occurs as a direct result of being displaced, is evident in the examples shared in chapters 4-6 of this thesis, young people highlighted examples of Harney and Morten's conceptualization of 'study' as a formative part of their educational trajectory (2013a, p. 110). The implications of the fugitive learning spaces forged in situations of displacement will be discussed further in chapter eight.

7.3.2 Refusing to remain an aid recipient

Many of the young people who participated in this study had repositioned themselves away from representations of themselves as being solely recipients of aid. Instead, many actively took on roles within the aid industry that enabled them to serve their communities. This occurred in two main ways. Firstly, peer-to-peer networking and volunteering are other creative, strategic practices that parallel the formalised humanitarian system. For example, in South Sudan, the UK and Jordan, young people shared examples of how they helped or were helped by their peers. These findings illustrated how interpersonal relationships and social support networks were critical in motivating displaced people to further their education. Furthermore, young people shared examples of receiving support from diverse peers, resisting EiE and governmental norms that often were found to provide aid based on nationality.

Secondly, across the three contexts, young people spoke of varying roles, working as teachers, community volunteers, and facilitators in serving their communities and peers. Although uncredited and made invisible by the EiE industry, their roles offer counter-hegemonic narratives that position forcibly displaced youth as one-dimensional and passive victims. These acts demonstrated a refusal or pushback by young people against exclusionary systems, instead seizing and taking opportunities, when possible, to shape their futures.

In addition, young people, particularly in Jordan, resisted exclusion from decision-making within EiE by setting up their organisations. These initiatives show another mode of resisting reliance on a humanitarian aid system that excludes aid recipients, as highlighted in section two of this chapter. Importantly, their work fulfils a critical void, as one community-based support officer from Lebanon noted: 'NGOs do not understand everything well. I have been in a job recently where I have to do evaluations. They [The organisation] have done courses on guidance, but unfortunately, this is useless. The students did not understand how to fill out the scholarships or whether they are eligible. It is not only enough to share information; we should teach them how.'

'NGOs do not understand everything well' exemplifies why the young people's organising, as documented in these chapters, has a critical function in resisting the limiting parameters of EiE aid. Due to the exclusionary nature of EiE, which fails to engage with aid recipients, the practitioner argued that the 'guidance' 'is useless.' Yet, despite the shortcomings of the humanitarian aid sector that young people across all contexts identified, many young people aspired to 'work' in the humanitarian field or to go on to work or study in social justice-related fields. For example, Hasan, a Syrian refugee living in Jordan, explained:

'My dream is to continue working in the field of humanitarian organisations after completing my university studies.'

Despite the multiple problems outlined by staff and students in this chapter, Hasan's desire to enter the 'humanitarian' sector 'after completing' his 'studies' indicates the paradoxes of aid. Whilst many students complained about the inequities of aid, other young people also aspired to be part of the system. Interestingly, in this study, none of the students used the term 'EiE,' even if they were involved in EiE programmes as learners, teachers, or volunteers. The absence of the term 'EiE' within the lexicon of displaced youth demands further exploration beyond this thesis; it indicates the disconnection between the formalised EiE sector and those receiving aid. As one EiE practitioner noted:

'EiE requires learning a lot of jargon, knowing the right people, and attending the right universities. Since EiE is a relatively small and underfunded sector, there are minimal positions that create a highly competitive and insular community.'

The findings correlate with the EiE practitioner's assertion that forcibly displaced youth are absent from the 'highly competitive and insular community' where 'jargon' is used. As such, young people, and recipients of aid more broadly, do not use the formal language imposed by others to define education for forcibly displaced populations. Furthermore, if 'attending the right universities' is a prerequisite to getting a coveted position in the sector, the findings across the three sites underline the near impossibility for forcibly displaced youth to attend prestigious institutions; hostile bordering practices, limited scholarships, and the prevalence of low-level post-primary education opportunities prove insurmountable for some. Monumental change is needed to redesign the EiE sector for it to be truly responsive and accountable to communities in situations of crisis.

Finally, across the three contexts, young people's refusal to remain recipients of aid, intersects with an opportune time in the EiE system, where multiple actors are calling for systemic change (C. Collective, 2021). As a senior EiE consultant of Sri Lankan origin noted:

'I do not think the conversations have been [there]. I do not know whether, at a global level, we have had the space to have those...but I feel especially after COVID-19 and the real pressure on localisation. I think with Black Lives Matter, it is very now. Now is a great time to push it. I think they will be more willing to engage with it because it is obvious when it comes from many sources.'

As a result of 'Covid-19', which enforced global travel restrictions, humanitarian aid was forced to change its mode of operations, bringing to the fore 'real pressure on localisation' (which refers to the redistribution of power from Global North INGOs to local-led responders). In parallel, the momentum behind 'Black Lives Matter' over the past couple of years also contributed to a growing critique of the industry. The aid practitioner, through her extract, believed these events would result in 'more willingness to engage' with critical discourse and actions that had as their objective the redistribution of power, as it was 'obvious' from the 'many sources' that there is a need for change. The findings reveal young people are already engaged as humanitarian actors in numerous ways, but there is a need for their contributions to be recognised at a 'global level'. According to the practitioner, it is 'obvious', more than ever, that the sector must change. It is with this sense of optimism that this chapter concludes.

7.4 Summary

By bringing the findings across South Sudan, Jordan, and the UK into conversation with one another, this chapter highlighted the 'circuits of privilege and dispossession' (Weis & Fine, 2012) that impact forcibly displaced students' education trajectories.

First, the young people and aid workers' narratives contest binary or universalising discourses around education, displacement, and aid. As highlighted, a wide range of identity markers shapes young people's experiences, indicating the need to move away from universalising framings of displaced youth and recognise the diversity within EiE settings. These findings are significant because attention to the 'intersecting, interlocking, multi-dimensional forms of power and identity' (Dhamoon, 2015, p. 29) between forcibly displaced youth has barely received attention.

Issues of racism, gender, and age-based discrimination are present across the three contexts. Other concerns, such as immigration status and specific forms of discrimination, like Islamophobia, and ethnicity, are locally informed and not evident across all sites. However, there is a common theme of exclusionary practices at socio-political levels that limit education trajectories. When considered through the BRT's critical lens, the limiting educational opportunities, coupled with social categorisations that differentiate and subjugate people based on arbitrary identity markers, illuminate how racial capitalism works through education, and its adverse impact on forcibly displaced youth.

Rarely does EiE research attend to the relational and relative degrees of differentiation among and between forcibly displaced youth that is produced through hostile bordering practices, numerous categorisations regarding immigration status, and proximity to power due to racialisation across multiple sites and situations of displacement; however, this chapter illuminates the interconnectedness of systemic inequities (Fine, 2018, p. 95).

Secondly, intersectionality also shows us that colonial legacies, or coloniality, impact people differently, according to their position on a socio-cultural and economic level. Again, coloniality manifested in distinct ways, from the source of donor funding to the decision-making over whom to provide aid to, exacerbated by an EiE ecosystem

that perpetuates exclusionary practices through its elitist and institutionally racist practices. In addition, systemic inequity was evident from the type of education provided in the different sites and the content of the curriculum, which perpetuated dominant ideologies around education, erasing local knowledge and undervaluing the roles of parents and wider family and community networks played in enabling education.

Finally, the last section examined how learners in South Sudan, Jordan and the UK resisted systemic barriers. In all three contexts, learners demonstrated that they were not mere recipients of aid, but also dispensers of aid, actively involved in providing various forms of their communities. Their underacknowledged roles as educational aid providers further highlight the need to recognise youth as active participants and key stakeholders within the EiE ecosystem. Lastly, although most practitioners noted that the EiE field has formerly excluded people with lived experience from EiE governance, in light of Covid-19 and the Black Lives Matter movement, the sector is being pushed towards a critical moment of change. As will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, the findings of this study have significant implications for the field of EiE and beyond.

Chapter 8 Discussion and conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This study sought to explore how forcibly displaced youth experience education, whilst also attending to the structures that shape and define EiE. Like Weis and Fine (2012) argued, multi-layered educational research that connects 'global flows of capital, ideas, and power with local practices and effects' (2012, p. 196) is complex but necessary to 'understand current inequities and reimagine education for the collective good' (p. 195). Furthermore, as noted in chapter two, the BRT implores researchers to investigate the structures that oppress, not simply the differences that separate. As the literature indicated, much is yet to be understood about how lives are impacted by colonial legacies and EiE intersect.

This thesis has presented various accounts from young people in South Sudan, Jordan, the UK, and EiE practitioners, underscoring the plurality of experiences and perspectives within the field to address gaps in the literature. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part will reflect on the analysis from chapters four to seven, identifying the study's significant findings and original contribution to knowledge. The second part of the chapter will consider the limitations of this study, and the implications for policy and future research, before concluding the thesis with final observations.

As a reminder, the research sought to explore the following interlocking objectives:

- 1) To identify the intersections and impacts of identity markers (gender, age, ethnicity, migration status, dis/ability, and others) through innovative intersectional and dual analysis to highlight the diversity of learners' experiences in crisis contexts for practitioners, researchers, and policymakers.
- 2) To examine colonial legacies, concepts of educability and how these power dynamics, privilege and concepts of race continue to influence the types of programmes funded for adolescents and youth in emergencies, bringing to the fore the rarely acknowledged colonial entanglements of knowledge and practice in the sector.
- 3) To use multi-sited research with displaced adolescents' experience EiE programmes across three crisis contexts (using DSAR) to reveal the systemic forces of education inequity, levers for change and exceptional spaces of resistance to enrich understandings of education experiences during large-scale disruptions.

The following section discusses the key findings, in relation to the research objectives, and their unique contributions to EiE and BRT scholarship.

8.2 Intersectionality as a critical lens of inquiry: unique contributions to EiE and BRT scholarship

This thesis makes critical contributions to an intersectional inquiry by analysing multi-scalar, multi-sited and global dynamics that impact education trajectories for forcibly displaced youth. Firstly, the findings are consistent with the intersectional

scholarship premise that intersectionality matters. The data contributes a more precise understanding that a more comprehensive set of dimensions, such as race, ethnicity, gender, immigration status, religion, age, and coloniality, explicitly interacted with educational experiences, which are informed by spatiality and temporality, intersect in diverse ways, and at multi-scalar levels. The findings reflect the complexity of lived experiences along multiple trajectories of hierarchies, where documentation status, age, nationality, language, race, and ethnicity interplay with EiE, for both forcibly displaced and practitioners. These findings support Patel's work, which highlighted how the 'ways that documentation status, processes of racialisation, and normative ideas of merit intersect to create substantively different and impermanent experiences of migration and social relations (Patel, 2022, p. 97). However, as Walia asserts, 'in an era where intersectionality has entered the public lexicon, immigrant rights movements have failed at it' (p. 31). For Walia, the permanence of racial capitalism (2021, p. 35), which enshrines and devalues forcibly displaced people's lives, is underacknowledged and erases the existence of anti-black racism (2021, p. 31).

Findings from this study challenge the epistemic silences, for, across the three sites, the evidence upholds Stuart Hall's assertion that there is not one racism in general but multiple racisms (Hall 1986). This study, therefore, illustrates how racial capitalism and intersectional inquiry are intricately connected, illustrating how EiE operates as a sorting mechanism, limiting education opportunities based on colonial logic, as well as reproducing inequities through modes of operation that result in the people with the greatest proximity to displacement being absent from decision-making and governance processes.

An intersectional lens also enables the study to contribute to the burgeoning body of research that 'stretch the border into various borderlands, inspired by the work of Anzaldúa (1989) subjectivities and temporalities' (Mayblin and Turner 2021, p. 167). For example, in this study, intersectional analysis illuminates how identity markers interact with and contest practices across macro, micro and epistemic levels. The intersectional inquiry adopted for this study enabled the identification of commonalities and divergences in exclusionary policies across contexts. Forcibly displaced youth experienced EiE in different ways, and thought and responded in disparate ways, depending on their positioning in that context. This study goes beyond existing EiE scholarship grounded in intersectional inquiry, that situated historical dynamics inform

people's positionalities. Finally, bringing an intersectional lens to multi-sited research, this thesis exposed an undercurrent to contemporary power structures, revealing how coloniality is reproduced and continues to inform power relations, determining who is able to exercise power, and who is subject to the exercise of that power, locally and globally, and shaping the contours of EiE. As such, this research makes a novel contribution to EiE and intersectional inquiry, foregrounding forcibly displaced youth's educational experiences 'both *in* and *across*' time and place (Fine, 2018, p. 95).

Notwithstanding, the findings indicated that for practitioners and young people, experiences of racialisation and othering were dynamic, fluid and often impermanent—'situated intersectionality' therefore matters in EiE (Yuval Davis, 2015). For example, practitioners noted that the sector was shaped and dominated by professionals from particular demographics. These findings confirm Sriprakesh et al. (2019), and Shayub & Crul's (2020) 's critical EiE scholarship that explains how the 'white gaze' (Pailey, 2020) of international development entrenches hegemonic norms, from defining the terms and languages of the field, to building the strategies derived from these terms and language in turn erasing intersectional experiences. Nevertheless, these findings also challenge the idea that EiE is a homogenous field, as there is (at least) ethnic diversity within the field, and even forcibly displaced youth are aid providers. The nuances that emerged in this study from applying intersectionality as a critical lens of inquiry indicate that there is not one universalising EiE experience. Therefore, it is even more imperative that EiE, within the theory and as a practice, does not fall victim to tokenistic representation or, as Táíwò outlines, deference politics (2022, p. 69). For Táíwò (2022, p. 70), deferring to whoever appears to fit a social category associated with some form of oppression is perilous because those most affected by racial capitalism and its myriad intersecting oppressions are rarely able to be in the same room. Attentiveness to the multiplicity of experiences is an integral part of the BRT (Robinson, 2021; Robinson & Robinson, 2017) and is necessary to reverse the colonial gaze of aid towards multiplicity to inform EiE praxis.

The findings from this study are helpful for EiE and intersectionality literature and educational studies, more broadly, to challenge universalising and homogenising terminology, policy, and practices that silence or subordinate specific identity markers. Identities, proximity to power, and hierarchies in documentation status reflect the

continuation of coloniality (Walia, 2021). Due to these intersections, hierarchical social categorisations emerge, and othering within education spaces occurs. These findings correlate with critical borders scholarship, where scholar-activists like Walia argue that processes, such as hostile bordering practices, structurally create and maintain the violence and precarity of displacement and migration (Walia, 2021, p.12). Furthermore, this thesis illustrates how intersectional analysis as a form of critical inquiry generates new insights into the plurality of forcibly displaced youth educational experiences, which are shaped by intersecting identity markers, navigate and contest multiple social dynamics that influence access, participation, and transition within education trajectories.

As will be discussed in the next section, this thesis makes additional contributions to the literature by responding to the lack of intersectional analysis in EiE that engages with examining how young people's lives, and situated positionality, marked by conflict and colonisation, interact with structures and systems that reproduce educational inequity.

8.3 The intersection of coloniality and the EiE field

Humanitarian aid and forced migration scholarship that engages with intersectional analysis should also foreground an analysis of colonialism. Walia, for example, argues that 'the systemic structuring of global displacement and migration' occurs 'through and in collusion with capitalism, colonial empire, state building, and hierarchies of oppression' (2021, p. 14). Similarly, this thesis shows that the ability to access education in displacement can only be understood by placing experiences within the context of broader systemic forces (Novelli et al., 2014; Weis & Fine, 2012). Within this study, practitioners and recipients of aid demonstrated awareness of the racial regimes that shape knowledge, organisational structures, and educational services. For example, aid policies prefer certain regions, provide scholarships according to nationality, and minimal local input into curriculum designs, exclusionary networks, and knowledge production processes further dispossess people affected by crises. Although some studies have made explicit links between EiE and the coloniality of aid (Menashy & Zakharia, 2021; Sriprakash et al., 2019), this study offers additional evidence to emerging critical EiE studies by documenting how racial capitalism is inextricably linked to education (Gerrard et al., 2021), and enabled through hierarchical

power relations, dubious partnerships, and complicity in upholding colonial dynamics through the social reproduction of inequities that limits educational and professional opportunities to some people, based on their nationality.

In addition, drawing on racial capitalism and the BRT more broadly as an analytic framework disrupts the myth of Western benevolence toward forcibly displaced populations. For example, Danewid (2017, p. 118) suggests that the white subject or humanitarian 're-constitutes itself as "ethical" and "good", innocent of its imperialist histories and present complicities.' Similarly, Roy et al. posit that 'experts' believe they can help poor people or eradicate global poverty (2016, p.3). Nevertheless, this thesis remove any notion of practitioner's innocence (Danewid, 2017; Rutazibwa, 2020) to racial inequity, as the findings from practitioners and young people are acutely aware of inequities in the field; prevailing narratives that limit educational opportunities, particularly post-primary learning, not only due to funding constraints but directly linked to racial hierarchies that place value on the types of education specific populations are considered worthy of accessing. As Roy posits, aid practitioners seldom concede 'how they are part of the systems and processes that produce and reproduce poverty'—that poverty is actively constructed rather than inevitable (Roy et al., 2016, p. 3). From their interviews, it was evident that practitioners had a broad awareness of systemic inequities yet offered few examples of systemic change. They confirmed Spade's assertion that aid fails to fix injustice but instead replicates' it with 'hierarchical models' that 'legitimise and stabilise' problematic systems (2020, p. 26). Instead, as Ruth Gilmore Wilson posits, aid acts as the shadow state, as discussed in chapter two, where it is limited in its role of contesting structural inequities, and often complicit in reproducing them.

The shadow states manifest differently, including the fear practitioners and learners felt talking about issues of coloniality and racism. Of course, mindful of intersectionality, a practitioner, and aid recipients' positionality, shaped by colonial dynamics, would influence their ability to challenge the system. Nevertheless, the aid workers' perceptions, through their extracts confirm the 'elite capture' (Táíwò, 2022) of EiE, which Táíwò outlines as a process in which a radical concept, in this case, EiE, is stripped of its political substance and liberatory potential. Instead, policies and the ways of working are dominated by political, social, and economic elites, far removed from the recipients of aid, resulting in 'control over political agendas and resources by a

group's most advantaged people' (Táiwò, 2022). Forgetting, silencing or refusing to see young people's roles as multifaceted actors and recipients of aid allows the aid sector to maintain systems of domination in place.

Coloniality is multi-directional. The findings indicate that EiE practitioners (defined here as professional staff) and aid recipients are 'touched by coloniality' (Mignolo, 2021) and indeed, reinforce it in numerous ways. Their narratives and how they see themselves both 'have material force in the shape and functions that institutions perform in society' (Patel, 2019). Western education and coveted positions within organisations implementing EiE or other types of aid are upheld, pursued, and desired. Consequently, this thesis also complicates binary discourses around neocolonialism. As the findings illustrated, and corroborated Fanon's (2017) argument, coloniality, racial discrimination, and other forms of othering are not always imposed (even if their genealogies are rooted in Northern colonialism) by the 'Global North'. However, they indicate the remnants of colonial logic within society and education structures, as identities that fall outside the dominant group become invisibilised, racialised and face discrimination. These findings offer fertile ground to examine novel mutations of race and capital and how coloniality is experienced and reproduced in educational settings by groups who have also been historically oppressed, marginalised, or colonised. In addition, these findings make another original contribution by highlighting coloniality in its localised and non-western guises, concurring with assertions that formerly colonised states practice colonial techniques internally (Fanon, 2017; Sabaratnam, 2020).

Finally, these findings are significant to critical humanitarian studies and other fields that focus on equity within organisations, as they demonstrate not only how the residues of colonial relations persist within the contemporary EiE ecosystem to the extent that it becomes institutionalized, or 'hidden in plain sight' (Rutazibwa, 2020) but also illustrate the manifestation of racism and racialisation in different contexts, contributing to mapping new directions in racism and antiracism studies. Understanding local and transnational racism is paramount for the EiE sector to change. This also extends to coloniality and its manifestation within the curriculum, which shall be discussed further in the next section.

8.4 The intersections of coloniality and the classroom

In contrast to emerging scholarship that underscores how colonial histories continue to influence contemporary educational contexts (Bhambra, 2018, Gerrard et al., 2021), coupled with an emerging discourse on coloniality, education and immigration, this study outlined for many forcibly displaced students; coloniality impacted their education prior to displacement. Upon displacement, they now find themselves in or seeking to enter education systems that uphold dominant logics and render formerly colonised peoples, or in this case, forcibly displaced learners' knowledges and livelihoods backwards, inferior, or non-existent' (Eriksen & Svendsen, 2020, p. 2). Learners enter education systems where colonial logic endures, and within which their histories can be erased and silenced (Sriprakash et al., 2021). Furthermore, the study departs from other research, in its findings that disenfranchised learners may also invertedly reproduce these dynamics. Dryden-Peterson and Reddick suggest that the systems and structures of racism and inequality that forcibly displaced learners encounter 'are different from what they experienced prior to arrival' (2017, p. 271). Limited and nationality-based scholarships, for example, indicate whose futures and education trajectories are valued or perceived as disposable.

In yet another way, the study contributes to existing scholarship that show how secondary, further, and higher educational opportunities are limited for forcibly displaced youth by foregrounding the rationale for these shortcomings within colonial logic. As the findings indicate, the structures and systems of EiE governance provide few opportunities for forcibly displaced people to be involved in the decision-making around the type of education provided. Those involved in decision-making shared ample anecdotes illuminating how colonial logic around educability prevails.

Although forcibly displaced learners live in contexts where there are profound barriers to addressing systemic inequities, the current maelstrom protesting the teaching of critical race theory in schools in the US and UK, attempts to address historical inequities within education systems may be contested and shrinking (Holmswood, 2022). Furthermore, although othering is pervasive, there are few formal avenues to share these experiences. The limited spaces to discuss racism and othering in educational settings and the EiE sector more broadly correlates with Walia's argument that 'bordering and ordering practises' spread everywhere, reinforcing 'the enclosure of

the commons' and 'reifying apartheid relations on political, economic, social, and psychological levels' (Walia, 2013, p. 9).

A particular strength of this study are the many critical insights that it offers on critical pedagogies and situated intersectionality; evidence from this study offers substantive contributions to discussions on coloniality and education. Through demonstrating the interconnections between disparate displacement sites, this study highlights how coloniality and its manifestation in education through racialisation and othering is dynamic, fluid and changes according to temporality and locality. Nevertheless, as Bhattacharyya has noted that racial capitalism ' includes the sedimented histories of racialised dispossession that shape economic life in our time but is never reducible to those histories' (2018, *x*).

Concurring with Bhattacharyya's insight, despite evidence of educational marginalisation across the three sites, the narratives in this thesis also highlighted how education spaces enable personal development and growth. These findings confirm hooks (1990) scholarship on education's potential as 'sites of radical possibility' (hooks, 1990, p. 149). Young people want to learn, and importantly, they value the learning gained within ethnically diverse settings. This study contributes to scholarship that challenges coloniality, instead repositioning disenfranchised groups' cultural wealth as one of value (Yosso, 2005). As the next section will highlight, educational settings, despite them despite their complicity in exclusionary practices, education settings offer sites of encounter, bringing together groups of people who would not usually meet (Gilmore Wilson, 2022, Yang, 2017).

8.5 Fugitivity and mutual aid

Globally people employ multiple strategies to resist or circumvent limiting educational opportunities, reminding us that fugitivity takes myriad forms (Quan, 2017, p. 185). For example, although there has been a substantial inquiry into the way different social class differentially position groups in relation to education catchment areas in the UK (Reay & Lucey, 2004), this thesis expands existing scholarship by documenting how people affected by crises pool resources and draw upon familial networks as a form of cultural capital to enable further learning. As the thesis illustrated, young people and their families are not passively waiting in refugee camps

for saviours; instead, many are forging their own, better, envisioned futures beyond the limited educational opportunities designed (or not) by INGO, local education services and aid agencies. Many young people noted the critical roles parents and communities played in their education throughout the three sites, whether passing on cultural and linguistic wealth or supporting their movements to various locations to source education opportunities. The repositioning to the centre of parents as experts is a challenge to the coloniality of knowledge, as it recentres epistememes typically excluded or invisible. In some cases, through a person's displacement journey, or even prior, accessing education became, and continues to be, a central fugitive act 'in the face of physical violence and intensely racist intellectual and ideological currents' (Givens, 2021, p. 16). These findings contribute to existing discourse within emergent BRT scholarship that connects fugitivity and education (Grant et al., 2020). As the evidence suggests, many young people growing up in spaces of the encampment, or hostile bordering environments, use education as a form of flight.

The findings in this thesis are significant as not only do they provide a clearer understanding of how young people and their families navigate delimiting educational opportunities, but they also address the dearth of scholarship on what happens during the act of flight itself (Roberts, 2015, p. 9); in addition it widens fugitivity and education discourse beyond the US context. Furthermore, although not prevalent in EiE discourse, the study shows how other paradigms and disciplines, such as BRT, have documented and upheld the legacies of marginalised communities in educating themselves (Givens, 2021). As documented in this thesis, refugee-led education initiatives find paradigmatic kinship with the Black supplementary school system in the UK (Andrews, 2010), or the Brazilian Landless movement (Boughten and Durnam, 2014), both examples of subjugated, displaced, and diaspora communities developing their educational responses to counter-hegemonic narratives and to reinforce community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). As such, this thesis is innovative in engaging fugitivity scholarship with EiE. Connecting EiE discourse to fugitive education discourse also responds to calls from an emerging pool of critical migration scholars, who make the historical comparison with enslaved people's efforts to flee slavery, to challenge concepts of displacement and build alliances across disciplines and with social activism.

8.6 Fugitivity, abolition and EiE

This thesis indicates that within education spaces, there is potential, or 'the possibility of a radical perspective from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds' (hooks, 1990, pp.149-150). These findings contribute to burgeoning scholarship around culturally relevant pedagogies (Paris & Alim, 2017; Yosso, 2005), border pedagogy (Giroux, 1991), and upholds and builds on earlier literature that illustrates how young people, designated to the margins, contest their positionality. They recognise and appreciate the learning that stems from their experiences of forced displacement, staunchly rejecting education bordering regimes that seek to replicate colonial logics of belonging and hierarchies of knowledge that place them at the bottom.

Notwithstanding, as hooks notes, marginality can only be a site of radical possibility when 'this is a marginality chosen for ourselves' (hooks, 1990, p. 150). It is important not to romanticise or forget why forcibly displaced learners find learning amongst their peers a liberatory endeavour. As Sriprakash et al. (2020, p. 3) argue, by drawing on 'the abolitionist thinking of Black feminism' to move to a more just future, in which the wrongs 'of the past and present 'are repaired rather than replicated, it is essential to comprehend 'what, why, and how' these historical injustices occurred. Consequently, to conceptualise EiE spaces as 'radical sites of possibility' is only possible if education service providers are willing to hold space for brave conversations around racism and other forms of othering that structure and saturate young people's educational experiences.

This thesis offers an essential contribution to the literature on educational inequities. As it so empathetically demonstrates, there is no easy transition to continuing education for many forcibly displaced youths. Educational spaces and organisations are culturally un-informed, exclusionary, willfully ignorant, and generally resistant to addressing racial discrimination and other forms of othering (Sriprakesh et al., 2019). Consequently, young forcibly displaced youth find themselves pushed out of education. As documented in earlier chapters, these findings bring EiE scholarship into conversation with the emerging and growing literature in the US, by intellectuals informed by the BRT, that reframes dropping out of school as the accumulative

outcome of structural inequities that disenfranchise and 'push-out' historically marginalised group (Weis & Fine, 2012).

The findings from this thesis also connect with paradigms around the school-to-prison pipeline (STTP) (Stovall, 2018, p. 55). In the STTP education trajectory, Stovall (2018) notes the consequence of an accumulation of circuits of dispossession shaped by structural inequities that disproportionately impact Black and Latinx populations. For Stovall, schools and places of learning function as 'operative' prisons, 'deadening' and 'dislodg [ing] racialised and other groups from 'social fabrics that affirm and protect their existence' (2018, p. 56). Similar convergences were identified and documented in this thesis, and the findings suggest another type of STTP exists. For example, forcibly displaced youth may enter the school system, but the 'mark of having escaped' from the 'new wastelands of global capitalism' remains 'a marker of disadvantage from their journey' (Bhattacharyya, 2018, p. 131). When transposed to EiE contexts, the STTP is re-conceptualised as the entrenchment of hostile bordering practices and encampment policies juxtaposed with minimal post-primary opportunities due to prevailing educability narratives by decision makers that, in turn, reinforce precarity for displaced youth.

The responses to limiting educational opportunities by forcibly displaced youth bring EiE scholarship into conversation with abolitionist thought. This thesis highlighted how some forcibly displaced young people find their educational routes, often aided by (or through their capital wealth) agents of mutual aid. In the wake of Covid-19, there has been a resurgence in the discourse around mutual aid, with many US-generated scholarship placing mutual aid's early iterations with civil rights organising in the USA (Spade, 2020). Some authors have noted long traditions of mutual aid in refugee camps (Dryden- Peterson et al., 2017; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2015; Okello et al., 2021). The findings confirm how people affected by crisis help one another, offering a critical paradigm shift for prevailing EiE literature and policy discourse, which routinely categorise young people as victims and recipients of aid. Current EiE literature produced by INGOs, and UN agencies often centres on calls for the international community to fund more education in crisis contexts. However, research indicates that international humanitarian aid comprises as little as 1% of resource flows to countries during a humanitarian crisis (Willitts-King et al., 2019, p. 24). Current aid provision a mere fraction of a more extensive set of resources that the

international system does not see or count (Willitts-King et al., 2019). This thesis contributes to emerging humanitarian scholarship around mutual aid by highlighting that although young people are excluded from being seen as critical agents within the EiE ecosystem, through their initiatives and community cultural wealth, forcibly displaced youth are often informal, unacknowledged, and unremunerated EiE practitioners. Just as Robinson recognised the 'ontological totality' of forcibly displaced Africans, who brought with them ' a complement of consciousness and capacity' (Wilson Gilmore, 2017, p. 231), this thesis illustrates the wealth of knowledge, talent, and determination that young people bring to their organisations, work in service of their communities and value experiential learning. As a result, this thesis contributes towards and amplifies critical international development studies that demand a re-conceptualisation of aid, that advocates that there 'is no space for help, only space for solidarity' (Negrón-Gonzales, 2016, p. 175).

8.7 DSAR as praxis

As the introductory and methods chapter indicated, the field of EiE is facing deep conceptual and pedagogical dilemmas, with research paradigms that obscure impoverishment histories and social relations (Sriprakesh et al., 2019). Epistemology, therefore, has been central to this thesis and guided by the BRT(Akom, 2011; Mckittrick, 2020); alongside the multidisciplinary tendrils that inform CPAR, thinking beyond eurocentric forms of inquiry has been critical to this study. As noted by Táíwò (2022), the main risks to social justice are the weakening of the material and practical foundations of public control over knowledge creation and dissemination, especially those that could support effective political action and limit or end elite predation. Nevertheless, as this thesis highlighted, practitioners shared examples of how guidance, research, and programmatic evidence' was often donor driven, conceptualised, and managed without recipients of aid being invited to engage in the process.

The findings from this study are significant and make several original contributions to qualitative inquiry and EiE. Shirazi (Shirazi, 2020) argues that researchers working with forcibly displaced youth should not only create space for counter-narratives to emerge and to challenge the epistemic frameworks continue to uphold the claimed truth of such stories and histories. The multivocality of stories generated from the DSAR indicates the possibilities of knowledge creation when young

people can design their lines of inquiry. The emerging narratives highlighted complex, multifaceted experiences determined by global and local forces that re-placed their lives in racialised and colonised histories (Fine, 2018, p.18). In this regard, the study confirms that CPAR (in this thesis, applied through the DSAR inquiry and shaped by critical conceptual thinking stemming from the BRT) creates a praxis to document, analyse and, in some instances, respond to social injustices. As Collins argues, intersectionality as a broad, increasingly global, resistant knowledge project provides a vibrant intellectual space for historically disparate projects with heterogeneous responses to political domination (Collins et al., 2021). The findings from this thesis underscore Collins's argument, as across the three contexts, by taking an intersectional lens to CPAR inquiry, multiple, intersecting systemic barriers and privileges to access education surfaced.

Secondly, the research process confirms Vossoughi and Zavala's (2020) argument that CPAR functions as a 'pedagogical encounter', encompassing 'multiple epistemologies and worldviews' (pp.137-138). As indicated in the findings chapters, young people of different positionalities converged to design research, documenting how structural convergence and socio-political marginality intersect and interlock with educational possibilities. Furthermore, it enabled individual forcibly displaced youth, individual and group experiences to reflect those structural intersections and how political marginality might engender new subjectivities and agency (Collins and Bilge, 2020, pp. 71–77). Thus, this thesis offers further contributions to scholars reflecting on the possibilities of critical inquiry, as evidently, the finding that DSAR created a mode to 'document local and social inequities articulated with global social phenomena' (Collins and Bilge 2020, pp. 88–113).

Thirdly, the pedagogical encounters created through participating in DSAR contribute to Black radicalism's call to create 'fugitive spaces' (Fine, 2018; Harney & Moten, 2013b; Patel, 2016; Stovall, 2020) for new knowledge forms to be possible. Krueger-Hennley and Ruglis (2020) also argue that CPAR is a mode of 'knowledge production that fosters fugitive learning [and] stands in the service of fugitive epistemologies' (Krueger-Henney & Ruglis, 2020, p. 967). In this thesis, multi-sited DSAR enabled dialogue, conversations, and metaphysical space to navigate marginal, liminal, and outsider spaces. Moreover, as documented in chapters 2-7, self-reflexivity was intentionally included in the DSAR design, which is often absent from EiE inquiry.

As a result, DSAR offers another original contribution of knowledge as an epistemological base for EiE research. As a method, DSAR further supports applying intersectionality to critical inquiry, concurring with Martinez- Palacios's argument of its potentiality to serve 'as a tool ... [to]build literacy regarding their complex social position in the world' (cited in Collins et al., 2019). Additionally, the study serves as a testament that as a mode of critical inquiry, education research can operate from an 'asset-based stance' (Yosso, 2005), examining inequities from the perspectives of people who experience them while actively resisting normative epistemologies that further marginalise the multiple ways people develop knowledge of the world.¹ As the field of Education and International development and the social sciences, more broadly, search for socially-just research praxis, this study makes a critical contribution, demonstrating that research can resist the divide between spaces of encampment and spaces of learning. Furthermore, it can counter the erasure of racism and other forms of othering by grounding education knowledge production in a humanising, transformative epistemology that unsettles and dismantles coloniality's logic. As such, DSAR exemplifies a type of 'fugitive research praxis.' (Krueger-Henney and Ruglis, 2020).

8.8 Limitations of study

Like any study, this thesis has its ontological blindspots and limitations. As discussed in Chapter Three, I sought to explore the multiplicity of educational experiences of forcibly displaced youth through a Black radical informed, intersectional lens. However, as Patel notes, intersectional analysis poses multiple challenges as our sense of self is often impermanent (Patel,2022, p.105). Furthermore, given the multiplicity of experiences, identity markers, and social locations, neatly ascribing people to social categories or themes that 'can contend with material conditions enlivened' through these dynamic interactions is complex (Patel, 2022, p.98). Finally, the DSAR praxis minimises external positioning as the participants designed questions and contributed, in part, to some of the analysis.

Shirazi (2022, p. 76), who conducted a digital storytelling project with newly arrived youth in France, reflected on whether his project was 'youth-driven research versus participatory research on youth.' I find myself in a similar quandary. The doctoral process and requirements challenge and constrains the possibilities for developing truly emancipatory research; as participants were not involved in co-writing the chapters, for

example. Furthermore, my situated gaze was present throughout the research process as I designed the DSAR course. Although participants designed the research questions, I set the parameter of education as a research topic. Thus, there were limitations to the co-construction of knowledge.

In addition, Covid-19 also impacted the research design in several ways, including more profound possibilities for co-constructing knowledge. As noted in chapter three, travel and contact restrictions were in place for the data collection duration. All the DSAR sessions were held online, as well as the key informant interviews. Whilst conducting research online enabled inquiry to take place in a remote refugee camp in South Sudan, to where I would not have otherwise secured approval to travel, facilitating the action research project face to face may have resulted in a different dynamic between myself and the co-researchers, and amongst the co-researchers themselves.

Furthermore, whilst this study had a large sample size, limited data was generated around certain areas, such as disability and sexual orientation. These omissions point to the challenges of intersectional analysis and indicate that although a wide variety of experiences were documented during the research process, there were still absences. These erasures could be for multiple reasons. Firstly, in approaching the students who participated in this study, I relied on gatekeeper organisations, which allowed me to present the project to their students. Students signed up voluntarily. However, I had limited data on who the students were or if the organisations included learners with neurodiverse and differing needs. Secondly, using English, as the primary language of the DSAR sessions, on the one hand, provided a common language across linguistically diverse groups; however, English was a second language for all the co-researchers, and therefore, it would be insightful to evaluate further whether this prohibited discussions.

Future iterations of DSAR or CPAR projects should therefore consider integrating multilingual language facilitation and working closely with partners and young people before the research to incorporate individualised inclusion measures. In addition, cultural norms, trust, and power dynamics amongst co-researchers, myself, and key informant interviewees undoubtedly influenced the data collected. Understanding the nuances and rationale behind why specific data emerges or does not

emerge can only stem from deep, participatory dialogue or, as Fine and Torre (2021, p. 44), suggest 'critical construct validity'. Although I argue that unexpected relationships of care developed amongst and between participants through DSAR inquiry, more time beyond the 6- 8 weeks allocated to each cohort would be necessary to understand, navigate, and strengthen inter-relational dynamics.

In hindsight, relating to the earlier point about temporality and CPAR, one of the shortcomings in this study was the time allocated towards co-analysis and action planning. Due to poor connectivity, in addition to many students accessing the sessions via their mobile phones, using co-analysis software was not viable. These technological constraints limited the amount of co-analysis that each cohort could do. Furthermore, within the DSAR project, only one session was allocated to action planning. Although some of the participants continued to work on their projects long after the DSAR had finished, more time could have created a space for more initiatives to develop and group. In addition, a face-to-face workshop may have enabled more time allocated to these crucial components of any active project, and in doing so, new knowledge could have emerged.

Nevertheless, given the numerous issues highlighted in this study, such as academic extractivism and the racial regimes that shape forced migration research more broadly, more time would also call for alternative ways of compensating young people for their participation. Although each partnering organisation had its internal ways of supporting the students to participate, such as providing data for connectivity, a lengthy project would require time dedication by participants. For this, funding would be necessary. This could also be another way of challenging the divide between the ivory tower that rewards and remunerates 'professional' researchers and those in spaces of the encampment. In addition, future iterations could include cross-site cohorts to push against epistemic bordering. Furthermore, richer learning could have occurred if the young people affected by the crisis had interviewed the practitioners and academics or had analysed their responses; this is something I will build into future research.

Finally, the generalisability of the findings is limited by the methodological approach used for this study. For example, the UK's sample size was smaller than the participants based in Jordan and South Sudan. However, as noted in chapter three, although DSAR does not enable statistical generalisability, it does create space for

'provocative generalizability' (Fine & Torre, 2021, p. 82). Provocative generalizability provokes conversations, and as the samples of findings were shared across the different cohorts, or in some instances through webinars that practitioners attended, participants could make connections between their experiences across diverging contexts. Notwithstanding, including other analysis models, such as QuantCrit (Castillo & Gilborn, 2022), as discussed in chapter three, would have improved the use of statistical data. This is one of the recommendations for future studies.

Despite these methodological shortcomings, this study documented the unique experiences of 61 learners and 26 aid professionals working in EiE. Participation in the DSAR was high (in part, I imagine, due to young people's limited opportunities to engage with peers during periods of lockdown in their respective countries). Furthermore, many students must continue to address some of the issues raised during the project. The impact of the key informant interviews with practitioners has led to conversations between several participants about the need for change in the sector and me. From the study, a vast amount of data was collected that made original contributions to EiE scholarship and provided a greater understanding of the multiplicity of identities, structures and stakeholders that intersect and influence educational experiences. Without understanding how inequalities combine and accumulate, it is hard to identify the problems or the solutions, and policies will fail to provide systemic change. This study is a small step towards addressing these shortcomings through a multi-modal approach. As discussed in the next section, there are limitless possibilities that CPAR and DSAR can offer EiE.

8.9 Recommendations for future research and practice

There are many unanswered and undocumented stories of educational experiences in displacement situations. As the following recommendations outline, there is ample room for further inquiry into how people experience and interact with EiE.

More EiE research is timely. As global displacement has exceeded 100 million (UNHCR-UK, 2022), hostile bordering practices, protracted refugee camps, and increased limitations on racialised, forcibly displaced people's travel has resulted in increased numbers of people growing up in 'carceral geographies'. As documented in

this thesis, the border follows young people, with policies controlling people's access to education in myriad ways. Educational opportunities are limited and curtailed, often by the states and agencies who, in theory, are mandated to support them. Although various carceral sites were explored in this study, that captured 'the system's boundless boundary-making' (Wilson Gilmore, 2017, p. 231), much could be gained from further interdisciplinary inquiry. In particular, connecting EiE scholarship to critical border studies and carceral geographies, that draw meaning and method from the BRT (Wilson Gilmore, 2017, p. 228) to acknowledge document and challenge forgotten or invisible locations, and actions that are deeply connected, with multiple industrial complexes.

Bringing EiE into dialogue with carceral geographies is also a hopeful and optimistic praxis, as where there is subjugation, abolitionist geographies also exist (Wilson Gilmore, 2017a, p. 227). Future studies could, for example, reposition EiE in the lineage of anti-colonial and civil rights struggles instead of the mono-linear, UN rights-based timeline outlined in chapter two. Undoubtedly, multiple alternative narratives around the historical and contemporary lineage of EiE would surface. These alternative narratives of understanding the foundations and dynamics that shape the EiE sector are crucial. Moreover, although this thesis made a modest contribution to acknowledging grassroots fugitive education initiatives, additional studies that document the many iterations of community-driven educational initiatives and resistance to the EiE industrial complex, which, as noted in this thesis, reinvoles systems of oppression and dispossession in multiple ways. Further research would provide fresh insight into how people resist repressive systems and strive to reimagine fairer educational systems and services, contributing to burgeoning scholarship that documents systemic injustices within the EiE ecosystem.

Additionally, following in the BRT footsteps towards explorations of resistance in all its facets, there is much room for, and a plurality of epistemologies to explore how people resist these situations of containment. In recent years, 'ongoing uprisings led by youth, elders, and communities have shifted the social vocabulary and imagination... toward the educational and social institutions and enactments we need' (Paris, 2021, p. 371). These new ways of thinking and organising, driven by youth, need to be reflected in the EiE sector, which asserts that enabling young people's futures is at the core of its mission. The EiE ecosystem also needs to expand its lexicon so that climate justice, 'antiracism, anti-colonialism, abolition, divest/invest, mutual aid, and Black Lives

Matter, Indigenous Sovereignty, trans rights, disability justice, migrant rights,' (Paris, 2021, p. 371), are as familiar as discussions around log frames, metrics, and indicators of success.

Finally, recounting Cook's (2022) sage acknowledgement that in research, professionals are often the 'hardest to reach', further studies that turn EiE's myopic gaze inwards towards its systems and practitioners that make up its structures and institutions are needed to understand further the people, their motivations, their resistance, and complicity within a profoundly inequitable system. Embracing intersectionality and Quantcrit as critical lenses for inquiry would enable a deeper understanding of the complexities of working within the EiE field. In addition, research regarding differences in perceptions of white supremacy, depending on the respondent's racialisation and positionality, and a more nuanced understanding of localised formations of white supremacy, within organisations where the dominant group is not racialised as white would further the sector's understanding of inequities within the EiE ecosystem and challenge binary notions of discrimination. Such research would build upon the evidence presented in this thesis and provide a deeper understanding of the varying positionalities of EiE practitioners and scholars and conceptual bifurcations from white saviour culture, addressing scant evidence of whether these divergences shape their working methods.

However, with this call for more research, I also heed Yang and Tuck's caution against social science research that can result in 'stockpiles examples of injustice yet will not make explicit a commitment to social justice' (2018, p. 223). As Leigh Patel writes, 'research can and should be a 'permeable and relational force... destabilise [ing] overly linear conceptions of cause, effect, objectivity, and implications, whilst also not shirking responsibility (Patel, 2016, p. 48). Balancing the tension between research and action is critical, and there is ample room for further expanding the DSAR praxis. This would require bringing in other critical epistemologies and interdisciplinary studies to excavate these stories in ways that do not reproduce inequities but are helpful and action-oriented towards changing systems deeply rooted in dispossession. The limitations of this study indicate that nuanced studies are needed that are attentive to the intersections of neurodiversity, sexual orientation, and other intra-group dynamics to counter-hegemonic understandings of forcibly displaced young people's educational experiences. Embracing different critical methods and conceptual frameworks beyond

the BRT would be vital to ensure DSAR remains a critical praxis that challenges representations of displaced populations and re-frames the traditional researcher/researched relations to power.

Finally, this thesis started by reflecting on a statement made by INEE regarding racism in the EiE sector. In addition to outlining recommendations for future research, it is also imperative to consider the implications of this thesis for humanitarian practitioners and aid agencies to rethink and redesign the EiE sector. Because there is so little investment in EiE, it is even more critical that what we do is fully accountable and co-designed with forcibly displaced populations. If not, EiE will continue perpetuating inequitable structures, institutions, and praxis, and the most marginalised people will end up paying the life-long cost of education inequity.

The EiE sector has a tremendous opportunity — and a responsibility — to mobilise efforts to do the arduous work of rooting out systemic racism. For organisations and practitioners, addressing systemic inequities will mean having difficult conversations, reflecting, and readdressing systems, structures, and approaches to strive for quality, inclusive truly, and protective learning environments. Therefore, in the spirit of dialogical inquiry, I do not put forward concrete recommendations. Instead, I underscore the need for policymakers and EiE practitioners to begin with their vignette, as I did at the beginning of this thesis, sketching out coloniality manifests in their practice and setting in motion steps to mitigate and dismantle exclusionary practices.

8.10 Conclusions

This study makes an essential contribution to the field of EiE through its critical praxis. The findings in this thesis offered a glimpse into the unheard perspectives of young people, on route or while being the five per cent of forcibly displaced students globally who attend university, with several important implications for future practice. In addition, practitioners' perspectives within the sector provided critical insider insight into the broader EiE ecosystem. Undoubtedly, the DSAR praxis enabled nuanced understandings of the multiplicity of experiences, as social categories and identities intersected to shape educational experiences that are diverse and complex and often

push beyond the existing frames and categories used to describe young people's realities.

There is a responsibility for researchers to disrupt the silence and invisibility around forcibly displaced youths' lives and centre racial equity within the classroom and across disciplines. However, with this responsibility comes a duty of care, and research that embeds critical participatory action research methods cultivates a culture of care while enabling counter-narratives to emerge. From this study, it is evident that social inequities are multi-pronged and manifest in systemic ways, underscoring that educational research and practice must be interdisciplinary to capture the circuits of dispossession that marginalise forcibly displaced youth. To speak of EiE, thus, is to speak of colonisation and capitalism, bordering and othering, as well as institutions that reproduce inequities by excluding, devaluing, and silencing forcibly displaced populations. However, in the same vein that Black radicalism, as a conceptual lens, highlighted how residuals of colonial administrative practices permeate EiE, it also enabled generative political possibilities, as resistance to the humanitarian aid sector's will to dominate forcibly displaced people's lives were ever-present across contexts.

By embracing Black radicalism as a conceptual framework, this thesis has disrupted singular representations of oppression and resistance, underscoring how educational experiences for forcibly displaced youth can only be understood through intersecting local, national, and global lenses attentive to historical and contemporary conditions. Moreover, although this study documented multiple constraints that young, forcibly displaced people faced in pursuing education, these were not insurmountable barriers for all.

Finally, this thesis was driven by my critical self-reflection after working in the EiE sector for many years. As discussed in chapter three, critical practitioners and scholars are tasked with constructive complicity (Joseph-Salisbury & Connelly, 2021; Rodney, 2019). Thus, this thesis is both a loving critique of the EiE sector, in addition to a quest to identify and put into praxis better ways of working. It also stands as a small contribution towards the need to dismantle the current ecosystem that fails to address the needs of many and erases the experiences of most. For practitioners, there is a need to recognise that even if practitioners enter EiE with good intentions, intentionality alone is not enough to diminish inequitable dynamics. When informed by the BRT, the

challenge for EiE scholarship is to see beyond the acceptance of bordering logic; and to reconcile one's position within an ecosystem that may provide education to some children and youth in crises but, paradoxically, excludes and subjugates so many. This calls for vigilance and recognition that systems of exclusion are deeply rooted. As a conceptual framing, the BRT cautions us to acknowledge the long duration of struggle. This lens requires interrupting dominant frames of knowing and challenging EiE's perceptions of temporality, which is often short-term and immediate action-oriented, packaging quick fixed solutions. Changing EiE will not happen overnight, but as this study demonstrates, change is coming.

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Appendix A Ethics Approval

Dear Jessica,

Application ID: ETH2223-0002

Original application ID: ETH2021-0106

Project title: Exploring Diverse Adolescents & Youth Education across the Displacement Linear, Education in Emergencies (EiE) Experiences and Colonial Entanglements

Lead researcher: Mrs Jessica Oddy

Your application to Ethics and Integrity Sub-Committee (EISC) was considered on the 24th of August 2022.

The decision is: **Approved**

The Committee's response is based on the protocol described in the application form and supporting documentation.

Your project has received ethical approval for 4 years from the approval date.

If you have any questions regarding this application, please contact your supervisor or the administrator for the Ethics and Integrity Sub-Committee.

Approval has been given for the submitted application only and the research must be conducted accordingly.

Should you wish to make any changes in connection with this research/consultancy project you must complete 'An application for approval of an amendment to an existing application'.

The approval of the proposed research/consultancy project applies to the following site.

Project site: **The research will take place in London (UK), South Sudan and Jordan (online)**

Principal Investigator / Local Collaborator: Mrs Jessica Oddy

Approval is given on the understanding that the [UEL Code of Practice for Research](#) and the [Code of Practice for Research Ethics](#) is adhered to.^{[1][1][1][1]}_{[SEP][SEP]}

Any adverse events or reactions that occur in connection with this research/consultancy project should be reported using the University's form for [Reporting an Adverse/Serious Adverse Event/Reaction](#).

The University will periodically audit a random sample of approved applications for ethical approval to ensure that the projects are conducted in compliance with the consent given by the Ethics and Integrity Sub-Committee and to the highest standards of rigour and integrity.

Please note, that it is your responsibility to retain this letter for your records.

With the Committee's best wishes for the success of the project.

Yours sincerely,

Fernanda Pereira Da Silva

Administrative Officer for Research Governance

Appendix B Gatekeeper organisation



To be used with Gatekeeper organisation

Annex 1
University of East London
Docklands Campus

Research Integrity

The University adheres to its responsibility to promote and support the highest standard of rigour and integrity in all aspects of research; observing the appropriate ethical, legal and professional frameworks.

The University is committed to preserving your dignity, rights, safety and wellbeing and as such it is a mandatory requirement of the University that formal ethical approval, from the appropriate Research Ethics Committee, is granted before research with human participants or human data commences.

Student researcher

Jessica Oddy
Department of Social Sciences and Social Work
J.oddy@uel.ac.uk

The Director of Studies

Professor Giorgia Donà
PhD, MPhil, MA, BA, FHEA
Co-Director of the Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging
Department of Social Sciences and Social Work
G.Dona@uel.ac.uk

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with the information that you need to consider in deciding whether your organization will support this research as a gatekeeper

Project Title

Adolescents Experiences of Education in Displacement.

Project Description

My name is Jessica Oddy, I am a PhD Excellence Studentship holder at the University of East London, within the Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging. I am a qualified secondary

December 2019



school Citizenship teacher and I have spent ten years working in the field of refugee education overseas and in the UK. My research title is 'Education along the Displacement Linear: Adolescents Experiences of Education in Displacement.'

Globally, less than 22 % of refugee students enrol in Secondary school and less than 1% attend university. It is important for schools, non-governmental agencies and institutions to improve access to education for young people. I am looking for adolescent students to take part, who are above the age of 18.

What does the project involve?

For my research, I would like to conduct Digital Youth Participatory Action Research (DYPAR) training with students in your organization aged 16 years and above. DYPAR involves the training of young people to identify issues of importance in their schools and communities, conduct research to understand the nature of the problems, and take leadership in influencing policies and decisions to enhance the conditions in which they live (London, Zimmerman, & Erbstein, 2003). It is a specialized form of community-based participatory research.

I would like to collaborate with your organisation as you provide education services to a diverse group of students. This would entail disseminating the information sheet to students and parents/caregivers, allowing me to facilitate the DYPAR via Microsoft teams, UEL's internal, secure online platform, with a member of your staff present throughout the training (for health and safety purposes). The course content is 12 hours in total however this can be facilitated on the time/dates agreed by you.

If students agree to participate in the study, they will be asked to participate in the Digital Youth Participatory research skills training, where they will learn research skills, create the research design, conduct research, analyse data, come up with an action plan. The DYPAR sessions are interactive, and students will have the opportunity to learn and use a variety of methods, including surveys, interviews, observations, and photovoice.

Through the training, we will collect a minimum of two education stories in the format that they see fit. Some of the topics we may explore include:

- Does age, disability, gender and other social characteristics shape the educational stories people tell?
- Do specialists take into consideration the needs of displaced adolescents in their interventions in contexts of emergencies and resettlement?

The researcher is not aware of any risks associated with the project. Students will be free to withdraw from the study at any stage, and they would not have to give a reason.

December 2019

Location

This research will take place via Microsoft teams' site UEL's preferred secure, internal platform

Remuneration

You will not be remunerated for taking part in this research study

Disclaimer

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time during the research. Should you choose to withdraw from the programme you may do so without disadvantage to yourself and without any obligation to give a reason. Please note that your data can be withdrawn up to the point of data analysis – after this point it may not be possible.

University Research Ethics Sub-Committee

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of the research in which you are being asked to participate, please contact:

**Catherine Hitchens, Research Integrity and Ethics Manager, Graduate School, EB 1.43
University of East London, Docklands Campus, London E16 2RD
(Telephone: 020 8223 6683, Email: researchethics@uel.ac.uk)**

For general enquiries about the research please contact the Principal Investigator on the contact details at the top of this sheet.

December 2019

If you are willing to assist in the study what happens next?

If you agree to assist with the study, we will arrange a convenient time to discuss this project further. I will share 1) My DBS clearance 2) The content of the DYPAR course and the tools,

University of East London

Docklands Campus

Research Integrity

The University adheres to its responsibility to promote and support the highest standard of rigour and integrity in all aspects of research, observing the appropriate ethical, legal and professional frameworks.

The University is committed to preserving your dignity, rights, safety and wellbeing , and as such, it is a mandatory requirement of the University that formal ethical approval from the appropriate Research Ethics Committee is granted before research with human participants or human data commences.

Student researcher

Jessica Oddy

Department of Social Sciences and Social Work

J.oddy@uel.ac.uk

The Director of Studies

Professor Giorgia Donà

PhD, MPhil, MA, BA, FHEA

Co-Director of the Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging

Department of Social Sciences and Social Work

G.Dona@uel.ac.uk

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with the information that you need to consider in deciding whether to participate in this study.

Project Title

Education along the Displacement Linear: Adolescents and Youth's Experiences of Education in Displacement.

Project Description

My name is Jessica Oddy, and I am a PhD student at the University of East London. The study “Education along the Displacement Linear: Experiences of Education in Displacement.” will explore the educational experiences of displaced adolescents (18 years and above) and youth. The findings of the project will be useful because there is a lack of evidence and educational support for forcibly displaced students globally.

As a PhD scholar at the University of East London, I have received a scholarship from the university, which has enabled me to conduct research.

I am looking for volunteers to participate in the project. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to participate in an online digital action research training and share, using the method that you prefer, experiences of education. The researcher is not aware of any risks associated with the project.

Participation is voluntary. You will be free to withdraw from the study at any stage, you would not have to give a reason.

Confidentiality of the Data

Where possible, participants' confidentiality will be maintained unless a disclosure is made that indicates that the participant or someone else is at serious risk of harm. Such disclosures may be reported to the relevant authority.

Data will be stored in adherence to UEL's data management policy, which includes clear guidance on data protection, anonymity and confidentiality.

The data generated in the course of the research will be retained in accordance with the University's Data Protection Policy.

The information obtained will be used for educational and academic purposes. All data will be anonymised as much as possible, but you may be identifiable from video recordings. You are free to decide if you want your story to remain anonymous or to be credited. In case you prefer your story to remain anonymous, your name will be replaced with a participant number or a pseudonym, and it will not be possible for you to be identified in any reporting of the data gathered.

If participants have any concerns about the conduct of the investigator, researcher(s) or any other aspect of this research project, they should contact researchethics@uel.ac.uk.

If you have read and understood this information sheet, any questions you had have been answered, and you would like to be a participant in the study, please now see the consent form.

Location

This research will take place via Microsoft teams' site

Remuneration

You will not be remunerated for taking part in this research study

Disclaimer

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time during the research. Should you choose to withdraw from the programme you may do so without disadvantage to yourself and without any obligation to give a reason. Please note that your data can be withdrawn up to the point of data analysis – after this point it may not be possible.

University Research Ethics Sub-Committee

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of the research in which you are being asked to participate, please contact:

Catherine Hitchens, Research Integrity and Ethics Manager, Graduate School, EB 1.43

University of East London, Docklands Campus, London E16 2RD

(Telephone: 020 8223 6683, Email: researchethics@uel.ac.uk)

For general enquiries about the research please contact the Principal Investigator on the contact details at the top of this sheet.

Consent to Participate in a Programme Involving the Use of Human Participants.

Study: Education along the Displacement Linear: Adolescents Experiences of Education in Displacement.

Jessica Oddy

Please tick as appropriate:

	YES	NO
I have read the information leaflet relating to the above programme of research in which I have been asked to participate and have been given a copy to keep. The nature and purposes of the research have been explained to me, and I have had the opportunity to discuss the details and ask questions about this information. I understand what is being proposed and the procedures in which I will be involved have been explained to me.		
Sessions will be audio or video recorded. Do you consent?		
I understand that my involvement in this study, and particular data from this research, will remain strictly confidential as far as possible. Only the researchers involved in the study will have access to the data. <i>(Please see below)</i>		
I understand that maintaining strict confidentiality is subject to the following limitations: where possible, participants' confidentiality will be maintained unless a disclosure is made that indicates that the participant or someone else is at serious risk of harm. Such disclosures may be reported to the relevant authority		
Anonymized quotes will be used in publications		

Findings will be disseminated in academic conferences, academic journals and UEL website		
The finalized version of the research study will be shared with the gatekeeper organization.		
I give permission for the data to be used in future research		
It has been explained to me what will happen once the programme has been completed.		
I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and I am free to withdraw at any time during the research without disadvantage to myself and without being obliged to give any reason. I understand that my data can be withdrawn up to the point of data analysis and that after this point it may not be possible.		
I hereby freely and fully consent to participate in the study which has been fully explained to me and for the information obtained to be used in relevant research publications.		

Participant's Name and Signature (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

Appendix D Informed Consent (Key informant interviews)

University of East London

Docklands Campus

Research Integrity

The University adheres to its responsibility to promote and support the highest standard of rigour and integrity in all aspects of research; observing the appropriate ethical, legal and professional frameworks.

The University is committed to preserving your dignity, rights, safety and wellbeing and as such it is a mandatory requirement of the University that formal ethical approval, from the appropriate Research Ethics Committee, is granted before research with human participants or human data commences.

Student researcher

Jessica Oddy

Department of Social Sciences and Social Work

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The Director of Studies

Professor Giorgia Donà

PhD, MPhil, MA, BA, FHEA

Co-Director of the Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging

Department of Social Sciences and Social Work

G.Dona@uel.ac.uk

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with the information that you need to consider in deciding whether to participate in this study.

Project Title

Adolescents and Youth's Experiences of Education in Emergencies: Colonial Legacies and Education in Emergencies programming'

Project Description

My name is Jessica Oddy and I am a PhD student at the University of East London. The study 'Adolescents Experiences of Education in Emergencies: Colonial Legacies and Education in Emergencies programming', will explore educational experiences of displaced adolescent (18 years and above) and youth, and if race (alongside other intersectional markers such as disability, age, gender, migration status, sexual orientation etc) and legacies of colonialism intersect with education in emergencies programming. The findings of the project will be useful because there is a lack of evidence and educational support for forcibly displaced students globally that take into consideration different markers of diversity and how this may influence education experiences.

As a PhD scholar at the University of East London, I have received a scholarship from the university which has enabled me to conduct research.

I am looking for volunteers to participate in the project. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to participate in an online Key informant interview and share, using the method that you prefer, experiences of education. The researcher is not aware of any risks associated with the project.

Participation is voluntary. You will be free to withdraw from the study at any stage, you would not have to give a reason.

Confidentiality of the Data

Where possible, participants' confidentiality will be maintained unless a disclosure is made that indicates that the participant or someone else is at serious risk of harm. Such disclosures may be reported to the relevant authority.

Data will be stored in adherence to UEL's data management policy, which includes clear guidance on data protection, anonymity and confidentiality.

The data generated in the course of the research will be retained in accordance with the University's Data Protection Policy.

The information obtained will be used for educational and academic purposes. All data will be anonymised as much as possible, but you may be identifiable from video

recordings. You are free to decide if you want your story to remain anonymous or to be credited. In case you prefer your story to remain anonymous, your name will be replaced with a participant number or a pseudonym, and it will not be possible for you to be identified in any reporting of the data gathered.

Measures have been undertaken guarantee the confidentiality of information provided which is subject to legal limitations. Similarly, this includes legal limitations where disclosure of imminent

harm to self and/or others may occur. The data generated in the course of the research will be retained in accordance with the University's Data Protection Policy. If participants have any concerns about the conduct of the investigator, researcher(s) or any other aspect of this research project, they should contact researchethics@uel.ac.uk.

If you have read and understood this information sheet, any questions you had have been answered, and you would like to be a participant in the study, please now see the consent form.

Location

This research will take place via Microsoft teams' site

Remuneration

You will not be remunerated for taking part in this research study

Disclaimer

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time during the research. Should you choose to withdraw from the programme you may do so without disadvantage to yourself and without any obligation to give a reason. Please note that your data can be withdrawn up to the point of data analysis – after this point it may not be possible.

University Research Ethics Sub-Committee

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of the research in which you are being asked to participate, please contact:

Catherine Hitchens, Research Integrity and Ethics Manager, Graduate School, EB 1.43

University of East London, Docklands Campus, London E16 2RD

(Telephone: 020 8223 6683, Email: researchethics@uel.ac.uk)

For general enquiries about the research please contact the Principal Investigator on the contact details at the top of this sheet.

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

Consent to Participate in a Programme Involving the Use of Human Participants.

Study: Education along the Displacement Linear: Adolescents Experiences of Education in Displacement.

Jessica Oddy

Please tick as appropriate:

	YES	NO
I have read the information leaflet relating to the above programme of research in which I have been asked to participate and have been given a copy to keep. The nature and purposes of the research have been explained to me, and I have had the opportunity to discuss the details and ask questions about this information. I understand what is being proposed and the procedures in which I will be involved have been explained to me.		
Sessions will be audio or video recorded. Do you consent?		
I understand that my involvement in this study, and particular data from this research, will remain strictly confidential as far as possible. Only the researchers involved in the study will have access to the data. <i>(Please see below)</i>		
I understand that maintaining strict confidentiality is subject to the following limitations:		

<p>[If the sample size is small, or focus groups are used state that that this may have implications for confidentiality / anonymity, if applicable]</p> <p>where possible, participants' confidentiality will be maintained unless a disclosure is made that indicates that the participant or someone else is at serious risk of harm. Such disclosures may be reported to the relevant authority</p>		
<p>Anonymized quotes will be used in publications</p>		
<p>Findings will be disseminated in academic conferences, academic journals and UEL website</p>		
<p>The finalized version of the research study will be shared with the gatekeeper organization.</p>		
<p>I give permission for the data to be used in future research</p>		
<p>I give permission to be contacted for future research studies</p>		
<p>It has been explained to me what will happen once the programme has been completed.</p>		
<p>I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and I am free to withdraw at any time during the research without disadvantage to myself and without being obliged to give any reason. I understand that my data can be withdrawn up to the point of data analysis and that after this point it may not be possible.</p>		
<p>I hereby freely and fully consent to participate in the study which has been fully explained to me and for the information obtained to be used in relevant research publications.</p>		

Participant's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)
.....

Participant's Signature
.....

Investigator's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)
.....

Investigator's Signature
.....

Date:

Appendix E Key informant semi-structured interview questions

1. **How long have you worked in the Education in Emergencies sector?**
¿Cuánto tiempo llevas trabajando en el sector de Educación en Emergencias? Depuis combien de temps travaillez-vous dans le secteur de l'éducation en situation d'urgence ?
2. **What is your job title/ role?** Quel est votre titre/rôle? **¿Cuál es su cargo / función?**
3. **Do you work for;** Travaillez-vous pour; Trabajas para :
 - INGO (international non-governmental organisation) /ONGI
 - NGO (National non-governmental organisation) /
 - United Nations (UNICEF, UNHCR, UNDP etc)
 - Community -based Organisation
 - independent consultant
 - Donor
 - Academia
 - Other (please specify)
4. **How would you define your race/ethnicity , gender and nationality ?/**
Comment définiriez-vous votre race/ethnicité et nationalité ?/**¿Cómo definiría su raza / etnia y nacionalidad?**
5. **Evidence suggests that secondary and non-formal education programmes for adolescents and youth are not prioritised by donors or INGOs working in EIE. Why do you think this is?**
Les preuves suggèrent que les programmes d'éducation secondaire et non formelle pour les adolescents et les jeunes ne sont pas prioritaires par les donateurs ou les ONG internationales travaillant dans l'EIE. Pourquoi pensez-vous cela est? La evidencia sugiere que los programas de educación secundaria y no formal para adolescentes y jóvenes no son priorizados por los donantes o las ONG internacionales que trabajan en EIE. ¿Por qué crees que es esto?
6. **In your opinion, does resistance to secondary education by donors/sector leads, etc depend on context? Please explain.** À votre avis, la résistance à l'enseignement secondaire de la part des donateurs/chefs de file du secteur, etc. dépend-elle du contexte ? S'il vous plaît, expliquez. En su opinión, ¿depende del contexto la resistencia a la educación secundaria por parte de los donantes / líderes del sector, etc.? Por favor explique.
7. **Have you seen any EiE responses that take into account intersectional variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, disability, migration status, etc.in their approach to supporting educational transitions?** Avez-vous vu des réponses EiE qui prennent en compte des variables intersectionnelles telles que le sexe, l'âge, l'origine ethnique, le handicap, le statut migratoire, etc. dans leur approche pour soutenir les transitions éducatives ?
¿Ha visto alguna respuesta de EiE que tenga en cuenta variables interseccionales como género, edad, etnia, discapacidad, estatus migratorio, etc. en su enfoque para apoyar las transiciones educativas?
8. **Have you worked on a program where young people have experienced discrimination/racism due to their displaced status?** Avez-vous travaillé sur un programme où des jeunes ont été victimes de discrimination/racisme en raison de leur statut de déplacé ?
¿Ha trabajado en un programa en el que los jóvenes hayan experimentado discriminación /

racismo debido a su condición de desplazados?

9. **If yes or maybe, did the program work to address these issues? Please explain** Si oui ou peut-être, le programme a-t-il réussi à résoudre ces problèmes ? S'il vous plaît, expliquez. En caso afirmativo, o tal vez, ¿funcionó el programa para abordar estos problemas? Por favor explique
10. **In what ways do the theories, measures, tools, and approaches the EiE sector uses to understand educational inequality enable us to see or not see intersecting inequities e.g race/ethnicity, migration status/ age/dis/ability)?** De quelles manières les théories, mesures, outils et approches utilisés par le secteur EiE pour comprendre les inégalités en matière d'éducation nous permettent-ils de voir ou de ne pas voir des inégalités croisées (race/ethnicité, statut migratoire/âge/handicap/capacité) ? ¿De qué manera las teorías, medidas, herramientas y enfoques que utiliza el sector EiE para comprender la desigualdad educativa nos permiten ver o no las desigualdades entrecruzadas, por ejemplo, raza / etnia, estatus migratorio / edad / discapacidad / capacidad)?
11. **Are local/national culturally -relevant pedagogies/knowledge integrated into your organisation's education programme design cycle?** Les pédagogies/connaissances locales/nationales culturellement pertinentes sont-elles intégrées dans le cycle de conception des programmes d'éducation de votre organisation ? ¿Están integradas las pedagogías / conocimientos locales / nacionales culturalmente relevantes en el ciclo de diseño del programa educativo de su organización?
12. **This year there has been a lot of discussion around the neo-colonial legacies in humanitarian organizations which reinforce the colonial power dynamics, and racism in the sector. Is this relevant to the EiE sector? Please explain.(How do these dynamics present/not present themselves in our work?)** Cette année, il y a eu beaucoup de discussions autour des héritages néocoloniaux dans les organisations humanitaires qui renforcent la dynamique du pouvoir colonial et le racisme dans le secteur. Est-ce pertinent pour le secteur EiE ? Veuillez expliquer.(Comment ces dynamiques se présentent/ne se présentent-elles pas dans notre travail ?). *Este año ha habido mucha discusión en torno a los legados neocoloniales en las organizaciones humanitarias que refuerzan la dinámica del poder colonial y el racismo en el sector. ¿Es esto relevante para el sector EiE? Por favor explique (¿Cómo se presentan / no se presentan estas dinámicas en nuestro trabajo?)*
13. **If you studied (or teach) a degree in International Development / Education and international development, did your course include content on decoloniality, power dynamics, and /or colonial history of the field?** Si vous avez étudié (ou enseignez) un diplôme en développement international / éducation et développement international, votre cours comprenait-il un contenu sur la décolonialité, la dynamique du pouvoir et / ou l'histoire coloniale du domaine ? Si estudió (o enseñó) una licenciatura en Desarrollo / Educación Internacional y desarrollo internacional, ¿su curso incluyó contenido sobre descolonialidad, dinámica de poder y / o historia colonial del campo?
14. **In your opinion, are there any changes that the EiE sector should do to improve the approach to diversity, equity and inclusion?/** À votre avis, y a-t-il des changements que le secteur EiE devrait faire pour améliorer l'approche de la diversité, de l'équité et de l'inclusion ? En su opinión, ¿hay algún cambio que deba hacer el sector EiE para mejorar el enfoque de diversidad, equidad e inclusión?

Appendix F DSAR session one

This is the Digital Story-Telling Action Research (DSAR) programme's introductory session. In this session, we focus on introducing ourselves, expectations, and questions, followed by introducing digital storytelling, research and bias.

Students will have filled in and sent back their informed consent before this session.

Participants will bring one image to the session that tells the audience about them.

In each of the DSAR sessions, the following resources will be used.

Microsoft teams; DSAR powerpoint; Whiteboard or google docs or google Jamboard

Phase	Facilitator	Student activity	Time
Objectives and Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce myself and present a photo/object • To present DSAR objectives 	<p>Students present a photo/object (give a link to the Pinterest image bank in case students have not taken a pre-requested image)</p> <p>Facilitator kicks off process by presenting a photo/object</p>	25 minutes
Information	Introduction to DSAR	Q+A	15

	<p>(PPT)</p> <p>-What is research</p> <p>-Why DSAR?</p> <p>-Why Education?</p>	<p>Group brainstorming using Whiteboard</p> <p>Microsoft teams</p>	
Information	<p>Introduction to bias and validity through “<u>The Danger of a Single Story</u>” (edited version)</p>	<p>Q+A</p> <p>Group discussion</p>	15
Summary	<p>Wrap up key points:</p> <p>What, why and how</p> <p>Next week's agenda</p>	<p>Whiteboard</p> <p>Microsoft teams</p> <p>Link to anonymous google teams' evaluation (3* and a wish)</p>	15

Appendix G DSAR session two

In this session, we explore ethics and what it means. We spend time thinking about collecting research in our context and some of the safeguarding issues we must consider. Finally, we look at the informed consent forms.

Phases	Facilitator	Student Activity	Time
Introduction	<p>Overview of today's session</p> <p>Recap of photo task from last week:</p> <p>Describe your picture. What would someone else see? What is it about--- why did you take it?</p> <p>What do you think about it when you see this picture? What do you feel when you see this picture?</p> <p>What happened before this picture?</p> <p>Why is this important to you? What does this say about you?</p> <p>What will happen</p>	<p>Students share the digital story image that they were requested to collect from the previous week (do screen share) and respond to the questions (using audio or blackboard)</p>	<p>15 minutes</p>

	<p>next? What is the next step in the story of this picture? What will happen soon?</p> <p>What is your goal/dream/hope from this picture? What will happen in the long- term?</p>		
Information	Information about digital storytelling	Q &A	5 minutes
Information and activity	<p>Informed consent and interviewing skills</p> <p>Show the students link to informed consent and suggested question forms</p> <p>Present interview video clip (113) Semi-structured interviews guide I semi-structured interview protocol - YouTube</p>	<p>Review interview videoclip on youtube</p> <p>Experience sharing of conducting/having an interview</p>	15 minutes

Information and activity	Risk mapping and education stories	Reflect and share opinions on risk in their contexts	15 mins
Plenary	Introduce the interview task for this week	Q& A	5

Appendix H DSAR session three

This session explores different visual, audio, video, and narratives for Digital Storytelling. We spend time thinking about different methods that we will use for our project

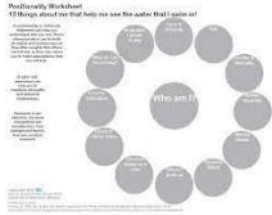
Phases	Facilitator	Student Activity	Time
Introduction	<p>Overview of today's session</p> <p>Recap on interview task from last week</p>	Students feedback on interview tasks	15 minutes
Information	<p>Present case studies of Education storytelling</p> <p>(Dardachat and Humans of New York)</p>	Q &A	10 minutes
activity	<p>Introduce video and animation as storytelling.</p> <p>-Copywrite</p> <p>-Using music without words</p> <p>-2-5 minutes in length</p>	Review interview videoclips on youtube and discuss differences between photo and video and animation	10 minutes
activity	Risk assessment recap	Reflect and share opinions on risk in their contexts	5 mins

Plenary	Introduce the interview task for this week	Q& A	5
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Appendix I DSAR session four

In this session, we explore intersectionality, Education and Digital Storytelling. We spend time thinking about identity and how different aspects influence our experiences.

Phases	Facilitator	Student Activity	Time
Introduction	Overview of today's session Recap on interview task from last week	Students feedback on interview tasks	15 minutes
Information	Facilitate Q + A	Students watch the Nawal El Saadawi interview Q &A	10 minutes
Information	Definition of intersectionality	Review Kimbere Crenshaw interview (113) Kimberlé Crenshaw: What is Intersectionality? - YouTube and discuss differences between photo and video and	10 minutes

		animation	
Activity	 <p>Who am I?</p> <p>12 Things about me that help see the author that I know of:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I am a... 2. I am a... 3. I am a... 4. I am a... 5. I am a... 6. I am a... 7. I am a... 8. I am a... 9. I am a... 10. I am a... 11. I am a... 12. I am a... 	<p>Lesley Ann Noel's Identity Wheel</p> <p>Reflection on the whiteboard and Group discussion on power, privilege, and education</p>	<p>5 minutes</p> <p>10 minutes</p>
Plenary	Introduce the interview task for this week	Q& A	5

Appendix J DSAR session five

SESSION 5 **FACILITATOR** **GRADE** **MARCH 2021**
 Making Sense of Jessica Oddy N/A
 Data

OVERVIEW

In this session, we will make sense of your collected stories. Then, we spend time thinking about the different themes that surfaced and what they mean. Finally, we will learn about different ways to present data.

PHASES	FACILITATOR	STUDENT ACTIVITY	TIME
Objectives	Recap of last week's task Presentation of learning objectives	Feedback from the group	5-10 minutes
Information	What is Data analysis?	Q&A	5
Activity	Show quantitative data sheet Share interview transcript	Q+A Individual task Group discussion	5 10 10

Information/ Activity	Recording themes	<p>Reflect on case study themes.</p> <p>Reflect and discuss the individual themes that have come up.</p>	15 minutes
Summary	<p>Wrap up key points:</p> <p>Next week's agenda</p>	<p>Task: find an example of a group of young people who have been involved in community change</p>	5

Appendix K DSAR session six

SESSION 6 **FACILITATOR** **MARCH 2021**
Research into Jessica Oddy
Action

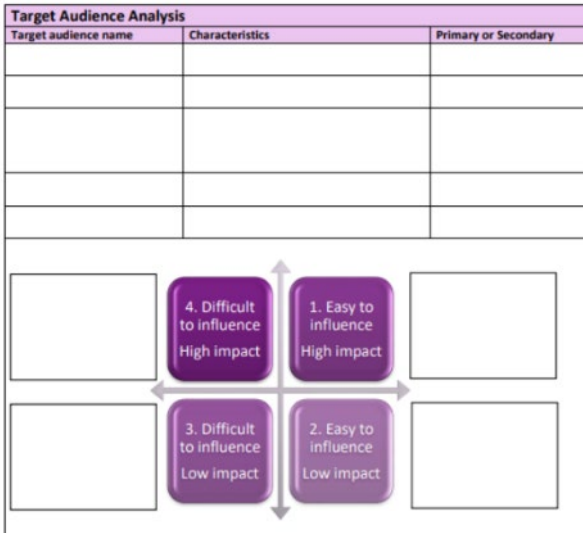
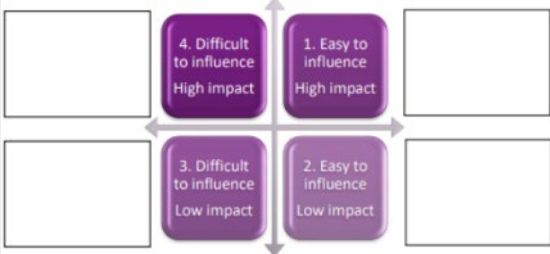
OVERVIEW

In this session, we will focus on turning our research into action. There are multitude pathways to take on after the research has been done: dissemination of findings, use of findings to act; and use of findings for advocacy purposes. Part of the CPAR process consists of deciding on the most appropriate, relevant, and feasible pathways to take. A crucial step in PAR is deciding on the research's implications. According to the findings of the research that come out of data analysis, participants will decide on:

- the type of actions that are needed to undertake;
- the person(s) that can / should undertake the actions;
- the time and feasibility to undertake these actions;
- the resources needed to undertake these actions.

By answering these core questions, young researchers will outline their action plan

PHASES	FACILITATOR	STUDENT ACTIVITY	TIME
Objectives	Recap from last week	DSAR co-researchers to add to session objectives	5

	Facilitator outlines session objectives																	
Activity		Students watch the YPAR Early Marriage video https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZJbyLXMcyPM and through discussion respond to the questions	15															
Activity	What is advocacy messaging?	Students reflect on the main findings from last week's session. Individual task to produce a short advocacy message. This is then shared (via whiteboard or group discussion)	15															
 <p>Target Audience Analysis</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Target audience name</th> <th>Characteristics</th> <th>Primary or Secondary</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </tbody> </table> 		Target audience name	Characteristics	Primary or Secondary													<p>Action grid (via whiteboard)</p> <p>Group to discuss target audience</p> <p>Discussion on advocacy aspirations versus feasibility</p>	20 minutes
Target audience name	Characteristics	Primary or Secondary																
Summary	Wrap up key points: What, why and	Link to anonymous google teams' evaluation	5															

	how		
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