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We Must Prevent a Lost Generation

Community-led education in Rohingya refugee camps

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Girls studying in a community madrassa. Photo: Khin Maung

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Cover design: www.medicineheads.com
Cover photo: Girls studying in a community madrassa. Khin Maung

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Key Terms and Acronyms

Child friendly space (CFS) – Refers to the centers established by NGOs for children to play and access child protection services and early childhood learning. Refugees often use its abbreviation, "CFS."

General education networks – Refers to the networks of educated Rohingya refugees that have formed to teach schoolchildren and youth throughout the camps.

Makeshift camps – Provisional camps for the Rohingya refugees that have arrived in Bangladesh after the Myanmar military's crackdown on Rohingya villages in Northern Rakhine State since August 2017. These Rohingya are not registered as refugees. The Bangladeshi government refers to them as forcibly displaced Myanmar nationals.

Madrassa – An Arabic term referring to the Islamic religious schools where youth study to become imams.

Maktab – An Arabic term that refers to a usually small religious education center for younger students.

Matriculation pass / matriculated – Refers to a student who has passed the matriculation exam in Myanmar; this formalizes a youth's status as an educated member of the community.

Learning center (LC) – NGO-run centers offering basic primary education that is more structured in comparison to activities provided in CFSs. In conversation, refugees often refer to learning centers by their abbreviation, "LCs." Often used interchangeably with "CFS" by refugees.

Guidelines for Informal Education Programming (GIEP) – A guiding document for humanitarian education stakeholders that provides a blueprint for learning competencies from pre-primary through 8th grade in English, Myanmar language, Mathematics, Life Skills, and Science. In the development phase, the guidelines were referred to as the Learning Curriculum Framework (LCF).

Private center (PC) – Refers to an individual teacher running his own small shelter-based or single-classroom school.

Registered camps – Camps for Rohingya refugees that have been living in Bangladesh since 1991. These Rohingya enjoy refugee status.

Acknowledgements

Execcutive Summary

Since arriving to Bangladesh after the August 2017 crisis that forced them to flee their native Myanmar, Rohingya refugees have attempted to rebuild a semblance of normalcy in the squalid camps of Cox's Bazar District. By 2019, a measure of stability has been achieved, with humanitarian agencies meeting the minimum survival needs of the 700,000 new refugees for food, shelter, water, and basic health care services. In contrast to the improvements in these sectors, refugees' education needs remain largely unmet. The Government of Bangladesh restricts formal schooling for refugee children and youth; the lack of education has become a major source of concern and despair for refugees. In response, numerous refugee-led networks of community teachers have formed in an attempt to fill the gap in formal education.

A mapping study consisting of survey and interview components was undertaken in March and April 2019 to identify these networks and learn about their role within the refugee community. The networks surveyed comprise 373 teachers educating 9,848 schoolchildren, mainly primary learners but spanning ages 3 to 23. These teachers, many of whom arrived in Bangladesh with significant prior teaching experience, represent a pool of human resources dedicated to improving camp education. They could be engaged by humanitarian agencies working in the education sector to benefit the overall education situation for refugees.

While agencies navigate a highly politicized and complex context throughout each step of camp education planning, community-led education networks operate informally within a comparatively relaxed environment at camp level. While none have formal permission to work, many have received verbal permission from camp government authorities and operate openly. Many utilize the Myanmar government curriculum and state that it is a high priority to continue doing so, viewing adherence to the Myanmar education system as a way to prepare for future repatriation. Few of these education networks have had contact with humanitarian agencies. They are however keen to build external relationships, particularly if doing so enables them to participate in camp education planning and to access resources such as teaching materials, financial support, and teacher training.

Recommendations

Issue	Findings	Recommendations
1. Curriculum	The refugee community is strongly in favor of using the Myanmar curriculum within the camp education system, viewing it as an important component of maintaining links to Myanmar and preparing for future repatriation.	1.1. The Government of Bangladesh and humanitarian agencies should review how the usage of the Myanmar curriculum has been permitted by the Government of Thailand to support preparation for the eventual repatriation and reintegration of refugees on the Thai-Myanmar border. This review process could be initiated with donor support for an exposure visit to Thailand by the relevant education policy makers. 1.2. To the extent possible, the Government of Bangladesh should engage Myanmar and work toward a bilateral agreement for refugee education certification. This could in fact serve as a confidence building exercise between the two governments as other, more sensitive issues remain unresolved. 1.3. In order to address the potential flashpoint of community opposition to new curriculum, the education sector and government officials should liaise with key community education and civil society stakeholders. The potential use of the Myanmar curriculum should be discussed, or clear information should be provided about why its use has been restricted and the viability of the new Guidelines on Informal Education Programming (GIEP) as an alternative. Humanitarian agencies and the Government of Bangladesh alike should consult with community networks to ensure a harmonized common approach.
2. Communication	Key community education stakeholders have not been consulted, briefed, or engaged on camp education planning.	2.1. Education sector actors should build relationships with key community education stakeholders. As a refugee-led central education committee has not yet been formed, initial engagements may begin by meeting with the small number of refugees holding Bachelor of Education degrees, representatives of networks surveyed in this study, and/or former government school headmasters living in the camp. 2.2. As part of a community relations strategy, the education sector should provide a written briefing/FAQ in English or Burmese to update refugees on the status of education planning, including the challenges that have caused delays in the rollout of programming. The note should also cover basic information about the GIEP. 2.3. To overcome rumors and speculation, consultation should be held with former Myanmar government schoolteachers and other key stakeholders living in the camps to explain ways in which the GIEP correlates to and differs from the Myanmar government curriculum. If these comparisons are not yet well understood within the education sector, a workshop should be

		held with refugee stakeholders in order to jointly identify similarities, differences, and gaps. 2.4. Rohingya education leaders should consider forming an independent central education committee, including senior educators, women, and youth representatives, which humanitarian education actors can easily consult and engage.
3. Transparency and inclusion	Many community education networks fear teaching openly due to lack of permission from camp authorities. They operate under the radar and lack opportunities to engage with the education sector.	3.1. Community education networks should be represented within education sector coordination structures. 3.2. The education sector may draft a set of Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) and/or a Code of Conduct for refugee-led education initiatives based on realistically achievable minimum standards. Implementing these SOPs would serve as a gateway of entry for community education networks wishing to be included in education sector coordination, training, and other opportunities. 3.3. The education sector may request the assistance of the Refugee Rehabilitation and Repatriation Commissioner (RRRC) to ensure that community education networks are permitted to teach permitted subjects within the camps and will not face penalties for doing so.
4. Direct support	Community educators have limited access to materials, financial resources, and teacher training.	4.1. Humanitarian education actors should liaise with community education networks and provide teacher-training opportunities open to community educators. Ideally, this training should be designed after a consultative process is undertaken with community education networks to shed light on their needs, interests, and priorities. 4.2. As Myanmar's Ministry of Education is undertaking a long-term reform process to upgrade the government curriculum, the education sector should monitor the changes taking place and ensure that Rohingya teachers are exposed to new methodologies and materials in parallel with their Myanmar counterparts. 4.3. Humanitarian actors should support community educators through in-kind support, including books, school supplies, furniture, teaching equipment, and construction materials.
5. Gender	Girls have lower access to community-led education than boys,	5.1. Refugee educators should make every effort to mainstream girls' access to community education. The International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) Thematic Issue Brief on Gender provides a useful set of guidelines that humanitarian actors can utilize to raise

	particularly after reaching adolescence.	awareness amongst refugees on matters related to gender and education.[1] 5.2. Humanitarian actors should provide guidance to community education networks on gender mainstreaming and strategies for the engagement of girls. One way is to help networks establish separate facilities for girl students. Given space constraints, agencies should explore ways in which increased engagement with community education networks could help expand access to education for girls over age 12. 5.3. Agencies should develop programming to bolster moderate religious leaders who are supportive of girls' education, and help them raise community awareness.

6. Future research	More systematic research is needed to better understand how community-led education is taking place within the camps.	6.1. Potential future research topics may include:
		  o A detailed key stakeholder analysis to identify influential education decision makers within the camp community. This would provide the education sector with a better understanding of points of entry for proactive relationship building with key community education stakeholders.
		  o A more comprehensive and systematic mapping exercise to identify community education networks, private centers, and madrassa education networks.
		  o Feedback about new learning materials being developed according to the guidelines set forth in the GIEP can be gathered through consultation with key community education stakeholders.
		  o Evaluate the extent to which the educational needs of high school-aged students and youth are served by the community education networks.

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[1] Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies. Thematic Issue Brief on Gender.
https://inee.org/resources/inee-thematic-issue-brief-gender. INEE's Minimum Standards for Education also provides guidelines on gender mainstreaming in education in humanitarian settings.

Geographic Scope

The networks identified in the study operate across the Kutupalong, Thangkhali, Balukhali and Nayapara camp areas. These include the following makeshift camps inhabited by newly arrived refugees: Camps 1E, 1W, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, and 24. Networks in the Kutupalong and Nayapara Registered Camps were also included in the study.[2]
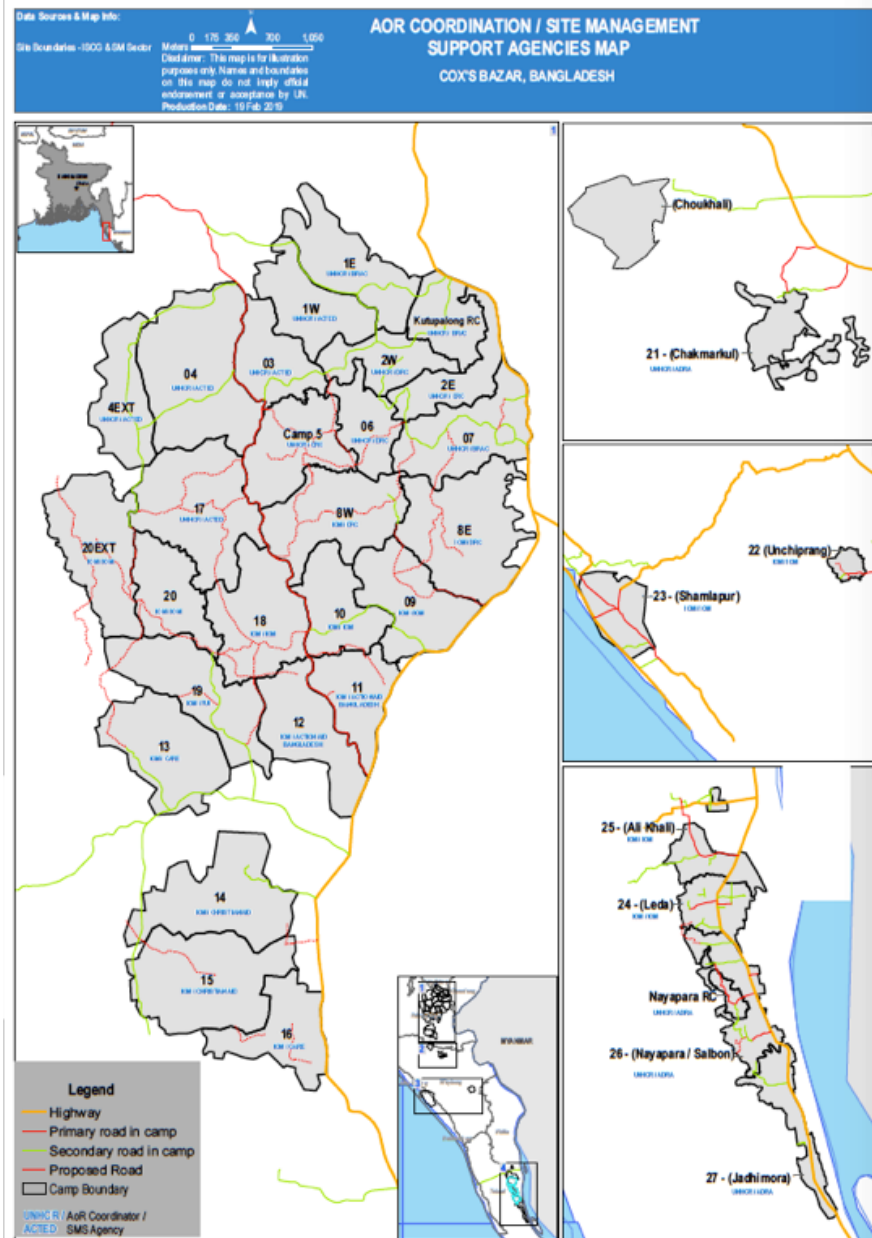

Figure 1. Map. The 34 registered and makeshift camps house nearly 1 million Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar District, Bangladesh. (Source: IOM)

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Background

The Bangladesh government has not yet authorized formal education for unregistered refugee students who have been arriving from Myanmar since 2016,[3] and it limits education for registered refugees who have been living in the camps from 1991 and onwards to primary and middle levels. The primary rationale for these restrictions is to avoid providing more opportunities to the Rohingya than they would have in Myanmar, which may discourage them from volunteering for future repatriation, with Bangladesh Minister For Foreign Affairs Shahriar Alam stating, "If we are offering them a better life than what they're used to, they will not go back."[4] The restrictions are also thought to mitigate a "pull factor" that could attract additional Rohingya remaining in Myanmar to flee to the camps in search of education.

Logistical challenges further complicate education provision and prolong the lack of access: the new makeshift camps are already packed with structures, leaving little space for schools to be built. Also, amongst the largely illiterate, young refugee population, a limited number of teachers are available to teach Burmese language curriculum – Rohingyas' preferred medium of instruction, but one that Bangladeshi NGO staff and teachers cannot speak.[5] Meanwhile, refugee parents and host community residents alike lament the lack of formal education and constructive learning opportunities for Rohingya refugee youth living in the camps of Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh. They fear what will become of a lost generation of illiterate, jobless people, and the impacts this may have on their own security.[6]

Expanded access to academic learning may be on the horizon, with Guidelines on Informal Education Programming (GIEP) developed by the education sector of the humanitarian response and approved by the Bangladesh government in May 2019 for the pre-primary through 2nd grade levels. The GIEP establishes guidelines for refugee education developed based on a review process jointly undertaken by the education sector, NGOs, UN agencies, and government agencies to synthesize the Myanmar, Bangladesh, and global learning frameworks.[7] Sets of teacher and student materials are currently under development based on these guidelines but have yet to be widely disseminated at camp level. There do not seem to have been any informational sessions or consultations held by agencies with Rohingya educators or the wider community about these

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[3] While a verification process and ID card issuance have been underway since late 2018, these do not confer refugee status to newly arrived Rohingya who have arrived to Bangladesh in recent years. (In the absence of a national refugee policy framework to help define refugee rights in Bangladesh, it is not entirely clear what obtaining formal refugee status would mean for the new refugees.) This new population comprises the vast majority of those living in the Cox's Bazar camps; they join an existing population of registered refugees who mostly arrived to Bangladesh in the early 1990s.

[4] Solomon, Feliz. 'We aren't allowed to dream: Rohingya Muslims Exiled to Bangladesh are Stuck in Limbo Without an End in Sight.' *Time Magazine*, 23 May 2019.

[5] Refugees interviewed for this study contest the notion that there is a teacher shortage, arguing that many educated, literate refugees are available to teach but are currently engaged as volunteers in other sectors.

[6] In February and March 2019, research was conducted by BRAC University in host communities living adjacent to the refugee camps to consult residents' views on refugee policy. One of the most common recommendations was, "Provide education to Rohingya to promote their character as law-abiding and respectful temporary residents." For more information, see 'Social Cohesion, Resilience & Peace Building between Host Population & Rohingya Community'. Prepared for United Nations Development Programme by BRAC University Centre for Peace and Justice. Report published April 2019.

[7] Cox's Bazar Education Sector. LCFA Information Note, 18 December 2018.

materials and the education planning process.[8] Community educators say they are unclear about why the GIEP and the new sets of curriculum are being developed; most strongly prefer using the Myanmar government curriculum and wonder why it is not being used by education NGOs. (It is not clear if the Bangladesh or Myanmar governments have specifically prohibited its use.)

Although the average Rohingya refugee has minimal formal schooling, a small but dedicated cohort of educated camp residents forms a sizeable sub-population; they comprise the community education networks that are the subjects of this report. Although data has not yet been collected (some civil society groups are trying), there are likely well over 15,000 refugees who completed high school in Myanmar.[9] [10] To complete high school in Myanmar is a challenging feat – the high school curriculum requires rigorous study, and students often take a full year after completing 10th grade coursework to prepare for the final matriculation exam. Only those who pass matriculation are considered full-fledged high school graduates and eligible to attend Myanmar universities, all of which remain centrally controlled by the Ministry of Education. There are no private universities in Myanmar and students who fail matriculation have few options for tertiary education unless their families can afford to send them abroad.[11]

Restrictions on education access for the Rohingya mounted in parallel to the gradual stripping of their other citizenship rights after the enactment of the 1982 Citizenship Law, which initiated the trajectory toward statelessness that has culminated in the displacement of the majority of the population. Despite poor access to education and disenfranchisement dating to independence,[12] Rohingya students officially had the same access to tertiary education as other Myanmar ethnicities until 1982, and a Rohingya university student union even participated in the mass student uprisings of 1988 that resulted in a junta-led crackdown on student movements and the shuttering of campuses around the country.

By 1990, Rohingya were largely prohibited from enrolling at universities outside of Rakhine State, and relegated to studying in Sittwe University, which offers a limited selection of majors. Even within Sittwe University, Rohingya were blocked from pursuing pre-professional majors considered more desirable, such as law, medicine, and international relations. After the inter-communal conflicts that took place in Central Rakhine State in 2012, all Rohingya university students were forced to withdraw from Sittwe University.

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[8] It is possible that such consultations have been held; however, the researchers could find no indication that this was the case.

[9] This figure assumes that between 1 and 2 percent of the one million refugees completed high school. A much higher number have an incomplete high school education.

[10] Again, statistics are not readily available, but interviewees estimate that well over 50 percent of Rohingya children in Northern Rakhine State, both boys and girls, received at least a Grade 1 or 2 level education. The percentage declines steeply from Grade 3 onward.

[11] Nationally, only 37 percent of Myanmar students who completed Grade 10 coursework went on to pass the matriculation exam. See 'Matriculation exams get low marks from students, teachers,' *Myanmar Times.* 22 March 2016. https://www.mmtimes.com/lifestyle/19583-matriculation-exams-get-low-marks-from-students-teachers.html.

[12] Allard K. Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic, Yale Law School and Fortify Rights. For more information on the gradual stripping of Rohingya citizenship rights and access to state institutions including education, see *Persecution of Rohingya Muslims: Is Genocide Occurring in Myanmar's Rakhine State?* October 2015. https://www.fortifyrights.org/downloads/Yale_Persecution_of_the_Rohingya_October_2015.pdf

Figure 2: Photo: A student union group called All Burma Rohingya National Student Union marches during the 1988 student uprising. The demonstrations precipitated a severe crackdown by the military. Aung San Suu Kyi rose to influence during this period. (Source: Twitter) [13]

Also at this time, many Rohingya primary students lost access to government schools; non-Rohingya teachers had abandoned their jobs in Rohingya-majority schools in the wake of the violence. Many university students hailing from the north of the state returned home, taking jobs with NGOs and becoming volunteer community teachers or tutors to address the primary education gap and hoping they would soon be able to return to complete their studies at Sittwe University. [14] Thus the landscape of refugee-led education in the camps stems from a legacy that began before the mass exodus of 2017, and includes some existing networks of volunteer teachers that re-formulated after arriving to the camps.

Not only amongst Rohingya communities but also throughout Myanmar, rural and ethnic communities commonly refer to those who reach 9th or 10th grade as "educated persons" who are conferred with the informal duty to lead and guide the lesser educated. They typically speak and are literate in Burmese and sometimes English. Due to these linguistic capacities, they are able to interface with state actors and other outsiders to represent the community in ways that other community members cannot. When discussing camp education matters, leadership, or civil society dynamics, refugees often reference a person's level of education to denote their social status. Many of these well-educated people (mainly males) undertake voluntary community teaching activities; calling someone an "educated person" or mentioning that they passed matriculation essentially conveys that the person serves the community as a teacher or other type of informal leader.

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[13] Map shared through private message via Twitter. Original source is unknown.

[14] Validation workshop conducted with community education leaders. 2 May 2019. It is unclear how many university students returned to Northern Rakhine to work as community teachers after 2012; the discussants say it was "very common" throughout the three townships with sizeable Rohingya populations: Maungdaw, Buthidaung, and Rathedaung. Some of the ousted university students migrated to Yangon while others traveled abroad to pursue further studies.

Within this context, there may be an expectation within camp society that educated persons should be consulted to raise the community's voice. In the absence of a democratic tradition and elections to definitively prove one's leadership, education status is an important signifier of legitimacy within Myanmar civil society structures and patterns of social organizing. The lack of consultation around prior refugee policy decisions has led to tensions between refugee civil society groups and UNHCR in particular, most notably over the 2018 verification exercise and smart card process launched jointly between UNHCR and the Government of Bangladesh. In this case, refugees raised several objections, including their lack of consultation during the planning phase, their designation on the cards as Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals (FDMNs) rather than as registered refugees, and the fact that the cards did not state their ethnicity. This resulted in a months-long refugee-led boycott of the card culminating in a camp-wide strike. The matter was resolved once informal consultation took place between refugee civil society leaders, UNHCR, and the Government of Bangladesh in which explanations were offered and a compromise was struck.[15] The strike and objections to the card perhaps could have been averted with better initial engagement by the relevant agencies.[16]

Figure 3: Map: Rohingya university students from Northern Rakhine State could study in Sittwe University until inter-communal violence swept Rakhine State in 2012; after, they were forced to return home, where many began volunteering to teach schoolchildren who lost access to primary schooling after the violence. (Source: Asia Times)17

15 Informal conversation with refugee civil society leaders, December 2018. In the post-strike consultation, Bangladesh and UNHCR stressed that it is not their practice to list ethnicity on identification documents, as this could lead to additional forms of discrimination. This explanation helped assuage anxieties about the lack of the word "Rohingya" on the cards, initially seen by refugee as feeding into the Myanmar government's denial of the existence of the Rohingya ethnicity. For more information about the communications that took place after the strike, also see: Rohingya pause strike after Bangladesh officials initiate talks over ID cards. New Age Bangladesh, 28 November 2018. http://www.newagebd.net/article/57308/rohingyas-pause-strike-after-bangladesh-officials-initiate-talks-overid-cards

16 Ahmed, Kaamil. "In Bangladesh, a Rohingya strike highlights growing refugee activism." The New Humanitarian, 27 November 2018. https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2018/11/27/bangladesh-rohingya-strike-highlights-growing-refugee-activism

17 Map taken from Davis, Anthony. Why Myanmar's military will win the Rakhine war. Asia Times, 5 February 2019.

The smart card example highlights the need for humanitarian actors to consider long-standing sensitivities around questions of identity and documentation for the Rohingya.[18] One of the primary reasons why refugees prefer to use the Myanmar curriculum is due to the formal education certificates that students would receive were they permitted to progress through the system; obtaining such certification would thus reestablish a link between displaced Rohingya students and the Myanmar state. Similarly to the smart card issue, lack of engagement and communication with non-formal refugee leaders on education planning may yield misconceptions, rumors, and a sense that the community's interests are not being adequately represented. Meanwhile, there are additional security concerns around militancy within the camp setting that suggest the need for humanitarian actors to help bolster moderate groups, such as the education networks that are the subject of this study.

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https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/02/article/why-myanmars-military-will-win-the-rakhine-war/

[18] For more insight, see Natalie Brinham's work on how Rohingya attach meaning to identity documents: Natalie Brinham, 'Looking Beyond Invisibility: Rohingyas' Dangerous Encounters with Papers and Cards' (2019) 24(2) Tilburg Law Review pp. 156–169. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5334/tilr.151

Also see Brinham, Natalie. "Genocide cards: Rohingya refugees on why they risked their lives to refuse ID cards." Open Democracy, 21 October 2018.

https://www.opendemocracy.net/natalie-brinham/genocide-cards-why-rohingya-refugees-are-resisting-idcards

Scope and Methodology

In March and April 2019, a research team including one international researcher and two national research assistants familiar with the camp context conducted a mapping exercise of community-led education networks in Rohingya camps. The 27 education networks with whom the researchers spoke are comprised of 373 teachers instructing 9,848 students.[19]

The researchers met representatives of each network twice for a total of 54 meetings conducted over 33 days of fieldwork. First, an initial survey was conducted to compile basic information about each network, including:

- The number of students and teachers (disaggregated by gender)
- Subjects being taught
- Language(s) of instruction
- Access to payment and resources
- Attendance rates
- Teachers' level of education and experience
- External relationships with other camp organizations, humanitarian agencies, and authorities.

The second phase consisted of an in-depth interview joined by one to five members of each group to compile its views in the following areas:[20]

- The role of community-led education in the camps
- Needs for training, materials, and other resources
- General views on camp education and students' needs
- Perceptions of camp education.

Sampling Strategy

Three types of networks were surveyed, with different sampling strategies applied to identify respondents for each type:

1. General education networks
General education networks are defined as groups of educated refugees who volunteer their time to teach mainly primary-level and some secondary school-aged children. The researchers aimed to identify and interview every general education network working actively in the camps. The researchers learned of the networks through a snowball approach to sampling in which networks were identified in 19 different camps.

The researchers are reasonably confident that all of the active general education networks were included in the study with the exception of one, which was identified but declined to participate. The networks surveyed work throughout Camps 1 through 20 in the mega-camp, as well as in the Nayapara registered and makeshift camps. The research team had fewer contacts in outlying camps (for example, Shamlapur and Uchiprang), so there may be networks in those areas that have been overlooked due to the short time period available for data collection. Also, some

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[19] One network declined to participate in the second interview on perceptions, needs, and recommendations due to concerns around visibility; thus only 26 networks are included in some of the data points.

[20] See the Appendix for details, including the names of networks and respondents representing each network during interviews.

networks may be working entirely under the radar, and could have been overlooked due to their lack of visibility.

The general education networks in the survey were identified largely under the guidance of senior refugee educators and broader civil society network leaders. There are seven well-known elders in the camps who hold Bachelor of Education degrees from Yangon University and were government high school headmasters.[21] These teachers possess in-depth understanding of refugee-led camp education, as many of the other teachers were at one time their students in Myanmar. Four of these teachers in particular provided the researchers with contacts throughout the existing networks. (The researchers also identified several other refugee-led community service initiatives whose members were not interviewed in this study because their primary focus is not on education.)

2. Private centers

Private centers are defined as an individual teacher who serves as the principal of his or her own small independent school, usually from within his or her own family shelter though sometimes from a separate classroom facility. Private centers serve mainly primary-level students who live in the near vicinity of the classroom, though more prominent teachers may attract students from further away. There are numerous educated persons teaching from their shelters throughout the camps in this manner, perhaps over 100, so only a limited sample size could be selected for this study in order to provide a snapshot.

The researchers identified 7 of the most prominent private centers for participation in the study. These were selected because they are well known in the community, run in a relatively structured manner (defined as operating full-time, maintaining student ledgers and attendance sheets, and using a standardized curriculum), and have a significant number of students (67 on average). Half of the private centers included in this study are run by registered refugees; further analysis is needed to determine whether this model is more prevalent in the registered camps than the makeshift ones.

3. Madrassa education networks

Madrassa education networks are defined as a network of madrassas and/or maktabs in which teachers offer both religious and academic instruction. Respondents state that nearly every madrassa in the camps offers both types of learning; due to the limited time available for data collection, only 3 such networks were surveyed in order to provide a snapshot.

Two of these were selected due to their prominence within the community and the reputation of the head imams as influential leaders within the overall camp madrassa education landscape. The third was selected because it provides a unique example of an individual family (mother, father, and daughter) running its own program for blended religious and academic learning.

The researchers spent 3–4 hours on average with each network over the survey and in-depth interview phases. A validation workshop was conducted on 2 May 2019 to review the findings included within this report with stakeholders from the networks. Over 50 representatives from 20

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[21] The seven B.Ed holders all have around 30 years of teaching experience and were high school headmasters nearing retirement age when they were displaced and thus lost out on receiving their pensions. After Rohingya lost permission to undertake university studies in Yangon, they were unable to pursue B.Ed degrees; thus there are only the seven elder refugees in possession of such qualifications. Amongst camp residents they are widely known and highly regarded, and take active part as senior members of broader civil society networks.

of the networks attended; this was the first event for the different education leaders to gather together in a public forum.

Figure 4: Photos. The researchers conduct interviews with teachers at a shelter-based school, left, and at a camp teashop, right. (Source: Roshid Mubarak)

Transcription

For respondents who speak fluent English, interviews were conducted and transcribed in English. For those who do not speak fluent English, one Rohingya-speaking research assistant conducted the interview in Rohingya language while the other transcribed the interview in English.

Profile of Networks and Network Leaders Surveyed

The 27 networks include 17 general education networks, seven private centers, and three madrassa education networks. Some networks did not fit easily into these three categorizations. For example, one of the groups interviewed is a team of a husband, wife, and daughter who all teach both religious and academic subjects from their own shelter-based school. This school was counted amongst the madrassa network interviewees, as it most closely resembles a maktab.

- ■ General Education Networks ■ Private Centers ■ Madrassa Networks
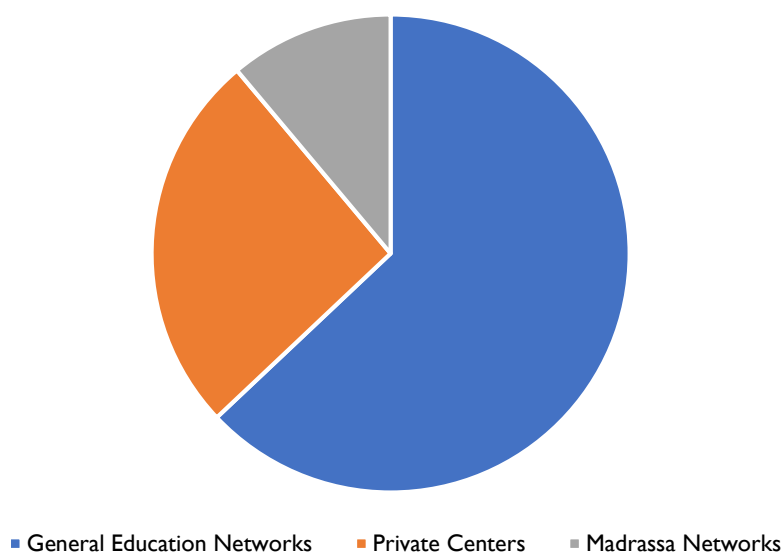
Figure 5: Chart. Types of networks included in the survey (n=27).

The general education networks represent 294 teachers and approximately 7,302 students. The seven private centers surveyed represent 19 teachers and approximately 527 students; the madrassa education networks represent 60 teachers and approximately 2,019 students. As explained in the methodology section, to the researchers' knowledge, all active general education networks have been included, whereas only a small number of the private centers and madrassa education networks have been included in order to provide a snapshot. In nearly all cases, the representatives participating in the survey and in-depth interviews were the founding members or leaders of the organizations.

General Education Networks

Several of the general education networks are wings of camp-based civil society organizations that undertake various activities in addition to education;[22] others were established with the financial support and encouragement of Rohingya diaspora advocacy groups. Several others are unaffiliated youth groups that formed specifically to help fill the gap in formal education.[23] Most teachers in

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[22] Namely, Arakan Rohingya Society for Peace and Human Rights, Pioneer High School, Rohingya Women Empowerment and Advocacy Network, Rohingya Youth for Legal Action, Temporary Learning Centre and Community Rebuilding Centre.
[23] Namely, Popular Computer Learning Centre, Education for Rohingya Children, and Rohingya Learning Education Center.

general education networks are young people who hold full-time NGO volunteer jobs, are well educated and from relatively middle-class families, and worked as private or volunteer teachers in Myanmar after completing formal education. These networks are likely to operate as unpaid community volunteer teams who encourage, motivate, and coordinate with each other out of a shared conviction around the importance of preventing a lost generation.

Not all teachers are youth; elders who were well-known government schoolteachers, principals, and prominent intellectuals run several of the networks surveyed. As described in the methodology section, some have over 30 years of teaching experience and were nearing pensioner age when they fled to Bangladesh. These elders tend to be politically active, socially engaged in a range of community affairs and connected to Rohingya camp civil society and sometimes diaspora groups.

Private Centers

In the private center model, a senior teacher runs a small school, usually from his own shelter, often employing several junior teachers. Private centers charge tuition fees to earn their living. However, most private center leaders say they are flexible about tuition fees and frequently waive payments from families who cannot pay. The private center leaders see themselves as self-employed, professional educators by trade who feel that self-employment grants them a greater degree of flexibility to deliver formal education than they would have working as teachers with NGOs. They see education as their craft and have dedicated groups of students, many of whom study under their tutelage for many years. They have their own convictions about education and are largely self-taught rather than formally trained on teaching methodologies. Some run small shops or do part-time work as translators or NGO volunteers to supplement their teaching income.

Madrassa Education Networks

The three madrassa education networks included in this study operate across various locations and offer a blend of religious and academic education. According to a UNHCR analysis, more students are engaged in madrassa-based education than in any other type of learning environment, including NGO-run Child Friendly Spaces (CFSs):

> *In general, madrassas are widely respected among the Rohingya population – including children themselves – and seen as a critical part of community religious life where children can feel safe. Parents report being comfortable with madrassa staff providing secular education to children as a possible alternative modality to building more learning centres. Madrassas are significantly better attended than [NGO-run] learning centres, with close to 80% of children age 6–14 attending since arrival, compared to 60% for learning centres (50% report attending both facilities).[24]*

Due to time limitations, only a small sample of madrassas could be included in the present study. The three madrassa networks included were selected because they operate as networks rather than as individual schools, with a network leader maintaining loose coordination amongst a group of teachers. The three madrassa network leaders interviewed for this study concurred that

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[24] Cox's Bazar Education Sector. Joint Education Need Assessment: Rohingya Refugees in Cox's Bazar. June 2018, p. 6. https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/cxb_jena_assessment_report-180607.pdf

madrassas are important spaces that parents trust as safe places to send their children for education. They all teach openly, have verbal permission from Camp-in-Charges (CiCs), and do not charge a set tuition fee, though parents may make small donations on occasion.

Additional Features

Visibility: The work of the camp-based educators falls into somewhat of a legal gray area. While the Government of Bangladesh has not yet permitted humanitarian agencies to provide formal education to the new refugees, there is no specific provision blocking or regulating how Rohingya themselves educate their own children. In many camps, the CiC is known to allow refugees to organize their own community services quite freely. However, most groups remain cautious, as they are unclear about the legal status of their activities. Some groups work openly while others aim to keep their activities discrete. Those who have received verbal permission from camp authorities are more likely to work with visibility. The lack of verbal permission creates fear for those who lack it, they sometimes pause their own activities when security concerns arise, such as the occasional crackdowns by authorities on refugee-run camp shops and businesses. They would like to liaise with and get permission from authorities, but may lack understanding about how to approach them and make their requests.

Date of arrival: Six of the networks included in the study are run by registered refugees whose families arrived to Bangladesh in the early 1990s. They work exclusively in the registered camps, Members of the remaining 21 networks arrived in more recent influxes after 2016.

Gender: Male respondents represented 25 of the 27 networks during engagement with the researchers, though 10 of the networks have at least one female teacher. Of the 373 total teachers working within the surveyed networks, 37 are women. Two women-led general education networks were interviewed, one a civil society organization undertaking a range of activities, and the other a group of educated young women who work as full-time NGO volunteers and teach in their free time.

While specific data is unavailable, very few Rohingya women reached Grade 9 or 10 in Myanmar; probably under 10 percent of Rohingya students who reached high school were female. Even amongst girls who did reach a higher grade, many do not work outside the home due to cultural restrictions. However, it is likely that many tutor younger siblings and relatives informally.

Detailed Overview of Findings

The sections below highlight key findings from the survey and interview phases of the study as detailed in the methodology section above.

1. Data on Refugee-Led Education Networks

Key findings from the quantitative component of the survey include the following findings based on the sample size of 27 networks:

- **Teacher and student demographics:** The networks surveyed are comprised of 373 teachers, including 336 male (90 percent) and 37 female teachers (10 percent). They teach a total of 9,848 students including 7,005 male (71 percent) and 2,843 female students (29 percent); each teacher has an average of 26.4 pupils. Nearly all networks maintain detailed student registries and daily attendance ledgers.
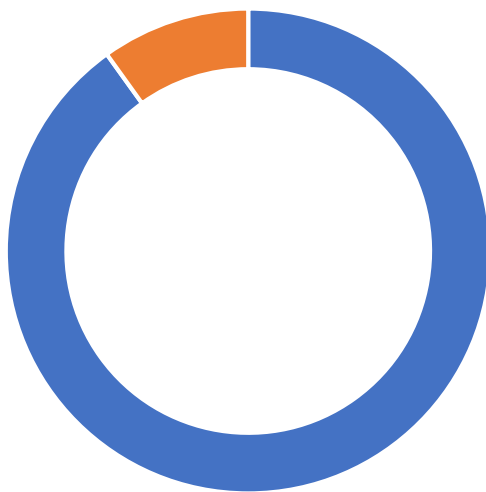
■ Male Teachers ■ Female Teachers

Figure 7: Chart. Male and female teachers in the refugee-led education networks included in the study (n=373)
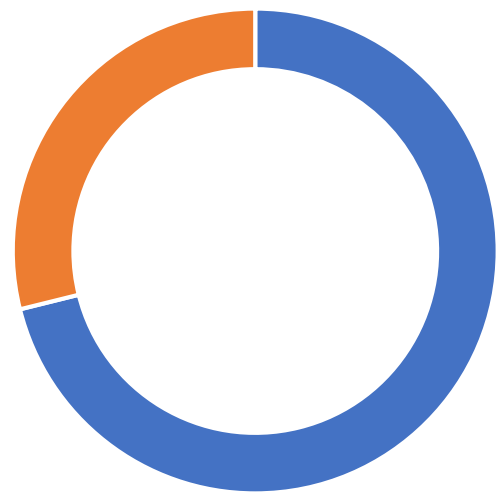
■ Male Students ■ Female Students

Figure 6: Chart. Male and female students in the refugee-led education networks included in the study (n=9848)

- **Education level of teachers:** The majority of teachers are well educated by Myanmar standards. In 21 networks, most or all teachers passed matriculation; in five, at least some teachers have a university degree.

- Passed High School Matriculation
- Completed Religious Higher Education (DORA)
- University Degree
- High School or Lower
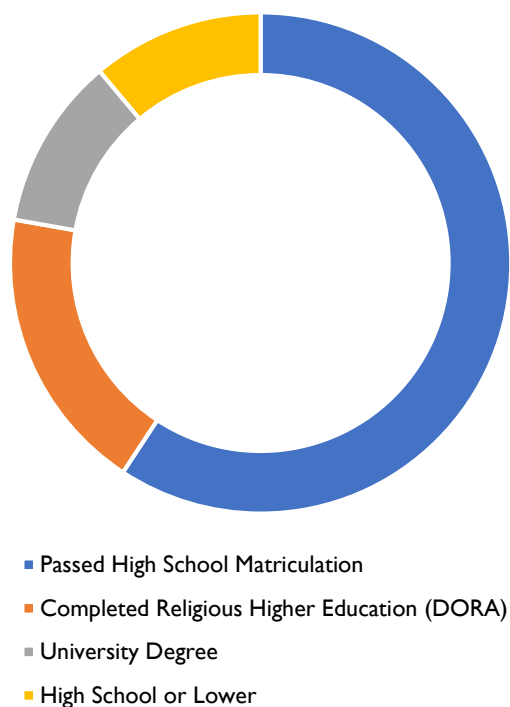
Figure 8: Chart. Average highest education level completed by teachers in each surveyed network

- **Facilities:** Many networks teach from a combination of family shelters, free standing classrooms (often metal roofs with cement floors and low-rise bamboo siding built with the support of a private donor) and madrassa/maktabs. A total of 143 of these teaching spaces are in use by the surveyed networks. These include 93 family shelters, 23 free standing classrooms, and 27 madrassas/maktabs. Several of the general education networks have made agreements with madrassas and use them as classrooms to teach academic subjects outside of religious schooling hours.
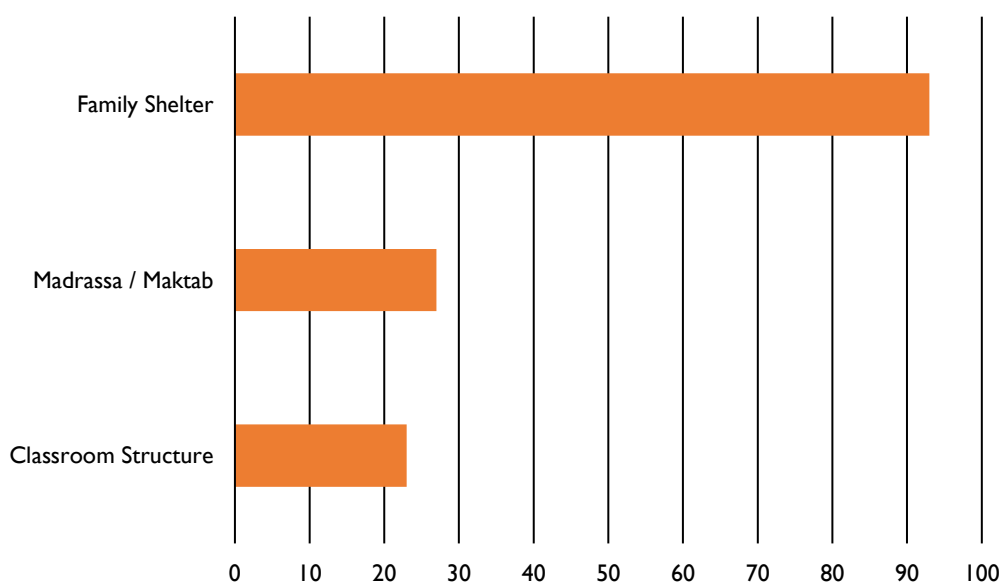
Figure 9: Chart. Number of structures currently in use by networks included in the survey (n=143)

- **Subjects:** English is the most commonly taught subject, taught by 25 of the 27 networks (92 percent), followed by Burmese and Mathematics. Bangla, the fourth most commonly taught subject, is mainly taught in the registered camp.[25]
  - o English – 25 respondents (92 percent)
  - o Burmese – 21 respondents (78 percent)
  - o Mathematics – 20 respondents (74 percent)
  - o Bangla – 8 respondents (30 percent)
  - o History – 5 respondents (19 percent)
  - o Geography – 4 respondents (15 percent)
  - o Physics – 3 respondents (11 percent)

A small number of networks also teach additional subjects including geometry, chemistry, world history, social science, economics, and art. The madrassa networks also teach religious subjects and languages including Arabic and Urdu.
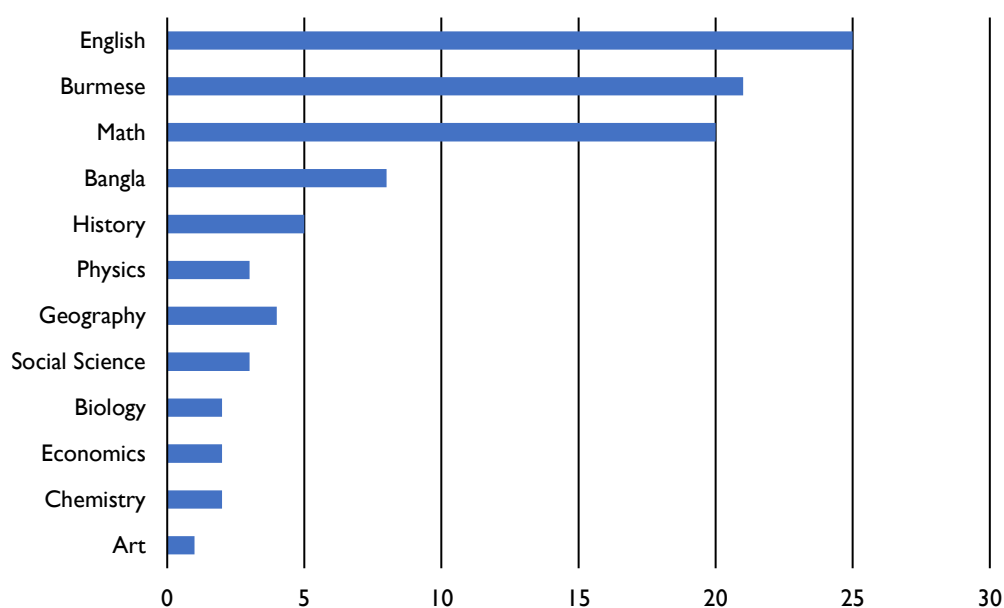
Figure 10: Chart. Networks included in the survey teaching different subjects (n=27)

- **Language of instruction:** Most networks use a combination of Burmese, English and Rohingya as mediums of instruction. All 27 networks use Rohingya to explain concepts and lecture students, while 21 also teach partially in English and 21 teach partially in Burmese. Within some networks, teachers who were previously government schoolteachers in Myanmar were accustomed to teaching in the Rakhine language, and use it as a medium of instruction as well.[26] Four networks also use Bangla during instruction; all of these are networks run by registered refugees.

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[25] New refugees are not permitted by the Government of Bangladesh to learn Bangla and frequently state that they are uninterested in learning it, as they remain focused on looking toward repatriation. Registered refugees did not face these same restrictions and continue to teach Bangla, though some say they have received instructions from camp authorities to stop doing so. It is not clear whether there has been a formal policy shift regarding Bangla language instruction for registered refugees.

[26] Most students who were enrolled in government schools prior to 2012 also learned in the Rakhine language, as many of their teachers and peers were of Rakhine ethnicity. After 2012, apartheid-like conditions greatly reduced the number of Rakhine teachers instructing Rohingya school children.

- **Class schedule:** 21 networks run according to a full-time class schedule, teaching 5 or 6 days per week, while 6 others teach part-time, in the early morning and evening. This is because many teachers have full-time NGO volunteer jobs, so classes are frequently offered between 6 to 8am and again after 4pm, with some going as late as 9 or 10pm.
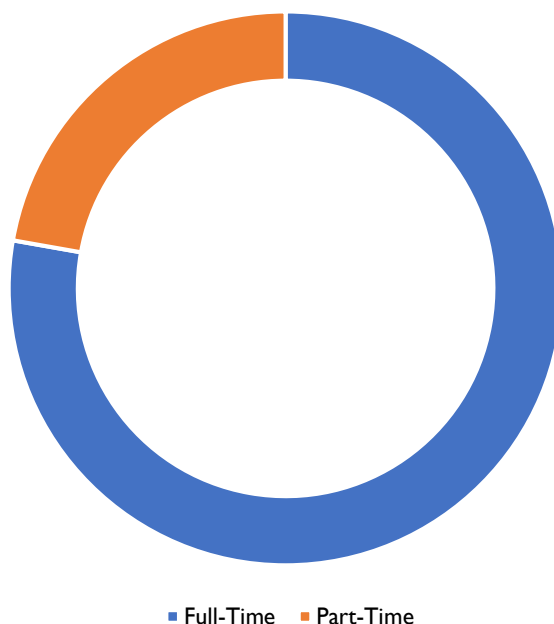
■ Full-Time ■ Part-Time

Figure 11: Chart. Networks operating under full-time and part-time teaching schedules (n=27)

- **Attendance:** Student attendance rates are generally high and consistent, with most respondents reporting an absentee rate of 5 to 10 percent. The most common reasons for truancy were children being busy with tasks such as collecting rations, working odd jobs, illness, and attending child friendly spaces. Collecting rations was the most common reason cited.

- **Teaching and learning materials:** Amongst most networks, material resources are scarce. In 25 networks, teachers have textbooks to reference for teaching, but far fewer have teacher's guides. In 22 networks, some or all students have their own textbooks, which in most cases families have purchased at a camp print shop.[27] Several students often share a single copy of a textbook. The Myanmar government curriculum is by far the most commonly used set of textbooks.

   In only nine networks students have stationary and school supplies, and only in 10 networks do teachers have whiteboards or blackboards. In some cases, a donor provided an initial set of materials as a one-time donation.

- **Remuneration:** In 12 of the networks, teachers receive no pay; in some cases, these teachers are unwilling to accept payment because they wish to provide a free service to the

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[27] There is at least one print shop in camp in the business of printing copies of the Myanmar government curriculum. The shopkeeper was targeted in an April 2019 crackdown by authorities on camp shops where electronic equipment was being used.

community. In other cases, teachers would accept payment but teach the children of poor families who have not been able to pay anything.

The other 15 networks report that their teachers do earn at least some income from teaching services; teacher income ranges from 1,000 to 10,000 BDT per month (3,000 BDT per month is typical) – but varies based on parents' ability to contribute during a given month. Parents typically pay between 50 to 200 BDT per child per month (0.60 to 2.50 USD).

In 18 of the networks, some or all teachers hold other jobs – mostly as NGO volunteers and shopkeepers. They earn between 6,000 to 15,000 BDT per month (70 to 180 USD) for these other jobs.

■ Do Not Receive Pay   ■ Receive Pay
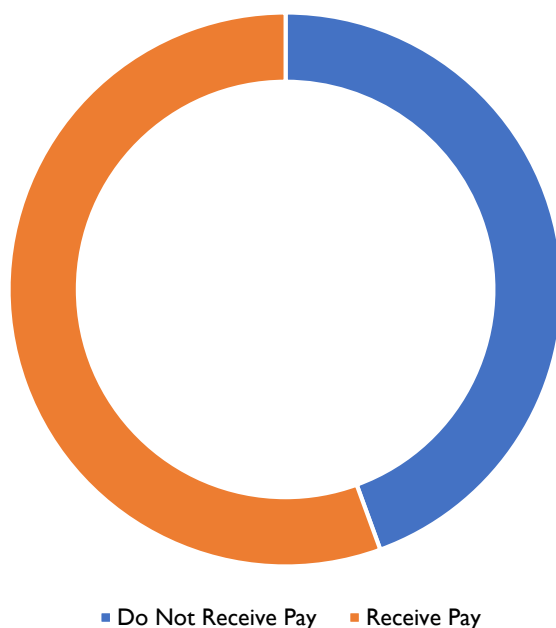
Figure 12: Chart. Networks with paid and unpaid teachers (n=27)

- **Teaching wages in Myanmar:** The average private tutor's earnings before displacement were similar to what they currently earn, with the average income around 220,000 MMK per month (170 USD). Many of the most experienced teachers earned between 300,000 to 400,000 MMK per month in Myanmar (230–300 USD) and earn far less at present. Myanmar government schoolteachers earned salaries of 100 USD or less and supplemented their incomes by privately tutoring groups of paying students after school, earning between 600–1,800 USD/month.

- **Teaching experience:** Six networks are comprised of registered refugees who have spent most or all of their lives in Bangladesh; some have taught in the camps for over 15 years. The 21 other networks, comprised of non-registered new refugees, unanimously report that all teachers had worked as educators in Myanmar. In many networks, teachers come from a mix of teaching backgrounds and have varying levels of experience. The networks of new refugees include teachers who were previously government schoolteachers; others

who were private tutors or volunteered as community teachers; and others who taught within religious networks.[28]

- o 12 networks include teachers who were government schoolteachers.[29]
- o 19 networks include teachers who worked as private tutors or volunteer community teachers
- o 5 networks include teachers who taught academic subjects within madrassas and maktabs in Myanmar.

- **Teacher training:** Teachers in 18 networks have received limited teacher training. It is not clear whether every teacher in those 18 networks has received teacher training, or only some. Some attended short courses run by NGOs in Myanmar or in the registered camps. Only those who worked as government schoolteachers undertook comprehensive teacher training.

  Of the 18 networks whose teachers have received training, four were trained in Myanmar government teacher colleges; 11 received teacher training from NGOs or UN agencies; and three undertook Islamic teacher training. Nearly all networks said they would like to receive teacher training, especially on internationally recognized teaching methodologies.

- NGO Teacher Training
- No Teacher Training
- Government Teacher College
- Religious Teacher Training
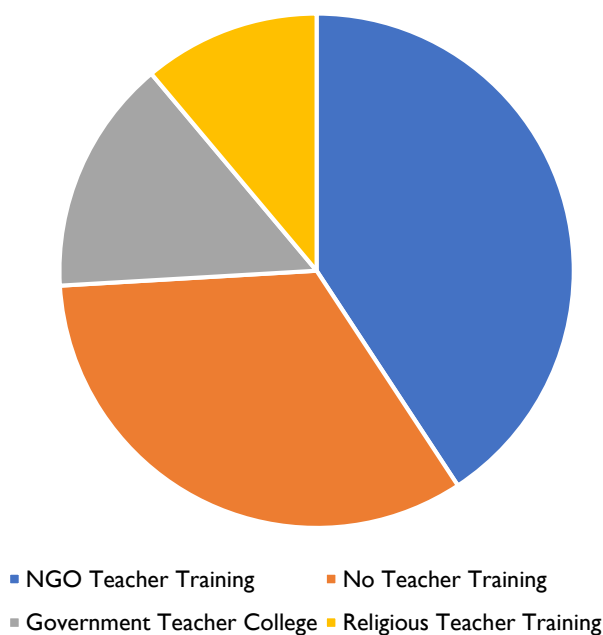
Figure 13: Chart. Networks whose teachers have received teacher training from religious institutions, NGOs, government teacher colleges, or have not received teacher training (n=27)

- **External relations and support:** Six networks said they have received one-time or sporadic financial support from donors overseas. Of these, three received funding from a U.S.-based foundation. One of these three also received occasional support from a U.K.-based foundation for school supplies and construction costs after conducting a discrete outreach effort via social media. The others received support from unidentified donors. In general,

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[28] Networks appear to have assembled due to the social relations of member teachers, and not along the lines of distinct teaching backgrounds. Therefore, in any given network there may be teachers from a variety of teaching backgrounds and levels of experience.

[29] Former government schoolteachers are generally regarded as the most senior and experienced.

the networks apparently have limited engagement with Rohingya diaspora support groups and minimal access to international funding. This is likely due to limited capacities to manage grants, lack of access to banks, and the regulations of the Bangladesh NGO Affairs Bureau, which limits donor funding to NGOs that have undergone a registration process that refugees cannot undertake.

■ Have Not Received Donor Support   ■ Have Received Donor Support
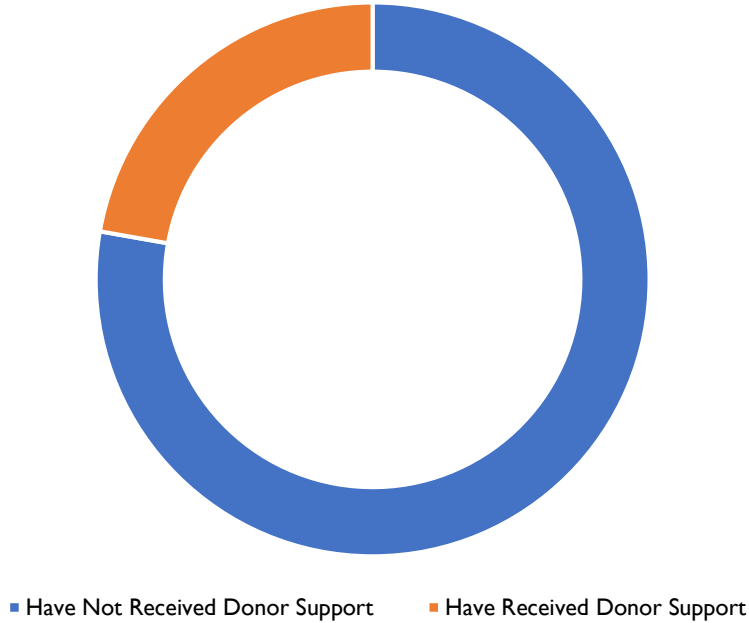
Figure 14: Chart. Networks receiving one-time or sporadic support from donors (n=27)

Only two out of the 27 networks included in the survey reported having an ongoing relationship with an NGO in the camps, though neither acknowledged receiving financial or material support from those NGOs. Nearly all networks said they would like to have a relationship with NGOs if it meant they could receive support in the form of funding, materials, and teacher training.

■ Do Not Have A Relationship With An NGO   ■ Have A Relationship With An NGO
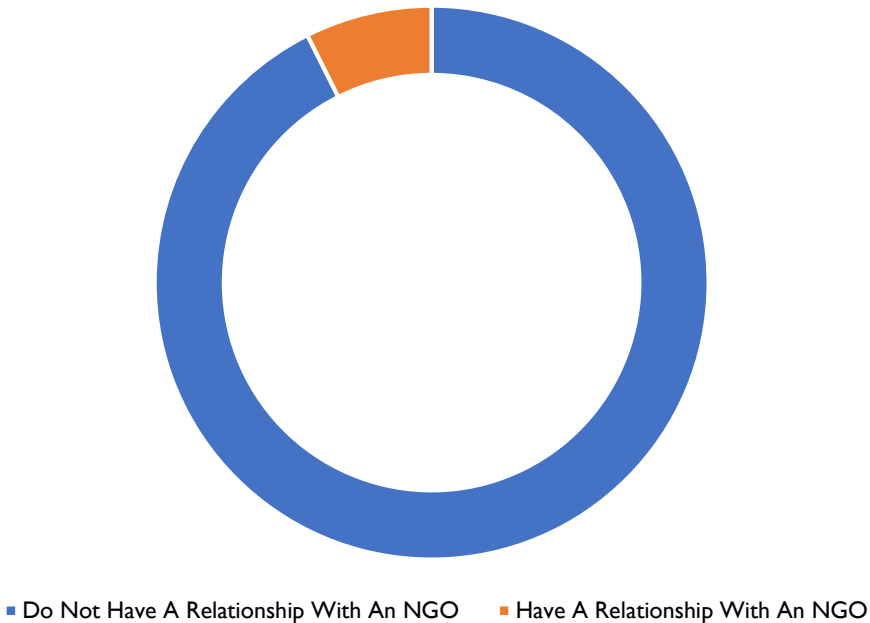
Figure 15: Chart. Networks with relationships with NGOs working in the camps (n=27)

15 networks say camp authorities are aware of their teaching activities and allow them to teach openly despite the lack of formal authorization. The remaining 12 say camp authorities are unaware of their activities. Each of these 12 said they would like to have government permission in order to teach openly. There is no known instance in which authorities are aware of the network but have prohibited it to conduct teaching activities.
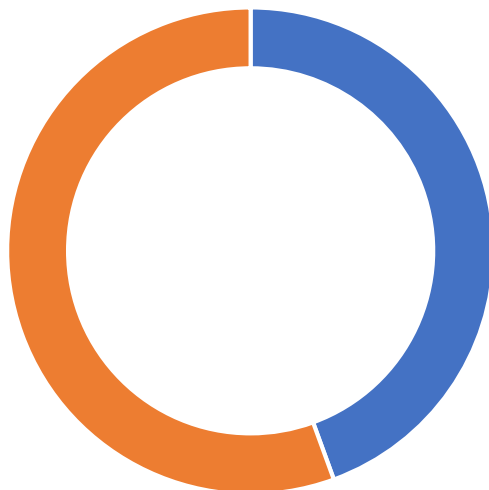
- Authorities Not Aware, but Network Would like Authorities to Be Aware of and Permit Their Activities

- Camp Authorities Aware of and Permit Activities

Figure 16: Chart. Authority awareness about the existence of networks (n=27)

2. Perceptions, Needs, and Recommendations of Camp Educators

The following sections highlight themes that emerged from the interviews as issues of critical importance amongst respondents. The quotes included at the top of each section have been selected because they are illustrative of common perspectives shared by numerous respondents on each topic. (Details about each network and which members participated as interview respondents are included in the Appendix.)

2.1. Role of Community-Led Education

Many respondents spoke at length about the importance of refugee-led education. They place a strong value on the community's ability to educate its own children and locate a sense of dignity in contributing to camp education. They see community-led education as helping prevent the frightening prospect of a "lost generation" of youth. They also see themselves as bearing the burden of raising community awareness on the importance of education. Education is a highly politicized topic and seen as having the potential to improve the likelihood of future repatriation. By providing education, educated refugees feel that they are fulfilling a sense of civic duty toward the overall betterment of the community. These findings are discussed in detail in the sections below.

2.1.1. Preventing a Lost Generation While Preparing for Repatriation

> "[When we were still in Myanmar], we wanted to really think about how to improve our poor community. No government teachers came to teach our children after 2012, and we all volunteered to teach in order to avoid a lost generation. So when we arrived to Bangladesh we already had a platform. We were thinking that we need to keep going here and created a volunteer-run learning center."
>
> — *Khin Maung, Central Committee Member, Rohingya Community Development Committee*

Respondents widely expressed fear that the lack of formal education in the camps is creating a "lost generation" of youth. They are concerned that the younger generation will lack the ability to speak Burmese and thus be unable to participate as Myanmar citizens in the future, an additional impediment that would exacerbate the other daunting political problems. According to this view, students need to continue using the Myanmar government curriculum so that they can stay at grade level and reintegrate into Myanmar schools after repatriation. This exposes the relative optimism of many Rohingya refugees, who still hope they will be able to return to Myanmar in the near future despite the skepticism of many international and Bangladeshi observers regarding the likelihood of timely repatriation.

Those who acknowledge the possibility of remaining in the camps for many years place no lesser value on the importance of following the Myanmar government curriculum. Some respondents

were aware that the Thai and Myanmar governments eventually worked out a bilateral agreement under which refugee youth living in refugee camps on the Thai side of the border were permitted to take the high school matriculation exam and have their results accredited by Myanmar. According to one civil society leader who also oversees an education network:

> There are Myanmar refugees in Thailand. I heard they were allowed to study [using the Myanmar curriculum]. They even take the Myanmar matriculation exam. So, why not us? To get education rights took them a long time. If it took 10 years for them, it may take 30 years for us.[30] [31]

Respondents also cited Myanmar's policy of administering placement tests for returning refugee students from Thailand for reintegration into government schools after repatriation, and explained that UNICEF issued education certificates to Rohingya who repatriated from Bangladesh in 1993. "Students have to be able to keep up at grade level. If they can read Burmese they will be allowed back into school. We consider the denial of our education rights as genocide by a technicality," said one respondent.[32]

2.1.2. Promoting the Value of Education

> "Quality education provides the outcomes needed for individuals, communities, and societies to prosper."
>
> – Bangladesh Rohingya Student Union representative

Many of the educators spoke of their efforts to raise awareness about the importance of education within the refugee community. Despite most refugees' lack of access to educational opportunities, the teachers nonetheless felt they had a duty to promote the value of education in the community so that families could at least come to value, if not access, education. Many spoke of the role of education in helping young people develop positive values and learn to distinguish right from wrong. Many interviewees defined "quality education" in two distinct ways: systematic, formal academic training on one hand, and on the other, guidance to develop moral character.

Most respondents equated quality education with systematized, rigorous learning: "Quality education means systematic grade promotion after achieving competencies class by class."[33] In terms of the role of education in human development, a respondent from Local Education Network defined quality education as:

> Anything that will be helpful for a child in every part of his or her life. It means building skills. For younger children reading, writing, understanding, communicating. But for older students Grades 5–6 and above, those four skills are not enough. They need to learn the skills that will prepare them for everything in the world.[34]

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[30] Interview with Arakan Rohingya Society for Peace and Human Rights, Camp 1, March 2019.

[31] For an overview of Thai refugee education policy and Myanmar refugees' access to Myanmar government education in Thailand, see: Dare, Aoife. Beyond Access: Refugee Students' Experiences of Myanmar State Education. Save the Children, January 2015.

https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/SCI_Beyond_Access_Report.pdf

[32] Comment during validation workshop, Camp 1, 2 May 2019.

[33] Interview with community education network, Camp 1, March 2019.

[34] Phone interview with Local Education Network, Cox's Bazar, May 2019.

Figure 17: Photo. Community awareness raising on education. Rohingya Community Development Campaign founding member Khin Maung delivers a motivational speech on the value of education. (Source: Khin Maung)

Another respondent stated, "Quality education means we learn in school how to live as complete human beings."[35] Many respondents spoke of their efforts to raise awareness about education and schooling throughout the community, and organize weekly or monthly parent meetings to give motivational speeches about the importance of regular attendance and participation. Some feel that the community previously valued education more highly, but that this value receded over the last several decades of persecution and hardship that left many families impoverished and struggling for daily survival. As "educated persons", many respondents expressed deep sympathy for more vulnerable refugees' inability to support their children's education, and stressed that all families would eagerly support their children's education if they had the means.

2.1.3. Maintaining a Sense of Belonging to Myanmar

> "We want to use the Myanmar curriculum because we will have to go back to our native place and follow that system."
>
> – Zahaydullah, youth leader, Rohingya Youth for Legal Action

Rohingya refugees view education access as an important component of their greater struggle for human rights and citizenship. While their access to Myanmar state institutions was restricted in innumerable ways, children's participation in the Myanmar government education system was one of the most common – and perhaps most positively valued – ways in which Rohingya were exposed to and experienced a sense of belonging to a broader Myanmar culture.

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[35] Interview with madrassa education network leader, Camp 10, April 2019.

The graduation certificates issued to students by the Ministry of Education as documentation of their academic enrollment and progress constitute an important paper trail proving residency. The government education system was the key way in which Rohingya children were exposed to the Burmese language, learned about Myanmar history, and engaged with their peers from other ethnic groups despite the rising inter-communal tensions in their midst.

Many refugees continue to view the Myanmar curriculum and Ministry of Education in a positive light, and are eager to continue participating in the system. According to Salahuddin, the principal of Pioneer High School (345 students) and a veteran government high school principal:

> *It would be good for all refugees in Bangladesh if the government here could negotiate with the Myanmar Ministry of Education to issue certificates to us year by year and continue recognizing students now that we are in Bangladesh. Only the Ministry of Education can provide certificates. We really trust the Myanmar Ministry of Education. The Education Minister has even allowed the remaining Rohingya students in Myanmar to take the matriculation exam this year.*[36]

Many Rohingya strongly reject the label of "stateless" – pointing out, "We have a state. Our state is Myanmar."[37] However, they fear that babies born and children raised in the camps will be rendered effectively stateless. One factor driving this fear is that there is to date no birth certificate process, and many babies are not counted;[38] a birth certificate is required documentation for government school enrollment in both Myanmar and Bangladesh. Accordingly, ongoing participation in the Myanmar government curriculum is seen as a significant way for Rohingya youth to maintain an institutional link and sense of belonging to Myanmar.

> "We may repatriate before long. For example, my daughter is six years old. So we need formal education for her to keep progressing alongside the Myanmar education system."
>
> *– Chekufa, leader of Rohingya Women Empowerment and Advocacy Network*

The need to maintain this link is felt with a sense of urgency. One respondent declared that "blocking us from using the Myanmar government curriculum and learning Burmese means that NGOs are helping Myanmar commit genocide against us."[39] Another respondent commented:

> *Part of genocide is the immediate effect of violence, killings, and torture. But at least this can be short term. I feel that an entire community losing access to education will complete the genocide in the long term. What will become of our entire culture if we have a generation of children denied education over many years?*[40]

In addition to the importance placed on using the Myanmar curriculum, many respondents stated that learning both Burmese and English is critical. "We need Burmese because it is our national

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[36] Interview with community leader, Camp 7, April 2019.

[37] Interview with community leader, Camp 1, March 2019.

[38] Arnpriester, Natasha. Saving Newborn Rohingya from a Legal Abyss. Open Society Foundations, 10 August 2018. https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/saving-newborn-rohingya-legal-abyss

[39] Interview with community education leader, Camp 1, March 2019.

[40] Phone interview with community education leader, Cox's Bazar, April 2019.

language, and we need English because it is the international language," said one teacher from Rohingya Learning and Education Centre.[41]

2.1.4. Fulfilling a Sense of Civic Duty

> "The orchard of our community needs to survive and by watering the seeds of the children we can survive as a community. We will keep teaching here to avoid losing our next generation's education."
>
> *– Former government high school principal, Temporary Learning Center*

Many of the respondents have other NGO volunteer jobs and dedicate the early morning and evening to providing formal education to students. They expressed that this was tiring, but felt it necessary to teach outside of NGO jobs, as they do not believe that children's formal education needs are being adequately met by NGOs.

Teachers who join the networks do so primarily out of a sense of civic duty and did not express feeling any external pressure to do so. They send updates and photos about their teaching activities to WhatsApp groups with other network members; these groups function as shared spaces to provide support and encouragement to one another, and have mutual accountability.

While some networks (including Community Rebuilding Centre and Pioneer High School in particular) function under detailed administrative procedures, in most cases there is no oversight over administrative tasks such as management, lesson planning, or discipline. Rather, each member runs his/her own classroom independently, usually from home but sometimes from a madrassa or dedicated classroom structure. The network members typically meet occasionally, stay in touch via WhatsApp several times a week, and are friends from Myanmar or from living in the same camp.

2.2. Material, training, and general needs

The lack of funding and resources is a constant source of pressure for the networks. This affects teacher livelihoods, ability to maintain facilities, and availability of books and school supplies for teachers and students. The lack of teacher training presents an additional limiting factor.

2.2.1. Lack of Access to Funding

> "Funding is the biggest challenge. Students have left because NGOs give them some items despite the lack of formal education. It is shameful for us… Our schools are still running but will probably stop this month. Teachers are going to go for other jobs. So there still will not be formal education in the camps despite our best efforts."
>
> *– Mohibullah, chairman, Arakan Rohingya Society for Peace and Human Rights*

Financial hardship was cited by many respondents as a challenge, and the main limiting factor they face. As the networks cannot formally register as NGOs in Bangladesh, according to NGO

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[41] Interview with Rohingya Learning and Education Center, Camp 2, March 2019.

Affairs Bureau policy they are officially ineligible to receive funding from overseas donors. This bars the networks from accessing opportunities for funding, despite the cost-effectiveness of their programs. Therefore, many teachers have full-time NGO volunteer jobs that they rely on to provide a crucial source of income for their families. Respondents suggested that educated community members are missing out on the opportunity to focus on leading and educating their community, because they depend on working long hours as subordinate volunteers for various NGO programs. According to Salahuddin of Pioneer High School:

> *Our biggest challenge is that we have no funding. We want to give a monthly salary of 15,000 BDT per teacher (180 USD) but we can't afford to. We collect some fees from parents and distribute payment to teachers. Sometimes it only amounts to 2,000 or 3,000 BDT per teacher. Currently, for three months our teachers haven't been paid. One teacher has received 2,500 BDT total from us in the past six months. We need a budget of 250,000 BDT per month (3,000 USD). Then we could manage it all. It would be mostly for salaries.[42]*

There are several ways in which the community overcomes the lack of funds. Many families pay as little as 50 BDT (0.60 USD) per month to keep a student enrolled, though an investment of several dollars per semester is typically also needed to buy items like pens, pencil, notebooks, and clothing. Respondents stated that many students within the networks attend CFSs free of charge during the day, but many parents still strive to support their enrollment in academic classes within the community networks by morning and evening. "Students only go to CFSs to get a [high nutrition] biscuit," several respondents agreed during the validation workshop.

2.2.2. Interest in Teacher Training

Some of the teachers had taken a teacher training course in Myanmar or the camp, but few have completed a thorough training process or degree. The elder government schoolteachers were generally of the opinion that the Myanmar government curriculum is "equally rigorous to the Bangladesh and many other countries' national curriculum",[43] though many younger teachers spoke of their desire to receive more rigorous teacher training and exposure to international pedagogical approaches. A youth leader working with Rohingya Youth for Legal Action said, "We have heard of student-centered learning, but we are not sure what it is."[44]

Whether they were employed in government schools or worked as private tutors in Myanmar, few teachers of the younger generation have been exposed to formal education concepts and standards beyond those imparted in the Myanmar system, which emphasizes rote learning and memorization and has not yet been adapted to meet standards in student-centered learning, though a long-term reform process is underway. In the words of one respondent, "The teachers could use international training. We know that the Myanmar curriculum also is not up to the international standard."[45]

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[42] Interview with Pioneer High School, Camp 1, March 2019.

[43] Comment during validation workshop, 2 May 2019.

[44] Interview with RYLA, Camp 1, March 2019.

[45] Interview with Pioneer High School, Camp 7, April 2019.

2.3. General Views on Education and Students' Needs

The respondents emphasized the need for learning opportunities across all age groups, including children, youth, and adults, and shared their definitions of what constitutes quality education. They also shared a range of views on madrassa-based and girls' education. These views shed light on the limitations faced by girls and indicate a need for greater engagement and more research to understand community perspectives on gender-inclusive education.

2.3.1. Emphasis on Need for Systematic Grade Promotion Using Myanmar Curriculum

> "Education is in every country – quality education is education that is defined and provided by a government education ministry. We need quality education to be formally qualified in the future. So everyone has the right to get quality education."
>
> – *Member of a volunteer network of young women teachers*

When asked what constitutes quality academic education, many respondents emphasized the importance of clear standards for grade promotion, grade-segregated classrooms, and adherence to a formal curriculum. This underscores how within Myanmar, education is seen as a gateway for not only access to higher learning and job opportunities, but also for social status and community leadership.

The high value placed on systematic, formal education frames respondents' largely negative views about child friendly spaces (CFSs), learning centers (LCs), and the GIEP. Respondents also expressed various misconceptions and lack of clarity about the GIEP and the likely level of formality that will take shape as camp education planning progresses. Receiving a standard education in adherence to the Myanmar government curriculum is seen as the only viable pathway toward future professional success. The majority of respondents said they were not interested in being trained on using the new curriculum. According to a member of one network:

> *If our students learn this curriculum there will not be progress or changes to our situation. We don't know how this curriculum would be useful. The Burmese curriculum is useful for students because we learned it ourselves. And one day we have to return to our country, so we need to stay caught up. Yes, it's not an international standard curriculum or education system but Myanmar is trying to change this system now. There is an education reform process. So we should stick with it. After these students arrived here to camp they stopped progressing through the system. They should keep going with what they were used to.[46]*

Most respondents have heard about the GIEP in passing, but lacked clear information about it and, in the words of one senior teacher, feel "fuzzy on the details."[47] One respondent cut short the conversation when the GIEP was raised: "We want to suggest to please not make this new curriculum. We have no other comment on it."[48] According to another respondent from Dual Education Project for Rohingya:

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[46] Interview with Popular Computer Learning Center, Camp 1, March 2019.

[47] Interview with Madrassa Education Network, Nayapara Registered Camp, April 2019.

[48] Interview with Rohingya Community Development Campaign, Camp 7, March 2019.

We would like to use the Myanmar curriculum, not a new curriculum, because the new curriculum is not developed according to the same style as the Myanmar curriculum. We do believe that one day we will back to Myanmar – then what should our students do? Thus the Myanmar curriculum will be very helpful for us.[49]

Others were more understanding about the need for a new curriculum, but were again unclear about the details. One respondent commented:

I heard that this curriculum will be only for language instruction – Burmese and English. NGOs made a new curriculum instead of using the Myanmar curriculum. We heard that some senior NGO staff appealed to the Myanmar government to use their curriculum here, but Myanmar refused because they say Rohingya are not from there. So that is why the NGOs and government have had to create a new curriculum.[50]

During the validation workshop, education leaders debated whether Bangladesh had attempted to get Myanmar's permission to use the curriculum. "Why do NGOs have difficulty using the Myanmar curriculum? Did Myanmar really refuse this during negotiations? We have never seen any media coverage showing that this point was ever discussed. We want clear proof about why it is not being used."[51]

> "Quality education means grade promotion after achieving competencies class by class."
>
> *– Anonymous leader of a Private Center*

Camp educators may be open to utilizing the new curriculum, particularly if doing so opens up opportunities for teacher training and partnerships. Registered refugees were somewhat more positive about the new curriculum because they saw it as a potential opportunity to learn Burmese and prepare for eventual repatriation. One commented that registered refugees had always been educated in the Bangla language previously, but since the 2017 influx they had been told by authorities that this would no longer be permitted, creating a sense of confusion about which languages to pursue.

There is a risk that, due to the lack of consultation and absence of efforts to get refugee leaders' buy-in to accept the new curriculum, they could reject it and the issue could become a flashpoint for renewed tensions between camp leaders and humanitarian agencies. This has occurred around prior refugee policy decisions with political implications that have been undertaken without thorough community consultation and a confidence-building process, most notably the smart card process described in the background section.[52]

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[49] Interview with Dual Education Program for Rohingya, Camp 18, April 2019.

[50] Interview with Education for Rohingya Children, Camp 1, March 2019.

[51] Comment by Rohingya Community Development Campaign member during validation workshop about study results, May 2019.

[52] Ahmed, Kaamil. 'In Bangladesh, a Rohingya strike highlights growing refugee activism.' *The New Humanitarian*, 27 November 2018. https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2018/11/27/bangladesh-rohingya-strike-highlights-growing-refugee-activism

2.3.2. Difficulty Providing Education to Girls

Conservative social norms and strict interpretations of religious teachings mean that girls face many restrictions on movement and education once they reach adolescence. Because of this, very few girl students above age 12 are enrolled in the networks surveyed. Despite reporting 32 percent female enrollment, only a very small number of girls study within community education initiatives beyond Grades 1 and 2. (The study did not specifically track the percentage of girls enrolled at each grade.) Many respondents said they would welcome the support of agencies to help them mainstream girls' education and increase participation.

> "The challenge is to get girl students. You know – our community is not allowing their daughters to go outside. It is difficult to get girl students, but not impossible. We advocate that both girls and boys need education and are equal, have equal rights to education. We negotiate with parents by telling them that their daughters can be a big success around the world and that girls have equal rights to boys all around the world. We explain that if our mothers are not educated then who can educate us? Then they begin to understand."
>
> *– Member, Rohingya Learning Education Center*

While many of the network leaders acknowledged the need for the community to embrace girls' education, they had undertaken limited measures to improve girls' enrollment in their own programs. Many felt unable to overcome deeply entrenched attitudes and were sympathetic to the fact that many families could only manage to invest in education for one child and thus chose a son: "We know it is an issue. We want to improve education access for girls. But at the moment, what can we do? We are all just struggling to survive," said one respondent.[53]

Views about girls' education were mixed and not always straightforward. During an interview with a group of respondents from one network, various theories were voiced: "By nature, men are meant to struggle in the outside world, and by nature women are meant to stay inside the home and kitchen." "The classrooms are not well furnished, so girls cannot come." "The class is crowded and girls do not want to have to sit so close to boys." "It is somehow related to our traditional religious culture," said another. Yet another stated, "We don't know why girls do not come to study. That is their own problem."[54]

Numerous respondents made statements similar to one teacher who declared, "There is absolutely no gender discrimination in our community. We Rohingya never discriminate against anyone."[55] Another said, "We never discriminate. But we have the right to follow our Islamic religious traditions."[56] The conflation of gender exclusion as a cultural right indicates the difficult task ahead in mainstreaming girls' education and merits attention. Such comments highlight the need to engage moderate religious scholars who can help promote secular education for girls.

One respondent, who had helped refer female candidates to apply for Asian University for Women shared the difficulties he had faced despite promoting a 5-year, 75,000 USD full scholarship that would provide a transformational education to women. He invited 15 relatively

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[53] Comment during validation workshop, Camp 1, 2 May 2019.
[54] Interview with community education network, Camp 6, April 2019.
[55] Interview with community education network, Camp 7, April 2019.
[56] Ibid.

educated women to sit for the scholarship interview, but only 6 showed up. Even though AUW is a women's-only university, the fact that the girls would likely have to travel several times between Chittagong and Cox's Bazar over the five-year course of study meant that families forbade them to apply.

2.3.3. Madrassa Educators: Wide Acceptance of Academic Subjects

The religious leaders interviewed include the head imams of two large madrassa education networks, comprised of numerous madrassas and engaging nearly 2,000 students in total.[57] The head imam of the largest network acknowledged that students "are actually more interested to attend the academic sections than the Arabic classes, and also their guardians are very interested in having them attend both."[58] He felt that it was important for madrassas to offer basic academic education and believes that nearly all are doing so. Relatively better amenities are available in madrassas, so the imam felt a sense of civic duty to make his spaces available for general education: "Here there are no suitable facilities for education. That's why madrassas are a very good place to offer academic educational programming."[59]

At the same time, the imam recognized that the 41 teachers in his network of 13 madrassas were limited in their ability to deliver academic instruction, and were more confident in their capacity for religious teaching. "We can provide quality education in terms of religious education, because we are providing all subjects according to the official Madrassa Education Board. But in terms of general academic education, we can't yet provide it with high quality because we haven't received adequate teacher training."[60]

The head imam was also supportive of girls' education and realized the need to provide separate facilities in order for girls to continue their educations after adolescence. He remarked, "[Girls] can access every activity in our organization...We have two separate madrassas for women who are over age 12, so that everyone can access academic sections. Some boys who are under 12 are also studying with those older girls, but they cannot study side by side once the boys reach age 12."[61] This imam's tolerant stance is not necessarily the norm. Perhaps taking a more conservative stance, the head imam of a different network commented, "Girls are able to take part in every activity of our madrassa. But this is only for those who are under 12 years, because our religious law mentions that females cannot attend madrassa after age 12."[62]

A tradition of community support amongst the Rohingya ensures that male youth can pursue madrassa studies. Many madrassa students board at the madrassa, sleeping many to a room. This is felt to be advantageous, as imams can provide structure, moral instruction and overall support around the clock. Some boarders live too far to commute to the madrassa every day, but many others live quite nearby and board at the madrassa simply as a matter of preference. In order to ensure the students are fed, imams request families living adjacent to the madrassa to serve as a surrogate family. In a practice known as *zagir* (Ar. *zahir*), each student visits his adoptive family to take breakfast and dinner each day, skipping lunch. It is considered honorable for a family to be able to participate in *zagir*, although there is no stigma against poor families who are unable to

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[57] The views of the madrassa network representatives interviewed for this study are generally concurrent with those of the other networks; this section summarizes the views of the madrassa network representatives on a set of additional questions asked specifically in regards to madrassa-based academic education.

[58] Interview with madrassa education leader, Nayapara Registered Camp, April 2019.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

participate. It is a way to demonstrate status and to earn the community's respect. In turn, a well-off family might be looked down upon for failing to provide *zagir*.[63]

2.4. Perceptions of Camp Education

Many respondents became visibly upset when asked about their views on the current state of camp education. Many believe that NGOs are responsible for failing to implement formal education programming, and have limited information about the ongoing policy limitations. They are also concerned about the lack of consultation with community education leaders by the education sector and policy makers.

2.4.1. Concerns Regarding Camp Education Agencies and CFSs

The study was introduced to respondents as an analysis of informal education networks; many noticed and disagreed with this descriptor, explaining that their educational approach is formal in comparison to the informal learning activities delivered by camp agencies. Respondents believe that the role of CFSs is to provide a recreational "play space" for "children to make friends." They doubt the capacity of NGO teachers to teach even the most basic literacy skills, and alleged that many of these NGO teachers are themselves illiterate and therefore incapable of delivering formal education. According to one anonymous respondent:

> [One education agency] is running many shelter schools. They hired many women and men who cannot even write the alphabet. I can prove to you that some of those teachers cannot write so much as their own names. [This NGO] coordinated with majhis to recruit these people so of course the majhis all recommended their own wives. They lied about the literacy of their wives.

> NGOs are lying to the international community, saying they are giving education, but this is not true. We want to stop CFSs completely and reallocate the funding to real education. No one is happy with this system. On social media [implementing agencies] and others are always boasting that there is quality education in camps. We want to speak up more loudly against all this, but we are afraid to be arrested.[64]

The same respondent went on to claim:

> There is a significant misuse of the funds provided by international community. They are not used effectively for equipping our future generation, our children. [Many leading education providers] – they all post their signboards in front of CFSs but just have kids play with toys. They don't give any systematic grade-level teaching. They have finished a year of teaching but there is no system for upgrading and passing the kids to the next grade levels.

> Education is for all, according to the UN, so why not for the Rohingya community? We would like to coordinate with the government and human rights organizations to change the system. The community should be consulted as stakeholders. These include

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63 Overview of zagir system provided by RYLA member in informal conversation, Cox's Bazar, May 2019.
64 Interview with community education leader, Camp 1, March 2019.

people such as educated gentlemen, majhis*, imams, and teachers. All educated persons frequently talk with each other about the poor status of education and the misuse of funds. We are upset.*

Amongst respondents there was a strong sense that they are filling the gap in formal education left by NGOs. Some believed that this gap is due to misspending and wrongful prioritization of CFSs and LCs over formal schools, rather than the result of a policy issue over which NGOs and the UN have limited control. One respondent remarked that the Bangladesh government relies on NGOs for funding the response, so would allow them to provide formal education were they to advocate for it properly. Another respondent was aware of the policy issues, but argued that NGOs had not advocated enough to overcome the current restrictions:

> *Parents are all criticizing CFSs and learning centers – saying they are destroying our children's future. People blame NGOs – we know it is due to the government's policy, but still NGOs should discuss things with us and stand on our side. NGOs should realize our needs and help raise the voice of the community, and help us arrange coordination meetings with the government. This would be more helpful. We don't necessarily need to close CFSs, but we need to upgrade them into formal schools.*[65]

Another respondent expressed his concern regarding the lack of secondary and higher education for children and youth:

> *There are so many high school students – at least 5,000 – in the camps. There are at least 20,000 middle school students. No one is planning for their education or thinking of doing anything for them. We know that education is for all human beings, so why not for our children?*

> *NGOs are not providing us our rights. They are committing human rights violations and contributing to genocide against us. This is the biggest genocide. Our next generation will be an illiterate lost generation. We don't want to lose our youth's potential. We want them to build our future. If NGOs advocate for our educational needs to the Bangladesh government, the government will allow it because they will make a ton of money off of NGOs and donors who will fund education.*[66]

Several respondents said they are convinced that sufficient human resources exist within the camp community to provide all the teachers necessary, but that many potential teachers are currently engaged in other sectors. According to one network member:

> *Educated youth don't work in CFSs because the wages are much lower than in the other NGO volunteer jobs they can get here. If they have a chance and can receive good payment they would prefer to work as teachers using the Myanmar curriculum. They would all leave their other jobs if so. They would need over 15,000 BDT per month to leave the other jobs. We have so many teachers who were teachers, trainers, even headmasters. If they were appointed as teacher trainers it would not be difficult to staff enough primary schools for all refugee children.*[67]

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[65] Interview with Rohingya Community Development Committee, Camp 7, March 2019.

[66] Interview with community education network, Camp 7, March 2019.

[67] Ibid.

2.4.2. Desire to Be Consulted and Involved in Education Planning

> "Please ask the education policy makers: Why did they not consult with us?"
>
> *– Former government school headmaster*

Only two of the networks surveyed had received material or financial support from NGOs working in the camps. Few had met or spoken with an NGO staff, and none had been consulted by the education sector to give inputs on education planning. The survey respondents included 5 of the 7 most senior government schoolteachers living in the camps, all previous high school headmasters who are highly regarded as veteran educators.

> "We have received no consultation at all."
>
> *– Community leader and educator, Arakan Rohingya Society for Peace and Human Rights*

These senior teachers see the lack of consultation as an insult. They spoke of how their former students, and even their students' students, had volunteer jobs within the education sector, but they had not even received a courtesy visit. This is seen as offending the dignity of refugees who have long been entrusted as education leaders within their own communities. In the words of one senior educator:

> *We invited NGOs many times for consultation. We also offered to translate their material properly into Burmese, but they never consult us; as a result their translations are all wrong. In my opinion they think we are nothing – they don't respect us. They don't even consult the most key people in our community.*[68]

As few NGO personnel have Burmese language skills, the elder teachers doubted the efficacy of the new curriculum drafting process, and said that even from afar they had observed shortcomings in the methodological approach taken to design the new material. When asked about the requests and recommendations they would raise with the education sector if given the opportunity, nearly every respondent commented that they wanted agencies to "consult with us about education planning before making any decisions."[69]

> "Our main recommendation is to make clear that we are here, ready and wanting to consult with education decision makers."
>
> *– Community education leader*

Many said they had heard rumors about the new curriculum, but had not received any updates or heard any announcements from the education sector. Some of the elder teachers derided the education sector as "doing good business" by getting unnecessary funding for CFSs, LCs and new curriculum drafting: "[NGOs] are not truly interested in our children's education; if they were they

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[68] Interview with Temporary Learning Centre, Camp 1, April 2019.
[69] Comment during validation workshop, Camp 1, 2 May 2019.

would consult us because we are the only experienced ones here who can make them fully understand how to teach Rohingya children. They didn't, so their new curriculum may not be successful."[70]

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[70] Interview with community education network, Camp 1, March 2019.

Conclusion

The camps of Cox's Bazar are defined by the scarcity of resources and the challenges refugees face to meet basic needs on a daily basis. As education agencies struggle to address the daunting lack of education for refugee children, the findings of this study call into question the extent to which they have systematically mapped and made efforts to reach out to the community educators operating in their midst. The importance of education access to refugees should not be underestimated – many respondents spoke with great passion about the prospect of an uneducated lost generation of their children as tantamount to the culmination of genocide. Education is a highly charged issue; community engagement on it should be undertaken proactively but with a high degree of sensitivity and care.

As described in the report, respondents working with general education networks, private centers, and madrassa education networks alike state that they believe themselves to hold a high level of trust and understanding within the broader community. Assuming that this claim is valid, this cadre of community educators represents a wellspring of potential support to help humanitarian agencies engage more children in educational activities, promote girls' education, advise the development of new curriculum, advise on general education planning, and help prevent a lost generation overall. The apparent lack of consultation and engagement with these networks thus far indicates that their potential contributions to formal education programming are being overlooked. This has fueled negative views amongst these networks toward camp education agencies. Thus, a confidence building process is needed to overcome tensions, clarify information, begin building trust, and identify areas for collaboration. Any possible support from humanitarian agencies for materials, funding, and training would be greatly valued, in addition to being extremely cost effective.

Moreover, these networks could constitute an important collective ally for the Bangladesh government, as community teachers remain resolute in their dedication to helping prepare the community for future repatriation to Myanmar through education. As they strive to maintain a sense of belonging and identity to Myanmar, education is one of few remaining links. Therefore, every effort should be made to ensure that refugee students have access to the Myanmar government curriculum, and that any new curriculum is developed in consultation with community education leaders. This is needed in order to gain their trust in the process and evaluate whether new materials are appropriately harmonized with the Myanmar government curriculum. This will help assuage anxieties that students are falling too far behind in the Myanmar system to ever catch up.

Appendix I:

Mapping of general education networks, private centers, and madrassa education networks surveyed

Sr.	Name of network	Respondents	Number of students	Camps where active
General education networks				
1	Arakan Rohingya Society for Peace and Human Rights (ARSPH)	Mr. Mohibullah and 3 other members	550	Camps 1W, 1E, 7, 11
2	Bangladesh Balukhali Golden Life (BBGL)	Mohammed Faruk	100	Camp 18
3	Bangladesh Rohingya Student Union (BRSU)	Mr. Nurul Hoque	164	Kutupalong Registered Camp
4	Community Rebuilding Center-Rohingya (CRCR)	Mr. Aburoshid	425	Camp 1, 9
5	Dual Education Program for Rohingya (DEPR)	Mr. Abotaher	300	Camp 18
6	Education for Rohingya Children (ERC)	Mr. Alom Shah	120	Camps 1, 3
7	Girls' Group (Unnamed)	Ms. Sabeku Nahar and 3 other members	45	Camp 8, 19, 3, 18, and 13
8	Local Education Network (LEN)	Anonymous founder based in Chittagong	350	Camp 1, 13, 14, 19
9	Pioneer High school (PHS)	Mr. Salahuddin, Shobbir, Abu, Alihussen and Anuwar Sadek	345	Camp 7
10	Popular Computer and Learning Center (PCLC)	Arfath, Abdullah @ Khin Maung Thein, and Anam	20	Camp 1E
11	Rohingya Children Youth Learning Center (RCYLC)	Mr. Hashim	196	Camp 2
12	Rohingya Community Development Campaign (RCDC)	Abdullah, Zawkreya and Hashmad	3300	Camps 8E, 9, 10 and 13
13	Rohingya Learning Education Center (RLEC)	Muhammad Rofique and Zahed Khan	288	Camps 11, 15
14	Rohingya Women Empowerment and Advocacy Network (RWEAN)	Ms. Chekufa	125	Camp 6 1E, 1W, 2, 3, 5, 6, 14
15	Rohingya Youth for Legal Action (RYLA)	Mr. Sho Pique, Roshid and Zahaydullah	934	Throughout Camps 1 - 20
16	Sunlight English Learning Course Center (SELCC)	Mr. Mohammed Shoib	40	Camp 19
17	Temporary Learning Center for Rohingya Children (TLC)	Mr. Moktahar and Mr. Dil Mohammed	0 (already counted in	Camp 1E

			(LEN)	
Private Centers				
18	Amin Private Center	Mohammed Amin	64	Camp 18
19	Ideal Bright Star Private Center	Mr. Amir Hoson & Mr. Zomir Hosen	120	Kutupalong Registered camp
20	Private Center (Anonymous)	Anonymous	35	Kutupalong Registered Camp
21	Nayapara Rohingya Education Private Center (NREPC)	Mr. Mohammed Selim	130	Nayapara Registered Camp
22	Rohingya Refugee Ideal Private center in Musone (RRIPC)	Mr. Zahed Hossain	100	Nayapara Registered Camp
23	Shofique Private Center in Leda Camp 24	Mr. Mohammed Shofique	40	Camp 24
24	Shorif Private Center	Mohammad Shorif	38	Camp 16
Madrassa education networks				
25	Ayasha Siddique Ra Private Center (ASRPC)	Mv. Nurul Alam	35	Camp 10
26	Madrasha Education Board (MEB) and Ayasha Girls' Madrassa	Mv. Noor Mohammed	1600	Nayapara Registered Camp
27	Madarashatul Sahabat Al Islamia school and Madrassa (MSAIM)	Mv. Nur Mohammed	384	Camp 13

We Must Prevent a Lost Generation

Community-led education in Rohingya refugee camps

After the August 2017 crisis that forced them to flee their native Myanmar, Rohingya refugees have attempted to rebuild a semblance of normalcy in the squalid camps of Cox's Bazar District in Bangladesh. While basic survival needs in terms of food, shelter, water, and health services are steadily being addressed, the education needs of these refugees remain largely unmet.

The Government of Bangladesh restricts formal schooling for refugee children and youth, and the lack of education has become a major source of concern and despair for refugees. In response, numerous refugee-led networks of community teachers have formed in an attempt to fill the gap in formal education.

This report presents a mapping study that seeks to identify these networks and explore their role within the refugee community. Such networks represent a wellspring of human resources that could be fruitfully engaged by humanitarian agencies working to improve the education situation for refugees in the camps.

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