Think piece prepared for the
Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011

The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education

Education and Conflict

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EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011: Education and Conflict

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The purpose of this paper is to share some initial ideas about education and conflict that could be developed for the 2011 GMR. The paper has three main parts. The first part identifies some issues around rationale and concepts related to education and conflict.

The second part argues that to stand any chance of making a real impact on *access* to schooling in conflict affected countries we need to take the DAC Principles more seriously by applying context specific analysis and programmatic approaches in those conflict affected countries with the highest numbers of out of school children. This means more differentiation between different types of contemporary conflict and the challenges they pose; deeper analysis of contextual factors that prevent access to education; and an emphasis on effective strategies to address the impacts of conflict on education provision.

The third part of the paper places an emphasis on the impacts of education (how it is provided, the values it transmits) on the dynamics of conflict. This section is therefore more concerned about *quality* of education and, from a conflict perspective, highlights the key role that education plays in identity formation which may make it potentially either an instrument for peaceful development or a means of reinforcing intolerance. The argument is that, from a peace-building and preventative point of view, we need to be aiming for 'conflict-sensitive' education systems.

1. SOME CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

The importance of education to human development is emphasised by its central place in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)[1] and Education for All (EFA)[2] aimed at securing primary education for all children by the year 2015. There are many impediments to the achievement of universal primary education. These include lack of political will or lack of priority to education on the part of national governments such as, insufficient spending as a percentage of GNP or inequitable distribution of funding and resources. Significant barriers to education, particularly within developing countries, include poverty, child labour, distance from school, unequal access due to gender or cultural factors and the existence of conflict. 'The number of out-of-school primary-age children in the world has fallen in recent years, but the situation in conflict-affected countries has seen little improvement. These countries are home to only 13% of the world's population, yet half of all the children out of school (37 million out of 72 million children) live there yet they receive less than one-fifth of education aid.'[3]

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[1] See Millennium Development Goals (MDG) http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals
[2] See Education for All (EFA) http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/index.shtml
[3] International Save the Children Alliance (2006) *Rewrite the Future: Education for Children in Conflict-affected Countries*. London. It is worth noting that the figures on the website differ from the 2006 report which puts the number of conflict-affected out-of-school children worldwide at 43 million... (the figure according to the website is 39,201,000) – figures need updated.

Over the last decade there has been increasing global awareness of the impact of conflict on education systems and the importance of education for children and youth as part of post conflict reconstruction. Child protection and child rights advocates have placed issues related to children and conflict on the international agenda. In emergencies, conflict, post-conflict, and fragile states, education may offer immediate protection benefits for girls and boys. It can provide a physically safe space for learning and psychosocial development, interaction with peers and trusted adults, and opportunities to receive food and medical attention. Education can mitigate the psychosocial impact of conflict by creating stability, structure, and hope for the future. Furthermore, critical information and problem-solving skills may protect children and youth from exploitation and harm, abduction, child soldiering, and sexual and gender-based violence. HIV/AIDS prevention, landmine safety and peace building education can also provide lifesaving information. Education that promotes the rights and responsibilities of children, especially participation and active citizenship, can provide long-term benefits for society.

However, education may also be perceived as a powerful tool for ideological development. This can take many forms, including the use of education in nation building and in extreme cases, political indoctrination. Education is also a means by which social and cultural values are transmitted from generation to generation and depending on the values concerned, these may convey negative stereotypes or encourage attitudes that explicitly or implicitly condone violence or generate conflict. Research by Bush and Salterelli[4] has documented how education may become 'part of the problem as well as part of the solution', for example, through segregated education that maintains inequality between groups, unequal access to education or the manipulation of history and textbooks. A growing number of studies highlight aspects of education that have implications for conflict (Smith & Vaux, 2003; Tawil & Harley, 2004; Buckland, 2004) and this has opened up debate about coordination and the role of international development agencies (Sommers, 2004; Seitz 2004).

Globally, humanitarian aid and development assistance for education as part of post-conflict reconstruction is provided within the framework of two international agreements to guide policy. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) commits donor countries to work so that their actions are more harmonized, transparent and collectively effective.[5] The OECD DAC Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States (2007) [6] emphasise the need to:

1. Take context as the starting point
2. Ensure all activities 'do no harm'
3. Focus on state building as the central objective
4. Prioritise prevention

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[4] Bush, K.D., and D Saltarelli (2000) *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict.* Florence, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre. www.unicef-icdc.org/publications/pdf/insight4.pdf
[5] The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005)
http://www.oecd.org/document/18/0,3343,en_2649_3236398_35401554_1_1_1_1,00.html
[6] DAC Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations
http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/43/48/38293448.pdf

5. Recognise the links between political, security and development objectives
6. Promote non discrimination as a basis for inclusive and stable societies
7. Align with local priorities in different ways and in different contexts
8. Agree on practical co-ordination mechanisms between international actors
9. Act fast… but stay engaged long enough to give success a chance
10. Avoid pockets of exclusion ("aid orphans") [7]

Unfortunately, the reality of aid and development assistance in many conflict situations is often one of uncoordinated support from multiple agencies and the principle that international assistance should 'do no harm' is called into question. 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 assistance[8]; and an assessment of education reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that suggests that support for separate schooling and curricula is reinforcing the concept that the children of BiH are three separate peoples and therefore poses a threat to statebuilding and future security in the region.[9] This is of particular concern when taken alongside research that suggests that conflict is one of the main barriers to development, reducing economic growth by about 2.3 per cent per year, and that forty percent of the countries that have experienced civil conflict will relapse into conflict again within 10 years.[10]

Symptoms or causes – a key organizing principle for the GMR report?
It may be worth considering organising the GMR report in a way that makes a strong distinction between the impact of conflict on education (consequences such as denial of access, destruction of infrastructure and reduction of teaching capacity etc) and the impact of education on conflict (political influences on the education system, inequalities in provision and outcomes, implications of separate education and nationalistic curricula).

The impacts of conflict on education may have significant implications for access; impacts of education on conflict mainly have implications for the quality and type of education provided. The former calls for more effort in contextualised conflict analysis and differentiated programming, but raises the question about whether it is only the consequences of conflict being addressed rather than underlying causes. Programmes to address impacts of conflict on education are of course important in terms of humanitarian response, but they are likely to be limited in terms of their impact on the dynamics of conflict itself.

The impact of education on conflict is more subtle. It involves consideration of the quality of education in terms of its ideological orientation, values, content and processes. For this

[7] OECD-DAC Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States (2007)
http://www.oecd.org/document/12/0,3343,en_2649_33693550_42113676_1_1_1_1,00.html
[8] 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
[9] Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) http://www.oscebih.org/education/?d=2
[10] Collier, P. and A. Hoeffler (2004) Aid, Policy and Growth in Post-Conflict Societies, *European Economic Review,* 48, pp. 1125-45.

reason it is more likely to be neglected and sensitive since it raises questions about the nature and content of national education provision.

It is likely to take a more developmental approach that reflects Article 29 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) that the aims of education involve: '…the preparation of the child 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.' This was also acknowledged in the third EFA Global Monitoring Report (2005) which stated, 'Although most human rights legislation focuses upon access to education and is comparatively silent about its quality, the Convention on the Rights of the Child is an important exception. It expresses strong, detailed commitments about the aims of education. These commitments, in turn, have implications for the content and quality of education.'

There are two main dilemmas about a 'cause or effect' approach to education and conflict. One is that causal relationships are extremely difficult to establish (for example, it could be argued that segregated schooling is both a consequence of lack of trust between groups in conflict and also a reason why stereotypes that fuel conflict are perpetuated).[11] The other main difficulty is that current governance arrangements for international development assistance mean that it is difficult for donor organisations to become too closely involved in the analysis of education provision within member states since this is seen as encroaching on national sovereignty. One consequence of this is the sort of distinction put forward by Goodhand (2001) which suggests that international development agencies choose to work 'around conflict' by regarding conflict as an impediment to be avoided rather than addressed; to work 'in conflict' by acknowledging that development assistance cannot be suspended until conflict has been resolved; or to work 'on conflict' by including specific programmes on conflict prevention and to address underlying causes.

Is it useful to link conflict and fragility?
A significant development in recent years has been the emergence of a discourse that refers to 'conflict-affected and fragile states'. Whilst this may open up possibilities for donors to prioritise and provide more funding for conflict-affected countries, not all fragile states experience conflict and there is a stigma attached to this form of categorisation. The World Bank's list of 34 fragile states only involves low-income countries scoring 3.2 and below on the Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA)[12], whilst the OECD-DAC identifies an 'unofficial' list of 48 'fragile and conflict-affected countries'.[13] Save the Children used a similar methodology to identify 28 'conflict-affected and fragile states'[14]

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[11] There are different literatures on segregated schooling. Of particular relevance may be the work of Green, Preston and Janmaat (2006) who use a cross-national comparative approach (quantitative and qualitative) 'to develop a 'distributional' model of education effects on social cohesion' across OECD countries, but work has yet to be undertaken to look specifically at the effects of segregated education systems on social cohesion.
[12] World Bank list of Fragile States (2007) http://go.worldbank.org/HCP9BFLFL0
[13] OECD-DAC (2007) 'unofficial' list of fragile and conflict-affected countries http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/50/30/42463929.pdf
[14] Save The Children (2007) *Last in Line, Last in School: How Donors are Failing Children in Conflict-affected Fragile States*. London identifies these as Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Republic of the Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea,

An alternative is to take only a conflict perspective, irrespective of development status. Project Ploughshares produces an annual report on armed conflict, defined as a political conflict in which in which armed combat involves the armed forces of at least one state or armed factions attempting to gain control of the state in which at least 1,000 people have been killed during the course of the conflict. Ploughshares provides 'a simple typology of modern intrastate armed conflict based on three overlapping types: state control, state formation, and state failure':

State control wars centre on struggles for control of the governing apparatus of the state. State control struggles have typically been driven by ideologically defined revolutionary movements, decolonization campaigns or simply as a mechanism for the transfer of power from one set of elites to another. In some instances, communal or ethnic interests are significant to the fight to transfer power, and in other instances religion becomes a defining feature of the conflict.

State formation conflicts centre on the form or shape of the state itself and generally involve particular regions of a country fighting for a greater measure of autonomy or for outright secession -- or for the right to decide in a fair and binding referendum whether or not to secede. Communal or ethnic interests are usually central to struggles for regional autonomy or secession, and in some instances religion also becomes a defining feature of the conflict.

http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/ACRText/ACR-TypesofWar.htm

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The most recent Ploughshares report states that, '2007 saw an increase in armed conflicts from 29 to 30, with two added to the report and one removed. The number of countries involved increased from 25 to 26'.[15] It also identifies 27 'recently ended conflicts', but this does not include conflicts that ended over a decade ago, but may still have implications for education (most notably in the Balkans). However, the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, International Peace Research Institute (UCDP/PRIO) has the added advantage of providing an historical perspective with an online database on wars (involving 1,000 fatalities), armed conflicts (with an annual threshold of 25 fatalities) and non-state conflicts that includes data since 1946.[16]

The first three (World Bank, OECD and Save the Children) concentrate on low-income countries, which implies a link between poverty and conflict.[17] The others (Ploughshares and Uppsala) focus primarily on the impact of violent conflict and therefore include

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Ethiopia, Guinea, Haiti, Iraq, Liberia, Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Timor Leste, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

[15] Project Ploughshares Annual Report 2008 http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/ACRText/Summary2007.pdf
Africa Algeria, Burundi, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, DRC, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Sudan-Darfur, Uganda. *Asia* Afghanistan, Burma (Myanmar), India-Kashmir, India-Maoist insurgency, India-Northeast, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines CPP/NPA, Philippines-Mindanao, Sri Lanka, Thailand. *Europe* Russia-Chechnya. *The Americas* Colombia, Haiti. *Middle East* Iraq, Israel-Palestine, Turkey, Yemen.

[16] Uppsala Conflict Data Program http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Armed-Conflict/UCDP-PRIO/

[17] This is supported by Collier, P. (2008) *The Bottom Billion,* Oxford University Press (p.17) who states that '73% of people in the societies of the bottom billion have recently been through a civil war or are still in one', but this does not account for the prevalence of violent conflict in relatively more affluent societies of Europe.

possibilities for comparison between high and low income countries, but do not necessarily include 'low level' conflicts where there is civil conflict and the level of casualties do not reach the threshold for inclusion. Some thought also needs to be given to societies in a 'post-conflict' period, for example, those that have ceasefire or peace agreement that has lasted for a number of years, but the legacies of conflict still have implications for education.[18]

Becoming more context-specific about children in conflict affected countries
Irrespective of the particular methodology for categorizing countries, a main challenge for the GMR report will be to look below the headline figures about children out of school in conflict-affected countries and highlight what these mean in terms of practical development challenges. It may be useful to distinguish between three broad groupings:

- Conflict-affected and fragile states where the combination of poverty and conflict appears to be most potent with the highest concentrations of out of school children.

- Middle and high income countries affected by conflict (work would need to be done on identifying these countries by comparing WB to Ploughshares and Uppsala, but it would have the advantage of identifying challenges even where poverty is not the main problem).

- Post-conflict contexts where (within, for example the past 10 years) there have been peace-agreements or political transitions, but education still seems to be implicated in the dynamics of conflict (for example, through institutional arrangements, addressing continuing inequalities or dealing with conflict history and past events). Important to note that it is not a simple, linear progression from conflict to post-conflict and there may be recurrence of conflict and returns to violence for many years following peace agreements.

One of the benefits of the Save the Children data is that in development terms it does highlight the prevalence of conflict in low income countries and where out of school children in conflict-affected countries are concentrated (see below). One way of building on this data would be to begin to update it and further identify the conflict-affected countries with most children out of school and then undertake more specific analysis of the nature of conflict in these countries and what are its main impacts on education. If the GMR decides to concentrate on conflict and fragility then it would focus on the following countries:

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[18] An indicative list might be Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, El Salvador, Georgia, Guatemala, Jordan, Kosovo, Lebanon, Liberia, Northern Ireland, Sierra Leone, Timor Leste.

Conflict-affected and fragile states listed by out-of-school children (most to least) and percentage of out-of-school children who are girls (highest to lowest) [19]

Conflict-Affected and Fragile States	Children Out-of-School TOTAL	Conflict-Affected and Fragile States	Out-of-School Children who are Girls
Nigeria	8,097,000	Iraq	78%
Pakistan	6,821,000	Afghanistan	66%
DRC	5,203,000	Nepal	62%
Ethiopia	3,721,000	Pakistan	60%
Sudan	2,798,000	Guinea	59%
Afghanistan	1,816,000	Central African Republic	57%
Somalia	1,280,000	Nigeria	56%
Chad	1,186,000	Cote d'Ivoire	56%
Uganda	1,168,000	Ethiopia	55%
Cote d'Ivoire	1,164,000	Chad	54%
Angola	824,000	Cambodia	54%
Haiti	706,000	DRC	53%
Nepal	702,000	Burundi	53%
Myanmar	697,000	Eritrea	53%
Iraq	508,000	Congo	53%
Guinea	389,000	Sudan	51%
Central African Republic	375,000	Somalia	51%
Colombia	367,000	Uganda	51%
Liberia	356,000	Timor Leste	51%
Burundi	324,000	Angola	50%
Eritrea	308,000	Liberia	50%
Rwanda	303,000	Sierra Leone	50%
Sierra Leone	285,000	Sri Lanka	50%
Zimbabwe	281,000	Colombia	48%
Congo	243,000	Haiti	47%
Cambodia	213,000	Myanmar	47%
Timor Leste	57,000	Zimbabwe	47%
Sri Lanka	38,000	Rwanda	45%
GLOBAL TOTAL	40,230,000	GLOBAL TOTAL	56%

There are a number of other countries not on the Save the Children list that have high percentages of out-of-school children who are girls. These are Tajikistan 16,910 (89%); Uzbekistan 4,000 (80%); Benin 173,240 (71%); Yemen 634,200 (70%); Togo 119,680 (68%); and Tanzania 92,950 (65%). Countries with highest percentage of boys out of school are Mongolia 5,950 (85%), Malawi 135,340 (67%) and Zambia 96,000 (64%) none of which are on the SCF list. Such figures highlight the need for context specific analysis of the underlying reasons, which are conflict related and which might be attributable to broader economic, social or cultural values within each society.

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[19] Based on data provided by Katy Webley, Save the Children UK

2. IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON ACCESS AND PROVISION OF EDUCATION

This section is not elaborated since many of the impacts of conflict are well-documented in the literature since the Machel Report (1995) identified a number of important impacts of conflict on education, requiring arrangements for the education of refugees and displaced persons, strategies to prevent the use of child soldiers, protection for girls against sex crimes, landmine education and trauma counselling. It provided the basis for a number of significant initiatives, such as landmine awareness programmes and many of the issues identified by the report have become specialised areas in the field of international development. The report was updated and reviewed at an international conference in Winnipeg in 2001 when it was claimed that during the 1990s 'more than 2 million children have died as a result of war and some 15 million children have been displaced within their countries or made refugees'.[20]

A more recent global study, Education Under Attack, addresses targeted political and military violence against education staff, students, teachers union and government officials and institutions (O'Malley, 2007). It includes case studies from Iraq, Afghanistan, Thailand, Nepal and Columbia and is due to be updated for 2010. Possible motives, responses and prevention strategies are explored including armed protection, community defence, and strengthening international monitoring systems and humanitarian law.

Overall, any GMR focus on the impact of conflict on education would need to include thematic sections on:

- destruction of infrastructure, buildings, attacks on personnel[21]
- reduction of capacity, particularly teachers[22]
- recruitment of children, child soldiers (currently estimated to be 300,000)[23]
- violence against children, gender-based violence[24]
- education for refugees, IDPs – stats for refugee and IDP children need updated[25]
- gender analysis across all the above

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[20] This has been further updated by the publication: UNICEF (2009) Machel Study 10-year Strategic Review. Children and Conflict in a Changing World.
http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Machel_Study_10_Year_Strategic_Review_EN_030909.pdf
[21] A main source here will be O'Malley (2010) and a study by Novelli (2009) on abductions and killings of teachers and trade union officials in Columbia. There is also an emerging debate on whether school buildings should receive special markings and protection in conflict areas such as Iraq and there are initiatives such as schools as 'zones of peace' in Nepal. Many of these are documented following an international seminar in Sept 2009 on 'Protecting Education from Attack', UNESCO, Paris.
[22] Some studies on teacher supply in Africa have been undertaken, for example, Mulkeen (2007) Recruiting, retaining and retraining teachers in sub-Saharan Africa, World Bank.
[23] The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers publishes Global Reports available at their website:
http://www.child-soldiers.org/home
[24] International Rescue Committee may be a good starting point for country case studies
http://www.theirc.org/our-work/gender-based-violence-programs
[25] Starting point for literature on refugee education at UNHCR website
http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&query=refugee+education

2. EDUCATION PROVISION AND ITS IMPACT ON CONFLICT

Identity and ethnicity 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 where identity and economic status map closely on each other the potential for conflict may be greatest.

Social capital and social cohesion
An alternative discourse to 'fragility' that could be applied to conflict-affected countries irrespective of their development status focuses more on how societies accommodate diversity and includes reference to social capital and social cohesion. Historically, societies have responded to diversity in a number of violent and non-violent ways. McGarry and O'Leary (1993) identify various methods that have been used to regulate ethnic conflict. These include attempts to *eliminate differences* (through genocide; ethnic cleansing; forced movements of populations; partition or secession of territories; and assimilation of minorities or indigenous people). Political methods to *manage differences* include hegemonic control by a ruling class; territorial autonomy (through cantons or federations); and non-territorial autonomy (through some form of consociationalism or power-sharing). An underlying question is whether ethnic differences such as language, religion and culture are fundamental reasons for conflict or whether these identity-based factors are simply mobilised as part of political conflicts driven by other motives (Duffield, 2001).

Social capital theory distinguishes between three forms of relationships within societies – *bonding* (networks and associations between people from broadly similar backgrounds); *bridging* (between dissimilar individuals and groups); and *linking* (vertical relationships to those with access to power and resources). The initial concept of social capital was defined mainly in terms of the number of social contacts between individuals and groups (Coleman, 1988). Putnam's (1995) initial emphasis on *bonding* and *bridging* capital, has been extended to include hierarchical linkages that provide access to power and resources (Cote and Healy, 2001) including 'forging alliances with sympathetic individuals in positions of power' as part of *linking* social capital (Woolcock, 2001). Further developments have also involved debates about the measurement of social capital:

> The key indicators of social capital include social relations, formal and informal social networks, group membership, trust, reciprocity and civic engagement. Social capital is generally understood as the property of the group rather than the property of the individual. (UK Office for National Statistics, 2001)

However, there remains a lack of clarity in distinction between the concepts of 'social capital' (that features prominently in American discourses and organisations such as the World Bank) and 'social cohesion' (which features more prominently in the discourse of organisations such as the European Union and OECD).

> There can be negative normative associations as well as positive ones - so that some networks embody the "dark side" of social capital, to the detriment of the wider society and even of its own members. This focus on relationships underpins the relevance of social capital to the issue of social cohesion.
>
> (Schuller, 2001)

The implication is that an uncritical embrace of social capital might simply involve social networks (whether within or between groups) that indulge in 'patronage', which is likely to lead to resentments that generate conflict and lack of cohesion at the societal level.

> There is research in different disciplines (including political science, social psychology and sociology) and for various countries which shows that more educated individuals tend to join more voluntary associations, show greater interest in politics and take part in more political activities. They are also more likely to express trust in others and in institutions, and are more inclined to 'civic cooperation' (Emler and Frazer, 1999) or at least to profess that they do not condone 'uncivil' behaviour (Hall, 1999). However, such associations at the individual and community level do not necessarily transfer to the level of whole societies. More educated societies are not necessarily more tolerant, trusting and politically engaged.
>
> (Green, Preston and Sabates, 2003)

This suggests a close link between education, social cohesion[26] and conflict with the implication that education may be provided in a way that can either promote management of diversity within societies without recourse to violence or be an instrument by which divisions are exacerbated and potentially provide the basis for conflict. The following are some indicative thematic areas that might be considered:

Ideological orientation of the education system. It is becoming increasingly important to distinguish between 'state-building' and 'nation-building'. The two are often conflated yet can represent very different ideologies. Concepts of nation-building often refer to the development of a state where citizens share the same social, cultural, religious background. Indeed, concepts of the nation often transcend state boundaries and include diaspora that can have significant influence on state development (examples from the middle east), so the identity is a central concept in nation-building. However, increasing globalization, trade and movement of people means that the concept of the homogeneous nation state is 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. This means that it is no longer tenable to define citizenship solely in terms of national ethnic, religious or cultural identity. The concept of state-building therefore places more emphasis on equal rights and responsibilities of all citizens irrespective of their ethnic identity. Education and schooling therefore becomes a key instrument in terms of which ideology is most dominant (identity-based nation-building or rights-based state-building). A further complication is introduced in contexts where there is conflict between identity-based

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[26] Andy Green, John Preston, Jan Germen Janmaat (2008) Education, Equality and Social Cohesion: A Comparative Analysis, Palgrave Macmillan includes statistical analysis of relationship between education and social cohesion across 25 countries. Also see LLAKES programme, London Institute of Education.

groups with different views about the political future of the state, for example, whether 'peace-building' is better served by acknowledging aspirations for self-determination or by following the DAC principle of concentrating on state-building above all. (This needs illustrated by some examples, such as Bosnia or Timor Leste)

Political influence in the education system, governance, appointments. The existence of conflict inevitably raises questions concerning the views of government and non-state armed groups on the *purpose of education* and the extent to which education is seen as a tool for political or ideological purposes. Involvement in operational matters, such as education appointments, deployment of teachers, determination of the curriculum etc., may provide some indication of the extent to which education is being used mainly for political purposes. In many circumstances political elites are likely to want to use education for their own purposes. Where there is conflict this suggests an even greater need for systems and structures that protect the education sector from political bias, potential corruption and interference in operational decisions. Capacity building and training for those working within the public service may therefore be a necessary prerequisite for the success of any overall education sector plan that takes account of conflict. At all levels of the education system governance is a crucial issue[27]. The arrangements that are in place for representation and participation in consultation, decision-making and governance may be potential sources of conflict, or they may be opportunities for inclusion and the resolution of grievances. Arrangements for transparency and accountability also reflect the system's capacity to accept and address inequalities that can otherwise become sources of conflict.[28]

Equality issues carry the potential to inflame or ameliorate conflict between different groups within society. Equality concerns may arise in terms of 'inputs' such as equal access of all groups to education, transparency in the allocation of resources and the recruitment, training and deployment of teachers. Equality issues also arise in terms of educational 'outputs' such as differentials in education attainment and qualifications between groups. These have important consequences for equal opportunity of employment. 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. There is also an issue here about the need for disaggregated data as a means of monitoring equality of access and outcomes on the basis of ethnic identity (for example, enrolments or academic achievement). In conflict-affected societies collection of such data is often a very sensitive issues and schools may have concerns about participation in disaggregated data collection.

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[27] 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

[28] GTZ takes a particular interest in education, conflict and governance issues – contact Rüdiger Blumör for publications and possible case studies

Education and identity development through schooling. An issue that arises in The following represent a number of areas related to education that are closely related to identity development:

Language of instruction. 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 societies'. These issues are extremely complex in practice. For example, in Kyrgyzstan the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities[29] 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 and this plays out differently in urban and rural areas. In urban schools the main difficulty is the low status of the Kyrgyz and the fact that many Kyrgyz-speaking children are coming into Russian speaking schools – the challenge here may be to develop better status for the Kyrgyz language for example through the development of pilot projects in bilingual kindergartens. 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. So, it is unlikely that a single language of instruction policy will be the best solution for the whole of Kyrgyzstan. A more recent case study highlights the politicisation of language policy in Sri Lanka. [30]

Curriculum. 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.

History. It would be useful to have a thematic focus on the teaching of history. 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 and from the Council of Europe and Euroclio with practical experience of projects in conflict-affected countries such as Cyprus, Rwanda, Eastern European countries.

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[29] http://www.osce.org/hcnm

[30] 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

Does peace education have any impact?
The contribution of new areas of the curriculum such as human rights education, citizenship, intercultural and peace education are also relevant. The key point about all these education programmes is that individually, none of them offers a 'magic solution' for the prevention of conflict. Rather they represent a complex matrix of education initiatives that address key themes and values that could have a preventative effect in the long term. It is unrealistic to expect that such programmes will have immediate impacts within short periods of time. Nor is it reasonable to expect that non-specialist aid managers will be familiar with the intricacies and claimed 'efficacy' of individual programmes. It may be more realistic to adopt an audit approach that encourages education authorities to take stock of educational provision with a special focus on features that could have a preventative role in terms of conflict. The absence of 'key themes' might then become part of a broader debate about curriculum development strategy within the system. Alongside this the international community needs to give more serious attention to evaluating the 'efficacy' claimed for preventative education across a range of international contexts and monitored over a sustained period of time.

Learning resources and textbooks. The values represented in textbooks, and other learning resources, is a specialist area. 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 arise about who controls or benefits from the production of textbooks and about their content. In contested societies, arguments over textbook content can also become cultural and ideological 'battlegrounds'. For example, part of the education reforms in Bosnia has involved the removal of 'offensive material' from history textbooks.[31] Such a process necessarily raises sensitive issues about the judgment of what might be considered offensive and by whom, about who should be 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[32]; and a project reviewing Palestinian and Israeli projects has been underway for some years[33]. The production of single textbooks for different linguistic communities can also present difficulties. For example, textbooks produced by Sinhalese authors in Sri Lanka have been 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[34]. This has led to demands for greater involvement of Tamil authors in textbook production.

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[31] 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

[32] 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.)

[33] See http://www.gei.de/english/projekte/israel.shtml

[34] Wickrema. A. and Colenso, P. (2003) Respect for Diversity in Educational Publication. The Sri Lankan Experience (World Bank Workshop, March 24 -26th, Washington D.C.)

Teachers and teaching methods. Curriculum, pedagogy, and the nature of learning resources are interrelated. Any education strategy that seeks to develop more conflict-sensitivity needs to take account of the central role of teachers. Teachers are probably the single most important factor in mediating the curriculum and the values it conveys. Factors related to teachers that may have a bearing on the extent to which education can be a positive force 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. INEE has developed important 'Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-Crisis Recovery'[35].
- *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.

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)[36] and the findings illustrate a range of educational issues that can become implicated in conflict.

A focus on youth?
A particular focus on youth (Sommers) and the role of family and community supports as a means of prevention, resilience against conflict, livelihoods development is important.

Dealing with the past. Does education have a role in reconciliation either as part of formal Truth and Reconciliation mechanisms or less formal community processes? The UNICEF Innocenti Centre is undertaking a significant project on the involvement of children in TRCs and the implications for education. Paulson is a key author with case studies of Peru and Sierra Leone. Further details at:
http://www.unicef-irc.org/knowledge_pages/resource_pages/tj_conference/index.html

Do we need indicators of conflict-sensitive education systems?
It may be useful to include conflict-sensitivity as part of the definition of quality, but then the challenge is to come up with a series of indicators/critical questions that can be applied to any education system. Save the Children have developed the idea of an education and fragility barometer.[37] Would this be a useful thing in practice? How would it operate?

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[35]http://ineesite.org/uploads/documents/store/doc_1_INEE_Guidance_Notes_on_Teacher_CompensationPiloting.pdf
[36] Tawil, S. and Harley, A. (eds) (2004) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion,* UNESCO-IBE, Geneva.
[37] http://www.cfbt.com/evidenceforeducation/pdf/The%20fragility%20barometer.pdf

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, this paper has tried to raise a number of issues for consideration by the GMR team including the following:

1. It might be useful to organise the GMR report to distinguish between impacts of conflict on education (consequences) and impact of education on conflict (causes).

2. Whilst conflict is prevalent in low income countries, it is important not to stigmatise developing countries as the only sites of conflict. The conjoining of conflict-affected and fragile states in current development discourses may reinforce this perception. It is important to reflect that conflict is a global phenomenon that also exists in middle and high income countries.

3. It is important to get beyond the headline figures for children out of school in conflict-affected countries. The underlying reasons for conflict vary in different countries and it may be worth trying to differentiate broadly between types of conflict. Similarly, the impediments to education that these different conflicts present will vary and it would be helpful to identify various context-specific challenges and some of the programmatic responses that have been tried.

4. Thematic areas for inclusion related to the impact of conflict on education are:

   • Attacks on education, infrastructure, personnel, children (O'Malley, 2010)
   • Impact of conflict on teacher supply and capacity
   • Refugees/IDPs
   • Child soldiers
   • Gender based violence

5. Thematic areas related to the implications of education provision for conflict include:

   • Education as a key institution for identity formation
   • The role of education in state-building and the tensions this may create with concepts of nation-building and peace-building
   • Implications of governance and control of education for conflict
   • Equality of access and outcomes and their implications for conflict
   • Shared or separate schooling?
   • Role of faith-based education
   • Teacher education provision
   • Language policies
   • Curriculum (particularly 'national subjects', history, culture)
   • Textbooks, resources
   • Human rights, civic and citizenship, peace education
   • Does education have a role in truth and reconciliation?
   • Youth engagement as a strategy for protection against conflict?

6. Would it be useful to generate a set of conflict-sensitive indicators that could be used to encourage more focus on the relationship between education and conflict?

7. Some tables or graphics that might be worth generating[38]?

- conflict affected countries with most out of school children
- conflict affected countries with highest percentages of girls out of school
- countries with highest concentrations of child soldiers
- conflict affected countries with most teacher shortages
- conflict affected countries where separate/faith-based schooling is an issue
- conflicted affected countries with disputes over curriculum content
- countries with truth and reconciliation processes

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[38] Smith, Dan (2003) *The Penguin Atlas of War and Peace*, Penguin Books, London and New York contains examples of maps such as concentrations of refugees and child soldiers of the type that might be adapted.

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