Implementing the Right to Education

in Areas of Armed Conflict

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Education usually receives little priority in situations of armed conflict. Only in wealthier countries is education likely to be sustained during fighting. What little aid there is for emergency education is usually directed at refugee populations rather than children remaining in war zones. Yet, coverage is only about 30 per cent even among refugee children. The very poor condition of emergency education globally needs urgent review by both governments and the international community.

2. Education is perceived by many aid agencies as a developmental initiative and as such is generally excluded from emergency relief interventions. That said, because of the critical role education can play in children's development and psychosocial wellbeing, a growing number of organizations take the view that it should be a priority component in relief provision from the very outset. However, even where education is integrated into relief and rehabilitation programmes, it is often subject to extremely disruptive short term emergency funding arrangements.

3. A group of international non-governmental and multilateral organizations have assumed an important role in education provision in some emergencies, especially among refugees. These organisations often work alongside local non-governmental agencies and community groups. Collaboration between institutions, within and across national boundaries, has resulted in considerable improvements in emergency education responses in a few areas. Important advances have been made in teacher training and the production and distribution of emergency kits containing essential educational supplies and materials, for example. With full and open discussion of both their weaknesses and merits, these collaborative initiatives could set an important precedent for war-affected populations in other parts of the world.

4. Maintenance and running costs in education can be very high, educators' salaries making up the bulk of recurrent costs. Often aid agencies are obliged to pay salaries themselves in political emergencies in order to avoid total system collapse. Some programmes rely on the voluntary contribution of trained auxiliaries or on salary payments made in kind. Securing an adequate long term budget for education during conflict remains a major problem in most poor countries.

5. In many areas there are serious gender disparities in access to education, with girls consistently lagging behind boys. However, where gender inequity prevails, the causes appear to be largely cultural and the problem exists prior to the outbreak of conflict.

6. Educators sometimes advocate the use of non-formal education approaches, which give priority to basic education and vocational or life skills, and are flexible and adaptable in terms of age range in relation to level of course, siting of classes, grade structure within a class, regularity of attendance and other factors. Critics, however, are concerned that non-formal education is in some way inferior to formal and can even undermine the formal school system. In many countries parents and children reject non-formal education in favour of the more academic formal systems. The issue is perhaps to find ways of reforming and adapting the formal education system to incorporate those features of non-formal approaches which are particularly effective for ensuring access to quality education in the emergency context.

7. There has been a growth in recent years in specialised fields in education, particularly school-based psychosocial care and peace education. Peace education receives widespread support internationally as a measure for preventing armed conflict and redressing the distortion in values, attitudes and behaviours in young people exposed to violence. While the motives and principles of peace education are laudable, it needs to be emphasised that the model has yet to be evaluated for its effectiveness in preventing or reducing conflict. Indeed, there is a significant body of academic literature that questions the assumptions behind the model, arguing that they are based on a flawed understanding of human psychology.

8. Likewise, while educators can provide important psychosocial support for children in distress, there are several major constraints. Class size is one problem and the poor self-esteem, heavy workloads and emotional problems of teachers another. Often it is precisely those children not attending school who have the greatest psychological or emotional problems. Certainly, the success of school-based psychosocial initiatives depends on proper training, monitoring and supervision and on having a system of referral for children suffering more acute conditions. To cut cost and increase outreach, a core team of teachers can be selected and trained to provide psychosocial support, covering a number of schools in the same location.

9. Many modern educators favour non-competitive, learner-centred, or participatory approaches to education in which educators facilitate rather than teach and pupils progress at their own pace, as well as playing an active role in the design of courses, the development of materials and so on. These approaches have been found to foster self-confidence and self-esteem and develop a range of vital life skills, such as critical analysis and problem-solving. However, they are foreign to many parts of the world and their introduction in refugee and other emergency education programmes has been noted by some experts as merely disempowering local teachers and confusing pupils. Special care needs to be taken to adapt the ethos, methods and content of education to the cultural context, and to take into account local priorities, skills and resources in planning educational responses.

10. Self-help or decentralised programmes with a high level of community involvement that use locally-available resources and materials show great promise, but need full appraisal if they are to be replicated more widely in conflict zones. Moving away from more centralised, formal systems of education makes it possible to increase flexibility and this may prove essential for the survival of a system during conflict. However, the more decentralised a system, the harder it is to guarantee funding and quality of education.

11. In the post-conflict phase the reconstruction of school buildings contributes vitally to restoring confidence and is therefore seen as a major priority by many governments and many agencies involved in rehabilitation. But there has been far less investment in the capacity-building of education personnel, the development of new curricula and teaching methods and other such measures in post-conflict societies, even though these could have a major beneficial effect on the sustainability and quality of education. This order of priorities may need to be reconsidered in some contexts.

12. In line with global priorities, most emergency education programmes focus on primary education. However, secondary education may be of special importance during war because it can keep older children out of military service, as well as preparing them to take an active part in important civil processes at the return of peace. Emphasis may need to be given to vocational skills so as to make education

attractive and relevant for young ex-combatants. Tertiary education is of special significance to refugee populations who need to build the skills necessary for social and economic reconstruction on returning to their homeland.

13. Children learn not just by absorbing the content of education but also through the educational process itself. This means that humanitarian and human rights principles, such as respect for peace, individual integrity, equity and non-discrimination, should be applied to teaching and learning methods, education policies, admission procedures and all other aspects of education.

14. School attendance is likely to drop during conflict, not least because children tend to acquire added economic and social responsibilities at this time. When possible and appropriate, incentives may be introduced to encourage children to attend school.

15. However rough and ready, baseline assessment is an important first step in planning an education service in communities affected by conflict. This helps verify need, as well as identifying any problems or constraints in service delivery and any resources and skills available locally that could be used in education provision.

16. It is not always possible to set up a permanent formal education system in the immediate aftermath of an emergency. Also, it is important to recognise that children's needs may change with changing circumstances. Thus, it may be appropriate to establish a temporary programme to meet immediate needs, with a view to developing more permanent models and systems in the longer run. The challenge is to find models that deliver rapid assistance and at the same time building on local understandings, harnessing local resources and laying the foundation for more formal, permanent systems of education.

17. Physical access to school is difficult during political violence, due to the military targeting of school buildings and school closure. For reasons of safety and cost, innovative arrangements are needed, making maximum use of improvised venues and community facilities and changing the location of classes as and when necessary.

18. Special attention must be paid to the design of delivery mechanisms and formats that can reach dispersed civilian populations in conflict zones. Distance learning is effective for reaching older children in really remote or insecure areas and is particularly suited to highly volatile conditions because children study at a time and in a place that is both convenient and safe for them. Distance learning can be established quickly and at comparatively low cost.

19. To give children maximum possible access to education during conflict, lessons should be scheduled for the times of day or night and the times of the year when fighting is less intense or ceases altogether. Education can be provided in shifts or by flexible attendance and curricula can be condensed.

20. The provision of teaching aids, textbooks, basic supplies such as chalk and blackboards and other educational materials is a major priority in conflict zones where looting, shelling and displacement deprive educators of the equipment essential for their work. Increasing use is being made in many countries of Teacher's Emergency Programme Kits which contain a standard range of basic items for temporary use.

21. Due to the attrition of trained teachers during conflict, in-service teacher training is recommended. Where necessary, distance methods can be used for training. In addition to training in teaching and learning methods, curriculum content, the use of teacher's aids and other traditional subjects, attention should be paid to teacher's communication and listening skills, to their understanding of the impacts of conflict on children, to safety concerns and other conflict-related issues.

22. Because of the social upheaval caused by conflict, classes may be extremely heterogenous in terms of children's ages, social or ethnic status, ability, work and family responsibilities and previous educational and war experiences. Diversity in class composition is best addressed by multigrade teaching with flexible entry and exit points and a strong emphasis on individual and group project-work. Care must be taken to assess educational materials and curricula for their utility and acceptability among children of different social/ethnic backgrounds and especially older children and teenagers who are studying at the same level as much younger children.

23. Curriculum development should be a priority in war zones. In addition to a focus on the core subjects, reading writing and arithmetic, particular emphasis may be given to: education for responsible citizenship and peace; safety and survival skills (such as mines awareness); vocational skills (especially for unemployed and demobilized young combatants); and creative and expressive skills and recreation (important for psychosocial healing).

24. Advocacy is needed to secure social support for education. Government and insurgent authorities, administrators of refugee camps, combatants and families need to be made aware of the importance of continuity in education both for children's personal wellbeing and development and for social reconstruction at the cessation of conflict. Education promoters, parent-teacher associations, village education committees and others can play an active role in promoting education at the community level, raising the awareness of parents as to the educational needs of children and mobilising community resources on behalf of schools.

25. Peer education approaches have a great deal of potential in conflicts and children can benefit a great deal from participating in self-help groups and discussion circles. Child-to-child programmes based in schools can also be used to disseminate public health and security messages to out-of-school children and their families.

26. Sensitive assessment procedures are needed to find out about children with psychosocial problems, children with physical and mental disabilities, young combatants and unaccompanied children. A particular effort needs to be made to ensure that these groups benefit from education, whether through special or, preferably in most instances, mainstream provision.

INTRODUCTION

In the new vision of world development that is beginning to emerge in the 1990s, knowledge, human ingenuity, imagination and goodwill are the only resources that finally matter. No lasting progress, it is realized, can be made towards peace and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms without them. (Mayor 1993, p16)

Throughout the world, people are looking to education to pave the way for a more just and humane social order, on the grounds that quality education instills in the young crucial humanitarian values such as equity, tolerance and peace. Progress in education is also taken to be essential for sustainable development, environmental protection, improvement in maternal and child health and participation in democratic social and political processes. Education is, according to the World Bank, the single most important contributor to national economic growth.

Access to education has improved remarkably in the second half of the 20th Century, especially at the primary and secondary levels. Education budgets expanded in many cases in the 1960s and 1970s, with a corresponding expansion in literacy, enrolments, attendance and the number of schools and teachers. Literacy rates in Latin America, for example, rose from 72 per cent in 1970 to 83 per cent in 1985 and gender inequality was practically eliminated. Likewise, recent estimates of school life expectancy at the global level show many positive trends. Some developing countries--Chile, Cuba, Bahrain, Panama and Tunisia, for example--are now reporting school life expectancies (at more than 10 years) very similar to those of the wealthier countries of the North.

Political support for education is gathering momentum internationally. Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989 and now the most widely ratified instrument internationally, the Convention on the Rights of the Child makes an important rallying point for governments with regard to education policies and interventions. Article 28 of the Convention provides for education as a basic right and for free and compulsory primary education as a matter of urgent priority. It encourages the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, stating that they should be available and accessible to all children. Higher education is to be accessible to all on the basis of capacity. Measures to encourage school attendance and reduce drop-out are also envisaged.

Specific mention is made in article 28 of the obligation of States Parties to promote international cooperation in matters relating to education, particular accounting being taken of the needs of developing countries. This provides a clear mandate for international agencies, non-governmental, bilateral and multilateral, to collaborate with governments in education provision in the context of conflict.

Article 29 of the treaty outlines the overall aims and principles of education, providing for a holistic approach to child development which focuses not just on cognitive growth but also on the development of the child's personality, talents and physical abilities, as well as on preparing children for responsible adulthood in a free society. It recognises the importance of imparting respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and the natural environment, as well as for children's cultural identity, language and values, and for the national values of the country in which children are living, the country from which they may originate and civilizations different from their own. These latter principles are clearly of particular relevance to conflict or post-conflict societies.

In article 38 of the Convention special note is made of the obligation of States Parties to respect and ensure respect for international humanitarian law as it applies to children, as well as to take all feasible measures to ensure the protection and care of children affected by armed conflict. Article 39 focuses on the treatment, recovery and social reintegration of children who are victims of conflict. Education has a special role to play in the fulfilment of both of these articles, since it can be an important

medium of protection and also of recovery and social reintegration in the context of conflict.

In another important development internationally, the 1990 "Education For All" conference in Jomtien, Thailand, educators from more than 100 countries met to assess the state of education globally. They vowed to work for a future in which all children, everywhere, will have access to quality basic education. Also in 1990, 71 heads of State and Government and 88 other senior officials attended the World Summit for Children at the United Nations, at which the commitment to deliver basic schooling and literacy to the 100 million children and nearly one billion adults globally without access was reconfirmed. Specific measures were cited, in particular the expansion of early childhood development activities and universal basic education, vocational training, increased acquisition of knowledge, skills and values through all education channels and adult literacy.

Nevertheless, even with these gains, the goal of basic education for all children is far from being achieved. Indeed, it is often the first public service to be cut during periods of political turmoil--education funds being redirected into security and defense. And, perceived by many agencies as a development rather than a relief measure, education is seldom given priority in the context of emergencies. More serious still, educational philosophies and values and the effectiveness of educational systems are being questioned as never before: "Education is confronted at once with a crisis of faith and a growing array of hopes and aspirations to be satisfied in a world seeking solutions to so many complex challenges" (ibid, pi).

Since the 1980s education expenditure has fallen in many parts of the world, especially in Latin American and sub-Saharan Africa, mostly because of indebtedness and structural adjustment. Many children are still not enroled in school and there has been a fall in the rate of growth of enrolment. Retention and grade repetition are also persistent problems in some regions, reflecting the poor quality and irrelevance of education. And budgetary allocations to the various levels of education across national boundaries are extremely uneven, the greatest disparities existing in opportunities for higher education.

Even though some developing countries are faring well in the education stakes, UNESCO reports a widening knowledge gap between the richest and poorest countries. This is associated with a growing divergence in school life expectancy and total enrolment in education at all levels as a proportion of the population nationally aged 6 to 23. In some countries, for example Niger, Burkina Faso and Djibouti, school life expectancies remain below the level--four years-- considered the minimum duration of formal education for the acquisition of literacy and other basic knowledge and life skills. In certain sub-Saharan African countries the average 6-year-old can expect to receive little more than two years of formal education, and girls not much more than a year, compared with nearly sixteen years for boys and girls in North America (UNESCO, 1993). Even in the wealthier Latin American and Caribbean region, where a full 99 per cent of children start school, some 20 percent of children start primary school late, 40 per cent repeat the first year and 30 per cent repeat the second, with an overall average of primary school repetition of about 30 per cent per year (Colbert, Garcia Mendez, & Himes, 1994).

In many countries major disparities in access to education and educational levels exist between different sectors of the population, often correlating closely with distortions in spending. In some parts of the world gender is a major factor in educational discrepancy, girls consistently faring less well than boys--especially at

secondary and tertiary levels. At primary level the gap between male and female gross enrolment is widest in the poorest countries. In South Asia, girl's primary school enrolment trailed behind that of boys by 29 per cent in the period 1986 to 1989 and the situation is little better in sub-Saharan Africa or the Middle East (Friedman, 1991). Gender bias in inheritance and marriage practices and in the labour market is a decisive factor in the low participation of girls in education. Girls also work far longer hours than boys, undermining school attendance and performance (Boyden, 1994).

There are major differences in access to education between rural and urban areas. Until recently, the rural illiteracy rate for Central and South America was three times higher than the urban for women and four times higher for men. Similarly, spending was very poorly distributed across the different levels of education. In Brazil, Chile and the Dominican Republic the share of education budgets for primary schooling rose in the 1980s, but tertiary education still received a greater proportion of government funds regionally than primary. Thus, in Brazil in 1986 more than a quarter of public sector spending on education went to higher, rather than primary, schooling. In Argentina the share of primary education fell in the 1980s while that of tertiary rose. These trends are especially detrimental to poor children, in that investment in higher education benefits the better off disproportionately.

Progress towards education for all will require more than just a levelling up of years of schooling (UNESCO, op cit). Radical reform is required in many areas to increase educational choice, upgrade curricula, devise methods that focus on the learner rather than the teacher and improve delivery systems. These are principles that apply in societies at peace as much as in societies at war, or in post-conflict societies engaged in reconstruction. But conflict presents a range of additional threats and challenges to education, more so because in many affected areas education was in a very poor state prior to the outbreak of violence. At independence in 1960 there were only 30 primary schools and 12 secondary schools throughout Somalia, for example (Jama, 1992). Thus, the recent conflict in Somalia has merely exacerbated a situation that was already quite grave.

Education needs to be given major priority in areas affected by conflict since it can offer many benefits additional to those provided in peace time. It can, for example, fulfil many important security and social functions. Children in war zones who are deprived of an education are thus be doubly jeopardised.

I. BENEFITS OF EDUCATION

In today's world, a child who is not educated is disadvantaged in terms of income, health and opportunity. In coming years, a society that does not educate its children will be disabled in terms of the economic productivity and social welfare of its people (Anderson, 1992, p.8).

The returns to education at a personal level are high. By the same token, lack of education can be a serious social and economic handicap. Quality primary schooling gives children a better chance for a full, healthy and secure future. Basic skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic facilitate access to good employment in adulthood, as well as to information essential to both adults and children for solving problems and making important decisions. Education also brings the rewards of confidence

and self-esteem associated with achievement and encourages the development of analytical and reasoning powers.

In many countries, girls lag behind boys in terms of school enrolment and literacy. But the education of girls has special implications for family and child welfare because children whose mothers are educated are born in smaller numbers and are more likely to survive, healthier and better nourished. For example, child mortality in Bangladesh is five times greater among children whose mothers have no education than among those whose mothers have seven or more years schooling (ibid, p.7). And women in Colombia who complete only primary school have on average four more children than women who complete the highest level of education (ibid, p.7).

Providing a structure to children's daily lives and a sense of purpose, education represents a state of "normalcy" during periods of conflict, even while all around may be in chaos. Schools can be used as a delivery site for other essential services, such as primary health care or training in security measures. Education relieves boredom among children unable to engage in normal everyday activities because of threats to their security. It demonstrates confidence in the future of a society and provides an opportunity for children themselves to invest in that future (Tolfree, 1995a). Children benefit during conflict from the friendship and support of school companions and from the leadership and guidance provided by teachers, who can help explain the violence and distinguish between rumour and fact. Teachers can promote peace and, with guidance and help, council children who are distressed.

Refugees often place an especially high value on education. Education is portable and can bring stability and familiarity for people living in strange surroundings and in difficult times (Sesnan, 1995). In its revised guidelines for educational assistance to refugees produced in 1995, UNHCR argues that refugee children should receive education from the earliest possible stage after flight, including in transit camps and when seeking asylum. The justification is as much psychosocial as educational, in that children regain emotional balance by coming together for games and study and school can focus their attention, stimulate their creativity and help develop social skills and a sense of responsibility.

Education can be an important medium of political mobilization or liberation during conflict. Sometimes schools are the focus of opposition against repressive regimes, as in South Africa where pupils resisting the separate Bantu Education system were prominent in the struggle against apartheid. Indeed, it was resistance to the unequal education system that triggered the Soweto uprising in 1976. Young blacks "chose to put liberation before education", and school buildings became "sites of struggle" (Rock 1996, p.3). As symbols of oppression some were physically destroyed, an act that denied many children the opportunity of education.

In situations of conflict specifically secondary education can keep older children out of military service, as well as preparing them to take an active part in important civil processes at the return of peace (Jareg and McCallin, 1993). In most conflicts the majority of soldiers in both government and insurgent forces are young men in their teens and early twenties. In some conflicts children, mainly boys, in their pre-teen years are involved and sometimes the fighting is spearheaded by very young people. In areas where employment prospects are poor, young people may enlist in the military simply for lack of alternative opportunities for earning income or occupying their time. Under such circumstances, education may provide the only viable option for keeping young people away from combat. It is also likely that lack of access to

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secondary education may extend a conflict, making it difficult for young people to demobilise and return to civilian life.

Education also has a vital role to play in social reconstruction in the aftermath of conflict. The rebuilding of schools is a demonstration of confidence in the peace process. The development of new curricula and training of new teachers symbolise a departure from the violent past and the advance of norms, values and skills directed towards a peaceful and prosperous future.

II. VIOLENCE AGAINST EDUCATION

Children are the heart of the home front. Any injury to them will severely affect national morale. Therefore, when schools remain open during the war, the public interprets this as a message that things are under control. On the other hand nothing makes the population feel the danger threatening the home front more acutely than the closure of schools.(Noy, 1992)

Education and schooling are of vital importance to community, family and individual welfare and for this reason is often eliminated during conflict as a tactic of combat. The school building may be the only substantial permanent structure in a community, making it highly susceptible to shelling, closure or looting.

There is a crisis in education provision in war zones. Education in Cambodia was brought to a virtual standstill in the 1970s because of conflict. Thus, in the first year of the 1970-75 civil war schools in areas controlled by the Lon Nol government were reduced to 20 per cent of the previous number. Under the Khmer Rouge, the entire system was destroyed. A survey in Mozambique revealed that more than one third of children had experienced damage to or destruction of their school during the war (Raundalen & Dyregrov, nd). By 1989, 45 per cent of all primary schools had either been closed or wrecked (Graham-Brown, op cit). The provinces of Tete and Zambezia, those most affected by Renamo actions, were deprived of 80 per cent of their schools. Secondary schools were less affected, however, because most were located in urban areas which were little involved in the conflict. In Somalia many schools were destroyed by the warring factions, while others were closed down or looted (Jama, op cit). Reserves of school materials and supplies were very low, mainly because of transport problems. Almost half of primary schools in Rwanda and all of the generally better equipped secondary schools were ransacked.

Security threats and displacement during conflict lead to a high rate of attrition among pupils, who are frequently detained, tortured, killed, conscripted or suspended. As these Tamils in a village in Sri Lanka graphically illustrate, many parents prefer to keep their children at home:

"We're scared to send the children to school because of the wild animals and the army."

"If the army is hiding in ambush children do not go to [the government] school....Due to the insecure situation they [the children] cannot study using lamps."

"When they go to school the movement [the LTTE] will take these children to their side."(Stephens 1966)

Thus, where parents do not allow their children to go to school they have very good reasons. In such circumstances it is not appropriate for international agencies to persuade parents to send their children to school (Molteno, personal communication).

Teachers are also prime targets, largely because they are regarded as important community members and are frequently more than usually politicized (Graham-Brown, op cit). In Turkey, teachers have been caught in the middle of political conflict:

The Turkish authorities have pressured teachers to inform on their students and their families, making their position untenable in the local community. At the same time the PKK threatens teachers for continuing to teach the Turkish curriculum, which denies Kurdish identity. (Graham-Brown 1994, p.32)

During the recent crisis in Rwanda, more than two thirds of teachers either fled or were killed. Most were Tutsis. Teachers in Somalia would not work in schools outside their clan area for fear of violence; the reduction in female teachers due to poor security was especially notable (Jama, op cit).

There was also a dramatic decrease in the number of students in Somalia. The closure of many rural schools and the long distances between those institutions that remained open left very few educational facilities that were considered suitable for girls. In some cases, this accelerated their early marriage. As tribal warriors and looters, school-age boys became crucial to family survival and defense, making education participation impracticable for them also.

Because of security risks, the loss of economic benefits and falls in enrolment, teacher morale tends to be very low during conflict (Graham-Brown, op cit). Fear and disruption make it difficult to create an atmosphere conducive to learning. Many teachers are distressed and so are unable to fulfil their function effectively. Economic insecurity and income reductions can lead to corruption. Teachers may ask for fees, for example, sell exam papers and answers, or award good exam results on payment of a bribe (ibid). In Somalia inflation diminished teaching and support staff salaries to the point that many school teachers opted to join the opposition fronts.

The capacity of the state to deliver even a basic education service during conflict is very much reduced. Education requires consistent funding, complex administrative systems and close collaboration between policy-making and funding bodies at the national, regional and local levels, as well as with agencies responsible for implementation, supervision, monitoring and evaluation. Maintaining such a system during political turmoil when funding, staff, pupils and communications generally are jeopardised often proves impossible. In some conflict zones there is no recognized or functioning state: in others, education budgets do not even cover staff salaries.

But the crisis in education in political emergencies is also due to failures at the international level to meet obligations provided for in article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. One problem is the acute funding crisis within the United Nations. Most UN agencies can now do little more than provide an umbrella for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to work in conflict zones (Molteno, personal communication). Moreover, there is a lack of political will within the international community generally to recognise the importance of sustaining education systems during conflict. Traditionally emergency education was not viewed as an appropriate area for direct intervention since international agencies were more accustomed to

supporting governments in this area. The absence of a legitimate political authority during conflict was often used as a pretext for withholding assistance. The few emergency education programmes that did exist were where there was an authority structure to deal with, as in refugee camps. Elsewhere, international support was confined largely to 'freelance' activities, such as adult education or education programmes for street children (ibid).

Political emergencies are now lasting longer than before and a growing number of international agencies are committed to remaining in war zones for extended periods. This has given them new insights and experience in working with local authorities and local communities even where state structures are missing. In such cases the role of the international agency is to supply ideas and funds while education personnel and materials are provided locally. But many of these programmes are very small-scale and most remain seriously under-funded.

While few countries are able to sustain national education systems during intense violence, conflict is often periodic, or seasonal, and in some countries rudimentary services are run during lulls in fighting. In South Sudan, for example, fighting is most intense during the dry season, when people are dispersed some distance from the schools. They return with their cattle during the rainy season, making it feasible for children to attend school at this time of year. Even where much effort is made to maintain education during conflict, quality and coverage are likely to be seriously undermined. UNICEF estimated that in 1992 of the 1,000,000 primary age children in South Sudan only 30 per cent were receiving basic education and of those only 1 in 5 was a girl (van de Linde, 1995).

Education is highly susceptible to manipulation by political authorities during conflict. Throughout the war in Israel, the Officer in Charge of Education maintained tight control over Palestinian schools and education programmes. The curriculum was censored, for example, and the terms "Palestine" or "Palestinians" and many maps were forbidden. A number of books were banned altogether. As a consequence, leading human rights activist Fateh Azzam reports that, "children are experiencing a living contradiction between their reality and how they are expected to interpret it".

At one point the military authorities ordered the blanket closure of Palestinian schools in the West Bank. Schools that had not been involved in clashes with the authorities suffered as much as those that had (Goodwin Gill & Cohn, 1994). Yet, the evidence suggests that school closures did not reduce the number of incidents. Nor is there any proof that keeping schools open, as in Gaza, incited greater violence. In fact, the Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories argued that closure may in practice have increased alienation among Palestinian youth, thereby making enlistment more appealing. As a Palestinian secondary school student from Balata Refugee Camp noted:

They want to make us ignorant. They want to reduce us to being more backward than they are. They know we value our education. We know it's very important. We want to know about the world and especially about out situation. (JMCC & WUS 1989, in Azzam 1996, p.6)

Education is often associated with formal state schooling. But in practice it is a much broader phenomenon encompassing also the learning and socialisation that take place informally within the family and community. In rural areas these informal

mechanisms may be the only ones available to children. Informal education is deeply compromised by the social upheaval associated with conflict. Changes in social and economic roles within the family, disruption to community and family life, family separation, psycho-social distress and the attrition of figures of moral authority and leadership all undermine the transmission of values, knowledge and skills across the generations.

Informal education can be especially threatened in refugee or displaced communities. Many of the people forced to migrate during political violence are poor and illiterate, powerless even during peacetime. With displacement, traditional support networks and coping mechanisms are undermined and separation from home, community and land causes impoverishment and distress. Traditional values and practices may be subverted by contact with host cultures, resulting in cultural bereavement and psychological distress. Where it exists, schooling may present problems of its own, since education is often in a foreign language and imparts knowledge and values based on an alien system of beliefs and values (Preston, 1988 & 1990).

Even when children are able to continue attending school, their ability to learn may be seriously impaired by psycho-social distress or poor physical health. Concentration, comprehension and the ability to memorise information are often badly affected. For example, teachers and students in one Palestinian study reported that they had difficulty concentrating, especially if they had witnessed or experienced beatings, shooting and killings, or had family members who were in prison or in hiding (Nixon 1990, p.254). Some researchers have found that exposure to violence also impairs moral learning, especially among young combatants and others involved in active fighting (Boothby, Upton & Sultan 1991).

While education may be a high priority for civilians, it is usually of little concern to the military. Because education (unlike health) offers no obvious direct benefit for combatants, the corrosion of education budgets is not seen as problematic. Public expenditure on education was reduced to virtually nil during the fighting in Somalia for example (Jama, op cit). In the period 1970 to 1988 the bulk of recurrent expenditure was absorbed by defence and security needs, and both the level and share of education of government expenditure declined. Similarly, from 1985 onwards there was a considerable drop in resources allocated to education in Mozambique due to the war of attrition waged by Renamo. By 1987 the education budget made up just 2.8 per cent of GDP, down from 4 per cent in 1983 (Graham-Brown, 1991). This forced cuts in books, equipment, furniture, writing materials and maintenance of buildings.

III. THE VIOLENCE OF EDUCATION

'Dear Teacher,

I am the survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness: gas chambers built by learned engineers, children poisoned by educated physicians, infants killed by trained nurses, women and babies shot and wounded by high school graduates. So I am suspicious of education. My request is help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns. Reading, writing

and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more human.' (Rutter, 1994, p.113)

The above letter, written anonymously, was discovered on the notice board of a head teacher's study at a school in Bradford, England. It expresses in graphic terms the hopes and fears surrounding education; the concern shared by many people that education is sometimes less a victim than an instrument of political violence. Education is inherently ideological and while at its best can play a part in preventing and protecting children from violence, at its worst, can incite conflict: "education can be used as a weapon either to oppress people or through which oppressed people can build democracy and liberation" (Bull 1989, p.13).

Certainly education is no panacea for conflict. Educators in the 20th century are challenged as never before to design approaches that are appropriate to the demands of a changing and ever more complex labour market. The capital-intensive, specialised education systems of the West, which are heavily reliant on formal institutions, academic curricula and highly trained teaching personnel, are poorly suited to the financial resources or the economic, social and cultural circumstances of many developing countries. Formal education as at present devised promises formal employment in modern enterprises when in practice such opportunities are rare. In southern Sudan, for example, there are no businesses and no hospitals or other public institutions and employment opportunities are restricted to clinics and food for work programmes set up by churches or international charities. Given the desperate condition of the majority of South Sudan's schools and the economic status of the area, disappointment and frustration with the system are widespread. Tanja Van der Linde (op cit), a UNICEF education co-ordinator, makes this point: "All over southern Sudan there is a bit of a myth that education can get you a better life, but it is a dream that somewhere along the line is going to get shattered."

Education delays participation in the world of adults and lengthens childhood dependence. This is bitterly resented by many youth. When it does not guarantee employment, eduction can also raise false expectations among young people. Soldiering, meanwhile, brings high social and economic status to disaffected or impoverished youth. Taking up arms is an important transition rite for the young in many cultures, signifying the departure from childhood and the assumption of adult rights and responsibilities.

In South Africa, Namibia, Turkey, and Chile, authoritarian education systems have been used as a medium of repression and apartheid, perpetuating inequality, discrimination, intolerance and prejudice. And sometimes members of senior education establishments are the instigators of the worst forms of violence during political crises. It was lecturers and students from the University of Ayacucho, for example, who led Sendero Luminoso, the nihilist movement that brutalised the people of Peru for almost a decade.

Education is sometimes used for explicitly military purposes. During the Khmer Rouge rule (1975 to 1979) in Cambodia children from middle and upper class urban families were removed from their parents and sent for reeducation in special camps. In one district, Leach in Pursat province, children spent most of the time working and were given only one hour's instruction a day, during which they learnt revolutionary songs and dances. The songs praised the sacrifices of revolutionary fighters, exalted the national cause and ideological vigilance and incited people to class vengeance (Gyallay-Pap 1989).

Similarly, the people's revolutionary army (ERP), one of five FMLN factions in El Salvador, opened a primary school (the "escuela de menores") in the early 1980s offering instruction through to grade 9 to children intended to enter combat (Martin). Much of the time was devoted to memorising the biographies of local heroes. At the age of 12 children graduated to the military school where they followed a two-month programme during which they learned self-defense, how to treat the civilian population, how to obey and execute orders and how to be a good revolutionary.

Inappropriate education in the context of political conflict may have other adverse effects. Discussing sectarian educational segregation in primary and secondary schools in Northern Ireland Akenson (1973, quoted in McWhirter, 1983) concludes:

...that it is highly probable that the segregated schools do nothing to neutralize hostile and prejudicial attitudes between religious groups, and that it is probable (but by no means proved) that the segregated schools system exacerbates intergroup frictions.

And Smyth (1996) comments that education in Northern Ireland under the British has prioritised law and order, discipline and punishment. Children with behavioral problems are perceived as bad, scant regard being paid for any adverse personal circumstances or repeated exposure to high levels of violence. A system that fails to address psychosocial distress and instead sees children with behavioral or learning difficulties as wrongful, seriously detracts from child welfare.

IV. INSTITUTIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL MODELS

IV.i Delivering Quality Education

There now exists a clear mandate internationally to deliver education to all children, including and especially those affected by conflict, in so far as this is feasible. Funds, logistic support, materials, teacher-training and innovative ideas are urgently needed if children in war zones are to have access to education. In some conflict areas--in sub-Saharan Africa for example--even basic minimum emergency provision is lacking. In others, the issue is more to sustain attendance and quality.

It is extremely difficult to define quality in education, however, since different cultures and different education systems embody different values, skills and approaches. Whatever the criteria of quality education, it is evident that children learn through the "process" of education and not just through its content (ibid). This being so, values such as equity and peace, non-discrimination and respect for individual integrity need to be reflected not only in the curriculum but also in admission policies, teaching and learning methods and in all policies and procedures to do with education. Catering to the special educational needs of disabled, displaced or refugee children, for example, may require adjustments in the scheduling and location of education, as well as in teaching methods and curricula content. Some educators regard education as having the potential for bringing about broad social change, by helping children become more conscious of the personal and social factors that shape their lives and giving them more control over their destiny. Non-authoritarian, learner-centred, or active learning approaches are advocated on the grounds that these are most effective for developing such skills.

In learner-centred approaches the educator facilitates rather than teaches and pupils help set the pace of learning--which is determined more by individual ability and enthusiasm than by compliance with age-related standards. Pupils may assist with the development of educational projects and materials and sometimes even with programme monitoring. Attention is paid to all aspects of personal and social development. Children are encouraged to have a full understanding of civil society and civil processes and to participate in community affairs as a means of providing for competent and honourable citizenship. In their personal conduct, the focus is on collaboration, mutual trust, respect and dignity.

Because of the volatile social and political context and the many other problems, it is vital to establish systems of education in zones of conflict that are flexible and carefully adapted to changing local conditions and circumstances. Developing democratic, learner-centred education systems in the context of conflict is especially challenging, the more so because the regular schools of the public or private sector are generally based on formal teacher-centred methods and structured institutions and curricula. Sometimes the non-formal approaches supported by NGOs and community-based groups show greater facility for active learning methods.

Quality non-formal education can offer several major advantages over formal during conflict. The kind of creativity typical of non-formal systems can be essential to the survival of education. Special attention has to be paid to designing delivery mechanisms and formats that reach dispersed and unorganized civilian groups. Distance learning can play an important part, as can low cost, decentralised, community, cluster, feeder or satellite schools with premises within safe walking distance of the home. Use of community auxiliaries and community facilities and multigrade teaching and learning also have a role. Likewise, by introducing systems of flexible entry in education it becomes possible to slot children who have been deprived of an education back into school without age restrictions.

Improving education access and quality in the context of conflict might entail a combination of formal and non-formal approaches. However, many educators believe that responsibility for the delivery of basic education lies with the formal state system and that to create parallel systems is no solution. As they see it, the issue is how to reform and adapt formal education systems so that they can accommodate flexible, non-formal approaches and work effectively with other civil society partners.

IV.ii. Institutional Frameworks

The bulk of education provision falls to the state, whether this is during peacetime or conflict. Normally it is the state that finances education, establishes education policy and administrative systems, develops curricula, examination syllabuses and rules, trains and recruits education personnel and runs supervisory and inspectorate services. Governments have a legal responsibility to provide education. However, combatants, community and religious leaders, donors and the international community also share a moral responsibility and can play an active part in ensuring children have access to education. Sometimes international agencies find they cannot gain access to conflict zones. This is an obvious constraint. But sometimes the problem has more to do with institutional attitudes and policies. All the relevant bodies, local, national and international, need to be informed about their obligations under international law with regard to emergency provision. Many countries experiencing conflict rely on international support for teacher training, the payment of salaries, the supply of educational materials and curriculum development. In post-

conflict situations international funds tend to be applied more to the reconstruction and re-equipping of schools.

To ensure that, to the extent possible, schooling is not interrupted by conflict, collaboration with local political and military authorities is essential. A variety of other local bodies, cooperatives, community organizations, women's groups, NGOs and worker's associations, may also be able to assist in one way or another, whether with education promotion or service delivery. Indeed, in areas where public sector agencies are absent or severely debilitated, these organizations may provide the only viable institutional framework for education. They can help identify school-age children, for example, and conduct needs assessments. They can also act as advocates for education and provide para-professional assistance in schools.

In recent conflicts non-governmental organizations, local and international, have assumed a growing role in education, mostly with refugee or displaced populations. This is partly for administrative reasons, since refugee camps generally have an administrative authority and refugee children can be concentrated into large groups, making it easier to approximate classroom-based education and providing for economies of scale. Of course, many agencies are restricted by their mandates to working with refugees. Moreover, refugee communities are often safer than communities in war zones.

Donor policy acts as a deterrent to emergency education because many donors have yet to define education as an appropriate component of relief, prohibiting the use of emergency funds for so-called developmental activities. Even among agencies that perceive education to be a priority in emergencies, funding procedures can be a problem. Quick Impact Projects, for example, which are designed specifically for emergencies, involve extremely short funding cycles which make medium or long term planning impossible. One basic education programme in Erigavo, Somaliland, which is supported by several international agencies, is funded on this basis. Staff have expressed their concern that education cannot viably be maintained under such conditions (Boyden & Goodhand, 1995). Another donor constraint is that bilateral aid is often withheld in civil conflicts.

There now exist a number of collaborative emergency education initiatives, especially in refugee communities. For example, UNESCO and UNICEF have worked together to develop the Teacher's Emergency Pack (TEP) as part of a regional rapid response programme. Although only intended as a short-term solution, TEPs are translated into local languages and adapted for local use. Their development signifies an important step forward, not least because it has drawn several international agencies into emergency education. The pack was first used in Somalia in 1992 and further refined in the refugee camps of Djibouti. With the added support of GTZ and UNHCR, it was given its first full scale testing in Rwanda and among Rwandan refugees in camps in neighbouring countries. Under a Memorandum of Understanding on Emergency Education for Rwandanese Refugee Children signed with the government, emergency education kits based on the country of origin curriculum and developed by UNESCO were provided for thousands of Rwandanese refugee children in Ngara, Tanzania. The children attended primary schools in tents on a shift basis:

Formal education has not been developed to such an extent so early in an emergency before, and it is worth mentioning that the planning for education in Ngara was done while the influx of new refugees still stood at over one thousand a day. The prompt implementation of the emergency education concept in the Ngara

camps is due partly to solid preparatory work by the emergency team and the community services officers, good cooperation between agencies, NGOs and refugee teachers and parents, the availability of emergency education kits, and to the decisiveness an flexibility of donors. (UNHCR 1994, p26)

Agreements with a number of international NGOs have led to several programmes in which the distribution of TEPs has been linked with teachers' training and other initiatives. A joint technical unit for in-service teacher training has been set up in Ngara, for example. And UNHCR recently created Emergency Response Teams under the leadership of Emergency Preparedness and Response Officers using specialists seconded by international NGOs (Tolfree, op cit). The Swedish NGO Radda Barnen, for example, provides 20 experienced social workers on standby for deployment at short notice. Although funded by Radda Barnen, they work as members of the UNHCR Emergency Teams and are accountable to the Emergency Preparedness Officers.

Similarly, in southern Sudan, Operation Lifeline Sudan, a cross-border operation of relief and rehabilitation, involves both multilateral agencies and some 38 NGOs. The programme, which encompasses teacher training, the provision of textbooks and other supplies and the development of monitoring and evaluation systems, provides an important forum for sharing information and experience between agencies working in several countries.

Because of the many constraints of working in areas affected by political violence some international bodies support solidarity, training and advocacy measures from overseas as an alternative to assistance to mainstream education. World University Services, for example, has provided a great deal of assistance over the years to refugee groups in exile, especially at the tertiary level. It offered "solidarity scholarships" for black students from South Africa to attend universities in the UK. More direct support for education has proved possible in countries such as Eritrea, Namibia and the Occupied Territories where links have been forged with newly-established governments.

The WUS Palestinian Education Programme was established as a response to the needs of Palestinian children in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Links were forged with concerned individuals and organizations in the UK and elsewhere and speaking tours arranged for Palestinian educationalists. Visits were made to the Occupied Territories by delegations from British education trade unions. Help was given for curriculum development and for the production of teaching manuals and distance learning materials for teenagers. Collaboration with student bodies and academics resulted in the creation of scholarships for Palestinians in postgraduate studies in fields in which specialists were urgently needed in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. A group of research centres were given funds for seminars and small-scale research projects on the social and economic position of women.

IV.iii. Social Support for Education

Some of the most successful education programmes in developing countries in terms of the enrolment and retention of hard-to-reach groups have been small-scale non-formal initiatives run by NGOs. In the main, these rely on a high degree of decentralization and strong social endorsement for education at the local level. Developing a structure of social support requires careful advocacy, however. In the context of conflict especially, government and insurgent authorities, the administrators of refugee camps, combatants, and families need to be made aware

of the importance of continuity in education both for children's personal wellbeing and for social reconstruction at the cessation of hostilities (Ressler, Tortorici and Marcelino, 1992). Education promoters need to foster an interest among all parties, including adversaries in the conflict, in investing in children's future. An important factor in sustaining an effective education system in southern Sudan, for example, has been the agreement by the two main factions of the rebel movement to treat education policy as neutral ground. In this way education has helped to build bridges across the factional divide.

There are many ways in which the local community can support education and it is important to forge strong links between the school, the families of school-age children and other community members. Given that teacher's commitment to education is likely to be at a low ebb during conflict, a special effort needs to be made to validate their social status within the community and provide them with proper backing so that they can fulfil their function effectively as well as deal with their own personal problems. At the same time, children need to be given encouragement and assistance to ensure that they can attend school without hindrance or risk to their safety. When appropriate, children must also be helped to study at home. Thus, it is as important for education personnel to learn about children's home circumstances as it is for the local community to be committed to education.

Education Promoters, Parent Teacher Associations, Village Education Committees and other such groups can play an active role in promoting education at the community level, raising the awareness among parents and mobilising community resources on behalf of schools. They can assist in the development and management of services and mobilise local people with appropriate skills to help with creative tasks such as crafts education or specialist interventions like psychosocial care. These local bodies can also facilitate coordination between and transfers among the formal, non-formal, religious and vocational education alternatives and monitor educational participation.

Participatory mechanisms can be developed for planning, monitoring and evaluation, with parents, children and the community playing a part in crucial decision-making processes, fund-raising and advocacy. Parents and children can contribute to school construction and the supply of basic materials. Support for fundraising and other activities can be obtained from local community leaders, and teachers--including para-professionals or auxiliaries--and support staff can be recruited and trained locally. A programme for refugee children in Kakuma, Kenya, supported by Radda Barnen and UNHCR, achieved high levels of local ownership and control. Staff and refugee community leaders drafted an education policy in which a code of conduct for teachers and clear objectives for educational work were outlined and the responsibility of the community to educate its youth was specified.

In Guatemala villages in the Ixil area were subjected to a scorched earth policy, displaced, rounded up, "reeducated" and forcibly resettled (Reichenburg & Freidman, 1994). Project PRONIXIL was created following a comprehensive situation analysis locally. This identified the need to facilitate collective and individual healing due to the distress caused by the war. The programme strategy was to build in children, youth and adults self-esteem, self-reliance and the capacity to act as agents of social action and change. Specific aims included increasing access to education and improving the quality of life for 6 to 17 year olds. The project has sought the participation of the entire community--teachers, parents, community organizers, children and young people. Project activities have been wide ranging, from the

founding of parents' committees and community mobilization to skills development and teacher training. Priority has been given to play and creative ventures that enhance healing among children.

Peer education and peer support for education have a great deal of potential in conflict zones. Children benefit by participating in self-help groups and discussion circles. They can also assume a role in planning and management, in accordance with their age and maturity. Child-to-child approaches can be used in schools to disseminate public health and security messages to pre-school siblings and other family members. PRONIXIL, for example, sees its 200 or so Community Youth Promoters (out-of-school adolescents aged between 12 and 17, selected and trained to organise play activities, improve school enrolment and motivate younger children to learn) as the main actors and target group of the programme (Reichenburg & Friedman, op cit). They are trained by 3 psychologists and a group of social promoters from the local area in healing techniques, organizational, social and intellectual skills and are encouraged to resolve any practical problems confronted in their work.

Of course it is not always possible to achieve high levels of community involvement in areas affected by political violence. Sometimes forced displacement, violence, death and fear leave people widely dispersed and destroy any sense of community. Often communities are deeply divided even before the outbreak of conflict, and fighting further undermines solidarity and trust. This is especially true of civil wars. Sometimes the constraints are entirely political. In highly repressive societies civilians may be prohibited from congregating in large numbers, whether in public or in private. This makes any community endeavour virtually impossible. Often civilians living in conflict zones are forced by the military to contribute their labour, leaving a clear distaste for collective social action.

Decentralization also has some drawbacks. There are important financial implications, in terms of both revenue and expenditure, and without the support of external agencies, continuity of funding at the local level may be hard to sustain during political turmoil. Another constraint arises from the difficulty of achieving a national standard of education with programmes based on a network of small-scale initiatives responding to local demand, conditions and circumstances.

IV.iv. Distance Learning

Distance learning, which entails the separation of teacher and learner in time and space, has more potential than conventional institution-based education for reaching older children living in really remote or insecure areas (Inquai, 1990). It is also well suited to highly changeable conditions because students study at a time and in places convenient to them. Distance learning and distance teacher training were first introduced by UNRWA and UNESCO among Palestinian refugees following the 1948 Arab-Israeli war (ibid). Since then, there have been several such programmes, especially among refugees.

Distance learning can be established quickly and at comparatively low cost, although it requires initial organization and investment in materials. It relies on preplanned and prepackaged teaching and learning materials and gives prominence to work assignments, study groups facilitated by a group leader and learning by oneself at home. Home study is supported as far as possible by personal contact with the teacher and the student peer group through mobile coaching, teaching stations, pasture coaching classes, or short residential courses. In some contexts it is possible

to communicate by post or telephone, or printed materials are complemented by the broadcast and recorded media. However, these systems frequently collapse during conflict.

Distance learning is characterised by comparatively low levels of supervision. While this is an advantage in unstable areas with few teachers, it does require a higher level of motivation among students than conventional education and is therefore not well suited for use with younger children unless parents are highly motivated and able to provide a lot of backup. The dependence on technology and printed materials may be a disadvantage in some contexts, although children can be encouraged to produce their own materials. Low-cost community radio stations, such as the Colourful Wall, a children's radio programme broadcast during the fighting in former Yugoslavia which played an important part in providing children with security information and a sense of community, could be harnessed by distance learning programmes. The recent invention of a clockwork radio could also prove invaluable in the many conflict areas without electricity. Radios could be distributed to families in war zones with school-age children as a basis for distance learning.

V. THE ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION

V. i. Baseline Assessment

Baseline assessment is an important first step in planning an education service in communities affected by conflict, since it helps establish demand, as well as indicating any problems or constraints. A census, however rough and ready, will reveal the number of children of school age in a given population. Rapid assessment methods can be used to gain access to basic demographic information comparatively quickly and at little cost. A more detailed study may be needed, however, to establish factors such as educational experience, levels of attendance and rates of drop out among pupils or the potential of adults locally to act as educators. Information on attendance needs to be seasonally adjusted to allow for fluctuations through the year due to work or conflict and account taken of the reasons for non-attendance or drop out. Good planning depends also on determining the causes of any disruptions to services and the availability of facilities, teachers and supplies.

The principle of equity must be maintained in education and special attention paid to reaching the most disadvantaged children. In accordance with articles 20, 22, 23, 28, 30 and 32 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, priority should be given to including groups or categories of children who are normally marginalised by the education system.

Policy makers and administrators have a special responsibility to learn about the educational needs of girls, the children of ethnic or religious minorities, children with disabilities, unaccompanied children and other potentially vulnerable groups and to overcome any obstacles to their attendance. The EPLF curriculum in Eritrea, for example, reflected a commitment to socialist equality and the rights of women (Swift, op cit). Classes were strictly co-educational and girls were encouraged to fully participate in all fields, particularly the technical ones. Schools were informal and uncompetitive, unlike the Ethiopian system, but students were highly enthusiastic. "Student participation in their own education often starts with the construction of their own classrooms." Where there are cultural constraints against children of the

opposite sex attending the same class or school, single-sex schooling may be necessary to ensure that girls do not drop out. Priority should be given to recruiting and training female teachers and informing families about the importance of educating girls.

While there are obvious practical difficulties in conducting a baseline assessment during conflict, and many emergency programmes are implemented without the benefit of such information, a growing number of agencies are developing tools and methods for gathering these kinds of data in emergencies. A recent assessment of the situation of refugee and displaced Singhalese, Moslem and Tamil communities in Sri Lanka conducted by Save the Children Fund (UK) revealed education to be a key priority for adults and children alike. It also indicated some of the obstacles to attendance, including the threats to safety, harassment and arbitrary arrests by the military (see, for example, Stephens, op cit). A similar exercise conducted by Save the Children in South Sudan identified basic education as the most urgent need after food among displaced communities.

V. ii. Facilities

Physical access to school is a major constraint against educational participation during political violence, often because of the destruction of facilities. Frequently the popular perception is that a system of education without classrooms and school buildings is by definition inferior. And in the post-conflict phase, the reconstruction of school buildings contributes vitally to restoring social confidence. In some countries, for example Somaliland, international aid for rehabilitation focuses almost entirely on school reconstruction.

Schools are not an essential component of an education system, however. Besides, as parents in Sri Lanka interviewed by Save the Children Fund (UK) noted, to bring children together in classrooms can increase their vulnerability to violence or recruitment. Constructing schools may be a mistake, as in some parts of Somaliland where peace is not yet secure and where in any case most of the population is nomadic and so benefits little from permanent structures. In conflict zones it may be more appropriate to invest in portable resources, training educators, auxiliaries and the like, because even if school personnel are forced to flee from an area, they are likely to take up their work again, whether as refugees or after returning home.

Maximum use needs to be made of improvised venues and community facilities for classes. Strategies for bringing schools closer physically to children are many and varied and must respond to the specific and changing circumstances at the local level. Special care must be taken to ensure that children are not at risk when travelling to and from class and that the sites chosen are secure. Whenever possible, alternative routes to and from school and a means of rapid exit need to be identified and taught to children. Since school buildings make easy targets during conflict, alternative sites may need to be found and venues changed regularly. In some cultures education access is a particular problem for girls, who may not be allowed to venture beyond the boundaries of their community. Poor security during conflict may further restrict their mobility, making school attendance impossible.

Some non-formal education programmes make extensive use of religious and community buildings to reduce cost and increase access. This strategy may also have the advantage of providing religious sanction for an education programme, thereby increasing its social validity. Indeed, where the strife is fuelled by religious fundamentalism it may be impossible to proceed without the support and sanctuary

of the religious community. The difficulty with using religious structures, though, is that they are often attacked. Where school buildings are military targets, it is wise to use distance learning methods or hold classes in cellars or other more secure settings. In the city of Mostar, in former Yugoslavia, classes were held during the height of the fighting in the cellars of homes, often by candlelight (Daniel, personal communication). Many of the houses in the city communicate with each other and so children were able to get to school without venturing out into the streets.

V. iii. Class Composition

Because of the social upheaval during conflict learner groups may be extremely heterogeneous in terms of their age, social or ethnic status, competence, work and family responsibilities, and previous educational and war experience. Many children will have attended school for a while and dropped out, others may have attended private institutions, others still may not have been enrolled previously. Some may have been exposed to education systems which perpetuate prejudicial and discriminatory attitudes. Some may have been involved in active combat. An important priority in the context of conflict is to find ways of encouraging over-age children to enrol and attend, a task that may require specially developed materials and adult-education styles of teaching and learning.

The orthodox view is that homogenous learner groups are better in educational terms. But heterogeneity in age, ability and experience needs to be seen as a strength. Some multi-grade classes are divided into groups of learners by levels of competence on the basis of written and oral tests. Elsewhere, individual tuition is used to bring pupils into line with each other. To maximise the learning opportunities of such groups, teachers, auxiliaries and volunteers need to be trained in multi-grade teaching, to allow for diversity by facilitating and providing resources rather than instructing and giving learners the chance to progress at their own pace. Project work and task cards undertaken individually may need to be complemented by collaborative group work and be used as an alternative to more traditional class-based teaching.

With heterogeneous learner groups it is very important to assess the materials and curriculum for their utility and acceptability among children of different ages and social backgrounds. Flexibility in entry and exit into classes helps older children who are educationally behind their age group especially. Imaginative strategies may be needed to keep children in school and an effort made not to penalize them for being absent. This means learning about and responding to the children's individual problems and needs as and when they arise. Older children should be given special attention in this regard, since their participation in school will be undermined if education is not relevant or has no practical value. Education promoters and others can assess home circumstances and assist with the referral of children with special needs. Evaluation of performance is often especially difficult in the informal, heterogeneous setting of many multi-grade systems and may be altogether impossible during conflict. However, where monitoring and evaluation is possible, special attention should be paid to the problems children face at home that prevent their attendance or affect their performance at school.

For a number of reasons, child/young combatants present a special challenge in terms of education. First there is the fact that they experience a way of life incompatible with that of the student and are more than usually accustomed to uncertainty, violence and aggression (Jareg & McCallin, op cit). These young people need to learn the discipline of adhering to a school routine, how to solve conflict

peacefully and how to reconcile themselves with the violence they have perpetrated during combat. They may need counselling and emotional support. They may have be exposed to physical or sexual abuse. The reestablishment of trust, self-esteem, identity, self control and attachment are for them important priorities.

Article 38 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child outlines the principle that no child under 15 years of age should be recruited or take direct part in hostilities, and also provides for the protection and care of children affected by armed conflict. It is sometimes suggested that education has a special part to play in preventing children from becoming combatants, as well as in assisting the reintegration of young people demobilised from the military. Not so evident is how to provide education for children and youth who are active members of the military: this means negotiating with insurgent or army authorities and besides presents many serious ethical dilemmas. Active combatants are unlikely to be welcomed by school authorities. Of course, as noted previously, some military bodies take it upon themselves to provide education to their younger members--the obvious danger being that this will consist primarily of political propaganda or military training.

V. iv. Timing and Duration of Learning

Scheduling lessons selectively and condensing curricula can help give children maximum possible access to education during an emergency. Education can be provided in shifts, or through flexible attendance, rather than in fulltime regular courses. The intensity of fighting is often very variable and classes can be held during the times of the day or night, the days of the week and weeks in the year, when fighting is less severe or ceases altogether. Often it is only possible to ensure the safety of children at school during the rainy season or other periods of hostile weather. A variety of schedules, ranging from 2 to 3 daily shifts, short courses and every-other-day classes, to break-time coaching, can be considered. Operating double shifts in the same classroom has the effect of increasing the number of pupils per teacher and saving the capital costs of buildings and equipment. Night classes or weekend schooling may be the best option in many situations.

However attractive some of these options may appear, they need careful monitoring. Research indicates that the intensity of education--or the number of hours of attendance--contributes vitally to the effectiveness of learning and systems that are too intermittent or shifts that are too short may not be at all efficacious. In addition, shift systems particularly can overstretch teachers since running two or more classes a day is extremely demanding.

V. v. Supplies and Materials

The provision of supplies, teaching aids and other educational materials is a major priority in conflict zones, where looting, shelling and displacement frequently deprive educators of essential equipment. Important choices have to be made in this regard. Given that teachers with a formal background and training may not be familiar with modern teaching aids and packs, these may need to be adapted or used with the support of in-service training. Careful attention needs to paid to issues of language and culture in the production of education materials. Cost may be an important determinant, since funds may be insufficient for the translation or adaptation of materials.

Increasing use is being made in emergencies of pre-designed packages, such as the TEPs, which are suited to a rapid response. TEP were developed for children

between 5 and 14 and concentrates on the essentials of reading, writing and arithmetic. They are conceived as "a bridge between the void that was created by the war and a return to normal" (Baxter, quoted by Lefort 1994, p19). It is vital that their use should be monitored to ensure that local adaptation is appropriate and effective and that they do not by default fall into permanent use in long-term emergencies.

Longer-term interventions require the development of more comprehensive educational materials, and these can involve very specific adaptations. Thus, a team of local teachers prepared with UNESCO's support a new series of textbooks balancing the different perspectives of the Hutus and the Tutsis, the two ethnic groups involved in the recent violence in Rwanda (ibid). Similarly, attempts to rehabilitate Somalia's education have extended beyond literacy and numeracy to include leisure time activities and in this case the TEP includes the board game scrabble. An estimated 34,000 displaced and refugee Somali children benefitted from the programme in 1994.

V. vi. Funding

It is essential to secure an adequate budget for education during and in the aftermath of conflict. Teachers' salaries make up the bulk of recurrent costs. Because of the difficulty of covering salaries, payment is sometimes made in kind and Food for Work schemes have been used in several war zones. Save the Children Fund (UK) was until recently supporting the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports in Somaliland in its efforts to re-establish primary education services. Since the Ministry itself had virtually no resources to provide incentives or salaries for staff and consumable materials the agency planned to use income generated locally from the subsidised sale of Save the Children Fund/European Community food.

Actionaid in El Salvador was working with a group of returned refugees living between government and guerrilla-controlled areas. The agency paid teachers directly, so as to prevent them from seeking jobs elsewhere in the newly-monetarised economy. It also covered the salaries of 138 education promoters, or untrained teachers, provided equipment and ran training courses. While the agency was prepared to assume these costs in the short-term, lobbying government to take the project over was considered essential.

Most educationalists would probably argue that primary, and preferably also secondary, education should be free. Increasingly, though, cost recovery in one form or another is being viewed as essential at tertiary level. At the very least, books and uniforms and other direct education costs should be free or subsidized at the primary and secondary levels for the poorest families. Of course, books and utensils can be supplied free of charge in emergency kits. Uniforms should not be required in conflict zones, however, since apart from the cost and shortage of cloth, these can present a security risk in areas where schools and students are military targets.

Since education costs are a critical constraint against participation for many children in conflict zones it may be necessary to introduce scholarships, stipends and other incentives on a temporary basis. Free mid-day meals, milk, dental or medical care and scholarships have long been used in this way during peacetime. Such inducements could be of special value in emergencies where food security is threatened, although continuity of funding certainly presents a major difficulty. It should not be assumed that economic incentives will automatically attract children into school, though, or that such schemes are not without problems. They cannot

always compete financially with the wages children earn through work. This is especially true of girls involved in prostitution, an activity common in many war zones and refugee communities. Another difficulty is that financial inducements for refugee education can attract children away from their homes and into camps.

V. vii. Teaching and Learning Methods

A fundamental tenet of learner-centred approaches to education is that children have innate creativity and resilience and that if they are to develop to their full potential these qualities must be built upon. Conventional, authoritarian teaching methods, on the other hand, are seen as undermining these capacities, since they focus mainly on what children do not know or cannot do. As noted previously, another difference with the learner-centred approach is that the educator does not impart knowledge, so much as stimulate, guide and facilitate.

The aim is to create an informal atmosphere in which learning takes place free from anxiety, children can express themselves and have fun. This means using monitoring systems conducted by supervisors, educators and pupils rather than competitive learning procedures and exams. Comprehension, critical analysis and practical application take priority over learning by memory. To conform to the needs of learners and their environment, extensive use is made of local educators and locally-generated materials. Whenever possible, the learners' first language is used and learning takes place through active participation in discussion and debate, group work, individual project work and experiential work. This allows children to practice and learn on their own terms, using their own language, concepts and understandings, and thereby builds their confidence. Imaginative use is also made of role play and drama. By drawing on the pupil's personal experience and applying the knowledge and skills acquired to practical situations, full reinforcement is given to the learning process as a tool useful and relevant in all aspects of life.

Clearly creating an informal and relaxed educational environment is for a whole host of reasons extremely difficult in the context of conflict. Also, it has to be recognised that the principles of learner-centred education are very foreign to children who are more used to formal teaching and learning by rote. Indeed, the introduction of such methods could cause distress among pupils. This highlights the importance of local input in the planning and development of an education system and the need for adapting educational models and methods to local conditions and circumstances. Sensitivity to the local situation includes learning about children's home life. Homework should not be assigned, for example, without first assessing whether children face problems at home in terms of space, quiet, environmental conditions and services, security and the like.

V. viii. Teacher Support and Training

Behind the figures...lie, first and foremost, the bandit disruptions of the system and the society....Thousands of schools serving hundreds of thousands of pupils have been destroyed or closed. However, numerous other factors contribute to the situation: the falling real value of teacher salaries, poor working conditions for teachers, the breakdown of teacher upgrading activities, the fall in state expenditure on materials, delays and calamities in the distribution of available materials, and a rigid formal system of time-tabling and examinations, to name but a few. (Johnston *et al*, 1987, p.11, in Graham Brown 1991, p123)

In many countries teaching is a relatively low status occupation: teachers are poorly paid, inadequately trained and supervised; often they lack motivation. Classes may contain 80 or more pupils, making it impossible for teachers to cater to individual needs. Frequently the they feel obliged to use fierce physical discipline in managing classes of such size. The use of the birch to discipline children was found to be common in Kerela, India (Nieuwenhuys 1994). Persecution and corporal punishment were cited by children in Sudan as a major reason for running away from home (Boyden 1991). And authoritarian teaching methods were a key factor in school drop out in a sample of children from Lima (Alarcon 1991).

Conflict tends to undermine teachers' morale: due to the collapse of administrative systems, they may be forced to work without pay; many are persecuted or the victims of violence. Seldom does teachers' training include skills useful in the context of conflict, making it impossible for them to assist children effectively. Besides, children who have suffered severe discipline at the hands of teachers are unlikely to turn to them for help. With training, support and supervision and with proper financial and social recognition, however, teachers and other education personnel can be an important resource in confidence building and reconciliation in areas affected by conflict. Guidelines need to be issued to education personnel on the principles of working in emergencies. Arrangements need to be made for pay and breaks and, where possible, for counselling and other opportunities to address personal and professional worries.

Because conflict often leads to widespread service disruption, it may be necessary to recruit and train new teachers or to retrain existing teachers. In-service, distance methods may be used to good effect in training, as in a programme established by UNRWA and UNESCO in 1964 among Palestinian refugees (Dodd & Inquai, 1983). The aim was to secure some kind of an education quickly for children living in camps by recruiting untrained or part-qualified refugee teachers and having them start teaching almost immediately in makeshift schools. The training was made available through correspondence courses of various lengths directed at various levels. A crash training was followed by continual upgrading, the qualifications awarded mirroring those given to national teachers by the Ministry of Education. The programme, which was based on self-study work assignments, covered both academic subjects and pedagogical methods, with regular supervision and guidance by itinerant field supervisors and occasional seminars. Summer courses on substantive topics and educational theory and practice were held, instruction being given by institute staff, subject supervisors and other experts. Between 1964 and 1978 an impressive 8,000 teachers or so were trained by this programme. The model was employed subsequently in Somalia.

In Somaliland UNESCO PEER trains head teachers as instructional leaders and "focal points" for other teachers and collects from them valid and reliable data on schools (UNESCO-PEER 1995). The objective is to provide an integrated lower elementary curriculum focusing on literacy and numeracy in rehabilitated schools in Somalia and Somali refugee camps. Training is also given on the proper use of textbooks and teacher guides and the preparation of a daily lesson plan in accordance with the curriculum. Advice is given on how to deal with overcrowded classrooms. SOMOLU (Somali Open Learning Unit) trains teachers in remote areas through distance learning. The course, lasts from 12 and 18 months and consists of 4 units, each of which is made up of ten assignments. Trainees are tested after completing 3 units and awarded a diploma on completion of the final unit. Minimal fees are charged, and these are often provided by a sponsor. In order to promote

women teachers UNESCO PEER covers their fees and transport. A learning package is available for participants seeking a secondary equivalent education.

Another way of obtaining professional recognition and support for teachers is through unionization. However, unionization can be used as a pretext for the repression of education personnel. For example, in 1970 the Samoza government mounted violent attacks against activists from the FSNM, the Nicaraguan Teachers' Federation, confiscated the union's assets and headquarters and sacked some 300 teachers (NUT-WUS, 1987).

V. ix. Planning Education for Refugee Children

Refugee children are a priority for protective provision, identified as such in article 22 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. They have special need of education because of the structure it brings to their lives, and the positive impact it can have on self-esteem and adjustment to a new existence. Indeed most of the education programmes supported by the international community in political emergencies are with refugees. African host governments are particularly reliant on international funds for refugee education. However, despite this, some estimates put the number of refugee children receiving education at no more than 30 percent (UNHCR 1995, p.109).

Refugee children can experience a range of problems at school. Like young combatants, they may have learning difficulties due to psychological or emotional distress and may lag behind their peer group because of absences from school during flight and settlement. Psychosocial support and multi-grade learning and teaching are therefore particularly relevant for refugee children. The wealth of the host country fundamentally affects the quality and coverage of refugee education. Also, there is a clear distinction in the circumstances of children living in formal camp settings and children living among the host population in a dispersed, unorganized manner. In general, refugees who obtain asylum in the industrialised countries of the north are far better provided for educationally than those living in developing countries in the south. The circumstances of refugees in the south have in recent years been aggravated by the massive increase in their numbers and the fact that some of the host countries (for example, Swaziland, Bangladesh and Malawi) have been among the poorest in the world.

In accordance with article 39 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, host countries have a responsibility to develop policies for supporting the social integration of refugee students. In wealthy countries these might include the development of introduction practices making new schools welcoming to refugee students (Rutter, 1994). Procedures need also to be devised to deal with harassment and bullying. Home/school liaison schemes can support pastoral care and counselling for refugee students who have suffered distressing experiences in their home and host country. Schools need to actively counter racist attitudes and behaviour through formal and informal means as well as promoting appropriate multicultural education.

Human rights education and information about refugees, their societies, culture and language, should be included in mainstream education to avoid misconceptions. Use of appropriate materials is important for continuity of language and culture and for better understanding of refugee problems and refugee culture by children in the host society.

Even with the appalling shortfall in education in the developing countries of the south, refugee education is sometimes of better quality than in either the home or host countries because it attracts greater funding and support. This can cause conflict with a resentful host population as well as actually encouraging children to leave their homes and migrate to refugee camps. Tefferi (1995) cites the example of southern Sudan, where only 3 secondary schools are supposed to receive children from around 1,000 primary schools and primary school leavers are thought to be drawn to the secondary school in the Kakuma camp in Kenya. This problem led Radda Barnen to begin working directly in southern Sudan.

> As a matter of policy, refugee education programmes should look to the skills, knowledge and capacities of the refugee community and not solely to its vulnerabilities. These resources can be harnessed to great effect in an education system (Sesnan, 1995).

Whether refugee children should be catered for through mainstream services or separate provision is an issue much debated in education circles. The policies of donors and host governments can be decisive, since some automatically define refugees as temporary settlers. A few governments, Swaziland for example, maintain an official policy of transit-only (Wooldridge, 1987). This can have a devastating effect since it impedes permanent settlement or integration and relegates refugee education to a very low priority. Some people have called for just asylum policies as an essential pre-requisite for access to quality education (Preston, 1991). On the other hand, in countries where official policy provides for integration, this may clash with the views of refugees. Thus, while the Sudanese and Kenyan governments sought to give primary school places for refugee children, parents were extremely wary of their children losing contact with their language and cultural heritage.

In populations for whom the prospect of return is fairly imminent it seems most appropriate to provide a special education service aimed at easing reabsorption into their own community: "if refugees are not to become permanent members of society, then to educate them within the national educational system, at the expense of scarce national and international resources, makes little sense" (Wooldridge op cit, p4).

Separate education provision is often necessitated by other factors, such as the large numbers in a refugee population or the concentration of refugees in settlements distant from the host population. Small numbers of refugee children can be assimilated more readily into local schools than large. Also, it is easier economically to provide special education for children in families settled in refugee camps or organized communities, but harder to integrate them into existing national education institutions (Dodds & Inquai, 1983). Spontaneously settled refugees may not have access to special services but are more likely to be able to integrate into local schools.

Refugees who have little hope of returning home will need to be given assistance in adjusting to life in the host country. There are a variety of ways of approaching this. Sometimes special schools can be provided for refugee children within the framework of the national system. In Botswana a primary school was built for the refugee settlement at Dukwe as part of the LWF/UNHCR contribution (ibid). The school catered not only for refugee children, but also for the children of Botswana officials working in the settlement and of the neighbouring Botswana community. It has been staffed mainly by refugee teachers, although the administration was handed over to the local district council.

Elsewhere, national schools, some catering almost entirely for refugee children, are supplemented by schools run by NGOs or refugees themselves. These can facilitate first-tongue maintenance and adherence to traditional religious and cultural values. In Britain refugees from Eastern Europe, Latin America, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Afghanistan, Armenia, Assyria, Iran, Iraq, Kurdistan, Sri Lanka and Vietnam all run supplementary schools for their children. First-tongue maintenance can also be supported by peripatetic teachers.

In developing countries primary and non-formal education are given priority in refugee communities and certainly the greatest need is at the this level (ibid). Very few refugee education programmes cater for pre-school children and there is little provision at the secondary level, especially in Africa. Thus, for example, the 600,000 Mozambican refugees in Malawi had no secondary school. And the secondary school in Kassala, Sudan, has been serving a population of nearly half a million refugees. Yet, secondary school students are vitally important to refugee communities in terms of their potential economic and civic contribution (ibid). The risk is that if they are not provided with education in their own communities, they will migrate elsewhere. The creation of separate secondary level education for refugees can seldom be justified, though, and mainstream provision within the national system of the host country makes a more feasible alternative.

Often there is a shortage of experienced and qualified teachers in refugee communities because those people who are educated and trained tend to become integrated into a country of asylum. There may be a special need for re-training of qualified refugee teachers or in-service training of un- or under-qualified, as well as for inspection and supervisory services.

VI. THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION

VI. i. Curriculum Development

Curriculum content and reform assumes special significance during periods of organized violence. Particular attention can be given to education for citizenship and equitable peace, for example, or lessons in security. Children can be taught how to take basic safety precautions when outside their homes, or avoid abuse or sexual exploitation by military personnel and others. It may be necessary to develop a temporary or emergency curriculum in the initial stages of turmoil, with a view to building up a more formal education system in the longer term. This means focusing on a basic minimum core of academic subjects (reading, writing and maths) and possibly introducing supplementary subjects, such as vocational education or recreation and abandoning formal grading and examinations syllabus. Because it brings children together with their peers, education can provide an opportunity for other child-centred initiatives, such as psychosocial support.

The most effective education programmes are those based on curricula derived from the situation of the children and relevant to their everyday concerns. One way of developing such a curriculum is by involving the children in the analysis of educational problems and needs and in devising application activities. Developing an appropriate curriculum for rural communities in developing countries is, however, problematic in many cases since work opportunities outside agriculture are rare and so an academic approach may render education irrelevant. Also, there is a risk that

by educating rural children in skills that are only suited to an urban economy, schooling merely aggravates the problem of rural to urban migration.

VI. ii. Security Education

Competence in security issues is a priority in war zones. Before the closure of schools in the Occupied Territories students practised using gas masks in schools and were the only section of the population systematically trained in this way. Security information can be complemented by critical analysis and problem-solving to enhance children's safety. UNICEF, collaborating with a variety of agencies, runs Mines Awareness Programmes in schools in Croatia, Afghanistan, Mozambique and El Salvador (Hawke, 1994; PAM, 1993). The Mobile Demonstration Project works with primary schools in Dubrovnik, Former Yugoslavia. Children, teachers and parents are taught to recognize and deal with unexploded devices. They are encouraged to telephone a special number if they spot a mine and already thousands of devices have been located and deactivated in this way (Hawke op cit). Common explosive devices are exhibited to the children and live explosions staged in school yards. In 1991 UNICEF produced with the government of Croatia three feature films on mines for television, supplementing them with brochures and leaflets.

SMAC, the Somali Mines Awareness Campaign, uses materials produced by UNESCO PEER with the assistance and under the technical supervision of the Demining Unit UNOSOM III Division and VIII Psychological Operations Battalion of the US Army. It has produced two cloth posters, one describing the mines found most often in Somalia and the other giving instructions on what to do and what not to do when a mine or suspicious object has been sited. These are used by mines awareness instructors in their work with students and are displayed in public. Pupils play mines awareness games and read a pictorial pamphlet giving safety instructions.

VI. iii. Creative and Expressive Skills, Recreation and Play

The teaching of creative, artistic, interactive and expressive skills has the added value in war zones of helping to reduce psychosocial distress. Children can be helped to overcome grief or shock by sharing--by whatever means--their feelings and concerns with others. It is, however, important to be aware that the appropriateness of expressing strong emotions is culturally determined and in many cultures children are discouraged from articulating feelings verbally.

Education in self-expression includes training in public speaking, debate and advocacy. Artistic expression takes many forms, such as creative writing, autobiography or drama. Visual methods, such as scrap books, painting or drawing, can be used to record the information by children with low levels of literacy. Captions can be written with the help of an adult. Games and drama can be used with small groups of children of any age to explore issues such as fear and trust (Rutter, op cit). In order to better understand their situation and the feelings it invokes, children can be encouraged to reconstruct the history of their community before the outbreak of fighting, during and (if appropriate) after conflict (Rutter, op cit). They can write about themselves and their families. Displaced or refugee children can be encouraged to portray their home country.

Children in conflict zones have very few opportunities to play or participate in sports and other recreational activities, so special effort needs to be made to include these

components in the curriculum whenever possible. Recreation has an important therapeutic effect. However, it is not advisable to encourage outdoor recreational activities if there are security risks.

VI. iv. Personal, Social and Cultural Education

Personal, social, cultural and religious education can be especially relevant during conflict or in post-conflict societies since these are subjects that help develop personal and social identity, impart moral and spiritual values, help children adjust to loss, death and bereavement, provide explanations for catastrophic experiences, and also restore confidence, hope and faith (ibid). Social and cultural studies usually draw on both local and national conditions and issues. They may encompass human rights, environmental or developmental concerns, family welfare, community services and community organization and civic rights and responsibilities, as well as education on political and administrative structures and cultural heritage. Careful consideration must be taken of the sensitivity of some of these subjects in the context of conflict, however. Critical analysis and action research are intended to facilitate a spirit of enquiry and a grasp of major events, personal and national.

While all effective education systems should strive for equity, justice and tolerance of other faiths and other cultures, the need to counter prejudice against ethnic or religious minorities becomes particularly acute in the context of conflict. Refugee children, for example, often face language barriers and racial or social prejudice in the host country. Curricula and textbooks can allow, or indeed promote, negative stereotypes of minority groups, undermining their sense of self-identity and self-worth and also ensuring the continuance of these views among the majority. A Kurdish student recalls the insidious effect of a prejudicial and discriminatory education system:

> I've been living in Turkey all my life. We would pretend that we didn't hear what they were saying and just put up with it. Before even knowing what Kurdish or Turkish was, I knew we were looked down upon....When it came to schools there was segregation everywhere between Kurds and Turks. The teachers would just make it obvious. (Graham-Brown, 1994 p.32)

Tolerance and understanding may be sought by studying comparative religion. In communities hosting refugee populations, cultural education may entail the celebration of religious festivals, the telling of folk stories about the refugees' country of origin or the use of books that describe their history and circumstances (ibid). In several countries, multicultural education has been introduced with the explicit intention of reflecting ethnic minority views and priorities. However, this approach has been criticised by some because it tends to be centrally planned, often with little or no involvement of the minority communities themselves, weakens minority cultures and does nothing to address the most fundamental issue--racism in majority society (ibid). Rather than looking at the attitudes and behaviour of the majority community towards other cultures, multicultural studies centre on the minority as the object of study. Minority communities in several countries are seeking participation in the development of education policies and in decision-making rather than mere curriculum reform.

Policy decisions about whether to integrate refugee children into the formal schools of the host country or provide them with separate education have a major impact on the development of identity and preservation of cultural heritage, as does the choice of curriculum and language of instruction. For refugee children unlikely to return

home, education can play an important role in the adoption of new cultural norms and values, although this may threaten their own cultural identity and present difficulties in clarifying national, political and ethnic affiliation.

One of the advantages of refugee-managed education systems is that they can more effectively sustain the language and culture of the refugee community. On the other hand, if refugee children are to be integrated in and benefit from rather than disadvantaged by mainstream education, special language tuition may be needed. Where the language of refugees is the same as their host community, existing educational provision is usually suitable for them. It cannot, however, be presumed that a common language implies a common culture. Conflicting cultural values are a serious concern for Guatemalan refugees in Mexico, for example. Where language is a barrier, educational participation requires special provision, special teachers and teaching materials (Dodds & Inquai, op cit).

Education systems introduced in the refugee setting sometimes differ in approach from those with which the children are familiar. Thus, most of the volunteer teacher trainers in the UNBRO camps in Thailand were young graduates from the USA and Europe used to child centred learning methods and integrated curricula. Refugee student teachers from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, however, were more comfortable with formal teaching styles and learning by rote (Preston 1988b). Also, whereas the teacher trainers were very dependent on teaching and learning aids and on access to the facilities to reproduce them, the student teachers had little experience of such technologies. In this case, a more formal educational approach might have been more appropriate culturally, not least because the refugee children were unaccustomed to questioning or challenging their elders (ibid).

In cases where children are exposed to education for the first time in the refugee setting, this can mean a direct confrontation with traditional values and attitudes. Thus, for example, Hmong children from Laos who first commenced school in the Thai refugee camps rejected their culture and denigrated the traditional leaders in their community.

VI. v. Psychosocial Interventions

A significant proportion of children who have experienced conflict suffer adverse psychosocial consequences. Their attention span may be reduced, they may become more emotionally demanding of their parents and teachers, have difficulty concentrating and memorising, and be over-anxious, irritable and fearful (Ressler, Tortorici and Marcelino, 1992; Jareg & McCallin op cit). A small proportion experience symptoms of acute, long term distress.

There are advantages in using schools for psychosocial measures. The Open Line's affiliation with the Ministry of Education rather than the mental health system encouraged young people to participate and prevented children with problems from being labelled negatively. The structured, routine learning environment of school provides a sense of stability and continuity for children and this is seen as vital in psychosocial adjustment (Tefferi 1995). By learning problem solving skills, children can gain a sense of control over their lives: hence the emphasis in many programmes on discussing with children issues of immediate local concern. And sharing grief with others may help children overcome their sense of loss. Educators can form a significant resource in psychosocial interventions. Frequently they are the first to recognize symptoms of severe distress in children. They are used to conveying knowledge to children and have insights into the norms, rules and

customs of the local community (Raundalen & Dyregov, op cit). Many know the children well and are in a good position to notice personality changes. Some are popular with pupils and many are respected figures in the local community.

Whatever the benefits, there are some serious constraints in school-based psychosocial schemes. Class size is one, and the poor self-esteem and emotional problems of teachers, another. Often it is precisely those children not attending school that are in greatest distress. Children in trouble can be very disruptive in school, alienating both staff and fellow students. Authoritarian teaching methods make teachers an unlikely source of emotional support for children. School-based programmes may pay little regard to families and may even undermine their resilience. Specialist psychosocial care can be costly and may be based on inappropriate western biomedical models. And, besides, some observers argue that teachers should not be expected to undertake diagnosis and therapy, since they already have a well defined role within society which should not be confused with or subverted by involvement in psychosocial interventions (Dawes personal communication).

Certainly, if teachers and other education personnel are to provide psychosocial care, they must employ models that are culturally appropriate. Also, they require adequate recognition, training, supervision and monitoring. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge their limitations and not to raise unrealistic expectations among children and their families. Teachers should always collaborate with care-givers and other adults in close contact with the children.

Teachers can be trained to identify children with serious learning or emotional problems and, assuming that a referral system exists, seek specialist help. Knowing when and where to refer a child is crucial. Some schools provide individual or group counselling for children needing specialised care. This can be facilitated by teachers or others with counselling skills. A small group of teachers can be trained to provide psychosocial support in a number of schools in a defined area: pooling resources is appropriate in terms of cost and sustainability and provides important support to other teachers.

In Sarajevo, the Sunside Mobile Puppet Theatre visits hospitals, shelters and schools (Foster, 1996). Before the show begins, a psychologist encourages the children in the audience to write down their wishes and fears. A musician leads them in singing songs about life in Sarajevo and games and contests are organised. In Isak Samokovlija primary school, also in Sarajevo, project 'Be My Friend' operates from a basement, where children with emotional problems go to paint and play (ibid). Tutors help the children with their school work and a therapist runs individual and group exercises in which children express their feelings through role play and by playing with dolls.

Even without resort to specialist care educators can have an impact on psychosocial well being, by using active learning techniques and improving the school environment, for example, and when possible working closely with community members and other specialists to provide pastoral care. Schools can be prepared in advance for emergencies, ensuring a speedy and appropriate response. Education personnel can minimise fear, prevent children from panicking and give information countering rumours and propaganda (Raundalen and Dyregov, op cit).

There are many things educators can do to help children recover from distressing experiences, giving concrete and symbolic representation of the event and

legitimising children's concerns and fears. They may need training in some of the relevant skills, especially listening and communication skills: "The most important thing a teacher can do is talk to distressed children, listen to what they say and take their communication seriously" (Rutter, op cit, p94). They also need to understand the value of learning about children's backgrounds and working with the parents or other key carers when children are having difficulties at school. Sometimes children's problems are linked with those of their parents. If possible, teachers need to make themselves available to talk privately with children, preferably at a regular point in the day or week.

In the programme for Somali refugees in Algahin, Yemen, care was taken to select only those teachers who expressed a willingness to understand children, teach without using physical punishment and find constructive approaches to learning (Segerstrom op cit). The 1995 evaluation found that the teachers had developed their own measures for dealing with children's distress. Observing that it was not culturally acceptable to talk about painful issues, they devised an indirect approach, beginning with discussions with parents, giving affected children extra attention in class and encouraging them to pursue hobbies and other interests, to read the Koran and listen to music.

It was significant that, contrary to what had been intended when the school was established, teachers were generally reluctant to talk directly with the children about war experiences, though some would have individual discussions with children when they themselves showed the desire to talk. However, it was clear that in activities such as singing, drama and free drawing, experiences of war and children's reactions to them are expressed. (ibid, p5)

Other pupils were encouraged to offer support to children in trouble. Boy scouts and girl guides groups were founded as a means of teaching positive social values, social awareness, discipline and self-reliance. A Children's Corner provided opportunities for children to express their feelings in ways that were not threatening, through story-telling, plays, singing and quizzes. The Algahin teachers also developed strategies for dealing with their own emotional problems. These included developing their faith and reciting the Koran, reading and listening to the radio.

Rather than seeing reactions to traumatic experiences as individual problems, they [the teachers] preferred...to emphasise that everyone in the camp has experienced violence, war and displacement, and that the whole community is not only grieving together but also coping collectively (ibid, p9)

Since parents can play a vital part in managing psychosocial distress in children, awareness needs to be raised of the importance of helping children affected by war. Parents at Algahin would attend some of the sessions in the Children's Corner. Likewise, the Gaza Community Mental Health Program trains parents to help prepare their children for stressful events, as well as explaining to mothers and teachers how to recognize and respond to children's psychological distress at home and in school (Goodwin-Gill and Cohn, op cit).

VI. vi. Vocational Training

Conflict increases the number of children in exceptional situations who have special educational needs. During conflict children play many different roles and find themselves in many different situations. Some, young combatants for example, are forced to assume adult responsibilities. Some, including combatants, prisoners of

war and refugee and displaced children, are isolated from their home and possibly their family also. For all of these children, the informal channels of socialisation and education that are the domain of families and communities are jeopardised. Vocational subjects may be of particular relevance to children and young people affected by war because involvement in combat, flight and internment in camps cuts them off from normal economic activity and so deprives them of the opportunity to learn informally by direct involvement in production. Vocational training, along with basic education and training in life skills, may also play a vital part in the demobilization and reintegration of young combatants.

Training in vocational subjects like agriculture, forestry, crafts and other skills is intended to improve income generating capacity, provide greater occupational choice and increase feeling of self-confidence and self-worth. There are different ways of approaching vocational training, the most formal and traditional being courses provided in special training centres. This model has, however, been heavily criticised from several perspectives. The educational requirements for entry are often too high for combatants and other children affect by war. Many such schemes isolate trainees from the local labour market because they are based on capital-intensive, modern productive processes very different from the labour-intensive operations typical of most informal economies. Seldom are they planned on the basis of a prior market survey, so that there may be no demand for ex-trainees' labour or products.

Frequently the skills imparted are only modest and of little practical value and former trainees lack business acumen and practical dexterity, and have no knowledge of local designs or materials (Sinclair, 1990). Thus, trainees in auto mechanics may repeatedly take apart and reassemble the one or more engines in the training centre, learning their function, but have no opportunity to diagnose faults or make improvised replacement parts. These are shortcomings shared by electrical work, plumbing and other such trades, although less by tailoring, carpentry and similar occupations producing saleable goods.

Because of the problems associated with formal vocational training, educational planners are showing greater interest in supervised apprenticeship as an alternative. Out-of-school Afghan refugee youth, for example, have been serving as apprentices in Afghan and Pakistan workshops in a scheme sponsored by a Belgian voluntary agency (ibid). They receive a cost-of-living allowance direct from the agency and trainees in automechanics and radio repair are also given classes in theory. The master crafts person receives a set of tools as an incentive as well as benefiting from the free labour of the apprentice. Attendance records kept by the master crafts person are checked periodically by the agency and field officers ensure that a full range of appropriate skills are taught. In 1989, under the supervision of 18 field staff, 530 apprentices were working in 23 different trades in 8 administrative districts, both within refugee villages and in surrounding rural bazaars and the outskirts of Peshawar. Many of these apprentices were subsequently offered waged employment, while others have established their own businesses.

The advantage of supervised apprenticeship schemes include the automatic relevance of the training to the materials, techniques products or services and business methods of the local economy (Sinclair, op cit). Also, a well run apprenticeship programme can ensure a better dispersal of trainees by trade and geographic area than is possible in the more rigid institution-based programmes. But the risk is that, if not properly supervised, apprentices may be exploited by unscrupulous employers. The cost of apprenticeship schemes varies considerably,

depending on the equipment involved and the degree of supervision. In Peshawar the cost per trainee was similar for institution-based training and apprenticeship.

To reduce the cost of training and increase outreach, some programmes use a third approach, non-formal, self-help skills training conducted within and by the family or community. This enables young people to learn traditional skills appropriate to the local market within their homes or communities. In a pilot programme, training in the production of school uniforms was given to groups of adult male Afghan refugees with disabilities. Premises were provided by the community and a skilled refugee identified, also by the community, to act as instructor. The implementing agency gave materials, equipment and overall guidance. Of course, the success of this approach depends largely on the availability of resource people in the community in question. Since the Afghan scheme required neither residential centre nor resident instructor, it was possible to provide training in a series of camps at little cost.

VII. EDUCATION TO PREVENT CONFLICT

VII. i. Peace Education

Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed. (Archibald MacLeish)

Peace education is a model being used in several parts of the world today, with the ambitious aim of preventing political violence and redressing the distortion of values and behaviours in those exposed to violence. Exponents argue that to have full effect peace education should be incorporated into the curriculum prior to, during and after conflict, or in countries at war as well as those at peace (Dugan, 1991). The underlying assumption is that conflicts are the result of learned attitudes and learned behaviour and that it is possible to change both attitudes and behaviour through educational interventions. In terms of methodology, peace education focuses largely on inter-personal behaviour, whilst recognizing that conflict is in fact generated at the level of the group. Thus, a second important assumption is made--that by changing inter-personal behaviour it is also possible to change inter-group behaviour.

Peace education is fostered by an ever-growing international network of individuals and organizations. The Consortium on Peace Research Education and Development (COPRED), for example, aims to advance peace studies and training at all levels and encourage the exchange of information and support among peace educators, researchers, professionals and practitioners throughout the United States. The organization has a primary and secondary education group, The Peace Education Network. This has produced a slide show introducing peace education to school teachers as well as a widely-used skills development tool, "a repertoire of peace-making skills", written by Susan Carpenter. While there are several peace education programmes operating in countries at war in different parts of the world, the Scandinavian countries appear to have done more than others to develop and use peace education curricula in societies at peace (this being conflict prevention in the true sense). Peace education is also a major concern of certain religious groups, especially the Quakers.

Peace education programmes seek to counteract children's exposure to violence by instilling peaceful values and equipping them with the skills needed to resolve inter-

personal conflicts without resort to violence. They emphasize the concepts and language of multicultural and inter-faith tolerance and encourage non-violent behaviour by teaching methods of conflict resolution, mediation, negotiation, problem identification and problem solving. They

also intend to give children positive, fulfilling experiences to promote self-esteem and confidence. So as to instil a greater understanding of other cultures and to reduce negative stereotypes and promote diversity and universal values, the principles of democracy, sharing and equity are taught and the observance of human rights, including children's rights, encouraged. At the same time discriminatory or prejudicial values are confronted and challenged and indoctrination and egocentricity discouraged (Meneimneh 1995).

Awareness is raised of any social issues that have a bearing on the conflict in question. And learning is facilitated by using tangible local examples: "It is a primary aim of education for peace to take the experiences of children, from which they have already drawn conclusions, and turn them into the starting point for discussions" (Rohrs, 1980).

Most peace education programmes are directed specifically at children and youth on the grounds that their capacity for attitudinal and behavioural change is greater than that of adults. There is also the fact that it is the young who will need to ensure peace in the future. Lebanon's Education for Peace programme, for example, was built on the conviction that children and youth hold the best potential for promoting national reconciliation and for building a better tomorrow. To this end, young people were encouraged to become active participants in reconciliation activities and to work towards peace nationally.

Training in teaching peace education can be given to adults who work directly with children in a range of settings and institutions, educational and otherwise, as well as to young people themselves. Use is often made of both the formal and non-formal systems of learning and communication, although implementation is often best managed by voluntary organizations and other groups with strong ties at the grass roots level. Special teaching aids can be developed in support of this work. Learning may take place in group discussion, through organized recreational activities, creative drama, art, audio-visual productions, song writing and other means. In many instances, local television and radio networks, theatre and drama groups, are also involved.

In addition to working through mainstream education, the Lebanese programme relied on non-formal community-based strategies, building on existing non-formal educational and recreational activities for children. It operated through all available channels of communication and learning, including the mass media. Led mainly by trained youth, the activities included children's clubs, summer camps and scout events. A diversity of materials were used, such as a magazine for children called SAWA (Together), educational pamphlets and posters, a tape of educational and folk songs "min ammer sawa" (we shall build together), a manual for activities in non-formal education and a manual for trainers in the field of educational and recreational animation.

Some programmes focus primarily on the formal education system. Involving teachers and other school personnel with appropriate skills is taken as a priority because they can teach children how to resolve conflicts in a non-violent manner within the classroom. In Sri Lanka the Education for Conflict Resolution Programme

is directed at primary schools. The objectives are to help children resolve personal conflicts in a non-violent manner and to furnish teachers, principals and teacher trainers with the skills to manage conflict resolution. The programme imparts listening, communication, problem-solving and critical thinking skills, as well as encouraging teamwork, assertiveness and respect for others. The intention is also to teach children how to turn problems into possibilities and find creative solutions to difficulties. Partners in the programme include the Ministry of Education, the National Institute of Education, World International Foundation, Quaker Peace and Service, local radio and television officials, a popular national children's theatre group and UNICEF. The National Institute of Education developed the curriculum and the Ministry of Education trained teachers in conflict resolution. A manual on conflict resolution has been developed for use in teacher training colleges throughout the country and classroom materials and lessons facilitate children's conflict resolution skills in the school context. This work is complemented by a series of Television vignettes depicting conflicts typical in the Sri Lankan context, followed by demonstrations of peaceful conflict resolution.

VII. ii. Integrated Education

Social psychologists have long established that when people work together in a cooperative manner, for shared goals, over a long period of time in a face to face situation, with equality of situation then prejudice diminishes. (Spencer 1981 in McWhirter, 1983)

Another strategy for reducing inter-group tensions and conflict is to actively bring children from the opposing communities together in the context of education, on the grounds that contact between members of different groups diminishes tension between them. Integrated education is advocated as an indispensable means for the advancement of true ecumenism (McWhirter op cit). This approach was used explicitly for the first time in 1981 in Northern Ireland, although with opposition from local community leaders, the churches and school boards, and has since been employed elsewhere, most notably in the USA and Israel.

In Northern Ireland some state-controlled secondary schools and schools for children with special educational needs are integrated, as are some non-sectarian independent schools, including the inter-denominational 'mill' schools. However, many of these schools are integrated more because of circumstance than as a matter of explicit policy. Examples of conscious efforts to integrate children include the work of the Integrated Education Group, which was founded by parents with the idea of securing in school an equal number of Catholic and Protestant teachers and pupils. Project Children is a charitable organisation which organises annual trips to America for Catholic and Protestant children from the troubled regions of Northern Ireland (Smith & Murray, 1993). Teachers remarked upon a greater commitment and enthusiasm for school work on the part of returned participants and most encouragingly a greater motivation to sustain cross-community friendships.

Also in Northern Ireland, the Department of Education provides funds for activities involving contact between Protestant and Catholic children and those mounted by voluntary organizations involved in reconciliation work with young people. Contact alone does not, however, guarantee attitudinal change. Assessing the literature on the subject, McWhirter (op cit) cites some important conditions that need to apply if integrated education is to succeed. Contacts should, she suggests, be of a relatively enduring and intimate nature rather than transitory and casual. Since contact may merely provide an opportunity to engage in social comparisons and thereby

exacerbate conflictual intergroup relationships, there should be positive interdependence between the groups, leading to cooperative activity. Contact should take place between groups of `equal social status'. Also, reductions in prejudice are found to occur most readily where there is social or institutional support for non-discriminatory practices.

VII. iii. Critique of Preventative Education

While it is hard to dispute the values or motives behind peace and integrated education approaches, they have yet to be fully evaluated for their effectiveness in preventing or reducing political violence. There are some serious shortcomings. Haavelstrud (1983), for example, notes that it is naive to think that the oppressors in any given conflict would be willing to embrace peace education, making it necessary to concentrate on the oppressed and those who are neutral. And Stuart Maslen (personal communication) notes that what is needed is not peace alone, but the much more elusive condition of peace with equity.

Psychologist Ed Cairns (personal communication) is critical of the very foundation of peace education. He reminds that while peace makers, religious groups and others, "are all battling for the minds of children" adults continue to pursue conflictive relations. He asks whether peace educationalists expect too much of education, given that learning in children is largely inspired by adult role models. Thus, peace education is "getting children to do things that adults are not prepared to do". In his view it is virtually impossible for eduction to inculcate peaceful values in children when adult role models are built on conflict. Indeed, peace education in the context of political violence might merely create a contradiction between the values of home and school, causing anxiety and distress in children.

Another point made by Cairns, and endorsed by psychologist Miles Hewstone and several others, focus on the central thesis of peace education and integrated education approaches, which imply a coincidence between personal identity and inter-personal relations and group identity and inter-group relations. The counter argument is based on the idea that behaviour and attitudes that apply at the individual level do not automatically apply to the group. Thus, Brown and Turner (1981, in McWhirter op cit) note that:

> ...to the extent that the contact takes place on an 'interpersonal' basis it is unlikely to modify intergroup attitudes and behaviour since the two domains are controlled, we suggest, by different psychological processes. What is more probable, if contact is confined to social interaction between individuals qua individuals, is that a few interpersonal relationships will change but that the intergroup situation will remain substantially unaltered.

Therefore whatever influence is brought to bear on the sense of personal identity and individual behaviour of either children or adults has little effect on the way those same people identify themselves and act as members of a group. People who behave with integrity and a concern for their fellow beings when acting as individuals within their own family and community and among their peers may become extremely aggressive and violent when in a group and confronted by others perceived as adversaries. Since it is group identity and group behaviour, rather than inter-personal behaviour, that are determinant in armed conflict it is suggested that many of the premises upon which peace education and similar approaches are built are false. Group level analysis is required:

...those who continue to interpret the contact hypothesis...and/or integration strategy... in individual terms are unlikely ever to achieve the major social goal towards which they may be striving. Intergroup contact under the right conditions may reduce prejudice, not because (as some psychologists have suggested in the past) it permits and encourages interpersonal friendships between members of different groups, but rather...because it changes the nature and structure of intergroup relations. (McWhirter, op cit p24)

VIII. EDUCATION FOR RECONSTRUCTION

Education has both symbolic and practical value for post-conflict societies. At the symbolic level, the reconstruction of school buildings restores social confidence and is thus seen as a major priority by some governments and rehabilitation agencies. In Nicaragua under the Sandanistas and Mozambique under Frelimo, education "was expected to play a crucial role in changing attitudes, not simply in creating national unity and skills to improve the national economy....Education became part of an act of political will" (Graham-Brown 1991, p.114). At the practical level, restoring education is vital for economic recovery. When Frelimo came to power the illiteracy rate ran at 95 per cent. In 1975 there were only about 40 university graduates in Mozambique. Frelimo immediately nationalised education. The return to peace and the associated restoration of services is sometimes used not just to rebuild the old order but more as an opportunity for extensive educational and social reform. In both Mozambique and Nicaragua, major changes were made in basic school education, in terms of access, curricula and the running of schools, and nationwide literacy campaigns were mounted to make up for the appalling losses in education due to conflict. Sometimes it is necessary to develop new priorities in order to restore economic stability and encourage development. This may mean, for example, placing an emphasis on tertiary education as a means of recovering skills lost due to widespread civilian deaths and flight.

The setting up of schools is very reassuring also to refugee and displaced populations since it is usually the first sign that the community as a whole is enjoying some stability. It implies a return to normal roles and relationships within the family and community: "The confusion of roles during flight when young people had to take unexpected responsibilities is replaced by a confirmation of the normal status of children or teenagers as they go to school" (ibid, p.18). In displaced communities school becomes a place to be, a place to hold meetings or sports events. It encourages wider community participation, helping to provide a sense of hope and belonging. It gives a reason for cooperation and organization, since establishing a school entails assessing need, identifying premises, locating children, appointing staff, among other tasks.

During reconstruction, investment needs to be made in building the capacity of education personnel and reinforcing their work. International agencies can do a great deal in this area. In Peru, UNICEF has opted to assist rehabilitation by reinforcing local institutions (Tristram, personal communication). Teachers from the Ayacucho region are being trained in a summer school programme to make education operational again after many years of war. The focus is on rebuilding the self-image and confidence of teachers in a situation where they were often targeted by Sendero Luminoso, and many were killed or fled. The pilot, involving 200 teachers who were providing for some 4,000 children, proved so successful that the scheme now includes some 4,000 teachers. But in many post-conflict societies teacher training,

curriculum development and other such measures are extremely patchy, falling well behind the reconstruction of school buildings in the order of priorities. The aid community contributes to this situation because of its focus on physical as opposed to social reconstruction. Such policies need to be reviewed on a country-by-country basis to assess whether they are the most appropriate and effective approach.

Social integration is one of the major challenges of post-conflict societies. Evidence from countries such as Ethiopia and Cambodia suggests that in the aftermath of conflict large sectors of the population can remain socially, economically and politically marginal. And in South Africa criminal violence has increased markedly since peace was established, especially among disaffected black youth. In post-conflict societies arms are generally widely available and are used in burglaries, domestic violence, muggings and other forms of street crime. Particularly acute is the problem of reintegrating former combatants, minors and adults, into civilian communities that offer little employment due to the long-term distortionary effect of armed conflict on the economy. Moreover, because of the mobile existence of the military, many former combatants have lost contact with their families and communities permanently and so have nowhere to return to. The reintegration of female former combatants who cannot be reunited with their families can be especially difficult. This was a major issue in Mozambique, since it is not appropriate culturally for young women to establish themselves in a community without a family (Charnley & da Silva 1995).

Because of the difficulties of adapting to civilian life after long term involvement in combat, it is essential to develop policies or programmes that offer incentives for child/young solders to demobilize. Appropriate education, and especially vocational training, can help effect the transition to civilian life. But this is not a straightforward process. One difficulty is that while in the army young combatants most likely missed years of education, with the effect that their educational level is well below that appropriate for their age:

> Time spent in the military is synonymous with lost educational opportunities, and in no case study were the children considered to have developed skills that could contribute to their reintegration. On demobilization, where they do seek education, their level of schooling is out of phase with their age. This often leads to embarrassment and frustration on their part, as they may be obliged to attend school with children of a much younger age, and then drop out. (McCallin, op cit p21)

Quite apart from requiring the production of special educational materials and the use of teaching and learning methods suited to older age groups, this can cause considerable embarrassment to them.

Where former combatants are found to be behind educationally, they may require remedial education prior to commencing or concurrent with formal schooling. This can be implemented in schools to give the children an opportunity to mix with others. Since such a policy could be difficult for those ex-combatants in the older age groups, it may be necessary to provide special classes, or to abandon the idea of formal education altogether and instead provide basic literacy and numeracy prior to the commencement of vocational training (ibid). In Mozambique some provincial Departments of Education allowed former child combatants in their teens to participate in adult literacy classes on the grounds that they were too old to return to the early classes of the formal education system (Charnley & da Silva, op cit). During the 1992 armed cease-fire in El Salvador, while FMLN troops were concentrated in

"verification centres" pending demobilization, intensive education programmes (primarily literacy training) were launched by a local university with international funding. Although several of the combatants claimed, when interviewed, that the programme had achieved little, it at least helped alleviate boredom in the camps.

Many young former combatants reject education because it entails a loss of social status and authority. Some governments counteract reluctance to attend school with measures making attendance compulsory. Museveni established two educational academies in Uganda in 1986 for members of the military and forced child/young combatants to return to school. If they were caught armed or in uniform without a pass they were liable to arrest and disciplinary action by the security forces.

Fearful that ex-combatants will disrupt classes and have a negative influence on the moral and social development of others, teachers can be the main point of resistance to school reintegration. In Liberia teachers' trainers found uncontrolled emotions, substance abuse, delusion and aggressiveness to be problems common in former child/young combatants. In Uganda, many parents and teachers opposed mixing former combatants with other children and favoured special schools. Successful reintegration into civilian schools may entail placement in small classes run by teachers trained especially to cope with these children and to provide for them sensitively and effectively. In Mozambique the school psychosocial programme included a special component focusing on ex-combatants. In Zimbabwe, in an education-with-production programme, a conscious effort was made to integrate former young combatants with other children and to allow them to assimilate the norms and practices of civil society "in a natural and progressive manner" (McCallin, op cit). Education, it was felt, should not be purely theoretical but linked to productive life and so a programme linking work and intellectual endeavour was mounted. This facilitated a transition for the former combatants to peaceful adult roles, as well as allowing them to take part in social and economic reconstruction.

Vocational skills have been identified as of special importance for former child/young combatants. The Children Assistance Program (CAP) Inc., in Liberia works in collaboration with other local organizations, such as Don Bosco Youth Centre and the Lutheran Church, in the provision of education and training for former child/young combatants in Monrovia. CAP operates three vocational training centres for children aged 10 to 17, in which technical and other skills are taught. Organised by local and international NGOs, a rehabilitation programme offers former combatants guidance, psychological, religious and pre-vocational counselling over a 3 month period. Those with basic competencies are given instruction in literacy, followed by an additional 3 months pre-vocational and vocational instruction in carpentry, masonry, auto mechanics, poultry science and other trades.

Young former combatants need careers guidance and help with planning their future. The demobilization package in El Salvador included scholarships for those over 18 who passed tests at the university entrance level. For those who had reached at least 9th grade equivalency there was the option of joining the national civil police force. However, it transpired that few of the young ex-FMLN combatants had much education and so most were given vocational, industrial or agricultural skills training. The Liberian Opportunities Industrialization Centre (LOIC) trained 300 ex-soldiers from all armed groups in carpentry, shoe-making, sewing and masonry. The majority were aged between 15 and 30. Don Bosco ran a similar vocational programme on a smaller scale for younger street children, many of whom had been involved in the fighting. Both programmes pre-dated the conflict and were adapted specifically to meet the needs of former soldiers.

CONCLUSION

Education is one of the most important services benefiting children. It contributes not only to cognitive development but also to personal development and overall psychosocial and physical welfare. In war zones education provides a structure for children's lives, fosters solidarity among peers and facilitates other important interventions in the field of health and security. Among refugees it instils a sense of purpose and provides skills essential for the transition to a new existence. At the cessation of conflict, it aids social and economic reconstruction and integration.

Conflict has an extremely destructive effect on education, disrupting funding, communications and services and destroying school buildings. Students and education personnel are attack or forced to flee and many of the communities upon which education depends disappear. Yet, some of the worst problems in education during conflict are due more to funding and policy. There is a clear need to assess education in situations of armed conflict.

Perceived as a developmental rather than a relief measure and understood to be the exclusive domain of the state, the international community has traditionally ignored education in political emergencies. Even today, when a growing number of institutions, governmental, non-governmental, intergovernmental and religious, are delivering education to children affected by armed conflict, funding is inadequate, coverage poor, standards sometimes very low and much of the work is in any case confined to refugee populations. There has been a marked reluctance to innovate and work with sub-national, community-based organizations or local rather than national government. Certainly such local level initiatives do exist, but they are extremely modest in terms of coverage and educational impact and receive little funding or support from outside. And of those programmes operating in communities no longer involved in conflict, investment is often misplaced, focusing on physical infrastructure rather than capacity-building of education personnel.

That said, because of the critical role education can play in children's development and psychosocial wellbeing, a growing number of organizations take the view that it should be a priority component in relief provision from the very outset. However, even where education is integrated into relief and rehabilitation programmes, it is often subject to extremely disruptive short term emergency funding arrangements. If governments, insurgent authorities and the international community are to take education at all seriously, long term financial provision must be made.

In line with global priorities, most emergency education programmes focus on primary education. However, secondary education may be of special importance during war because it can keep older children out of military service, as well as preparing them to take an active part in important civil processes at the return of peace. Emphasis may need to be given to vocational skills so as to make education attractive and relevant for young people who lag behind due to long absences from school. Tertiary education can be particularly valuable in post-conflict settings in making up for the skills lost due to the death or flight of people with useful educational experience and qualifications.

It is not always possible to set up a permanent formal education system in the immediate aftermath of an emergency. Also, it is important to recognise that

children's needs may change with changing circumstances. Thus, it may be appropriate to establish a temporary programme to meet immediate needs, with a view to developing more permanent models and systems in the longer run. The challenge is to find models that deliver rapid assistance and at the same time building on local understandings, harnessing local resources and laying the foundation for more formal, permanent systems of education.

Recent collaboration between sponsoring institutions within and across national boundaries has resulted in considerable improvements in emergency response. And in a few areas where government services have not been able to meet the need, the international community has filled major gaps--to the point where war-affected children may receive better education provision than those outside war zones. Important advances have been made in teacher training and the production and distribution of emergency kits containing essential supplies and educational materials, the latter translated and adapted for local use. Alternative methods of delivery, such as distance learning, have become an established mode for reaching older children in isolated and dispersed communities in some areas and for training teachers. However, it is essential that such emergency measures developed for the short term are seen as transitional and do not become permanent merely for the lack of longer term planning and investment. When possible and appropriate, incentives may be introduced to encourage children to attend school during conflict at the restoration of peace.

There has been an expansion recently in specialised fields such as peace education and school-based psychosocial interventions, but these have proved difficult to monitor and evaluate. Some question the assumptions upon peace education schemes are founded and doubt their effectiveness in changing children's attitudes or behaviour or securing lasting peace. Others fear that psychosocial interventions in the school context may undermine family coping strategies or introduce western therapeutic models which have no validity across cultures. While it seems highly appropriate to base education on the principles of equity, justice, peace and respect for all religions and cultures, many of the more ambitious ideas in education, based on active learning methods and extensive curriculum reform and development, simply appear too idealistic in most emergency contexts. Efforts to introduce new ways of thinking and new ways of doing things into classes containing more than 50 pupils and in schools that have practically no money or essential supplies may merely overburden and disempower teachers. More needs to be done to assess the feasibility and impact of innovation in education for children affected by armed conflict and to share experiences in this field.

To provide continuity of service, and increase both coverage and community involvement in education, advocacy on the importance of education is needed. This should not only be aimed at parents and children, but also at military and insurgent authorities, religious leaders, community-based organizations, NGOs and local and national government staff. Decentralised, self-managed programmes using locally-available resources and materials show great promise, but need full support and appraisal if they are to be replicated more widely. Local recruitment of para-professional and volunteer educators has also proved effective in many areas, especially among refugee populations. Again, this strategy should be encouraged, although only with careful supervision and monitoring. Moving away from more centralised, formal systems makes it possible to increase flexibility and responsiveness and this may prove essential during conflict. Teaching can be conducted in homes and other informal settings and classes held in shifts or on a periodic basis.

Sensitive assessment procedures are needed to identify the children most affected by conflict. Attention should be paid to finding out about and providing for young combatants and former combatants, children with psychosocial problems, children with physical and mental disabilities, and unaccompanied and refugee children. Preparations to minimise the disruption of children's education should include the training of education personnel in problems that commonly arise during conflict, as well as in appropriate procedures and responses to follow in an emergency. Attention needs also to be given to education personnel.

Mindful of the many stresses they experience during conflict, proper support, supervision and encouragement is vital, as is attention to their security and pay.

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