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The influence of education on conflict and peace building

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THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION ON CONFLICT AND PEACE BUILDING

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to identify aspects of education that may have a positive influence on the dynamics of conflict or make a contribution to peacebuilding. The UN Secretary-General's (2009) report on peacebuilding identifies a number of recurring priorities in conflict-affected situations, 'establishing security, building confidence in a political process, delivering initial peace dividends and expanding core national capacity'.¹ These priorities include 'the provision of basic services, such as water and sanitation, health and primary education'. However, in conflict-affected situations education is also about more than service delivery because it is a means of socialization and identity development through the transmission of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes across generations. Education may therefore be a driver of conflict (fuelling grievances, stereotypes, xenophobia and other antagonisms),² but can also be a way of contributing to 'conflict transformation'³ and 'peacebuilding'.⁴

Three main reasons why the relationship between education and conflict is important:

- Education is a fundamental right that should be maintained at all times, even in the most difficult circumstances. This is not simply an ideological statement. Where education is maintained in the midst of conflict it may provide an important mechanism for the protection of children against abuse;
- Education is an essential tool for human development and eradication of poverty. Children rarely get a second chance at education. Where the opportunity of education has been lost due to conflict, it is not just a loss to the individual, but a loss of social capital and the capacity of a society to recover from the conflict.
- Education can be part of the problem as well as part of the solution. Policies and practice at all levels within the education system need to be analysed in terms of their potential to aggravate or ameliorate conflict.

(Smith and Vaux, 2003)

¹ UN General Assembly, *Report of the Secretary-General on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict*, 11 June 2009, A/63/881-S/2009/304, available at:

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4a4c6c3b2.html> [accessed 8 April 2010]

² Bush, K., and Salterelli, D. (Eds.). (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre; Smith, A., and Vaux, T. (2003) *Education, conflict, and international development*. London: Department of International Development; Davies, L. (2004) *Education and conflict: Complexity and chaos*. New York, NY: Routledge.

³ The concept of *conflict transformation* builds largely on the work of Lederach (1995) and Galtung (1996). According to Miall (2004) *conflict transformation* is 'a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict'. It goes beyond *conflict management* involving notions of containment and acknowledges that *conflict resolution* may be idealistic or unrealistic in that conflict cannot be eliminated. *Conflict transformation* places an emphasis on changes to context, structures and relationships that shift conflicts away from the use of violence.

⁴ The concept of 'peacebuilding' became more prominent following the publication of *Agenda for Peace* in 1992 by Boutros Boutros-Gali, former UN Secretary-General. The document created UN definitions that distinguished between 'peacemaking' (action to bring hostile parties to agreement) and 'peacekeeping' (a way to help countries torn by conflict create the conditions for lasting peace), and defined 'post-conflict peacebuilding' as 'action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict'.

There are a number of further points to acknowledge from the outset in analyzing the role of education in relation to conflict transformation and peacebuilding. Firstly, the relevance of analyzing education from a conflict perspective is not limited to any particular phase of a conflict. There are benefits to analyzing the role of education before, during and after conflicts. For example, within relatively peaceful contexts an analysis of the education system may highlight aspects of education that could become sources of grievance between groups or between the state and sections of society and this provides an opportunity to adjust education policies and programmes in a *preventative* way.⁵ In situations where violent conflict already exists education may have a *protective* role, for example, by providing points of stability and daily routine for children if it is possible to keep schools functioning, by helping understand underlying causes of conflict and by strengthening messages within society about the negative impacts of violence. It is a means of educating people about other, non-violent ways of responding to conflict. In situations where peace processes are underway, education may also be a means of contributing to *social transformation*, for example, through reforms to the education system itself and by educating people about new arrangements for political representation, justice and policing. Education is the fundamental tool that makes institutional change in other sectors possible by educating personnel currently in post or those who will shape future institutions. Education is also the most powerful tool to develop the economic and social skills necessary to generate sustainable livelihoods for successive generations. The UN Secretary-General suggests that,

“The immediate post-conflict period offers a window of opportunity to provide basic security, deliver peace dividends, shore up and build confidence in the political process, and strengthen core national capacity to lead peacebuilding efforts. If countries succeed in these core areas early on, it substantially increases the chances for sustainable peace - and reduces the risk of relapse into conflict”.

In societies that have experienced violent conflict, education also has another important role in longer-term, post-conflict development to help successive generations understand the violent conflict that took place within their own society and potentially contribute towards future peacebuilding. One aspect involves the role of history in teaching about a violent past which is discussed later. Another concerns concepts of *truth and reconciliation*. These are not necessarily linked, but often are. Cole (2007) indicates how ‘the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was set up as part of the negotiated transition from white majority rule to democratic governance in South Africa as a way to create a public record on the abuses of the apartheid era through public testimony’. She provides an insight into the complexity in working with such concepts, for example, whether ‘truth’ is objective, subjective or inter-subjective; and whether people are more interested in establishing truth in order to seek justice rather than reconciliation. In addition, even a simple definition of reconciliation as ‘a process that brings estranged persons or parties into friendly relations’ is fraught with dilemmas such as whether such a process needs to be reciprocal, operates at inter-personal or inter-group level, or even whether groups in conflict have ever had ‘friendly relations’ at any previous point in their conflict. Despite the dilemmas, Cole suggests that reconciliatory processes must reach beyond macro-level processes involving the legislature, judiciary and military and at some point ‘become part of people’s lives, and also

⁵ For example, language of instruction policies that lead to unequal access or outcomes for different ethnic groups. Bush & Saltarelli (2000) claim that restricted access to education ‘should be viewed as an indicator of deteriorating relations between groups’ and ‘a warning signal that should prod the international community to initiate what the World Bank would call a ‘watching brief’ so that it might anticipate and respond to further deteriorations’.

part of the midlevel and grassroots institutions, such as schools whose workings relate more closely to the lives of average citizens'. She points to the lessons learned from the more positive relations that Germany has built with its neighbours since World War II and the role played by the reform of history education and textbooks. Further studies have examined the extent to which education has a role in contributing towards reconciliation following recommendations from more recent TRCs in Guatemala⁶, Peru⁷, Rwanda⁸ and Sierra Leone⁹ and highlight the need for further research into the ethical issues for educators; the role of education in relation to remembrance and commemorative sites and events; and better understanding of the nature of intergenerational learning.¹⁰ It is common, therefore, in countries that have been affected by conflict to point to a role for education in promoting longer-term reconciliation as a means of preventing recurrence of violent conflict. This underlines the fact that peace is often insecure, relapses are frequent and that the main purpose of education interventions at any stage in such cycles is to promote a peacebuilding trajectory.

Another important point is that in any society, whether peaceful, conflict-affected or in some form of transition, it is unlikely that the education system is operating in totally positive or negative ways. Davies (2010) suggests that any analysis of the education system is more likely to highlight a range of areas where some parts of the system may be fuelling conflict in a highly politicized way, whilst there may be other aspects of the system that are trying to bring about change and contribute towards peacebuilding.¹¹ This makes for a fairly complex picture, particularly when we move from more abstract levels of policy choices (e.g. between the benefits and risks of decentralisation from a conflict perspective) to practical programming and operational choices that need to be made in different local contexts.

Good conflict analysis always takes context as the starting point (OECD-DAC, 2007) and is not limited solely to what takes place within the classroom. A more holistic approach takes account of *governance and control* of the education system; *education structures*; and *educational content and processes*. It is unlikely that intervention at any one level of an education system will have a direct impact on conflict within the wider society, but experiences in conflict-affected countries suggest that there are a number of recurring issues that become problematic if left unaddressed. The literature on linkages between education and conflict has increased significantly in the past decade. Most of this literature involves qualitative research and case studies and so it is not possible to be definitive about causal relationships or the direction of causality (for example, whether certain forms of education provision fuel conflict, or are a consequence of conflict). However, the prevalence of similar concerns (for example, about the control, form and content of education) across many different social and cultural contexts suggests that there is good reason to pay attention to

⁶ Oglesby (2007) indicates how schools in Guatemala are beginning to incorporate some of the findings from the Guatemalan Historical Clarification Commission.

⁷ Paulson (2010) highlights how despite commitments to introduce textbooks that dealt with recent conflict in Peru, changes in government can influence whether these are actually used.

⁸ Buckley-Zistel (2009) examines how the Rwandan government approach was to place a moratorium on the teaching of history after the genocide and the use of *ngando* camps to promote national unity by promoting a narrative that omits any reference to ethnicity.

⁹ Paulson (2006) documents how 'the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SLTRC) included children's testimony and children guided the development of the children's version of the commission's report'.

¹⁰ Research into these issues has been part of a significant initiative involving the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, the International Center for Transitional Justice and Harvard Law School http://www.unicef-irc.org/knowledge_pages/resource_pages/children_and_transitional_justice/index.html.

¹¹ Davies, L. (2010) Education and Fragility. A Synthesis of Four Country Case Studies (Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia and Liberia), International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE).

the role of education in conflict-affected situations. The following sections identify key areas where careful attention to policy and practices from a conflict-perspective may prevent education systems, and the children they serve, from being mobilized as part of the dynamics of conflict.

1. GOVERNANCE – the key to ‘conflict-sensitive’ education?

Aragon and Vegas (2009) highlight two distinctive aspects to definitions of governance. The first mostly concerns who has political control of a system and the context this creates, ‘governance is defined mainly in terms of the process of policy-making (e.g. how the rules of a political regime provide the context in which policy-making is carried out)’. The second aspect refers more to technical capacity and the ability to implement policies. It is the former of these that is most likely to be contentious, particularly in conflict-affected countries since it can give rise to charges of bias and discrimination, although lack of technical expertise and capacity can also lead to grievances over inequalities due to poor implementation and policy outcomes. In addition, government preoccupation with security responses to terrorist threats may lead to increased, unchecked authoritarianism, particularly where ‘special powers’ are introduced that limit the right to freedom of expression or the suspension of normal legal processes.¹² In such situations governments may feel even more need to control state institutions such as the education system and educators may feel constrained to engage in critical enquiry of state policies and actions.

The World Bank and other agencies use a number of measures as part of governance assessments¹³ and a previous GMR (2008) identified a number of key areas that are crucial for education governance if Education for All is to be achieved.¹⁴ Aragon and Vegas (2009) provide a case study of education governance policies as part of democratic transition in Peru when the rural population suffered disproportionately during the period of political violence (1980-2000). Reforms were based on identification of national priorities for education; new emphasis on professional development of teachers; increased financing and an anti-corruption plan. The European Commission has also published a study on the governance challenges for education in a number of countries that have been affected by conflict.¹⁵ Whilst, governance matters in all countries, the following are examples of good governance strategies that may have particular significance in protecting education systems in conflict-affected countries.

- *Encouraging responsible control of education systems.* Control, or partial control of education systems by state or non-state actors in conflict-affected situations carries very real dangers of political indoctrination of children and restrictions to fundamental freedoms. In such situations it is less likely that normative or legislative approaches will have an impact, but there are examples of other protective approaches.

¹² See for example, Carrión, J. (ed.) (2006) *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.

¹³ ‘Very frequently, governance assessments are based on country scores on particular dimensions of governance (e.g. voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality of government, rule of law and control of corruption).’ – Quote from Aragon and Vegas, 2009: 6.

¹⁴ EFA Global Monitoring Report (2008) *Why Governance Matters - the need to consider equity and poverty reduction policies; the formulation of policies containing clear goals; the development of political leadership; the need to consider education quality issues; and the need to increase national education budgets.*

¹⁵ The European Commission (2009) *Study on Governance Challenges for Education in Fragile Situations: Study Synthesis Report*, Brussels is based on case studies of Aceh (Indonesia), Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, Lebanon, Liberia, Somalia and Southern Sudan

BOX

CONFLICT SENSITIVE ANALYSIS OF EFA IN NEPAL

This can be elaborated to include main points from analysis of Nepal's EFA plan¹⁶

- ❑ EFA and pooling partners (Denmark, Finland, Norway, UK, World Bank)
- ❑ Main elements of EFA strategy (\$160m per annum – 25% from donors)
- ❑ \$120 m goes on teacher salaries, \$40 m on following:
 - Early childhood development centres (6%)
 - Access to All (21%) most goes on physical improvements, rest on increasing enrolments, 'Welcome to School' initiative
 - Learning needs for all (1%) mainly curriculum;
 - Literacy for women (2%)
 - Eliminating gender disparity (20%) - bursaries for girls, dalits, janjatis; gender sensitive curriculum; recruitment women teachers
 - Quality education (46%) – block grants on per capita basis, transfer of schools to community management
- ❑ Improvements in access, impact of population movements and displacement
 - successes in EFA goal to improve access, but there are questions about quality (drop outs and repetitions remain high)
 - movement from hill areas, overcrowding in *terai* (plains) and border areas
 - problems with teacher deployment
- ❑ Commitment to decentralisation
 - WB driven, aim to create greater local accountability
 - Poor implementation at District Office level, conflict blamed for limited mobility of DEOs
 - Government unwilling to employ additional permanent teachers, so local community has to raise money and pay lower salary
 - Maoists opposed, portrayed as a 'government ploy' to avoid meeting their responsibilities, local communities suspicious
- ❑ Curriculum issues
 - language of instruction, role of English, exams, private schools
 - middle classes and policy makers abandoning the public system
 - Maoist curriculum – dilemma for teachers, but not widespread
- ❑ DAC Principles for development assistance in Fragile States
 - donor pooling is a positive aspect of EFA in Nepal
 - use of NGO routes needs careful consideration (e.g. SC schools)
 - dilemma for donors as HMGN credibility is challenged
 - issue about whether to target support to conflict affected areas or use a more universal criteria related to social need?

Conclusions

- ❑ Potential critical areas that may do harm are related to:
 - ❑ Governance, capacity and poor implementation are key issues
 - ❑ Problems of implementation reduce government's ability to address economic and social exclusion, therefore likely to reinforce grievance
 - ❑ However, conflict has moved to more overt political phase – lack of functioning of consultative processes (e.g. teacher unions now opposed to transfers of staff, devolution and community management)
 - ❑ Minorities more concerned with representation with the system overall rather than restricted roles related to their ethnicity

¹⁶ Vaux, T., Smith, A. and Subba, S. (2006) Education for All in Nepal from a conflict perspective. London: International Alert.

- ❑ Increasing divide between government and private schools – success rate for School Leaving Certificate from private schools is 80% compared to 20% in government schools
- ❑ These grievances are becoming increasingly politicised and the tendency is to want to blame government rather than solve problems.
- ❑ Whilst less visible than higher profile impact of conflict on education (attacks on buildings, teacher beatings, pupil abductions), the poor implementation of EFA seriously undermines government authority, so that that underlying grievances are unaddressed and the impact of education on conflict may be more damaging in the long run

BOX ENDS

In Nepal, for example, the Maoists tried to impose its own curriculum in schools that included strong ideological content and elements about warfare. Teachers were also required to provide a portion of their wages and physically beaten for not teaching the curriculum. However, the most effective protective strategies were those where local communities, on which the Maoists depended, spoke out against such abuses.

An analysis of post-conflict education reforms in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua has also indicated how education became politicised during these conflicts, whilst ‘defence funding soared and education budgets were slashed’. The report indicates how the de-politicisation and reconstruction of education systems in each of these countries was a vital component of post-conflict transformation.¹⁷

- *Adopting transparent practices for funding, procurement and employment.* Even where political exploitation is not so explicit, poor governance of education systems can fuel conflict through patronage and by reinforcing inequalities. For example, inequalities in funding to different regions or ethnic groups; procurement practices biased towards supporters of dominant political parties; patronage where education appointments are made based on political loyalties rather than merit. There are well-known strategies that may provide some protection against such practices. These include collection of data about funding that is disaggregated by districts and identity factors, accompanied by a move towards budget allocations based on transparent funding formulas. For example, early research into funding for separate schools attended by Catholic and Protestant children in Northern Ireland was considered to be one reason for different levels of achievement that affected employment opportunities for school leavers.¹⁸ Bush and Saltarelli (2000) suggest that educational attainment is one of the ways in which dominant groups seek to maintain their privileged position within diverse societies. They cite examples from Rwanda, where historically Catholic missionary schools favoured the Tutsi minority through preferential treatment that led to employment by the colonial government; and Burundi where restrictions on the admission of Hutu children to secondary schools prevented the acquisition of necessary employment skills. Capacity building and training for those working within the public service may therefore be a

¹⁷ Marques, J. and Bannon, I (2003) Central America: Education Reform in a Post-Conflict Setting, Opportunities and Challenges. Social Development Department Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network, CPR Working Paper No. 4, Washington, D.C: The World Bank.

¹⁸ Gallagher, A., R. Osborne, R. Cormack (1993) ‘Community Relations, Equality and Education’ in *After the Reforms: Education and Policy in Northern Ireland*, by R. Osborne, R. Cormack and A. Gallagher (eds), Aldershot: Avebury.

necessary factor for the success of any overall education sector plan that takes account of conflict.¹⁹

- *Central control versus decentralisation.* Decentralisation of education systems has generally been regarded as a means of bringing about more accountability and ownership of schooling. In the case of conflict-affected countries the situation may be more complex and context dependent. For example, in analysing post-conflict reconstruction of education in Central America, Marques and Bannon (2003) state, ‘One has only to look at the conditions in which education services were (or were not) being delivered during the period of hostilities to see the importance of decentralizing functions, authority, funding, management and decision-making capacity to schools.’ They cite the EDUCO programme that built on *Escuelas Populares* in El Salvador and the National Program of Community-Managed Schools for the Advancement of Education (PRONADE) in Guatemala as positive examples of post-conflict decentralisation in education. However, decentralisation may not always be so positive in other contexts, particularly during internal conflicts where government may have concerns about losing control of schooling to secessionist movements, for example, in regions of Columbia, Indonesia, Nepal or Sri Lanka. Even where decentralisation is introduced as part of post-conflict peace agreements, as for example in Bosnia and Herzegovina, fragmentation may strengthen control of the education system by local political interests and reinforce ethnic divisions if it is not moderated by strong institutions at the national level.²⁰

BOX

FRAGMENTED GOVERNANCE OF EDUCATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (BiH)²¹

‘Since the war, the country’s education system has been characterized by division and segregation, with the vast majority of children learning separately according to ‘their’ ethno-national group. This division is reifying the differences used to stoke up war, and creating three different groups of future citizens who are ignorant and mistrustful of each other.’

Education Reform Briefing Materials (October 2008) OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Dayton Peace Agreement (1995) introduced boundaries that became the basis for decentralization of political control in subsequent years. Responsibility for education in BiH is devolved to two entities (BiH which has 10 Cantons and the Republika Srpska) and the District of Brčko. State government therefore has a limited role in education policies. The Ministry of Civil Affairs of BiH does not have substantive

¹⁹ The European Commission (October 2009) *Study on Governance Challenges for Education in Fragile Situations: Study Synthesis Report*, Brussels is based on case studies of Aceh (Indonesia), Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, Lebanon, Liberia, Somalia and Southern Sudan

²⁰ Magill, C. (2010) *Education and fragility in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Desk Review. Paris : UNESCO IIEP.

²¹ Based on a review of the following documents:

- *Report of Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education: Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina*, United Nations, 24th Sept- 2 Oct 2007.
- *Factsheet on BiH International Commitments and Obligations in the Area of Education*
- *School Catchment Areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Status Report by the OSCE Mission to BiH, October, 2007.*
- *Lessons from Education Reform in Brčko*, OSCE, Oct 2007.
- *Divided Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, UNICEF Research Report, 2008.
- *Education in BiH: What do we teach our Children?* Open Society of BiH, ProMENTE, October 2007.
- *SCN/SEE Scientific Study on Discrimination Against Children in Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Save the Children Norway, 2007.
- *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Addressing Fiscal Challenges and Enhancing Growth Prospects. A Public Expenditure and Institutional Review.* World Bank, September 2006.
- *Institutional and Capacity Building of Bosnia and Herzegovina Education System*, European Union and University of Jyväskylä (Finland), February, 2008.

responsibilities in education, nor authority vis-à-vis the cantons, so there is no strong central authority. This means that the education system is highly fragmented with 14 ministries of education. The impact on education was not considered at the time, but the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education identified ‘two main issues which affect the enjoyment of the right to education in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the excessive fragmentation and politicization of the education system; and segregation between ethnic groups and assimilation processes based on ethnic motives.’ (para 54)

In 2005/6 there were 1,888 primary schools and 301 secondary schools in BiH, with a total of 538,000 students.²² Of these, 54 are ‘two schools under one roof’ and many of these are located in Central Bosnia Canton and in areas with significant numbers of ‘returnees’ (people displaced during the war). ‘Two schools under one roof’ began with the best of intentions. They were seen as a means of encouraging return by families with school-age children to areas in which their nation had become a ‘minority’ during the war.’²³ In such difficult circumstances the possibility of students from different backgrounds sharing the same school building could have been a progressive step, perhaps a step towards fuller integration, but in fact many of the schools have come to represent a very sharp form of educational segregation. Children from different national backgrounds might attend the same school, but often at different times and being taught different curricula. UNICEF research found that parents with children at ‘two schools under one roof’ were the most concerned for their safety and that ‘the most prominent ethnic distance exists in communities with divided schools’.²⁴ Research by Save the Children Norway also suggests that ‘two schools under one roof’ are perceived as environments where discrimination is practised, for example, through unequal access to resources or in the way groups refer to and treat each other.²⁵

Overall education may be reinforcing separate development both structurally (through separate schooling) and functionally (through curricula and teaching and learning processes that emphasise the development of separate national identities). Although there may be a lack of political will towards state-building in BiH and a desire for separate development in statements by some political leaders²⁶, there have been a number of initiatives that have attempted to involve education in peacebuilding. For example, since 2002 the OSCE Mission to BiH has a headquarters in Sarajevo and 14 field offices and has supported a number of initiatives including:

- The establishment of an advisory, state-level Council of Ministers of Education
- Introduction of education laws that promote state-level coordination of education
- Support for the removal of inappropriate and exclusionary symbols from schools
- An initiative on school governance, establishment of student and parent councils¹
- Projects to develop more contact between students in divided communities
- Removal of offensive material from textbooks; assessment of new history texts
- Development of a course on the culture of religions¹
- Development of student workbook on BiH 17 national minorities

It could be argued that the best possibility for achieving greater coordination may be through a new Education Agency with responsibility for standards in curriculum, assessment and examinations.

The Brčko District is often cited as an example where the education system became integrated in 2001 and Bosniak, Croat and Serb students are educated together. An OSCE case study suggests one of the reasons that integration was possible was because of the significant powers given to the Office of the High Representative to determine education reforms. Whilst, enrolment figures indicate that some mono-ethnic schools still exist at primary level, integration has been extremely successful in many schools, particularly at secondary level. In addition, public opinion polls have indicated high levels of support for integrated schooling and interviews with School Directors, teachers, students and parents indicate how satisfactory practical arrangements for language, script and a common curriculum have been found.²⁷

BOX ENDS

²² www.bhas.ba

²³ http://www.oscebih.org/public/print_news.asp?id=969

²⁴ Divided Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, UNICEF Research Report, 2008.

²⁵ SCN/SEE Scientific Study on Discrimination Against Children in Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Save the Children Norway, 2007.

²⁶ See, for example, statements by political leaders who argue for secession of Republika Srpska http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2008/02/15/feature-01

²⁷ Lessons from Education Reform in Brčko, OSCE, Oct 2007.

Conflict-sensitive governance of education systems may therefore require fine judgements to be made about the balance between central control and devolution of authority to regional interests. Politicisation at the central level may be mitigated through protective mechanisms such as differentiation between functions such as policy-setting, policy advice, support to schools and service delivery. For example, a central Ministry might retain overall responsibility for setting policy, but create specialised agencies with responsibilities for planning, teacher education, curriculum and examinations etc. with governance arrangements that make them less susceptible to political interference. At the local level the arrangements that are in place for representation and participation in consultation, decision-making and school governance may provide opportunities for inclusion of diverse interest groups in a way that contributes towards peacebuilding.

Key message: Good governance of education systems is one of the most important ways of contributing to equity, inclusion and social cohesion. Good governance protects against grievances about access and quality of education becoming sources of conflict.

2. EDUCATION AND IDENTITY

It is becoming increasingly important to distinguish between ‘state-building’ and ‘nation-building’. The two are often conflated yet can represent very different concepts. Nation-building often refers to the development of a state where citizens share the same social, cultural, religious background. In many cases the concept of the nation transcends state boundaries and includes diaspora who can have significant influence on state development, for example, through remittances that may fund nationalistic conflicts or peace-building efforts.²⁸ However, increasing globalization and movement of people means that the concept of the homogeneous nation state is also being challenged, partly through the emergence of regional and supra national entities such as the European Union, and partly due to the increasing diversity of citizens within states. Modern state-building therefore places more emphasis on equal rights and responsibilities of all citizens irrespective of their ethnic, religious or cultural identity. Education may become a key instrument in terms of which ideology is most dominant (identity-based nation-building or rights-based state-building).

Identity factors are important for understanding conflict, partly because they may be mobilised to generate or escalate conflict, rather than being fundamental causes. Stewart (2001) refers to differences between identity-based groups as ‘horizontal inequalities’ to distinguish them from ‘vertical inequalities’ based on economic status and access to power, although these often map closely on each other and the potential for conflict may be greater. This means that it is difficult for education to be perceived as ‘neutral’ in conflict-affected countries, particularly where divisions are organised around identity factors.²⁹ For example, in exploring the links between schooling and conflict in Pakistan, Durrani and Dunne (2009) found that, ‘the complex nexus of education, religion, and national identity tends to

²⁸ Demmers, J. (2002) Diaspora and Conflict: Locality, Long-Distance Nationalism, and Delocalisation of Conflict Dynamics, *The Public*, Vol.9 (1): 85-96.

Smith, H. and Stares, P. (eds) (2007) *Diasporas in Conflict: Peacemakers or Peace Wreckers?* Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

²⁹ Johnston, D. and Stewart, F. (2007) Education, ethnicity and conflict, *International Journal of Educational Development* 27, 247–251

construct ‘essentialist’ collective identities. To promote national unity across the diverse ethnic groups comprising Pakistan, the national curriculum uses religion (Islam) as the key boundary between the Muslim Pakistani ‘self’ and the antagonist non-Muslim ‘other’. Ironically, this emphasis creates social polarization and the normalization of militaristic and violent identities, with serious implications for social cohesion, tolerance for internal and external diversity, and gender relations’.³⁰

The role of education in identity formation may be one reason why education and schooling become targets for attack in many conflicts. From a preventative perspective it also means that careful consideration should be given to aspects of education that are closely linked to identity development. In conflict-affected countries, four areas that merit particular attention relate to separate schooling, language, faith and citizenship.

Separate schooling – cause or consequence?

A recurring theme in conflict-affected countries is the relationship between conflict and separate schooling based on identity factors such as language, ethnicity or religion. The evidence on the impact of separate schooling is contested and highly context-dependent. Gallagher (2010) provides some comparative examples of shared and separate schooling in divided societies and states that ‘many mass education systems had assimilation as an overt aim’.³¹ He suggests that ‘The distinction between segregated systems, in which minorities are obliged to use their own schools (such as apartheid South Africa, or the southern states of the U.S. prior to 1954), and separate systems, in which minorities run their own schools as a matter of choice, is important’, but goes on to say that ‘whether schooling systems are segregated or separate, there is evidence that such systems can have a detrimental impact on social cohesion’, citing the detrimental impact on Arab-Israelis of the decision in the 1950s to formally divide schools in Israel. Drawing on the cases of Brazil, Britain, Canada, Israel, Malaysia, Netherlands, and the USA he concludes that the influence of schooling arrangements may be better understood as a combination of ‘the structure of schools, the content of the curriculum, and the routes and opportunities available to young people’. This is consistent with the view that the impact of separate schooling needs to be considered in context and depends on whether such schools are perceived to be reinforcing assimilation, separate or shared development. Where mixing or integration takes place consideration needs also to be given to the nature of teaching and learning in the sense that identity factors are avoided, addressed or considered in terms of their impact on inequalities and social justice.³²

Although few would argue that separate schooling is a fundamental cause of conflict, the prevalence of separate schooling based on identity factors in conflict-affected countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Guatemala, Lebanon, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, Rwanda and Sri Lanka suggests that the linkage is not just a coincidence. One possible reason for the prevalence of separate schooling in conflict-affected countries is that the institutional structures reflect and replicate the political, social and cultural divisions within broader society. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example, many commentators point to the greater integration that existed within schools before the war. The impact of ethnic cleansing and displacements of populations has meant that parents are wary of the security of their children

³⁰ Durrani, N. and M. Dunne (2009) Curriculum and national identity: exploring the links between religion and nation in Pakistan. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*.

³¹ Gallagher, T. (2010) *Key Issues in Coexistence and Education*, Coexistence International, Brandeis University.

³² Smith, A. (2005) Education in the Twenty-First Century: Conflict, Reconstruction and Reconciliation, *Compare*, 35(4): 373-391.

returning to their former schools. This is reflected in research by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that highlights how parents will avoid their nearest school and travel some distance to enrol their child in another school associated with their own 'national identity'.³³ In other situations children from different national backgrounds might attend the same school, but often at different times and being taught different curricula. Children have separate breaks, teachers have separate rooms and there may be little cooperation between separate administrations. UNICEF research found that parents with children at 'two schools under one roof' were the most concerned for their safety.³⁴ The situation in Brčko is more encouraging in that since 2001 it has been possible for children to attend integrated schools.³⁵

However, in many other conflict-affected countries there are examples of programmes that promote integration, often initiated by parents overcoming community divisions. The rationale for such programmes is that, whilst education may not have caused conflict, it can make a positive contribution towards peacebuilding by educating children together. Such initiatives could be considered to fall within three broad types:

- Efforts at the voluntary integration of schools such as examples from Northern Ireland where it has taken more than twenty years to achieve shared schooling for 6% of schoolchildren; the creation of Jewish-Arab schools such as Neve Shalom; and desegregation of education in South Africa.
- Programmes based on inter-group contact theory between children from different groups in conflict.³⁶ Considerable practice has built up on such programmes in conflict-affected countries such as Israel/Palestine, Cyprus,
- Inclusive schooling – examples of programmes such as UNICEF Rights Respecting Schools or others that advocate sensitivity to diversity and inclusion of minorities.

Key message: Separate schooling based on identity factors such as language, religion and culture is a common feature in conflict-affected countries. This may be because of a lack of trust between groups and can reinforce divisions. Initiatives that try to bring about more inclusive schooling can help mitigate the development of negative stereotypes between groups in conflict.

Language Policies - inclusive or divisive?

The UNESCO Position Paper on 'Education in a Multilingual World' identifies language as 'an essential element of inter-cultural education to encourage understanding between different groups and respect for fundamental rights.' It supports mother tongue as a means of improving education quality, but also advocates 'bilingual and/or multilingual education as a means of promoting social and gender equality and a key element of linguistically diverse

³³ Based on 650 interviews with teachers, parents, and school directors; 222 visits to primary and secondary schools, July - October 2006. See *School Catchment Areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Status Report by the OSCE Mission to BiH, Oct 2007*.

³⁴ Divided Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, UNICEF Research Report, 2008.

³⁵ Lessons from Education Reform in Brčko, OSCE, Oct 2007.

³⁶ Hughes, J. and Donnelly, C. (2006) Contact as a policy mechanism for promoting better relations in integrated schools in Northern Ireland and bilingual/bi-national schools in Israel, *Journal of Peace Education*, 3(1): 79 – 97.

societies'.³⁷ Many ethno-linguistic minority groups face a language barrier in education. Almost 70% out-of-school girls belong to the ethnic, religious, linguistic, racial and other minorities.³⁸ A World Bank report states that 50 percent of the world's out-of school children live in communities where the language of schooling is rarely, if ever, used at home.³⁹ Sub Saharan Africa is region where there the population has least access to education in mother tongue (16%) (Source: UNDP 2004, SIL International 2004).

Rationales often used for monolingual and elitist language policies include: economic factors (multilingualism is costly), national unity (many languages fragment the population), power (to maintain central control). Some myths are that several media of instruction confuses students; use of mother tongue delays learning of national, official or international languages; and parents want a national or international language only. However, research indicates that mother tongue language of instruction results in (i) increased access and equity, (ii) improved learning outcomes, (iii) reduced repetition and dropout rates, (iv) socio-cultural benefits and (v) lower overall costs.⁴⁰

From a conflict perspective, the significant issue is that there are examples where language policies have been used in ways that exacerbate conflict. These include repression of mother tongue languages as part of political conflict in Spain⁴¹; how overt bilingual and covert monolingual language policies fuel tensions with Uyghur nationalists in Xinjiang, China⁴²; how language policies in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka were used as a means of dominating access to education by particular groups⁴³; and difficulties even where there are attempts to use bilingual education as 'an approach to conflict resolution and the improvement of inter-group relations in Israel'.⁴⁴

These issues are complex in practice. For example, in Kyrgyzstan the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities⁴⁵ recommended education policies and practices that take account of the needs of national minorities, but a main issue of concern is the development of a policy on language of instruction where the majority of the population is Kyrgyz (55%) with sizeable minorities of Russians (19%) and Uzbeks (14%). However, the main language of instruction in schools is still Russian. In urban schools the main difficulty is the low status of the Kyrgyz and the challenge here is to develop better status for the Kyrgyz language for example through the development of pilot projects in bilingual kindergardens. In rural schools the challenge is that Russian is taught poorly in Kyrgyz speaking regions and there is a need to recruit and train better Russian speaking teachers in rural areas.

³⁷ UNESCO (2003) *Education in a Multilingual World*. UNESCO Education Position Paper, Paris: UNESCO.

³⁸ Lockheed, M. E and Lewis, M. A., 2007. *Inexcusable Absence: Why 60 Million Girls Still Aren't In School and What to do About It*, Center For Global Development, Washington D. C.

³⁹ Presentation by Kimmo Kosonen based at Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand.

⁴⁰ Bender, P. et al, (2005) *In Their Own Language: Education For All*. Education Notes Series, World Bank http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/Education-Notes/EdNotes_Lang_of_Instruct.pdf

⁴¹ Shabad, G. and Gunther, R. (1982) Language, Nationalism, and Political Conflict in Spain, *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Jul., 1982), pp. 443-477.

⁴² Dwyer, Arienne, M. (2005) *Policy Studies 15. The Xinjiang Conflict: Uyghur Identity, Language Policy, and Political Discourse*, Washington DC: East-West Center.

⁴³ Rösel, Jakob (2009) 'Mass-education in a vast, in a dangerous and a fragmented state – education policy in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka', Paper presented at Conference on Education in Fragile Contexts, Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut, Freiburg, Germany, Sept 2009.

⁴⁴ Amara, M. et al, (2009) A New Bilingual Education in the Conflict-Ridden Israeli Reality, *Language and Education*, 23 (1): 15–35.

Bekerman, Z. (2005) Complex contexts and ideologies: bilingual education in conflict-ridden areas.

Journal of Language, Identity and Education 4(1): 1–20.

⁴⁵ <http://www.osce.org/hcnm>

The challenge from a conflict perspective is to develop language policies for education that contribute towards peace-building rather than exacerbate conflict. The South Asian Ministers of Education organisation (SAMEO) has links to policies, case studies and good practices in mother tongue as the language of instruction in Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.⁴⁶ There have also been changes to language policy in Timor Leste since independence. Other examples of successful multilingual programmes are provided by Save the Children and include Zambia, Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala, Burkina Faso, Mali, Eritrea, Papua New Guinea.⁴⁷

Key message: Promotion of mother tongue as the medium of instruction can be the bridge to learning national, official and international languages. Multilingual policies may provide protection against conflict resulting from the exclusion of minorities from education or the use of language to reinforce unequal power relations between groups.

Faith-based schools - part of the problem or part of the solution?

There are many historical reasons for close links between religion and schooling, not least because many churches provided schooling long before states were sufficiently organized to undertake this function. Grace (2003) suggests that, 'Much of the political and public debate about faith-based schooling is conducted at the level of generalised assertion and counter-assertion' and that conclusions about the existence of faith-based schooling in conflict-affect societies such as Northern Ireland 'represent an ahistorical, decontextualised and oversimplified view of the causes of such conflict'.⁴⁸ He refers to the example of 'about 120,000 Catholic schools serving almost 50 million students in a wide range of socio-economic, political and cultural settings worldwide' and then cites a review of empirical research in the USA to support arguments that children who attend faith-based schools are more tolerant than those who attend public schools.⁴⁹ Short (2002) also challenges the notion that secular schools are better placed to promote tolerance in the UK.⁵⁰ On the other hand, others argue that 'the benefits to the individual from a religious point of view are off-set against any potential impact on social cohesion.'⁵¹

The United Nations Special Rapporteur recommends mixed-religion and mixed-race schools as the best way of combating intolerance and discrimination and suggests that faith-based schools 'can provide a prime and fertile terrain for lasting progress with respect to tolerance and nondiscrimination in connection with religion and belief.'⁵² A particular concern is that children should be protected from proselytisation according to Article 1 of the 'Declaration

⁴⁶ SAMEO http://www.seameo.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=63&Itemid=156

⁴⁷ http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/en/docs/briefing-policy_statement-scuk_language_edu.pdf

⁴⁸ Grace, G. (2003) Educational Studies And Faith-Based Schooling: Moving From Prejudice To Evidence-Based Argument, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 51(2): 149-167.

⁴⁹ Greeley, A. (1998) Catholic schools at the crossroads: an American perspective. In J. M. Fehenev (Ed.) *From Ideal to Action: The Inner Nature of a Catholic School Today* (Dublin, Veritas).

⁵⁰ Short, G. (2002) Faith-Based Schools: A Threat To Social Cohesion? *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 36(4): 559-572.

⁵¹ McGlynn, C. (2005) Integrated and Faith-Based Schooling in Northern Ireland, *The Irish Journal of Education / Iris Eireannach an Oideachais*, xxxvi: 49-62.

Gallagher, T. (2005). Faith schools and Northern Ireland: A review of research. In R. Gardner, J. Cairns, & D. Lawton, D. (Eds.), *Faith schools: Consensus or conflict?* (pp. 156-165). London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Halstead, M., & McLaughlin, T. (2005). Are faith schools divisive? In R. Gardner, J. Cairns, & D. Lawton (Eds.), *Faith schools: Consensus or conflict?* (pp. 61-73). London: RoutledgeFalmer.

⁵² The United Nations Commission on Human Rights Report (1995), "Implementation of the declaration on the eliminations of all forms of intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief" article 66 ([E/CN.4/1996/95](http://www.unhcr.org/refugees/pdf/E/CN.4/1996/95))

on the Elimination of all forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief' (freedom of thought, conscience and religion and freedom to manifest one's religion or belief). From a rights-based perspective this may reflect a tension between parents 'prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children' (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948), originally to protect against indoctrination by the state, and the child's right to education in 'preparation for responsible life in a free society in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin.' (UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, Art 29).

Concerns about proselysation and indoctrination have taken on added significance since the attacks of 9/11 with considerable attention being focused on the role of madrassas in central and south Asia. Again, there seems to be little consensus about the evidence on links between madrassas and recruitment to international terrorism. According to Grare (2007) the growth of madrassas in Pakistan was partly due to the state's failure to provide basic educational facilities since madrassas do not charge fees, but 'they became the main breeding grounds for sectarianism.'⁵³ The International Crisis Group (ICG) claims that, 'Jihadi extremism is still propagated at radical madrassas in Pakistan',⁵⁴ but there is fierce debate about the number of children who actually attend madrassas and the extent to which any of these religious schools are linked to terrorist activities'.⁵⁵ A study by Billquist and Colbert (2006) found 'little evidence to connect madrassas to transnational terrorism', but they 'do have ties to domestic and regional violence, particularly Sunni-Shia sectarian violence in Pakistan'.⁵⁶

It is clear then that the evidence about the relationship between conflict and faith-based schooling is disputed, heavily context-dependent, and where there are concerns about faith-based schooling in conflict-affected countries there is no conclusive evidence about causality, that is, whether the existence of separate faith-based schools fuels divisions or whether the demand for separate faith-based schools is a consequence of lack of confidence in government, lack of trust between groups within society or fear of assimilation.

Overall, arguments for faith-based schooling tend to emphasize the right of parents to choose the type of school their child attends based on freedom of conscience and belief; a close inter-relationship between church, school and home; the potential for faith-based schools to promote values of tolerance and respect for difference and, in some cases, arguments that faith-based education relieves the state from some of the burden for school provision. Arguments against faith-based schools tend to emphasize that they may reinforce economic and ethnic divisions and that faith development should be the responsibility of the churches not the state.

Despite lack of consensus, the prevalence of debate about faith-based schooling in conflict-affected countries suggests that this is a policy area that requires careful consideration. From a conflict perspective, in any context, it is important to address two key questions about the role of faith-based schools within an education system.

⁵³ Grare, F. (2007) The Evolution of Sectarian Conflicts in Pakistan and the Ever-Changing Face of Islamic Violence, *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 30(1): 127-143.

⁵⁴ International Crisis Group (2004) Unfulfilled Promises: Pakistan's Failure to Tackle Extremism. Asia Report, No. 73.

⁵⁵ Hasan, K. (2005) 'Madrassa enrolment data in Pakistan is 'highly exaggerated': World Bank', Daily Times http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_2-3-2005_pg7_52

⁵⁶ Billquist, D.L. and Colbert, J.M. (2006) *Pakistan, Madrassas, and Militancy*, Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School.

Firstly, what is the relationship between the state and faith-based schools? More specifically, is this relationship likely to be used as a justification for conflict. Policy-related questions include whether the position of the state should be secular, or accepting of faith-based schools.⁵⁷ If faith-based schools exist should they be funded independently, partially funded or fully-funded by the state⁵⁸ and what regulations should governments introduce concerning the registration and operation of faith-based schools? Arrangements for faith-based schools are likely to reflect power relations that exist within any given society, so for example, it may be that the dominant faith in a country will receive funding for its schools, but minority faiths are not permitted to establish their own schools, or do not receive state funding.

Secondly, what is the relationship between faith and teaching in schools? For example, if religious education is part of the school curriculum (even in schools that are not faith-based), is this comprised of religious instruction in a particular faith or a broader education about different religious faiths? What provisions are made for children of other faiths or none? Does the inclusion of religious education in the curriculum affect fair employment and who may be recruited as a teacher in faith-based schools? Do tensions exist for teachers between 'a strong faith commitment to absolutism' and what is taught (epistemology) or how teaching and learning operates (through authoritarian or democratic pedagogies). To what extent do faith-based schools adopt discriminatory practices towards the inclusion of girls? The relevance of these to conflict may be that religiously fundamentalist approaches to education may be more dogmatic and this makes it less likely that children will develop independent thinking and skills of critical enquiry that could provide some protection against indoctrination and conflict arising from religious intransigence.⁵⁹

Key message: Faith-based schools may institutionalize separate development in conflict-affected countries, but they can also play a role in promoting positive values of tolerance and respect for difference.

Civic and citizenship education – defining citizens and their relationship to the state

Another area where education plays an important role in identity formation is citizenship education. In many societies civic or citizenship education is an explicit and formal part of the school curriculum. Gulalp (2006) provides case studies from Europe and the Middle East that address the question of citizenship and ethnic conflict from the foundation of the nation-state, to the current challenges raised by globalization. An examination of six countries (Germany, Greece, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon and Turkey) suggests that ethnic or religious identity lies at the core of the national community, ultimately determining the state's definition and treatment of its citizens.⁶⁰

Forms of citizenship education may range from traditional civics programmes that often take a country's constitution or independence as the starting point to then explain the institutions of government and how they operate. More recently there is also a trend towards enquiry-based curricula that investigate what it means to be a citizen and this approach may be more appropriate in pluralist and conflict-affected societies since it frames citizenship in terms of common rights and responsibilities rather than identity factors such as ethnicity, religion or

⁵⁷ Glenn, L.G. and Berger, P.L. (2000) *The ambiguous embrace: government and faith-based schools and social agencies*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

⁵⁸ Judge, H. (2001) Faith-based schools and state funding: A partial argument. *Oxford Review of Education*, 27, 463-474.

⁵⁹ De Ruyter, D. (2001) Fundamentalist Education: A Critical Analysis, *Religious Education*, 96(2): 193 – 210.

⁶⁰ Gulalp, Haldun (2006) *Citizenship and Ethnic Conflict: Challenging the Nation-State*, Routledge Research in Comparative Politics.

culture.⁶¹ Pedagogies also vary from didactic approaches, often through learning facts from a textbook to more active learning through community-based projects. Even where there is no explicit civics or citizenship programme, other parts of the curriculum such as history and social studies may carry strong messages about the nature of the state. Such messages socialize children about who may be regarded as a citizen, attitudes to various groups and regions within the country and those who come from elsewhere. In addition, the informal curriculum may also carry strong messages about the relationship between peoples within the state and the relationship between the state and its citizens. For example, in many countries education is one of the main ways that citizens are encouraged to develop loyalty to the state through the daily routine of singing the national anthem, raising the national flag, display of leaders' portraits or celebration of national days. Such practices may contribute to a sense of national unity, but can also be particularly problematic in conflict-affected countries, especially where the legitimacy of the state is being challenged. Irrespective of whether citizenship education is explicit or implicit, school curricula also carry messages about the state and militarism, for example, whether conscription exists or if citizens are expected to undertake military service or some other form of national service. A study of citizenship education in Israel and the USA suggests that, at times of war patriotic forms of citizenship dominate in order to secure national unity, whilst democracy and critical debate in the public discourse are constrained.⁶² Another study, however, suggests that more liberal teachers have the greatest impact on the political socialization of Israeli and Palestinian youth through citizenship education.⁶³

The centrality of citizenship education to the formation of national identity means that it is particularly important to consider how citizenship education is functioning in conflict-affected and post-conflict countries and whether it contributes to peacebuilding.⁶⁴ In Rwanda, for example, an attempt is being made to remove ethnicity from the concept of citizenship, 'Conflict and reconciliation in Rwanda are closely tied to the public discourse on citizenship. After independence, the notion of citizenship was employed to divide the polis by reducing citizenship to ethnic Hutu identity, entailing the exclusion of all Tutsi, while today, after the genocide, citizenship is based on 'Rwandanness' and all ethnic references are eradicated in the public discourse.'⁶⁵ Whilst, in post-conflict Northern Ireland where children grow up in communities that define themselves as either British or Irish, the citizenship curriculum focuses less on the concept of one common nationality and more on questions about diversity, equality and human rights within a divided society emerging from violent conflict. A recent evaluation indicated that pupils developed more positive attitudes towards inter-group relations, accompanied by a decline in trust in political institutions.⁶⁶

Two studies by the Open Society Institute claim that, 'lack of citizenship rights generates conflict and undermines democracy in many countries in Africa' based on an analysis of

⁶¹ Smith, A. (2003) Citizenship Education in Northern Ireland: beyond national identity? *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 33(1):15-31.

⁶² Ben-Porath, S.R. (2006) *Citizenship Under Fire. Democratic Education in Times of Conflict*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

⁶³ Ichilov, Orit (2004) *Political Learning and Citizenship Education Under Conflict: The Political Socialization of Israeli and Palestinian Youngsters*, Routledge (Advances in International Relations and Politics).

⁶⁴ Alexander, H., Pinson, H. Yonah, Y. (2010) *Citizenship, Education and Social Conflict*, Routledge.

⁶⁵ Buckley-zistel, Susanne (2006) Dividing and uniting: The use of citizenship discourses in conflict and reconciliation in Rwanda, *Global Society*, 20(1): 101-113.

⁶⁶ O'Connor, U. (2008) *Evaluation of the Pilot Introduction of Education for Local and Global Citizenship into the revised Northern Ireland Curriculum*, Coleraine: University of Ulster.

citizenship laws from all 53 countries in Africa.⁶⁷ Another study on factors that determine democratic attitudes shows ‘a positive impact of education (whatever education) on positive attitudes to democracy’. They also show that in countries having recently experienced violent conflict, the first factor determining democratic attitudes is conviviality, with education second.⁶⁸

From a conflict perspective citizenship education may one way of contributing to peacebuilding that provides protection against conflict, but it depends on the context and the approach that is adopted. A research project funded by DFID involving primary and secondary school children identified ten ways of teaching about conflict through citizenship education. These include active and passive approaches which can involve learning about conflict in negative and positive ways.⁶⁹ Examples of citizenship education programmes that have adopted a positive approach include, Street Law that has developed resources in South Africa and a number of conflict-affected countries⁷⁰; the Humanitarian Law Project which focuses on the rights of children to education at times of conflict; the Right to Education Project.⁷¹

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) is currently undertaking an evaluation of civic and citizenship for thirteen year-olds across 38 countries. Results will be available in 2010.⁷²

Key message: Civic and citizenship education is one way that children and young people learn important messages about who is a citizen of their country, how diversity is viewed and citizenship is inclusive or exclusive. Such programmes also carry important messages about the rights of citizens and their relationship to the state.

4. CURRICULUM CONTENT, PEDAGOGY AND LEARNING RESOURCES

There are many aspects of curriculum that have a bearing on conflict. When curriculum is conceived narrowly as the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next, it may be perceived as an extremely powerful tool to promote particular political ideologies, religious practices or cultural values and traditions. The contemporary trend in many countries is to ‘modernise’ the curriculum so that it is defined in terms of ‘learning outcomes’ where learning outcomes refer to skills, attitudes and values as well as factual knowledge. This may include the development of ‘generic skills’ such as communication skills, the ability to draw on multiple sources of information and evaluate conflicting evidence, the development of media literacy, critical thinking and moral development (EFA, 2003). Within international development settings there is a particular emphasis on ‘life skills’ as a means of providing child protection, social and health education (id21, 2004;

⁶⁷ Manby, Bronwen (2009) *Struggles for Citizenship in Africa*, Zed Books

Open Society (2009) *Citizenship Law in Africa*, Open Society Justice Initiative & AfriMAP
http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice/focus/equality_citizenship/news/citizenship_20091021

⁶⁸ Hanf, T. and Bauerle, P. (2009) *Factors Determining Democratic Attitudes in Deeply Divided Societies*, Beirut: American University Beirut.

⁶⁹ Davies, L. (2005) Teaching about Conflict through Citizenship Education, *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 1(2): 17-34.

⁷⁰ Street Law <http://www.streetlaw.org/en/ProgramType.3.aspx>

⁷¹ Right to Education Project <http://www.right-to-education.org/>

⁷² <http://www.iea.nl/icces.html>

INEE, 2004) and the argument is that these are the type of skills that are also helpful for peace-building (UNICEF, 2005). Every area of the curriculum carries values with the potential to communicate implicit and explicit political messages. Language, literature, history, geography and the place of culture and religion are just some of the areas that often get drawn into controversy. Such areas are sometimes referred to as ‘national subjects’, in many instances tightly controlled by governments and regarded as essential tools for nation building. UNESCO International Bureau for Education (IBE) comparative research on curriculum reform processes in seven conflict-affected countries (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Guatemala, Lebanon, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Sri Lanka)⁷³ and the findings illustrate a range of educational issues that can become implicated in conflict. In terms of basic education, curriculum is a combination of specifying learning (curriculum), pedagogy (teaching methods) and resources. One of the reasons for concentrating on these three is that they are normally a central part of education reform processes for which member states of the World Bank request funding. Often three key ingredients of any education reform proposal are to “modernize” the curriculum, to replace existing textbooks, and to improve the quality of teaching through improved teaching methods and investment in teacher education. Some of the most important aspects from a conflict perspective are:

Type of curriculum. Syllabus-based curricula vrs learning outcomes. Education reforms that promote a change from content-based syllabi to a “learning outcomes” model have significant implications for learning resources. Drawing on a variety of texts and incorporating the use of different media and new technologies may contribute toward the development of multiple perspectives. On the other hand, these particular reforms have an economic cost, and this broader approach requires different skills from the teacher than simply teaching from a textbook. The question is whether learning is for compliance or to produce critical, questioning minds.

How history is taught. The teaching of history is an important concern in relation to conflict. Issues include epistemological issues about the impact on conflict of single narrative histories versus multiple perspectives approaches. This is also bound up in issues of whether education systems are driven by content and syllabuses or by skills and learning outcomes. There is a considerable literature on this, including initiatives such as Facing History and Ourselves⁷⁴ and from the Council of Europe and Euroclio with practical experience of projects in conflict-affected countries such as Cyprus, Rwanda, Eastern European countries.⁷⁵

Textbooks. In contested societies, arguments over *textbook content* can become cultural and ideological “battlegrounds.” For example, the critique that education reconstruction in Afghanistan is rebuilding schools, but doing little to address attitudes of intolerance in school textbooks that have been reprinted using international development assistance⁷⁶; For example, part of the education reforms in Bosnia has involved the removal of “offensive material” from history textbooks.⁷⁷ Such a process necessarily raises sensitive issues about the judgment of what might be considered offensive and by whom, about who should be

⁷³ Tawil, S. and Harley, A. (eds) (2004) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*, UNESCO-IBE, Geneva.

⁷⁴ Facing History and Ourselves <http://www.facinghistory.org/>

⁷⁵ European Association of History Educators (Euroclio) <http://www.euroclio.eu/site/index.php>

⁷⁶ Spink, J. (2005) Education and politics in Afghanistan: the importance of an education system in peacebuilding and reconstruction, *Journal of Peace Education*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Sept 2005, pp. 195–207

⁷⁷ See, for example, an overview of UNESCO’s role in the revision and review of textbooks and learning materials at http://www1.worldbank.org/education/social_cohesion/doc/unesco%20OVERVIEW-%20WB%20meeting-March%2003.pdf

involved in such a process, and how it is implemented. Textbook review processes have a long history. For example, there were joint initiatives on French-German textbooks during the 1920s; German-Polish cooperation following the Second World War; a US-Soviet textbook project in the 1970s; more recently China and Korea have raised concerns about the treatment of WWII in Japanese textbooks;⁷⁸ and a project reviewing Palestinian and Israeli projects has been underway for some years. The operation of a *single textbook policy* may offer a Ministry of Education a way of guaranteeing a 'minimum entitlement for all pupils to basic learning resources, particularly important in low-income countries and where equal access needs to be demonstrated. However, questions may also arise about who controls or benefits from the production of textbooks and about their content. The production of *single textbooks for different linguistic communities* also can present difficulties. For example, textbooks produced by Sinhalese authors in Sri Lanka were translated to produce copies for Tamil pupils. However, the Tamil Teachers' Union identified inaccuracies in the translated versions and claimed cultural bias in some of the illustrations and content matter. This led to demands for greater involvement of Tamil authors in textbook production.

The role of 'peace education'. Definitions and forms of 'peace education' place different emphases on non-violent 'conflict resolution' and 'conflict transformation'.⁷⁹ Many approaches to peace education draw heavily on social psychology and the intergroup 'contact hypothesis. Salomon (2003) found 'A series of quasi-experimental studies carried out with Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian youngsters revealed that despite the ongoing violence, participation in various programs yield positive attitudinal, perceptual and relational changes manifested in, for example, more positive views of "peace," better ability to see the other side's perspective, and greater willingness for contact. These changes depend on participants' initial political views, thus, as found in one study, play an attitude-reinforcing function, but, as found in another study, prevent the worsening of perceptions of and attribution to the other side, thus serving in a preventive capacity.⁸⁰ However, Bekerman (2010) cautions against over-optimism about the impact of intergroup contact unless it also engages with deeper issues of identity and historical inequalities in power relations.⁸¹ Perhaps the most influential ideas of relevance to the contribution of education to peacebuilding come from Galtung (1990) who draws an important distinction between negative peace (the cessation of violence) and positive peace (structural changes to address social injustices that may be a cause of violence).⁸² Lederach has built on these ideas in terms of importance of working simultaneously at policy, community and grassroots levels to achieve sustainable peace.⁸³ This suggests that the most effective forms of peace education are multilevel and go beyond interpersonal and intergroup encounter, but also address underlying causes and structural inequalities that can fuel conflict within societies.

⁷⁸ Höpken, W. (2003) Textbooks and Conflicts. Experiences from the Work of the Georg-Eckert-Institute for International Textbook Research (World Bank Workshop, March 24 -26th, Washington D.C.)

⁷⁹ Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. (2002) *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*, Blackwell.

Salomon, G. (2004) Comment: what is peace education?, *Journal of Peace Education* 1 (1) , pp. 123–124.

⁸⁰ Salomon, G. (2003) Does Peace Education Make a Difference in the Context of an Intractable Conflict? University of Haifa, Center for Research on Peace Education.

⁸¹ Bekerman, Zvi (in print) 'Coexistence Education' to be published in *Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology* Daniel J. Christie (Ed), Wiley-Blackwell

⁸² Galtung, J. (1990) Cultural violence. *Journal of peace research*, 27(3), 291-305.

⁸³ Lederach, J.P. (1997) *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press.

BOX

INVESTING IN PEACEBUILDING THROUGH EDUCATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

The Republic of Ireland was established in 1921, but the island partitioned. The northern part remained part of the UK governed by a majority of Protestants loyal to Britain, but also included a significant minority of Irish Catholics. Discrimination in housing, employment and voting rights led to economic and social inequalities. A violent conflict arose from the late 1960s and more than 3,600 people were killed and 30,000 injured as part of 'the Troubles'. Eventually, cease fires led to a peace agreement in 1998 that involved recognition of the right of citizens to be British or Irish or both. New political institutions were created for devolved government by local politicians; and a range of confidence building measures such as disarmament and demilitarization, reforms to policing and justice, release of prisoners and support for victims and survivors. The education system is relatively small and serves almost one-third of a million children, but the education system is divided with more than 90% of Catholic and Protestant children attending separate schools. Education was never regarded as the cause of the conflict, but from the outset there were concerns about the impact of segregation and violent conflict on children and young people and education was regarded as one way of contributing to peacebuilding. A range of initiatives emerged:

- *Equality issues.* A review of fair employment legislation indicated that Catholics were twice as likely to be unemployed as Protestants.⁸⁴ Research found that a higher proportion of Catholics left school with poor qualifications⁸⁵, that more Protestants choose scientific subjects at school and university⁸⁶. This led to changes in policy for more equitable funding between Catholic and Protestant schools.
- *Inter group contact.* Teachers initiated 'cross community contact' programmes to bring Catholic and Protestant young people together. These increased over the years, and eventually received formal Government funding of £1m per year. Research has shown that 40% of primary and 60% of secondary schools were involved, but this still means that only 10% of all school children are actually involved. There were mixed reactions, including accusations of social engineering, but they were supported by the majority of parents from both communities. These high levels of support seemed to reflect parents' aspirations that, unlike themselves, their own children should have more opportunities to mix across community divisions.
- *Integrated education.* From the early 1980s, small numbers of parent groups have been involved in the establishment of planned, integrated schools in which Protestant and Catholic children are educated together. The first school opened in Belfast in 1981 and by September 2009 there were 61 integrated schools with a total of about 20,000, but this still represents only 6% of all school children. The movement came about through voluntary integration rather than compulsory desegregation and opinion polls in 2008 indicate that 84% of the general population believe that integrated education is important to the peace and reconciliation process in Northern Ireland (NICIE). A recent report estimated the economic costs of segregation as £1.5bn spent annually to run a divided society, including a significant amount on separate schooling.¹
- *Curriculum changes.* There have been changes to the curriculum during and after the conflict. These involved the inclusion of British and Irish history taught from multiple perspectives; the introduction of a common curriculum for all schools with a common syllabus for religious education; and 'Education for Mutual Understanding' (EMU) to enable pupils 'to respect and value themselves and others; to appreciate the interdependence of people within society; to know about their own and other cultural traditions; to appreciate how conflict may be handled in non-violent ways'.
- *Citizenship education based on human rights.* The signing of a peace agreement in 1998 created new challenges in terms of a transformation from political violence to democratic politics and educating children about their rights and responsibilities. A new citizenship curriculum involves four areas of enquiry (Diversity and inclusion; Equality and justice; Human rights and social responsibilities; and Democracy and active participation). This was piloted in schools over a number of years alongside investments in teacher education and introduced as a requirement for all schools from 2008.

⁸⁴ Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights (SACHR, 1987)

⁸⁵ Osborne, 1986; Cormack, Gallagher, Osborne and Fisher, 1992

⁸⁶ Cormack and Osborne, 1987

- *Truth and reconciliation.* Northern Ireland has not established a formal truth and reconciliation commission, but a Consultative Group on The Past (2009) recommended that education programmes be developed ‘which inform young people, in a balanced way, about the nature and impact of the conflict’. More than a decade after the peace agreement there are no longer any schoolchildren with direct experience of the violent conflict, but the society still faces the challenge of how to deal with the legacies of the past and explain the conflict to new generations.

BOX ENDS

5. TEACHERS AND TEACHER EDUCATION - the key to improving quality

Teachers are probably the single most important factor in mediating the curriculum and the values it conveys. Research has shown that teacher quality is the key resource that determines achievement (Darling-Hammond, 1999), but also a threatened resource in conflict-affected countries. Factors related to teachers that may have a bearing on the extent to which education can be a positive force in conflict-affected countries include:

- *Status of teaching within a society.* The status of teachers may be related to factors such as entry qualifications, rates of pay, and terms and conditions of employment. These factors will affect morale and motivation as well as the prospects of retaining teachers in conflict-affected countries and in rebuilding capacity as part of post-conflict reconstruction. INEE has developed important ‘Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-Crisis Recovery’,⁸⁷ and the UNESCO IIEP provides guidance.⁸⁸
- *Diversity-sensitive recruitment and deployment policies.* These include ensuring an adequate recruitment of male and female teachers from different ethnic groups and an adequate supply of teachers to provide education to different groups in their first languages. Often incentives encourage the deployment of teachers in rural areas, for example, through the provision of housing.
- *The quality of initial teacher education and type of training.* An often-neglected aspect of overall development within an education system. A related issue is whether it is helpful to provide teacher education through separate, faith-, or language-based institutions. The extent to which teachers are trained in the basics of human rights education, and the extent to which personal values and perspectives are challenged may be important.

Other issues to consider include the role of teachers also in political socialization. Bar-Tal and Harel (2002) researched 866 high school students in the three main cities of Israel were asked to identify those teachers who influenced their political attitudes. The most influential teachers hold more progressive, democratic, dovish and Zionist attitudes than the noninfluential teachers, support more political education and tend to be more aware of and involved in politics⁸⁹ Teachers may be part of post-conflict peace building and there is a need

⁸⁷ http://ineesite.org/uploads/documents/store/doc_1_INEE_Guidance_Notes_on_Teacher_CompensationPiloting.pdf

⁸⁸ International Institute for Educational Planning (2006) ‘Identification, Selection and Recruitment of Teachers and Education Workers’, Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction, Paris: IIEP-UNESCO.

⁸⁹ Bar-Tal, D. and Harel, A.S. (2002) Teachers as agents of political influence in the Israeli high schools, *Teaching and Teacher Education* 18, 121–134

for professional development that sensitises teachers to their own values and strategies for the discussion of controversial issues.⁹⁰

Key message: Teachers are the most important factor in determining the quality of learning. They also impart values, model behaviour and play an important role in socialization. Teacher recruitment and training needs to include ‘conflict-sensitivity’.

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of education programming in conflict-affected countries indicates a range of interventions at three broad levels: service delivery; education sector reform; and the contribution of education to broader social transformation processes.

Service delivery. The most common forms of programmes relate to *access* and *quality* of education. Initiatives to improve access to education are often a key feature of post-conflict recovery. These can provide an early ‘peace dividend’ through the reconstruction and return to normal functioning of the education system. However, attention to access can also serve as an important preventative strategy before, during and after conflict by addressing inequalities that may exacerbate grievances between groups within society. There are also a range of factors related to the quality and type of education provision that are of particular significance for ‘conflict sensitivity’. Most commonly cited are aspects of education related to identity formation, for example, language of instruction, religious education (where present) and areas of the curriculum such as the contribution of civic and citizenship education and the teaching of history to the development of national identity. The inclusion of human rights education, explicitly or implicitly, is also cited as an important indicator of the values that the education system communicates to new generations of children and young people. Human rights education may be provided in various ways, from whole-school approaches (e.g. rights respecting schools), to programmes with labels such as ‘peace education’, ‘intercultural education’ or ‘life skills’. It should be noted that the empirical evidence for the impact of education programmes on peacebuilding is weak. This is partly due to the absence of impact evaluations and the methodological difficulty of measuring and controlling for long-term outputs from education interventions. However, the literature shows a recurrence of similar challenges in many different contexts affected by conflict (low, middle and high income countries), so their prevalence may be an indication that such issues merit particular attention in conflict-affected societies.

Education sector reform. Another contribution to peacebuilding is represented by attempts at education sector reform, both as a means of conflict prevention and as part of post-conflict transformation. There are a number of limitations if only a ‘service delivery’ approach is adopted in situations of conflict. Firstly, it is likely to lead to a fragmented approach comprised of disparate programmes with varying degrees of conflict-sensitivity, some ‘doing no harm’, but others potentially exacerbating conflict. Secondly, there is growing awareness amongst donors that a purely technical approach to programming is insufficient in the political environments present in situations of conflict. This has led to more emphasis on the need for political economy analysis (PEA) of the education sector. ‘There is increasing recognition that blockages for effective reform at the sectoral level (including for delivery, planning and procurement) can be political and that technical solutions alone may not be

⁹⁰ Montgomery, A. and McGlynn, C. (2009) New peace, new teachers: Student teachers’ perspectives of diversity and community relations in Northern Ireland, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 25: 391–399.

enough. Governance of a sector, and the way in which politics and institutions interact within that sector, will in practice have a critical impact on sector policies and services'.⁹¹ A number of agencies have now developed tools for PEA that could lead to more 'joined up' thinking about conflict-sensitive programming within the education sector.⁹² Thirdly, there has been a recognition of the need to develop alternative service delivery mechanisms in the most difficult conflict environments where government is not always able or willing to provide education for all. Such situations affect the most difficult to reach populations of children and young people that will be necessary to achieve the MDGs related to education. Fourthly, programmes directed towards education sector reform may contribute towards broader social transformations, particularly in post-conflict situations where opportunities arise to raise questions about the extent to which the education system will simply reproduce previous structures and unequal power relations. Early engagement with this issue may be particularly important, since the window of opportunity to initiate change in the immediate post-conflict period may be limited and the new UN peacebuilding architecture may have an important role in 'seeding' such work even in the early post-conflict phase (see below). Overall, the main advantage of a sectoral approach is the potential to effect systemic change, rather than rely on individual programmes or single entry points. Entry points may range from initiatives related to governance, control and administration of the education system; to education policies related to the structure of schooling and identity factors such as language, faith and citizenship; as well as practice issues involving the curriculum and the recruitment, deployment and professional development of teachers. Individually these may have little impact on the dynamics of conflict, but collectively they may support peacebuilding if they help secure the confidence of all parties to the conflict.

Contributing to broader social transformation. There are two main aspects to this. One is the extent to which education itself is the means of responding to immediate impacts of conflict, for example, through the provision of education for refugees or internally displaced persons in the midst of conflict. Another example is the provision of 'catch up' or accelerated learning programmes as part of Demobilization Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) in the post-conflict phase. Both of these aspects of education programming may be of limited duration and affect only certain sections of the population. However, education may also play a direct role in longer-term development processes related to dealing with the legacies of conflict and there has been a growing literature about the role of education in truth, reconciliation and transitional justice processes. An aspect that has received less attention in the literature is the contribution that education can make to broader social transformations and reform processes in other sectors, particularly in the post-conflict period. The potential for education to contribute to other reform processes includes, but extends beyond basic and formal education. Account needs to be taken of youth and community education and the role of higher education, for example in the education and accreditation of a range of professionals across all sectors of society. UN peacebuilding tends to prioritise security, political and economic reforms in the early post-conflict period and education does have a role in contributing to such processes. For example, through the inclusion of human rights education as part of police training or reforms to the administration of justice system. The education system at all levels also has an important

⁹¹ Foresti, M. and Wild, L. (2009) 'Analysing governance and political economy in sectors – joint donor workshop report', London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
<http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/details.asp?id=4665&title=governance-political-economy-workshop-report#downloads>

⁹² See for example, DFID (2009) *Political Economy Analysis. A Practice Paper*, London; and Fritz, Kaiser and Levy (2009) *Problem Driven Governance and Political Economy Analysis*, The World Bank.

role to play in underpinning values of non-violence through schooling and within the broader society. The reform of political institutions and the move towards elections also creates a rationale to address these issues with children and young people as part of civic and citizenship education. Programmes that involve technical and vocational education with children and young people also need to be aligned and consistent with the vision for post-conflict economic development within broader society, otherwise the skills being developed through the education system may be inappropriate or irrelevant to the new economy. However, the research literature also suggests that it is a mistake to ignore the role of social programming, particularly education, in the early post-conflict period.⁹³ Even when security, political and economic reforms have been addressed, in many conflict-affected situations, underlying causes may still need to be addressed. There will also be the need for education that addresses deep-seated social and cultural issues such as the freedom of the media, or influence of religion on state institutions. An added benefit of addressing these issues with children and young people is the impact they can have on their parents.

A shift from 'conflict-sensitivity' to 'peacebuilding'. The past decade has seen an increased awareness of the 'two faces' of education and how education may exacerbate or ameliorate conflict. Whilst this has highlighted the need for 'conflict-sensitivity' in education programming, it has tended to emphasize potentially negative effects and there is an understandable desire from those working in the field to identify how education may also make a positive contribution to peacebuilding.⁹⁴ This raises a number of questions about the way that education might engage more strongly with the UN peacebuilding architecture. These are summarised as follows:

- Newer features of the UN peacebuilding architecture emphasise the immediate post-conflict phase. The UN Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) only has a funding window of 2-3 years in immediate post-conflict period. The priority areas funded to date have been related to macro reforms. Social programming 'peace dividends' do not receive as much priority in these early stages as security, political and economic sector reforms. Yet the potential for peace to be sustained in the longer term may be heavily dependent on education as a key tool to address social and cultural tensions.
- There has been renewed focus on peacebuilding following the UN Secretary General's call for the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) and the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) in 2006. From 2006 until February 2009 the PBF received pledges from 45 donors amounting to \$319.3 million and is currently supporting more than 100 projects in 15 countries.⁹⁵ Its mission is to 'address immediate needs in countries emerging from conflict at a time when sufficient resources are not available from other funding mechanisms and to support interventions of direct and immediate relevance to the peacebuilding process'.⁹⁶ It further states that 'the use of PBF resources is meant to catalyze and encourage longer term engagements by development agencies and bilateral donors'.

⁹³ Collier, Paris

⁹⁴ To some extent this mirrors Galtung's distinction between negative peace (absence of violence) and positive peace (structural changes and transformed social relations).

⁹⁵ Burundi, Central African Republic, Comoro, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Haiti, Kenya, Liberia, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Timor Leste,

⁹⁶ <http://www.unpbf.org/mission.shtml>

- The PBF also provides an opportunity to bridge the humanitarian-gap since its remit includes the possibility of ‘seeding’ longer term processes necessary for sustainable peace. OECD/DAC principles suggest that early and sustained engagement is crucial in conflict-affected contexts. Opportunities may therefore exist to access PBF funding for education programming that identifies, anticipates and initiates longer term education programmes in the humanitarian phase that could be carried through as the humanitarian or immediate post-conflict period ends.
- These new opportunities also raise critical questions for development partners, particularly those with UN mandates. Firstly, is how to operate where there are integrated UN missions; secondly, how those with specific mandates for children (UNICEF) and education (UNESCO) may develop complementary and coordinated approaches to peacebuilding. This needs more thought but should take account of the comparative advantages of different organisations (e.g. UNESCO has good access to Ministries of Education and sets norms and standards for education; UNICEF has a strong field presence and is operational before, during and after conflicts).

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