Thorsten Bohl, Marcus Syring, Yusef El Damaty, Silke Fischer, Luisa Kähne

Education at the Refugee Camp

Final Report of the Project
School Development at Refugee Camps:
Status and Perspectives of Our Bridge in
Kurdistan/Northern Iraq (SchoolDeC)

Education at the Refugee Camp

Thorsten Bohl, Marcus Syring, Yusef El Damaty, Silke Fischer,
Luisa Kähne

Education at the Refugee Camp

Translated by Danielle Norberg

Table of contents

Preface by the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Science, Research, and the Arts

How everything began

From April 15th to 19th, 2019, a delegation trip took place under the leadership of the Minister of Science of Baden-Württemberg at the time, Theresia Bauer, and the Minister of State at the time, Theresa Schopper, to northern Iraq (the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan). The delegation consisted of members of the state parliament, university representatives, representatives from the different ministries, and representatives of the press.

I was fortunate enough to prepare and also to participate in the delegation trip for the Ministry of Science.

The purpose of the trip was to extend Baden-Württemberg's cooperation with the Dohuk province and to visit various projects supported by Baden-Württemberg as a kind of project controlling, but also to determine where future support would still be needed. In addition, it was to be made clear to the interlocutors – especially in the refugee camps – and to the wider public that Baden-Württemberg would continue to support redevelopment in northern Iraq and take on responsibility for the Dohuk region. In this way, Baden-Württemberg continues to do its part so that displaced persons, refugees, and locals may envision a future in that region. This was discussed in detail in the political talks with the prime minister and ministers of the Kurdistan-Iraq Region.

Points of visit during the delegation trip included the Centre for Psychotherapy and Psychotraumatology at the University of Dohuk, which is supported by the Ministry of Science, Research, and the Arts, and the Mam Rashan refugee camp in order to speak directly with refugees and survivors of the genocide against the Yazidis. A visit to the Yazidi national sacred site of Lalish was also on the agenda. The delegation's trip ended with a visit to a carpet factory in Khanke, where women affected by war and displacement are establishing their own livelihoods. On the way back to the airport, it was decided at short notice to visit the Our Bridge orphanage or rather school, which was preceded by the orphanage.

During the journey, many conversations gave the participants an impression of the human suffering involved, especially of the women and children who had survived captivity under IS, but, wounded in body and soul, longed for a normal life again.

The visit to the Our Bridge orphanage and school encapsulated all the experiences made on the delegation trip and emphatically made clear who the actual victims were: women and children. In April 2019, the orphanage had already become a

school, attended by about 380 pupils. In addition to the pedagogical staff, they were also cared for by widows who no longer had a family and were thus entirely without protection; they had encountered a life (survival) mission here. For the children in particular, attending the school was a way to escape the dreary life in the refugee camp, being able to learn and simply allowed to be a child.

The delegation was deeply impressed by the dedication of the founder of Our Bridge, Mr. Paruar Bako, but also by the enthusiasm with which his young team educated and cared for the children in order to offer them what is essential for a self-determined life in the future: education.

So the desire of the initiators of Our Bridge arose to send teachers from Baden-Württemberg to Kurdistan in order to optimise and further develop the curriculum they had designed themselves.

And this marks the beginning of the work of the Tübingen-based project "School Development at Refugee Camps. Status and Perspectives of Our Bridge in Kurdistan/Northern Iraq (SchoolDeC)".

Marja Kukowski-Schulert

Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Science, Research, and the Arts

Preface by the authors

This final report of the study "School Development at Refugee Camps. Status and Perspectives of Our Bridge in Kurdistan/Northern Iraq (SchoolDeC)" is the result of several years of cooperation with the Our Bridge project in northern Iraq. The contact came about in 2020 through a student, and after numerous preliminary agreements had been reached, especially between Paruar Bako and Michael Erk. After further intense preparations and planning (complicated, among other things, by the global security situation and the Covid restrictions), two research stays in northern Iraq came to pass in autumn 2021 and spring 2022. During the second stay, central actors were interviewed systematically about the status and perspectives of the school of Our Bridge. The results and the conclusions thereof are now compiled in this report.

Initially, the idea for this accompanying research project was developed remotely via video conferences and email exchanges. We found information about the school of Our Bridge and the preceding orphanage via social media channels and websites. We also had conversations from which we endeavoured to get a sense of the work there and to absorb as much information as possible. When we visited the school for the first time – partly at different points in time – we were very impressed. Indepent of the academic, necessarily distanced, data-based work, we were impressed by the immense commitment, the high pedagogical quality, the extremely friendly, warm-hearted willingness of the local actors to cooperate, and – exceptionally so – by the joy of the children to be allowed to attend this school.

We are grateful to the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Science, Research, and the Arts of for its financial support of the project, which notably made the second research stay on this scale possible in the first place. The state of Baden-Württemberg already has been involved in the region around Dohuk in northern Iraq and on behalf of the persecuted and discriminated religious community of the Yazidis in many ways and for many years, for example, taking in a thousand traumatised Yazidi women in 2015. Our project benefits from this commitment and the resulting cooperation and contacts, for example, with the 'Stiftung Entwicklungs-Zusammenarbeit Baden-Württemberg' (Foundation for Development Cooperation Baden-Württemberg). The Tübingen School of Education has supported this project in a number of ways – for this we want to convey our heartfelt gratitude!

We want to thank all the actors involved for their cooperation in this project: The children, their parents and teachers, who all were available for questions and interviews despite manifold past and present burdens; the school leadership, as well as all other internal and external local actors (as well as those in Germany) who participated in the study or supported us in its course. For this, our very special

سوپاس و پێزانینمان ئاراستەی هەموو ئەو کەسانه دەکەین که لە هاوکاریکردنی ئەم پرۆژەیەدا بەشداربوون؛ منداڵان و دایکان و باوکانیان، مامۆستایان و کەسانی پسپۆر که سەرەرای سەرقاڵی و ئاستەنگ و کۆسپی نێو کارەکانیان، بۆ وەڵامدانەوەی پرسیارەکانمان و تەرخانکردنی کات له پێناو چاوپێکەوتن ئامادەبوون. هەروەها سوپاسی بەرێوەبەری قوتابخانه ، ستافی ناوخۆیی و دەرەکی و کاراکتەری دیکەی مەیدانی دەکەین ـ هەروەها لە

ئەڵمانیا ـ که بەشدارییان لە توێژینەوەکەدا کرد یان پشتگیرییان کردووین

سوپاس و پێزانینی تایبەتیشمان بۆ بەرێزان: مایکل ئێرک، پەروەر باکۆ،عەلی ئەکیۆل، ژیان شەمۆ، هەیسەم حەمید

We hope that our study contributes at least in a small way to the further development of the school of Our Bridge.

Tübingen, January 2023

Thorsten Bohl, Yusef El Damaty, Silke Fischer, Luisa Kähne, Marcus Syring

1.   Introduction

On August 3rd, 2014, warriors of the so-called 'Islamic State' ambushed the northern-Iraqi region of Shingal inhabited by Yazidi people. Thousands were murdered. Hundred thousands attempted to flee to the mountains under dramatic circumstances. Murder, slavery, torture, rape, unfathomable psychological and physical suffering came in its wake and continue on. To this day thousands are missing, especially children and women. Most of them were likely enslaved in Syria. The Yazidi faith community was robbed of one of its most important centres. A majority of those who survived this ordeal and managed to flee were henceforth placed in refugee camps in northern Irak – even to this day. In 2016, the UN judged this attack to be the genocide of a religious minority. Even now, 20 UN refugee camps and several inofficial refugee camps are inhabited by Yazidis – for eight years now. An official as well as an inofficial refugee camp is situated on the margins of the village of Khanke, about 30 kilometres from the northern-Iraqi city of Dohuk.

In September 2014, Paruar Bako, a key player in setting up the project, travelled to Irak, whereupon the association "Our Bridge", an initiative of German-Kurdish students from Oldenburg, was founded in October 2014 as a non-political and religiously independent aid organisation financed by donations. The initial aim was to support families and children in need with a sponsorship programme. These actions spurred the establishment of an orphanage in August 2017 and on March 1st, 2018, the orphanage became a school. Paruar Bako, whose family is deeply rooted in the region, in the resistance, and in Yazidism, described this period, since August 3rd, 2014 till the present school, in great detail in his biography 'Farman' (Bako, 2021). The film director David Körzdörfer, member of the board of Our Bridge, memorably recorded testimonies of eye witnesses and survivors of the massacre in his film 'The people of an angel' (orig. ‚Das Volk eines Engels', Körzdörfer, 2016), just to name two sources that document the massacre itself, its background and aftermath in a sensitive, differentiated, and striking manner.

In September 2020, Michael Erk, member of the board of Our Bridge, contacted the Department of School Pedagogy at the Institute of Educational Science at the University of Tübingen – for the purpose of exploring possibilities for cooperation between the Department of School Pedagogy as well as the Tübingen School of Education, which is responsible for teacher training, and the Our Bridge project. The cooperation was intended to strengthen the quality of schooling and the school development process at Our Bridge. This enquiry for cooperation benefited from the fact that the state of Baden-Württemberg has been actively involved in helping Yazidis since 2014: As early as 2015, one thousand traumatised Yazidi women

were taken in. In the same year, a declaration of intent of further cooperation was signed between the Dohuk governorate and the state of Baden-Württemberg. Further projects came into being, for example, the founding of the Institute for Psychiatry and Psychotraumatology in Dohuk under the direction of Prof. Kizilhan (DHBW Villingen-Schwenningen) to train therapists locally. This meant that our budding cooperation could take place within a fairly stable framework and build on political support.

Now what can the available expertise for the quality of schooling and for school development at the University of Tübingen meaningfully contribute to a project for traumatised children and teenagers in northern Irak? This question stood in the foreground of the first discussions with representatives of Our Bridge, in particular with Michael Erk, as well as with other actors familiar with the situation in the region. This led to the development of the project 'School Development at Refugee Camps. Status and Perspectives of Our Bridge in Kurdistan/Northern Iraq (SchoolDeC)' and a multi-phase plan for a longer-term cooperation. In phase 1, more detailed knowledge about the project was to be gathered, including a first trip to Our Bridge in October 2021 to get to know the situation locally, the project itself, the contexts, and the actors involved. The findings resulted in a more exact concept for a second research trip (phase 2). Among other things, funding was secured from the Ministry of Science, Research, and the Arts, and a research group was formed. The research group includes three students from the Master's programme in School Research and Development, Yusef El Damaty, Luisa Kähne, and Silke Fischer, as well as Marcus Syring and Thorsten Bohl. After this first phase of preparation, the actual research work could begin. Thus the research design was fleshed out along the central question of 'How are the status and perspectives of the development of the School Our Bridge seen from the viewpoint of central actors?' A second trip with the research group was prepared and then carried out in February and March 2022. The data was collected on site and subsequently analysed, which was accomplished through the three respective masters' theses. The focus lay on the following topics:

- Prerequisites of pupils and teachers' responses to these prerequisites (Yusef El Damaty)

- Internal (governance) perspective on school development processes (Luisa Kähne)

- External (governance) perspectives on school development processes and conditions for sucess (Silke Fischer)

On the basis of joint preliminary work and theories, the findings of the three mas-
ters' theses were consolidated and turned into suggestions for further developmen-
tal outlooks for the school. The findings of the project could lead to a further phase
3, in which additional school development processes could be accompanied sys-
tematically. However, this has not been conceptualised yet and still has to be
agreed on, partly since the findings, the discussion thereof, and their interpretation
through local experts and actors has to be awaited.

The preparation and execution of the project was by no means easy and very un-
like most research and development projects. This can be outlined with reference
to two fundamental issues. Firstly, there is the basic question what relevance and
significance 'our' national and international state of the research and, therefore,
our expertise and groundwork even have for the specific situation of the school
Our Bridge – in the context of the recent history since 2014 and the general social,
political, and cultural situation there. To name just one example: To what extent is
the data-based and efficacy-orientated approach that is measured by skills and
competencies, prevalent at least in the German-speaking regions, helpful for the
development process of lessons and the Our Bridge School at large? Secondly,
the question that occupied us throughout was what kind of education, pedagogy,
didactics these mostly severely traumatised children and teenagers really needed
and to what extent the needs and prerequisites were comparable to those of pupils
at German schools.

How can a balance be reached between ensuring support in dealing with life's
challenges – without drifting into a therapeutic or purely socio-pedagogical setting
– and using the available time at school as intensely as possible to enable a future-
oriented education and practical qualifications without putting the idea of efficiency
before the needs of the children and teenagers? Put differently: What does educa-
tion mean in this context? It was fascinating to us how unambigiously the actors at
Our Bridge emphasised the high relevance of education especially for these chil-
dren and teenagers and distance themselves from any therapeutic concerns which
they do not want to pursue and for which they do not claim any kind of expertise.
Both afore-mentioned questions highlight that there are no simple answers. That
is hardly surprising and clearly the case. But they also emphasise that we must
and we want to commit to the utmost humility, restraint, and sensitivity within the
general framework of this cooperation and specifically regarding the interpretation
of the findings.

That is why it was a central concern of ours not to base our research design on
instruments employed in our own cultural spheres, but bring local actors and their
viewpoints to the fore in our study. Accordingly, this led to interviews with internal
and external key actors. We could structure and systematise their points of view

and derive some insights regarding the existing state of and perspectives for the development of the school. Our project's objective is to describe systematically how the school works and to understand which reasons and processes underlie this. Only on this basis can appropriate consideration be given to any prospects for possible further development.

Despite this stipulation, the research process frequently revealed constraints and limitations that led to compromises to be able to carry it out at all. For instance, this begins with the simple question of how we may gain knowledge about the local situation – alone the attempt to describe the Kurdish school system was time-consuming, and contradictory information became evident time and again. Here – as in many other research activities – language barriers became apparent since hardly any English-language publications about education and schooling in Kurdistan exist. When conducting the interviews, we were almost entirely dependent on translators; this could usually only be solved by actors at Our Bridge taking on the task of translation themselves although the topic of the interviews often concerned their own field of work. However, in the face of such challenges, the priority was definitely to not let the overall project fail. This circumstance certainly can be criticised going by strict scientific standards. Nonetheless, it was our intent to maintain the highest level of transparency towards and alongside the local actors, to inform about the research process as well as the constraints and to only pursue the cooperations as well as the data gathering with the consent of the actors.

Cooperation within the project was repeatedly affected by unforeseeable changes and developments. For example, dramatic events unfolded in the Kurdish refugee camps while this final report was being written in the autumn of 2022: Aid organisations involved so far apparently intend to reduce their activities by up to 80% till the end of 2022, particularly the UN. This would entail dire repercussions for the already troubled situation in the refugee camps, for instance, regarding the water supply. Hence, not only the current, but the future situation is possibly even more frail than in the past years. What such a development means for the refugee camps, also in Khanke, for the school of Our Bridge, is not predictable. Naturally, we hope that our cooperation and our research report will not disappear into a void or seem outdated as a result. On a positive note, our report including a description of the status quo may provide a good foundation for various future lines of development.

This report is divided into six chapters. The first theoretical chapter (2) introduces the local context and conditions in Kurdistan, examines the genocide against the Yazidi people, the situation in the refugee camps, the Kurdish school system, and the project Our Bridge. The second theoretical chapter (3) sets forth some basic theories and concepts in the context of school development, with which the field is

given structure. Beside theories of school and school development the offer-and-use model takes centre stage; it provides the theoretical framework for the study and is adapted for the project; and is developed further (see chapter 6.3) based on the findings. After these theoretical clarifications the central research questions and design of the study are presented (4). Then the findings of the three sub-studies are reported (5). The final report closes (6) with a summary, a conclusion, and some recommendations alongside developmental outlooks drawn from the interviews and observations. A bibliography is appended.

2. Theoretical groundwork I: Context and conditions in Northern Irak

2.1 The Yazidis and the genocide in the Shingal

The school of Our Bridge (OBS) is mostly attended by Yazidi children and the teaching staff as well as the directors are also mostly Yazidi. Yazidism is a monotheistic religion founded on oral tradition (Schmidinger, 2019, p. 145). Yazidis (also spelled Yezidis, Êzidi) believe in the peaceful coexistence of all people and religions. Missionary work is not an aspiration because one is born into the religion and ethnicity exclusively (Kamal Elias, 2019, p. 283). In 2019, the community had around 1.5 million members worldwide, around 700,000 of whom live in Iraq (Kamal Elias, 2019, p. 283). Kurmanji, one of the three Kurdish languages, is spoken predominantly. Not all Yazidis are Kurds, nor are all Kurds Yazidis.

The history of this 'minority religion' is marked by marginalisation, ethnic and linguistic persecution, and even eradication (ibid., p. 283; Kizilhan et al., 2019, p. 396; Schmidinger, 2019, p. 147). In order to ensure the survival of the community in the 11th century, when entire masses of people were fleeing forced conversion, looting, and mass execution, the Yazidis established a protective enclosure in the form of a caste system. The aim was to prevent "enemies" from eroding them from within; the caste system has been in place ever since. The genocide against the Yazidis by the Islamic State (IS) in 2014 in the Shingal area (also spelled Şingal, Shingar) was officially recognised as genocide by the United Nations (UN) (Denkinger, 2019, p. 192). The Yazidis in the Shingal were victims of mass executions, enforced conversions, and sexual enslavement (Kamal Elias, 2019, p. 287; Schmidinger, 2019, p. 149). This led to a flow of refugees to the Duhok region, among others, which accomodated the majority, approximately 350,000 internally displaces persons (IDPs), in camps (Schmidinger, 2019, p. 150; Kizilhan et al., 2019, acc. to Kurdish Regional Statistics Office 2018). Five years later, 300,000 of them were still living in these very same camps, and a return home to the Shingal has not been possible to date (Kizilhan et al., 2019, p. 395). Owing to the clash of interests between different countries, it is not possible to establish secure structures (Kamal Elias, 2019, p. 291). In the Kurdish village of Khanke, where one of the largest camps for those exiled from the Shingal is located, houses are now also occupied by IDPs (Schmidinger, 2019, p. 152).

The situation has an impact on the psychosocial health of the people. More than half of the refugees suffer from post-traumatic stress disorders. The harrowing experiences of violence, displacement, and grief are not alleviated by their current situation (Kizilhan et al., 2019, p. 395 f.). For instance, everyday life in the refugee

camps is marked by unemployment, difficult living situations, and cultural uprooting, and poses a challenge for many (ibid.; Kamal Elias, 2019, p. 293 f.). Furthermore, traumatisation occurs transgenerationally. That is, trauma can be passed on to subsequent generations. The Yazidi community is affected by this having been faced with experiences of loss of control through the many genocides. This can cause resignation and insurmountable helplessness. But it also leads to the community strengthening each other and to the growth of mutual solidarity (Kizilhan et al., 2019, p. 395 f.).

2.2   Refugee camps

Against the current backdrop of more people being displaced and forced to flee than at any time since the Second World War (Siebert & Pollheimer-Pühringer, 2018, p. 6), the causal origins of refugee camps, their purposes, their characteristics, and also their respective organisations are to be discussed in the following section. It is important to emphasise in advance that the generalised description of refugee camps and the overall situation of the people living in them does in no way imply homogenisation. Rather, the individuality of each person ought to be taken into account despite their circumstances, the possible variety in families, their life stories, their orientations, and also their resources.

Thiel and Jahr (2017) describe the emerging need need for refugee camps as stemming from people being affected in different ways and by their collective involvement in external influences over which they hardly have any control. As such, refugee camps serve

> "[…] to accomodate, protect, and supply basic provision for mostly civilian refugees – especially in connection with and in the wake of national and civil wars, terror, persecution fuelled by political ideology or by religion, and displacement due to ethnicity. However, economic emergencies and social upheavals, growing poverty, major hunger epidemics, or environmental disasters have also driven large-scale flight and migratory movements." (Thiel & Jahr, 2017, transl.)

Given the exigency of displacement, refugees lose protection and (...) basic provision (ibid.), which represent elementary living conditions. Hence, the criteria and purposes of refugee camps can also be inferred from the situation in which such camps are sought out by refugees as 'points of contact' or are also proffered to them as such: Refugee camps "serve to receive fugitive people and offer protection from war and danger as well as a *minimum standard* of provision" (ibid., transl., emphasis added).

When it comes to the above mentioned accommodation of refugees, governments usually collaborate with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UN-HCR). In the course of these cooperations, governments often provide the necessary fundamentals and infrastructure, while the UN Refugee Agency is responsible for the overall monitoring of camp operations and is involved in the coordination of the various relief organisations on the ground (Bochmann & Inhetveen, 2017). This is accomplished through the participation and co-financing of non-governmental organisations by the UNHCR, with the former carrying out (aid) projects in different areas such as health and education (ibid.). And yet the projects in the refugee camps approved by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) are usually only approved for a period of one year, which is why the organisations are under constant pressure to justify themselves and why it is often almost impossible to plan long-term programmes (ibid.).

While these camps offer the quick and provisional accommodation the refugees expect, many of these refugee camps also have in common that they lose this initially assumed provisional and short-term characteristic. This often persists over months, years, and even decades in which the refugee camp changes – in an unforeseen and creeping process – from a temporary solution to a "place of permanent impermanance" (ibid., transl.) and where the people have to remain in this "life in exile that is defined as temporary for years and decades" (ibid., transl.)

Life in such a "permanent state of emergency" (Gharib, 2018, p. 7, transl.), often marked by the lack of structure and prospects, can have such a detrimental effect that refugee camps may develop into "place[s] of neglect and even violence" (Thiel & Jahr, 2017, transl.). The "paralysing state of constant waiting" (Hoffmann, 2015, p. 284, transl.) in a situation of limited freedom of movement, work, and residence – all of which are subject to a restricted legal status – can manifest in a feeling of helplessness, in resignation, and in the (inescapable) pronounced or growing dependence of refugees on the support structures in situ, such as the UNHCR and many other aid organisations (ibid.).

The fact that inhabitants of the camps, despite all this, have rather ambivalent relationships to camp life due to their overall situation is visible in the results of Inhetveen's ethnographic research (2010) in the Meheba refugee camp in south African Zambia:

> "For many refugees, staying in a camp does not only amount to being forced, but also entails aspects that they see as desirable. Here the institutionalised explanation of the refugee camp being a welcome help finds its counterpart in the refugees' point of view. On the one hand, many camp inhabitants complain about their restricted freedom of movement; on the other hand, they

explicitly appreciate the advantages of camp life. They are grateful that someone is taking care of them, for the relief services they receive and, not least, for the physical protection the camps offer." (Inhetveen, 2010, p. 246, transl.)

The extent of the resulting emotional strain may be inferred from the descriptions of the limited agency of the refugees in combination with the previously mentioned precarious living situation. This is compounded further by the experiences people made on their flight *before* camp-life that were usually accompanied by traumatic events such as flight, torture, or also rape (Krause, 2016, p. 209 f.). Such a "traumatic experience leads (…) to psychological damage […] and divides the life of the affected individuals into a 'before' and 'after' or 'since'. After or since the event nothing is as before" (Siebert & Pollheimer-Pühringer, 2018, p. 16, transl.).

2.3 Development cooperation and education for refugees

Development policies and development cooperation (DC) steered by nation states and global organisations began after the Second World War and are thus closely linked to the end of the colonial era. The economic goals of colonial policy therefore still shape the structures of development cooperation today (Keil, 2019, p. 87; Gieler & Nowak, 2021, p. XI). DC is the term used to describe supportive and enabling cooperation between public and private, national or international organisations of the industrialised countries and countries of the Global South. This can take the shape of technical assistance, of cooperation and advice, as well as aid in the form of goods or capital (Schubert & Klein, 2018). The objectives of development cooperation are defined by the United Nations as 17 global goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Keil, 2019, p. 94 f.).

Iraq does not fit into the typical image of a developing country due to its income from oil- and gas production. As a consequence of war and terror, the country is nevertheless entitled to receive official development aid (ODA) (OECD/DAC b, 2022). German DC in Iraq primarily serves to support people who have fled Syria, the approximately 1.2 million IDPs, and the host communities.

Worldwide, only 68% of refugee children at primary school level are registered, and only 34% of those at the corresponding age for secondary school (Grandi, 2021, p. 6). The educational situation of refugee and internally displaced children in conflicts and crisis zones, such as the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan (ARK), is particularly precarious. Here, large numbers of refugee children encounter education systems that are already overtaxed (Schönstedt & Maschke, 2017, p. 92). The circumstances under which refugee schoolchildren in crisis areas receive education and the quality of their education have hardly been investigated. Two

qualitative studies point to poor learning outcomes and high dropout rates. Ill-equipped facilities and experiences of violence at school as well as the often considerable distance to school are being discussed as possible causes. Limited future prospects due to a lack of university places and a precarious situation on the labour market lessen the motivation to attend school As a consequence, girls especially are often affected by child marriage and child labour. Children who live in unofficial camps often have no access to public schools or are only taught for a reduced number of hours and with undemanding curricula. Teaching staff (T) report being overburderned by very large heterogeneous classes with many traumatised pupils, lack of training and of pay (Yassen, 2019, p. 451; Maglio, 2022, p. 2-6).

Within the SchoolDeC-study, similar insights were gained through the visit to school 2 and the interview with school principal 2 . At school 2, 980 pupils in 22 classes and 9 grades (years) are taught by 10 registered teachers and 15 volunteers (school principal 2, l. 49; 87-91). Some of the teachers do not have any pedagogical training and do not receive a salary. The school compound consists of 12 containers in poor condition and houses an Arabian school in addition to the Kurdish school. This is why the pupils can only receive lessons on three half days per week. Correspondingly, the success in learning is described as poor (school principal 2 , l. 44-46; 56-58). The lessons largely consist of teachers reading reading aloud and pupils reproducing the contents. Music, art, and physical education cannot be offered (school principal 2, l. 114; 181-182). School principal 2 also reports that the teachers are overburdened by a lack of training, large classes, and traumatised pupils (school principal 2, l. 129-134; 239-250).

2.4 The education system of the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan in Iraq

Education systems are part of political and social processes and have a particular history (Fend, 2017, p. 92). So it must be kept in mind that the German research context is not easily transferable to intercultural research without reservation. In doing the research for this chapter, it became obvious how scarce the current research in Englisch and German is regarding this region.

Since its independence from Great Britain, Iraq has been marked by the power struggles of political parties and religious groups. This country suffered under several wars, followed by international sanctions and military interventions which increasingly destroyed and destabilised it (Fürtig, 2016, p. 203; Marbon & Royle, 2017, p. 5; Schmäling, 2021, pp. 4, 9). The infrastructure was permanently ravaged to such degree that its education system counts as one of the worst worldwide (Issa & Jamil, 2010, p. 363 f.; Schmäling, 2021, p. 9). Since the birth rate is high in Iraq, the demand

for the, albeit limited, educational resources is high. In rural areas, vocational training is largely informal, without attendance at a certifying institution (BQ Portal, 2022).

At present, the central and southern Iraqi education system is distinguished by comprehensive, mandatory schooling lasting nine years, which concludes with a national final exam. Attendance is free. After attending secondary school, the best high school graduates are free in their choice of study programme, all others are allocated to other study programmes (Schmäling, 2021, p. 4). Studying at university is usually free of charge. A university degree is important for getting into a profession since the access to the labour market is regulated by this (ibid, p. 5). The curricula at universities are standardised but are widely considered to be out of touch with actual practise (ibid., p. 13).

The Kurds are an ethnic group whose settlement area lies in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. In 2005, the Iraqi Kurdistan Region gained autonomy (Gunes, 2019, p. 2 f.). Along the way, the Kurdish population in Iraq became victims of exclusion and genocide (ibid., pp. 4-7). The Autonomous Region of Kurdistan (ARK) has its own education system, which provides certificates equivalent to those in central Iraq. Since no more detailed information is available on the Kurdish-Iraqi education system, it must be assumed that its structure is similar to that of central Iraq. Data from the SchoolDec project, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and an office of the Austrian Red Cross (ACCORD) all tend to confirm this overlap. Figure 1 depicts the model of the Kurdish education system based on this data.

The interviews conducted as part of SchoolDec were able to substantiate overlaps with regard to the secondary and tertiary levels (MBK, l. 26-43; 49-56).

During the interviews, an immediate need for 3,000 to 4,000 school buildings was expressed since about 1,000 pupils are allocated to one school on average (: Ministry of Education Kurdistan, l. 150, 159). Due to the lack of space and to mandatory schooling, a shift system has become necessary; this leads to a curtailment of the daily school hours (school principal 1, l. 123-153; Ministry of Education Kurdistan, l. 150-152). Likely, this is one of the reasons why the quality of education remains subpar to global standards. On the tertiary level this is also due to traditional teaching methods, the paucity of research and publication as well as the lack of cooperation with industry and the work force at large (Atrushi & Woodfield, 2018, p. 5 f.; Schmäling, 2021). Through the interviews conducted within our SchoolDec project, it was possible to ascertain that the teachers do not gain any practical experience at schools during the four-year study programme (MBK, l. 251-253). They are then appointed as tenured civil servants, but lose their status as soon as they resign (school steward, L3, l. 554 ff.).
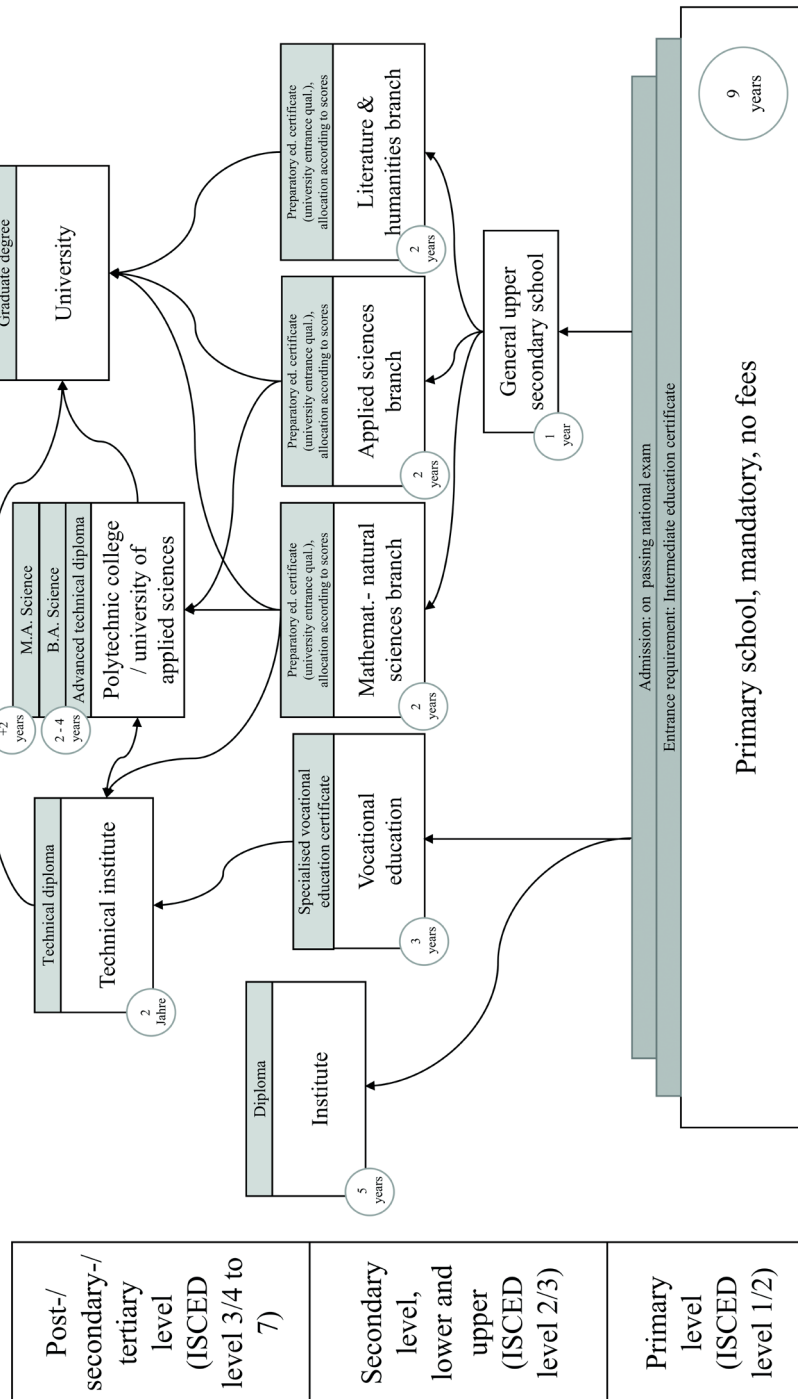
Figure 1: Education system of the ARK (own image according to SchoolDec, Accord 2020, Schmäling 2021).

The higher education system of the ARK is unable to prepare students for the labour market in many cases and graduates often remain unemployed (Atrushi & Woodfield, 2018, p. 3, 5f.). The rising birth rate and thus the growing number of potential students and aspiring professionals pose an additional challenge to the system (Atrushi & Woodfield, 2018, p. 5; Schmäling, 2021, p. 7).

2.5 The non-govermental organisation Our Bridge

Our Bridge e.V. (a registered assocation) was launched in 2014 by German-Kurdish students from Oldenburg, as a 'bridge' between Germany and the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan (ARK). Our Bridge helps people who had to flee from the Shingal because of the genocide against the Yazidi by the terror organisation IS as well as other families and children who have been living in UN-Camps or inofficial camps around the village of Khanke in Northern Iraq ever since. Initially it was founded as an organisation (charitable association) to provide emergency humanitarian relief directly after the genocide. In the following years, Our Bridge e.V. developed into an aid organisation dedicated foremost to supporting orphans, half-orphans, children with disabilities, and widows from the afore-mentioned camps. The provision of financial and non-material support for enrolled children and their families was expanded in August 2017 to include an orphanage. A safe place to live near the camps, including medical and psychological care, for 43 children and seven widows. Twelve staff members, mostly young people who also come from the Shingal, cared for the residents together with the founder of Our Bridge. "Harman" – "That which remains" is both the name and the programme of the facility (Our Bridge e.V., 2019; Bako, 2021, p. 257).

Being a charity, Our Bridge e.V. is financed through donations. What keeps its heart beating financially still is its sponsorship programme. It was set up mostly via social media in 2014 and its software was specifically developed by co-founder Ali Akyol. By donating a fixed monthly contribution, a child or the facility itself can be sponsored (Our Bridge e.V., 2019; Bako, 2021, p.155). The foundation Stiftung Entwicklungs-Zusammenarbeit Baden-Württemberg (SEZ) has made project funding possible through a special budget for 1,100 women and children from Shingal and supports Our Bridge primarily by funding construction work (SEZ 2022; sponsor 1, l. 96-100). Major private sponsors are also heavily involved in covering running costs (sponsor 1, l. 417). In order to extend the reach of the services, the orphanage was converted and expanded into a school for children from the camps in 2018 (Bako, 2021, pp. 96-100). A kindergarten and two widows' groups complement the school. Currently, 392 pupils attend the school of Our Bridge and 40 children attend the kindergarten (as of March 2022). In addition to schooling, the enrolled children and their families receive financial, material and medical support from Our Bridge e.V., which is administered by the Our

Bridge association in Oldenburg (information on the board, the team, and the organisational structure can be found at: www.ourbridge.de).

2.6 Our Bridge: The school

The school of Our Bridge is an educational institution that complements the public schools. With its educational programme, it supports the acquisition of competencies and skills by pupils from 6-15 years of age up to the intermediate level. The pupils are divided into four grades according to age and level of knowledge, whereby a grade comprises approximately two years. There are two to three classes (divisions) per grade so that small learning groups can be formed. Pupils with and without physical or mental disabilities and with different abilities are taught together in an inclusive classroom. Great importance is attached to the pleasant and stimulating design of the rooms and outdoor areas at the school. Each child has their own locker to store personal items. The school also has a playground and a sports field as well as a bicycle parcours with a repair workshop. The range of subjects includes disciplines such as mathematics, English, environment, IT, and reading & writing, which essentially complement the lessons at the public schools and fill in knowledge gaps. Moreover, the pupils are given the opportunity to develop their talents in subjects such as meditation, papercraft, art, music, and physical education. Our Bridge employs 30 teachers (Our Bridge e.V., 2019), most of whom come from the Shingal like the children and live in the camps. They are therefore also contact persons and attachment figures for the children and their families outside of school hours (school steward 1, l. 177-180).

The school's leadership is made up of the principal and the deputy chair of Our Bridge e.V. (school steward 1). Since most of the teachers do not have any formal pedagogical qualification, regular workshops are run for the training and further professional development of the teachers. A weekly collaboration session is held for joint lesson preparation (school steward 2, l. 61-70; 245-250).

The school days are well-structured. Since almost all pupils attend a public school in addition to the school of Our Bridge, half of the classes come in the mornings, the other half in the afternoons. In each shift, the children attend three lessons. During the break-times between classes, a rich variety of games and sporting activities is provided and readily enjoyed. In addition, many pupils use the breaks for conversations with the teachers and satisfy their need for (physical) closeness. The education on offer is rounded off with a nutrition and hygiene programme (school steward 2, l. 39; 43-46) as well as school festivities and excursions.

With the school, Our Bridge offers refugee children a variety of opportunities to alleviate the disadvantages experienced through displacement and camp life.

3.   Theoretical groundwork II: Theoretical framework of the research project

3.1   Theories of schooling and the quality and development of schools

In order to understand systems such as schools, they can be approached theoretically. An unequivocal, all-encompassing theory of schooling is impossible since it can be examined on various levels as well as regarding actual practise or its academic function. This means that various theories of schooling have evolved historically and socially. An implicit concept of humanity and a specific vantage point always underlie these theories (Bohl et al., 2015, p. 78). Theories of schooling also generate different functions of school subject to certain ideals.

For example,

*   conveying norms and values, which serves to stabilise existing political conditions (Zeinz, 2009).

*   socialisation, with an integrating function for and into the existing social systems (Bohl et al., 2015).

*   qualification, a function which ensures education for the benefit of a strong economy (Zeinz, 2009, p. 88).

*   establishing equal educational opportunities, aiming to enable economic and social participation for all (Quenzel & Hurrelmann, 2019, p. 4 ff.).

*   selection, which organises the allocation of adolescents to a particular career path on the basis of grades, for instance.

The function of selection, however, exacerbates educational inequality at the points of transition between school levels and types of school since the socio-economic status of the pupils is impacted by selective practises of referral (van Ackeren & Klein, 2014). This shows that functions of school merge in part and interfere with each other. In this conflicting arena, the definition of a 'good school' is also influenced by normative, analytical or empirical criteria (Maag Merki, 2021, p. 4 f.). Quality can be defined as the evaluated properties of an educational system, a school or a class, measured in accordance with the demands and objectives of all groups and persons concerned with the education system, as reached in a process of political negotiation (Dubs, 2003, p. 15).

Empirical research in education can help in assessing quality. It aims to explain differences between schools (Maag Merki, 2021, p. 3). As such, the quality of schooling proves to be a construct that refers to the situational assessment of in-

dividual factors and processes (Ditton & Müller, 2015, p. 130). Regarding the quality of schooling, the offer-and-use model is currently being discussed as the prevailing theoretical model for research on schools (ibid.).

On a macro-level, the institutionalised education system is in the hands of the state. Educational standards in the form of core curricula, legal regulations, resource allocation and forms of evaluation are all steering instruments (Rolff, 2007, p. 23; Bohl et al., 2015, p. 37). This underlines the fact that any particular school always operates in relation to its environment and within the framework of educational policies and values. Since Helmut Fend's (1986) studies on the differing formative powers of individual schools, school development has focused on individual schools (Bohl, 2020, S. 98). Since the 1990s, these have been granted greater autonomy in Germany regarding self-management (Rolff, 2007, p. 50).

Theories of school development originate in ideas of organisational development in the private sector (Terhart, 2013, p. 79). Now here, organisational development means that organisations are developed from within by the members of the organisation itself (Rolff, 2007, p. 24; Bohl et al., 2015, p. 43). This is where school leadership has a special role to play. When organisational development measures were employed in the 1990s, the core task of teaching was shortchanged (Bohl et al., 2015, p. 43; Bohl, 2020, p. 102). This was addressed by Rolff (2007) as part of Pedagogical School Development (SD). It describes the interplay between organisational development (OD), personnel development (PD), and lesson development (LD) in interdependence with each other and the school environment (cf. Bohl, 2020, p. 102).

According to Rolff, organisational development includes the redistribution of tasks and responsibilities, the creation of formal and informal channels of communication to create the most conducive and supportive work structures possible. This also includes the cooperation with parents and other external (non-school) partners (Haag & Jäger 2020, p. 14).

PD consists of the practise-oriented qualification and the motivation of the teachers. This is achieved through further professional training (Haag & Jäger, 2020, p. 14, 29), but also through different types of target agreements such as annual meetings between the leadership of the school and teaching staff. Lesson development (LD) is intended to bring innovation to the learning culture. The aim of which is to improve teaching and learning. To this end, teachers work to create an atmosphere in the classroom that is as conducive to educational achievements as possible.

Pedagogical school development aims to give more room to specificies of pedgagogical practise (education, maturity) (Bohl, 2020, p. 103). However, the

model remains somewhat superficial regarding the complexities of everyday school life (ibid., p. 104).

3.2 An integrated, updated offer-and-use model

Since the empirical turn, school and lesson development in Germany has been oriented towards output in response to the results of Germany's first participation in the TIMMS and PISA studies. This means that school development is increasingly focused on the measurable effects of teaching and thus on pupils' learning outcomes (Helmke, 2009, p. 16). The effectiveness of the pupil's learning is influenced by different features of the structure and processes of teaching, situational context, as well as the individual characteristics of the teachers and learners. For an abstract and clear depiction of the complex, multi-level interaction of factors, features, structures, and processes, the 'offer-and-use model of the impact of teaching' (Helmke, 2009, p. 73) has proven useful (Seidel, 2014, p. 857; Vieluf et al., 2020, p. 63 f.).

Fend (2008), building on Luhmann's systems theory, developed an initial concept of teaching as an interaction between the positions of offer and use within an institutional and societal framework. He drew on the process-product paradigm, which describes the correlation of characteristics of schooling and pupils' learning performance in causal terms, which turned out to be strongly simplified and empirically unverifyable (Weinert, 1989, p. 210 f.).

Applying the terms offer and use, which originate in economics, in connection with lesson development reflects the tendency of society to increasingly regard the individual "as an actor and constructor of their own self" (Kohler & Wacker, 2013, p. 244, transl.). For learners, this entails a high degree of liberty in handling what is on offer, and also correspondingly an increasing personal responsibility for their own learning progress and thus for the impact of the lessons. In a similar way, this also applies to individual schools when it comes to their school development process and with it the immediate situational conditions of the lessons (Fend, 2000, p. 69f.; Kohler & Wacker, 2013, p. 244). Following this constructivist notion, the offer is to be understood as the provision of learning environments by the teacher, which the pupils use for their learning and self-development processes in various ways depending on their individual prerequisites (Fend, 1998, p. 321; Fend, 2000, p. 57 f.; Fend, 2008, pp. 124-133).

Several authors such as Helmke (2009), Reusser (2011), and Seidel (2014) created similar variations of the offer-and-use model. All offer-and-use models are composed of different, distinct spheres for offer, use, different settings, and usually also for impact. The differences between the models are due to their respective

content and can be seen in the concrete elements within the spheres. The depictions mainly differ in how the terms 'lesson', 'offer', and 'use' are understood and as to where they are placed within the different spheres or levels of the system. Furthermore they differ in the extent to which actors' perceptions and interpretations of offer and use are included, in the interaction of offer and use, in the importance attributed to different circumstances and settings, in the criteria used to measure the impact of teaching, and in the type and degree of reciprocity between the spheres (Vieluf et al., 2020, pp. 63, 67-74).

Due to various specificities regarding school and context within the research field examined in this study, none of the existing models appears to be fully suitable for providing the theoretical framework. This is why the integrated offer-and-use model by Vieluf and colleagues (2020) is intended to underlie the design of this study and also serve to frame and integrate the empirical findings. The integrated offer-and-use model is highly abstract and can therefore be augmented and fleshed out with the empirical insights gained within this study.

The model is depicted in figure 2 and will be described here briefly. It places lessons at the centre and, following the didactic triangle (Reusser, 2008, p. 225), conceptualises them as an interaction between teachers, learners and the subject matter (Vieluf et al., 2020, p. 75). Vieluf and colleagues conceive of lessons as 'subject-specific co-construction' (ibid., p. 75), in which pupils concomitantly provide learning opportunities for their fellow pupils or influence what the teacher has to offer through their actions. Therefore, the learning opportunities are positioned in a reciprocal relationship with their utilisation by the learners, by the pupils perceiving and interpreting the communication and actions that take place in class (Vieluf et al., 2020, pp. 68-75). Whereas 'use' is described as the result of reciprocal interrelations between cognitive processes and emotional as well as motivational experiences. The model makes clear that teachers also perceive and interpret their own offer as well as the pupils' use of and influence on that offer. The resulting reactive actions of the teachers are also influenced by the interplay of cognition, emotion, and motivation, and in turn influence the offer (Vieluf et al., 2020, p. 70). The offer and its use are both impacted by the individual characteristics of the teachers and the pupils according to Vieluf and colleagues. For instance, this includes the professional skills and competencies of the teachers or the prior knowledge of the pupils, but also the motivational and emotional (pre-)dispositions (traits) of all persons involved in the lessons. Within the model, this means that the offer and its use can be located both at the level of the entire class as well as at the individual level. In turn, the teaching processes, resulting from the interplay of offer and use, influence specific features of individuals and may modify them. The sphere of educational impact allows for the consideration of different objectives

and effects of the educational offer and thus overcomes the one-sided emphasis on the "product" of performance (Vieluf et al., 2020, p. 74 f.). According to Vieluf and colleagues, the central sphere of teaching is enclosed by variously layered contexts in the model (see figure 2). A distinction is made in this regard between school settings and non-school settings. The school settings include the dimensions of class/subject, as well as the school and the education system. The non-school spheres include the immediate social environment of the pupils, the surrounding area, as well as the society in which the actors are embedded. According to the model, all situational conditions affect teachers and learners and thus the teaching. But at the same time, the actors' actions also have an effect on the surrounding conditions (Vieluf et al., 2020, p. 76.).
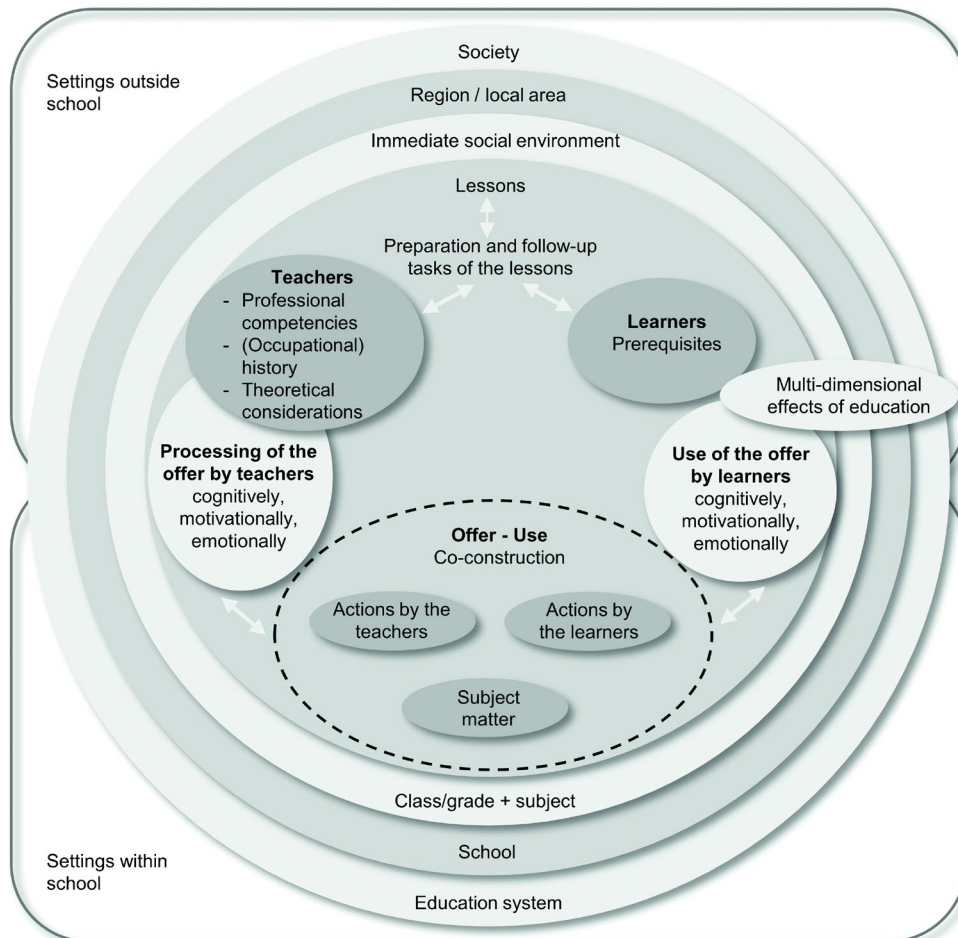

Figure 2: Depiction of the integrated offer-and-use model (adapted from Vieluf et al., 2020, p. 76).

To summarise, the offer-and-use model based on that of Vieluf and colleagues (2020) is informed by an appreciation of the multidimensional prerequisites of teachers and learners. Offers as well as their use are regarded as co-constructions. They include not only the events in the classroom and what the two groups of actors do, but also their emotional, motivational and cognitive dispositions and processing capacities. The resulting educational impact is described as multidimensional. Reciprocity between all presented spheres presented is central to the model.

3.3 Further theoretical foundations

In the course of the research on which this report is based, which resulted in three masters' theses (see introduction), further theoretical foundations were drawn upon. Besides other things, these form the basis for the subsequent discussion of the results. Due to limited space, these foundations are only outlined below in the form of 'theoretical building blocks'.

Teacher-pupil-relationships

Teacher-pupil-relationships as a type of interaction between teachers and pupils play a central role in and around the classroom in the co-constructive negotiation and shaping of classroom and school life (Leonhard & Schlickum, 2014, p. 13). The teacher-pupil-relationships do not originate unidirectionally from the teachers, but are characterised instead by bi- or multi-directionality, multi-causality, and complexity in the way they operate (Sann & Preiser, 2017, p. 213 f.). Through the social involvement of pupils by their teachers and similar forms of interaction that begin with the teachers, the latter can also create a foundation of trust that is vital for positive interactions (Schweer, 2017). Beyond the positive effects for pupils, successful teacher-pupil-relationships also have a positive effect on teachers' occupational satisfaction (Schübel & Winklhofer, 2021, p. 28).

Atmosphere in the school and classroom

Through a positive school and class climate along with the establishment of a lasting school culture, the teachers' interest in the state and welfare of their pupils also increases. This benefits the emotional life of the latter and, as a further consequence, their motivations for learning and their learning outcomes also develop or stabilise in a positive way (Sann & Preiser, 2017, p. 223 f.). This creates a complementary nurturing environment for the cognitive, emotional, motivational and other development in various settings in the school "with the aim of providing ideal

occasions for the effective pursuit of pupils' learning activities" (Seidel, 2014, p. 857, transl.).

Theory of the curriculum

The term 'curriculum' is often employed by the actors at the school of Our Bridge. In the German research context, this is taken to mean exact regulations regarding the educational content. Too many restrictions set by mandatory learning materials and monitoring the compliance render a curriculum inflexible (Elbers, 1973, p. 43). Moreover, the teacher must then be qualified to compose and implement curricula; further training in the prescribed teaching methods would therefore be required (ibid.).

School leadership research - School leadership tasks

According to Rolff (2017), the tasks of school leaders encompass the three dimensions of the leadership, management, and steering of the school. Steering refers to the autonomous development and implementation of ideas within the school (Rolff, 2017, p. 131). Leadership covers personnel and structural elements, while management revolves around administrative acts. A certain form of leadership is also referred to as 'transformational leadership' (ibid., p. 136; Haag & Jäger, 2020, p. 148 f.). This is distinguished by communicating a vision, building a school culture, and the active development of the school, as well as by conveying a set of values (Dubs, 2005, p. 176). It is essential for effective school leadership to focus on the teaching for and learning of the pupils (Pietsch, 2016).

Professional learning communities

School development can be achieved via the teaching staff. So-called "professional learning communities" (PLC) are groups of teachers who collaborate in a communicative way. Ideally, these groups are characterised by reflected dialogue, work shadowing, pupil-centredness, learning from each other, jointly developing working materials, shared values (a supportive culture, tolerance of mistakes), clarifying and reviewing performance standards, and systematic training and further professional development (Rolff, 2007; Haag & Jäger, 2020, p. 34).

Resistance

Resistance is not discussed much in the theories of pedagogical school development. Yet school development requires a necessary 'impetus for change'. The degree of dissatisfaction, clarity of purpose, and the visibility of the implementation

steps must be greater than the obstacles that a change entails (Terhart, 2013, p. 78). If the actors' impetus for change is not strong enough, resistance will arise. In the everyday routines of the actors, internal governance processes can lead to "symbolic disputes and struggles for recognition along professional, generational, educational or even milieu-specific lines" (ibid., p. 110, transl.).

Steering from the perspective of educational governance

From a governance perspective, the coordination of the actors involved in steering school development in Germany can be depicted in a four-scale model. According to this, new actors such as the OECD, who hold the powers of definition, provide quality criteria, which are then translated by actors at the macro level (education policy and administration) and micro level (lessons) into steering elements such as educational standards and plans, and evaluation tools. At the micro-level, the requirements are met through offer-and-use in the form of teaching and performance measurement. By recontextualising the requirements, the actors at each level can incorporate their own rationale and situational parameters into the implementation, thereby limiting the influence of the regulatory measures. The emphasis on quantifiable pupil performance as the main criterion of educational quality, as derived from international school performance studies (e.g. PISA), leads school development to focus on output and lessons. Cross-curricular criteria of school quality are lost from view. The influence of the individual school (meso-level) is therefore questionable. In conjunction with new administrative tasks and powers for staff management and school planning, the responsibility for educational quality is shifted from the macro- to the meso-level. School directors, teaching staff, parents and pupils can develop school programmes and cultures by negotiation and thus provide conceptual frameworks for the lesson design. The extent to which these considerations actually find their way into actual lessons depends, among other factors, on the clarity of the objectives and the provision of resources such as staff, time, and professionalisation measures (Fend, 2017; Altrichter & Maag Merki, 2016; Groeben, 2005). Studies on the running of schools by small non-governmental organisations (NGOs) paint a completely different picture of quality criteria and conditions for success. In steering school development, other constellations of actors and coordinations of action are usually recognisable (Jagannathan, 2001).

Implementation and dissemination of innovations in the education sector and the scaling of social effects

For the implementation and dissemination of innovations in schools and education systems, bottom-up strategies such as the concept of 'professional learning communities' have proven to be particularly fruitful. Ideally, people with different perspectives (teachers, researchers, instructors) form a team that develops measures based on a particular problem, which are then tested in schools. For the dissemination of innovations, factors such as the clarity of objectives, organisational structures, and resources such as designated cooperation sessions, making the results visible, the leadership competence of school leadership, as well as a surmountable distance for the actors between their own values, needs, and competencies and the innovations are decisive (cf. Schaumburg, Prasse & Blömeke, 2009; Gräsel, 2008).

The scaling of the social impact of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) requires, among other things, management skills, a replicable concept, and resources. Basically, four types of scaling strategies can be distinguished: 1) Capacity expansion is possible either through growth at the existing location, through improvement in quality, or through increased efficiency, 2) Strategic expansion signifies new offers, new target groups, and/or new locations, 3) In a contractually established partnership, other organisations can implement one's own concept at other locations, 4) Knowledge diffusion increases the social impact in that one's own concept can be adopted by actors of other organisations through further training, guidance, and consultation. The choice of scaling strategy depends on the characteristics of the NGO as well as on situational conditions and the needs of the target group (Weber et al., 2012).

4.   Research questions and design

4.1   Topics and central research questions

For the research project, the general status of the Our Bridge School as well as possible perspectives for school development (in situ and at other locations) were explored on the basis of a large number of interviews from a variety of vantage points. Three overarching topics emerged, within which the following specific research questions were to be answered:

- Topic 1: Prerequisites of pupils and teachers' responses to these prerequisites (Yusef El Damaty):

  Question 1: With which prerequisites do the pupils come to the Our Bridge School and how do teachers deal with these prerequisites?

- Topic 2: Internal (governance) perspective on school development processes (Luisa Kähne):

  Question 2: How do the internal actors at the Our Bridge School perceive the school development processes?

- Topic 3: External (governance) perspectives on school development processes and conditions for sucess (Silke Fischer):

  Question 3: Which functions, factors for success, and perspectives for (school) development do external actors perceive regarding the education programme on offer at the NGO Our Bridge?

4.2   Design and sample

The study is based on 17 individual interviews conducted by Yusef El Damaty, Silke Fischer, and Luisa Kähne on site in Kurdistan between February 28th and March 7th, 2022, and via the Zoom video conference system in the February of that year from Germany. Interviews were conducted with the below-mentioned persons and groups of persons (table 1), in line with the above-mentioned research questions.

Table 1: Conducted Interviews.

	Interviewed person(s)	Duration of the interviews
Schule Our Bridge		
1	Principal of school Our Bridge	67 min.
2	Teacher 1	89 min.
3	Teacher 2	49 min.
4	Teacher 3	53 min.
5	Teacher 4	77 min.
6	Pupil 1	57 min.
7	Pupil 2	52 min.
8	Family of pupil 1	22 min.
9	Family of pupil 2	27 min.
External actors		
10	School principals at UN-camp schools	42 min.
11	Principal of German school in Kurdistan	65 min.
12	Principal of state school in in Kurdistan	48 min.
13	Senior Member of Staff, Ministry of Education Kurdistan	43 min.
Internal / external actors		
14	School steward 1	84 min., 70min., 113 min.
15	School steward 2	70 min.
16	Sponsor 1	63 min.
17	Sponsor 2	58min.

Most of the interview partners were selected in advance by the school stewards as they had better access to the field. The interviewees were guaranteed complete anonymity. The usual data protection standards were observed. The interviews were conducted in English or with the help of a simultaneous interpreter in Kurdish/German.

Additionally, various lessons were observed, informal conversations were held, photographs were taken, and documents were collected and analysed.

4.3 Data collection: guided, problem-centred interviews

The above-mentioned interviews took place in the form of guided, problem-centred interviews. In this case, problem-centred means that topics and problems were identified in advance, which then formed the core of the respective interviews. The respective interview partners can thus be regarded as experts for the problem or handling of the problem.

In Germany, interview guides were developed in advance, in a multi-stage process for the different focal topics (see research questions) and for the groups of people who were to be interviewed.

With their mostly open-ended questions, interview guides aim to capture the perspectives of the actors in the most authentic and complex detail possible (Krüger, 2012, p. 206). The guided questions structure the interview. After each guide was initially developed using what is known in Germany as the 'SPSS' principle (collect, check, sort, subsume; Helfferich, 2011), they were discussed, condensed, and revised in several rounds. This is how the final versions of the guides were created.

The conducted interviews varied in length from 22 to 113 minutes (average: 68 minutes). The audio recordings were transcribed by the project members and two student assistants. A slightly modified version of the transcription rules according to TiQ (Bohnsack, 2014) was used and the transcription software f4 as well as MaxQDA were employed. The transcribed interviews became the data basis for the subsequent data analyses by means of qualitative content analysis according to Mayring (2015).

4.4   Data analysis: Summarising content analysis and inductive formation of categories

The data assessment following Mayring's (2015) approach for qualitative data analysis was carried out in two steps: First, the contents of the interviews were summarised systematically (summarising content analysis) which was then used to create an inductive system of categories for each focal topic.

Both techniques were used, as the objective of the analysis was to "reduce the material in such a way that the essential content is preserved" (Mayring, 2015, p. 67, transl.) and "to create, by means of abstraction, a manageable corpus that is still a reflection of the basic material" (ibid.). Figure 3 shows the sequence of the summarising content analysis and the formation of inductive categories.

The formation of inductive categories resulted in three systems of categories, which contained all reductions cohesively and presented answers to the previously stated research questions. In all systems of categories, main or superordinate categories were formed to improve orientation and further increase the level of abstraction.
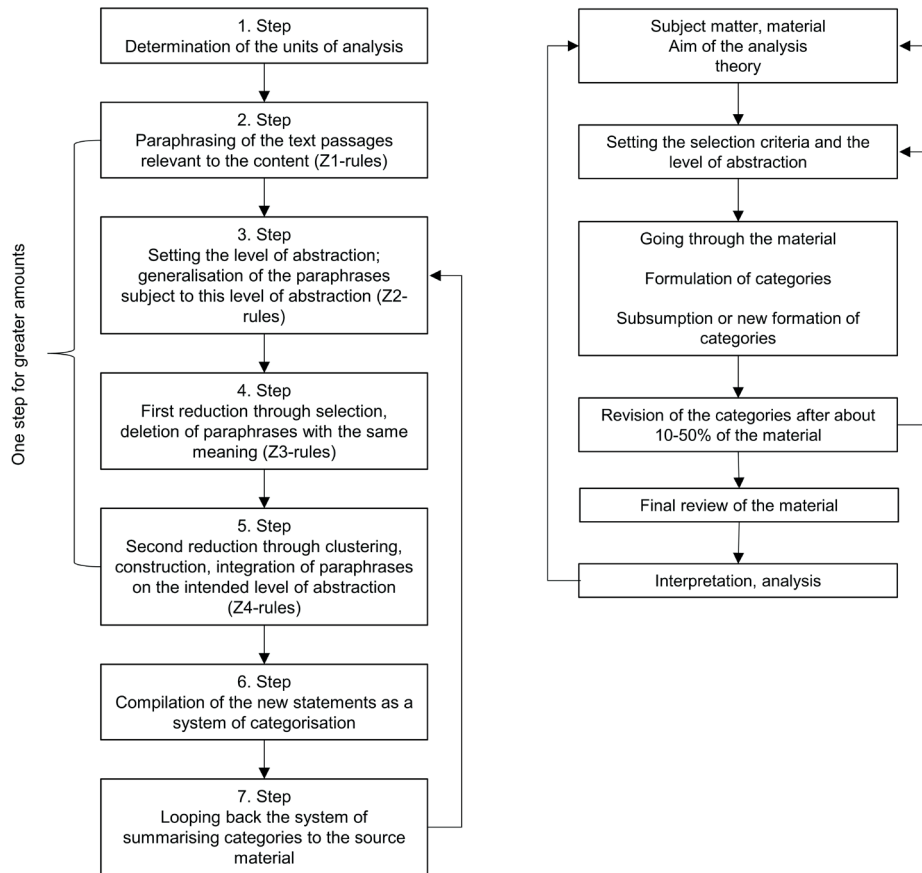
Figure 3: Left: Model of the sequence for the summarising content analysis (Source: Mayring, 2015, p. 70, transl.); Right: Model of the process of the inductive formation of categories (Source: Mayring, 2015, S. 86, transl.).

5. Results and discussions of the substudies

5.1 Substudy 1: Prerequisites of pupils and teachers' responses to these prerequisites

System of categories

The analysis of the collated data resulted in the following five main categories with a total of 13 sub-categories (table 2).

Table 2: System of categories with main and sub-categories for question 1.

Main categories	Sub-categories
Restrictions, shortages, and constraints	- Camp as a situation of material shortages and financial restrictions
	- Camp as a cognitive restriction
Compensatory effects	- Our Bridge providing a social counterbalance
	- Our Bridge providing an emotional counterbalance
	- Our Bridge providing a cognitive and emotional counterbalance
Teacher-pupil-relations-hips	- Active search for trustworthy relationships by pupils
	- Proactive offer of relationships of trust by teachers
	- Appreciation and affection between teachers and pupils
Strains	- Flight/displacement as a strain
	- Camp life as a strain and its expression in the needs of pupils
Relief	- Strategy of outsourcing family responsibilities to ease burdens
	- Understanding and an attitude of no expectations as lived school culture
	- Proactive work of the teachers to give relief to pupils and their families

It can be seen that the categories are divided into disadvantageous conditions due to the refugee camp on the one hand and compensatory effects due to the Our Bridge School on the other. The disadvantageous situations of the pupils result not only from the aggravating conditions of camp life, such as its restrictions, shortages, and constraints in different areas, but also from the various burdens that are still ever-present from the genocide and displacement (family of pupil 2, l. 72-77, l. 91-98; teacher 1, l. 199-211).

In school, the pupils express these disadvantageous preconditions, among other things, in their active search for supportive relationships of trust with the teachers (pupil 2, l. 230-232; pupil 1, l. 38-40, l. 467-468). The latter, for their part, are eager to proactively encourage such relationships and make them accessible to the pupils (teacher 2, l. 217-227). The bilateral efforts ultimately result in a common ground of appreciation and affection in the intensely cultivated teacher-pupil-relationships.

Presentation of core results / categories

Regarding the question "With which prerequisites do the pupils come to the Our Bridge School and how do teachers deal with these prerequisites?", it became clear that life in the refugee camp comes with restrictions, shortages, constraints and burdens for the pupils and their families (school steward 1, l. 197-203). The teachers, who themselves live in the refugee camp in Khanke, also suffer from the stressful conditions of the refugee camp (teacher 1, l. 766-786). All these people also have their previous life in the Shingal, the genocide they experienced, and the resulting imperative of fleeing to Khanke in common. Only the younger pupils, born after August 2014, have not personally experienced these events (what impressions they might have would need to be clarified in further interviews).

Due to the legal restrictions on the camp residents' freedom of mobility, work, and settlement, they live in a permanent state of emergency, which results not only in financial and material strains for them, but also in a sense of impotence as well as motivational, social, and emotional stresses. The disadvantageous conditions for the camp residents result from the combined effect of the various dimensions of restrictions and strains. The causes of this living situation in the refugee camp, which is marked by deficiencies, are itself due to an accumulation of reasons: The genocide and the subsequent flight have undermined family structures. As a result, for one, habitual family life often could not or cannot be continued without difficulty and, for another, the family members left behind linger in trauma and mourning, which in turn restricts their capacity to act. The precarious living situations of the camp residents can thus be described as a continuous cycle of stressful constraints: Emotional injuries paralyse people's ability to act, which makes it difficult for them to extricate themselves from the prevailing material and financial scarcities of the camp. All of this puts a further emotional burden on them and the causes of the distress remain 'omnipresent': the camp residents, who can hardly move out of the camp, are constantly confronted with painful experiences of the past as well as the limited ability in turn to act, and their lives are marked either by the unfulfilled hope of a return to the Shingal or even by hopelessness on this matter. All the previously mentioned restrictions, pressures, and constraints are also felt by the children and teenagers. In addition, they suffer from a lack of positive role models, activities, and stimulation in the camp.

Given the initial situation as outlined above, the significance of the Our Bridge School for the pupils can be appreciated. The school supports the pupils' education by meeting their basic needs, respectively by alleviating some of their underlying pressures (pupil 2, l. 44-52). This can also include that the school authorities provide the pupils' families with relief from (acute) financial or material burdens, such as by specifically addressing visible and tangible deficiencies faced by the pupils

and their families. Thus, the school of Our Bridge takes on a noticeable proactive and supportive function not only in the lives of the pupils, but also for their families (pupil 2, l. 144-150; pupil 1, l. 81-84; family of pupil 2, l. 231-232; family of pupil 1, l. 175-176). Apart from the school's less systematic, but more acute needs-oriented relief from physical, material, and also financial burdens, which is intended to increase the motivation of the pupils, the Our Bridge School continues to play a major part in the emotional, motivational, and cognitive relief of the pupils. The teachers especially embody a relief and compensatory function for the pupils. It is within the framework of a 'school culture of relief' that they provide motivational, cognitive and, above all, emotional support for the pupils through regular and direct exchange. Through the intense teacher-pupil-relationships, which occupy a central role within the described set-up, the pupils experience (partial) relief and release from the conditions of the camp. On the one hand, it is the pupils who seek supportive interactions with the teachers – as contact persons for them outside of the camp and their families. On the other hand, it is a very deliberate concern of the teachers to be available to the pupils as a person of trust and as an attachment figure throughout the entire school year: Both in class and outside of class during breaks, the teachers endeavour to have casual, but also empathetic and intense encounters with the pupils (teacher 2, l. 372-377). So the pupils can confide in the teachers about their personal troubles and issues during the breaks, and can also hope for advice, support, and relief by the teachers. In this way, the use of the teachers' presence as a 'pressure valve' establishes a regular opportunity for the pupils to counterbalance the stresses of camp life (teacher 2, l. 487-490).

Discussion

Much like the Our Bridge School and its teachers shift family responsibilities and relief for pupils to the school, the pupils also shift their active search for relief into the school: On the part of the pupils, support for coping is shifted from the families in the camp to the teachers in the school. Furthermore, with the teachers they are given positive role models who may motivate them to learn and show them the importance of learning for a prospective liberation from camp life. The teachers, who also suffer from the emotional stress of this 'collective injury' (Kämper, 2015, p. 182) as well as other types of camp-related restrictions and strains, broaden their perspectives for their future and their lives and also motivate the pupils in various ways, which in turn influences the pupils' learning in a positive way. Not least, this succeeds better than in the camp because the pupils can experience substantial relief at school through a different (learning) environment and by temporarily tuning out camp life, thus providing (short-term) stability and serving this very purpose of relief. It supports the pupils in coping with their own situation in

that they experience relationships at school and have activities that present them with a positive contrast to camp life, thereby supporting them in coping with their everyday lives. The acknowledgement, appreciation, and affection of the teachers are also crucial for the learning effects on the pupils. This further underpins the centrality of teacher-pupil-relationships at the Our Bridge School in providing relief to the pupils from the stressful conditions of the camp. Through the teachers (and the Our Bridge School as a whole), the pupils experience 1) so to say indirect support in coming to terms with the past and dealing with their traumas – without this taking centre stage in a therapeutic sense, 2) coming to terms with the present through emotional and school-based support, and 3) a perspective for the future.

More intimate insights into the pupils' family life are not mentioned or are left open in the interviews. The partial 'neglect' of the pupils in their families was touched upon, and the limited freedom that the children and youths have to act and the limited perspectives they have in the camp became obvious (e.g. child labour). However, many questions remain unanswered, such as the medium- and long-term psychosocial consequences of the traumas and of living under such restrictions, the effects of the constant stress and tension within the families, or also the effects of long-term disempowerment and lack of autonomy for the families.

5.2 Substudy 2: Internal (governance) perspective on school development processes

System of categories

In the following table 3, the seven main categories as well as a total of 21 subcategories can be found on the question of the perception of school development processes by internal actors.

Table 3: System of categories with main and sub-categories regarding question 2.

Main categories	Sub-categories
Governed OD	Internal structure
	- Central instructional role of school steward 2
	- Familial teaching community with mostly informal communication
	- Strongly prestructured daily routine
	- Cooperation with Our Bridge
	Aims OD
	- Expanding the qualification of the pupils
	- Creating an after-school centre
	- Familiar "home" for teachers and pupils
	PD through …
	- feedback meetings, checklist
	- Fixed-term, value-bound work contracts

	- High individual motivation for further training
	- Mutual staff support
Appreciative involvement of teachers	Motivation of the teachers
	- Communal structure
	- Familial responsibility
	- Aspirational ideals
	- Access to ressources
	Experiencing appreciation
	- Continued employment
	- Material gratuities
	- High relevance to the experience of self-efficacy/ personal respon-
	siblity because of the context of trauma
	Dealing with resistance
	- Resolving resistance(s) by the offer of viable solutions through school
	steward
Lessons developed jointly by teaching community	LD through…
	- Joint preparation
	- Teachers as pillars of relationship building
	- Curriculum guides formal requirements
	Orientation
	- Differentiation of content by grade
	- Didactic orientation: Performance and well-being of the pupils
Relationship-based and games-based lessons	Interaction and classroom atmosphere
	- Relationship building
	- Physical closeness
	- Fun
	Forms of presentation
	- Games, flash cards, teacher-centred discussions, project work
	Subject matter
	- Discipline and rules
	- Relevance of education / improving motivation
	- Knowledge acquisition for national exams
	- Positive experiences of self for the pupils
State school system: Co-operation in the immediate vicinity	State schools as dysfunctional educational facilities
	Cooperation: alignment of own educational content
SD perceived as a collec-tive endeadvour but strongly governed	Understanding of SD
	- Teachers: collective, geared towards lessons, improvement
	- School steward: innovation; LD by teaching staff, overall structural LD
	by school principal and school steward
	- Development stimuli by the school principal and the school steward
	For example: strongly governed process 2018
	- improved lesson structure
	- formalisation of the organisational structure
	Current LD
	- Collaboration teachers, school principal, school steward
	- Formal controls
	- Increase of stress perceived by pupils
	Aims of SD
	- Reduction of stress for teachers and pupils

	- Final exams based on state curriculum
	- Stated visions for the future differ between teachers and school principal versus school steward
Functions of the school	Wellbeing
	Relationship and trust
	Education with prospects for the future
	Control of achieving objectives through quality management
	- Performance assessment: no scores; national education certificates
	- Observing fluctuation rate; direct communication pupils

Presentation of core results / categories

The investigating of the question "How do the internal actors at the Our Bridge School perceive the school development processes?" was able to show that school development is perceived by the actors in different ways. Teachers see development as part of their personal development or that of their teaching. At the level of school leadership, the principal and one of the school stewards are involved in structural organisational development. This structuring is also evident in the school's schedule, which strongly pre-structures the day-to-day routine.

Teachers describe the facility as a familial "home". This is also reflected in the mainly informal and personal communication among the teaching staff. The teachers are motivated by...

- the collaborative structure,

- the financial responsibility towards their families

- the highly value-based and aspirational ideals

- as well as the access to resources (e.g. provision of laptops, salary).

Appreciation is measured in terms of continued employment at the school and material gratuities from Our Bridge. As an experience of self-efficacy and personal responsibility, it has a high relevance concerning the traumatic life events of the teachers and pupils. Personal development is practised through feedback sessions and checklists as well as fixed-term employment contracts bound to practised values.

Moreover, there is mutual support among the teaching staff, which evidences a high individual motivation to develop further professionally. This is also visible in the lesson development which occurs through the joint preparation of the contents by the community. In this, the state curriculum determines all formal requirements. Teachers are considered to be the pillars of the task of relationship- building. Interactions and the classroom atmosphere are determined by this relationship work. It is striking that the children also make contact with the teachers by hugging

and being held by the hand. It was emphasised in particular that fun ought to form part of the lessons. Therefore, games, but also flashcards, teacher-centred discussions, and project work are employed as forms of delivery.

The subject matter also includes conveying discipline and rules, the relevance of education and motivational enhancement, the acquisition of knowledge for national education certificates, as well as positive experiences of self for the pupils. The lessons are organised with a view to differentiating the content according to grades. The methodology and didactics are designed to promote the performance and well-being of the pupils.

The central aims of the school are the pupils' feeling of wellbeing, the relationship and trust between teachers and pupils (security) as well as providing education to the pupils for future prospects (in addition, provisioning and health are also objectives of the school, but these were not explicitly mentioned in the interviews):

> "[...] that is really a big burden for them (children) to let go of and then come here and feel comfortable. and that the children, for example, [...] have trust, [...] that we really have a goal, that we want to give them hope for a better future through education [...]." (school steward 2, I3_l. 689-692, transl.)

Quality management is used to monitor the achievement of the objectives. This includes assessing performance by means of the grades from the state school report cards, and by observing the fluctuation rate of the pupils and direct communication between the internal actors and the pupils. Concurrently, the aim is to qualify the pupils for the state schools which they attend simultaneously. To this end, the school of our Bridge offers comprehensive, classroom-oriented programmes as well as extracurricular and extramural ones. The state schools are experienced as dysfunctional educational institutions. Nevertheless, cooperation exists, as the own educational content is aligned with that of the state school.

School development is perceived as a collective endeavour and geared foremost to the improvement of lessons. Currently, the lesson development occurs through the joint collaboration of all internal actors. The concepts planned by the teachers for single lessons are supervised by the school leadership. The school stewards consider school development to be an innovation that is carried out by the teachers with regard to lessons. In their own view, the school principal and the school steward carry the responsibility at the structural level, and they are the ones who primarily stimulate new developments. The school development process of 2018 is such an example, characterised by the active creation of structural provisions and agreements. Here, the improvement of the formalised organisational structure and of the lesson structure facilitated lesson development for the teachers: "[...] and then we basically wrote these things down in every area [...] standardised them [...]

so that the burden on the school leadership is eased, that the burden on every teacher is eased [...]" (school steward 2, I3_l. 271-275).

According to conversations between the pupils and school steward 2, now the more content-focused lessons lead to an increased sense of stress for the pupils. Yet stress reduction is actually one of the goals of the school's development, besides a final exam based on the state curriculum. Nevertheless, future visions for the school differ between those of the teaching staff and the school principal from those of school steward 2. The teaching staff, for example, wish for the concept of the school to be accessible to more people, even worldwide. The school steward, however, places greater relevance on the expansion of school-based support after the 10th grade through the school of Our Bridge.

Discussion

The study showed that the School of Our Bridge pursues management approaches that can be embedded in the societal and theoretical context. Due to their fairly great independence from political control, the responsible actors can define their own values and objectives for a school development strategy. These are strongly connected with the lives of the pupils and also point to a central function of the school, namely individual empowerment to deal with life and forging future career prospects. The knowledge and skills acquired at school presumably have a positive effect on their chances in the labour market and in light of the limited access to tertiary education. Another function of school is to impart norms and values. Discipline and respect are mentioned, but above all the value of education as such. Moreover, sustainability is an important topic, as the subject 'environment' indicates. In contrast to the state school and given the precarious reality of the pupils' lives, the school of Our Bride offers a sanctuary. It offers distraction and perspectives for the future. This function is rarely addressed in research in German. One may ask whether this educational facility ought to be considered a mixture of a school and a type of after-school centre (a children's and youth facility with extra-curricular programmes on offer and a school-based, vocational support programme). This would reflect the profound pedagogical aspirations of those involved.

The results of the study can be incorporated into the main elements corresponding with the pedagogical school development theory: organisational development, lesson development, and personnel development. Thus, under the aspect of leadership, the concept of shared school leadership can be achieved through the directing activities of the school stewards and the school principal; there are no steering committees. Resistance is hardly apparent in the interviews with the

teachers and the school principal. Possibly the 'momentum for change' according to Terhart (2013) is particularly high. Hence, structural changes are experienced as demanding, but rewarding. If one considers the school-specific reasons for resistance according to Reh (2010) and Terhart (2013), the term 'autonomy' stands out. Since school development is reported and experienced as collective, it can be assumed that the degree of individually experienced autonomy is smaller. However, one of the school stewards speaks of situations in which the teachers and school principal showed reactance out of fear and uncertainty. However, he overrode these and established the new structure, which was subsequently perceived as positive.

> "[...] and (then) I said, no matter how I spin it, right, it always reverts to my solution and then I just did it again myself and °developed it [...]." (school steward 2, l. 610-617. transl.)

This, together with the communication and decision-making structure of the institution, reflects the hierarchy in school development processes. First of all, the school stewards involve the school principal in the planning of change processes. Subsequently, the teachers are asked for feedback, which would then be incorporated. Battles for recognition in the school culture, as described by Helsper (2010), do not seem to exist here. The semi-hierarchical structure and the concurrent communicative connection of all those involved obviously reinforces the implementation of the school development processes. For the staff, the school of Our Bridge is a social circle characterised by trust and exchange:

> "[...] we tell each other everything directly, we don't hide from each other, if there are any deficits, so if there are any issues between us, we immediately go and sort them out amongst ourselves." (school principal, l. 9 ff., transl.)

Mutual or two-way professional development and consultation lead to the experience of acknowledgement and appreciation. Individual motivation (also for further training), a shared understanding of collective work, and shared values are of major importance. This is also related to the experience of their own professionalisation. Thus, the research results can be easily related to the findings on the type of teacher education system in the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan. The teachers describe themselves as rather ill-prepared by their university programme for their day-to-day work at school. In particular, they criticise not having learnt how to deal with pupils in advance. Regarding lesson development, the teaching community is thus of great importance for an individual teacher's professionalisation progress. The high degree of communicative cooperation and joint learning as well as the sharing of work materials due to shared values indicate a 'professional learning community' (Rolff, 2007; Haag & Jäger, 2020).

School development predominantly means lesson development for the teachers and principal. The school's aim of engendering the children's satisfaction and improving their performance is in line with the requirement for German teachers to create a school culture that is conducive to learning (KMK, 2004). According to the teachers, the quality of teaching is established through the satisfaction of the pupils. Criteria for quality (Helmke, 2006) beyond a conducive classroom atmosphere and the structuring of lessons can only be surmised. For example, the motivation and activation of the pupils could be stimulated by games.

5.3 Sub-study 3: Perception of the school and school development by external actors

System of categories

Table 4 below shows the empirically collated system of categories for the question „Which functions, factors for success, and perspectives for (school) development do external actors perceive regarding the education programme on offer at the NGO Our Bridge?". Accordingly, the 23 main categories can be divided into three superordinate segments: Functions and intended effects of the Our Bridge School, factors for success for the current educational programme and (school) development, as well as the (school) development perspectives and outlooks from the view of external actors.

Table 4: System of categories with main and sub-categories regarding question 3.

Main categories	Sub-categories
Functions and intended effects of the school of Our Bridge	
Compensation of the effects of genocide, displacement, and camp-life	Family proxy and compensation of trauma
	Family counselling and social aid
Input into the village, the camp, and society	Influencing values, norms, and actions
	Economic input
Teacher training and further professional development	
Education and personality development	Education as acquisition of competencies
	Personality development
	Education in democracy
	Complement to public schools
Organising the future of the children	Access to labour market
	Internationality
	Participation in society
Selection	Admission criteria

Conditions for the success of the education programme and further developments	
Our-Bridge-team	Personality, aims, beliefs, competencies and skills
	Local family histories and German-Kurdish background
	Exceptionally high personal commitment
Professionalisation, governance of (school) development	School stewards initiate and govern
	Interests of all actors and status groups
	Project and quality management
	Cooperations, partnerships
Teachers (T) as the decisive factor	Sharing experiences of flight/displacement and camp-life with pupils
	Occupational biography / CV
	Recruitment and training of suitable teachers
Values and attitudes	Familial atmosphere; appreciative, respectful interaction
	Dependability
	Pupils cannot fail
Needs- and situation-based offer	Structured school routines
	Stimulating buildings and outdoor facilities
	Art, music, phyiscal education, meditation as important subjects
	T-P-relationship and lessons
Holistic view of the child, family, history	Knowing the children's strains and taking them into account individually
	Creating readiness to learn
	Systematic assessment of needs
Acceptance by the target group	
Acceptance and support by the environment	Acceptance by politics and authorities
	Acceptance and recognition by the village
	Regional networking
	Political support from donor countries
Long-term effectiveness	Compatibility with and accessibility to the Kurdish or international education system
	Concept for compatibility and accessability
Secure funding	
(School) development perspectives & outlook	
Extending capacities and development of quality	Enlarging the local school
	Developing curricula
	Diagnosis / assessment and documentation of the state of learning of the pupils
	Refining selection criteria
Scaling up through new complementary offers	Upper secondary level
	Vocational training centre
	Scholarship programme
	Literacy courses for adults
Scaling up through additional sites	Auxiliary sites at other camps
	Adaptable concept for other countries/contexts
Developing a scalable concept	Train multiplicators
Accredited certificates	Accepted by the Kurdish Ministry of Education
	Internationally recognised (International Baccalaureate)
	Our-Bridge-certificate/vocational education certificate

Input for the German edu-cation system	Schools in socially deprived areas
	Pupils with experiences of displacement and migration
Model for projects of de-velopment cooperation	Hybrid approach

Presentation of core results / categories

In all three sections of the system of categories, a strong influence of the excep-tional non-school context can be seen. Genocide and displacement leave behind cross-generational trauma as well as damaging family and social structures, which is amplified by the special situation of life in the camp (see chapters 2.1; 2.2; and 5.1).

Regarding the functions and intended effects of the school of Our Bridge, the ex-ternal actors therefore describe functions and effects that serve to compensate for the trauma and constraints caused by genocide, flight and displacement, and camp life and go far beyond the functions described for state schools in the current Ger-man research (cf. Blömeke & Herzig, 2009, p. 15; 21). The perceived reach of the school of Our Bridge extends beyond the pupils to their families, to the surrounding social fabric of the village, to wider society, and to the state schools in the vicinity. Accordingly, the School of Our Bridge is ascribed the function of family proxy and trauma compensation. Original functions of family are transferred to the school: Providing a safe and stable place as a home ("the children somehow need some some kind of place uhm that gives them a foothold yes. […] that they basically find a refuge there in this place this their place, a place that essentially will remain" (sponsor 1, l. 373-380, transl.)).

The function of family counselling and social assistance is reflected in statements about medical and material assistance provided by the school for the pupils and their families. This also includes family counselling and social control functions, such as to avoid domestic violence ("since the child comes here now, for example, we know, okay, that it's [...], we have to be careful now, that she doesn't have any marks on her face, no bruises or anything like that, and then we also talk with each other and [...] then at home then at home they also shy away from hurting the child") (school steward 1, l. 172-176, transl.)).

The category of 'input into the village, the camp, and society' expresses the view that the school of Our Bridge ought to make a vital contribution to the renewal of society in the vicinity of the camp, which has been damaged by terror and displace-ment. As an employer and consumer, the school boosts local markets and contrib-utes to giving people a perspective and confidence in a brighter future (school

steward 1, l. 90-111). Values, norms, and attitudes practised at the school spill over into its surroundings and enable innovations, for example, concerning gender equality, the reduction of discrimination against minorities, and with regard to the prevailing ideas of school, education, and the treatment of children ("and at the same time, of course, we also want the people who are trained here, uhm, to carry the idea outside, into the village" (school steward 1, l. 398-400, transl.)). Overall, the compensatory functions are also regarded as an opportunity to prevent conflict and radicalisation.

In the category of 'teacher training and further professional development', the actors articulate the necessity for supporting the teachers, most of whom do not have any pedagogical training, on the one hand. On the other hand, Our Bridge would also like to initiate, convey, and develop a mission statement and a pedagogical concept based on the corresponding values together with the teachers ("when you talk to the people, you want to convince them [...] with an alternative model. that you want to use here in everyday school life" (school steward 1, l. 111-114, transl.)).

Education and personality development are viewed by the actors mostly as complementary to the state schools, which are described as deficient. The pupils are given the opportunity to close individual gaps in elementary cultural techniques, discover and develop their talents and interests, and to experience self-efficacy. Developing a self-confident, self-responsible, and disciplined work ethic and the aptitude for critical thinking based on a democratic mind-set are at the forefront of education there.

The relevance of the situational context is also evident when it comes to the 'conditions for the success of the educational programme' and 'further developments'. In accordance with the intended compensatory effects, such conditions are expressed by the main categories of 'needs- and situation-based offer' and of a 'holistic view of the child, family and history', which enable individual treatment, emotional support, and the cognitive stimulation of the pupils and facilitate a readiness to learn ("and I will always firmly assume that no child can reasonably concentrate on education if their personal situation is completely unclear") (school principal, German School in Kurdistan, pos. 53, transl.)). The precise assessment of the children's needs and family situation, especially upon admission to the school, is deemed important. This also goes for the school offering a firm, partly ritualised routine and structure for the day, opportunities to play inside and outside the classroom, school festivities and excursions.

With regard to 'values and attitudes', it seems significant that a validating familial atmosphere is reported for the school, in which the failure of pupils is not anticipated ("here it doesn't matter. here in this establishment there is no such thing as failure" (school principal, state school, pos. 243, transl.)).

Aspects related to personnel are also considered 'crucial factors for success'. In the category of the 'team of Our-Bridge', the dependence of the school on the personal traits of the school stewards and administrators of the NGOs becomes visible. The biographies of the actors at Our Bridge shape the values, norms, and the school overall ("we can't all go abroad. not to Europe an not to Germany. but we can bring a piece of Germany here with us and that works") (school steward 1, l. 87-89, transl.)). Particularly the German-Kurdish-Yazidi background, the locally embedded family history as well as the extraordinary personal commitment of the team at Our Bridge are described as a factor for success and as a special feature of the school ("and so much of his work time, holiday time he spends for this association, that's really extra::ordinary" (sponsor 2, l. 524-525, transl.)).

In the context of the 'professionalisation and governance of (school) development', the function of initiating and steering school development processes is therefore ascribed primarily to the school stewards of the NGO and only to a limited extent to the education authorities, the principal, and the teachers. This contrasts with the notion that the inclusion of all 'status groups' of the school of Our Bridge is considerd a condition for the success of school development processes. All actors attach great importance to teachers as the decisive factor ("I think the main factor or [...] the one who is playing the best (..) role in the whole system is the teacher [...] so the quality of teacher (..) it's the ä::h or we can say the crucial point in any education" (senior staff member, Ministry of Education Kurdistan, l. 209-212)). The (vocational) history of the teachers plays a twofold role. The common experiences and the shared living situation of the pupils and teachers enable, among other things, familial interaction and the understanding of the needs and situation of the children in their families. Most of the actors do not view the lack of pedagogical qualifications of most of the teachers critically, but rather perceive it as an opportunity. In conjunction with the school's function of providing training and further professional development, this can enable a less biased kind of in-service learning, with an openness for the reflected development of a needs- and situation-oriented offer in this special setting. ("and that's just where different young people came. Um they didn't know [...] how not to do it, they just did it. and they learned from the work and from themselves. If they had studied this for a long time, they wouldn't have done it so well" (sponsor 2, pos. 16)). This perception is closely related to the school's function of teacher training and further professional development.

Factors for the success of the school are included in the categories of 'acceptance and support by the environment' and 'by the target group', as well as 'secure funding'. These factors likely are of less concern for state-run schools with public funding a target group comprised of only the age-range for mandatory schooling, but are perceived as crucial for the school of Our Bridge. Ensuring the acceptance of the school by the local population and authorities is given utmost importance. This is to be achieved, for example, by avoiding corruption, nepotism, and neo-colonial attitudes and by quickly achieving noticeable improvements, by being transparent and including the village in the project. The family ties of the actors of Our Bridge in the region are a key prerequisite for networking with the relevant authorities.

In the third category, (school) 'development perspectives and outlook', the actors see possibilities for extending the capacities of the existing facility by admitting more pupils and through the development of quality in the areas of organisation, personnel, and lessons. The continued development of the curricula, the introduction of formative assessment and of development reports are suggested for these areas.

Under the category of 'scaling-up through new programmes at the school', perspectives for development beyond the existing education on offer and up to the end of the upper secondary level are described, such as the development of a vocational training centre for 2 or 3 kinds of apprenticeship, intensive Englisch Courses, or a scholarship programme for attendance at upper secondary schools and universities or other kinds of higher education. These avenues would be particularly conducive to the desired sustainable and long-term impact of the existing education on offer.

Scaling up through additional sites, for example, through multiplicators at other camps in the region or in other countries with similar conditions, is another option. Concerns were also expressed about the extent to which further locations with the same quality could be realised due to the school's great dependence on central actors from Our Bridge ("what I don't believe is that you basically just copy the thing one-to-one as it is now and put it somewhere else, and then hope that the people will then run it as well as the people do now", sponsor 1, l. 568-570, transl.).

From the actors' point of view, it would need to be examined in which way new programmes can be made compatible with advanced and higher education. Accordingly, a stronger alignment of the programmes with the Kurdish education system would be conceivable under the involvement of the education authorities or alignment with internationally recognised education certificates to be awarded such as the International Baccalaureate.

Due to its distinctive impact and its factors for success, several actors see the school respectively the NGO Our Bridge as a possible model for educational projects as part of development cooperation elsewhere. The concept of the school was developed for children with traumatic experiences in disadvantageous living situations. In light of the increasing numbers of such children and teenagers at German schools, some inspiration for the German education system could also be gleaned. ("now this is of course another exciting question, yeah what experiences they basically have had in Germany yes. [...] the topic of integration, migration, ultimately also and uhm (..) yes I'd say for us it's a mixture of ours uhm of our projects here and abroad" (sponsor 1, pos. 60, transl.)).

Discussion

The results of research question 3 show that the school of Our Bridge, shaped by situational and personnel conditions, can only be described inadequately with the concepts related to school as an institution that are proposed in the literature available in Germany. Owing to the school's high degree of autonomy, it seems to represent not only a school but also an entire educational system and a social enterprise as a 'hybrid organisation' (Weber et al., 2013, p. 11). The intended effects and functions of the school of Our Bridge as identified from the perspective of external actors are therefore multidimensional. Functions that relate to individuals can be distinguished from functions that focus on the surrounding community and society. Concerning the pupils, several areas of conflict can be identified with regard to the intended effects. One the hand, a value-based, holistic education with echoes of Humboldt's neo-humanist ideas (v. Hentig, 2004, p. 183) is sought. On the other hand, there is the ambition to open up a concrete perspective for the future to the pupils, which strengthens the qualification function and influences the programmes and especially the development outlook of the school. On account of the fragile situation of Yazidi-Kurdish and also of Iraqi society and with regard to the function of enculturation, the question arises for which society the pupils ought to be prepared and which norms and values ought to be imparted in the process. Given the family background of the NGO-administrators and the school stewards, the 'humane creation' (Fend, 2008, p. 154) of the norms and values that shape the school appears to be largely informed by the free and democratic order of Western nations and by universal human rights. Accordingly, less of a reproductive and a more innovative quality can be discerned with regard to the intended impact of the school on society (cf. Fend, 2008, p. 49). The school is therefore not merely regarded as an institution that is formed and can be formed, but also as an institution that is formative. The strongly needs-based opportunities offered by the school of

Our Bridge for pupils and teachers thus also shows characteristics of socio-critical theories of schooling (Blömeke & Herzig, 2009, pp. 18-21).

The functions of the school of Our Bridge have a direct influence on what is offered and the associated factors for success. The education on offer is therefore much broader than the focus on the lessons offered in the offer-and-use model suggests. It also includes the extracurricular sphere of relationship-building and the enhancement of the pupils' living situation as well as the extramural support of the pupils and their families by teachers and Our Bridge actors in the camps. A further area is the offer for teachers whose professionalisation takes place in the school, this is provided through school stewards 1 and 2. So within the offer-and-use model, there is another offer-and-use relationship between the school stewards 1 and 2 and the teachers. Accordingly, the factors for success seen in relation to the school's offer and the teachers differ significantly from the basic dimensions of successful teaching formulated in the current (German) state of research or go beyond them.

From the perspective of educational governance, the NGO Our Bridge has a strong governing effect on the development of the school. This is rooted at the level of new actors via sponsors and at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels via the school stewards. Hence, strategic leadership and operational responsibility fall especially to the school stewards of Our Bridge. Although the school principal and teachers are involved in school development through coordinated actions, they are not mentioned in the interviews as actors who are central to its steering. Local government and authorities exert influence on school development through discretionary powers such as permits. Currently, the education authorities of the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan influence influence the school of Our Bridge only indirectly through the design of the public schools that the pupils of Our Bridge also attend.

The interviewed actors scarcely have any perspective regarding the further development of lessons, but more so concerning strategic expansion and thus new programmes to offer and new sites. Bearing this in mind, the question of implementing innovations in the school system of Our Bridge and of the scalability of the project gains importance. Cooperation sessions provide the conditions for building professional learning communities (Schaumburg, Prasse & Blömeke, 2009, p. 597).

Entwicklungsperspektiven sehen die befragten Akteure kaum im Bereich der Unterrichtsentwicklung, sondern v. a. im Bereich der strategischen Ausdehnung und damit in neuen Angeboten und Standorten. Vor diesem Hintergrund gewinnt die Frage nach der Implementierung von Innovationen im System der Schule von Our Bridge und diejenige nach der Skalierbarkeit des Projekts an Bedeutung. Durch

Kooperationszeiten sind die Bedingungen für den Aufbau professioneller Lernge-meinschaften gegeben (Schaumburg, Prasse & Blömeke, 2009, S. 597). Develop-ing a model of school education from the hereto perceived functions and factors for success could serve as the foundation for a scalable concept.

In summary, it can be stated that the continued development and scaling-up of the school of Our Bridge will be a challenge, while maintaining the existing functions, impact, and factors for success, which are considered positive.

6. Summary, results, and discussion

6.1 Summary

In 2014, fighters of the Islamic State attacked the Yazidi region of Shingal in northern Iraq and perpetrated an unimaginable massacre. The outcome was flight, torture, rape, enslavement, death. The survivors were accommodated in numerous UN refugee camps. On the outskirts of one of these camps in the village of Khanke, a few kilometres from Dohuk, students from Oldenburg with northern Iraqi and Yazidi roots were highly committed to founding an orphanage (named Harman), from which the school Our Bridge emerged in 2018. A school exclusively for the often traumatised children from the refugee camps in Khanke. Through various contacts and cooperations, a research project between the school and the Department of School Pedagogy as well as the Tübingen School of Education at the University of Tübingen came into being.

This study aims to record, describe, systematise, and analyse the status of the work and further development options of the school of Our Bridge from the perspective of key internal and external actors and to derive further options for development from this. The previously outlined theoretical groundwork used as a basis focuses on the situation in northern Iraq, i.e. the recent history, cultural aspects, and the Our Bridge project. In addition, theoretical approaches are examined, such as approaches to teacher-pupil-relationships, to school theories and school development theories, and to bridging instruction to learning, in particular, the offer-and-use model. Based on the current state of research and the situation on site, the overarching objective of 'assessing the status and further perspectives for development of the school of the Our Bridge project' and three specific research questions were refined in three sub-studies:

- Question 1: With which prerequisites do the pupils come to the Our Bridge School and how do teachers deal with these prerequisites?

- Question 2: How do the internal actors at the Our Bridge School perceive the school development processes?

- Question 3: Which functions, factors for success, and perspectives for (school) development do external actors perceive regarding the education programme on offer at the NGO Our Bridge?

The study is based on 17 individual interviews with internal and external actors. The data collection took place in the form of guided, problem-centred interviews. The data was analysed by means of a summarising content analysis and the inductive formation of categories. The results of the three studies were presented

61

separately; they each first describe the current status of the project at the school and possible perspectives for development from the viewpoint of central actors. On this basis, central aspects are discussed before further perspectives and outlooks are described based on the collected data and the impressions gained on site.

6.2   Results of the sub-studies: Description of the current situation at the school of Our Bridge from the perspective of central actors

With which prerequisites do the pupils come to the Our Bridge School and how do teachers deal with these prerequisites?

The interviews revealed that the residents of the camp have much in common: their previous life in Shingal, the *genocide* they experienced and the suffering associated with it, such as flight, loss of relatives, torture, or rape. Only the children born in the camp after 2014 are an exception. However, this traumatisation also has a transgenerational effect. Original structures such as family, professional, financial, and social structures are shattered. *Life in the refugee camps* is associated with considerable restrictions, shortages, constraints, and pressures for the pupils and their families. The teachers of the school who likewise live in the refugee camps also suffer under these considerable strains. The pressures are of a financial, material, autonomy-related, perspective-related, social, and especially emotional nature, often in conjunction with physical and medical problems. Owing to these burdens, as well as grief and traumatisation, many actors are restricted and 'paralysed' in their capacity to act. Neither is a return to Shingal possible nor are there viable long-term prospects in the camp. The residents have been living in the camp for eight years.

Against this background, the prerequisites of the pupils place specific and extensive demands on the functions and functionality of the school, which go far beyond its function of qualification. First of all, the school must ensure that the basic needs of the pupils are met by and large. In view of the situation in the refugee camp, this is a matter of providing specific material, financial, or other kinds of support in individual cases. For example, those responsible at Our Bridge got involved in arranging medical assistance for families dealing with difficult cases on several occasions. The school's profile also includes hygiene-related (e.g. tooth brushing), nutrition-related (balanced nutritional options at the school) and socio-pedagogical (e.g. support for parents) programmes and services.

Teacher-pupil-relationships obviously play *the* central part in providing emotional, motivational, and cognitive relief or empowerment to pupils at school. Teachers understand themselves as persons of trust and attachment figures for the pupils

throughout their entire time at school. Given their familiarity with the situation of the refugees since 2014, their familiarity with the situation in the refugee camp, and their knowledge of the particular burdens in families as well as the individual biographies and misfortunes of the children and their families, it seems to be a matter of course for them to be available first for the emotional, social or other needs of the children.

The *cultivation of relationships*, however, does not happen so much in set-apart programmes or time-slots during the course of the day, for instance, psychological or socio-pedagogical ones. Rather, available times in the usual school routine are used for this purpose. It turns out that the time before lessons begin (many pupils and teachers are already there earlier and are in the school yard) is used by the teachers to ascertain with sensitivity and in various ways how the children are doing: greeting, eye contact, playing together, walking together across the school grounds, enquiring, listening, signalling availability, being present – all these channels of communication are open and active. Teachers often (voluntarily and willingly) walk calmly with single children or in small groups across the school yard, conversing with them or signaling closeness and presence by acting jointly. The intensity of the conversations varies according to need.

All in all, the school offers a positive *counterbalance to camp life*. The pupils experience functioning, clearly structured processes, and can fall back on a close relationship with the teachers when needed. They experience the teachers as points of contact for various issues and apparently as positive role models, who attend to them and their needs seriously, empathetically and with great care. Within the school, communication channels exist which make it possible to pass on a need discovered in conversation – for example, during breaktime – to the principal or a school steward, so it can be resolved if the scope for a solution lies beyond the reach of a teacher.

More intimate insights into family life in the camp were not possible by means of the interviews. More dramatic and problematic outcomes were only mentioned in rudimentary form, such as the neglect of some of the children in their families, domestic violence, the limited freedom to act, or limited prospects for the future in the camp.

How do the internal actors at the Our Bridge School perceive the school development processes?

The *school development process* is perceived differently by the different internal actors of Our Bridge; teachers tend to see their individual development and that of lessons as being in the foreground, while the actors at school leadership level also

focus on topics of organisational and personnel development. The goals of school development are named as the education and qualification of the pupils. This is achieved through a comprehensive range of curricular, extracurricular, and extramural activities.

The school leadership conducts systematic *personnel development* together with the teachers, for example, in the form of regular feedback meetings with the employees or in the form of checklists for lesson preparation. The lesson content generated by the teachers is supervised by the school leadership. The employment contracts are fixed-term and value-based. For the teachers, the high ideals and pedagogical demands appear to be just as motivating as the access to resources (equipment of the school, teaching materials, regular and punctually paid salaries).

Lesson development is achieved in particular through working on and implementing lesson content; this is initiated and supervised by the school leadership. Everyday lessons are characterised by relationship work: the friendly classroom atmosphere, varied forms of interaction and methods (playful exercises, flashcards, work on projects) are used to promote well-being as well as concentration on the subject matter. The school of Our Bridge also aligns its content with the requirements of the state school for the sake of compatibility, although it is frequently experienced as dysfunctional.

Generally, school development is felt to be a common concern and is clearly focused on lessons and their improvement. Innovations are brought into the school almost entirely through the school stewards and the school principal. In 2018, a school development process was carried out, in the course of which the procedures at the level of teaching (lesson content and didactic approaches) were given more concrete form and everyday school life (introduction of checklists) was streamlined with greater formal stringency. The school stewards and school principal carry out *quality assurance measures*, particularly including performance assessments on the basis of the state school report cards. The stewards regularly have informal conversations with the pupils, remain in close contact with them, and in this way receive feedback on lesson and school issues. The fluctuation rate is recorded by the school principal and abscences of pupils are responded to early by contacting them promptly. These measures are carried out with a view to the school's objectives, which include education and qualification as well as relationships of trust between all those involved and the aim of making the pupils feel at ease in school.

Which functions, factors for success, and perspectives for (school) development do external actors perceive regarding the education programme on offer at the NGO Our Bridge?

Events and settings outside of school shape what happens in school to a very high degree. External actors notably speak of the school as having a *compensatory function* in relation to families, social aid and welfare, education, and trauma. The school is described as a place that gives the children a firm foothold and enables them to have stable, sheltered, and affectionate relationships with adults. Skills and competencies for everyday life are fostered, recreational activities are encouraged, medical and material assistance is provided or a referral set up. The school takes over family advisory services and also the function of social oversight to a certain degree, as when domestic violence is suspected.

The school is said to have an *impact* that is carried into the families in the camp, into the social fabric of the village, into the local public schools, and into society. As such it is credited with a *major contribution to the renewal* of a *society damaged* by terror and displacement. The school acts as an employer, as a consumer. Norms, values and attitudes spill over into society, e.g. regarding equality issues (the school has a *female* principal); environmental issues (environment as a subject and environment projects); innovations (solar power on the roof); inclusion (it is self-understood that pupils with intellectual disabilities participate in school life and in the classroom); as sponsors and supporters (e.g. the funding of teaching materials for the school in the refugee camp); by setting an example (transparency, avoiding corruption) or implementing value-based pedagogical concepts (e.g. treating pupils with respect). There is a wide range of networks with the village and the local and regional authorities.

The *pedagogical concept* is based on the premise that it is not possible for children to fail at the school. The concept and activities of the school are geared towards first meeting the basic needs of the children and teenagers so that a readiness for learning is possible and existent. This is the basis on which the pupils are first given the opportunity to learn elementary cultural techniques.The school is also attributed with enabling children to discover and cultivate their talents and interests. At the core of this is a firmly structured and disciplined approach – as the foundation for forming critical awareness as part of a democratic mindset.

The personal characteristics and life stories of the school stewards and administrators are deemed a *decisive factor for success.* They have been committed to the school above and beyond for many years. Some of them live in Germany and travel to Khanke regularly, or spend most of their time in Khanke and travel to

Germany occasionally. Their local family histories – they are rooted to varying degrees in Kurdish and German culture and, to this day, they are experiencing and processing the horror and consequences of the massacre in 2014 together – unite them, as do values and norms. They shape the structure and day-to-day life at the school enormously and make sure that the school 'runs', as far as organisation, finances, personnel, materials, pedagogy, and perspectives and outlook are concerned. In doing so, they combine practises and values from both cultures. The teachers working at the school fit seamlessly into the overall arrangement of Our Bridge on account of their local family history, the shared values and norms, and the high pedagogical standards.

In this sense, the *governance of the school* regarding its fundamental structure, the school's quality management, as well as the implementation of innovations is almost exclusively carried out by the school stewards. This does not take place – as it does in state-run German schools – within a framework stipulated by the school authorities. The framework is set by the school stewards and adapted by the teachers. The central aspect of this adaptation is that the teachers largely have their personal histories and, in particular, their everyday life (the refugee camp) 'in common' with the pupils and thus ensure that this adaptation matches the prerequisites and needs of the pupils.

With a view to broader *perspectives for development and scaling-up*, two different avenues were mentioned by the actors: Firstly, the school's further in-house development through new programmes and pathways towards the completion of the upper secondary level. For instance, by establishing a vocational training centre for specific apprenticeships, by establishing intensive Englisch courses to enhance international access, or through a scholarship programme to enable enrolment at upper secondary schools and in higher education such as universities. Secondly, there is the question of whether the school of Our Bridge could serve as a model and be set up in a similar format at other refugee camps. There is no doubt that the core concept could also be of benefit for other camps. However, there are some misgivings that the actors of Our Bridge would not be able to do this on top of everything else and that Our Bridge might be 'unique' in the sense that it was set up by specific kinds of persons who cannot simply be 'copied'.

6.3 Adaptation of the offer-and-use for the specific context of Our Bridge

A theoretical basis and framing for this study was provided through the offer-and-use model (in the version by Vieluf et al., 2020; see chapter 3.2). In taking account of the findings, the model, adapted now to the settings of the Our Bridge

School and the local situation, can be filled in, expanded, and presented as follows (see figure 4).
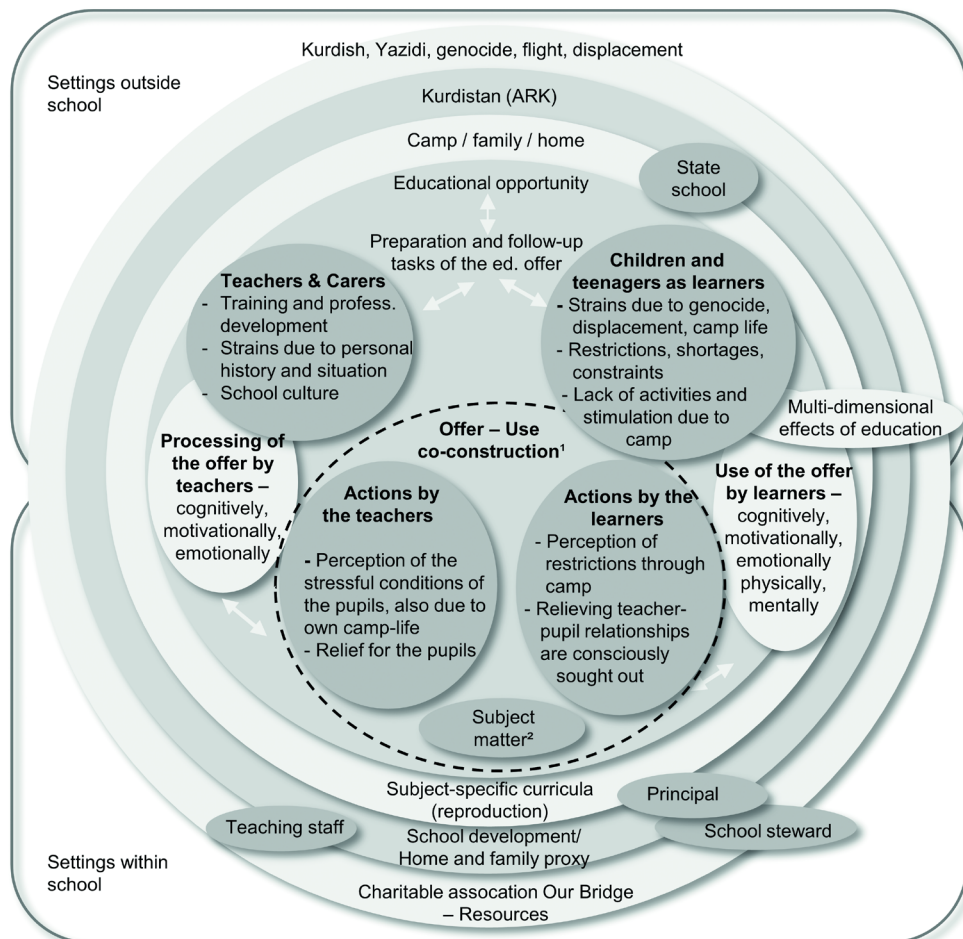
¹ Teacher-pupil-relationships; Shared biography; Communication; Interaction
² Relationships / joy / security; extracurricular activities / breaks / other offers

Figure 4: Adapted offer-and-use model with the main results of the study.

Micro-level

The core of the model lies in the *co-construction of offer and use* (extended beyond the classroom to a broad notion of education). This is only made possible by intense *teacher-pupil-relationships*, *shared biographical experiences*, and a special kind of communication and interaction. This means that one can no longer speak only of lessons, but rather of an *offer of education* at the centre of the model (micro-

level). The actions of the teachers are shaped in response to the *perception of the stressful prerequisites of the pupils*, *through also living in th camp*, as well as the *possibility of providing some relief* for the pupils.

The actions of the learners are based on their *perception of the restrictions through the camp* and the *conscious seeking-out of relieving teacher-pupil-relationships*. The *subject matter* is far more than the teaching of discrete subjects and extends from meeting basic needs such as for relationship, security, and joy, and is expanded through the *extracurricular* options on offer, recreational activities during *breaktime*, as well as *other offers*. The teachers also become *carers*, whose own *biographical experiences* and *situational strains* become the foundation for a relationship with the children and teenagers. In addition, a suitable *school culture* must be established. Further offers and functions, taken on by the school, are situated at the threshold of the micro-level and the immediate social environment, such as social aid, family welfare, healthcare, and so on. This creates the conditions for the pupils to even be able to take notice of and accept the educational opportunities on offer in the first place. The pupils turn into *children and young people who are learners*, since they are perceived and addressed in a more 'holistic' way. The prerequisites they carry with them are the *burdens* from genocide, displacement, and camp life, and the experienced *restrictions, deficiencies, and constraints* as well as a certain *lack of activities and stimulation* due to camp life. On the part of the children and teenagers, making use of the offers also extends to *physical, health,* and *mental aspects*.

Meso- and macro-level – within school

The subject lessons are determined by especially developed *subject-specific curricula*, which are as yet still geared towards reproduction. However, the perspective for the future is teaching that is oriented towards promoting competencies and skills. At the meso-level, the *development* of the school can be described by the triad of lesson development (including work on the curriculum), personnel development, and organisational development. The school constitutes a *second home* for the children and young people and also serves as a *family proxy*. At the meso-level, the model must be extended to include the *teaching staff* or *community*, which has a special role to play, as well as the *principal*. The *school stewards* also stand at the crossover to the 'in-between sphere of Our Bridge Association'; they are not officially part of the school, but their influence unfolds far into it. The *Our Bridge association* is officially positioned outside the meso-level and is structurally distinct from the school, but there are manifold connections, e.g. through the *school stewards*. It also provides the essential *resources* for the school. The *governance* of the Our Bridge School (meso-level) by other, superordinate institutions (macro-

level) appears to be of *lesser importance*. What also appears to be important at the meso level is the in-house training and further professional development of the teachers, which is closely related to the value system and the core of the school's pedagogy.

Meso- and macro-level – outside of school

The immediate social environment – both of the children and teenagers and of the teachers – is determined by life in the *camp*, by their *families*, and thus their '*primary home'*. Another actor in the immediate environment is the *state school* (outside the camp and also the UN school in the camp), which the children and teenagers also attend on a half-day basis and where some of the teachers from Our Bridge work as well. The regional and local surroundings are determined by the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan with its structural peculiarities. *Kurdish or Yazidi society* is shown as the macro-level of the model. This is compounded here by the distinctiveness of *genocide* and *flight/displacement*, which are formative for members of the Yazidi culture

6.4 Analysis, assessment, and discussion of the findings

The establishment of the school began in 2018. Within just a few years, it was possible to create a functioning school with a specific pedagogic profile. As such, it is without a doubt an exceedingly successful project. How must a school be designed to enable learning processes for traumatised children and teenagers living in a refugee camp? The answer is not to be found in an existing comprehensive concept that was implemented or even copied; rather, the school is characterised by ongoing development that took place gradually and is still underway, whereby impending problems and challenges, upcoming impulses, ideas, and innovations are taken up and and acted on in a pragmatic manner.

Starting point

The unchanging starting point for pedagogy and school development is the question: What are the needs of children and teenagers and what opportunities can the school open up for them? This consideration is reflected in numerous interviews with the different groups of people. The teachers, the pupils, and their parents are united by the fact that their lives are all connected by the massacre of 2014, albeit to completely different degrees of severity. They are united by their knowledge of the history, their life stories, the cultural, regional, personal and professional uprooting, the current living situation, and by thinking of a future forf the children and

teenagers of Our Bridge – and this as it relates to the individual children and teenagers who go to school here and now. This is not about an abstract knowledge of the suffering of the assaulted Yazidis, but about the very children and teenagers right before them: The boy who is the only one who can swim because he was tortured in captivity and repeatedly pushed under water. The girl who, fleeing from IS warriors in 2014, drank gas to avoid dying of thirst and suffered massive complications – until people from Our Bridge helped her. The boy with an intellectual disability who lost most of his family and who at first sat around apathetically at school for months and now moves around happily on the school grounds and in the classrooms. The girl who lost her father and all her siblings in the Shingal and whose mother died of Covid in 2021. To mention just four random examples. All the children live in the refugee camp without any prospects and attend the school of Our Bridge.

Functions of the school

Which functions does the school of Our Bridge fulfil in view of the specific local and historical situation? In light of the afore-mentioned personal histories, it is evident that the first priority is to treat the children with empathy and appreciation and to give them some emotional and social stability. As such, the school first fulfils a humanitarian function. Furthermore, it is also becomes clear that the children and teenagers need extensive socio-pedagogical, educational, medical, hygiene-related and nutritional support and help, which they do not receive adequately in the camp nor apparently through other facilities. As shown in sub-study 3, this includes compensating for duties originally attributed to family, patently by giving the children a home, especially in an emotional sense. Thereby the school fulfils a *familial and social compensatory function*. In the everyday lessons knowledge and competencies are transmitted that are meant to prepare – albeit still somewhat indistinctly – for certified exams. This points to the *function of qualification*. The school's value system is largely aligned with the free democratic order of Western nations. The children and teenagers' personalities are to be strengthened, they are to gain self-confidence and be able to act in a self-determined way. The school also pursues an *emancipatory function*, which can be seen in gender-equitable programmes and role models (female principal) or in subjects such as 'environment' that require critical thinking about society, as shown specifically in sub-study 3.

If one considers the school's possible *function of socialisation or enculturation*, such a function is not easy to delineate, for it is not even clear for which society and culture the children and young people are to be 'socialised into'. Into the refugee camp? In the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan? To Shingal? For an international 'career'? Into western values and norms? As for the possible *function of*

allocation or selection, which is typical for German schools, these cannot be observed in the school of Our Bridge at present because the school currently neither awards education certificates nor predetermines the allocation to a specific vocational field – apart from the fact that the decision as to who is admitted to the school already constitutes a selective practise.

The outlined functions illustrate that the school invests a great deal to enable children and teenagers to learn in the first place and not to be prevented from doing so by inadequately satisfied basic needs as manifested in physical and psychological strains, lack of nutrition, or poor hygiene. As such, it fulfils elementary, especially humanitarian, compensatory, qualification-related, and emancipatory functions; while other functions, mainly those of socialisation and selection, are still unresolved for societal reasons, but also for reasons of incomplete school development in the higher grades and in relation to education certificates.

However, it is also possible that functions commonly described in theories of school (cf. sub-study 3), with 'our' European and Western attributions of function, cannot be applied adequately regarding their information value to cultural contexts that do *not* fit a clear-cut notion of nation-states, such as for Yazidism in the Khanke refugee camp after the massacre of 2014 and within the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan. This is the case simply because the state's institutions do not function as they should, or as we with our Western perspective assume and expect that they should. In view of the recent history and the current situation of the Yazidis, questions of justice and humanity come before any aspirations for qualification, which calls for a different perspective on educational processes.

The core of pedagogy

The gathered data, particularly from the first sub-study, points to the extraordinary importance of the relationship between the pupils and their teachers and all actors of Our Bridge. This seems to be both the core of and the basis for further learning and is only natural in view of its humanitarian function. The relationship is founded in no small way on the shared biography and life situation. What is striking, however, is how intensely the relationships are cultivated. In sub-study 1, it was possible to work out how times outside of lessons are used for this purpose. Especially before lessons begin and during breaks, the children communicate closely with the teachers. It is normal for teachers to stroll around the schoolyard with children and have conversations, either in pairs or in groups. Holding hands is frequently part of that. The teachers are explicit about the importance of this time with the children. They actively initiate it, enjoy and treasure it. These times fulfil an exceedingly

important function for the whole pedagogy of the school. In more than just a geographic sense, the recreational area of the schoolyard lies between the camp and the school or rather the classrooms. Symbolically, this is where the worlds are bridged, as became clear in the interviews of sub-study 1. The contact that takes place here and the cultivation of relationships provide a connection between the children's living situations and the learning processes at school. Here, the teachers or school officials find out if there are problems in the families or if a child is not doing well. Often, a quick glance or the exchange of a couple of words is all it takes to ascertain that there is nothing out of the ordinary going on. Should anything stand out, there is time to discuss it before lessons begin. This is where all those involved reassure themselves that the relationships are in order and that it is possible to talk and laugh together. This means that these times outside lessons also fulfil a diagnostic function, as does the life shared in the camp by teachers and pupils. Following the terminology of 'performance-related' and 'youth cultural' 'charging' (Maschke & Stecher, 2010, p. 138 ff.) of school in the German context, one could speak here of a 'biography-, situation-, and relationship-based charging' of the school culture of Our Bridge, towards which the school is oriented and which constitutes a decisive element of its school culture.

During break times, the pupils move freely in the grounds and can make use of the well-structured options on offer (playground, play equipment and materials, soccerground, etc.). School life as a whole is highly structured. Fundamentally *structuring the daily routine* as to time, space, organisation, rules, and purpose, deliberately offers a counterbalance to the unstructured and low-infrastructure day-to-day life in the refugee camps. The school stewards attach great value to this structure, which evidently has the effect of providing relief and direction for the children and teenagers. Moreover, it endows the building and the rooms with a sense of order, calm, and dignity. For example, there is a behavioural etiquette for walking into the school building before the first lesson, all rooms have sensible signage, each child has a locker with their photo on the outside, inside the classrooms the material is carefully structured, timetables and so on are displayed.

Evidently, the consistent orientation of all activities towards the needs of the children and teenagers combined with the intense relationship-building, and the high degree to which the everyday routines are structured not only enables the children and teenagers to feel at ease and learn hard, it also shapes the school culture in a decisive way. The school stewards take the norms and values anchored in the school culture and the resulting demands on pedagogy most serious. If teachers do not adhere to them, they may well have to leave the school. Just how formative this school culture is, can be illustrated by the following account of the school stew-

ards: A few years ago, the teaching staff of Our Bridge invited children and teenagers from another refugee camp to the school for a day of motivational activities. The children and teenagers were brought to the school in buses. Various stations with games and learning opportunities among others were offered on this day. However, the day did not go as expected. Apparently, the behaviour of the children was characterised by a great lack of discipline. This day was not satisfactory and also very strenuous for the teaching staff. This account makes abundantly clear that the school culture does not work 'automatically' but is based on the previously mentioned trust and relationship between all actors and must therefore be actively created again and again.

Internal governance

The school is shaped to a large extent by the school officers. Our data indicates clearly that one school steward is the key player in developing the school, organising day-to-day routines, introducing innovations, carrying out personnel development, conducting quality management, maintaining outside contacts – both with a view to broad conceptual trajectories as well as with a view to actual application down to the last detail. The school is marked by his impressive competence for matters of school and pedagogy (without having studied or trained for this), and by his time and personal commitment. A stroke of luck for the school, but also a risk factor, as in the case of illness or other absences. The day-to-day running of the school is handled fairly smoothly and without fanfare by the teachers and the principal. A conference is held every week with the teachers and the principal. Most of the teachers took part in university programmes in a certain discipline in the Shingal, which they proceeded to teach, but they have not completed a systematic teaching degree. The subject-specific didactic components in their study programmes are patently few. Further training in subject didactics is uncommon. For this reason, regular in-house consultations and opportunities for 'small-scale' further qualification take place amongst the teaching staff. In addition, the school steward holds regular meetings with teachers individually, for example, in connection with the introduction of quality assurance concepts (e.g. outlined lesson plans).

Other actors with specific areas of responsibility, such as finances, serve on the board; some of them live in Germany. They perform the work on a volunteer basis. Thus, the Our Bridge project, apart from the continuous quest for donations, is stable on the one hand because of clearly designated responsibilities and persons rooted deeply in the region, on the other hand, the whole construct is instable because it is built on immense dedication (in part by volunteers).

Lessons

The organisation of lessons at Our Bridge is very structured: There are dedicated rooms according to subjects (no classrooms), a clear space-time-subject-teacher-class allocation in two blocks (mornings and afternoons). There are curricula that are implemented specific to each subject. The subjects on offer address minimum standards (reading and writing in lower grades), core subjects (mathematics, English), musical and aesthetic areas (art, music), sports, computer science as well as – from our Western point of view – unusual subjects such as environment and meditation. From our point of view, there is also a lack of lessons from the natural sciences such as biology, physics, or chemistry, as well as instruction in their native language. The curriculum on offer emphasises the school's high degree of autonomy (no state requirements have to be fulfilled), but also its limited resources (specialised rooms, specialised teachers) which define the range of offers and subjects.

Based on the interview data, but also on the lessons observed during our stays, the lessons at the school can be described as teacher-centred with a high degree of communication and interaction and as methodologically diverse – even if the intensity varies from subject to subject and teacher to teacher. The methodological diversity is particularly evident in subject-specific approaches; for instance, interactive exercises and games were regularly observed in the foreign language lessons, which enable relaxed and communicative interaction with the foreign language. Throughout, the observed lessons were calm, very relaxed, with great friendliness and appreciation visible between all participants. The teachers' interaction with the pupils was empathetic and full of trust. It was absolutely striking that only very few problems with discipline of any kind could be observed, and none of the teachers mentioned any. This is not only a noteworthy contrast to experiences at German schools, it is also contrary to expectations in view of the personal histories and living situation of the children and teenagers. Obviously, the school succeeds in laying the foundation for the pupils' willing engagement with substantial learning processes despite their initial situation – more so: they appreciate them and are highly motivated to engage; readiness to learn and the will to learn are high.

Juxtaposing the teaching concepts and observations as well as the available data on teaching with our German expectations, we may notice that independent and self-determined learning does not happen, based on time (e.g. longer phases of self-organised learning). The reason for this could be the lack of subject-specific materials, which are considered a prerequisite for self-organised learning in many (German) teaching concepts. The reason for this could be, firstly, the lack of subject-specific materials, which are considered a requirement for self-organised

learning in many (German) lesson concepts. Secondly, from a pedagogical point of view, this may not be at all desired, because an intense teacher-pupil relationship is set as a priority and the resulting interaction and communication is also seen as essential. This counters the problem of 'singularisation' which is repeatedly mentioned in individualised and differentiated classroom settings: Especially in material-guided settings, there is a danger that pupils will quickly be learning on their own due to different learning paths and speeds, and that subject-specific communication between pupils is made considerably more difficult (Bohl, 2022). This kind of singularisation can hardly be called for within the pedagogical approach of Our Bridge. Therefore, the didactics currently in place seem plausible all up and reasonable in view of the school's concept. Nonetheless, this does not exclude the possibility of considering the systematic employment of pupil-oriented learning phases, especially in order to strengthen the pupils' ability to acquire new content themselves and so potentially strengthen their own abilities for gaining qualifications by themselves, and their self-confidence in doing so. Down the line, the pupils will presumably be highly dependent on their own initiative, autodidactic learning processes, and confidence in their own ability to learn.

Charitable association or state school?

Our Bridge is a registered association in Germany, which operates according to the German law for associations. This general state of affairs has consequences for the entire work of the school. The school has thus almost completely detached itself from the influence of the state and state regulations, but also from support measures. The school has complete freedom when it comes to the recruitment of staff, concepts for school and lessons, pedagogy and didactics, etc. and is not bound by state regulations such as curricula, grading regulations, or final exams. At the same time, the association is responsible for the entire funding of the school and is therefore tasked permanently with the succesful search for donations and sponsors. The school is left to its own devices regarding resources and cannot benefit from state funds, which renders the compensation of teachers in particular a cost-intensive, ongoing task. However, this also allows the school to develop and implement its own pedagogy. Moreover, there is no need for the school to organise itself according to the state's stipulation for class sizes or divisions of about 40 pupils – small classes of about 15 pupils are a fundamental premise of Our Bridge's pedagogy – nor is it bound to lesson plans or offering particular subjects, to name just a few examples. All in all, it can be concluded that the school profile, pedagogy, and didactics of Our Bridge could only be developed in the absence of any state requirements. Alignment with or subordination to state requirements would hardly permit the core of its pedagogy – the close teacher-pupil-relationships.

Options for a possible intermediate education certificate

Currently, Our Bridge is in place up to 4th grade or until the age of 15. The latter corresponds to the 9th grade in the public school system of the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan, which concludes with the national exam and the completion of lower secondary school (Sec I). Since the first pupils have completed the 9th grade of public state school in the summer of 2022, an extension of the support is presently being set up in the form of a 5th grade at the school of Our Bridge. Hence, the concept of the school is as yet incomplete, given that it does not lead to a certificate – however this may be defined. This problem occupies the actors, different strategies are discussed and solutions are sought. In the process, the existing concept must be consolidated with possible options for completing education. Going by the end-result: Which options for completing education would generally be feasible?

a) The school could incorporate the existing final exams of the Kurdish education system or respectively adopt these standards or

b) let their own pupils take part (as before) in the final school-leaving exam of the state school they attend simultaneously, as is the case for most pupils after the 9th grade and at around age 15.

c) The school could conduct the internationally recognised International Baccalaureate as a final examination for the intermediate level (ISCED 2).

d) The school could join another final exam, such as the German final exam at the German School Erbil.

e) The school could issue its own education certificate including own exam modalities, undeterred by state policies.

The specific requirements for and restrictions of each option will not be explained or discussed here in detail. Regarding option a), it should be noted that because the children attend the state school simultaneously, they can obtain the national education certificate there. This option is already in operation and remains in place. When analysing these options, it is essential to consider that for options a) to d), the requirements at the school would have to be aligned with externally determined final exams. This applies particularly to the examined subjects, the available time for learning, and the language these subjects are taught in throughout the years leading up to the exam. This would entail a considerable change of profile as well as an increased level of resources, especially with regard to hours worked by teachers. Such changes would presumably also affect the school culture, and the back-wash effect of the exams (Cheng & Curtis, 2012; Spratt, 2005) would change the preceding lessons and the preceding actions of the teachers. In what way this

could change, possibly endanger, the special pedagogical profile of the school can only be surmised. In any case, such a change would be wide-reaching and would have to be considered with great care given the importance of the teacher-pupil-relationships.

About the profile of the school up to the upper secondary level (Sec II)

Based on the earlier considerations, it would be quite reasonable for the school to develop a profile for the time *after* the intermediate school leaving certificate. For the children and teeangers of Our Bridge, this could open up further prospects on the labour market or to further educational pathways, for example, leading up to university entrance exams (the preparatory education certificate). To start with, it seems important to note here that the school's profile would have to offer a certain variety and options to choose from, as the pupils have different interests, prerequisites, and opportunities.

With this in mind, the ideas of the actors about expanding the school's profile after the intermediate level, which were brought to light in sub-study 3, seem only natural. Thus the profile after completion of the intermediate level or rather in upper secondary level (Sec II) could be differentiated on three counts:

a) The offers for handicraft activities already set up at Our Bridge (sewing activities for widows from the refugee camp, a bicycle workshop, the involvement of pupils in hands-on jobs on the premises) could be expanded considerably to include activities that offer professional prospects in Kurdistan both culturally and economically, but nevertheless have limited national specificity and could therefore also be carried out abroad with little adaptation. Within the framework of such a 'vocational training centre', the following traineeships could be offered, for example: Woodworking and/or metalworking, home economics, farming/agriculture, bakery, landscape gardening, electrical engineering, renewable energies. The purpose would not be to provide a full apprenticeship, but to offer a high-quality entry into a profession, so that good opportunities for subsequent employment in this field would be made available or a formal apprenticeship could then follow. For such training, cooperations with regionally based companies would be very beneficial.

b) The Autonomous Region of Kurdistan is characterised by cultural and linguistic diversity. Work opportunities are influenced by international efforts such as the establishment of international companies in the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan or are located abroad. Against this backdrop, and with a view to internationally recognised qualifications and the requirements for admission to university, it seems to be a worthwhile strategic consideration to offer the pupils

of Our Bridge a distinctive oppportunity towards international compatibility. This could consist of giving English special status in the curriculum. An 'intensive English course' in the upper grades, with a significantly increased number of lessons per week and an internationally compatible curriculum (e.g. modelled on the International Baccalaureate), could be an option here.

c) Due to their background, the pupils of Our Bridge have none or only very few resources that would enable them to undertake an apprenticeship or start a university degree after their first phase of schooling. The available economic, social, cultural or symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1985) is extremely limited. In this sense, the offers at the school ultimately fulfil the function of increasing the children's capital within the existing possibilities as long as they are at school. However, especially after leaving the school of Our Bridge, they are rarely in a position to continue with what resources they have or receive enough support, which massively impedes or even prevents any concrete chance of further advancement. It begs the question how it may be possible to support pupils with specific talents, prerequisites, and/or interests beyond their time at Our Bridge. Such a support programme would likely be limited to a selection of pupils. It might be feasible to establish a scholarship programe for attaining university entrance qualifications or possibly even for a university degree. The programme would have to be accompanied by a concept for guidance counselling and support, which would basically contribute towards substituting the non-existent capital and ensuring the transition to the next phase of schooling or (vocational) training.

It goes without saying that the options which are articulated here on the basis of the school's profile, the situation of the pupils, and the anticipated development opportunities on the basis of our findings, must necessarily be financed – as in the past, through charitable foundations, state or other support, and especially private donations. Possibly, new sponsorship programmes could be devised for scholarships. Financing an expansion would certainly be a great challenge for the actors of Our Bridge.

The prospective structure at the lower and upper secondary level (I and II) also needs to be seen in relation to the Kurdish school system and possibly also in relation to internationally compatible education certificates such as the International Baccalaureate. The following table 5 shows grades and ages of the pupils.

Table 5: Grades and ages Sec I and Sec II: Our Bridge in comparison with the Kurdish and the German school system.

Autonomous Region of Kurdistan		Our Bridge		Germany	
Grade	**Age**	**Grade**	**Age**	**Grade**	**Age**
Tertiary level				Tertiary level	
Universities, polytechnic colleges or universities of applied sciences, technical institutes				Universities, universities of applied sciences, colleges, cooperative state universities (dual study courses)	
Secondary level II		Prospective: Secondary level II		Secondary level II	
Institute (fine arts, physical education, IT) 3 years Diploma	General upper secondary school (1 year, till age 16), followed by 2 years of specialised branches in upper secondary school (till age 18) General university entrance qualification	Grades 5/6: one to three school years, depending on goal Vocational training centre	15-18	Upper secondary school general / ['Gymnasium'] 8 or 9 years (Age: 18 or 19) General university entrance qualification [Abitur] Or International Baccalaureate Sec II	Specialised vocational high schools [Berufliches Gymnasium] (3 years, division by specialties): general university entrance qualification Vocational school [Berufskollegs], (programmes offering both a university entrance qualification (only for the specific discipline) or/and an occupational qualification. Dual vocational training

Primary and lower secondary level (Sec I)		current		Primary and lower secondary level (Sec I)	
Grades 5-9 Secondary level I	11-15	Grade 4	13-15	Certificate of lower secondary education after 10 years [Re-alschule]	16
				Intermediate edu-cation certificate after 9 years [Hauptschule]	16
		Grade 3	11-13	Grades 5-9 (10) Secondary level I	10-15 (16)
Grades 1-4 Primary level	6-10	Grade 2	8-11		
		Grade 1	6-9	Grades 1-4 Primary level	(5) 6-10
Kindergarten voluntary	4-6	Kindergar-ten	4-6	Crèche, Kinder-garten	0-6
				After-school pro-gramme voluntary	6-14
School degrees / Certificates					
- Intermediate school certificate sec I, in Kurdistan after 9th grade/year 9; state school at age 15 - National Exam - End of mandatory education		- No own education certificate at the school		- One further year till the Sec I-exam with a certificate of lower second-ary education (age 16) - Vocational school till the first com-pleted certificate or till 18 years of age - End of mandatory education after 9 years (age 15)	
Basic education system					
- Primary level till 4th grade - comprehensive school till 9th grade		- Inclusive school system		- Primary level till 4th grade - from 5th onwards, different schools depending on the federal state	

Different options for *educational qualification certificates* after the completion of intermediate education seem feasible for the above-mentioned tracks towards vo-cational training or a university entrance qualification. Training in a craft or rather preparation for a *certified apprenticeship* could be substantiated through own in-dependent certificates. This certification could give a differentiated account of the performed activities and acquired skills and competencies, possibly modelled on national or international certifications. This would enable school-leavers to submit proof of what they are capable of and what competencies they have acquired when submitting applications. With a view to the so-called *preparatory education certifi-cate*, they could take part in the regular state exams – as is already the case with the intermediate school-leaving certificate – which would be an obvious solution

since they continue to attend upper secondary school at a state facility. Whether Our Bridge could offer its own university entrance exam, perhaps based on the International Baccalaureate Diploma (ISCED 3a), could be examined, but would require a clear alignment in terms of subjects, topics, and timetables, which would not be easy also in view of the 'half-day' schedule of the school.

Our Bridge, the state schools, and schools in refugee camps

The school of Our Bridge is located approximately a few kilometres away from the UN refugee camp. It only accepts children and teenagers from the camp. There are nine schools within the camp which are funded and governed by UNHCR and the Iraqi Barzani Charity Foundation (BCF). There are other state-run schools in Khanke. This raises the question of whether it would make sense to establish another school for children and teenagers from the refugee camp outside the camp and near state schools.

In all three sub-studies, reference is made to the situation in the refugee camp, especially in sub-study 1, the situation there is analysed. In sub-studies 2 and 3, a data-based account of the basic characteristics of state schools and a camp school was undertaken and compared with the Our Bridge School.

The examination of the data showed that the state schools work under completely different, overall much poorer conditions (large classes, few resources, explicit state regime superseding teachers' attitudes, curricula, exams, etc.) and that the pedagogical standards are clearly much lower than at Our Bridge. The situation of the school in the camp is even more troubling. During our stay, we were able to speak with one of the actors at the school, who described extremely unfavourable conditions (large classes, no resources such as teaching materials, difficult spatial conditions in containers, 2-3 pupils on one chair at times, physical violence by teachers towards pupils at times, considerable lack of discipline and low motivation, apparently very low intensity of learning, etc.). Evidently, there were no minimum standards for this school in the refugee camp, even though – according to information from one actor – a budget was made available for the schools in this UN refugee camp.

We do not know of any representative studies on state schools and schools in refugee camps. The interviews carried out clearly reveal much poorer conditions at both types of schools and highlight the special merit of the school and pedagogy of Our Bridge. The comparison highlights that Our Bridge, especially in view of the difficult conditions of these types of schools, can develop and implement its own

pedagogy-based standards and qualities and thus set a benchmark that is legitimised in pedagogical terms. The extent to which this can radiate to the other schools is not easy to answer and is an area of long-term development.

7. Recommendations and possible perspectives for further development

Discussions in the preceding chapter 6 pertain exclusively – drawing on the available data and the insights gained from them – to very central and robust data-based aspects. It is not our intention to make as many detailed recommendations as possible. Rather, we find it important to focus on essential paths of development and challenges. The recommendations address different groups of people, nevertheless we deliberately do not make explicit which target group is the one being addressed primarily at any given point because experience has shown that the overlaps between internal actors, external actors, and sponsors blur such distinctions.

A key finding of our study rests in the evidently profound success of the currently practised concept and pedagogy of the Our Bridge School. The starting point is the question of what the needs of the children and teenagers attending the school are and how the school can act in response to these.

The first recommendation is therefore: The hitherto clear focus on the needs of children and teenagers ought to be maintained, as well as the core of its pedagogy, which consists in the high relevance of the relationships between teachers and pupils.

This recommendation is by no means trivial, since a new area of tension is emerging due to the envisaged and necessary developments (e.g. towards an upper secondary level). The school will be 'forced' to determine, enact, secure, and document binding standards, which are in line with education certificates and other subsequent tracks and must be attuned to the needs, prerequisites and chances of the children and teenagers. Perhaps the attainment of an intermediate education certificate might provide the opportunity to subsequently rebalance these conflicting demands and also to develop new pedagogical and didactic concepts. Given that the pupils obtain an intermediate education certificate (at a state school), this significant milestone could be harnessed in order to develop a new profile for the ensuing phase. The fundamental question to be settled is whether or not the school ought to be aligned with state guidelines, and indeed whether or not Our Bridge is to become a state school. In our view, this ought not be the case.

Therefore, the second recommendation is: The school ought to remain autonomous and not operate as a state school, neither on its path to intermediate certification, nor on the path to its own upper secondary level, or on its path to further compatible points of access and tracks after the intermediate level.

As a state school, the restrictions for the actualised pedagogy would be too great and would endanger the core of its pedagogy due to the large class-sizes and other curricular and exam-related requirements. This second recommendation, however, entails that funding will continue to remain dependent on donations, permanently and even to a greater extent in future, due to the further development of the school, and so will remain a costly and likely always fragile continuous endeavour.

The recommendation to maintain autonomy does not contradict the following recommendation, for it is almost a logical conclusion. Although differentiated measures of quality management are embedded in the school, so far it is unclear to us how the satisfaction and (in a broad sense) performance of the pupils, but also of the teachers, is ascertained, reflected upon, and possibly how further measures are derived from this in a systematic way. The fact that most teachers have not undertaken systematic teacher training makes it seem sensible and necessary to establish tools for evaluation and quality management that not only cover the organisation, but also the pupils and teachers. These could be drawn on to develop tailor-made measures of qualification and professional development for teachers. In addition, the results could be linked systematically with individual interviews with all teachers in order to clarify the individual 'status quo' in a broader sense (e.g. also with regard to job satisfaction) and to be able to offer individual perspectives for development.

Therefore, the third recommendation is: The school ought to establish a system for monitoring the pupils' fundamental perceptions and performance progress as well as the fundamental perceptions and assessments of the teachers, perhaps combined with subsequent opportunities for qualification and further training as well as individual meetings for the school's teachers.

We are cautious in making this recommendation. In no way does it imply the establishment of exaggerated quality control. However, it strikes us as important – especially because of the detachment from state or other certification systems – to know more precisely, for diagnostic reasons alone, where the pupils stand in some areas of performance and also to confirm that they actually enjoy definite progress in their learning. This applies above all to basic demands on schooling such as reading, writing, and numeracy, but also increasingly to requirements in foreign languages and other areas. We also recognise such measures as precursors to the calm and confident establishment of future certification systems. Indeed, due to the pronounced focus on several functions and tasks of the school which go far beyond the function of qualification, it surely is important to know that the available school and lesson time is used in the best possible way. In addition to subject-specific evaluations, possible lines of enquiry could include: How contented are

the children with the lessons and different subjects? Where do they see potential for improvement? How are they doing in and outside of school?

For teachers, it might be relevant to clarify more precisely where they see their invidiual opportunities for development and, for instance, whether they have suggestions for the further development of the facility.

From our perspective, such measures for evaluation are not yet systematically developed and integrated at this stage. To avoid any misunderstandings, we emphasise once again that such measures are designed foremost to strengthen the core of its pedagogy and not to push for selective measures against pupils or teachers.

The basic structure up to completing intermediate education is largely settled for the time being, even if it is always subject to continual development; the structural issues concern the subsequent stages. On account of the prerequisites and options of the children and teenagers from the refugee camp, it seems essential to us to offer a certain flexibility and variety of certificates and compatible points of access. Not all of them will be able to follow the same track after completing their intermediate education.

Therefore, the fourth recommendation is: After completion of the intermediate level, a variety of follow-up options ought to be offered that keep both training-related and study-related options open. If at all possible, regional, national, and international compatibility and standards are to be considered and further transitional stages and access points (e.g. craft-/trade-specific preparation, independent learning) are to be initiated.

With a view to subsequent opportunities, it might be feasible to launch apprenticeship-related elements in some crafts and trades, for example in the areas of woodworking, metalworking, agriculture and gardening, home economics/care, which would offer both regionally and internationally compatible points of access. Suitable conditions would, however, be required for this regarding: dedicated spaces, equipment, expertise, curriculum, networking with external actors and companies, qualifications and certifications, compatible points of acces and entry-ways, and others. We thus recommend initiating the appropriate transitional stages or planning the previously mentioned (or possibly other) tracks for qualification and points of access in the mid- to long-term. A transitional step for providing training in a craft could be to bring appropriately qualified teachers or skilled professionals to the school and to create suitable settings such as: A woodworking room as a precursor to apprenticeships in carpentry or a plot of land and appropriate equipment as a precursor to apprenticeships in agriculture and gardening. This would serve as a springboard for the development of corresponding concepts, also with

the support of skilled professionals. It seems sensible to draw on external expertise, for example from local (but operating internationally) companies or (internationally) from academics in the vocational training sector.

With a view to a further school career in upper secondary level (Sec II) up to the university entrance qualification including a possible continuation into university studies, in a transitional step clarification would have to be sought on which subjects could be offered by systematic complementary alignment with the state school's upper secondary level (Sec II). Since the pupils could also attend the state's upper secondary level at the same time (in the corresponding mornings or afternoons) and this prepares them for the university entrance exam, a certain autonomy remains with Our Bridge, that is, not all subjects would have to be offered. A further intermediate step could be to guide and support pupils in the classroom, possibly even more so in the intermediate level, to try out and expand self-learning processes in a protected setting – with the aim of enabling them to teach themselves new content and thus to be able to reach the next stage of development independently. However, this must not be pursued at the expense of the close social contacts and the strong relationship structure at the school or be brought about by placing too many demands on the pupils through overly open settings. Therefore, the respective concepts would have to be deliberated upon carefully, for instance, in such a way that collaborative formats are given priority or that the self-learning processes are initiated gradually. So the objective could be to improve self-efficacy and self-confidence with a view to independent and collaborative learning processes and thus to invigorate future independent educational pathways. Of course, this would have to go hand in hand with the corresponding training of the teachers, in which the basics of educational theory and presumably also basic expectations regarding the values expected to be fulfilled by school and society would have to be addressed.

Possibly, financing opportunities beyond the completion of lower secondary level could be achieved through direct personal and long-term sponsorships, as a sort of scholarship.

In order to further enlarge the opportunities for current pupils and future graduates, international compatibility could be enhanced.

Therefore, our fifth recommendation is to prioritise and foster the acquisition of the English language.

The acquisition of the English language, which may well be combined with corresponding internationally recognised certifications, opens the door for further vocational and possibly study-related opportunities for the pupils.

Our Bridge subsists to a great measure on the (voluntary) commitment of central actors on more or less official posts, who have been developing the school for years with impressive dedication and time, ensuring quality, repeatedly advancing smaller and larger innovations, and are constantly on the lookout for suitable funding opportunities. This is where the work of the school steward was repeatedly acknowledged in the interviews. Without wanting to diminish the work of all others in any way – we are somewhat concerned about how dependent the school is on his commitment and workload, especially with regard to quality assurance and its further development.

Therefore, our sixth recommendation is to look for a way to distribute leadership tasks among a greater number of people.

We make this recommendation knowing that solutions here are very difficult because the same expertise and commitment cannot simply be duplicated. Nevertheless, it seems unrealistic to expect the same level of palpable commitment from the school steward for the many years to come. Alternatively, 1) the current principal could be empowered through further training and her field of responsibility could be expanded; 2) an extended school leadership team or steering group could be set up at the school with specific tasks that can be clearly outlined and realised based on the division of labour; and/or 3) – if financially feasible – another person could be recruited for leadership tasks, be it from the the team of teachers or from the school's vicinity.

The issue of whether the the work of Our Bridge can be duplicated also arises in another area: How can the successful 'Our Bridge'-model be extended to other locations and refugee camps? This question was not only raised repeatedly in the interviews by various actors, it was also a recurring topic during our visits. About 400 children and teenagers are at the school of Our Bridge. In the Khanke refugee camp alone, there are (as of March 2022) 4,551 children and teenagers aged 5 to 17. In the Kurdish areas of northern Iraq, there are 20 official refugee camps and numerous other unofficial camps. There are approximately 90 million refugees worldwide, half of whom are under the age of 18 (Aktion Medor, 2022). The need for quality education is obvious despite the existence of UNHCR-funded schools within the camps. Taking the impression we gained from the UNHCR-school in the Khanke refugee camp as a point of reference – which admittedly is not perforce the case for other refugee camps or camp schools – then hardly any substantial learning take place in these schools, and the equipment, pedagogy, and didactics alone obviously fall short of all standards. As such, models like Our Bridge – a non-state school with pedagogic foundations, outside the refugee camp, financed by donations – are conceivable alternatives.

Therefore, our seventh recommendation is to keep the scaling-up of the Our Bridge School to other refugee camps in mind and – if possible – to approach it step by step.

The challenges of scaling-up like this are formidable and not even remotely feasible for the current actors or Our Bridge, as they are already massively burdened with their work at the school of Our Bridge. From our point of view, the attempt to tackle such a recommendation, which is immensely challenging organisationally, financially and logistically, be it only for one or very few other refugee camps in northern Iraq, is at best only conceivable through the joint strategy of a larger network (see chapter 3.3). Foundations, experts from various fields, state agencies, and so forth could be involved in this network. The need is enormous and committed teachers and people are also to be found in other refugee camps. The Our Bridge model, that is, the underlying organisational structure and pedagogy, is describable and may serve as a basis for other schools. We express this recommendation knowing that we are unable to carry it out ourselves. Such a recommendation may also seem naïve in the face of the challenges involved. But: The Our Bridge project and the school established here have demonstrated what is possible.

8.   Limitations

The choice of the study's research design (problem-centred guided, individual interviews with internal and external actors, evaluated by qualitative content analysis) was made with a view to the study's subject matter, objectives, and questions. However, these and other general parameters of the study also result in limitations and engender methodological reflections that need to be taken into account when interpreting and discussing the results:

- Access to the field and the selection of interviewees in Kurdistan was carried out with the help of, or via, the people in charge at the school of Our Bridge. Despite the request for as much heterogeneity as possible in the sample, this may have led to a non-random selection (or positive selection) of people, which may make the sample less representative.

- Most of the interviews were conducted on site in Kurdish using simultaneous translation. Therefore, the loss of information and meanings due to the translation from German into Kurdish and vice versa, as well as the role of the translator, who already has to make interpretations in the translation process (e.g. in the understanding of words, summaries, etc.), must be taken into account. There is an additional caveat: For pragmatic reasons and those of cost, the school stewards of Our Bridge acted as translators themselves, meaning an independent response may not be guaranteed in every case and could have resulted in socially desirable answers by the interviewees.

- Culturally determined differences in understanding cannot be ruled out by this method of data collection.

- The results presented are based on the inductive categorisation by only one person per sub-study. Although the results were discussed in the research group, a communication-based validation of the categories would have been desirable.

- The chosen qualitative approach or rather the chosen evaluation method can only reveal the subjective meaning of the interviewees. Other methodological approaches are needed to reconstruct common, shared constitutions of meaning.

Despite the afore-mentioned limitations, the presented result allow for solid insights into the topic of the study. All methodical decisions were grounded in a careful consideration of costs and effort versus benefit, with due consideration of the sensitive nature of the matter and limited access to the field, or, put differently, with a pragmatic approach and so with an eye on an ecologically valid and economically sensible study.

Sources

Ackeren, I. v., & Klein, E. D. (2014*). Woher und Wohin? Soziale Herkunft und Bildungserfolg. Zentrale Grundlagen und Befunde der Schulleistungsvergleichsstudien. Eine Expertise im Auftrag der Wübben Stiftung*. Düsseldorf: Wübben Stiftung.

Aktion Medor (2022). *Aktuelle Flüchtlingszahlen.* Abgerufen von: https://medeor.de/de/hilfsprojekte/katastrophenhilfe/fluechtlingskrise-2015.html?gclid=EAIaIQobChMIrbO9-87J-wIViNV3Ch3sdwzkEAAYBCAAEgJj0fD_BwE [08.12.2022].

Altrichter, H., & Maag Merki, K. (2016). Steuerung der Entwicklung des Schulwesens. In H. Altrichter & K. Maag Merki (Hrsg.), *Handbuch neue Steuerung im Schulsystem (*2. Aufl., S. 1-28). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Altrichter, H., Moosbrugger, R., & Zuber, J. (2016). Schul- und Unterrichtsentwicklung durch Datenrückmeldung. In H. Altrichter & K. Maag Merki (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Neue Steuerung im Schulsystem* (2. Aufl. S. 235-278). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Amos, K. S. (2010). The morphodynamics of modern education systems: On the relation between governance and governmentality as analytical tool in explaining current transformations. In K. S. Amos (Hrsg.), *International Educational Governance* (International Perspectives on Education and Society, Vol. 12, S. 79-104). Bingley: Emerald. https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3679(2010)0000012007

Arnold, K.-H., & Lindner-Müller, C. (2010). Einführung: Unterrichtsentwicklung – Die Perspektive der Unterrichtswissenschaften. In T. Bohl, W. Helsper, H. G. Holtappels, & C. Schelle (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Schulentwicklung* (S. 313-315). Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

Atrushi, D., & Woodfield, S. (2018). The quality of higher education in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, *45*(4), 644-659. https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2018.1430537

Bako, P. (2021). *FARMAN - Wenn uns unsere Wurzeln wieder einholen*. Oldenburg: "NINT".

Benz, A., Lütz, S., Schimank, U., & Simonis, G. (Hrsg.) (2007). *Handbuch Governance. Theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Anwendungsfelder*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Blömeke, S., & Herzig, B. (2009). Schule als gestaltet und zu gestaltende Institution - ein systematischer Überblick über aktuelle und historische Schultheorien. In S. Blömeke, T. Bohl, L. Haag, G. Lang-Wojtasik, & W. Sacher (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Schule. Theorie - Organisation - Entwicklung* (S. 15-28). Bad Heilbrunn/Stuttgart: Klinkhardt/UTB.

Blume, M. (2017). Jedes Leben zählt - Mehrebenen-Engagement am Beispiel des Baden-Württembergischen Sonderkontingents für besonders schutzbedürftige Kinder. In H. Sangmeister & H. Wagner (Hrsg.)*, Verändert die europäische Flüchtlingskrise die EZ? Entwicklungszusammenarbeit im 21. Jahrhundert; Wissenschaft und Praxis im Dialog* (S. 57-66). Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Bochmann, A., & Inhetveen, K. (2017). Orte der dauerhaften Vorläufigkeit: Flüchtlingslager im globalen Süden, Abgerufen von: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. Abgerufen von: https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdossiers/243366/orte-der-dauerhaftenvorlaeufigkeit-fluechtlingslager-im-globalen-sueden [08.12.2022].

Bohl, T. (2020). Theorien der Schulentwicklung. In M. Harant, P., Thomas, & U. Küchler (Hrsg.), *Theorien! Horizonte für die Lehrerinnen- und Lehrerbildung* (S. 97-109). Tübingen: University Press.

Bohl, T. (2022). Schnell mal differenzieren!? Ausgewählte Grundlagen und didaktische Implikationen eines forschungsbasierten Umgangs mit Heterogenität. *Schulmagazin 5-10,* (7-8), 4-7.

Bohl, T., Harant, M., & Wacker, A. (2015). *Schulpädagogik und Schultheorie*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

Bohnsack, R. (2014). *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung: Einführung in qualitative Methoden* (9. Aufl.). Opladen: Budrich.

Bourdieu, P. (1966). L'école conservatrice - Die konservative Schule. In F. Schultheis & S. Egger (Hrsg.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Bildung - Schriften zur Kultursoziologie 2* (2. Aufl., S. 7-38). Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Bourdieu, P. (1985). *Sozialer Raum und Klassen. Zwei Vorlesungen*. Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a. M.

BQ-Portal (2022). *Länderprofil Irak*. Abgerufen von: https://www.bq-portal.de/db/L%C3%A4nder-und-Berufsprofile/irak [08.12.2022].

Denkinger, J. et al. (2019). Der 74. Genozid und die Traumata der Eziden. In F. Junne, F. et al. (Hrsg.), *Aus der Gewalt des „Islamischen Staates" nach Baden-Württemberg. Evaluation des Sonderkontingents für besonders schutzbedürftige Frauen und Kinder aus dem Nordirak* (S. 191-210). Weinheim/Basel: Beltz Juventa.

Cheng, L., & Curtis, A. (2012). Test impact and washback: Implications for teaching and learning. In C. Coombe, B. O'Sullivan, P. Davidson, & S. Stoynoff (Hrsg.), *Cambridge guide to second language assessment* (S. 89–95). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dayan, P. (2022). *Interview mit Pir Dayan, Vertreter der Direktionsstelle für Migrations & Vertreibung Duhok*. Abgerufen von: https://www.instagram.com/tv/Cg4OFrgNEGp/?igshid=MDJmNzVkMjY%3D [08.12.2022].

Ditton, H., & Müller, A. (2015). Schulqualität. In H. Reinders et al. (Hrsg.), *Empirische Bildungsforschung. Gegenstandsbereiche* (2. Aufl., S. 121-134). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Dubs, R. (2003). *Qualitätsmanagement für Schulen*. St. Gallen: Institut für Wirtschaftspädagogik.

Dubs, R. (2005). *Die Führung einer Schule. Leadership und Management*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Elbers, D. (1973). Beiträge der allgemeinen Curriculumtheorie für die Entwicklung beruflicher Curricula. *Zeitschrift für Berufsbildungsforschung*, *73*(2), 49-44.

Fend, H. (1998). *Qualität im Bildungswesen*. Weinheim/München: Juventa.

Fend, H. (2000). Qualität und Qualitätssicherung im Bildungswesen. In A. Helmke, W. Hornstein, E. Terhart, A. Helmke, W. Hornstein, & E. Terhart (Hrsg.), *Qualität und Qualitätssicherung im Bildungsbereich; Schule, Sozialpädagogik, Hochschule* (Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, Beiheft 41, S. 55-72). Weinheim: Beltz.

Fend, H. (2008). *Neue Theorie der Schule. Einführung in das Verstehen von Bildungssystemen* (2. Aufl.). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Fend, H. (2017). Schule als pädagogische Handlungseinheit im Kontext - Qualitätsbewusstsein und Qualitätsentwicklung in governance-theoretischer Sicht. In U. Steffens, K. Maag Merki, & H. Fend (Hrsg.), *Schulgestaltung: aktuelle Befunde und Perspektiven der Schulqualitäts- und Schulentwicklungsforschung* (S. 85-101). Münster/New York: Waxmann.

Fuchs, E. (2007). Internationale Nichtregierungsorganisationen als Global Players: Zur Herausbildung der transnationalen Zivilgesellschaft am Beispiel der Kinderrechtsbewegung. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, *53*(2), 149-165.

Fuchs, E., & Schriewer, J. (2007). Internationale Organisationen als Global Players in Bildungspolitik und Pädagogik - Einführung in den Thementeil. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, *53*(2), 145-148.

Fürtig, H. (2016). *Geschichte des Irak. Von der Gründung 1921 bis heute* (3. Aufl.). München: Beck

Gharib, S. (2018*). Flüchtlinge im Libanon - zwischen fragiler Staatlichkeit und informeller Wirtschaft*. Wien: Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik (oiip).

Gieler, W., & Nowak, M. (2021). Einführung. In W. Gieler & M. Nowak (Hrsg.), *(Re-)konstruktionen - Internationale und Globale Studien: Staatliche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit in Deutschland; Eine Bestandsaufnahme des BMZ 1961-2021* (S. V-XIII). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Grandi, F. (2021). *UNHCR Education Report 2021: Staying the course - The challenges facing refugee education*. Abgerufen von: https://www.unhcr.org/publications/education/612f85d64/unhcr-education-report-2021-staying-course-challenges-facing-refugee-education.html [08.12.2022].

Gräsel, C. (2008). Die Verbreitung von Innovationen im Bildungssystem: Implementation und Transfer – Einführung. In E.-M. Lankes (Hrsg.), *Pädagogische Professionalität als Gegenstand empirischer Forschung* (S. 201-206) Münster/New York: Waxmann

Groeben, A. (2005). Unsere Standards. Ein Diskussionsentwurf, vorgelegt von "Blick über den Zaun" - Bündnis reformpädagogisch engagierter Schulen. *Neue Sammlung Vierteljahreszeitschrift für Erziehung und Gesellschaft*, *45*(2), 253-297.

Gunes, C. (2019). *The Kurds in a New Middle East. The Changing Geopolitics of a Regional Conflict*. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland.

Haag, L., & Jäger, R. S. (2020). *Schul- und Unterrichtsentwicklung - aber wie? Eine Anleitung zur Optimierung von Schule und Unterricht mit Checklisten zu Überprüfung*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

Hagenauer, G., & Raufelder, D. (2021). Lehrer-Schüler-Beziehung. In T. Hascher, T.-S. Idel, & W. Helsper (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Schulforschung* (S. 1-19). Wiesbaden: Springer.

Heinrich, M. (2007). *Governance in der Schulentwicklung. Von der Autonomie zur evaluationsbasierten Steuerung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Helfferich, C. (2011). *Die Qualität qualitativer Daten: Manual für die Durchführung qualitativer Interviews* (4. Aufl.). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Helmke, A. (2006). Was wissen wir über guten Unterricht? Über die Notwendigkeit einer Rückbesinnung auf den Unterricht als dem „Kerngeschäft" der Schule. *Pädagogik, 6*(2), 41-45.

Helmke, A. (2009). *Unterrichtsqualität und Lehrerprofessionalität*. Seelze-Velber: Klett Kallmeyer.

Helsper, W. (2010). Der kulturtheoretische Ansatz: Entwicklung der Schulkultur. In T. Bohl, W. Helsper, H.G. Holtappels, & C. Schelle (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Schulentwicklung* (S. 292-294). Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt/utb.

Hentig, H. (2003). *Die Schule neu denken. Eine Übung in pädagogischer Vernunft*. Weinheim/Basel: Beltz.

Hentig, H. (2004). *Bildung. Ein Essay*. Weinheim/Basel: Beltz.

Hoffmann, S. (2015). Wen schützen Flüchtlingslager? "Care and Control" im jordanischen Lager Azraq. *PERIPHERIE - Politik, Ökonomie, Kultur, 35*(2), 281-302.

Inhetveen, K. (2010). *Die politische Ordnung des Flüchtlingslagers: Akteure-Macht-Organisation. Eine Ethnographie im Südlichen Afrika*. Bielefeld: transcript.

Issa, J. H., & Jamil, H. (2010). Overview of the Education System in Contemporary Iraq. *European Journal of Social Sciences, 14*, 360-368.

Jagannathan, S. (2001). *The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations in Primary Education - A Study of Six NGO's in India*. (W. Bank, Hrsg.) Abgerufen von: World Bank Group - Open Knowledge Repository: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/19714 [10.08.2023].

Jakobi, A. P. (2007). Die Bildungspolitik der OECD: Vom Erfolg eines scheinbar machtlosen Akteurs. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, 53*(2), 166-181.

Kamal Elias, O. (2019). Wer sind wir Jesiden? Eine Perspektive auf die eigene Religion, den Genozid und die Zukunft der Gemeinschaft. In C. Rammelt (Hrsg.), *Pluralität und Koexistenz, Gewalt, Flucht und Vertreibung. Christliche, jesidische und muslimische Lebenswelten in den gegenwärtigen Umbrüchen im Nahen Osten* (S. 283-296). Berlin: Lit.

Kämper, H. (2015). 'Kollektives Gedächtnis' als Gegenstand einer integrierten Kulturanalyse. Kulturlinguistische Überlegungen am Beispiel. In H. Kämper & I. H. Warnke (Hrsg.), *Diskurs-interdisziplinär. Zugänge, Gegenstände, Perspektiven* (S. 161-188). Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

Keil, P. (2019). Machtstrukturen durch Partnerschaft überwinden. In H. Sangmeister & H. Wagner (Hrsg.), *Die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit der Zukunft* (S. 83-100). Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Kizilhan, J. et al. (2019). Gründung des Instituts für Psychotherapie und Pychotraumatologie in Duhok. In F. Junne et al. (Hrsg.), *Aus der Gewalt des „Islamischen Staates" nach Baden-Württemberg. Evaluation des Sonderkontingents für besonders schutzbedürftige Frauen und Kinder aus dem Nordirak* (S. 394-403). Weinheim/Basel: Beltz Juventa.

Klingebiel, S. (2013). *d-i-e Studies: Entwicklungszusammenarbeit - eine Einführung*. Bonn: Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik.

KMK = Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister (Hrsg.) (2004). *Standards für die Lehrerbildung: Bildungswissenschaften.* Berlin: Sekretariat der Kultusministerkonferenz. Abgerufen von: https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/2004/2004_12_16-Standards-Lehrerbildung-Bildungswissenschaften.pdf [08.12.2022].

Kohler, B. (2004). Zur Rezeption externer Evaluation durch Lehrkräfte, Eltern sowie Beamte der Schulaufsicht. *Empirische Pädagogik - Zeitschrift zur Theorie und Praxis erziehungswissenschaftlicher Forschung, 18*(1), 18-39.

Kohler, B., & Wacker, A. (2013). Das Angebots-Nutzungs-Modell - Überlegungen zu Chancen und Grenzen des derzeit prominentesten Wirkmodells der Schul- und Unterrichtsforschung. *DDS - Die Deutsche Schule*; *105*(3), 241-257.

Körzdörfer, D.B. (2016). Film: Das Volk eines Engels.

Krause, U. (2016). Wie bewältigen Flüchtlinge die Lebensbedingungen in Flüchtlingslagern? *Zeitschrift für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung*, *5*(2), 189-220.

Krüger, H.-H. (2012). *Einführung in die Theorien und Methoden der Erziehungswissenschaft*. Opladen: Budrich.

Langer, R. (2017). *Über Governancedynamiken in Bildungssystemen*. Linz: Unveröffentlichte Habilitationsschrift.

Leonhard, T., & Schlickum, C. (2014). Einleitung – Kontrapunkte und Potentiale. In T. Leonhard & C. Schlickum (Hrsg.), *Wie Lehrer_innen und Schüler_innen im Unterricht miteinander umgehen: Wiederentdeckungen jenseits von Bildungsstandards und Kompetenzorientierung* (S. 13-24). Bielefeld: transcript.

Luhmann, N. (2014). *Vertrauen: Ein Mechanismus zur Reduktion sozialer Komplexität*. Stuttgart: UTB.

Maag Merki, K. (2021). Schulqualitätsforschung. In T. Hascher, S. Idel, & W. Helsper (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Schulforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-24734-8

Maglio, F. (2022). *Transitions to secondary education.* Abgerufen von: https://www.unhcr.org/publications/education/61e18d694/transition-to-secondary-education.html [08.12.2022].

Marbon, S., & Royle, S. (2017). *The Origins of ISIS. The Collapse of Nations and Revolution in the Middle East.* London u.a.: I-B. Tauris&Co. Ltd.

Maschke, S., & Stecher, L. (2010). *In der Schule. Vom Leben, Leiden und Lernen in der Schule.* Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Mayring, P. (2015). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken*. Weinheim: Beltz.

OECD/ODA = Organisation für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (Hrsg.) (2022). *OECD Better Policies for Better Lives*. Abgerufen von: https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/daclist.htm [08.12.2022].

Ortac, I. (2019). Die Frage der Minderheiten im Nahen Osten aus ezidischer Perspektive. In C. Rammelt (Hrsg.), *Pluralität und Koexistenz, Gewalt, Flucht und Vertreibung. Christliche, jesidische und muslimische Lebenswelten in den gegenwärtigen Umbrüchen im Nahen Osten* (S. 139-144). Berlin: Lit.

Our Bridge e. V. (2019). *OURBRIDGE e. V. Gemeinsam. Eine Brücke.* Abgerufen von: https://www.ourbridge.de [08.12.2022].

Parreira do Amaral, M. (2016). Neue Akteure der Governance des Bildungssystems - Typen, Einflussmöglichkeiten und Instrumente. In H. Altrichter & K. Maag Merki (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Neue Steuerung im Schulsystem* (2. Aufl., S. 455-478). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Parsons, T. (1971). Die Schulklasse als soziales System: Einige ihrer Funktionen in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft. In H. Röhrs (Hrsg.), *Der Aufgabenkreis der pädagogischen Soziologie* (S. 154-179). Frankfurt a. M.: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft.

Pfrang, A., & Viehweger, A. (2015). Wie erleben Grundschulkinder in einer inklusiven Klasse die Lehrer-Schüler-Beziehung? Eine qualitative Studie zur Kindperspektive. In C. Siedenbiedel, C. Theurer, & K. Ziemen (Hrsg.), *Grundlagen inklusiver Bildung. Teil 1. Inklusive Unterrichtspraxis und Entwicklung* (S. 248-265). Immenhausen: Prolog.

Pietsch, M. (2016). Was wissen wir über wirksame Schulleitungen? Eine Zusammenschau und praxisorientierte Einordnung von Best-Evidence-Forschungsbefunden der letzten zehn Jahre. *Journal für Schulentwicklung*, *20*(2), 15-23.

Quenzel, G., & Hurrelmann, K. (Hrsg.) (2019). *Handbuch Bildungsarmut*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Reh, S. (2010). Widerstand in Schulentwicklungsprozessen. In T. Bohl, W. Helsper, H.G. Holtappels, & C. Schelle (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Schulentwicklung* (S. 292-294). Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

Reusser, K. (2008). Empirisch fundierte Didaktik – didaktisch fundierte Unterrichtsforschung. Eine Perspektive zur Neuorientierung der Allgemeinen Didaktik. M. A. Meyer, M. Prenzel, & S. Hellekamps (Hrsg.), *Perspektiven der Didaktik* (Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaften, Sonderheft 9, S. 219-237). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Reusser, K. (2011). Von der Unterrichtsforschung zur Unterrichtsentwicklung - Probleme, Strategien, Werkzeuge. In W. Einsiedler (Hrsg.), *Unterrichtsentwicklung und didaktische Entwicklungsforschung* (S. 11-40). Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

Rolff, H. (2007). *Studien zu einer Theorie der Schulentwicklung*. Weinheim/Basel: Beltz.

Rolff, H. (2017). Grundverständnis und Rolle von Schulleitung. In P. Dobbelstein, B. Groot-Wilken, & S. Koltermann (Hrsg.), *Referenzsysteme zur Unterstützung von Schulentwicklung* (S. 125-142). Münster: Waxmann.

Schaumburg, H., Prasse, D., & Blömeke, S. (2009). Implementation von Innovationen in der Schule. In S. Blömeke, T. Bohl, L. Haag, G. Lang-Wojtasik, & W. Sacher (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Schule* (S. 596-600). Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt/utb.

Sann, U., & Preiser, S. (2017). Emotion und Motivation in der Lehrer-Schüler-Interaktion. In M.K.W. Schweer (Hrsg.), *Lehrer-Schüler-Interaktion. Inhaltsfelder, Forschungsperspektiven und methodische Zugänge* (S. 213-232). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Schmäling, B. (2021). *Irak. Daten Analysen zum Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsstandort 2021*. Bonn: Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD).

Schmidinger, T. (2019). Êzîdî. Von einer regionalen religiösen Minderheit im Nahen Osten zur Diasporareligion im Exil? In C. Rammelt (Hrsg.), *Pluralität und Koexistenz, Gewalt, Flucht und Vertreibung. Christliche, jesidische und muslimische Lebenswelten in den gegenwärtigen Umbrüchen im Nahen Osten* (S. 145-160). Berlin: Lit.

Schönstedt, A., & Maschke, J. (2017). Minderjährige Flüchtlinge: die am stärksten Betroffenen der Flüchtlingskrise. In H. Sangmeister, & H. Wagner (Hrsg*.), Verändert die europäische Flüchtlingskrise die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit? Entwicklungszusammenarbeit im 21. Jahrhundert, Wissenschaft und Praxis im Dialog* (S. 89-106). Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Schübel, T., & Winklhofer, U. (2021). Anerkennung als pädagogische Aufgabe. Chancen für Schulen in herausfordernden Lagen. *Journal für LehrerInnenbildung*, *21*(4), 26-39.

Schubert, K., & Klein, M. (2018). Das Politiklexikon. Abgerufen von: https://www.bpb.de/kurz-knapp/lexika/politiklexikon/296316/entwicklungszusammenarbeit/ [08.12.2022].

Schweer, M.K.W. (2017). Vertrauen im Klassenzimmer. In M.K.W. Schweer (Hrsg.), *Lehrer-Schüler-Interaktion. Inhaltsfelder, Forschungsperspektiven und methodische Zugänge* (S. 523-545). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Seidel, T. (2014). Angebots-Nutzungs-Modelle in der Unterrichtspsychologie - Integration von Struktur- und Prozessparadigma. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, *60*(6), 850-866.

SEZ (Hrsg.). (2022). *Stiftung Entwicklungs-Zusammenarbeit Baden-Württemberg*. Abgerufen von: https://sez.de/projekte/our-bridge-bildungsprogramm-kindergarten-holzwerkstatt-storytelling-kurs-box-unterricht-und-vertrauenslehrer [08.12.2022].

Siebert, G., & Pollheimer-Pühringer, M. (2018). *Flucht und Trauma im Kontext Schule: Handbuch für PädagogInnen*. UNHCR Österreich.

Spratt, M. (2005). Washback and the classroom: The implications for teaching and learning of studies of washback from exams. *Language Teaching Research*, *9*(1), 5-29.

Terhart, E. (2013). Widerstand von Lehrkräften in Schulreformprozessen: Zwischen Kooperation und Obstruktion. In N. McElvany, & H.G. Holtappels (Hrsg.), *Empirische Bildungsforschung. Theorien, Methoden, Befunde und Perspektiven* (S. 75-92). Münster: Waxmann.

Thiel, J., & Jahr, C. (2017). *Begriff und Geschichte des Lagers.* Abgerufen von: https://www.bpb.de/themen/migration-integration/kurzdossiers/246175/begriff-undgeschichte-des-lagers/ [08.12.2022].

UNHCR (Hrsg.) (2021). *UNHCR - The UN Refugee Agency.* Abgerufen von: https://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c278.html [08.12.2022].

Vieluf, S., Praetorius, A.-K., Rakoczy, K., Kleinknecht, M., & Pietsch, M. (2020). Angebot-Nutzungs-Modelle der Wirkweise des Unterrichts - ein kritischer Vergleich verschiedener Modellvarianten. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, *66*, 63-80.

Weber, C., Körger, A., & Lambrich, K. (2012). Scaling Social Enterprises – A Theoretically Grounded Framework. *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research*, *32*(19).

Weinert, F. E. (1989). Psychologische Orientierung in der Pädagogik. In H. Röhrs, & H. Scheuerl (Hrsg.), *Richtungsstreit in der Erziehungswissenschaft und pädagogische Verständigung: Wilhelm Flitner zur Vollendung seines 100. Lebensjahres am 20. August 1989 gewidmet* (S. 203-2014). Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang.

Wissinger, J. (2007). Does School Governance matter? Herleitungen und Thesen aus dem Bereich "School Effectiveness and School Improvement". In H. Atrichter, T. Brüsemeister, & J. Wissinger (Hrsg.), *Educational Governance Handlungskoordination und Steuerung im Bildungssystem* (S. 105-130). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Yassen, A. O. (2019). The Prospects for Durable Solutions for Syrian Refugees in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq: A Case Study of Erbil Governorate Camps. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, *38*, 448-469.

Zeinz, H. (2009). Funktionen der Schule. In S. Blömke et al. (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Schule* (S. 87-93). Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

List of figures

List of tables

Education at the Refugee Camp

The northern Iraqi part of Kurdistan has been an area of protection for many people who have fled since the genocide by the so-called Islamic State in 2014. The refugee camps there, originally intended as a short-term solution, have become a permanent reality of life for many children and teenagers, some of whom are severely traumatized. The school of Our Bridge is located directly next to the refugee camp of Khanke in Kurdistan and has developed a specific pedagogical concept for children of the refugee camp. They are offered a carefully balanced, multi-faceted everyday experience, and access to a variety of educational opportunities.

'School development at refugee camps (SchoolDeC)' is a research project of the University of Tübingen in cooperation with the school of Our Bridge. The objective is to assess and systematize the status of its school development and to develop recommendations from the perspectives given by different local key actors. The results, recommendations, and possible perspectives for development are pre-sented in this volume.

Prof. Dr. Thorsten Bohl is professor of education and director of the Tübingen School of Education since 2015.

Prof. Dr. Marcus Syring is professor of education with a focus on school pedagogy.

Yusef El Damaty is a student in the master's program 'School Research and School Development'.

Silke Fischer is a student in the master's program 'School Research and School Development' and a teacher at a vocational school.

Luisa Kähne is a student in the master's program 'School Research and School Development'.