Geneva Global Hub for Education in Emergencies

Bringing peacebuilding to nexus thinking in education in emergencies: Promising practices to overcome injustices

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75007 Paris
France

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Main Authors: Julia Paulson and Kelsey Shanks

Case Study Authors: Bassel Akar, Emraan Azad, Maria Balarin, Vasila Bozichaeva, Jennifer Emelife, and Maria Fernanda Rodriguez

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Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies

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Acronyms

4R Model —— Reporting and responding, Relating, Reasoning, and Reconstructing Model
AKHP —— Aga Khan Humanities Project
CAC —— Center for Active Citizenship
CERD —— Center for Educational Research and Development
CVE —— Counter Violent Extremism
CVR —— Comisión de la verdad y Reconciliación (Truth and Reconciliation Commission)
DAC —— Development Assistance Committee
EiE —— Education in Emergencies
EiE Hub —— Geneva Global Hub for Education in Emergencies
GSDRC —— Governance and Social Development Resource Center
HRE —— Human Rights Education
IFRC —— International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
INEE —— Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies
MEHE —— Ministry of Education and Higher Education
NEAR —— Network for Empowered Aid Response
NGO —— Non-governmental Organisation
NYU —— New York University
ODI —— Overseas Development Institute
OECD —— Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PA —— Palestinian Authority
PEER —— Political Economy of Education Research Network
PTSD —— Post-traumatic Stress Disorder
PVE —— Preventing Violent Extremism
SDG —— Sustainable Development Goals
SIPRI —— Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
UN —— United Nations
UNDP —— United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO —— United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF —— United Nations Children's Fund
UNPSBO —— United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office
UNRWA —— United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
VFS —— Violence Free Schools

Children in a class inside a learning centre in Bangladesh, 2021
© Ayesha Nawshin, NRC

Executive Summary

This synthesis report was commissioned by INEE, UNESCO and IFRC through the Geneva Global Hub for Education in Emergencies (EiE Hub) with support and co-funding from the PEER Network and was written by eight authors sharing their own views. It is important to note that this study was conducted from September 2021 to October 2022, and that the findings and understandings reflect that particular time frame. These partners recognize that education in emergencies and protracted crises must be recognized as a cornerstone of humanitarian, peace and development action – not as secondary to sectoral responses – and that this requires action across the humanitarian-development-peacebuilding nexus by key stakeholders such as those in International Geneva. Its purpose is to critically explore the potential for education to contribute towards the humanitarian-development-peacebuilding nexus in conflict-affected contexts. To do so, it commissioned five case studies that present overviews of education interventions that has had peacebuilding outcomes and conducted a critical theoretical literature review to identify common challenges that limit the possibilities for education to have peacebuilding outcomes. The case studies are from Central Asia, Bangladesh, Lebanon, Nigeria and Peru. They are summarized briefly in this synthesis report and will be published in full on the PEER Network website.

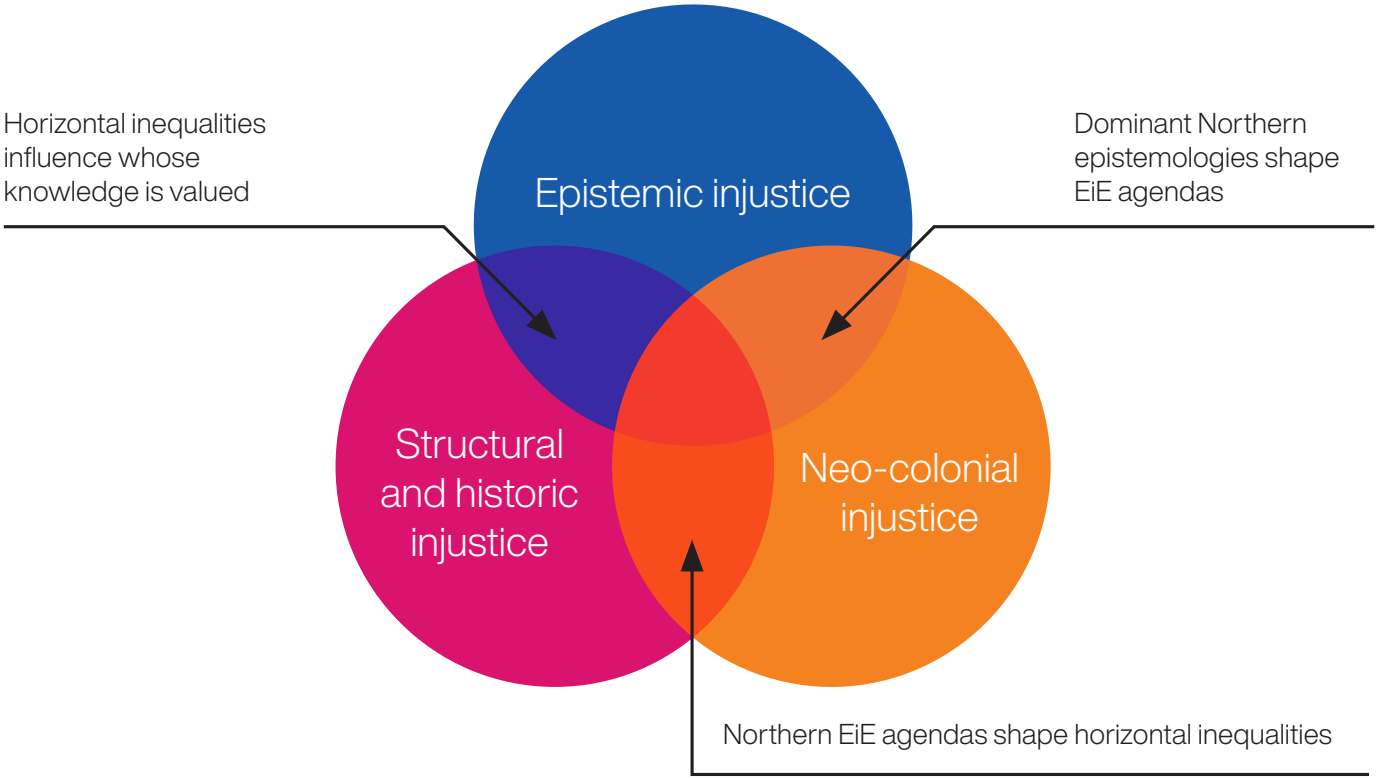
The report provides an overview of the triple nexus, which aims to increase coordination between the humanitarian, development and peacebuilding sectors, as well as identifying challenges to this. The report identifies that education programming has largely been concerned with the humanitarian-development nexus and therefore greater attention to and coordination with peacebuilding will be necessary in order to maximize education in emergencies programming contributions to sustainable peace.

The report reviews education approaches that do engage with peace, finding most potential in critical approaches that take into account and seek to transform conflict drivers, including critical peace education and peacebuilding education. This review and the case studies commissioned for it, however,

also drew attention to common features (injustice areas) that often hinder the possibilities of education initiatives to have peacebuilding outcomes.

The report presents three intersecting injustices – structural and historical injustice; epistemic injustice; and neo-colonial injustice – in an 'injustices model.' This model serves as an analytical tool to help to anticipate ways in which internationally funded education in emergencies programming may be undermined in its goal to contribute towards sustainable peace when delivering the right to education. In undertaking such an analysis, including across international, regional, national, local and organizational scales, we hope the framework will support interventions that are aware of and oriented towards challenging injustices.

Figure 1: Injustices model



The three injustices outlined are:

- The **Structural and historical injustice** section discusses the impact of a country's political, social and cultural spheres on the local power dynamics that impact education delivery. This area of injustice brings together sociological and political science research which shows how education can reproduce what Frances Stewart refers to as 'horizontal inequalities'. To provide a historical perspective, we combine this with work in postcolonial and decolonial studies that highlight the enduring legacies of colonialism on political, economic and social conditions. The exploration of these bodies of literature enable the paper to explore the role of conflict sensitivity in the design of education interventions and the potential structural limitations to education's role in peacebuilding within conflict affected contexts.
- **Epistemic injustice** refers to the undermining and erasure of the knowledge and expertise of local stakeholders. Here we draw on Boaventura de Sousa Santos' work on 'epistemicide'; Miranda Fricker's work on epistemic injustice; and Robtel Neijai Pailey's work on the 'white

gaze in international development' to describe the ways in which injustices against ways of knowing, knowledge systems and individuals in their capacities as knowers. We explore how such concepts can help us to better understand the importance of local knowledge in designing appropriate and/or relevant programming within education in emergencies.

- The concept of **Neo-colonial injustice** introduces the ways in which internationally defined thematic aid funding streams can shape the focus and location of education for peace interventions. We draw on the work of post-development theorists like Arturo Escobar and Samir Amin, who critique the development process as a neo-colonial one that serves the interest of states and elites in the North and the work of those who have extended this critique to liberal peacebuilding processes. Attention to neo-colonial injustice highlights how education for peace interventions can overlap with agendas around security and economic interests of the Global North, including agendas to prevent or combat violent extremism and to deter migration, as well as agendas to derive economic benefit in the Global North from development and humanitarian partnerships.

The report outlines the ways in which these injustices intersect and offers a tool by which this framework can be operationalized to first acknowledge these injustices, next analyze their potential impact on education programming, and finally, to design interventions in order to counter these injustices. It concludes that it will be necessary for education in emergencies programming to be aware of and actively seek to challenge historical/structural, epistemic and neo-colonial injustice in its design and delivery in order for these contributions to sustainable peace to be enabled.

IRC learning facilitator Fatima helps her brothers with their homework at home, Nigeria, 2019 © Tom Saater, IRC

1. Introduction

INEE, UNESCO and the Geneva Global Hub for Education in Emergencies (EiE Hub) have commissioned this synthesis report to explore the obstacles and opportunities for education's role in peace. Fundamentally, education in emergencies and protracted crises must be recognized as a cornerstone of humanitarian, peace and development action – not as secondary to sectoral responses. The EiE Hub, therefore, aims to harness diverse actors across the nexus and various sectors to enhance the visibility, coherence and scale of education in emergencies solutions. International Geneva is significant not just because it is a great place from which to rally actors directly involved in education in emergencies, but also because it offers the possibility to connect actors more effectively across the nexus. The EiE Hub is well positioned to create linkages with other stakeholders—diplomatic, development, academia and private sector entities—as well as fields such as peace.

The partners were interested in highlighting education programming that has been successful in delivering peacebuilding outcomes and in exploring critical theoretical literature to help explain the persistent challenges that often constrain education programming in its contributions to peace. These questions were framed within the EiE Hub's interest in exploring the potential for education in emergencies programming to contribute to peace within the triple nexus of humanitarian-development-peacebuilding interventions, which as discussed in more detail in Section 3, is an approach that seeks to enhance coordination across the humanitarian, development and peacebuilding sectors in the service of shared outcomes. The Synthesis Report starts from the perspective that one of the shared outcomes towards which education in emergencies programming can and should contribute is the building of sustainable peace. Sustainable peace is defined as a lasting peace underpinned not just by the cessation of armed conflict, but by the transformation of the social, political and economic causes of conflict (Lederach, 1997; Novelli and Sayed, 2016).

Despite decades of recognition of the potential for education to contribute towards peace and peacebuilding, there are limited examples of successful practice in this area. Much existing education in emergencies programming focuses on expanding educational access and ensuring educational quality (INEE, 2021). These are important priorities around which much is still to be achieved. However, if education in emergencies programming is to operate effectively within the triple nexus there need to be strategies by which to engage more seriously with peacebuilding, including by identifying and working to transform the causes of conflict. We explore these issues in Sections 3 and 4, which focus on education and peacebuilding and the triple nexus respectively. Nexus thinking in education in emergencies to date has concentrated primarily on the 'humanitarian-development nexus', improving coordination and outcomes between these sectors with limited engagement with actors working in the peacebuilding sector (Mendelson, 2019; INEE, 2021; Brown and Meda, 2021). Acknowledging and overcoming the obstacles that hinder education's possible contributions to peacebuilding and sustainable peace is fundamental to expanding nexus thinking as we explore in this report.

The report draws on a collection of case studies offering examples of critical education initiatives that have had peacebuilding outcomes in crisis-affected and emergency contexts. To develop the report, case studies were commissioned from Bangladesh, Central Asia, Lebanon, Nigeria and Peru - countries and regions that have received limited attention in the research field of education and conflict. All five case studies will be published in full on the PEER (Political Economy of Education Research Network) website and we offer condensed versions of each in this report. We discuss the methodology for developing the case studies and the Synthesis Report as a whole in Section 2. The case studies helped to highlight ways in which the peacebuilding contributions of education to the triple nexus can be identified and maximized, but they also drew attention to limits of education programming to challenge and transform injustice.

The word 'critical' is important in selecting the case studies featured here, since they are successful thanks to their awareness of multiple injustices that often limit the possibilities of education programming to contribute towards sustainable peace. The critical approaches adopted by the case study initiatives work against different forms of injustice that often affect education in emergencies programming. The Synthesis Report draws on theoretical literature to describe three recurrent injustices that serve to limit the role of education in building sustainable peace. A better understanding of these injustices is essential so that education in emergencies programming can acknowledge them in its design and think creatively about how to challenge and overcome them. The paper introduces each injustice and presents them within an intersecting injustices-framework that can serve as an analytical tool to aid this aim. The three injustices that will be explored are: **historical and structural injustice**, through which unequal power dynamics and horizontal inequalities can be maintained and entrenched in and through education; **epistemic injustice**, which can undermine and erase the knowledge and expertise of stakeholders and enable inappropriate and/or irrelevant programming; and **neo-colonial injustice**, through which education initiatives can serve interests external to the learners, teachers and communities whose rights should be at the heart of programming. Each injustice and the injustice framework are developed in more detail in Section 5 along with illustrative case study examples of interventions that have had peacebuilding outcomes thanks to the challenges they pose to at least one of the injustices.

The report and the injustices framework it presents are not exhaustive or definitive. Instead, the report proposes ways to think about and approach education programming within the triple nexus, which we hope will serve to inspire further exploration of this area. It highlights the interconnections and interdependencies of the three forms of injustice presented, including the ways in which they can reinforce one another. The report suggests that a full exploration of each form of injustice across discrete scales of analysis (local, regional, national, international/global) followed by an investigation of their interconnections should inform future education in emergencies interventions. To understand the relationship between education and sustainable peace and the challenges to actualizing it, the report draws on a range of disciplinary knowledge bases, including those grounded in political science, history, memory studies, postcolonial studies and peace and conflict studies, to propose a critically informed analytical model that can help actors to unpack the obstacles and opportunities for actualising the triple nexus in the education sector.

Students studying outside during the Covid-19 pandemic in Peru. 2020
© Garcia, UNICEF

2. Methodology

A traditional literature review was conducted to obtain a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the current knowledge on critical peacebuilding in education and to identify existing studies of education within the triple nexus. We also drew on a range of theoretical perspectives to identify three key areas of injustice that may constrain the possibilities for education programming to contribute to peacebuilding. These injustices form the theoretical framework presented in the report and focused the selection criteria for the case study research. The goal of the case studies was to identify education initiatives that had achieved or partly achieved peacebuilding objectives in each of five country or regional settings: Bangladesh, Central Asia, Lebanon, Nigeria, and Peru. Case study authors used the injustices framework to select two to three initiatives that had successfully overcome, or had success in addressing, one or more injustice in order to have a positive impact on peacebuilding in their context. As a team, we then selected one initiative from each country/region, which case study authors developed in depth. Case study authors conducted literature reviews of each context, gathered available documentation and evaluations of the chosen initiatives and, where possible, conducted interviews with programme staff and other relevant stakeholders. Some of the case study initiatives are presented in the report and all case studies will be published in full on the PEER network's website. When selecting initiatives to focus on, we aimed for breadth and diversity in terms of the size, duration, goals, peacebuilding objectives, organizations involved in leading projects, engagements with education (including initiatives that work in formal education settings and with Ministries of Education and initiatives that work in informal or non-formal education or in adjacent sectors like heritage) and level of education.

Lebanon, 2021 © Pascale Feghali, IRC

3. Introducing the Triple Nexus

The increasingly protracted and persistent nature of conflict has resulted in affected communities suffering from a range of overlapping and complex needs and this is likely to worsen with the effects of the climate crisis (Burke et al, 2015). There is a growing consensus within the international community that to respond more effectively to conflict and crisis, humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding actors need to work more cohesively together toward collective outcomes (OESD, 2019). This recognition is illustrated by the conceptual development of the 'humanitarian-development nexus', and more recently the expanded 'humanitarian-development-peace nexus'. These approaches reflect the understanding within the international community that vulnerability during crises is often a symptom of broader inequality and injustice (Fanning & Fullwood-Thomas, 2019). Working in a more cohesive and collaborative manner across humanitarian, development and peacebuilding sectors would allow actors to respond to immediate need while also engaging with root causes, enabling possibilities for sustainable peace. The overall aim of the triple nexus approach is therefore to support actors to interrupt cyclical or recurrent vulnerabilities and support long-term peace and stability (Fanning & Fullwood-Thomas, 2019; UNPSBO, 2016). Yet, despite recognition and commitment from international actors, the triple nexus struggles to be operationalized at scale.

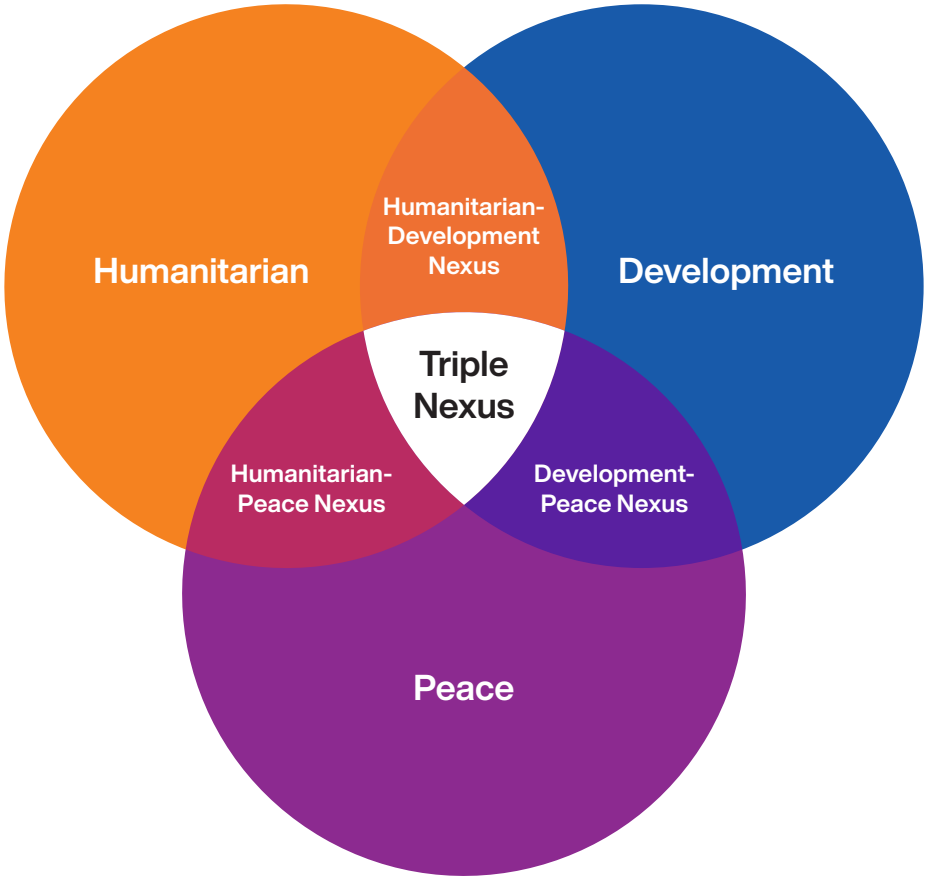
The 'triple nexus' was launched as a "new way of working" at the World Humanitarian summit in 2016, where it was argued that addressing crises required not only meeting humanitarian needs but also reducing risk and vulnerability (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2016). The "new ways of working" focus on the following three goals (1) to reinforce - but not replace - national and local systems; (2) to transcend the humanitarian-development divide, including through defining collective outcomes and working over multi-year timelines; and (3) to anticipate - rather than waiting for - crises (NYU Centre on International Cooperation, 2019). Initially agreed between the United Nations (UN) agencies and World Bank, the triple nexus enjoys considerable support from donor states and other agencies, though, as mentioned, its full

adoption into actual practices is far from complete (Brown and Mena, 2021). The idea of the triple nexus has extended beyond these actors and is increasingly seen as a priority by international NGOs and others, including in the settings where much education in emergencies work takes place (NYU Centre of International Cooperation, 2019; UNPBSO, 2016).

The triple nexus emerged in a global context of increasing conflict, instability and displacement and decreasing commitments to international aid and humanitarian response from wealthy nations. Resources for peacebuilding and crisis prevention, which have long occupied a small share of overall assistance, are also reducing (Caparini and Reagan, 2019). The triple nexus might be read as the latest in a series of initiatives to recognize and seek to overcome the siloed approaches of the development and humanitarian sectors. Previous approaches include, in the 1980s the 'Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development' agenda and in the 1990s the 'whole government,' 'early recovery approaches' (Hövelmann, 2020) and the 'relief-development continuum' (Mendenhall, 2019). In education, much effort in the last two decades has been dedicated to the 'humanitarian-development nexus' and to improving coordination between actors from both sectors for improved service delivery, including via the development of education clusters to coordinate programming (Mendenhall, 2019).

UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres' statement to the General Assembly as he took his oath in 2016 that "humanitarian response, sustainable development and sustaining peace are three sides of the same triangle" arguably secures more attention to peacebuilding than previous approaches (Caparini and Reagan, 2019). What was previously known as the 'double nexus' between development and humanitarian work, agendas and sectors was expanded to the triple nexus and the linkages between development, humanitarian and peacebuilding work were articulated as captured in the SIPRI diagram below.

Diagram 1: The triple nexus (Caparini and Reagan, 2019)



In the context of growing resource scarcity and sharply increasing need, the triple nexus model "asks humanitarian, development and peace actors to consider whether they could conduct their work more holistically with one another to enable them to more effectively relieve global suffering, build resiliency and prevent conflict or its reoccurrence" (Caparini and Reagan, 2019). In 2019, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) adopted a recommendation on the triple nexus, urging member countries to implement more collaborative, coherent and complementary development, humanitarian and peace actions. Despite strong mandates within the UN system, including the OECD DAC recommendation, and a 2016 'peace promise' endorsed by 30 UN entities and a range of non-governmental organizations (UNPBO, 2016), working across the triple nexus has yet to become the norm, including in education in emergencies planning and programming. There are few education focused studies and/or evaluations that adopt a triple nexus approach and where it is considered, the development and humanitarian branches of the nexus remain the focus of attention (e.g. INEE, 2021).

A number of challenges to and criticisms of the triple nexus have been raised by actors working in the development, humanitarian and peacebuilding sectors and by analysts. These include that consensus and leadership around the implementation of the triple nexus are lacking; that closer coordination with development and peacebuilding actors risks politicizing humanitarian assistance and compromising the neutrality of humanitarian actors; that funding mechanisms and timeframes are incompatible with a collaborative and long-term approach; and that the operational challenges of dismantling siloes are considerable (Caparini and Reagan, 2019; Brown and Mena, 2021), including the challenges of adopting 'triple nexus' approaches within governments (NYU Centre on International Cooperation, 2019). Humanitarian and development actors have also noted confusion with "the peace component in practice," noting the different meanings of peace ranging from security initiatives and peacekeeping through to grassroots peacebuilding and conflict sensitivity, leading to confusion and tension (Brown and Mena, 2021, p. 6).

A further criticism is that these discussions are largely taking place amongst actors in the international community – UN agencies, the World Bank, the OECD, and large international NGOs – with limited engagement with the views and perspectives of those affected by conflict and crisis and the complex vulnerabilities they generate, and that closer coordination intends to address (NEAR, 2021). Despite the potential opened by the triple nexus, general discussion of and action towards the education specific triple nexus engagements also tend to happen at a 'high level'. The discussions draw on evidence or seek to learn from programming experiences in order to identify best practice, but they often take place with limited participation by those affected by crises or accessing education in emergencies programming (Oddy, 2019).

Students in class, Kyrgyz Republic, 2022
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4. Education, peacebuilding, and the triple nexus

Within the education sector there have been increasing calls to strengthen humanitarian-development coordination and collaboration (World Bank, 2017). A variety of global frameworks support this aim. The Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action commit to an education agenda that strives to build back better, demanding that education actors operate with "strong links to humanitarian response, rather than alongside it" (UNESCO, 2016). The document makes clear reference to the need for countries to develop inclusive, responsive and resilient education systems in crisis contexts in order to achieve Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 targets for quality and inclusive education for all. These calls are often understood within the framing of 'humanitarian-development coherence' (Nicolai et al, 2019). With 'coherence' providing an umbrella term that encompasses both the humanitarian-development nexus and the triple nexus focus on peacebuilding (INEE, 2021).

There has been established agreement across both humanitarian and development actors that "education reconstruction begins at the earliest stages of a crisis... [and should be] undertaken concurrently with humanitarian relief" (World Bank, 2016). As such, attention to the triple nexus within the education sector has focused primarily on securing the right to uninterrupted quality education for all children, including those impacted by conflict and crises (for example, see ODI, 2020; Mendenhall, 2019; INEE, 2021). An area of targeted focus in this respect has been "how the learning that young people acquire during conflict, crisis, or displacement is recognized and validated over the longer-term and across different national contexts" (Mendenhall, 2019). Closer collaboration between development and humanitarian actors allows organisational planning that looks beyond the immediate context to think of longer-term development needs, such as learning attainment and certification. While such explorations are essential for moving forward humanitarian-development collaboration,

they tend to miss the explicit focus on education's role in peacebuilding that is called for by the triple nexus.

The provision of education during emergencies is underpinned by three central rationales (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Firstly, education can provide children with protection and serve as an entry point for psychosocial support during times of crisis. The second rationale focuses on access to education as a basic human right. Within this is the importance of education as an "enabling right," a right through which other rights are realized (ibid, p. 18). The third rationale highlights education's developmental focus: it acknowledges education as a long-term investment for society. Education's intersections with societies' social, economic, political and security sectors leave it well placed to have far-reaching impacts across a range of conflict stabilization and developmental objectives. These rationales reflect education's important role within society during emergencies. However, we also know that education is not a neutral technical pursuit, especially in crisis-affected contexts.

Education's potential to also negatively influence the sectors that it interacts with is now well documented. In recent decades, research into education, peacebuilding and conflict prevention has grown substantially with the emergence of new theoretical frameworks and analytical approaches. Essential to this exploration has also been a shift towards more nuanced and critical understanding of education's relationship with power and conflict. Prominent social theorists (including Pierre Bourdieu, W.E.B. Du Bois, Paolo Freire, Antonio Gramsci and Bell Hooks) have theorised and documented the ways in which education can not only build peace, but also entrench inequalities and legitimise injustice. It is now widely acknowledged that education structure, policies, content and management, and pedagogical practices can serve to influence conflict and peace (Bush and Salterelli 2000; GSDRC, 2012; Davies, 2004; 2014; Lopes Cardozo and Shah, 2016; Mundy & Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Shields & Paulson, 2015). This research is often summarized with the refrain that education has 'two faces' in its ability to contribute positively towards peace and negatively towards the causes and triggers of conflict (Bush and Saterelli, 2000).

There are many entry points from which education can exercise influence over conflict drivers. Unequal access to education can result in disparities between communities creating conflict, reinforcing political dominance or marginalizing certain societal groups (Bush and Saterelli, 2000). Education provides knowledge and skills, and therefore equity between groups is essential to avoid grievances and 'horizontal inequalities' (Stewart, 2015). Furthermore, education content holds significant influence over the transmission of values, with every area of the curriculum carrying the potential to communicate unintended, implicit and explicit political and ideological messages (Gallagher, 2004; King, 2013; Kirk & Winthrop, 2008). Education can also legitimize certain forms of knowledge and experience and make other ways of knowing and being in the world invisible or illegitimate, leading to misrecognition of learners and their potential (Walker, 2019; Balarin et al., 2021). As such, education holds the potential to further ensconce inequity, divisions, discrimination and structural violence along religious, cultural, ethnic or linguistic lines (INEE, 2017).

Correspondingly, there are multiple entry points where education in emergencies might influence peace, from ensuring that delivery is equitable and sensitive to the conflict context to delivering targeted education programmes aimed at building understanding, agency and critical engagement with potential conflict triggers. Emergency and conflict contexts can provide an opportunity to reimagine and revitalize education in order to transform existing inequalities and injustices. The following descriptions highlight the most prevalent education for peace categorizations currently informing education in emergencies interventions.

Peace Education: The term 'peace education' usually refers to the use of a particular curriculum or pedagogy that strives to promote students' knowledge, values, attitudes, skills and behaviors to encourage peaceful, violence-free communities. As such, many concepts have now become synonymous with Peace Education: Conflict Resolution, Human Rights Education, Citizenship, Civics and Life Skills (Reardon, 1998). Consequently, Peace Education has become an umbrella term for education content that explores the problem of violence and teaches strategies for peace. Within this field three distinct streams of Peace Education can be identified. Firstly, what we will refer to as '**Peace Education for Attitudinal Change**'; which is engagement that seeks to cultivate a peaceful outlook in general and mobilize pupils and teachers in the pursuit of peace, including by teaching human rights and/or conflict resolution skills. It encourages students to think critically, develop and foster an alternative vision of society that counters the beliefs, attitudes and actions which have previously led to conflict (Harris and Morrison, 2012). In this respect, Peace Education for Attitudinal Change can be seen as a type of socialization process for a better future (ibid.) and can include Social Emotional Learning as a pedagogical approach.

The second stream of Peace Education deals more specifically with the more emotive issue of engaging with peace in the aftermath of violence. This stream seeks to promote peaceful dispositions toward particular groups in the context of previous inter-group conflict (Salomon and Cairns, 2011). Such '**Peace Education for Reconciliation**' programmes aim to explore different collective historical narratives, open opportunities to identify with groups perceived as 'other,' and promote the critical examination of all contributions to conflict. These programmes open space for empathy for others' suffering and try to promote engagement with non-violent means of conflict resolution. This stream of Peace Education engages specifically with building the process of a *shared* peaceful future (Salomon and Nevo, 2005).

The third stream of Peace Education, '**Critical Peace Education**', shares with peace education for reconciliation an attention to historical narratives and acknowledgement of the other, while also attending to an analysis of the causes of conflict and injustice (Bajaj, 2008). Inspired by critical pedagogy, critical peace education seeks to analyze the causes of conflict and social injustice and develop skills, capacities, and proposals for change (Bajaj and Brantmeier, 2011; Higgins and Novelli, 2020).

All three forms of Peace Education have some common objectives, and as such there is a degree of duplication and overlap between the three. However, they differ in their engagement with issues of political significance, social sensitivity and visions for change. For this reason, Peace Education for Attitudinal Change is often championed by humanitarian organizations working in education, who are more likely to be constrained by organizational mandates that are framed by ensuring neutrality.

Peacebuilding Education: Peacebuilding education moves the focus away from the individual and particular curriculum and/or pedagogical approaches to look at the education system as a whole and its relationship with peace and conflict dynamics (Smith, 2010). Peacebuilding Education can play a central role in challenging relations of power, privilege, and inequality associated with violent conflict. Education in conflict-affected contexts is often highly politicized, with a range of internal and external power dynamics at play for control of resources and curriculum content (Novelli et al, 2014). Interventions under this heading are concerned with the State and the role of internal and external actors in determining educational agenda, allocating resources and determining policy directions (Smith, 2011). Peacebuilding education initiatives are concerned with identifying and addressing harm that education might cause through the creation of horizontal inequalities (Langer & Kuppens, 2019). Peacebuilding education interventions should acknowledge and respond to current, historical, and cultural contexts, policy landscapes and power dynamics, aiming to ensure that education does not hinder or undermine peacebuilding processes. Peacebuilding education therefore advocates for new education policies, standards, and practice to ensure that the education system supports equality, social justice, integration and cohesion (Novelli et al., 2014).

Conflict Sensitive Education: While drawing on the same contextual factors to inform interventions, conflict-sensitive education (CSE) distinguishes itself from peacebuilding education through the extent of its objectives. Whereas the latter seeks to actively promote peacebuilding measures within and through educational structures and settings (Clarke-Habibi, 2015), a conflict-sensitive approach focuses simply on doing no harm (Anderson, 1999). Like peacebuilding, conflict-sensitive education must be grounded in an understanding of the relationship between an education system and the conflict context. However, peacebuilding gains are not the focus of conflict sensitivity. Instead, it offers 'a framework of principles for educational planners and providers to audit their operations and interventions in conflict-affected settings' (Clarke-Habibi, 2015). Conflict sensitivity can therefore be understood as a basis upon which peacebuilding education interventions can be built; however, on its own, it is unlikely to contribute towards building sustainable peace. For example, education programmers may misuse conflict sensitive approaches by avoiding opportunities to address sensitive issues altogether and, thus, children are likely to miss learning how to critically think and engage in dialogue.

Despite decades of recognition of the potential for education to contribute towards peace and peacebuilding, there are limited examples of successful practice in this area (INEE, 2021). Education's positive face is often assumed but poorly evidenced and the question of where education fits within the triple nexus remains unanswered. To meaningfully work within the 'triple nexus' framework requires a targeted understanding of education's ability to interrupt conflict vulnerabilities, transform conflict causes and build sustainable peace. This also requires a clear analysis of the ways in which education may have contributed to inequalities, triggering conflict through its policies, organization, curricula and outcomes.

Students leave school after summer activities, Iraq, 2019
© Andrea DiCenzo, IRC

5. Areas of Injustice and the Injustices Model

This paper posits that rigorous interdisciplinary exploration of the limitations and opportunities for peace-focused education interventions is required to support a significant engagement with the triple nexus within education. To overcome the disconnect between education and peace, education interventions need to acknowledge and seek to overcome injustices that can often hinder the possibilities for contributing to peacebuilding and indeed can contribute towards the 'negative' face of education in perpetuating conflict, violence, and division. This synthesis report presents a framework below (summarized in Table 1) to facilitate critical engagement with education for peace, including by developing critical peacebuilding education and critical peace education approaches that are explicit in their analysis of injustices and in their strategies to overcome them. Taking existing lessons learned from a range of disciplines that have been developing evidence bases and theoretical arguments, the framework presents three interdependent obstacles or 'areas of injustice' that limit the success of peace focused education interventions.

This section introduces the three forms of injustice that we argue are essential for education in emergencies programming to acknowledge and seek to overcome in order to operate effectively within the triple nexus and enable positive contributions to sustainable peace. These injustices can operate across a number of scales, from interactions between individuals, within and between organizations, dynamics within communities as well as at national, regional and international scales. Within the discussion of each injustice, we draw out its implications for education programming within the 'triple nexus'. We then present an injustices model, which we propose as an analytical tool to aid education in emergencies programming to first acknowledge these injustices, next analyse their potential impact

on education programming, and finally, to design programming in order to counter these injustices. The case studies presented offer promising examples of critical challenges to these injustices in the design of education interventions, while also showing the degree of the challenges and some of the limitations introduced by structural/historical, epistemic, and neo-colonial injustice.

5.1 STRUCTURAL AND HISTORICAL INJUSTICE

It is commonly accepted that for education to meaningfully engage with peacebuilding, legacies of colonialism and conflict, local power structures and inequalities within the education system need to be understood and their effects in education addressed. It is essential to view education in relation to the broader socio-economic and political structures that impact and restrict it (Robertson and Dale, 2014). Education delivery in post-conflict and emergency settings can be complex and often highly politicized. Education can be controlled by both state and non-state groups for political or ideological objectives, including division and discrimination of distinct identity communities (Burde, 2014). As such structural injustices in the education sector can be generated by national education policy that embed the discrimination and/or the unjust distribution of resources, state neglect for marginalized communities and regions, discriminatory curriculum content and influence over school structure (Davies, 2004; Novelli, 2017; Smith and Vaux, 2003). Educational inequalities in access, quality and outcomes can therefore reproduce and entrench horizontal inequalities between social groups (Tikly, 2022; Brown and Langer, 2010; Ukiwo, 2007). As Frances Stewart explains "in general, horizontal inequalities are a source of injustice" since, despite some fluidity and flexibility in how social groups are defined and made meaningful, people are born into certain groups for which membership is beyond their control and this membership influences opportunities to flourish (Stewart, 2015).

STRUCTURAL AND HISTORICAL INJUSTICE IN THE IRAQI CURRICULUM

Numerous initiatives that can fall under the Peace Education umbrella have been implemented by international education actors in Iraq post 2003. Human rights focused programmes, civics textbooks and the incorporation of peace focused themes within the curriculum have been implemented across the country (Shanks, 2017). Although the two Iraqi curricula contain many valuable messages of equality and peace, they also retain conflicting and discriminatory messaging that is underpinned by ideological and political narratives. For example, analysis of the History and Social Studies textbooks suggests a repetitive use of 'the other' that serves to divide Iraqi Kurdish students from their Arab and minority ethnicity neighbours (Kirmanj, 2014). Representations of minority groups in the central Iraqi curriculum have suffered similar critiques (Shanks, 2016). Furthermore, the use of a particular form of Islamic education to advance peace in Iraq has been called into question (Kirmanj, 2014). It is suggested that rather than fostering tolerance, the form of Islamic education in use in the Kurdistan region of Iraq is a 'propagandistic tool to spread absolutist values and a worldview that lacks usefulness in the education of students in the values of diversity, tolerance, and openness to others' (Kirmanj, 2014). The absolutist nature of the subject also influences the delivery of religious science, which teaches about other faiths in the region. Other religions are taught from a dismissive perspective describing other religious practices in divisive terms (Shanks, 2017). Such curriculum serves to undermine the messages that education for peace interventions seek to promote, creating a curriculum defined by contradictory messages. Failure to engage with the political nature of the curriculum only serves to limit and undermine the effectiveness of targeted education for peace interventions. In this example, structural and historic ideological injustices remain unchallenged and the appropriateness of education as a vehicle for peacebuilding is assumed rather than interrogated.

Historically, colonial administrations were often responsible for establishing or expanding formal education systems according to colonial interests. Therefore, in postcolonial contexts, educational infrastructure, governance, policies, language of instruction, curricula and pedagogical practices are often shaped by these legacies (Tikly, 2020). Current political economy analysis can often focus on contemporary dynamics with less attention to historical causes of enduring inequalities and conflict (Paulson and Bellino, 2017), including the enduring legacies of colonialism (Takayama, et al., 2017; Sriprakash et al., 2020).The influence of both contemporary and historical socio-economic and political objectives over education structures can, if left unchallenged, undermine education's ability to fulfil the peacebuilding agenda required within the triple nexus.

However, despite the growth in education-focused political economy analysis within academia and increased practitioner awareness of the need to understand education's interaction with the conflict context, there remains a noticeable disconnect between understanding and practice (Novelli, 2020). Advocacy for education's capacity to engage with the structural and historical injustices that shape the access, experience and outcomes of education for children is increasing; significantly UNICEF's (2016) Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy in Conflict Affected Contexts Programme and the INEE's (2013) push for conflict sensitivity are widely recognized in this respect. Yet the greatest impact of such programmes remains within the specific networks that they have built. It has been suggested that there has yet to be a cascade effect beyond the specific peacebuilding-education community to the general education and peacebuilding arenas respectively (Shanks, 2019). Organisational policies that attempt to institutionalize conflict sensitive planning are often tokenistic and poorly implemented (Shanks, 2019).

This is partly due to the fact that the conceptualization of education as a tool for peacebuilding requires a significant shift in the mindsets of educationalists. Traditionally trained development educationalists are not provided with the skill set to apply a historical-political conflict analysis lens to education, while humanitarian education actors are bound by principles of neutrality that would normally limit direct engagement with conflict triggers (Smith, 2005; Novelli 2010). To fulfil the triple nexus, education actors are required to engage directly with the political environment often deemed outside their mandate. In these circumstances the peacebuilding side of the triple nexus can be obstructed by a lack of understanding of the connections between contemporary conflict dynamics and historical and structural injustices, a lack of political will to address these injustices and a reluctance of education actors to engage on sensitive topics connected to these persistent inequalities or societal groups. Current notions of education as an emergency response remain largely focused on access and psychosocial support, with a lack of engagement with the deeply political nature of education - including access to it – through which education is linked to and can maintain historical and structural injustice.

However, this is not to say that there are no examples of education initiatives aware of and designed in response to historical and structural injustice. The following case study illustrates a critical peacebuilding intervention that has specifically challenged the manipulation of the curriculum for political purposes, addressing the unjust way in which historical narratives within education can maintain divisions. While focused on a development context, the approach developed is being expanded and modified by the organization with the intent for use in humanitarian settings. The organization is currently applying their model to develop history education resources with Rohingya refugees.

ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION OF LIBERATION WAR MUSEUM - BANGLADESH

Before leaving the Indian sub-continent, the British enacted the Indian Independence Act in 1947, which facilitated the division of the region into two independent countries, namely India and Pakistan. East Pakistan, which was until 1953 known as "East Bengal" and is now known as Bangladesh, became an official part of Pakistan with the 1947 partition. In 1971, Bengali resistance leaders called for the civil disobedience of the people of East Bengal. While talks regarding East Bengali independence were underway, West Pakistan's army launched a brutal military crackdown known as the 'Operation Searchlight' against the Bengali population in East Pakistan. This resulted in a nine-month war, often called the 'Liberation War' in present day Bangladesh. The violence of the Pakistan military resulted in war crimes (Rahman, 2016; Power, 2002) described as genocidal by international commentators at the time (Brownmiller, 1975; Kuper, 1981; Power, 2002). The depiction of the war of independence remains an area of political sensitivity and contestation in Bangladesh and Pakistan. The historical narrative around these events, and the way associated identity groups are portrayed in both school systems has been highly politicized. In Bangladesh, school textbooks have been used as a vehicle by consecutive government regimes to influence the national political discourse (Durrani et al, 2020).

In response to the divisive use of national curriculum, the Liberation War Museum (LWM) strives to preserve the history of those who lived through the independence struggle and to provide lessons and a historical record for future generations. As such, the museum challenges the nationalist framing of Bangladeshi history as (re)created by state bureaucrats and military elites, a history which largely excludes the war and struggles for national sovereignty and constructs a national narrative continuous with Pakistani history (Feldman, 2006). In 1996, the museum, funded through donations, began by collecting and preserving personal artefacts and oral testimonies from communities across Bangladesh. The resulting Mobile Museum, which is housed in a school bus, travels to schools around the country, holding day-long events to share liberation war testimonies with students. A separate exhibition on the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" and "If the world had been one village" is also organized to educate children and young people about basic understanding of human dignity and human rights. The project simultaneously collects and shares oral testimonies about the 1971 genocide to promote peace education in Bangladesh. At the end of each event, the LWM staff (with the help of teaching representatives known as "Network Teachers" who are nominated by the head of the institution that the mobile exhibition is visiting) make an appeal to the students above grade VII, who have been given a glimpse of history and may feel inspired by it, to collect eye-witness accounts of 1971 from their elders. As of August 2021, more than 50,922 pieces of oral history/testimonies have been collected, challenging the silencing of this history in formal education, and introducing multiple perspectives on this contested and politicized past. LWM annually organizes a "Network Teachers' Conference" to train these teachers on the usages of LWM teaching tools and materials in classrooms as well as to identify and work on the challenges in collecting testimonies from the students. As of August 2021, a total of 2,449 network teachers and over 1.3 million students from rural villages have so far participated in this programme.

The above case study shows that the programme has been built on a detailed understanding of the conflict context and of its contemporary legacies. Indeed, it was developed as a response to historical and political dynamics that meant that official historical narratives transmitted to children through textbooks were partial and politicized. By being clear about its position on the past and the politics that surround it, and by developing narratives based on objects, testimonies and lived experience, the LWM not only opens space for children to learn about histories they would not otherwise encounter in their formal education, it also helps them to ask about how history is made and to see themselves and their families as historical actors. The LWM historical narratives acknowledge historical legacies of colonialism, the immediate connections between colonialism and the 1971 conflict

and the legacies of both in the present. The project challenges and exposes State manipulation of the curriculum for political purposes and situates it within this longer historical process. It therefore offers an example of a programme designed with awareness of and responsiveness to structural and historical injustice and a strategy for addressing them. Importantly, this includes being explicit about the LWM's position on the past, acknowledging its founders' roles in the events of 1971, and balancing an inclusive approach to inviting testimonies with a curated approach to exhibiting them. By drawing on oral testimonies from across the country and creating a 'people's account' of history, the LWM's depiction of divisive historical events can be grounded in the principles of respect and human rights. The inclusion of a teachers' network enables greater sustainability of the messaging and provides opportunities for teachers to develop their knowledge and skills for teaching about contested pasts, perhaps enabling them to complicate or move beyond the politicized narratives that they encounter in State-sponsored textbooks.

5.2 EPISTEMIC INJUSTICE

There is growing recognition that for transformational change to occur via peacebuilding education, both the concepts of education and peace need to be supported in meaningful, relevant and desirable ways for the populations experiencing them (Hajir et al., 2021; Bellino et al., 2017). Yet, lack of engagement leads to many peacebuilding education initiatives continuing to rely upon so-called international best practice and standardized approaches (Abu Moghli, 2020; Hart, 2011). This can be attributed, at least in part, to pervasive epistemic injustice within the operating dynamics of the triple nexus which serve to neglect or dismiss local knowledge. Epistemic injustice refers to inequities, unfairness and harm in knowledge production. This includes the devaluing of knowledge systems, ways of knowing and contributions of individuals and groups. This conceptualization is informed by Dotson's work on epistemic oppression (2014), which refers to persistent exclusion that hinders contributions to knowledge production and Boaventura de Sousa Santos' (2014) work on epistemic violence and 'epistemicide', which describes the elimination and destruction of ways of knowing.

SEEKING EPISTEMIC JUSTICE - THE LOCALISATION AGENDA

The criticism that the humanitarian sphere is dominated by international actors has led to a push for transformational change within the system. Commitments to involve local partners and beneficiaries in decision-making have been made widely across all sectors. Organizations engaged in education during emergencies have actively supported this 'localization' agenda, calling for community participation in their mandates and emphasising the need for local 'ownership' or 'community buy-in'. Yet, despite this international rhetoric, local actors continue to share frustrations at the lack of systematic change (Barbelet et al, 2021). Alexander (2021) suggests that 'although there's growing interest – not to mention additional proof of the benefits of having affected people in the driver's seat – the ideas remain fringe, with continued resistance to allowing these voices to meaningfully impact decision-making.'

A study by Menashy and Zakharia (2022) explores the nature of partnerships within education in emergencies and finds that despite the education community's promotion of a localization agenda 'there continues to be a maintained hierarchy where international actors hold the most influence' (2022; p3). The study suggests that participation of beneficiaries and local partners is often merely symbolic, as one of their interviewees explained 'the beneficiaries are rarely in the room, and oftentimes if they're in the room, it can take a very tokenistic, paternalistic lens to it'(Menashy and Zakharia, 2022). When reflecting on her own experiences of the 'localization' agenda, Shuayb (2022), also draws attention to the tokenistic efforts in this space. She explains that 'instead of shaking the whole temple of power, which is what a sincere attempt at decolonization requires, the international sector attempts a gentler approach, tip-toeing around the heart of the issue: the deep-rooted racism

and ongoing legacies of colonialism.' Shuayb illustrates how despite only spending half her life in Lebanon she is often called on to provide a 'local' perspective. She explains 'my representation of other locals is never questioned, while to many Lebanese, being educated in elite universities in the United Kingdom, and having never spent time in informal tented settlements or camps, I'm hardly a local. Localization often implies this reductionist understanding of who is local, excluding those most disadvantaged – who arguably need their voices heard most – and empowering others like me. I don't know what it means to live in those places and experience those people's lives, so how can I be expected to speak on their behalf?'.

The attitude of international actors towards local actor 'capacity' has been identified as a key obstacle to the representation of local knowledge (Barbelet et al, 2021). Who is included in the decision making processes is largely dependent on what 'capacity' they are deemed to have. There is no universal definition of capacity within the localization narrative (Howe and Stites, 2019) and it has come to focus primarily on understandings of humanitarian principles and financial management (Barbelet et al, 2021). This focus on international compliance requirements serves to overshadow the importance of local knowledge that sits at the heart of the localization agenda. In other words, local partners are only given a seat at the table if they can demonstrate their 'international knowledge' and not based on their proximity or access to beneficiary groups. This in turn serves to inform what a partner should look like often resulting in the continued power imbalances and the exclusion of local voices, for example refugee-led and women-led organizations (Featherstone and Mowjee, 2020; Pincock et al., 2020; Roepstorff, 2019).

Robtel Neajai Pailey describes the 'white gaze' of development, whereby problems, including those addressed by the triple nexus, are framed by drawing on knowledge and ways of understanding the world that are largely derived from Western/European theoretical and philosophical traditions (for example, assumptions of linear progress towards development), therefore 'upholding and reproducing racialized hierarchies' (2019, p. 730). Drawing on postcolonial and decolonial scholarship, research shows how development discourses construct relations of domination by viewing the 'southern other' (black and brown people in the Global South) as riddled with problems, needs, and deficiencies rather than with capabilities, knowledge and choices (Tikly, 2020; Hall, 1992). In relation to our opening example on localisation, evidence demonstrates that international actors' 'often inaccurate' and negative perceptions of local actor 'capacity', defined in terms of knowledge of international systems, undermine meaningful partnerships for localization and knowledge sharing (Ali et al., 2018; Barakat and Milton, 2020).

Limited representation of local knowledge systems can also be seen in terms of a lack of trust and confidence, where international actors 'distrust the people on the ground' (Barbelet et al, 2021). Miranda Fricker (2007) describes this as epistemic injustice, the processes whereby individuals and groups have their narratives dismissed as untrustworthy due to identity markers such as race, class or gender and their lived experience ignored because it does not fit within the understanding of others. as in Pailey's words: 'Western whiteness remains a signifier of expertise, whether real or perceived' (2019, p. 731). Control of narratives and ways of knowing by international actors can be seen to 'reflect deeper sector-wide issues with racist and colonial underpinnings' (Barbelet et al, 2021), which have crystallized into a saviour narrative in the sector (Wall and Hedlund, 2016; Roepstorff, 2019).

These relations of power around knowledge production are visible in tangible ways within the triple nexus. For example, the limited resources and platforms for programming and research that is locally designed and led despite rhetorical commitments to localization. Equally, the composition of research teams, who conduct the research that underpins programme design, which despite commitments to 'equitable partnerships' often privilege the ideas and leadership of researchers based in the Global North and relegate Southern-based colleagues to data collection roles (Shuayb and Brun, 2021; Shanks and Paulson, 2022). Additionally, staffing models within which 'international' or 'expatriate' colleagues

predominantly from the Global North are given advantageous terms and conditions. This practice is often further entrenched by Western recruitment processes, selection criteria and human resourcing processes value qualifications recognizable under this logic and tend to recruit 'local' staff with higher education credentials from the West (Ayobi et al., 2017; de Geoffroy and Grunewald, 2018; Ali et al., 2018). All factors that serve to undermine the importance of local knowledge.

Furthermore, epistemic injustice can also be driven by the market economy that defines the international humanitarian system (Barbelet et al, 2021). International organizations require visibility in order to access funding (Cohen et al., 2016; Emmens and Clayton, 2017). This can serve to disincentivize the inclusion and acknowledgment of local actors within programming (UNICEF, 2019). The structures through which an organization maintains and increases its funding streams can serve to disincentivize the transfer of power to local actors (Barakat and Milton, 2020; Metcalfe-Hough et al., 2020; Ali et al., 2018; Howe et al., 2019) creating a system of self-preservation that requires the international expertise to be fore fronted and local knowledge to be undermined (Wall and Hedlund, 2016; Robillard et al., 2020b). Roepstorff (2019) argues that current attempts to challenge epistemic injustice through the localization agenda 'runs the risk of becoming another method of domination and control, reproducing current power asymmetries and the marginalization of actors at the periphery'.

The result of epistemic injustice in the triple nexus can be seen via the reliance on 'international best practice' and standardized approaches to standardized problems at the expense of localized analyses and appropriate, specialized programming designed in response to locally identified needs or challenges. In some contexts this can lead to education becoming synonymous with Western/European definitions of schooling, failing to engage with community-based initiatives or indigenous pedagogies. The case studies below highlight the benefits of locally designed programming, responsive to local needs, including those generated due to armed conflict, and enabling respectful and creative epistemic practices.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO A CULTURALLY INCLUSIVE SCHOOL EDUCATION THAT FOSTERS DEMOCRACY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN POST-CONFLICT RURAL AREAS IN AYACUCHO AND HUÁNUCO - PERU

Between 1980 and 2000, Peru experienced a period of conflict characterized by extreme violence, political and economic crisis, and state repression. According to Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR, 2003), 69,000 people were killed or went missing because of the conflict (Reátegui et al., 2004). This has been highlighted as "the bloodiest and most lengthy insurgency recorded in Peru's modern history" (Méndez, 2021, p. 17). The CVR has emphasized how the conflict reflected the deep-rooted racism and discrimination that extended throughout Peruvian society, indicating the ways in which historical and structural injustice can be triggers of violent conflict. Racism and discrimination were exercised both by the armed groups (The Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*) and MRTA (*Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru*) and the state (through the Armed Forces and the Police), all of whom committed human rights violations against people from marginalized communities. Rural areas were the most impacted, with the population living between the violence exerted by armed groups, especially *Sendero Luminoso*, and that inflicted by the state. Three out of every four victims were farmers from rural communities whose mother tongue was Quechua; and 43% of victims were in the Southern Andean regions of Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huancavelica, the poorest geographical area in the country (Reátegui et al., 2004). The influence of armed groups on education in rural areas led to schools being used as recruitment grounds and teachers being associated with terrorism (Uccelli et al. 2013). This resulted in the stigmatization and neglect of the state-funded education system (Paulson, 2017), further exacerbating the opportunity for armed groups to co-opt education for their own means.

The CVR specifically identified the ways in which educational inequalities contributed to the causes of conflict in Peru. In its recommendations, the CVR placed strong responsibility on the education sector to prevent potential future conflicts and build a culture of peace and democracy. However, the high degree of centralization, the weakness of state institutions, as well as the politically contested nature of some of the CVR's proposals have limited the state's capacity to respond meaningfully to the CVR's recommendations (Drinot, 2014; Dargent Bocanegra, 2021).

Contributions to a culturally inclusive school education that fosters democracy and respect for human rights in post-conflict rural areas in Ayacucho and Huánuco was a project that sought to contribute to the school education of rural children in post-conflict Andean areas (Ayacucho and Huánuco - two of the most affected areas) and to promote a democratic, inclusive society that fosters citizen participation and respect for human rights. The proposal was framed within the recommendations on education made by the CVR to the Peruvian state. The project was developed by the Human Rights Commission (Comisión de Derechos Humanos, COMISEDH) and the Regional Institute for Peace (Instituto Regional para la Paz, IREPAZ), both Peruvian Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).The project was funded for the most part by the European Commission with support from the German development cooperation and ran for two years between 2010 and 2012. The project trained 60 public school teachers (73% of whom were women) from Ayacucho and Huánuco to design and implement pedagogical modules with a human rights approach. The work with teachers was approached through a bottom-up methodology.

Teachers had a central role in developing the modules, and human rights discussion and training started from an understanding of the local culture. Thus, the contents on human rights education materials were developed from the reality of rural schools and their experiences during the conflict. All of the projects started from the diagnosis of students' needs and from a recognition of students' material living conditions. The projects that each teacher developed were then implemented in their classrooms and served as primary inputs for a regional human rights educational proposal. Many of them also include the use of regional and local songs and stories, and local languages, especially Quechua. Not all of the projects deal directly with the conflict: they also include other topics that are related to human rights, and flexibility was given to explore topics of significance to the school, including gender and environmental rights. Before it was able to have a major policy impact, the project was discontinued in 2013 due to the lack of sustained funding, a regular issue for sustainable peacebuilding, which often requires a longer-term horizon than project funding generally allows. Before its end, the project faced a series of difficulties with this objective, such as the absence of political will to include a human rights education in the regional and national agendas, and the high turnover of education authorities in both regions. As the external evaluation states, the project placed greater emphasis on the technical pedagogical work than on advocacy work with regional authorities.

Due to limited humanitarian engagement in Peru's armed conflict and its aftermath, the initiative does not address this part of the triple nexus; however, it is possible to imagine such responses that include a response to humanitarian needs for teachers and their students. The above project was designed with specific attention to epistemic justice in three key ways. First, the project was designed entirely by Peruvian organizations with local needs in the aftermath of violence as their key determinants for programming design and implementation. The organization had a long history of engagement in human rights work in Peru, including connections with the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, providing a deep understanding of causes of conflict and the realities it had generated for teachers and learners. Second, there was a commitment to a bottom-up approach that worked closely with teachers and started from their knowledge and interests. This way of working with teachers led to the production of high-quality education materials and teachers confident in their delivery, which evaluations identify as

the main successes of the project. It also instilled commitment in the 60 teachers who continue to attend human rights events and seminars even nine years after the project ended. Integral to this way of working with teachers is the third contribution to overcoming epistemic injustice, which is to work respectfully with marginalized communities, including in this case indigenous and rural teachers. The project specifically worked in rural areas where systemic violence resulted in killings and disappearances, where not only most students have a family history of violence, but also the teachers.

The project enabled space for teachers to adopt and work with intercultural education methodology, including by producing materials in Quechua and delivering bilingual lessons. These design and implementation elements indicate possibilities for challenging epistemic injustice and fostering space for epistemically respectful relationships within education initiatives. These features play a large role in the successes that the project was able to achieve. However, the project's dependence on external funding from international agencies is a major challenge and limits its ability to overcome the challenges of epistemic injustice and have a longer-term impact, including on the horizontal inequalities that continue to marginalize rural and indigenous communities in Peru. As is the case with many development projects in Peru, this case study reflects the funding limitations and the low prioritization of projects focusing on social issues by international funding agencies, especially those related to the period of the violent conflict, which is deemed a politically difficult issue to address due to the very high levels of polarization both in the political system and among citizens.

THE UNDP VIOLENCE-FREE SCHOOLS INITIATIVE – LEBANON

The people in Lebanon have experienced a range of destructive expressions of conflict. A history of protracted armed conflicts, ongoing political instability, institutionalized corruption and structural violence against women have permeated the education sector and are sustained through education policies and practices. This fragility and institutionalized corruption have largely contributed to the formation of a teacher workforce. Most teachers lack a written qualification to teach with only 23.5% of teachers holding a qualification recognized by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE) (CERD, 2020). According to El-Amine (2004), teachers have mostly been hired based on their confessional identity rather than qualification. Without basic knowledge of child development and learning theories, teachers will most likely rely solely on cultural values and personal experiences as a parent, student and teacher when providing education to children vulnerable to violence and neglect. Indeed, corporal punishment (Human Rights Watch, 2019) and various forms of violence (e.g. verbal, physical, sexual) that specifically victimize females (UNESCO, 2012) are prevalent in some public and private schools in Lebanon.

In 2013, anecdotal testimonies revealed growing hostilities towards and among Syrian refugee communities. In public schools, witnesses reported bullying and corporal punishment specifically targeting Syrian refugee children. Social service workers were also learning that domestic violence was quite common among low-income Syrian families (and some Lebanese) and, through school-based observations, correlated with the violence that children displayed at school, even through play. In response to this context, UNDP launched in 2014 'The Violence-Free Schools (VFS)' initiative. The project brought together students and parents from Lebanese and Syrian communities to work with teachers and principals in their public schools to identify and address various expressions of violence at home, school and the community. The UNDP worked in close coordination with the MEHE and the MEHE Center for Educational Research and Development (CERD) and received technical support from the Center for Active Citizenship (CAC), a local NGO. The programme took a holistic approach where school-based actors, namely teachers, principals, students and parents, were empowered with approaches to identify types of violence and proactively and reactively address them.

According to the CAC facilitators, progress was made when the sensitization phase unveiled conflicting understandings of violence in a highly conservative culture (Akar, in press). While some parents objected to describing threats, expressions of anger and insults as forms of violence at home, others expressed resistance to discussing early marriage, physical abuse and sexual orientation. The indicator of progress reported by facilitators was not ensuring consensus on understandings of violence because changing conservative beliefs was unrealistic during a series of initial workshops. Instead, the facilitators praised how parents and teachers attempted to engage in an exchange of conflicting ideas within a space designed to facilitate constructive dialogues for raising awareness and challenging long-accepted ideas. The open discussions also helped identify various forms of violence that were, to a great extent, normalized; such as spanking at home as beneficial for child development; power relations between adults and children positioned children as submissive; discriminatory punishment and abuse towards Syrian children; political and religious conflicts expressed among children at school; teachers using corporal punishment to manage children's behaviors; children normalizing the carrying of arms and the option of dropping out of school; and children vulnerable to substance abuse and addiction.

Each school consequently created its own Peace Building Task Force, the working group members further explored different expressions of violence, including those that emerged during the sensitization phase. One common task across all participating schools was drafting a document detailing the expectations of teachers, parents and students towards fostering a VFS, each plan was unique in how the responsibilities were stated. Moreover, the active participation of children in the task force was an exercise of flattening the power hierarchies that are structured in Lebanese school systems. The activities gave many of these children opportunities to express and even challenge experiences of being victims or perpetrators of violence.

The project rejected predetermined definitions of violence and allowed stakeholders to interrogate and define the forms of violence that impact their day to day lived experience. The programme allowed schools to respond to the issues and visions of the students, parents, teachers and principals unique to each school. Some codes of conduct were detailed with rights and responsibilities specific to each of the four stakeholder groups and penal codes in case the agreements were violated. The dialogic activities, especially during the sensitization phase, facilitated a unique platform of engagement for parents who are normally marginalized from participating in public knowledge production. They debated their justifications for the use of shouting, spanking and threatening children when parenting at home or disciplining at school. Although they attempted to safeguard historical traditions of schooling and parenting that perceive forms of aggression as beneficial to supporting child development, the facilitators appreciated the inclusion of parents in a dialogue that is epistemically designed or developed for those in powerful positions, including academics and policymakers (school and government level).

The VFS initiative relied on the organic nature of school-based stakeholders taking leadership and continuously voicing manifestations of violence across different schooling contexts. Children and teachers used the ownership of the project to approach local religious leaders to support their advocacy campaigns and heads of municipalities to see how their networks could help carry out the planned activities. The common framework that all the schools employed were a UNDP framework of 6 phases and establishing mechanisms to set up and empower each school's Peace Building Task Force. The discussions also allowed the school-based stakeholders to learn about different positions of conditional tolerance towards violence. The dialogues may not have run frequently enough to allow for parents to reflect more on their perceptions of positive violence and express any influence the debates may have had on their positions.

5.3 NEO-COLONIAL INJUSTICE

Post-development theory offers a long tradition of critique, which sees development as a process of neo-colonialism and imperialism (Escobar, 1995; Amin, 1990). Roepstorff (2019) asserts that the humanitarian system 'is often perceived as a neo-colonial, imperial and neoliberal enterprise where countries from the Global North unequally dominate and dictate the rules of the game'. Versions of this critique have also been extended to the peacebuilding (Chandler, 1997) sphere, pointing to the ideological nature of interventions in serving Global North interests, including through the idea of 'liberal peace,' which envisions free markets and democratic elections as key markers in the transition from conflict to peace (Campbell et al., 2011). Extended to the triple nexus, this critique argues that interventions do not serve the interests of those living in poverty in the so-called Global South, but rather maintain and reinforce the interests of those benefiting from globalized capitalism, including the interests of Global North states.

This perspective has weaknesses, including due to its totalizing nature, its failure to see the genuine commitments to poverty reduction and human rights of many development, humanitarian and peacebuilding professionals, and its disregard for the perspectives of how actual people, including those in the Global South, have agency as they navigate geopolitical interests (Kapoor, 2017). Nonetheless, the attention to the ideology and agendas of elite and powerful actors that the critique demands is an essential one. We describe the implications of these powerful agendas as neo-colonial injustices, highlighting the ways in which the triple nexus maintains and reinscribes colonial and imperial power relations to highlight the ways in which the security and economic interests of Global North states increasingly overlap with peacebuilding education programming. It is crucial for peacebuilding education to be effective that its primary goals must be around the wellbeing and flourishing of the children and communities that it serves and not, as is sometimes the case, to serve the interests of donor agencies and Global North governments.

THE IMPACT OF NEO-COLONIAL INJUSTICE ON HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION IN PALESTINE

Looking to Palestine, Mai Abu Moghli (2020) provides an illustrative example of how international influence can hinder education's meaningful engagement with human rights education. She states that "the donor funding that poured into the PA [Palestinian Authority] after the signing of the Oslo Accords is conditional - the money is given to the PA in return for silencing the opposition and maintaining the peace process" (2020, 21). Abu Moghli discusses the impact on education, showing how many subjects and textbooks have been decontextualized. Her observations of a 9th grade lesson entitled 'Child Rights are human rights' in the Occupied West Bank highlights that the lesson focused on the right to education, with the textbook detailing potential obstacles to access. However, the examples provided in the textbook failed to engage meaningfully with the lived experience of the Palestinian students. It neglected to address the student drop out that occurred in this school as a result of the "psychological stress, extreme fear and a loss of a sense of safety" (2020, 21) caused by having to cross a gate guarded by Israeli soldiers (and the process involved in gaining passage) to get to the school. Abu Moghli critiques the "higher levels of standardization and omissions of experiences, struggles and space for criticality" (2020, 22) found in current human rights education and states that this neglect "hinder(s) the ability of HRE to offer a critical, contextualized and bottom-up alternative to the mainstream institutionalized Western, so-called universal, knowledge that is prevalent" (2020, 22). The impact of donor agendas has resulted in Palestinian education, particularly HRE, being separated from politics, and prohibited from challenging settler colonial ideology. Any reference to the struggle against the occupation is considered an incitement to violence and hatred. HRE is therefore rendered "a colonial endeavor, particularly if its sole aim becomes, like in the case of Palestine, to tame struggles for freedom and self-determination or substitute a culture that is deemed by the universal human rights regime as violent and in need of rectifying" (2020, 22). Albhaisi (2021) concurs noting that the operationalization of the UN's normative discourse of human rights has "depoliticized and decontextualized UNRWA's dedicated curriculum" in Gaza leading to an emphasis on tolerance and acceptance.

Peacebuilding education programming currently overlaps with agendas around security and economic interests of the Global North, including agendas to prevent or combat violent extremism and terrorism and to deter migration, as well as agendas to derive economic benefit in the Global North from development and humanitarian partnerships. Security agendas, interventions and actors increasingly overlap with education in conflict-affected contexts (Novelli, 2011; Novelli and Robertson, 2007) as has been documented in Afghanistan (Burde, 2014) and Iraq (Shanks, 2015). This can lead to lack of clarity over the purpose of educational interventions and the actors leading them, which can have major implications for people's trust and willingness to engage with these interventions and therefore their success in reaching learners. Western governments increasingly develop strategies to prevent and/or counter violent extremism (with 'countering' initiatives linked more tightly to security strategies). These are implemented both at home and in areas perceived to be 'hot beds' of potential terrorism (Stephens et al., 2018). Education is a key part of these strategies (Davies, 2016) and therefore preventing and/or countering violent extremism is a growing area of funding for education interventions in many parts of the world. This can lead to programming being delivered without necessary understanding of the humanitarian and development contexts that can drive young people towards armed groups (Wilson, 2021). In the West, these initiatives have been criticized for stigmatizing Muslim communities and inciting Islamophobia (Kundani, 2009). These initiatives can create mistrust and lack of clarity around the purpose of education initiatives, moving away from rights driven rationales towards political and security motivations.

While 72% of refugees are hosted in lower and middle income countries (UNHCR, ND) the discourse on "refugee" or "migration crisis" is largely driven by politicians and media outlets in the Global North. The political imperatives of Global North states to address the 'migration crisis' by trying to decrease the number of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers arriving within their borders also increasingly includes education programming. Notably, a key pillar of the Global Compact on Refugees supports educational programming for skills and livelihoods with an explicit intention that this contributes to settlement in the Global South country hosting them and carrying out the educational programming (Chimni, 2019). Finally, humanitarian and development interventions are increasingly commercialized and incentivized by market logics (Pascucci, 2021), including through policies in donor countries that explicitly seek economic benefit for domestic firms and industries thanks to development and humanitarian partnerships and interventions.

The result of neo-colonial injustices within the triple nexus is the imposition of global or Northern agendas on educational initiatives in the Global South. This imposition happens via funding prerequisites and the direct implementation of programming, the securitization of aid more generally and of education specifically, and the politicization of humanitarian aid, despite its commitments to neutrality. These neo-colonial injustices can result in the instrumentalization of peacebuilding education to serve Western/Northern interests, which as the research reviewed here has shown, can be counter-productive to those same interests as well as being detached from and therefore inappropriate to actual education needs in target populations. The influence of 'education for peace' can be over exaggerated or used in place of work to address the more political sensitive root causes of prevailing injustice (Abu Moghli, 2020). The following case study demonstrates how an often-securitized topic - preventing violent extremism - can be addressed in a locally defined manner that resists the influence of national and international security agendas and therefore is able to build trust and serve the needs of young people affected by extremism.

LAFIYA SARARI PROGRAMME – NIGERIA

Nigeria as a country is trapped in socio-political conflicts and economic challenges which continue to weaken its efforts at stability and national cohesion. These challenges are linked to the legacies of British colonial rule and to enduring structural inequalities across intersecting gender, regional and ethnic lines (Abdulrahman et al., 2021). Young people have especially been involved in violence and they are also used to perpetuate further division (Oluobor and Ogonor, 2007; Osakwe, 2012). Most recently, the persistent Boko Haram insurgency – an armed movement against westernization based in the Northeast of the country, which started in 2009 - have led to thousands of deaths, as well abductions and forced marriages (Okolie-Osemene and Okolie-Osemene, 2019). These features of inequality and violence have come to define postcolonial Nigeria, creating a major threat and disunity among its citizens. Following the Nigerian government declaration of Boko Haram as a terrorist group in 2013, Nigeria officially became recognized as an active conflict zone. Northeast Nigeria, being home to a large group of Christians, is the area most affected by the conflict. Lives have been lost, properties destroyed, and hundreds of schoolgirls and boys have been kidnapped (Okolie-Osemene and Okolie-Osemene, 2019; Uche, 2021). Thousands have fled their homes in search of safety in other parts of the country, and other neighbouring countries, while some remain in the same region, seeking shelter in camps with little or no access to basic amenities, including quality education (Dunn, 2018; Olanrewaju et al., 2019).

This conflict situation has affected education and development and continues to threaten peace in the country. As a panacea, the United Nations popularized the concept of peace education. Recommendations have been made for how education planning and management can allow the integration of peace education into the national curriculum (Odejobi and Adesina, 2009; Abok Atu, 2019; Ofem, Okonkwo and Anyaeji, 2021). Yet, challenges of implementing these abound. Neocolonial injustice shapes these challenges, as peace education initiatives that work with victims of non-state armed groups, like Boko Haram, are often externally funded and designed and are often driven by securitized agendas around preventing or countering violent extremism. They are rarely based on locally defined needs and do not often draw on local knowledge and approaches.

The Lafiya Sarari programme, established in 2017, is an education intervention initiated and implemented by the Neem Foundation, a non-profit organization founded and operated by Nigerians. The Foundation is made up of the team that established Nigeria's pioneer Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) Programme, providing it with the distinct knowledge needed to understand the conflict situation in the Northeast of Nigeria. Lafiya Sarari is an education centre that serves one hundred girls in Maiduguri, Northeast Nigeria, a location chosen after a needs assessment conducted by the Neem Foundation. Maiduguri is a consistent target of Boko Haram attacks on schools and villages. The needs assessment found that in Maiduguri, girls were more vulnerable to radicalization, more likely to be used as suicide bombers and more likely to be out of formal schooling than boys (Okolie-Osemene and Okolie-Osemene, 2019). Lafiya Sarari therefore works with girls, who are recommended to them by UNICEF, the Civilian Joint Task Force and other NGOs as former or potential victims of Boko Haram, as out of school and/or as at risk of radicalization. Participants include many girls living in Internally Displaced Person camps.

Lafiya Sarari focuses on providing psychosocial support through collaborative activities involving young people, women, traditional/religious leaders, civil society, security agencies and government institutions. The aim is not just to provide education but to engage girls in meaningful activities to strengthen their agency to make informed decisions for their lives, including in regard to joining the insurgency. The daily experience is a mix of emotional and psychosocial support and learning based on the national curriculum, which Lafiya Sarari follows, preparing the girls to sit national exams. Teachers are highly qualified and recruited through a competitive process, ensuring a high quality of education, continuously nurtured through weekly teacher capacity building sessions and monthly teacher training. The main ideology behind the name of the programme, Lafiya Sarari, a Hausa phrase, is "living together in peace". Peacebuilding is a major component of the programme, which is developed around a core set of 8 values that shape the entire curriculum and pedagogical approach of the school; these include the values of tolerance and peace. The beneficiaries, girls aged between 8 and 18, are placed in classes based on their abilities.

The structure of the annual calendar of Lafiya Sarari may be like that of the formal school but its curriculum departs totally from what is obtainable in formal school and gives the beneficiaries more opportunity to learn content tailored to their needs. As they have been exposed to trauma, issues like post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression and anxiety may arise and manifest in different ways, in the classroom especially. To mitigate this, the learning center focuses on providing education and trauma informed services by delivering mental health and psychosocial support to the beneficiaries alongside the national curriculum. Teachers are also trained in delivering social and emotional learning to help them understand and meet needs of the beneficiaries and the school has counselors who conduct one-on-one therapy with those who need it. Expressive therapy is also conducted for beneficiaries who struggle to use words. Techniques like drama, music, dance and improvisation are often infused to make learning fun and help learners remember what is being taught in the classroom. Providing girls with different mediums of expression and learning helps build their resilience and general wellbeing.

The above intervention has defined a preventing violent extremism (PVE) programme that defies the prevailing international focus on security agendas, deradicalization or surveillance. While it works directly with girls who have experienced violent conflict and are externally deemed at risk of radicalization, it does not label them as such or report its successes in these terms. It focuses on individual need rather than external security goals. Instead, it concentrates on the holistic development of each girl, with an attention to academic, psychosocial, and creative growth and development. The girls are prepared to resist extremism through their personal growth and development and the values-based education they receive.

Lafiya Sarari is locally driven and developed by the Neem foundation with a clear and constant focus on high teaching standards and teacher professional development. Many of the teachers at Lafiya Sarari come from the region and integrate their familiarity with it into teaching, including by using local languages to support girls as they develop in English (the language of instruction). Furthermore, it serves to resist deficit assumptions of teachers and instead draws on their knowledge, professional skills and understandings of the local culture and context. While the Neem Foundation does receive international funding and works in dialogue with UN agencies and other NGOs, it refuses to let its programming be directed by external agendas, responding instead to the needs assessments that it conducts. The Foundation and the Lafiya Sarari school are run independently by a Nigerian team with an intense understanding of the context in which it operates.

5.4 INJUSTICE INTERSECTIONS

The previous sections have introduced the injustice framework as comprising three distinct areas of focus, yet we understand that in practice the injustices presented, and their effects will likely be interdependent and complex. The relationships between the three injustices will be unpacked in the following section to highlight how the proposed conceptual framework can be utilized as a whole, with attention paid to causality and linkages between injustices.

Epistemic injustice thus far has been addressed in relation to external actors devaluing local knowledge systems, ways of knowing and grassroots capacity to enact change. However, we can also explore the influence of **neo-colonial injustice** in the realm of **epistemology**. The need to 'introduce' new ways of understanding has been used as a public facing justification for invasion or neo-colonial objectives as illustrated by the case of Afghanistan in 2001. While the United States invasion of Afghanistan was driven by US geopolitical interests and a desire to "disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations" (Dale, 2011), Western forces were repeatedly touted as the saviours of Afghani women who had suffered oppression under the Taliban. In a 2001 radio address, the then First Lady Laura Bush stated that 'because of our recent military gains, in much of Afghanistan women are no longer imprisoned in their homes. They can listen to music and teach their daughters without fear of punishment' (Washington Post, 2001). The binary presentation of gender equality as a Northern knowledge base enforced what Teju Cole (2012) calls a 'white savior complex,' whereby White/Northern development practitioners see themselves as uniquely qualified to bring necessary information that is lacking locally. Ruhi Khan (2021) points out that a rich history of Afghan feminist culture was "lost in the grand Western narrative of feminism that has always only visualized Global South women as subjugated and oppressed, and men as tyrants and barbaric." The distortion of 'gender equality' as a purely Northern concept served to alienate existing locally grounded activism. Returning to triple nexus thinking, we can see that education's ability to engage meaningfully with peacebuilding can be disrupted by broader geopolitical aims that intersect and reinforce epistemic injustice.

The intersection between **epistemic and neo-colonial injustice** can also be illustrated by the western discourse of 'resilience' in education in emergencies settings. Joseph (2018) suggests that 'the Anglo-Saxon understanding of resilience is best understood as a neoliberal form of governmentality that places emphasis on individual adaptability' (2018;40). Shah, Paulson and Couch (2019) concur suggesting that the use of 'resilience' in the context of education in emergencies serves to draw 'attention and responsibility onto the backs of individuals and communities affected by emergencies' masking the structural and societal forces creating injustice (2019;304). This is further illustrated by Shwaikh (2021) who uses the context of Palestine to demonstrate the 'dehumanizing nature' of the use of Resilience which 'imposes mythical terms on the colonized and deals with them as if they have supernatural 'coping mechanisms' (Shwaikh, 2021). Hajir et al (2022), explore the differing understandings of terminology, drawing attention to how ''resilience' as understood by civilians in war and conflict-affected contexts across the global South may differ from critical perspectives within academia in the global North' (2022; 12). In their paper they draw attention to the gap between 'theory formulated within one context and lived experience in another' (12:2022), stating that 'the resilience of some local populations is not necessarily separable from their political resistance and thus from structural change.'

While the paper thus far prioritizes the need to highlight epistemic injustice within the framing of North-South power structures and interactions, we must also consider the intersection between **epistemic injustice and structural and historical injustices** at a national level. It must be acknowledged that the solution to epistemic injustice in the field of education in emergencies is not to suggest we romanticise local knowledge or prioritize it exclusively at the expense of other knowledge systems. Locally, groups make sense of their experience and develop meaning in different ways. Knowledge production operates within what Gordons (1990) refers to as 'communicentric' frames of reference. As such, local knowledge isn't homogenous, fixed, or located in the past. There are multiple interpretations that can change over time, both within a particular community and across communities.

Epistemic injustice can certainly be present in the ways in which certain forms of knowledge and ways of knowing come to dominate in local, regional, and national contexts while others are marginalized. Indeed, education plays a key role in determining what forms of knowledge are transmitted and therefore seen as valued and legitimate (Paulson et al., 2020; Balarin et al., 2021). Cultural hegemony and historical and structural injustices will shape whose and which knowledge is seen as legitimate at a local level. National power narratives and intercommunity conflict can enforce epistemic injustice, hiding inequalities and privileges (Mills, 2007) and reinforcing injustice for the most marginalized and non-dominant community groups and vice versa. For education interventions to overcome these injustices and meaningfully engage with the peacebuilding element of the triple nexus, practitioners must be willing to interrogate ways of knowing at local, national and international levels.

THE AGA KHAN HUMANITIES PROJECT – CENTRAL ASIA

All five Central Asian countries are celebrating this year their 30th anniversary of independence from the Soviet Union. In the aftermath of independence, the region experienced notable acts of violence and inter-ethnic conflicts in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan and a civil war in the beginning of the 90s in Tajikistan. The lack of proper border demarcation and delimitation led to frustration and anger of the ethnic groups living in the enclaves. The border disputes, the deterioration of nativist and nationalist relationships (Gavin, 2020), the growth of radicalism (Mullojanov, 2001) and water and other resources scarcity have been cited as the main conflict triggers in the region (Matveeva, 2015), ignored by both the respective governments and international community.

The Aga Khan Humanities Project (AKHP) was established in 1997 in Tajikistan with the aim to promote critical thinking, pluralism in ideas and actions, tolerance, and creative thinking in three Central Asian countries – Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan through the incorporation of a co-ordinated Humanities Curriculum. As of today, the curriculum comprises 9 cross-disciplinary volumes covering themes of social cohesion. Each of the books is taught in the duration of four to five months. In close partnership with universities, AKHP supports curriculum and pedagogical development of local university staff especially university teachers within its Faculty Development Programme. It establishes partnerships with universities to promote respect for excellence, fairness, and professionalism among teachers and to strengthen students' critical thinking, reasoning, and analytical skills. AKHP Public Series Lectures were first launched in 2012 to strengthen connections between AKHP principles and intellectual and artistic networks in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan. The lectures cover interdisciplinary discourse in the context of interaction between humanities and sciences disciplines.

The curriculum is believed to bring students to the understanding of mutual cooperation and peaceful coexistence through self and others' exploration and building healthy pluralism towards the differences that are in place in Central Asian countries. The textbooks aim at developing students' critical thinking by analyzing classical and current texts and case studies that have made great impact on people through history. Students are encouraged to explore their own ideas in classroom and beyond. This can become a fundamental basis for the new generation to escape escalation of conflict between representatives of different cultures in the region thus eradicating the tension that exists between ethnic groups as well as the nepotistic approach of the governments' policymakers towards minority groups.

AKHP was a remedy to fill the gaps of decolonization processes across Central Asia, and to the Tajiks specifically. "At a point of exhaustion and despair, the project seemed to be a breath of fresh air, an opportunity to look forward and a hope for the next generation...The edifices of Soviet thought lay in rubble, clearing a view of a broad horizon of choice and possibilities" (Keshavjee, 2004). The main concern was to connect the rich intellectual and cultural property of Central Asians with the nation-building aims and post-conflict and post-soviet transformation processes that the countries were struggling with. Thus, there were no external political agendas that influenced the possibilities of the programme at the very start. As noted by S. Jonboboev: "...AKHP has been moving towards reviving and integrating the indigenous store of knowledge with new, diverse and modern intellectual capital...avoiding the attempts of narrow public and intellectual space, instead opting for broader rational discourse that support emerging political and educational projects in Central Asia" (Jonboboev, 2014).

AKHP was developed as a response to the main causes of the civil war in Tajikistan, which were mainly drawn from the conflict between the local traditions and cultures and the soviet ideology. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Central Asian countries were in search of their own lost identities and Tajikistan had lost the capacity to unite people. Historically, the Soviet ideology created an isolation that cut the connection with the roots of people living in Central Asia bringing new values and perspectives. Therefore, AKHP puts forward its aims to integrate Central Asian cultural legacies, which include traditions, values, norms, beliefs, religions and soviet heritage of education, healthcare system, communist ideology of social equality and new Western values and norms of human rights, rights of women, freedom of speech, business and market economy. AKHP believed that by the harmonized integration of these three main perspectives, the students will acquire tolerant, pluralistic and healthy perceptions of the "other" to avoid conflict towards new changes, existing norms and cultures that differ from their own culture.

5.5 THE INJUSTICES MODEL

Figure 1 presents a visual representation of the injustices model, which as we develop further in this section and the conclusion, serves as an analytical tool for acknowledging, understanding and seeking to address injustices which can hinder education in emergencies programming for sustainable peace. It highlights the interlinkages between each type of injustice and, in mirroring the presentation of the triple nexus model, it draws attention to the need to understand each injustice and their interrelationships in a given context. We argue that to maximize the peacebuilding potential of education in the triple nexus it is necessary first to understand and then actively seek to address or minimize these injustices in education in emergencies interventions. In order to assist in this analysis, we then present an analytical tool in Table 1.

Figure 1: Injustices model

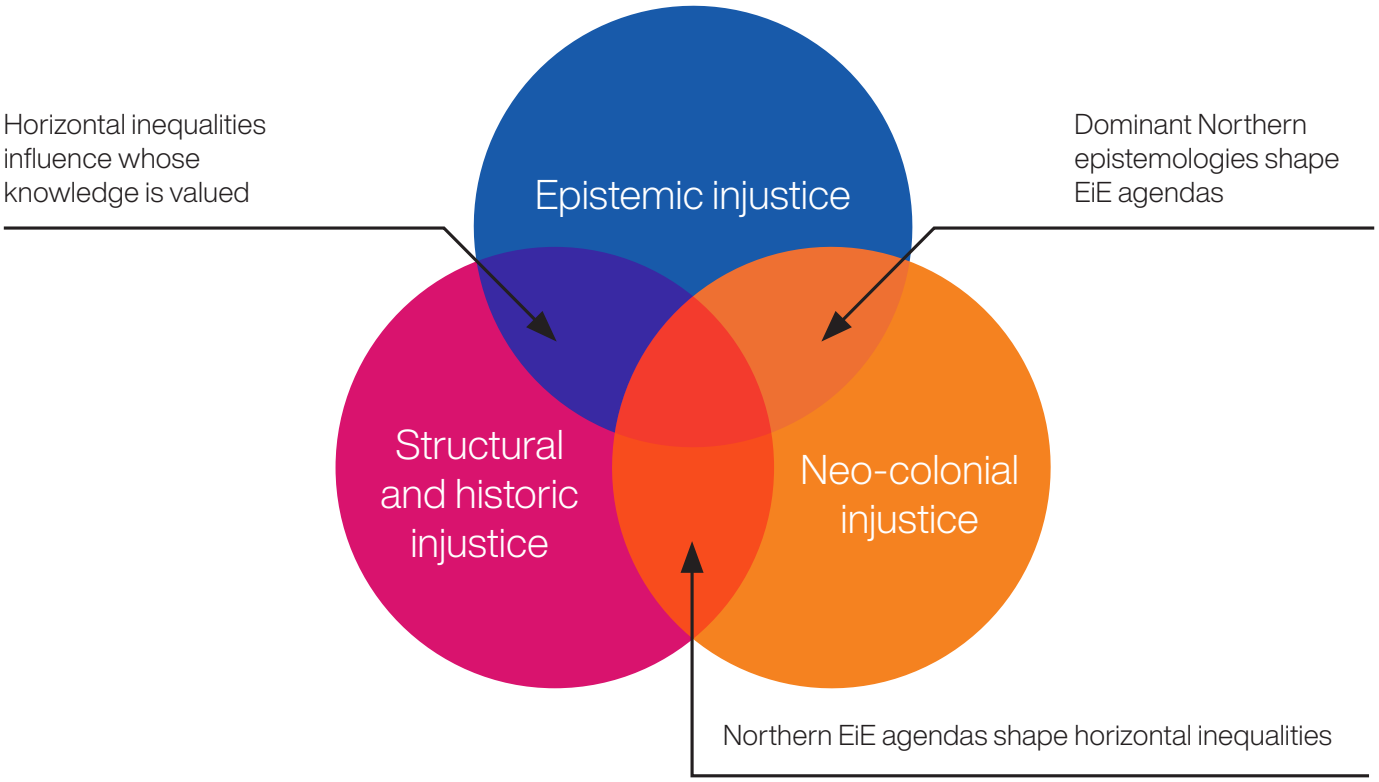

Table 1 brings the above discussions around historical and structural, epistemic and neo-colonial injustices together to present an injustices model as an analytical tool to assist in the conceptualization and design of education programming within the triple nexus. Column one summarizes each of the three injustices, indicating key theoretical contributions. Column two outlines key questions designed to help acknowledge the potential presence of each injustice. Answering these questions, together with attention to the level of analysis proposed in column three can help to acknowledge and appreciate the ways in which these injustices might be present in a given context, organization, or programming design context, including contexts of coordination across various actors in the triple nexus. As discussed above, it is important to acknowledge that all three injustices can operate across scales from the international through to the individual, however, we suggest analytical foci for each in order to enable an analysis that stretches across scales. Once key patterns of injustice have been identified at each level of analysis, a consideration of the interconnections between different forms of injustice and scales (local, regional, national, international) can be undertaken. This analysis likely requires historical and contextual research as well as a mapping of relevant actors and their relationships in the international ecosystem of crisis response including the triple nexus. We hope that a sustained analysis of this kind will draw out the ways in which existing educational practices as well as potential interventions may be affected by and indeed contribute to injustices in a given context. With this awareness, it will be important to design interventions that actively seek to counter and dismantle injustices in and through education in emergencies programming. Finally, column four suggests some programme design practices that might help to challenge these injustices, ideas and examples of which we hope will expand in part thanks to the contributions of this framework.

Table 1: Injustices Model Analytical Tool

INJUSTICE	KEY QUESTIONS	LEVELS OF ANALYSIS	PROGRAMME DESIGN PRACTICES
Historical and structural injustice Through which unequal power dynamics can be maintained and entrenched in and through education Theoretical ideas drawn from: Leon Tikly; Gurminder Bhambra; Frances Stewart; Johan Galtung	Do interventions acknowledge where education systems are continuing to generate and reproduce horizontal and vertical inequalities, through conflict legacies, colonial legacies or ongoing education policy?	National and regional	▪ Conflict analysis that includes a historical dimension, for example the 4Rs model (Novelli et al. 2017) ▪ Transitional/reparative justice in education ▪ Structural reforms of education and interventions in other sectors that affect education ▪ Historically grounded political economy analysis
Epistemic injustice Which can undermine the knowledge and expertise of stakeholders and enable inappropriate and/or irrelevant programming Theoretical ideas drawn from: Boaventura de Sousa Santos; Miranda Fricker; Paolo Freire; Robtel Neijai Pailey; Charles W. Mills	Do interventions value local/indigenous knowledge systems and ways of knowing? Are there equitable partnerships and funding structures for knowledge generation? How is white gaze in international aid/development addressed?	Local and within organizations	▪ Decolonial processes in organizations ▪ Local leadership and agency in funding and programme design and implementation ▪ Culturally defined appropriate programming (openness in programming possibilities)
Neo-colonial injustice Under which education initiatives can serve political and economic interests external to the teachers, learners and communities who should be their primary priority Theoretical ideas drawn from: Arturo Escobar; Samir Amin; Mario Novelli; Seyla Benhabib; Nadine El-Enany	Does the funding of the programme maintain Western/Northern dominance? Do geopolitical interests shape aid agendas (securitization; hostile environment and anti-migration)? How does complacency and lack of learning/ change in aid architecture impact interventions?	International	▪ Engagement with social movements working for transformational change ▪ Foreground lived experiences of injustice ▪ Resist deficit assumptions of local actors / teachers ▪ Accountability and monitoring of funders / aid organizations

Saffa Girls School, West Bank, 2015
© Bobby Neptune, USAID

6. Conclusions

This synthesis paper has explored potentials for education within the triple nexus in conflict-affected contexts drawing on case studies where education programming has had positive peacebuilding outcomes. It identifies that education programming has largely been concerned with the humanitarian-development nexus and therefore greater attention to and coordination with peacebuilding will be necessary in order to maximize education in emergencies programming contributions to sustainable peace. The paper reviewed education approaches that do engage with peace, finding most potential in critical approaches that take into account and seek to transform the causes of conflict, including critical peace education and peacebuilding education. This review and the case studies commissioned for it, however, also drew attention to common features (injustice areas) that often hinder the possibilities of education initiatives to have peacebuilding outcomes. Critical theoretical literature from a range of disciplines is then reviewed to develop an understanding of three key injustice areas – historical and structural injustice, epistemic injustice and neo-colonial injustice – which we argue are important to acknowledge and work against in education in emergencies programming.

The report has the following key findings:

- The synthesis report shows how the peacebuilding success of the case study programming explored results from their ability to challenge or resist at least one of these injustices in their design and implementation.

- The report found most potential in critical approaches that take into account and seek to transform the causes of conflict, including critical peace education and peacebuilding education. When education in emergencies programmes focus on peace education for attitudinal change or reconciliation, without critical engagement with the context, as in the case of Palestinian Human Rights education, the project fails to serve the beneficiaries or contribute towards sustainable peace.

- The injustices framework offers an analytical tool to help to do two things: 1) to understand how education may contribute towards or reproduce conflict triggers and 2) to anticipate ways in which education in emergencies programming may be undermined in its goals to contribute towards sustainable peace by delivering the right to education. In undertaking such an analysis, including across international, regional, national, local and organizational scales, we hope the framework will support programming that is aware of and oriented towards challenging injustices. Table 1 offers a set of key questions as well as prospective programme design practices to facilitate this analysis.

We hope that the framework offered in this synthesis paper will open opportunities for programme design that works across development, humanitarian and peacebuilding interests and sectors in order to resist these injustices and maximize education's contributions to building sustainable peace. We argue that it will be necessary for such programming to be aware of and actively seek to challenge historical/structural, epistemic and neo-colonial injustice in its design and delivery in order for these contributions to sustainable peace to be enabled.

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Geneva Global Hub for Education in Emergencies

The Geneva Global Hub for Education in Emergencies (EiE Hub) is a physical and virtual platform that aims to be a catalyst for joint action among its members, and to increase collaboration with other sectors to prioritise education in emergencies. eiehub.org

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UNESCO is the United Nations' specialized agency for education, providing global and regional leadership to drive progress, strengthening the resilience and capacity of national systems to serve all learners. Education is UNESCO's top priority because it is a basic human right and the foundation for peace and sustainable development. unesco.org

Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies

The Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) is an open, global network of members working together within a humanitarian and development framework to ensure the right to a quality, safe, and relevant education for all who live in emergency and crisis contexts through prevention, preparedness, response, and recovery. inee.org