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Access to compulsory education by rural migrants' children in urban China: A case study from nine cities

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In this study, we examine the educational challenges faced by the children of rural migrants who have increasingly come to Chinese cities in large numbers seeking employment. Based on large-scale surveys of students in public, licensed private, and unlicensed private schools in nine cities (small, medium, and large), we found that access to public schools was easier for children in small and medium cities than for those in large cities, but in all cities, the children faced discrimination on several levels (e.g., extra fees, difficulty traveling to and from school). To mitigate the problems faced by these children and acknowledge the importance of their parents in sustaining China's rapid economic growth, we propose several solutions that should be implemented by Chinese educational decision-makers. In particular, more resources (funding, teachers, and support staff) should be allocated to meet the needs of these children and their parents.

Key words: *Compulsory education; rural migrants' children; urban China*

I. Introduction

The migrant workers (often farmers) who have come from rural areas to cities in China became a major phenomenon in the early 1980s. Since the 1990s, China's rapid socioeconomic development has led to dramatic increases in the population of rural migrant workers. As of 2009, the population of migrant workers had increased since 1980 by 180 million, of which 82.8% were rural migrants (SCIOC, 2010). Currently, about 14 million rural migrants' children live in urban areas, accounting for one-eighth of the total number of urban children (D.Q. Zhu, 2009). Because of limitations on the resources available to the Chinese education system and the resulting inadequacy of urban public education resources, children of migrant farm workers face a greater risk of academic failure than other children. These factors include mobility of their families (which must often relocate to seek work), poverty, and a lack of access to schooling. It is especially difficult for these children to enroll in urban public schools.

As a result of these conditions, unofficial schools (both licensed and unlicensed private schools) run by social workers, volunteers, and even migrant workers have sprung up throughout urban China during the last 20 years to fill the gap. For instance, in Beijing (2006), there were about 380 licensed and unlicensed private schools for rural migrants' children, accounting for nearly 19% of the City's 2017 schools (BPSMC, 2007). These schools are poorly equipped in terms of both facilities and teaching resources, and pose such problems as lower quality of education, inadequate schooling conditions and sanitation, and high safety risks. These problems have significant impact on China's equality of educational opportunities and social harmony.

In response to the problems of access to compulsory education for rural migrants' children, the central government has devoted increased effort to the formulation of remedial policies. In 1996, the Ministry of Education of China issued a policy statement entitled the "Pilot Regulation for School-aged Migrant Children's Enrollment," in which it was stipulated that "the urban government should create conditions and provide opportunities for school-aged rural migrants' children to receive compulsory education, and the education authority of urban areas should take full responsibility for ensuring that these children receive compulsory education." In 2003, the State Council issued a decree saying that "the governments of cities that receive rural migrants are entirely responsible for providing educational services for their children." Since then, a series of policies relating to the education of these children have been issued by both central and local governments, aiming to provide this disadvantaged group with a better education. Some cities have been experimenting with inclusion of these children within the local education system.

To better understand the effects of these government decrees and provide guidance to adjust policies to better reflect the changing situation and to facilitate various experiments designed to improve the situation at local levels, the Basic Education Department of the Chinese Ministry of Education initiated a field survey of the educational issues faced by rural migrants' children in 2007. The survey was conducted by China National Institute for Education Research, with financial support from the World Bank. Using the results of this survey, we have provided insights into the education conditions faced by these children in terms of their characteristics and their enrollment situation, the factors that affect their access to urban public schools, and the opinions of their parents about the current situation. Based on this analysis, we formulate recommendations to support government decision-making that will better meet the needs of these children.

II. Methodology

A. Selection of Study Areas

Based on the population of rural migrants' children in the cities that are receiving these migrants, we selected study areas from three categories of city: big (provincial level), medium (prefecture level), and small (county level). Nine cities were selected:

- Big: Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou (Guangdong province);
- Medium: Changzhou (Jiangsu province), Yichang (Hubei province), and Mianyang (Sichuan province);
- Small: Sanhe (Hebei province), Yiwu (Zhejiang province), and Changle (Shandong province).

B. Sampling method

We surveyed schools of three categories in the study areas: (a) public schools that enroll some rural migrants' children, (b) licensed private schools for these children, and (c) unlicensed private schools for these children. We planned to select a total of eight schools in each city, including four public schools (two primary and two middle schools), two licensed private schools (one primary and one middle school), and two unlicensed private schools (one primary and one middle school). In each primary school, we sampled one class (of 50 students) from grade 3 and one from grade 5. In each middle school, we sampled one class from grade 7 and one from grade 8. In practice, the actual number of schools in each category changed according to the actual local situation. Table 1 summarizes the final survey sample.

Table 1
Sample size in the survey of rural migrants' children (RMC)

City category	City name	No. of schools sampled	No. of schools sampled from three categories			No. of students sampled	No. of RMC students	No. of families sampled	No. of RMC families
			(a)	(b)	(c)				
Big	Beijing	8	4	2	2	677	578	634	582
	Shanghai	8	4	4	0	579	418	550	417
	Guangzhou	8	4	4	0	777	425	548	291
Medium	Changzhou	8	4	3	1	718	604	716	609
	Mianyang	4	4	0	0	676	339	656	342
	Yichang	6	6	0	0	722	418	681	424
Small	Sanhe	6	6	0	0	629	153	594	153
	Changle	6	6	0	0	668	71	666	70
	Yiwu	8	4	2	2	774	508	694	446
	Total	62	42	15	5	6220	3818	5739	3334

(a) public schools; (b) licensed private schools; (c) unlicensed private schools

2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected from both secondary and primary sources. Secondary data were obtained from relevant research institutions, schools, education centers, and education departments in the study areas, and included books of statistics, project reports, research reports, and educational files. Primary data were collected through school-based surveys, household-based surveys, focus-group discussions, on-site interviews, and observation.

The field surveys were conducted from May 2006 to November 2006 and included a total of 62 schools (42 public, 15 licensed private, and 5 unlicensed private schools). A total of 6,220 school-based questionnaires were distributed, and all responses were collected. An additional 6,220 household-based questionnaires matched with the school-based questionnaires were distributed, and 5,739 responses were collected (see Table 1).

Data were analyzed using Version 11 of the SPSS software for Windows. We used chi-square test and analysis of variance (ANOVA) to examine the significance of relationships between the study parameters; linear relationships were determined by using Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient (r).

III. Results and Discussion

A. Characteristics of rural migrants' children

Of the 6,220 respondents, 55% were male and 97.5% belonged to the Han nationality. Of the 3,514 rural migrants' children in the survey, 56.3% were male and 97.3% belonged to the Han nationality. This suggests significant disparities in both gender and nationality ($p < 0.001$).

The rural migrants and their children mainly came from ten large provinces with a large population and a large-scale surplus of rural labor. Of the 2,723 respondents who specified their province of origin, Sichuan province accounted for the largest proportion (26.6 % of the students), even though the province's total population ranked fourth and its percentage of the national rural surplus labor force ranked third. (Table 2). This was followed by children from Anhui and Guangdong provinces, who accounted for 20.57% and 10.65% of the total sample respectively, largely due to their high population (ranked seventh and third, respectively) and large rural surplus labor force (ranked second and sixth, respectively). Table 2 summarizes the proportions and rankings for the provinces reported in the survey.

Table 2
The ranking of the home province of rural migrants' children (RMC) who responded to the survey

Ranking	Origin (province)	Number of RMC	Proportion of the total sample (%)	Provincial population (millions)	Surplus rural labor force (millions) +
1	Sichuan	724	26.59%	86.50	14.18 (16.39%)
2	Anhui	560	20.57%	62.28	10.58 (16.99%)
3	Guangdong	290	10.65%	88.89	9.25 (10.41%)
4	Henan	257	9.44%	97.17	18.77 (19.32%)
5	Jiangsu	204	7.49%	74.32	6.18 (8.32%)
6	Jiangxi	181	6.65%	42.17	4.23 (10.03%)
7	Hubei	171	6.28%	60.31	9.54 (15.82%)
8	Hebei	122	4.48%	68.69	6.74 (9.81%)
9	Zhejiang	119	4.37%	47.20	3.51 (7.44%)
10	Shandong	95	3.49%	92.84	11.88 (12.79%)
Total number of students sampled		2723	100%		

+ Values in parentheses represent the percentage of the total provincial population accounted for by the rural surplus labor force in 2006 (X. P. Li, 2009).

B. Enrollment of rural migrants' children in public schools

Current government policy is to enroll rural migrants' children in urban public schools. However, our study showed a different result. As of 2006, there were 1,518,615 students in the study area, of which only 58% were enrolled in urban public schools; the remaining 42% being enrolled in licensed or unlicensed private schools with poorer facilities and lower teaching quality than provided by the public schools (Table 3). In Shanghai and Guangzhou, less than half of these children (49% and 34.6%, respectively) were enrolled in public schools; the remaining 51% and 65.4% were enrolled in private schools. In medium cities, the majority (between 70% and 100%) were enrolled in public schools. In small cities, the results were more variable: although 100% of these students were enrolled in public schools in two of the three cities, only 51% were enrolled in public schools in Yiwu city. Thus, enrollment rates of these students in public schools were larger in small and medium cities than in big cities ($p < 0.05$). In terms of the level of economic development, the enrollment rate of these children in public schools in economically developed cities such as Guangzhou and Yiwu was lower than in private schools due to the relatively larger number of rural migrants' children in these cities and the frequent displacement by their family to seek new work.

Table 3
Enrollment of rural migrants' children in schools in the study areas in 2006 based on the survey results

City category	City	Enrolled in public school (%)	Enrolled in private school (%)	Total
Big	Beijing	228 000 (63%)	138 000 (37%)	366 000
	Shanghai	187 000 (49%)	192 000 (51%)	379 000
	Guangzhou	135 000 (34.6%)	255 000 (65.4%)	390 000
Medium	Changzhou	77 000 (70%)	33 000 (30%)	110 000
	Mianyang	30 875 (95%)	1625 (5%)	32 500
	Yichang	198 000 (100%)	0	198 000
Small	Sanhe	4533 (100%)	0	4533
	Changle	635 (100%)	0	635
	Yiwu	19 353 (51%)	18 594 (49%)	37 947
Total (%)		880 396 (58%)	638 219 (42%)	1518 615

C. Factors affecting enrollment by rural migrants' children in urban public schools

Insufficient public education resources

The rapid increase in the population of rural migrants' children is a major reason for the shortage of public education resources in urban areas. This is because urban education development and school distribution planning are based on estimates of the local population size that fail to take into account the migrant population. In recent decades, a substantial number of farmers and their families have migrated to urban areas, greatly increasing the pressure on the enrollment capacity of urban public schools. The increase in education resources for these urban areas has been unable to catch up with the rapid growth of this population, leading to overcrowded classes (more than 50 students per class, versus a target size of 40 set by the government). For instance, in Beijing, the number of these children was estimated to be 228,000 in 2006, but this number increased to 420,000 by 2009 (L. M. Liu, 2010) showing an annual increase of 64,000.

Migrant workers prefer to take their children with them when they shift to another place to obtain work, and must find a nearby public school for the education of their children. Our household survey showed that this pursuit of a better education was the primary reason why these workers brought their children with them to stay in a city (42.3%), followed by the desire to take good care of their children (37.5%) and the desire to keep all their family members together (18.9%). Public school is attractive to most migrant workers due to its long history of providing quality education and resources such as qualified teachers and equipment, which are normally provided by the government. The quality of educational resources in urban areas is one of the most important driving forces responsible for the shift of rural migrants' children towards cities. This also suggests that ensuring regional development in rural areas and providing better support for education would be an alternative solution, since fewer people would be forced to move to big cities to seek work.

School fees

School fees are one of the biggest barriers to the access of rural migrants' children to urban public schools. To make schooling more affordable for the migrant population, the central

government has made it illegal for public schools to demand "donations" when they enroll these children. However, in practice, some public schools continue to collect extra school fees. Our survey found that out of 1798 of migrant rural children enrolled in public schools, 20.7% were charged extra fees (Table 4). There were significant differences in the amount of school fees among the three categories of urban schools ($\chi^2 = 60.730, p < 0.001$). The extra school fees were higher in big cities than in medium and small cities.

Table 4**Extra school fees charged by public schools based on the responses to our survey**

City category	No. of respondents (% of total) who reported school fees			
	Charged every year	Charged at least once	Never charged	Total
Big	110 (30.9%)	163 (45.8%)	83 (23.3%)	356
Medium	194 (17.7%)	482 (44.1%)	417 (38.2%)	1093
Small	68 (19.5%)	115 (33.0%)	166 (47.6%)	349
Total	372 (20.7%)	760 (42.3%)	666 (37.0%)	1798
Statistical significance	$\chi^2 = 60.730, p < 0.001$			

Income of rural migrant families

Most of the migrant workers in cities are from rural areas and earn relatively less money by performing unskilled labor. Because of lack of residency and unfamiliarity with available local resources, most migrant families receive few social, economic, health, or education services. In addition, migrants are usually not given urban residential status when they arrive in a city, and they are, therefore, not eligible to receive the benefits that are automatically available to registered urban residents. The resulting financial hardship has blocked the access to public schools for many children of these families. Our survey found that 15% of rural migrant families had an income of less than 500 RMB (US\$74) per month, versus 32.7% with 500 to 1000 RMB (US\$74 to \$147) and 38.4% with 1000 to 2000 RMB (US\$147 to \$294). About 6% of their children were unable to attend urban public schools because their families could not afford the extra school fees. About 47.3% of these families were under heavy economic pressure due to the extra school fees. Further analysis revealed a positive correlation between the family income and the children's access to a public school ($r = 0.43, p < 0.001$). The higher the family's income is, the easier it is for them to access to a public school. In addition, the family income directly affected enrollment of their children in a public school ($\chi^2 = 22.361, p < 0.05$).

Mobility of rural migrant families and relationship to school locations

The mobility of rural migrant families is a primary hurdle to their children's access to a public school. The public schools with good facilities and qualified teachers are usually located in central urban areas, whereas the families of migrant workers tend to be clustered on the outskirts of cities as a result of their frequent need to move from place to place in search of work. Their length of stay in one place is determined by the local demand for and supply of labor, so there is no guarantee that a family can stay for any length of time at a given location. The parents of these children have difficulty sending their children to school and bringing them back home after school due to their irregular job situation. This is a serious barrier to their access to public schools.

Under these circumstances, some migrant workers and educators try to run schools near the family residence, provide school buses, and adopt flexible school hours to attract children and to earn profit. This accounts for the large enrollment of rural migrants’ children in licensed or unlicensed private schools. Our survey found that a location of school close to home was the first priority for these families when selecting a school (32.2%). Their children had several alternative means to reach nearby schools: 49.0% walk to and from school, 18.5% travel by school bus; 8.4% take public transportation; 14.3% ride a bicycle and 9.8% travel by other means. Among the group that travels by school bus, only 6.3% were studying at a public school and the remaining 93.7% studied in private schools. In addition, 73% have changed schools at least once, supporting the hypothesis that the mobility of their families leads directly to frequent school changes and inconvenient access to public schools.

D. Perceptions of rural migrant parents about their children’s education

Our survey showed that most parents had ambitions for their children's future that included a good education. More than half of the parents (51.9%) hoped that their children would obtain a bachelor's degree in the future versus 24.8% who hoped that their children would earn a master's degree; 13.6% who hoped that their children would finish high school or tertiary education; 3.2% who hoped that their children would finish middle school; 0.9% who hoped that their children would finish primary school; and 5.6% who hoped that their children would learn to read and write. These data indicate that most of the parents had high hopes for their children's educational attainment.

Our survey showed that among all the rural migrant parents whose children were enrolled in public school, 63.2% felt that it was easy for their children to enroll in a public school. In contrast, 29.3% reported difficulties; 7.1% reported severe difficulties; and 0.4% expressed no opinion. We found significant differences in perceived access to a public schools among the three urban categories ($F = 4.394, p < 0.05$). Access to a public school was perceived as being easier for children in medium and small cities than in big cities (Table 5).

Table 5
Perception of the ease of access to a public school by rural migrant parents

City category	Perceived access: no. of responses (% of total)				Total
	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	No opinion	
Big	599 (60.6%)	298 (30.1%)	87 (8.8%)	5 (0.5%)	989
Medium	863 (64.9%)	385 (28.9%)	81 (6.1%)	1 (0.1%)	1330
Small	408 (63.9%)	184 (28.8%)	43 (6.7%)	3 (0.5%)	638
Total	1870 (63.2%)	867 (29.3%)	211(7.1%)	9 (0.4%)	2957

ANOVA results $F(2, 2954) = 4.394, p < 0.05$

Our survey found that 46.8% of parents believed that currently charged extra school fees were “affordable;” in contrast, 47.3% believed that they could afford to pay the fees with moderate to severe difficulty (Table 6), and 5.9% considered the fees “unaffordable.” Significant differences existed in the perceived affordability among the three urban categories ($\chi^2 = 66.706, p < 0.001$). The perceived affordability of the extra school fees was greater in medium and small cities than in big cities.

Table 6
Perceived affordability of extra school fees for rural migrants' children

City category	Affordability: no. of responses (% of total)			Total
	Affordable	Affordable with some difficulty	Unaffordable	
Big	489 (38.1%)	694 (54.1%)	99 (7.8%)	1282
Medium	710 (51.8%)	592 (43.2%)	68 (5%)	1370
Small	353 (53.2%)	283 (42.6%)	28 (4.2%)	664
Total	1552 (46.8%)	1569 (47.3%)	195 (5.9%)	3316
Statistical significance	$\chi^2 = 66.706, p < 0.001$			

In addition, 7.7% of parents believed their children were not treated as well as urban children. To explain this perception, 69.7% of the parents attributed the inequality to the higher extra school fees than those charged from local urban children, versus 18.4% who attributed it to negative attitudes that teachers and urban children showed towards their children; 5% who attributed it to discrimination; 2% who attributed it to their poor family income, and 4.9% who attributed it to other reasons. This indicates that the higher extra school fees are important factor that is perceived to affect educational equality of rural migrant children with local urban children.

IV. Conclusions and recommendations

The causes that restrict access of rural migrants' children to urban public schools have long been debated by scholars (Y. Du, 2004; J. Zhou, 2004; N. Wu, 2007). The present study investigated the availability of schooling facilities to these children and analyzed the factors that affect their access to public schools in urban areas as well as the perception of their parents. The disparities in allocation of resources between rural and urban residents are the forces that are driving these families and their children into urban areas. Insufficient public education resources and limited enrolling capacity of public schools are challenged by the substantial inflow of rural migrant populations as a result of China's rapid urbanization.

Furthermore, such factors as school discrimination (higher extra fees), lower incomes, and higher mobility of migrant families (leading to difficulty in bringing their children to and from public schools) have made it difficult for their children to enroll in a public school. In practice, the government's policy of educating these children has been compromised by a complicated array of factors due to the challenges that face local education authorities and public schools. As a result of these factors, rural migrants' children have been marginalized and denied equal access to the compulsory education offered to urban children, and this phenomenon is more severe in big cities and economically developed cities. The educational dilemma faced by these children reflects the imbalance in the resources allocated to rural and urban residents, and has, therefore, damaged China's social harmony and stability. To solve this problem, governments at all levels must improve their understanding of the problems faced by these migrant populations and find ways to give them equality with urban citizens. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to gradually implement institutional reforms. Based on the results of our study, we have five specific recommendations for achieving these reforms:

Recommendation 1: Provide more educational resources to rural migrants' children by integrating their education within urban education development planning.

Currently, the performance of governments and education authorities are evaluated using a statistical system that is based on household registration (e.g., that focuses on registered urban residents) and that excludes the population of migrant workers from consideration because they are not considered to be registered urban residents. The governments of urban areas that are receiving the rural migrants should account for the education problems faced by these children during education development planning. In particular, the school distribution should be designed to facilitate the education of these children. Governments should develop schools for these children nearer to the place where their families live by either building or renovating schools specifically for these children and by allocating sufficient funds and sufficient high-quality education resources for these schools.

For existing private schools that enroll these children, problems such as unstable resources, changing school locations, insufficient resource inputs, and short-term planning must be overcome by providing appropriate long-term government assistance. In addition, the responsibility for solving the education problems of these children should be strengthened and integrated into the assessment and evaluation system for measuring government performance to ensure that permanent and temporary urban residents are treated equally. Education authorities should cooperate closely with other government agencies to regularly supervise and monitor the situation to ensure that policies designed to solve the problems faced by these students are fully implemented.

Recommendation 2: Punish schools that illegally charge extra school fees.

Our survey revealed that most rural migrant parents were charged extra school fees, which is important evidence to show the unequal treatment meted out to their children. Governments should enhance their management and supervision activities to detect this illegal action and should heavily punish schools that charge illegal fees. However, to avoid the need for schools to charge extra fees to cover their expenses, additional funding should be provided to these schools so that these extra fees are no longer necessary.

Recommendation 3: Provide additional support (teachers, support staff, and funding) to public schools that enroll rural migrants' children.

Migrant workers are in high demand to sustain China's urban development, and because of their importance for China's economy, the government should pay special attention to their needs, including education of their children. As we have noted in this paper, the burden on school management created by these children can only be eased by providing adequate resources. Some of these students with low school performance require more attention from teachers and other staff. The increase in student numbers and staff workload require a corresponding increase in the number of teachers and support staff. In addition, government incentives should be earmarked for public schools based on the number of children they receive.

Recommendation 4: Establish "mobile schools" on the outskirts of urban areas where rural migrants are clustered.

In response to the shortfall in education resources, governments should earmark special funds to build "mobile" schools on the outskirts of cities where rural migrants are concentrated. Our

survey found that school location is a very important factor that affects school selection by rural migrants and that the difficulty of bringing their children to schools at fixed, unsuitable locations is a major problem. Therefore, the establishment of mobile schools capable of being relocated nearer to these families and providing improved transportation options such as school buses will both promote enrollment of their children in public schools and make it easier for rural migrants to relocate when it is necessary to seek new employment.

Recommendation 5: Provide financial support to licensed private schools that enroll rural migrants' children and integrate them into the formal school management system to encourage them to provide better educational services.

The education of rural migrants' children is the responsibility of government. In practice, many private schools have been sharing this responsibility with the government. Most scholars have argued that these schools should therefore receive financial support from the government and enjoy the same rights as public schools. Especially after abolishing the collection of extra school fees, these schools will face greater financial difficulties. Therefore, governments should earmark special funds for these schools to replace the lost income and should integrate them into the formal school management system so they can receive treatment equal to that of public schools in terms of assessment of the qualification of teachers and promotion opportunities.

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Teacher Peer Learning Groups: Contributing factors to cluster sustainability

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The purpose of this study is to identify factors that contribute to the development of productive, self-governing, and self-sustaining teacher professional development clusters. In focus group interviews and participatory assessment exercises, RISE's teacher professional development staff explored cluster members' perspectives on the motivational forces underlying their continued participation in these groups after project interventions ceased and the factors that influence their groups' sustainability. Participatory assessment activities conducted with RISE's district-based teaching training staff inform the discussion. From the focus group interviews and exercises with the cluster members and staff, we identify project-wide best practices and lessons learned in the promotion of cluster sustainability. These best practices and lessons learned are shared in this document for future programs that seek to use similar teacher professional development mechanisms.

I. Introduction

The four-year Revitalizing, Innovating, Strengthening Education (RISE) project, established in Pakistan in July 2006, assisted communities, teachers, and education officials to improve the quality of instruction and educational management of schools in the earthquake-affected areas of Mansehra district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Bagh, Muzaffarabad, and Poonch districts of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

In its teacher professional development cycle, RISE provided professional development opportunities to primary, middle, and high school teachers in the subjects of math, science, and English. The overall targets were to train 10,000 teachers across the four districts and to establish a sustainable system of instructional support for these teachers. RISE's professional development cycle spanned one academic year. In an initial 12-day training, teachers had the opportunity to experience new active-learning methods while improving content knowledge. Following the training, teachers participated in peer learning groups, received on-the-job support, engaged in experiential learning activities and completed the professional development cycle in a 3-day follow-up workshop.

For the second stage of the professional development cycle, RISE helped teachers form 1,085 peer learning groups, known as clusters. Active support to the last cohort of 39 clusters ended in March 2010. Of the 1,085 clusters, approximately 50 percent of the groups conducted at least one meeting between January and June 2010 without any support from RISE. These include clusters formed between winter 2007 and summer 2009.

The purpose of this study is to identify factors that contribute to the development of productive, self-governing, and self-sustaining teacher professional development clusters. In focus group interviews and participatory assessment exercises, RISE's teacher professional development staff explored cluster members' perspectives on the motivational forces underlying their continued participation in these groups after project interventions ceased and the factors that influence their groups' sustainability. Participatory assessment activities conducted with RISE's district-based teaching training staff inform the discussion. From the focus group interviews and exercises with the cluster members and staff, we identify project-wide best practices and lessons learned in the promotion of cluster sustainability. These best practices and lessons learned are shared in this document for future programs that seek to use similar teacher professional development mechanisms.

II. Background

Teaching itself is often an isolating profession. Teachers in the areas affected by the October 2005 earthquake in northern Pakistan, for the most part, work in rural locations scattered across the districts. Opportunities to participate in professional development activities are rare for the individual teacher. While the government institutions of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) responsible for the education systems are fully cognizant of the importance of teacher pre-service education and in-service professional development, their resources fall far short of meeting needs.

In the areas affected by the earthquake, schools and teachers found that they needed to overcome even greater hurdles than they faced earlier to provide quality instruction in government schools. Teaching in an isolated environment became more difficult as both teachers and students were recovering from the emotional trauma of the earthquake. Most schools were damaged or destroyed in the earthquake. Reconstruction of the schools continues to this day. Five years on, many teachers continue to teach in tents, temporary shelters, or in the open air. Teaching resources are even scarcer now than they were prior to the earthquake. In addition to the difficulties caused by the earthquake, many teachers who received inadequate pre-service education had been using outdated teaching methods that included mostly lecture and rote learning in their classrooms.

RISE's teacher professional development program sought to expose teachers to active learning methods that would improve student learning outcomes and create child-friendly classrooms that encourage students to more fully and meaningfully engage in their own learning. The aim was to improve student learning outcomes. RISE provided professional development opportunities to 10,316 primary, middle, and high school teachers in the subjects of math, science, and English. Approximately 73 percent of the teachers who participated in RISE's professional development cycle teach in primary grades, 18 percent in middle grades, and 10 percent in high school grades. Forty-eight percent of the teachers were women.

RISE sought to provide teachers with a long-term system of instructional support that would help them continue to improve teaching practices and create local networks for peer learning. Given the limited resources available to the education systems for in-service professional development, RISE sought to introduce innovations that would be at a cost low enough to sustain after the project support ended. Importantly, the cluster mechanism was designed so that the teachers could manage the groups on their own.

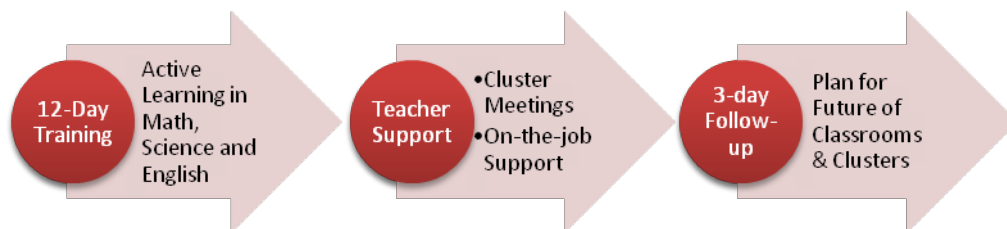


Figure 1: RISE Teacher Professional Development Program

RISE and the government education departments of AJK and KPK developed an academic yearlong teacher professional development program. Teachers first participated in a 12-day training in active-learning in math, science, and English. This was followed by one academic year of follow-up support from RISE and included regular teacher peer learning group meetings, on-the-job support, and experiential learning activities in the form of inter-school science project competitions. The final step in the program was a 3-day follow-up workshop where teachers came together once again to celebrate all that they have accomplished with RISE and plan for the future of their classrooms and clusters.

The clusters offered teachers an easily accessible forum to meet with their peers to practice active-learning lessons and find solutions to problems in their classrooms and schools.

Teachers bring their individual strengths to the group and share experiences. Ultimately, cluster meetings are intended to help teachers to further develop the skills they learned during the initial 12-day training.

All primary and middle teachers who participated in the 12-day training formed clusters. Prior to the training, RISE met with education managers to assign teachers to cluster groups. During the training, teachers participated in a cluster formation session. In this session, the groupings were reviewed and revised in collaboration with teachers to make sure that they were assigned to accessible clusters. Once the teachers agreed to the groupings, the newly formed clusters selected a venue, which was usually the most centrally located school. Separate clusters were formed for primary teachers and middle teachers; clusters usually consist of six to 12 teachers from one to five schools. Gender sensitivities were also taken into consideration in the formation of clusters. In Mansehra and Bagh, all clusters were segregated for men and women. In Muzaffarabad and Poonch, the decision to form mixed or separate clusters was taken by RISE and the education department in light of sensitivities of the target communities.

Cluster meetings are held throughout the academic year; they began to meet immediately following the training. RISE supported the clusters for limited amounts of time. Primary clusters met monthly for nine months, while middle clusters met monthly for three months and bi-monthly for six months, for a total of six meetings with RISE support. Clusters that completed the academic year-long teacher professional development program are considered to be “mature” clusters.

For all clusters, meetings are typically held after school and last from 2-3 hours. The agenda typically consists of model lessons presented by teachers, discussion of classroom and school issues, and sometimes conversational practice in English.

RISE facilitators supported clusters by first helping to create a sense of community and trust in the group, and then helping them decide on activities that best help them in the classroom. RISE staff focused on creating self-sufficient clusters. Each cluster selected cluster focal persons and subject leaders. The role of the focal person was to ensure that agendas were set and followed for each meeting, to remind other teachers of upcoming meetings, and to take care of other general administrative tasks. The cluster selected subject leaders based on their content knowledge and teaching skills in a subject. Subject leaders are expected to serve as resource persons to the other teachers in the group as well as to conduct model lessons on topics at the request of their fellow cluster members. Throughout the time the clusters were supported by RISE, the facilitator helped the cluster to identify topics for model lessons and discussion, while fostering a supportive atmosphere where everyone in the group felt comfortable sharing ideas and challenges. Facilitators also gave clusters opportunities to self-conduct meetings during the year to further encourage the clusters’ confidence and sense of responsibility to conduct their own meetings.

RISE’s cluster facilitators consisted of staff of international and local partners. Teacher Training Officers (TTOs) were hired because of their background in education and specialization in math, science, or English. In Mansehra, all cluster facilitators were TTOs. In AJK, the model was different, as the local partner was responsible for supporting primary clusters. Facilitators from the local partner were called Teacher Training Facilitators (TTFs). Therefore in each of the three

districts of AJK, there were three TTOs, one for each subject, who were responsible for supporting middle school grade clusters and assisting TTFs with content. TTFs were responsible to support primary school clusters. TTFs are typically less experienced than TTOs, and many came from a background of social mobilization with little to no experience in education.

The cluster model evolved over time to place more emphasis on the clusters continuing to meet after RISE support ended. The first adaptation was in the cluster formation process. According to the design, education managers and RISE were responsible for mapping out clusters and assigning teachers to the groups. RISE soon learned that teachers needed to become involved in the process. A second adaptation was in the scheduling of cluster meetings. RISE's teacher trainings are held during the long summer and winter breaks, and clusters were originally scheduled to meet over the weekend. At the request of teachers, RISE found a way for teachers to meet in their clusters on school days, either by taking a few hours off during the school day or after school hours. A third major change to the model was in the structure of cluster leadership. Initially, RISE believed it was possible to identify a leader from the cluster group who would take over the job of RISE staff. However, the high transfer rate of teachers made it difficult to maintain stability in leadership. RISE resolved this issue through a change in its approach to cluster leadership. Cluster leadership is now distributed so that if one teacher who serves as a leader is transferred, the group does not lose its institutional memory.

Over time, RISE realized that teachers needed a better introduction to the process and dynamics of cluster meetings. RISE decided to move the cluster formation session from the last day of the 12-day training to the sixth day and added activities for the newly formed clusters to complete together during the remainder of the training. The additional six days in the training environment provided them opportunities to work together and build a team and sense of camaraderie. This shift also allowed teachers on the last day of the training to conduct a model cluster meeting in which they conducted model lessons and planned the agenda for the upcoming meetings. A part of this change was the formal selection of focal persons and subject leaders. By shifting the focus from the RISE TTF or TTO as the leader of the cluster to the teachers themselves leading activities, teachers were able to gain the skills required to independently conduct meetings.

RISE also made changes to the cluster agenda. Initially, RISE offered a six-day follow up training, which contained themes like student assessment and joyful learning. Staff realized it would be more helpful to introduce some of the themes in the clusters so they would have a chance to practice the newly introduced techniques in their classrooms and reflect upon these them in the clusters.

In addition to changes in the cluster model, RISE made changes in its approach to staff orientation. In recognition that the staff orientation set the tone for their interactions with clusters, RISE revamped its orientation to include a greater focus on cluster sustainability and strategies that the TTFs and TTOs could take to help one another in providing guidance to clusters.

One of the most important sources of sustained support to teachers is the head teacher. The head teacher can ensure that new teaching methods are implemented in the school and encourage teachers to continue meeting in their clusters. Head teacher training was not in RISE's original

design. A last adaptation to RISE’s design was the introduction of a three-day head teacher training that focused on active-learning methods, provision of instructional support to teachers, and head teacher roles in RISE initiatives.

III. Methodology

The New England Literacy Resource Center (NELRC) presents a framework of adult learners’ affective needs, met or unmet by educational programs, that are their “drivers of persistence” (NELRC, 2010).¹ These drivers of persistence were identified in an action research study conducted by 18 adult education programs participating in the New England Learner Persistence Project (NELP) and were adapted for use in this study. RISE staff used this framework because they felt these factors reflect the needs of teachers participating in the clusters and would easily be understood by the RISE cluster facilitators and the teachers themselves. RISE’s teacher training staff identified additional factors relevant to the teachers participating in clusters in the Pakistan context and used these in the study.

The chart below displays the drivers of persistence and the adaptations for the study, where applicable.

Source	Drivers of Persistence	Factors Important for Staff	Factors Important for Teachers
NELP*	Sense of belonging to a community	Sense of community	Cluster members feel comfortable sharing strengths and challenges
	Clarity of Purpose	Understanding of purpose and value; Ability to set goals and plan to achieve those goals	Understanding of purpose and value; Ability to set goals and plan to achieve those goals
	Agency	Members decide together on cluster activities	Members decide together on cluster activities
	Competency	Members contribute skills and knowledge	Members learn from each other
	Relevance	Cluster activities are relevant to the classroom	Cluster activities are relevant to the classroom
	Stability	Regular meetings and attendance	Regular meetings and attendance
RISE	Cluster Leadership	Cluster Leadership	Cluster Leadership
	Access to Venue	Access to cluster venue	Easy access to venue
	Head Teacher Support	Head teacher support	Head teacher support
	Education Manager Support	Education manager support	Education manager support

*Source: New England Literacy Resource Center. URL <http://www.nelrc.org/persist/drivers.html>

Two activities were undertaken to elicit the perspectives of the RISE cluster facilitators and the teachers continuing to attend cluster meetings. First, workshops for RISE cluster facilitators were held in March 2010. During these workshops, staff identified the factors they felt were

¹ New England Literacy Resource Center. *Drivers of Persistence*. URL <http://www.nelrc.org/persist/drivers.html> accessed on August 2, 2010.

most important to cluster sustainability and the factors that they perceived as strengths or challenges in their clusters.

At the workshops, district teams worked as groups on a pair-wise ranking activity to decide which factors they felt were most important to cluster sustainability. This was done to determine the priorities for each district and the project as a whole. Next, each cluster facilitator was asked to identify three of their mature clusters that were continuing and three that ceased functioning. For each of these six clusters identified, facilitators identified strengths and challenges of these groups for each factor. Then, for the functioning clusters, they identified the two factors that they felt were most influential in each clusters' sustainability. For the clusters that were no longer continuing, facilitators identified the two challenges which they felt most strongly contributed to the discontinuation of the cluster. All responses were written by facilitators and collected by the teacher training coordinator for analysis.

For the second activity, three clusters from each of the four districts were selected to be interviewed. The clusters were chosen because they were mature and continuing to meet without the regular support of RISE staff. Also, the clusters selected are representative of the different demographic variations of the clusters with which the project worked. These variations include gender, school level, and rural or urban. The table below presents information about the schools of the cluster members who participated in the focus groups.

District	School	Gender	Level	Rural/Urban
Poonch	School #1: GGPS	Female	Primary	Rural
	School #2: GGHS	Female	Middle	Rural
	School #3: GBPS	Male	Primary	Urban
Bagh	School #4: GGHS	Female	Mixed	Urban
	School #5: GGHS	Female	Mixed	Rural
	School #6: GBMS	Male	Mixed	Rural
Muzaffarabad	School #7: GGHS	Female	Mixed	Urban
	School #8: GBHS	Mixed	Mixed	Rural
	School #9: GBHS	Mixed	Mixed	Rural
Mansehra	School #10: GGMS	Female	Middle	Rural
	School #11: GGPS	Female	Primary	Urban
	School #12: GBPS	Male	Primary	Rural

Two Deputy Directors of Teacher Training and the Teacher Training Coordinator conducted sessions with four to eight members of each cluster. There were two parts to the session. The first half was a series of questions which explored the perspectives of cluster members about the benefits and challenges of cluster meetings and the impact of their participation in their classrooms. One or two staff members were designated as interviewers, and one was designated note taker for the focus group discussions. For the second half of the session, teachers participated in a force-field analysis activity. They were asked to decide which factors were forces that encouraged them to continue meeting and which made it difficult for them to meet. In the force field analysis, cluster members discussed the following factors:

- Cluster members feel comfortable sharing strengths and challenges;
- Members decide together on activities;
- Members learn from each other;
- Cluster activities help the classroom;
- Cluster leadership (focal person and subject leaders);
- Head teacher support;
- Education manager support; and
- Easy access to cluster venue.

Each of these eight factors was written on pieces of paper cut in the shape of balloons and rocks. Through group discussion, teachers selected balloons for those factors that were encouraging them to meet and rocks for those that were making it difficult to meet. They then prioritized the factors by placing the balloons higher or the rocks lower than a line drawn across the middle of the page to represent the extent to which that factor encouraged or hindered their meetings.

Notes from the interview and pictures of the activity results were collected along with interviewers' notes regarding the overall impressions of the interview and the cluster. These were all used in the analysis the factors that are most important for cluster sustainability.

IV. Limitations

This study was small in scale and covered only 12 of the 542 continuing clusters. Therefore, broad generalizations cannot be made. However, there are some patterns that are apparent across all or nearly all interviewed clusters, which may indicate a general pattern.

The interviews were conducted in May and June 2010, only a few months after many clusters finished their year with RISE support and while RISE was still operating. In some cases, RISE staff was still in contact with clusters to monitor their meetings either by phone or through visits. This continued monitoring might have had an influence on teachers' motivation to continue cluster meetings.

Interviews were conducted by senior RISE staff, which may have influenced the teachers' answers to some interview questions. Interviewers did assure teachers that this was not an evaluation and asked them to speak freely.

V. Findings

Access to Cluster Venue: In the areas in which RISE operated, the terrain is hilly and often makes travelling even short distances difficult. In rural areas, transportation is often limited to public transport that runs infrequently or not at all. Teachers must often hire private vehicles that run only at school times. Therefore, cluster venues within walking distance or on public transportation routes for teachers become essential.

In the cluster attendance records for the 12 clusters interviewed, teachers from the venue school have more consistent attendance than do teachers from other schools. This indicates that it is more difficult for teachers who have to travel to attend the meetings.

However, the threshold for distance or time that teachers will travel to their meetings seems to vary based on the motivation of the teachers. If the teachers feel that the cluster meeting is of benefit to them, they will travel further. This is evident in one cluster as some of the cluster members walk an hour to and from the meetings. But, it was clear in the interview that they are very motivated to continue the meetings because of their sense of competition with the local private school.

Another observation is that while RISE formed separate clusters for primary and middle teachers, many clusters opted to reorganize into clusters of primary and middle school teachers from smaller areas, rather than traveling farther to meeting with teachers only from their level. Of the 12 clusters interviewed, six were reorganized into mixed level groups.

The results of the data collected by RISE staff support the notion that access is important to clusters having a chance to continue to meet. Mansehra and Bagh staff ranked access higher in importance for cluster sustainability than did Muzaffarabad and Poonch. This may be due to the greater difficulty in forming clusters in these two districts. In Mansehra, schools are more scattered than in AJK, and it became especially difficult to form accessible female clusters because there are few female schools. In Bagh, teachers from one school were often in different training groups and therefore were put into different clusters, which impacted cluster attendance and sustainability. This led to the decision to reorganize nearly all clusters in Bagh to ensure that all teachers from one school were in the same cluster. In Muzaffarabad and Poonch, there were fewer issues with access, and therefore it was not viewed as an important factor to cluster sustainability.

Access is a prerequisite for clusters to have a chance to develop and grow as a group. If access is a problem and it is difficult for teachers to come to the cluster meetings, attendance is irregular and clusters do not have a chance to develop the group dynamics necessary to sustain cluster meetings. Therefore, in most cases, difficult access will negatively impact sustainability.

Stability (Regular meetings and attendance): Clusters were encouraged to hold monthly or bi-monthly meetings when they were receiving support from RISE. This is important in order for participation in cluster meetings to become a part of a teacher's routine. Additionally, when the same teachers regularly attend these meetings, a sense of community is allowed to develop. In every group interview, all said that most people attended regularly. Their attendance records confirm their assertions. Some members stopped coming or never came, but there were groups of teachers who came regularly. This consistency helped to build a sense of community and a routine for them. Without the consistency in meetings or with inconsistent attendance, the development of the sense of community can be stunted.

RISE staff viewed regular meetings as a strength in many of the continuing clusters, and conversely, irregular or infrequent meetings were considered a challenge for many clusters that did not continue.

Sense of belonging to a community: It is important in any peer learning group for participants to feel that they are a part of a community and that they have a safe space to discuss their challenges. Developing a community means that teachers look forward to their cluster meetings as an opportunity to meet with friends and learn from each other.

A sense of community seems to be very important for teachers in the cluster meetings. This sense of community enables teachers to feel comfortable enough to share ideas and to ask questions in areas where they feel that they are weak. As mentioned above, regular meetings and attendance are first required to begin to establish a sense of community among the group. Another aspect that is crucial to developing a sense of community is the supportive atmosphere within the group. In RISE, providing a friendly and supportive atmosphere was a cornerstone of all activities. In the 12-day training, teachers learn and practice positive feedback. The trainers themselves model this practice as well. Once cluster meetings begin, the RISE facilitator must encourage a supportive atmosphere in the initial cluster meetings. They did this through encouraging members to contribute their skills and knowledge and participate in the decision making process. In most cluster interviews, teachers talked about feeling hesitant in the first meetings to ask questions or to present lessons, but over time they developed trust and friendship with the group members and began to feel confident and open to discuss their needs with the group.

In nearly all of the cluster interviews, it was clear that the teachers felt a strong sense of community. Many said they call each other for help and refer to each other as brothers or sisters. Many say that they help each other with personal issues outside of teaching or the school.

RISE staff's perspectives on the importance of a sense of community to cluster continuation varied by district. Of the 11 factors, Poonch staff ranked it as one of the most important factors while the other districts ranked it somewhere in the middle. RISE staff felt that this was a strength in almost all continuing clusters, though few felt it was among the most important factors for cluster continuation.

Developing a sense of community has proven to be essential for teachers to participate meaningfully in cluster meetings and for them to want to continue meeting. If they do not feel comfortable sharing or expressing their opinion or concerns, they will not fully benefit from the skills and knowledge of the group.

Clarity of Purpose (Understand purpose and value, and ability to set goals and plan to achieve those goals): The purpose of a cluster is to give teachers a forum to discuss and practice active-learning methods and to share and solve problems within their classrooms and schools. Many of the clusters interviewed were not able to articulate the purpose of the cluster meetings. When asked what they do in their cluster meetings, most answered with the routine of each meeting, rather than what they accomplish in the meetings. However, nearly every group discussed the positive changes in their classrooms as well the importance of learning from each other. Therefore, while they may not be able to articulate the purpose, they do seem to understand the benefits.

One of the major aspects to understanding the purpose and value of cluster meetings is that the cluster evolves to meet the needs of the participants. A few clusters, who seemed to be among those that would continue to meet over a longer period of time, displayed this attribute. For example, one cluster reorganized from a primary and a middle cluster into a single cluster that included all teachers from the venue school and from other schools in the area. As a cluster, they decided to take on long-term goals, including creating a science lab with the teaching kit provided by RISE. They are also now working with the School Management Committee to

develop a library. Other clusters have decided to work on topics that are of use to them. Some clusters are using their meetings to discuss larger educational issues, including exam formats and curriculum, and have brought their concerns to the education department.

Forming goals and planning was the weakest skill among the clusters interviewed. Only the cluster described above seemed to have a goal towards which they were working to achieve. All other clusters said they did not plan further ahead than the next month's meeting. However, when the idea was suggested to them, they agreed that it would be useful to them. Additionally, in the activities with the RISE staff, many agreed that it was important for clusters, but it was not considered a strength of many of the continuing clusters. This indicates that the concept of goal setting and planning was not emphasized during the facilitation of RISE. There was no formal mechanism to guide clusters on goal setting and long-term planning.

Although clusters did not have long-term goals, they did use their meetings as a forum to discuss and resolve their most immediate needs, which helped them see results and feel the benefits of the cluster meetings. Including long-term planning in addition to time spent on immediate needs could encourage teachers to work together to achieve a goal and potentially keep them engaged for a longer time in the cluster and meet some larger needs.

Agency (Members contribute to decisions): Cluster members should feel that they are contributing to the decisions and the direction of cluster meetings, so it is meeting their needs and they are an important part of the group. In every cluster, teachers said that they all contribute to the decision making process. All groups say that they decide together on the agenda for the next meeting. However, when asked how they then decide who will do the model lesson or lead discussions, many groups stated that they revert to the focal person or the RISE facilitator to make the decision. Also, in the interviews with some clusters, it became clear that some members were more dominant in the discussion, while others were passive. This suggests that this same dynamic may occur during cluster meetings, which would indicate that some members are not participating fully in the decision making process.

RISE staff did not rank agency as an important factor for cluster sustainability. However, it was considered a strength in most continuing clusters and a challenge in most not continuing clusters, which shows that it is an indicator of sustainability.

Agency is closely tied to both sense of community and leadership. If there is a true community and everyone is engaged and feels free to share their challenges, they will be contributing to the agenda and other decisions. Cluster leaders can also affect agency by including all members in the decision making process.

Competency (Members contribute skills and knowledge, and members learn from each other): Similar to agency, teachers who feel a sense of competency feel that they are contributing to the group and that their skills are important. This seems to be an important aspect to the continuation of clusters. In all interviews, teachers referenced learning from each other when asked what they felt was most beneficial about cluster meetings or when asked why they continue to meet. When teachers are able to help each other, it builds their own confidence. Learning something new from others that they can then take back and use in the classroom with good results makes the cluster activity relevant to their work. Again, there needs to be a sense of community in order

for this to work because people need to feel comfortable asking for help and comfortable enough to offer help.

District staff did not rank this factor particularly high and in Mansehra and Poonch it was among the factors they felt were least important to cluster sustainability. They felt that if a sense of community was developed, teachers' belief in their own competency would follow and so focused on the importance of a sense of community.

Relevancy (Activities relevant to the classroom): When cluster activities are relevant to the classroom, teachers begin to see the visible results of the meetings. During the interviews, all teachers were excited to discuss the changes they had seen in their classrooms. This included how students are learning differently and how teachers teach differently. Most teachers cited the biggest difference in children as 'they are engaged' and even the weak students in their classes have become engaged. Many said that students do not hesitate to ask questions anymore and come to school happily. Teachers say that they are friendlier with the students, and try to do activities that the children enjoy. Many also discussed not using corporal punishment or using it less often since they started with RISE. Both the teaching training and community participation in school management teams dealt with the elimination of corporal punishment in their program activities. The community participation team introduced the concept of healing schools to communities and teachers, and RISE's teacher training program included activities on teacher-student interaction. In AJK, an organization unaffiliated with RISE is raising public awareness about corporal punishment in the classroom through a media campaign. This additional input might have impacted teachers' behavior in the classroom as well.

In some clusters, teachers talked about the increase in enrollment and improved exam results due to the changes they are making in their classrooms. Seeing visible and measureable results, including changes in the way that students engage, changes in students' behavior, increased enrollment, and improved exam results, are all very important for teachers. These successes in the classroom encourage teachers to continue their meetings and feel more confident.

Cluster Leadership: The role of the cluster focal persons and subject leaders is important in creating a stable, supportive, and productive environment for all cluster members. However, this leadership has taken many forms which greatly affect the dynamics of the cluster. The styles of leadership of the clusters varied by cluster and interestingly, there were similarities in leadership styles by district. In Poonch for example, of the three clusters interviewed, none had dominating leaders. In two of these clusters, they were unsure of who the cluster leaders were. But the sense of community in all three of the clusters was very apparent. This seems to have lessened the need for a dominating leader. On the other hand, in Muzaffarabad, there was a dominating leader in all three clusters interviewed. In two cases this was the focal person, but in the third it was the head teacher of the venue school. In Mansehra, in two of the three clusters, the focal person seemed to take on the mentor role by providing input to the other members regarding instructional skills. Bagh was the only district where there was not a pattern in the types of leaders.

The patterns in leadership seem to be closely tied to the type of leadership provided by the RISE facilitators. In Poonch, the staff said that they focused more on creating a community and ensuring that all cluster members participate and understand the purpose and administrative

aspects of the meetings, rather than focusing on developing the skills of only the cluster leaders in these areas. In Muzaffarabad, emphasis was often placed on leadership in the clusters as a means to ensure attendance. In Mansehra, where all cluster facilitators were Teacher Training Officers who had much experience in education, they themselves served as mentors in the cluster meetings. Although three of the districts seemed to have different focuses for cluster leadership, all have successful clusters, which may indicate that while positive leadership is important, the style can vary by group.

Head Teacher Support: As RISE's cluster program evolved over the life of the project, one issue that was consistently viewed as a shortcoming was the lack of support of head teachers for cluster meetings. Many staff members felt that the head teacher needed to play a stronger role in cluster meetings, either through participation or facilitation and support. However, in the interviews, most teachers felt that their head teachers provided at least minimum support by giving them permission to attend the meetings and space to conduct the meetings. Few head teachers provided guidance, follow-up, or attended or visited meetings.

Only two middle clusters had strong support of their head teachers, and in these two cases, this seemed to negatively impact the productivity of the cluster meetings. In one cluster in Muzaffarabad, the head teacher was very involved with the cluster and required that all the teachers attend the meetings. However, the teachers of that cluster seemed unclear of the purpose of the meetings and did not seem motivated. In another cluster where the head teacher was monitoring meetings, the teachers also did not seem to be motivated by their own needs to attend the meetings.

However, there seemed to be a different case for one primary cluster in Mansehra. The teacher in charge was a part of the cluster and other teachers noted how the cluster has helped them all become more comfortable working together. The difference between the middle and primary cluster responses may be due to the fact that in middle and high schools, head teachers are supervisors to the teachers while in primary schools, the teacher in charge simply plays the role of senior teacher.

Although RISE staff have been advocating for more involvement of head teachers in clusters, they did not rank it as very important for cluster sustainability compared to the more internal motivation factors like clarity of purpose and relevancy. Head teacher support was considered a strength for few continuing clusters and even fewer not continuing clusters.

Education Department Support: Overwhelmingly, clusters did not feel that they were supported by the education department. Responses ranged from indifference on the part of the education manager to an education manager marking one cluster absent from school when they were in their meeting. Most clusters acknowledged that the education department did not stop them from meeting. Others said the education managers had never visited their clusters or had visited but did not come to the cluster meeting. On the other hand, one cluster in Poonch had been visited twice by the District Education Officer (DEO) for a few minutes, and they felt that showed her support for the cluster. This was the only cluster that gave education managers a balloon in the force field activity. When asked what the education department could do to support clusters, teachers suggested ideas that implied a need for teachers to be recognized for their work. The responses to the question of education managers' support indicated that the feelings of not being

supported or recognized relate to their overall relationship with the education department, beyond the context of the cluster meetings.

RISE staff had varying views of the importance of education managers' support to clusters. Mansehra and Poonch ranked this as the most important factor to cluster sustainability. They attributed this to the fact that if the education department supports and requires teachers to conduct cluster meetings, teachers would be compelled to attend. Conversely, Bagh and Muzaffarabad staff thought that education department support was not very important. They felt that if teachers understood the purpose and value of the cluster meetings and had a sense of community, they would be motivated to meet.

Although their opinions varied regarding what they felt should be important, no RISE staff member cited education department support as a strength that contributed most to cluster sustainability.

The results of the cluster interviews and the staff activities clearly indicate that education managers are not actively supporting clusters. This situation proves that it is possible for teachers to continue to meet without active support from the education department, assuming they are not forbidden to attend. However, education department's recognition of the work that is being done in the cluster meetings could be a motivating factor for cluster sustainability. And certainly if a system were developed to require cluster meetings, with monitoring mechanisms in place, more teachers would be compelled to attend meetings.

VI. Conclusions

All of the above factors contribute to cluster sustainability. However, the sense of belonging to a community and meetings in which members learn from each other seem to play the biggest role in teachers' motivation to attend the meetings. In the isolating context in which teachers are working, these two factors give them an opportunity to share experiences and connect with others who are doing the same work.

Access alone does not motivate teachers to continue to meet. However, it is essential to creating a foundation on which clusters can develop a sense of community and work together to begin to see changes in their classrooms. Therefore, appropriate and sensible mapping of clusters is vital. If the schools of the cluster members are too scattered, difficult access will impact attendance. Also, ensuring that all the teachers working in a school are in the same cluster is important. Many clusters chose to combine middle and primary teachers into one cluster and keep the number of schools to a minimum. This proved to work well in most cases, as middle teachers are able to provide subject support to primary teachers and it creates a community of practice within the school. Once the clusters are formed, it is important that the meetings are held regularly without frequent changes in dates, so that teachers can begin to feel that it is a part of their routine.

Outside support to clusters from the head teachers and education managers is minimal. Yet, clusters are continuing to meet. If head teachers and education managers do not stop teachers from attending meetings, then teachers who are motivated will meet. Despite this, all clusters expressed an interest in support from these groups. They would like head teachers to serve as

resources in their meetings and for education managers to recognize the work they are doing. By improving this support, the motivation levels of teachers might increase, and a greater number of clusters will continue.

Seeing measurable results in their classrooms motivates teachers to continue to work with their clusters to improve their teaching. Clusters that are most successful have evolved to meet their needs. This means that they might end up addressing larger issues at the school level or even at the level of educational issues (like the exam system). Ensuring that clusters realize that the cluster is a venue where they can address their own needs is essential.

RISE's cluster model seemed especially effective in creating a positive environment where teachers felt comfortable sharing their challenges in the classroom and built on each others' strengths. Teachers often expressed the change in their attitude towards sharing as their cluster meetings progressed. Many teachers said they were hesitant to speak about their challenges, but as they became more comfortable, they began to open up and found that it was helpful to them. An interesting observation is that this seems to be paralleled in the classroom. Teachers used almost the same language to talk about the changes in their students. For example, students used to be hesitant to ask questions but they are now frequently asking questions. This means that the modeling of positive and friendly behavior beginning in the 12-day training and throughout the cluster meetings is impacting the way teachers manage their classrooms. Teachers are able to experience the feelings associated with this type of learning atmosphere, and can understand the benefits, so they are more likely to transfer it to the classroom.

The extent to which teachers could productively apply active-learning techniques in their classrooms varied greatly and was limited among most clusters. In many of the clusters interviewed, teachers cited activities that they had done in the 12-day training when asked in what ways they were using active-learning in their classrooms. Additionally, many clusters felt that active-learning added time to the lessons. These responses indicate that the teachers had not reached a point in their ability to creatively apply active-learning techniques that meet the objectives of new lessons. In other clusters, teachers seemed more clear and offered examples that were unique. These teachers also mentioned that students learned faster and remembered more with active-learning than they did with more traditional learning. This indicates that these teachers are more properly using the new methods in their classrooms.

Clusters that had RISE facilitators who were skilled in teaching seemed to be those clusters who had better understanding of active-learning. These facilitators also tended to serve as mentors to the cluster by conducting model lessons and giving suggestions for lesson planning. In clusters where the RISE facilitator did not have a background in teaching, the focus was more on creating a sense of community and relying more on the existing skills of the group members.

Overall, RISE created a system of peer learning that has helped teachers to create a network of support in their often isolated work. Clusters that are continuing are doing so because of the motivation that comes from their own need to improve themselves as professionals. The cluster groups have empowered teachers to find resources amongst themselves to meet the needs of their classrooms and schools.

VII. Recommendations for Future Projects

Recommendations for future projects are:

- Include all teachers from a school in one cluster, even mixing primary and middle school teachers.
- Identify the role of the education department in clusters to encourage support, monitoring, and recognition of clusters.
- Ensure head teachers' understanding and support to clusters, but do not encourage them to become regular cluster members because an authority figure in the group might discourage open discussion and sharing of challenges.
- Develop a long term planning mechanism for clusters, but keep time in meetings for teachers to deal with immediate needs as well.
- Ensure more consistency in the way clusters are facilitated through more targeted staff training and cluster guides to ensure the development of cluster administration skills and teaching skills.

HIV and AIDS Education for Displaced Burmese in Thailand: Politics, Policy and Practice

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Global patterns of migration are changing and an increasing number of populations are finding themselves in protracted situations of forced displacement, without access to basic health and education services. The accompanying increase in poverty, mobility, sexual violence, prostitution, and stigma puts displaced populations and host communities at increased vulnerability to Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). This paper uses recent United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization/United Nations Refugee Agency (UNESCO/UNHCR) guidelines to critically examine the educational provision for displaced Burmese in and around the town of Mae Sot, Thailand.

Key words: *migration, HIV, AIDS, education, Thailand, Burma*

I. Introduction

In 2005, over 44 million people were displaced worldwide due to 'conflict, violence, crisis or persecution' (UNESCO/UNHCR, 2007, p8). Patterns of migration are changing, and although numbers of forced migrants have decreased, numbers of stateless and internally displaced people¹ (IDPs) have risen (UNHCR, 2005). Sixty percent of refugees are in protracted² situations (ibid) that increase vulnerability to HIV and AIDS as inadequate access to education and health services, insecurity, poverty, and the breakdown of social frameworks lead to a proliferation in risky behavior (Hearn, 2008). Such factors contribute to higher HIV prevalence rates than in the country of origin and host population, increasing the discrimination refugees face in communities (ibid). Stigma towards persons living with HIV and AIDS can be a barrier to prevention and treatment due to perceptions of sexuality, gender, race, poverty, and existing prejudices within society (Parker et al. 2002). The relationship between stigma and displacement is complex: education can be considered a 'social vaccine', helping prevent HIV infection and reduce stigmatization (Kelly, 2004).

This paper explores education provision and HIV prevention amongst the displaced Burmese population in Thailand, where 140,000 live in refugee camps along the border (Thailand Burma Border Consortium; TBBC, 2009), 200,000 outside camps and over two million³ are employed, the majority illegally (IDC, 2007). Within communities living outside designated refugee camps, increased mobility, language barriers and discrimination hinder access to Thai health and education services (Sciortino and Punpung, 2009). This population is of specific concern as HIV prevalence is increasing (Mae Tao Clinic, 2007). Examining HIV and AIDS education outside camps along the Thailand/Burma border is necessary to avert an epidemic.

At the level of international organizations, including UN agencies, little is known about displaced populations outside camps, who are effectively neglected. The UNHCR (2007a) needs analysis of displaced Burmese persons in Thailand excludes non-camp residents, since the UNHCR works solely with camp residents and urban refugees in Bangkok. To rectify this, the international community must analyze the root causes of displacement, and acknowledge that the complex interrelation of economic and political factors affecting displaced Burmese on the Thai border makes international support necessary for successful protection, access to services, and the provision of durable solutions. This paper first examines the relations between conflict, displacement, education and HIV, and how education can contribute to HIV prevention in displaced populations. Following this, recent UNESCO/UNHCR guidelines are used to critically examine educational provision for displaced Burmese in and around the border town of Mae Sot, Thailand.

II. Context

A. Burma: Political, economic and social welfare

¹ IDP: displaced by violence or conflict but remaining in their own country

² Protracted is considered a situation where over 25,000 people have been displaced for over 5 years (UNHCR, 2005)

³ Due to the lack of a reliable study of migrant demographics along the Thai-Burma border, population statistics stated are estimates. Figures quoted in various sources vary from 2 to 4 million total Burmese migrants living in Thailand.

Since the military gained power in 1962, Burma has deteriorated economically and socially “as a consequence of command-style economic management under military rule, [and] self-imposed isolation” (Myint, 2008, p53). The current ruling junta, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), sustains a regime of human rights abuses and intimidation to maintain control, including “forced labor, political and religious persecution, conscription of child soldiers and forced displacement” (IDC, 2007). Investment in services and infrastructure is grossly inadequate. The last World Health Organization (WHO) health systems ranking placed Burma 190th out of 191 countries worldwide (WHO, 2000). The resolution to spend on the military rather than services, and control and unify ethnic groups at the cost of human and civil rights has resulted in Burma’s economic and social collapse (Steinberg, 2001; Booth, 2003). Large numbers of individuals have sought refuge in neighboring countries, the majority in Thailand (Karen Human Rights Group, 2006).

B. Thai Legislation

Concerned that lenient treatment will incite growing numbers of migrants, the Royal Thai Government (RTG) has neither adopted international refugee legislation (Huguet and Punpuing, 2005), nor ratified the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which defines a refugee as a person who “owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted [...] is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country” (UNHCR, n.d.). Instead, the RTG uses the term “temporarily fleeing fighting,” and individuals granted UNHCR refugee status are considered “of concern to the UNHCR” (UNHCR, 2006b).

Displaced people in border towns are regarded as economic migrants, although their conditions may be less secure, with less humanitarian assistance than in refugee camps. The protracted nature of the situation affects new generations; children born in Thailand before 2003 were ineligible for birth certificates, becoming stateless, without a nationality or documentation necessary to access education or health services (UNHCR 2006b). Registration is expensive and difficult, and many people remain in Thailand illegally rather than go through this process (Lom, 2008). The RTG has modified legislation and attempted to improve migrants' access to services (Sciortino and Punpuing, 2009), but nationwide success is hampered by the concurrent implementation of restrictive measures in certain provinces, including curfews, banning meetings of over five people and owning motorbikes or mobile phones (Lom, 2008).

Whether residing in camps, Thai border towns or Burma, displaced persons share the plight of being outside their place of residence, unable to return due to fear of persecution. In up to 50% of cases, economic migrants meet the criteria to be considered refugees by the UNHCR, but only a very small proportion are recognized as such and receive international protection (Green et al., 2008). Distinctions in definitions are thus political rather than circumstantial, allowing the RTG to circumvent international refugee law with impunity.

C. Epidemiology

In the 1990s, Thailand averted an HIV epidemic by implementing a nationwide public education drive to address misconceptions and risky sexual behavior (Ainsworth et al., 2003). Despite this success, the RTG recently recognized the need to change public health and education strategies

to continue to contain the epidemic, renew focus on HIV and AIDS and include new groups at risk, such as men who have sex with men and displaced populations (Medecins Sans Frontieres, 2005). The largest displaced population is Burmese, and China, Laos, India and Thailand all experience higher HIV prevalence in provinces bordering Burma, due to human trafficking, drug trade and prostitution (Khin, 2002).

Along the Thai border, the health of displaced persons inside camps is comparable to the general Thai population, in contrast with the inferior health of those outside, who lack access to services (Pleues et al., 2008). The main organization treating HIV and AIDS outside camps is the Mae Tao Clinic, which provides outreach services and coordinates community based organizations to deliver HIV and AIDS education. Around 50% of persons diagnosed with HIV are Burmese without access to health care, making the journey across the border specifically for help (Mae Tao Clinic, 2007).

The higher integration of displaced populations in urban areas puts them and the host community at increased risk of HIV (UNESCO/UNHCR, 2007). The discrimination many displaced Burmese in Mae Sot face in local schools and hospitals, and difficulty accessing such services can prevent early diagnosis, information and effective treatment (Mullany et al., 2003). There is also a lack of education regarding prevention strategies. Two thirds of IDPs have never heard of HIV and AIDS, only one third have seen a condom and have “extremely poor knowledge about transmission” UNHCR (2007, p46). Knowledge among displaced Burmese in Mae Sot is also inadequate: almost 90% believe HIV is transmissible by kissing or coughing, only 60% of men and 15% of women have ever seen a condom (Mullany et al. 2003). Such gender differences occur partly due to conservative views on women's sexuality. Until 2001 in Burma, possessing condoms was considered evidence of prostitution, and the prevailing stigma attached is indicated by the continued arrest of women carrying condoms (Talikowski and Gillieatt, 2005). These misconceptions contrast with levels of knowledge among Thais, indicating “political, social, legal, economic and physical barriers” to health and education campaigns in Thailand and a dearth of HIV education in Burma (Mullany et al. 2003, p68).

III. Education, HIV and AIDS and forced migration

A. Conflict, Migration and HIV and AIDS

Refugees follow a typical cycle of displacement, moving from initial emergency to relative stability and dependence on humanitarian assistance, to durable solutions including repatriation, relocation or integration in the host community (UNESCO/UNHCR, 2007). In protracted situations such as Thailand, displaced populations stagnate at the stage of dependence on humanitarian assistance (UNESCO/UNHCR, 2007), reflecting a failure at the level of the country of origin in which conflict occurred, the host country in which policy is formulated, and engagement of the donor community (UNHCR, 2006a).

During the initial emergency and dependence phases, “poverty, physical, financial and social insecurity erode habitual caring and coping mechanisms, [and] refugees are often rendered disproportionately vulnerable to HIV/AIDS” (Spiegel and Nankoe, 2004, p21). HIV incidence rates within refugee populations can, in turn, intensify negative perceptions within host communities (Parker et al., 2002; UNESCO/UNHCR, 2007). In the case of Burmese refugees to Thailand, this occurs if women resort to prostitution, or men engage in unsafe sex and transmit sexually transmitted infections to their wives (UNESCO/UNHCR, 2007). However, Spiegel (2004) cautions against generalizing about HIV amongst displaced populations, as contextual factors affect vulnerability and the spread of disease. Displaced persons in camps may access better health care and education than in their country of origin, which decreases vulnerability. Generalizing leads to a cycle of stigma and vulnerability, as host communities believe migrants spread HIV, regardless of actual risk (Spiegel, 2004). Alternatively, integration within host communities with high HIV prevalence may lead to quicker spread of HIV. Higher HIV incidence on the Thai border suggests that factors that increase vulnerability are putting both Thai and Burmese populations at risk. Programs to reduce vulnerability are necessary to prevent the spread of HIV, and governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and UN agencies have an opportunity and responsibility to safeguard the right to health and education within displaced populations in Thailand.

B. Education and HIV prevention

In conflict situations, instituting health and education services is necessary to instil stability, structure and impart important life-skills (UNESCO/UNHCR, 2007). These services are a basic human right, and should include HIV education, as commitments by the international community towards achieving Education for All (EFA) include pledges to “meet the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability” and create “educational programs and actions to combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic” (UNESCO/UNHCR, 2007, p13). Given that HIV and AIDS are incurable, prevention is the best method of halting their spread, and is dependent on education as a social vaccine (Kelly, 2004).

Displaced populations' educational exclusion impacts individual ability to prevent HIV initially, in the country of origin where education and health services may have been destroyed, and later, in the host country, as refugees may not have legal access to such services, be socially excluded by confinement in camps, and face discrimination or language barriers (Oh and Van der Stouwe, 2008). In countries with negative views of displaced populations, aligning efforts with national policies is essential. Failing to address refugees' HIV and AIDS education weakens similar education initiatives in place for citizens of the host country, as interaction between communities may negate preventative measures (Spiegel and Nankoe, 2004).

C. HIV and AIDS education for displaced populations

Education can break the cycle of infection, stigma and exclusion, and despite the complex and context specific considerations of each situation, common components of HIV and AIDS education for displaced populations can be identified. This paper uses the most recent UNESCO/UNHCR (2007) HIV and AIDS education guidelines for refugees as a framework to analyze the provision for displaced Burmese populations living outside refugee camps in Thailand. Using this framework has limitations, as most research was conducted in sub-Saharan

Africa, and does not account for political, economic and cultural differences in Southeast Asia. Nonetheless, the shared characteristics of displacement and vulnerability make the research relevant to the present context. Furthermore, although the UNHCR does not work with displaced populations outside camps in Thailand, they are the leading organization for refugees worldwide and their framework is the most comprehensive by which to analyze a given displaced population.

IV. Educational Responses to HIV and AIDS for Refugees and IDPs: The UNESCO/UNHCR framework

The shortage of research into HIV and AIDS education on the Thai border makes it important to begin exploring the current gaps, barriers and successes in provision. The UNESCO/UNHCR (2007) framework suggests five components are essential to a comprehensive, cohesive approach to HIV and AIDS education for displaced populations:

A. Policy, management and systems

Coordination, mainstreaming, and integration of HIV and AIDS policies and interventions, management and systems at country and organizational levels is essential; governments should address refugees specifically in education and health policies.

B. Quality education, including cross-cutting principles

Community organizations should be involved in assessment, planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation of programs to ensure their relevance. Programs must be designed to meet the needs of individual groups (ensuring community participation at all levels), as well as to ensure a safe learning environment that protects the emotional and well-being of learners.

C. Content, curriculum and learning materials

Context, culturally-specific, and age appropriate factors should be considered and education should tackle discrimination issues. The curricular approach taken to deliver HIV and AIDS education⁴ content that will be covered within the curriculum, teacher training needs, and resources required should be clearly defined.

D. Educator training and support

Educators should be given the appropriate knowledge to instruct, in formal and non-formal settings. Training received by educators should be relevant to communities, and meet home country requirements. In addition, programs should foster skills to help learners to make informed decisions about behaviors and relationships.

5. Approaches and entry points

⁴ The approach can vary from HIV and AIDS education being taught as a stand-alone subject, covered within another main subject (such as Natural Sciences or Health Education) or taking a cross-curricular or 'infused' approach that embeds HIV and AIDS education within several subjects (explicitly or implicitly).

A range of entry points should be used to make maximum use of resources and ensure sustainability.

V. Methodology

As little published literature on HIV and AIDS education for displaced Burmese populations living outside camps in Thailand exists, staff at the UNHCR, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Mae Tao Clinic, and a human rights NGO were contacted for information. This was provided in email communications between March 12 and April 9, 2009. Staff requested not to be named for reasons of personal security. 'Participant A', from the human rights NGO, requested the organization remain anonymous, so the security of other staff members and the organization was not compromised. 'Participant B' works at the Mae Tao clinic in the Adolescent Reproductive Health Network (ARHN) project. 'Participant C' is based at the UNHCR Mae Sot office and 'Participant D' works on migrant health issues at the IOM in Bangkok. Participants B, C and D did not consider it dangerous to reveal the name of their organizations. The insights represent a small cross-section of organizations and experiences rather than a comprehensive overview. Nonetheless, the answers were invaluable in reflecting experiences from the field, and together with the literature available and personal experience have formed the basis for the analysis in the next section.

VI. Provision in Mae Sot: Critical Analysis using the UNESCO/UNHCR Framework

A. Policy, Management and Systems:

Several criticisms can be levied at this component of the UNESCO/UNHCR framework. First, it seems unrealistic to expect countries to budget for HIV education of displaced populations, which are in the majority of cases hosted by developing countries lacking this capability⁵ (UNHCR, 2006a). Although the RTG's selective adherence to legislation is far from ideal, it cannot be solely responsible for the integration of such a sizable displaced population. Thailand does not possess the capacity or resources to provide a cohesive response to HIV and AIDS education for an additional two million people. Greater involvement of international organizations, including the UNHCR, in lobbying the Burmese junta, may eventually help to create a situation where repatriation is possible. Second, it assumes that refugees will want to access education in the host country, when issues in practice are more complex. Some Burmese parents, who envisage their children growing up and working in Thailand, prefer to enroll them in Thai schools, where they can learn the language and culture (Participant A). However, many prefer to send their children to unofficial migrant schools where native language and culture are instructed (Guinard, 2006), and they do not face discrimination by the Thai community (Participant D). The Thai Ministry of Education (MoE) supports EFA initiatives, and in order to work towards universal primary education has made provision for migrant schools, such as translating the Thai curriculum into Burmese and working towards recognizing qualifications (Guinard, 2006). However, dissonance in policy and attitudes with the Ministry of Interior and local police make the situation for these schools precarious (Participant A).

⁵ As Thailand is a lower-middle income country, it is considered 'developing' within the paper, in accordance with the World Bank's classification of all lower and middle income countries (World Bank, 2009)

The majority of Burmese parents' decision not to send their children to Thai schools is despite legislation implemented by the RTG in 2005 to fund non-Thais to access the national schooling system regardless of legal status (Sciortino and Punpuing, 2009). Education is central to HIV prevention and Thailand's efforts to expand access to basic education are a positive step. Nonetheless, a large proportion of children still fail to access basic education. Although accurate figures for the population in Mae Sot are unavailable, the Thai MoE reports that over 30,000 Burmese migrants were enrolled in Thai schools in 2007, which remains a small proportion of the total population (Sciortino and Punpuing, 2009, Participant D). Coordination and capacity building are necessary at national, regional and school levels, as the RTG lacks the finances to implement the 2005 initiative, with almost half of schools not receiving the promised funding for enrolled pupils, and over ten percent unaware of the new legislation (Sciortino and Punpuing, 2009).

The inclusion of refugee and migrant populations in the RTG's 2007-2010 HIV and AIDS policy strategy further reflects its commitment to consider displaced populations in national health and education plans. The policy promises increased access to antiretroviral treatment (ART), and although education is not explicitly cited, pledges to "build an understanding and awareness on HIV/AIDS and sexual activities" (National Committee for HIV and AIDS Prevention and Alleviation, 2007, p40). However, ambiguous targets could make monitoring, evaluation and holding the RTG accountable difficult, and the creation of a policy for refugees and migrant workers seems paradoxical considering Thailand does not recognize refugee status or adhere to international conventions. Policy has not translated into practice and ART remains excluded from free treatments available (Prevention of HIV/AIDS Among Migrant Workers in Thailand; PHAMIT, n.d.3). Thailand recently secured funding for ART for non-Thais from the Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, but provision is restricted to 2,000 places and excludes non-camp populations as only registered refugees are eligible (Participant C).

The lack of a single health and education monitoring system for displaced communities outside camps compounds the lack of coordinated response. The Mae Tao Clinic holds the most comprehensive health systems database, which remains inadequate by only comprising patients (Participant B). Individual organizations/ clusters of organizations partake in monitoring, but the approach is fundamentally people-driven, relying on individuals rather than systems. Organizations operate separately, without an overall HIV and AIDS education planning framework, or specific programs for IDPs (Participant B). This piecemeal approach could lead to resource dissipation as organizations unknowingly replicate or duplicate programs.

Barriers to effective HIV education include difficulties accessing populations and inadequate funding for displaced populations health and education in Thailand (Participant B). Programs must be expanded to access all populations, and the Burmese government lobbied to increase spending on health and education (*ibid*).

B. Quality Education

Providing HIV and AIDS education for children and adolescents before sexual debut is essential (UNESCO, 2008). At the Mae Tao Clinic, HIV voluntary counseling and testing are provided, in addition to numerous community-led education programs. One such program, the Adolescent Reproductive Health Network (ARHN), comprises nine organizations which share the objective

of implementing community based reproductive health training for displaced people along the border. Adolescents are trained as peer educators before introducing topics in communities. The curriculum is participatory, uses gender sensitive approaches, and covers key areas of knowledge in addition to negotiation and counseling skills (unpublished curriculum, ARHN). Easily monitored assessment procedures are used, testing knowledge and attitudes before and after interventions (unpublished evaluation matrix, ARHN). Training is provided in various languages to reach different ethnic groups (Participant B). Programs also operate for adults and families; Prevention of HIV/AIDS Among Migrant Workers in Thailand (PHAMIT) provides life skills training for children, reproductive rights training for adults, and distributes educational materials. Significant increases in condom use amongst casual partners from 2003-2008 have been reported following interventions (PHAMIT, n.d.2; Pinyosinwat, 2009). ARHN and PHAMIT impact positively upon displaced populations, and meet the UNESCO/UNHCR (2007, p19) criteria for quality, being “rights-based, proactive and inclusive, with curricula and instructional approaches that are gender-sensitive, scientifically accurate and culturally appropriate.” However, the lack of an overall monitoring framework makes an assessment of quality and replication of HIV and AIDS education programs across organizations currently impossible.

The lack of stable and secure learning environments is a significant hindrance to quality education as migrant schools are liable to be shut down, students risk attack or deportation, and high levels of gender based violence persist. This is partly due to stigma in Thailand and the “fear factor” associated with displaced Burmese people creating low community tolerance (Hearn, 2008). UNICEF and the IOM are launching programs aimed at reducing negative stereotypes (IOM, 2009), and the RTG must address this key component in HIV education and prevention. Although good quality practice and programs are in existence, a more cohesive approach is required to overcome stigma and ensure programs are not duplicated.

C. Content, Curriculum and Learning

A strength of HIV education programs in Mae Sot is the availability of materials in different languages, making them easily accessible to local organizations and communities. Reproductive health curricula and educational resources are available online in Burmese, from organizations such as PHAMIT (n.d.). Little published literature on formal curriculum elements in migrant schools in Thailand exists, since education is administered by individual organizations and communities. Together with the language barrier, this makes it difficult to comprehensively analyze the quality of content, curriculum and learning of HIV education in Mae Sot in the present paper. Despite these limitations, Participant B provided AHRN curricula for analysis. ARHN methods are participatory, in the hope that similar strategies will be used in communities. Materials are available in different languages, developed in line with community needs and tackle issues of discrimination and stereotypes (Participant B). Assessing how AHRN peer educators put knowledge into practice is difficult, as the workshop setting is non-formal. The ARHN documents initial peer educator training, but implementation varies depending on the community and peer educator's choice (ibid).

D. Educator Training and Support

As with curriculum materials, resources are only available in the language of instruction, and therefore inaccessible for the current paper. The AHRN program provides peer educators with

week-long pre-service training programs, in which they are transmitted the skills and knowledge previously outlined in participatory workshops. Further support is provided every three to six months in follow up visits, aimed at assessing the use of skills and knowledge, and address difficulties encountered (unpublished AHRN assessment matrix). Each organization has representatives present at annual meetings, when progress and challenges are discussed and curricula updated, with changes then communicated to peer educators (Participant B).

Difficulties accessing displaced populations are a significant barrier to providing HIV and AIDS education; implementing outreach services is challenging, particularly amongst IDPs (Participant B). The Mae Tao Clinic works with displaced communities to devise ways of accessing populations on the Burmese side of the border, providing qualified staff in the Backpack Health Worker Team project (BPHWT; Wells, 2009). BPHWTs are trained by senior staff on skills from basic first aid to surgery. Missions within Burma are undertaken at considerable personal risk, as the SPDC considers treating IDPs equivalent to supporting the enemy (ibid). BPHWT aims to provide sustainable solutions to access, and now reaches an estimated 140,000 IDPs in Eastern Burma (BPHWT, 2009).

UNESCO/UNHCR (2007) state that providing training for non-formal educators (such as community and religious leaders) involved in delivering HIV education programs is essential. Currently, leaders' opposition to reproductive health education on religious and cultural grounds is one of the most substantial barriers to HIV and AIDS education for displaced Burmese (Participant C). This makes their inclusion even more indispensable to address the lack of HIV knowledge. Several projects, such as Mobile Obstetric Mobile Health Workers (MOM), include local leaders in planning and implementing reproductive health and contraception education but do not cover HIV and AIDS (Mullany et al., 2008). An expansion of such projects to include HIV education is needed, to increase the support of community leaders, the impact of existing programs, and reduce local stigma.

E. Approaches and Entry Points

Providing a range of approaches and entry points is essential to ensuring coverage, continuity and sustainability of educational programs (UNESCO/UNHCR, 2007). Community-based learning is an increasingly popular method for providing HIV and AIDS education in and around Mae Sot. Sexuality education takes place in some migrant schools, but the lack of monitoring systems make it difficult to assess the extent and quality of programs (Participant B). Mae Tao clinic staff deliver adolescent health education at schools using ARHN peer educators to deliver the curriculum in local languages, covering topics including sex education, HIV and AIDS (Mae Tao Clinic, n.d.). Peer educators are also used by World Vision to teach reproductive health skills to young, single, newly arrived Burmese women (PlusNews, 2007). Stigma remains a barrier to learning, as many women associate HIV and AIDS knowledge with prostitution, promiscuity and drug use (ibid). Women are compensated for time taken off work, but employers' reluctance to allow employees to attend affects participation (ibid). Peer educators may be the most effective way of accessing difficult to reach members of the community to reduce stigma and improve knowledge, dispelling misconceptions that only promiscuous or drug taking people need to know (Theede and Isarabhakdi, 2007).

Stigma also affects condom use, which PHAMIT is increasing by improving knowledge, changing attitudes, and ensuring availability and accessibility (PHAMIT, n.d.2). PHAMIT aims to overcome the fear of arrest and deportation prohibiting displaced populations from traveling to purchase condoms (ibid). Through a combination of condom boxes and outreach services, condoms are now accessible at over 1,500 locations. Embarrassment is minimized by carefully selecting locations, but traditional values still prevent adolescents from openly taking condoms, and certain groups, including those in long term relationships that are not necessarily monogamous, are less likely to use them (PHAMIT, n.d.2). Work to combat stereotypes and increase access to condoms is taking place, but time and increased exposure are needed before all groups use condoms and are at ease with the idea.

Outreach services are provided in school health and feeding programs operating through the Mae Tao clinic. The clinic runs a school for 500 pupils, which its staff's children may attend (Mae Tao Clinic, 2007). The Migrant Assistance Program foundation and World Vision Foundation of Thailand have drop-in centers in Mae Sot, aimed at displaced populations on the border working in low paid factory jobs. The centers have libraries lending educational reproductive, HIV and AIDS materials, and run educational workshops and AIDS awareness sessions (PHAMIT, n.d.). Further information is distributed by PHAMIT, ARHN and the Mae Tao Clinic in different languages. An onsite resource center is available for health workers and patients, and clinic practitioners give each patient health education (Mae Tao Clinic, 2007). To involve the community and increase awareness, the clinic sponsors several yearly health campaigns, for example World AIDS Day (Mae Tao Clinic, 2007). In this way, organizations provide a secure environment, mixing information and education with community activities.

VII. Conclusions

Based on the analysis of provision using the UNHCR framework, it is evident that organizations are providing sustainable, context relevant, participatory education programs to tackle HIV and AIDS issues in local communities in and around Mae Sot. Furthermore, the RTG's inclusion of displaced populations in health, education policy, and planning at national, regional and local levels is encouraging. Nonetheless, notable gaps in research and provision exist, particularly with regards to those residing outside refugee camps, who remain hard to reach and without legal access to ART. High levels of exclusion due to language and cultural differences prevent access to Thai schooling and health systems, and are intensified by widespread stigma towards migrants and HIV.

Education strategies in Thailand must be targeted at reducing discrimination towards displaced populations and HIV. To facilitate this, the factors that limit or increase HIV transmission and risks to host communities must be better understood in national and regional contexts. International, national, regional, and local level policies and strategies should be coordinated and mainstreamed for effective resource management. The international community must support the RTG in building capacity to effectively scale up and monitor programs. Ultimately, the RTG and international community must engage in a concerted effort to address the economic, civil, social, and political oppression in place under SPDC rule, otherwise educational efforts will provide temporary relief rather than break the cycle of abuses that cause the mass migration of Burmese to Thailand.

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Creating a Different Kind of Innovator: Using health communication theory in entrepreneurship education to foster behavior change among entrepreneurship students in sub-Saharan Africa

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There is a broad scholarly consensus that entrepreneurship can be taught and that entrepreneurship education benefits societies (Charney & Libecap, 2003). However, technical entrepreneurship education interventions are still the norm in the West (Alberti & Poli, 2005), and especially in sub-Saharan Africa (North, 2002; Ladzani & van Vuuren, 2002). In this study, we argue that entrepreneurship education in sub-Saharan Africa follows a special pattern, and that health communication theory can inform improvements in enterprise training in the African context because of its particular effectiveness in inducing behavior change where environmental norms would normally constrain the development of such new behavior. The overall goal of the present paper is threefold; to contribute to the understudied domain of entrepreneurship education theory for economic development, to inform more effective enterprise training interventions in sub-Saharan Africa, and to foster the generation of more entrepreneurs capable of contributing to wealth generation in this region.

Key words: *Entrepreneurship, Education, International Development, Africa*

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I. Introduction

Small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are the main drivers for job creation everywhere around the globe (Birch, 1987; Bruederl et al., 1992; Mead & Liedholm, 1998), and “unleashing the power of local entrepreneurs to reduce poverty in their communities and nations” is one of the highest priorities in international development (UNDP, 2004, p.5). The main objective of entrepreneurship education is to foster the creation of new entrepreneurs who start new formal economic ventures (Ronstadt, 1985). This is an especially critical goal for Sub-Saharan Africa, considered the exception among developing regions, because, unlike all other developing zones recently, sub-Saharan African nations have not significantly advanced in key areas of poverty reduction, health care improvements, and food security, and have trailed behind other regions in developing an entrepreneurship culture (Kates & Dasgupta, 2007).

However, in the developed world alone, the domain of entrepreneurship education suffers from insufficient comprehensive theories and extreme fragmentation (Alberti & Poli, 2005; Pittaway & Cope, 2007). Moreover, the existing pool of entrepreneurship studies, largely originating in the West, is unlikely to apply directly to developing nations such as those in sub-Saharan Africa (Mitchell, 2004), and entrepreneurship scholars are calling for improved entrepreneurship education theories and programs (e.g., Co & Mitchell, 2006; Sriram & Mersha, 2006; Ladzani & van Vuuren, 2002; North, 2002).

It is the contention of this paper that the analytical framework of health communication can usefully provide the basis for informing entrepreneurship education theory for development regions such as sub-Saharan Africa. This is because the behavior change theories underlying health communications have been shown to be effective in enrolling and motivating their audiences to engage in new behaviors and habits in Africa (Elmendorf, Cabanero-Verzosa, Lioy, & LaRusso, 2005), e.g., in the area of HIV prevention (Singhal & Rogers, 2003), and becoming an entrepreneur, to a large extent, involves changing one’s behavior and way of life. Additionally, the existing published literature related to entrepreneurship education in sub-Saharan African contexts consistently recommends moving away from technical entrepreneurship education, towards more action-oriented, experiential entrepreneurship training programs (see Table 1 for a detailed discussion). This is conceptually consistent with reviewers of western entrepreneurship education programs who suggest a similar shift towards more “relevant” (Edelman, Manolova, & Brush, 2008) and “synergistic” (Collins, Smith, & Hannon, 2006) education approaches in entrepreneurship education. Finally, entrepreneurship, as a field of study, is action-oriented, pragmatic in its focus, and multi-disciplinary, hence relevant literature can be found in diverse journals, from management, business administration, to organizational studies, and psychology (Rauch & Frese, 2000). This means that cross-fertilization between subject areas may usefully contribute to a deeper understanding of this domain for researchers and practitioners alike.

Our paper seeks to contribute to the debate surrounding entrepreneurship education for international development by proposing a new theoretical framework for evaluating and improving higher education programs geared at stimulating entrepreneurship in sub-Saharan Africa. This is also relevant to Western citizens because poverty reduction in less-developed countries ultimately contributes to increased stability and security everywhere (e.g., Sachs, 2005; Collier & Gunning, 1999).

The present study is organized as follows: We first outline the theoretical concepts in entrepreneurship education referenced in this article; then we describe the special kind of entrepreneurship education that seems most appropriate in the sub-Saharan context. In the section that follows, we look to theories that can inform Africa-specific entrepreneurship education, and describe the tenets of health communication in their applicability to enterprise training. We then evaluate the existing literature on entrepreneurship education in sub-Saharan Africa, especially from a health communication lens, and conclude our paper with a discussion of the limitations of this study as well as suggestions for researchers and practitioners to develop the concepts outlined in this document further.

II. Theoretical background

Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship education

Although there is no single definition of entrepreneurship or of entrepreneurship education, we follow Gartner's (1990) definition of entrepreneurship as the process of starting and running a new venture. In defining entrepreneurship education, we use the definition of Ladzani & van Vuuren who see entrepreneurship education as "a three-legged pot" (Ladzani & van Vuuren, 2002, p. 155) of motivational, entrepreneurial, and business skills training. Entrepreneurship is concerned with "hard" skills related to financial and business management, as well as "soft" skills related to the intention of venture creation, such as evaluating opportunities, going with or against trends in business and society, taking calculated risks, and maintaining self-confidence in the face of various obstacles on the way towards founding a business (Krueger & Carsrud, 1993, in Fayolle, 2005).

Entrepreneurial intention

Venture creation is an intentional (Fayolle, 2005) and action-focused (Rauch & Frese, 2000) behavior. According to Krueger and Carsrud (1993), beyond a person's beliefs, attitudes, or other person-related or environmental factors, entrepreneurial intention seems to be most reliably predicting entrepreneurial behavior. Entrepreneurial intention is most likely to be enhanced if a person has high entrepreneurial self-efficacy (Chen et al., 1998). Entrepreneurial self-efficacy, in turn, is a variable derived from the social learning concept self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977), and refers to a person's belief of being able to effectively perform entrepreneurial tasks and duties in the areas of innovation, marketing, management, financial control, and risk-taking (Chen et al., 1998). It is a moderately stable and task-specific personality characteristic that is instrumental for the intention to create a new business (Boyd & Vozikis, 1994; Chen et al., 1998), and that can be changed with training (Shaver, 2007).

Entrepreneurial orientation and attitude

Consistent with the general conceptual fragmentation of the entrepreneurship domain, there are several operational definitions of "soft" skills and attitudes that are measured in the context of entrepreneurship education. We outline two of these in this paper, as these were referenced in the relevant empirical literature we review below. First, a person's entrepreneurial attitude consists of self-esteem, control, innovation, and achievement (Robinson, Stimpson, Huefner, & Hunt, 1991), and an entrepreneurial orientation are conceptualized as innovation, proactiveness,

autonomy, risk-taking, and competitive aggressiveness (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). According to Lumpkin & Dess, a person's entrepreneurial orientation may change in relation to his or her social context. This points towards another important element predictive of the efficacy of entrepreneurship education: the environment in which that budding entrepreneurs live.

Entrepreneurial behavior: innovative, culture-bound

What is entrepreneurial behavior? In the words of seminal social psychologist Kurt Lewin, any behavior is a function of the person and his or her environment (Lewin, 1943). If entrepreneurship education is to be successful, it needs to take into account the social and cultural norms that affect the entrepreneurial potential of any given group of entrepreneurship students. In the context of entrepreneurship education for sub-Saharan development, two distinctions are particularly relevant.

First, an entrepreneur creates value through innovation (Schumpeter, 1951), and second, entrepreneurship is inextricably linked to the local culture within which it is undertaken (Audretsch & Keilbach, 2007). Despite the lack of scholarly consensus over what makes an entrepreneur, entrepreneurs are frequently defined in how they differ from other business actors. For example, Hisrich, Peters, and Shepherd (2005) stress that the development of particular skills, namely inner control, risk taking, innovativeness, being change oriented, and having persistence and visionary leadership, differentiates an entrepreneur from a manager. Given this distinction, it would make sense that traditional business or management training techniques would be comparatively less appropriate to produce new entrepreneurs, in any cultural context.

The second important component of entrepreneurial behavior relates to a budding entrepreneur's local context. According to Venkataraman (2002B), the "reality, context, cultural beliefs, and frameworks" critically affect the potential for an entrepreneur's success. The habits and communal attitudes towards enterprise in any given cultural context are important for entrepreneurship potential. Audretsch & Keilbach, (2007) have called this the entrepreneurship capital of a region or community, e.g., the sets of economic opportunities and human capital as well as cultural traditions and values associated with entrepreneurship. Culture affects entrepreneurship in a moderating role, interacting with other variables that predict entrepreneurial success (Tung et al., 2007; Rauch & Frese, 2000). However, few studies have examined the interaction of culture with personality variables such as self-confidence, although there is exploratory evidence that environments supportive of traits associated with entrepreneurship are positively related to higher entrepreneurial potential (Mueller & Thomas, 2001).

A. The kind of entrepreneurship education needed for sub-Saharan Africa

The main argument of the present paper is that it is useful to look beyond business theory to inform effective entrepreneurship education to nurture the development of a different kind of innovator, because entrepreneurs in development contexts can be considered social *avantgardists*, dwelling in comparatively less enterprise-friendly environments. In contexts such as Eastern Europe, budding entrepreneurs face few incentives to engage in enterprise creation (Harmeling, Oberman, & Venkataraman, 2008). By the same token, educated elites in Sub-Saharan Africa prefer public sector employment to starting new businesses (Sriram & Mersha,

2006). Hence enterprise agents in a society in development need to have developed the motivation, resilience and self-confidence to engage in behaviors that run counter to the prevailing culture, and sustain these behaviors in the face of normative resistance from their environment.

The entrepreneur in Africa: a different kind of innovator

In a development context, the meaning of the term “innovation” is not necessarily focused on breakthrough and avant-garde technologies. Rather, social entrepreneurship scholars Alvord, Brown, and Letts (2003) maintain that innovation for development revolves around capacity-building through empowering underprivileged and marginalized groups, distributing resources to areas where these do not exist yet, as well as building a momentum to challenge existing power structures and cultural norms in society.

When a person believes that he or she can start a new business, then this person is five times more likely to actually start the process of founding a company (Orford et al., 2003). In contrast to entrepreneurship education in the developed world where the goal of entrepreneurship education is not necessarily for all participants to launch businesses in the short-term (Fayolle & Gailly, 2005), the direct purpose of entrepreneurship education in Africa is on stimulation of creation of entrepreneurs within a culture that may show little or no support and appreciation of budding entrepreneurship (Dhliwayo 2008).

The type of learning that fosters such skills

In recent years, an increasing consensus has emerged among development practitioners concerning the type of learning that brings with it the potential for positive change and sustainable restructuring in transition societies. Botkin et al. (1979) term this innovative learning, e.g., the learning of new competencies and attitudes that enable individuals to break through existing paradigms and limits to growth. This is especially relevant for nations in pursuit of economic and social development.

In this context of learning and skills development, the World Bank, in a recent review of global health initiatives in Africa (Elmendorf, Cabanero-Verzosa, Lioy, & LaRusso, 2005), reported on a growing focus to base capacity-building interventions on behavior change communications and on the social science that underlies such strategic communication efforts. This is out of a recognition that an exclusive focus on increasing levels of knowledge in a particular domain has shown to be insufficient in bringing about healthier, more productive behaviors. According to this report, development practitioners need to entice individuals to move from assimilating information to being motivated to experiment with new behaviors in order to be able to internalize and adopt changes in habitual behaviors.

This speaks directly to the study of entrepreneurship education for development and the applicability of health communications theory to enterprise training, in that by teaching students about entrepreneurship in a development society, the foremost goal is to induce behavior change amongst these students of entrepreneurship, and motivate each of them throughout the trainings to become an entrepreneur him- or herself upon course completion. The underlying behavior

change focus of health communication theory, then, may usefully be applied to inform effective entrepreneurship education programs.

B. How health communication applies to entrepreneurship education for sub-Saharan Africa

Health communication is a distinctive area within communication theory that formally developed in the 1970s, focused on health, and on promoting healthier behaviors within a given audience (Rogers, 1996). Health communication is based on social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), social marketing theory (Kotler & Roberto, 1989), and on the theory of diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1995). All of these theories integrate social and environmental variables with individual factors that contribute to a person's propensity to change their attitude or behavior towards a given stimulus. In this way, communications are imbedded within their target's culture, which allows them to be contextually dynamic and applicable to any particular global context (Fishbein, 2000). This is also why a health communications framework is pertinent beyond the world of global health, and transposable to inform entrepreneurship education.

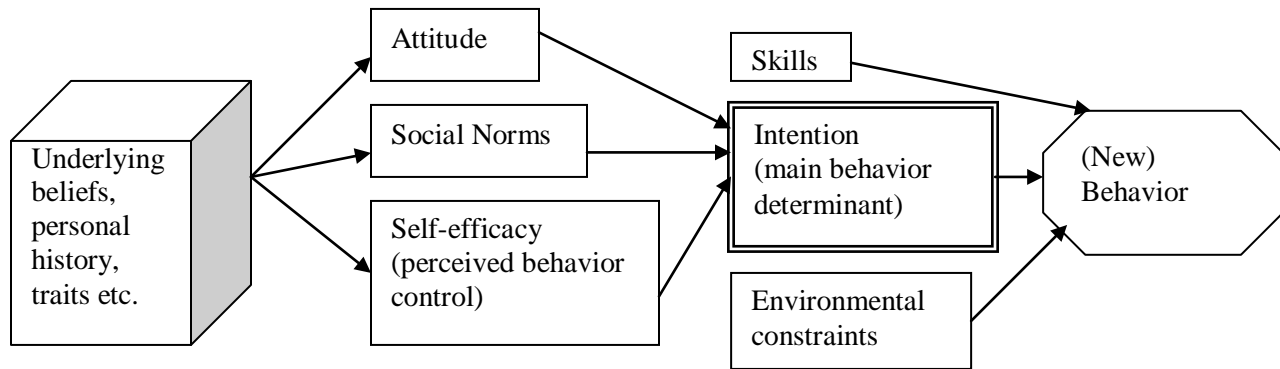
Health communication incorporates behavior change theories

In the international development context, the domain of communication for global health has been embracing behavior science theory to inform effective interventions since the 1980s (for an early overview of public health communication theory, see Clift, 1989). In particular, Fishbein's (2000) integrative model of behavior has incorporated the leading theories of behavioral prediction and behavior change, including his prior collaborative work with Ajzen, most notably the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), and Ajzen's (1982) theory of planned behavior.

An integrated model

All of these psychological behavior models were distilled into Fishbein's (2000) integrated model, depicted in Figure 1, in order to design persuasive communications to support and encourage healthy behaviors, for example to promote HIV prevention (Fishbein & Capella, 2006). The model stipulates that a person is likely to engage in a new behavior if he or she has the necessary skills to perform the behavior, if there are no environmental constraints preventing the behavior, and if the person has the intention to perform the new behavior. Intentions, in turn, are composed of attitudes, societal norms, and the person's self-efficacy perception, or their perceived behavior control, e.g., to what extent the person believes she or he can actually manage to perform the behavior. Effective global HIV prevention communications are embedded in an understanding that behaviors related to HIV contraction are socially and culturally constructed, which means that multi-level, culturally contextualized health communications are required (Singhal & Rogers, 2003). By the same token, the social and contextual variables related to a person's behavioral intention in Fishbein's (2000) model are particularly relevant to the development of the appropriate "soft" skills related to a more entrepreneurial attitude or self-belief, thus predicting a behavior change towards entrepreneurship.

Figure 1: Simplified, slightly adapted version of Fishbein's (2000) integrated model of predicting healthy behaviors



Integrating entrepreneurship training into health communication theory

Below, we outline how Fishbein's (2000) model can be applied to evaluate the efficacy of entrepreneurship education initiatives in a development context, and how such a framework can inform the development of effective enterprise training programs for poverty alleviation. Please note that rather than providing actual suggestions for the content of entrepreneurship trainings, the purpose of this overview is to stimulate new ideas, and a consideration that incorporating components of health communication theory may improve the design or analysis of enterprise training programs.

In Fishbein's model, the variable *skills development* relates to the classic topic of study for entrepreneurship education, e.g., the hard skills traditionally covered in entrepreneurship education courses. The concept of environmental constraints from the model corresponds to public policies that would make it easy or hard to start a new company in an entrepreneurship education context. Especially in contexts where entrepreneurship is not comprehensively integrated in the formal economic structure, and officially registering a new business is a complex and time-consuming task, this variable importantly affects a person's likely entrepreneurial behavior. In addition, the concept *environmental constraint* inevitably affects budding entrepreneurial behavior. Especially if the local environment presents disincentives for the creation of new enterprises, entrepreneurship training will be comparatively less effective. In this case, adding an external stakeholder analysis during the design phase would be prudent. If feasible, practitioners should complement training efforts with advocacy in order to help generate the conditions that would enable future entrepreneurs to succeed. Finally, three psychosocial variables constitute a person's behavioral intention, e.g., *attitude*, *norms*, and *self-efficacy*. These depend on the target population's context, and vary alongside the behavior in question, which means that a communication initiative targeting behavior change (such as entrepreneurship education for development) need to be couched within the social structure of the target population. Researchers and practitioners typically complain about the weak attitude-behavior link amongst people in general ("*they never do what they say they will do*"), because in addition to a person's attitude, additional factors contribute to the actual behavior that a person

engages in. The model can help pinpoint this dynamic interaction of factors contributing to behavior, or behavior change.

For example, a practitioner who sets out to create a new enterprise education course should assess what the particular prevailing attitudes and beliefs are concerning entrepreneurship among the targeted audience. With this information in hand, tailored interventions can be designed (e.g., games, exercises, case study reviews) whose specific goal is to positively affect participants' attitudes and perceived self-confidence concerning their future entrepreneurial success. This is most usefully done in an action research/action learning context, e.g., facilitators should combine information gathering with intervention design and adaptation, and (as a rule of thumb) spend at least as much time on supporting participants in their own learning journey as time spent communicating new concepts.

Applying behavior change theories to the study of entrepreneurship education is not new. As outlined above, this is because behavior change frameworks deal with explaining and predicting behavioral intentions. Several enterprise theorists have integrated behavior change theory into the study of entrepreneurship since Krueger and Carsrud integrated Ajzen's (1991) model into existing entrepreneurship frameworks, in particular concerning the extent to which entrepreneurship training programs can influence entrepreneurial attitudes and intentions among training participants (for a review, see Fayolle & Gailly, 2005).

However, to the best of our knowledge, theory building in entrepreneurship education for economic capacity building in Sub-Saharan Africa is virtually non-existent, despite the urgent need to make entrepreneurship education in this region more effective.

The focus within health communication theory on behavioral intentions is also effective when evaluating entrepreneurship trainings in development contexts because health communication experts agree that merely promoting logical arguments to an audience is unlikely to remove the emotionally held attitudinal barriers and beliefs that prevent new behaviors to take hold, and behavior change is often based on emotional assessments, not on rational, logical thought (Singhal & Rogers, 2003). Yet it is health communication's focus on behavior change that has arguably made health communication based interventions in development contexts effective, precisely because it allows for targeting interventions at those elements within an audience that are considered most adverse towards engaging in the new, desired behavior, such as a cultural norm that is not supportive of condom use.

For us human beings, engaging in new, unknown behaviors is inherently risky, and hence we shy away from such new behaviors (Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1991). Entrepreneurial behavior, and starting a new business venture, is particularly risky in a development context, which is why the entrepreneurship education initiatives targeting social learning or affective variables, as outlined in the section below, may have been deemed productive in these societies. Let us now review the current status of entrepreneurship education in sub-Saharan Africa, and provide a summary of the evidence base on recent entrepreneurship trainings by referring to the principles of health communication theory.

C. Evaluating entrepreneurship education in sub-Saharan Africa

Little empirical work has been done to date to measure the overall effectiveness of different entrepreneurship education programs in any regional context (Harmeling et al., 2008; Pittaway & Cope, 2007). Literature reviews of entrepreneurship education in the West (e.g., Edelman et al., 2008; Pittaway & Cope, 2007; Alberti & Poli, 2005) leave out any discussion of entrepreneurship education for a development context, let alone entrepreneurship education for wealth-generation in sub-Saharan Africa.

Trends in systematic entrepreneurship education evaluations in sub-Saharan Africa

Very few published studies could be identified that provide overall assessments of entrepreneurship in Africa (Kiggundu, 2002), or that discuss how African entrepreneurship should be facilitated through international linkages and entrepreneurial and institutional capacity-building (Sriram & Mersha, 2006). In our literature search, we found fewer than a handful of peer-reviewed articles that provided entrepreneurship education evaluations in the southern African context, all of which used diverging approaches and data collection methods. However, the broad consensus among these publications' authors is that education policy-makers should move away from teaching entrepreneurship using a theory-based emphasis, and towards incorporating more dynamic entrepreneurship teaching styles (North, 2002). In South Africa, where most of the published work on entrepreneurship education has originated, several authors express grief over the fact that universities in that country tend to teach entrepreneurship using traditional classroom-style teaching methods, and invest little time outside the classroom to coach students in enterprise-relevant skills (Co & Mitchell, 2006; North, 2002).

Only one published study could be found that proposes a new, yet untested, theoretical framework for entrepreneurship education, also by a South African researcher. The model is conceptually similar to the changes to entrepreneurship education in South Africa proposed above, by basing the entrepreneurship education model on experiential learning principles (Dhliwayo, 2008), e.g., generating knowledge by transforming experiences into action (Kolb, 1984), as well as promoting problem solving and creativity, in order to promote the development of skills and knowledge through experiencing new activities, reflective thinking, and by trying out novel behaviors.

In the next section, we provide an illustrative overview of the recent evidence base on entrepreneurship trainings that support the reported scholarly consensus among southern African education researchers, and our proposed redirection of efforts towards conceptual models in entrepreneurship education that incorporate health communication and behavior change principles.

III. Methodology

Existing evidence of entrepreneurship education in sub-Saharan Africa linked to Health Communication

Below, the published data-driven literature on entrepreneurship education initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa since the year 2000 is reviewed. Our literature search was mainly guided by reviewing the PsychInfo database, because this research database spans across psychology,

sociology, business and management. In our literature review, we have used an adapted version of the methodology used in Pittaway & Cope's (2007) systematic entrepreneurship education literature review. Our sample is heterogeneous in nature, due to the scarcity of reporting actual entrepreneurship education interventions in sub-Saharan Africa. Since the domain of entrepreneurship research is referenced in diverse academic databases (Rauch & Frese, 2000), this review is illustrative rather than exhaustive, and we may have overlooked some relevant references. It is unlikely, however, that a large body of research is missing from this literature analysis because entrepreneurship in sub-Saharan Africa is still a largely understudied phenomenon (Robson et al., 2009), and the reviewed articles largely contain overlapping citations. We outline to what extent recent enterprise trainings relate to health communication principles, alongside the reported results of the interventions. The particular health communications framework used in this review is Fishbein's (2000) integrated model, since this model is the most comprehensive and integrative published health communication framework available to date.

The goal of this illustration is to draw attention to entrepreneurship training elements beyond traditional "hard" skills training, in order to foster a further shift in entrepreneurship education for sub-Saharan Africa towards promoting entrepreneurial intentions among students.

Table 1: Summary literature review of evidence-based entrepreneurship education initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa

<i>Authors and Publication Year</i>	<i>Data used in study</i>	<i>Location of study</i>	<i>Summary (and link to health communications theory)</i>
Botha, Nieman, & van Vuuren, 2006.	Experimental test of the effect of entrepreneurial training on 116 female entrepreneurs.	South Africa.	<p>Entrepreneurial characteristics and entrepreneurial orientation showed a significant improvement through entrepreneurial education.</p> <p><i>The experimental results suggest that training in entrepreneurial attitude and self-efficacy improves success of entrepreneurial ventures.</i></p>
Frese, Brantjes, & Hoorn, 2002.	Survey of 87 small-scale business owners.	Namibia.	<p>Beyond an entrepreneurial orientation (e.g., being autonomous, innovative, and managing risk and competitiveness constructively), a proactive stance is linked both to the decision to become an entrepreneur and to enjoying success in such a career.</p> <p><i>This attitudinal variable would affect entrepreneurial intention in training efforts.</i></p>
Frese, Krauss, Keith, Escher, Grabarkiewicz, Luneng, Heers, Unger, & Friedrich, 2007.	Structured interviews of 408 micro and small-scale business owners.	South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia.	<p>Business growth was significantly correlated with detailed and proactive planning and motivational resources. The most important motivational resources were internal locus of control, self-efficacy and achievement motivation.</p> <p><i>Training of motivational resources can have a significant impact on entrepreneurial skills. Motivation training sets entrepreneurial intentions, which promote entrepreneurial behavior.</i></p>
Glaub, Frese, Gramberg, Friedrich, and	Experimental test of the effect of personal initiative training on 57	South Africa.	<p>Behavior-based exercises raised self-efficacy and resulted in better levels of innovation, goal planning, and, ultimately, business improvement.</p>

Solomon, 2005.	business owners.		<i>Entrepreneurial skills can be improved using experiential learning. Levels of self-efficacy and entrepreneurial attitude are raised.</i>
Krauss, Frese, Friedrich, and Unger, 2005.	Structured interviews of 248 southern African business owners.	Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.	Data showed evidence of a positive relationship between entrepreneurial orientation and business performance. The correlation was particularly strong for achievement orientation and personal initiative. <i>Achievement orientation and personal initiative relate to self-efficacy, and predict entrepreneurial behavior (via entrepreneurial intention).</i>
Kropp, Lindsay, & Shoham. 2006.	Survey of 396 entrepreneurs and 143 managers.	South Africa.	Results suggest that innovativeness, market orientation, and a learning orientation are linked to venture performance and success. Authors suggest that entrepreneurs are more likely to succeed if they focus on entrepreneurial creativity. <i>Learning orientation, an attitudinal concept, is predictive of entrepreneurial success by setting a positive intention.</i>
Ladzani & van Vuuren, 2002.	Case study comparison of three out of 11 SME service providers through questionnaire and group discussions.	South Africa.	Only the surveyed three SME service providers offered entrepreneurship-related training, and all of these had a strong focus on business skills. According to the authors, "Entrepreneurial skills" training (creativity, innovation, opportunity and risk management) should become more prominent in services offered to SMEs in order to more effectively promote their success. <i>The skills discussed here relate to entrepreneurial intention, rather than "hard" business skills.</i>
Mitchell, 2004.	Survey of 101	South Africa.	The motivation for starting a business was assessed using

	entrepreneurs.		<p>quantitative and qualitative methods for male and female entrepreneurs. Independence and achievement-orientation were strong motives behind starting a business. The author suggests that a greater focus on “culture sensitive” entrepreneurship training programs is needed, addressing trainees’ values and perceptions of their social surroundings, in order to promote entrepreneurial success.</p> <p><i>Suggests that social norms need to be incorporated in training efforts.</i></p>
Robson, Haugh, & Obeng, 2009.	Quantitative study of 496 entrepreneurs.	Ghana.	<p>Firm size and exporting activities correlated with innovativeness of entrepreneur, and innovativeness was linked to the entrepreneur’s level of education. Although the study’s authors did not detect a link between investment in training and innovativeness, they suggest that this was because training followed a traditional model, not conducive to fostering innovation.</p> <p><i>The paper suggests that innovativeness can be promoted through specific “soft” entrepreneurship training.</i></p>

IV. Conclusion

In the previous section, we have attempted to illustrate and annotate a more or less implicit shift among entrepreneurship scholars reporting on enterprise training initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa towards focusing on behavior change techniques that health communication theory has integrated into a comprehensive framework. This shift maps to entrepreneurship education scholars in the West, who argue that more emphasis in enterprise training should be granted to fostering innovativeness (e.g., DeTienne & Chandler (2004) and self-efficacy for entrepreneurship (e.g., Cooper & Lucas, 2006), among other “soft” entrepreneurship skills. If traditional entrepreneurship trainings generally concentrate on “hard,” technical, or business-related skills, and if these training programs are considered less than adequate in reaching their goal of promoting more entrepreneurship, then it stands to reason that a larger focus on developing “soft” entrepreneurship-relevant variables may be productive. As mentioned above, examples of such “soft” enterprise-related variables are an entrepreneurial attitude or orientation, and the perceived belief that one is capable of controlling one’s environment for entrepreneurship success. The published literature in the sub-Saharan African entrepreneurship context that we have reviewed supports this view.

However, focusing on soft skills in entrepreneurship education alone would not be effective, because of the complex interaction of a budding entrepreneur’s skills and attitudes with their environment. The sub-Saharan African context, as outlined in previous sections, has a strong potential dampening impact on generating entrepreneurial potential within educational settings. Hence we proposed that entrepreneurship education scholars and practitioners use health communication theory during design and evaluation of entrepreneurship education, precisely because it can account for and help set behavioral intentions, and ultimately behavior change. While there is much need for pilot studies on effective integration of health communication techniques into entrepreneurship education, we have argued that such a program should include the following:

- (1) Action research, to gain a detailed understanding of the particular environmental constraints that budding entrepreneurs operate in;
- (2) Behavior based exercises, to practice actions that may run counter to the prevailing culture, and to build participants’ belief that entrepreneurial intent is a critical factor driving their success; and
- (3) Reflective learning, to help participants generate techniques that enable them to succeed in their specific context.

As Fishbein’s (2000) model suggests, beyond a person’s skills and environmental constraints, the main determinant of behavior (or behavior change, the main goal of transformation from an entrepreneurship *student* to an entrepreneurship *practitioner*) is a person’s intention, or motivation, to engage in this behavior. Intention, in turn, is affected by attitude, social norms and the person’s sense of personal agency or self-efficacy. Underlying all of this are evaluative judgments or beliefs (corresponding to the affective element outlined in the section on intergroup

prejudice above), as well as idiosyncratic elements such as personal experience, or personality, the latter of which of course are more difficult to touch via group training.

In this paper, we have referred the reader to health communication theory in an attempt to drive forward the development of effective entrepreneurship education for sub-Saharan Africa. This we did for the following reasons: The underlying social science for this framework spans over three decades (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Bandura, 1977; Ajzen, 1985; Bandura, 1986; Fishbein & Capella, 2006) and is the culmination of an interdisciplinary research effort on understanding behavior (domain of psychology) and efforts to produce behavior change (domain of communication). Health communication is also appealing for entrepreneurship education because of its ability to predict behavior change across different cultural contexts (Fishbein, 2000), and, as we discussed above, entrepreneurship is always embedded in a particular cultural environment (Audretsch & Keilbach, 2007), and culture is a critical determinant of entrepreneurship in sub-Saharan Africa. This is also why we have refrained from suggesting actual entrepreneurship training content, and instead promoted the use of the health communications theory base, so that practitioners who do know the cultural context of entrepreneurship education initiatives may include all components that support the development of effective and contextually appropriate trainings.

Finally, we have followed a recent “call to action” for psychologists from eminent global management professor Robert Hisrich and his colleagues, to apply psychological science to enterprise scholarship in order to fill some of the various gaps that currently exist in entrepreneurship research (Hisrich, Langan-Fox, & Sharon, 2007). In this way, a greater understanding can be formed across scientific disciplines of evidence-based frameworks fostering effective entrepreneurship education for sub-Saharan African development.

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