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DISCLAIMER

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All Photographs - H. Davies / Exile Images

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACRONYMS

CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DFID	Department for International Development (UK Government)
EFA	Education for All
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office (UK)
GINIE	Global Information Networks in Education
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IDT	International Development Target
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OCHA	Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PBF	Peace-building Framework
PLCA	Programme-Level Conflict Assessment
SCA	Strategic Conflict Assessment
SCF	Save the Children Fund (UK)
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach
TEP	Teacher's Emergency Package
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNESCO/IIEP	UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
WFP	World Food Programme

PREFACE

Since this paper was commissioned, education in countries involved in or emerging from conflict has become increasingly important on DFID's agenda. The consultation document **The Causes of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa** (DFID/FCO/MOD, March 2001) drew attention to the dramatic increase in the level and scale of different types of conflict situations over the past decade.

DFID's publication **Children out of School** (October 2001) also highlights conflict, which is estimated to affect over 70 countries in the world. It cited children living with conflict, or displaced by conflict, among its target groups for improving education opportunities. It noted that 50% of children who do not attend school are estimated to live in countries in crisis or emerging from conflict. Such children are among the poorest in the world. Recent estimates in the **EFA Global Monitoring Report** (November 2002) confirm the scale of the problem and suggest that the outbreak or perpetuation of such crises need to be factored into analysis of the challenge of meeting the Millennium Development Goals relating to Education and Gender. The outcome document adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on children, **A World Fit for Children** (May, 2002), emphasises the right of all children to quality education, and the protection of this right during armed conflict.

Follow-up work to **Children out of School** during 2002 identified conflict countries as priority areas for accelerating progress and stepping up international action. The analysis in **Education, Conflict and International Development** has been particularly significant in shaping this new focus by increasing our understanding of the complex inter-relationship between education and conflict. Smith and Vaux explore the short term, medium term and long term implications of working out a more strategic, systemic approach to education in conflict situations, rather than relying on an uncoordinated *ad hoc* response. They demonstrate the particular role that education can play in relation to conflict prevention, resolution, reconciliation and reconstruction. At the same time, they highlight the renewed effort that needs to be made to understand the ways in which education policies may inadvertently help create the conditions for further conflict instead of building reconciliation and sustainable peace.

The **Convention on the Rights of the Child** makes it clear that education is the right of every child, even in the most difficult circumstances. The positive and negative aspects of education with respect to conflict are of particular concern, because the need to maintain education as a right in countries affected by conflict has proved to be particularly difficult to deliver. We anticipate that this paper will contribute to the ongoing debate.

Department for International Development
February 2003

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper was commissioned by DFID in order to review significant issues related to education and conflict reduction. The report is divided into four main sections. In the first section, the authors examine the relationship between education and conflict. In the second, they look at ways in which the education sector can respond to conflict. In the third, they explore the relationships between some of the key international agencies working in the field of conflict and education. The final section summarises the policy implications that arise from their analysis.

Section one examines three perspectives on the relationship between education and conflict: education as a fundamental right that should be maintained at all times, even in the most difficult circumstance; education as an essential tool for human development and poverty eradication; and education as part of the problem as well as part of the solution. With respect to the last of these, the authors argue that there has been a tendency for agencies to view education as a force for good without acknowledging that it can also help to create the conditions for conflict to occur. Serious questions need to be asked, therefore, about whether contributing resources to education might make the conflict worse. A conflict analysis that integrates education may be necessary to ensure that this does not happen.

Section two of the paper focuses attention on three areas where education can respond to conflict:

- **State education:** There are a number of ways in which state education can add to tensions or fuel conflict. These include systems of governance, particularly as they relate to participation, and policies on such things as the language of instruction, access, curriculum content, and pedagogy. It is necessary to ensure that the provision of education is consistent with human rights principles and practices.

- **Countries in conflict:** Education can play an important function in protecting civilians from the worst effects of conflict. Girls in particular may benefit from such provision. However there are real problems in supporting education systems during an emergency, particularly if there are no structures to work with. Internally displaced persons are especially difficult to reach. There is also a danger that immediate responses become disconnected from longer-term aid for education.

- **Countries emerging from conflict:** The role of education in countries emerging from conflict is also examined. In such countries, the process of educational reconstruction needs to carefully consider whether to simply replace what was there previously, or undertake fundamental education reform. In addition, education has an important part to play in the process of reconciliation by addressing the legacies of conflict. This has serious implications for the long-term development of the education sector in countries that are emerging from conflict.

In section three, the authors review the work of a number of international organisations that are active in the field of education and conflict (e.g. UNESCO, UNICEF, UNHCR, ICRC). They conclude that there is not always a clear distinction between their roles and mandates. They argue the case for better collaboration and co-ordination between agencies working in this field. They also stress the need for research that focuses on the implications of taking developmental as well as humanitarian considerations into account in the approach to education and conflict.

The final section of the paper summarises the key policy implications that arise from the study. It emphasises the need to consider education as part of the problem as well as part of the solution. It also highlights the importance of a systemic analysis of the relationship between education and conflict, including attention to the role that the formal system has in exacerbating and /or ameliorating conflict. One of the main implications of this is that there is an urgent need to develop indicators for 'conflict-sensitive education systems'.

INTRODUCTION

1.   This study was commissioned by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and is related to a UK government commitment in the White Paper on Eliminating World Poverty that, '*Understanding the causes of conflict, and helping build the will and capacity of state and civil society to resolve disputes non-violently will be central to our international policy*'.[1]

2.   The terms of reference stated that the purpose of this paper is, '*to review the significant issues related to education and conflict reduction. It will inform DFID's conflict reduction work and also set out ways in which DFID can incorporate a conflict perspective in the mainstream of education sector support*'.

Modern Conflicts

3.   In the modern world there is no clear dividing line between conflict and non-conflict. Few of today's wars involve declarations of hostilities between recognised states. Far more involve 'low-level' conflict between governments and sections of their own society, or between multiple, fractured groups in which it is often unclear who is fighting and for what. Across such landscapes of overt and covert war, play out the issues of education, health and employment that so deeply affect poor people.

4.   Most of the world's armed conflicts are internal, although they may not always merit the title of 'civil' wars. Of 25 armed conflicts in 1997, for example, only one – between India and Pakistan - was between states.[2] All the others were internal. While ethnicity is commonly cited as a major cause of conflict, many analysts conclude that ethnicity is more often mobilised and politicised by conflict rather than the other way round.[3] One of the ways in which ethnicity becomes mobilised for conflict is through education.

5.   For DFID it is the destructive power of conflict that is the issue rather than the existence of conflict per se. Conflict is an aspect of human relations and is often the means by which questions are debated and resolved, and by which progress ultimately occurs. Whilst violence is to be avoided if possible, in many situations a level of conflict may be an inevitable part of social change. If conflict is perceived as transformation the proper relationship to education becomes clearer. Education is also a transforming process, and the two processes interact at all levels and stages.

6.   There is also the issue of the stance of the international community. 'Resolving' a conflict at a particular stage or before one or other party has achieved its aims is a political act. Aid can be used to reinforce international judgments. In that sense aid is not neutral and this may have profound implications for interventions in the education sector.

7.   In today's conflicts it is not enough to look at the countries concerned in isolation. Conflict is often interwoven with processes of regional or global transformation.[4] Education may be one of the many areas

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[1]UK Government White Paper (1997) *Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century*, p. 69.

[2]Bush, Kenneth D and Saltarelli, Diana (2000) *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, United Nations Children's Fund, Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, Italy.

[3]Ibid.

[4]See Duffield, M, (2001) *Global Governance and the New Wars*, Zed.

in which the forces of tradition and modernism are in conflict. Such conflicts often reflect profound adjustments in which education is an integral element, or even the central focus. In such a context change itself is a political issue. Reform and modernisation set funding agencies on one side of the conflict rather than the other. Even 'technical' issues of curriculum may influence the course of conflict.

8.   In conflict situations mistakes can easily be made, and their consequences are likely to be serious. Assistance to an ethnically oriented education system could make a significant impact on the subsequent dynamics of the conflict. It may be agreed that external interventions should 'do no harm', but to reach such a simple objective often requires extensive and persistent analysis. Interventions in conflict require a much higher strategic input and more flexibility to adapt to changing circumstances.

Relief and Development Responses

9.   Modern conflicts are not simple, linear events, but involve complex transformations of society. It in not easy to distinguish, as analysts used to do in the past, between different 'phases' of conflict. 'Reconstruction' may follow a peace agreement, but who knows how long that agreement will last? How secure is a peace agreement? Even defining responses by intention as 'preventive', 'mitigating' and 'resolving' does not work well in many conflicts. What seems like a process of conflict resolution may turn imperceptibly into one of prevention or mitigation as the situation develops.

10.   Because of the nature of conflict today it is extremely difficult to use the conventional distinction between 'relief' and 'development' and yet that distinction often determines what budgets, timescales and levels of funding are available. With conflicts such as those in Sudan and Sri Lanka, which have gone on for decades but still erupt into specific events, it is extremely difficult to find a solid basis for distinctions between relief and development budgets or long-term and short-term interventions. The 'emergency' provision of exercise books and pencils might be valid at a critical stage but may also be a diversion from issues concerning the longer-term provision of education systems that meet the needs of diverse groups on an equitable basis. The implication is that aid budgets must be flexible. Education should not be excluded from emergency budgets.

11.   The negative effect of conflict on development is a point well recognised in DFID policy papers. The UK government White Paper on Globalisation states that, '*Violent conflict is one of the biggest barriers to development in many of the world's poorest countries. Of the 40 poorest countries in the world, 24 are either in the midst of armed conflict or have only recently emerged from it.*'[5] The issue raised in this paper is that certain forms of education may exacerbate or even cause conflict. Education is often seen as purely benign, but in fact it has both positive and negative aspects in relation to conflict. This means that simply quantifying the amount of education is inadequate.

12.   The Globalisation White Paper points out that many countries in conflict fall short of International Development Targets (IDTs)[6] due to direct damage to infrastructure, economic collapse and also massive migration, estimating that in Africa alone 10.6 million people are internally displaced – the majority of

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[5]UK Government White Paper (2000) *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the Poor*, para 78.
[6]Now updated as Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) but we retain the older form here in order to be consistent with policy statements.

them uprooted by war. The importance of conflict is emphasised in DFID's Strategy Paper, 'The Challenge of Universal Primary Education', which describes the immediate disruption caused by conflict, the danger of inequitable development in conflict-affected countries, the possibility that education may be a cause of conflict and the effects of conflict on children.[7] The paper establishes '*Responding to conflict and preparing for reconstruction*' as one of DFID's ten priorities.

Box: DFID strategy paper 'The challenge of universal primary education' (paragraphs 4.50-2)

Priority 10: Responding to conflict and preparing for reconstruction

Education can be harnessed in conflict prevention, in mitigating the effect of conflict on children, and in reconstructing lives after conflict. Conflict prevention requires addressing issues of equitable development in the education sector. Issues to be considered include language in education policy, rights education and equity in resource allocation. The curriculum should be developed to equip children with skills that enable them to address conflict issues in their own lives. This may include the opportunity to participate in the running of the school.

When conflict is ongoing measures need to be taken to protect vulnerable children, girls in particular, and to maintain some form of education provision. Schooling is an important institution in the lives of children and its continuation can assist them and their communities in coping with the effects of conflict. Displaced children need innovative approaches to ensure that their education is not seriously disrupted.

Post-conflict reconstruction entails developing a process that enables children whose education has been disrupted to restart schooling. Actions must be taken to deal with the effects of conflict on children including rape, violence, psychological trauma, disability, the rehabilitation of child combatants and bereavement. Priority should be given to rebuilding the community and putting the school at the centre of this. Governments need to display political commitment to reconstruction. An important facet of this is re-establishing the capacity to collect data on the effects of conflict and on the basis of the information obtained, developing appropriate policies and plans for rebuilding the educational infrastructure, physical and human, which can be supported by the international community

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13.   But education responses in emergencies have not received much attention and tend to be compartmentalised as a 'humanitarian' issue, which runs the risk of not being part of longer term, strategic responses. We argue that because of the nature of conflict today with its high risk of negative impacts, education should be more deeply integrated into all forms of conflict analysis and response.

Structure of the Report

14.   The focus of this report is on the structural relationship between education and conflict, and particularly on the fact that education can be part of the problem. The implication is that education should also be viewed as a preventive tool before conflict emerges.

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[7]Department for International Development (2001) *The Challenge of Universal Primary Education*, p.17

15.   The first section focuses on the relationship between education and conflict. The second section looks at responses to conflict by the education sector and the third section looks at international networks and cooperation. The report ends with Conclusions and Recommendations.

SECTION 1: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONFLICT AND EDUCATION

1.0 EDUCATION AND CONFLICT

16.   The fact that 82 percent of the reported 113 million children out of school are living in crisis and post-crisis countries is evidence of the devastating effect of conflict on access to education.[8] But it is best to be cautious about inferring simple causal links between lack of education and conflict. Categories may be useful ways of mapping the complexity of conflict but each conflict is different and develops its own dynamics. The link between poverty and conflict is particularly difficult to determine. Lack of education may be a contributory factor to conflict but in such indirect ways that it is difficult to measure or determine.

17.   The issue emerges in the DFID Framework Document '*The causes of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa*' issued jointly by DFID with the FCO and Ministry of Defence. This describes the effects of conflict and notes that '*schools and health centres are increasingly the targets of military activity*'[9] giving the example of Mozambique where 40% of health centres and schools were destroyed during the war. It goes on to conclude that – '*the resulting large numbers of young uneducated men helps create the circumstances to sustain conflict*'.

18.   But there are some major assumptions here – including the idea that conflict arises from lack of education – or even from ignorance. Analysis of today's conflicts suggests that they are far from irrational, but instead deeply embedded in struggles over resources or adaptation to change. The role of education in such conflicts could be very complex indeed. In attempting to give education a precise place in the causation of war in Africa the paper demonstrates the danger of generalisations about conflict.

19.   The paper distinguishes between 'root causes'[10] and 'secondary causes'[11], placing 'lack of education' (in a group with unemployment and population pressure) as one of three 'secondary' causes. A further five 'tertiary causes'[12] are also given. But does such a typology do justice to the huge range of interactions between conflict and education? In Mozambique the targeting of schools may have exacerbated conflict, but in Burundi[13] issues of resource allocation and language in the formal education[14] system have caused problems of exclusion. Surely, such differing factors cannot be given the same place in the hierarchy of causes?

20.   We should also be careful to avoid a simplistic deduction that because so many conflicts occur in poor countries it is poverty that causes conflict. Duffield[15] is among those who argue that the prevalence of conflict today is related more to the rate of change than the persistence of poverty. Conflict in the world is not restricted exclusively to low-income countries or those with lowest enrolments in primary

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[8]Emily Vargas Baron, Institute for Reconstruction and International Security through Education, in Ngwata, W (2001).

[9]DFID (2001) *The Causes of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa; Framework Document*, DFID, London, p12.

[10]These are given as Inequality, State Collapse, Economic decline and economic shock, History, and Natural resource wealth.

[11]The others being the abuse of ethnicity and availability of arms.

[12]Regional and interlocking conflict, the conflict cycle, Lack of guarantors, Inadequate and inappropriate mediation and Misplaced humanitarian assistance.

[13]International Alert (2000) op cit.

[14]Throughout this paper the term 'formal education' is used to refer to compulsory schooling provided by the state.

[15]Dufflied, M, (2001) *Global Governance and the New Wars*, Zed, p36

Box: Unequal access to Education – a case study from Burundi

In Burundi more than 25% of primary schools have been destroyed during conflict. Burundi relied on teachers from outside the country but their number has fallen (mainly because of conflict) from 22% in 1992 to only 4% today, leaving many schools without enough teachers.

This was not a simple case of the 'impact of war'. Tutsi leaders in government had made education the exclusive preserve of their particular social group, even excluding other Tutsis, by manipulating the allocation of resources. Some external agencies were involved in supporting this elitist approach. The use of French language became an aspect of this issue[1]. To an extent, the conflict may have been exacerbated by these educational inequalities.

The case illustrates two points:

- Education can be a cause of conflict
- Funding agencies can become involved inadvertently

Source: International Alert (2000)

education. There are many examples of violent conflict in high-income countries with well-developed education systems. The 'highly-educated' are just as capable of turning to violence as the 'uneducated' and this emphasises the need to look more closely at the *type* of education that is on offer and the values and attitudes it is promoting. Simply providing education does not ensure peace.

21.   It is understandable that the focus is often on the most visible impacts of conflict on education, such as destruction of infrastructure and disruption to education provision. However, it is crucial that the relationship of education to conflict should not only be considered at times of crisis, but also be a routine ingredient of development thinking within the formal education sector. In the next sections we examine three perspectives:

- **Education as a Right** that should be maintained at all times, even in the most difficult circumstances and not neglected during times of conflict. This is not simply an ideological statement - where education is maintained in the midst of conflict it may provide an important mechanism for the registration of young children and protection against abuse;

- **Education as a Millennium Development Goal (MDG).** Education is an essential tool for human development and eradication of poverty. Children rarely get a second chance at education. Where the opportunity of education has been lost due to conflict, it is not just a loss to the individual, but also a loss of social capital and the capacity of a society to recover from the conflict.

- **Education as part of the problem** and a potential cause of conflict. Policies and practice at all levels within an education system need to be analysed in terms of their potential to aggravate or ameliorate conflict.

22.   The first two approaches are widely understood. In this paper we place particular emphasis on the third approach because it has received much less attention.

1.1 EDUCATION AS A RIGHT

23.   Issues relating to conflict and education are referred to in a wide range of international instruments notably the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949), UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959), Convention against Discrimination in Education (1962), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (1981).

24.   Much of this has been brought together in a single document – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). The Convention has been ratified by every country in the world except the USA and Somalia. Particularly relevant are the Articles that could be characterised as referring respectively to the 'quantity' and 'quality' of education:

- Article 28 assures the child's right to education, specifying that primary education is compulsory and available free to all. Signatories are obliged to 'take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and reduction of drop-out rates'.

- Article 29 states that the aims of education include 'respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms' and 'the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin'.[16]

25.   Additionally the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education[17] points out that the right to education defined solely in terms of access to school is too narrow. All key definitions of the right to education include freedom of choice for parents and a related gevernmental obligation to respect the exercise of that freedom. Similarly, the definition of education solely in terms of state-provided compulsory schooling is limited. The Rapporteur suggests that governments have an obligation to make education 'available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable'.

26.   The World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993 reaffirmed the importance of promoting respect for human rights through education and recommended a framework for action.[18] In 1994 the UN General Assembly officially proclaimed 1995-2004 the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education and produced a Plan of Action for the Decade.[19] According to the Plan of Action, human rights education is about the imparting of knowledge, skills and attitudes directed to:

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[16]For full text of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child see www.savethechildren.org.uk.

[17]The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education was appointed in 1998 to 'report on the status, throughout the world, of the progressive realization of the right to education, including access to primary education, and the difficulties encountered in the implementation of this right.' Further information is available at http://193.194.138.190/html/menu2/7/b/medu.htm.

[18]Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, paragraph 33, part I.

[19]UN Doc. A/51/506/Add.1.

a.   The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;

b.   The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity;

c.   The promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups;

d.   The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free society;

e.   The furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

27.   The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights was requested to coordinate the implementation of the Plan of Action, in cooperation with UNESCO and all Member States. A key part of the Plan of Action is that, '*Governments should play an active role in the implementation of the programme of the Decade through the development of national plans of action for human rights education.*'[20]

28.   Subsequently, Guidelines for National Plans of Action for Human Rights Education[21] were developed and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Director-General of UNESCO addressed a joint letter to all Heads of State encouraging the establishment and implementation of national plans of action for human rights education. More recently the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights has compiled a compendium of national plans that have already been developed as a means of sharing information among countries.[22] The compendium includes examples of national plans from Croatia, France, Japan, Phillipines, Portugal and Turkey with excerpts from the national plans of Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ecuador, Indonesia, Latvia, Malawi, Mexico, Norway and Venezuala.

29.   Most national plans emphasise the importance of an integrated approach to human rights education, that is, through school-based programmes and through youth and community programmes outside school. The role of the media in human rights education is also a common feature. There are some examples of specific human rights programmes being included in the curriculum, but it is more common to advocate multiple actions in a number of areas, so that human rights education is integrated into other teaching subjects and modelled through the values and practices that operate within the classroom and the school. A significant challenge in all countries is to make the language and concepts of human rights accessible, relevant and applied to real life situations, especially for younger children.

30.   In many countries, education programmes make special reference to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). A number of Articles in the Convention have particular relevance for the role of education in relation to conflict. These include Article 19 concerning measures to protect children against all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse; Article 22 concerning the rights of refugee children; Article 23 about the rights of children with disabilities; Article 24 about health; Article 30 about the rights of minorities; Article 34 about sexual abuse; and Article 37 about the treatment of children by the justice system and Article 38 concerning children in armed conflict.

31.   All have implications for the way in which education is made available and how schools operate as institutions.[23] The main weakness is in terms of implementation of such rights as a routine part of

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[20]Plan of Action for the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education, 1995-2004, paragraph 11.

[21]UN Doc. A/52/467/Add.1.

[22]Compendium of National Plans of Action for Human Rights Education, OHCHR, Geneva, February 2001.

[23]Thoma Hammarberg (1997) 'A School for Children with Rights', Innocenti Lecture, Florence, Italy

educational provision. At times of conflict such rights are even more likely to be disregarded, particularly with respect to the exclusion of girls from school and increased exposure to gender-based violence, sexual abuse and health risks from HIV/AIDs.[24]

32.   DFID's Strategy Paper, '*Realising Human Rights for Poor People*', emphasises the need for a rights perspective. Its priority actions are directed to 'Participation', 'Inclusion' and 'Fulfilling Obligation'. The role for the education sector is made explicit in relation to the issue of Inclusion, specifically in relation to '*language policies that promote cultural rights of minorities*' and it is stated that DFID will '*mainstream a concern for diversity in support of the education sector. This can be achieved through education curricula, text books, media and other communication.*'[25]

33.   The importance of education as an 'enabling right'[26] is emphasised by the fact that most human rights instruments place obligations on the signatories to make beneficiaries aware of their rights. The existence of human rights education as part of the national education system is one way that governments can meet this obligation and is one indicator of commitment to human rights values. However, there is no clear research evidence to suggest a direct link between the prevalence of conflict and the 'effectiveness' of human rights education. More focused research in this area is required.

34.   In the midst of conflict, international humanitarian law has a particular importance. The Geneva Conventions make specific reference to protections related to education at times of war. These include provisions that:
- Parties to a conflict ensure that children under fifteen, orphaned or separated from their families are provided with appropriate education;[27]
- Occupying powers should facilitate the maintenance of education;[28]
- Education should be provided for interned children and young people;[29]
- Education should be provided for children throughout non-international conflicts.[30]

35.   A main weakness of such provisions is that, because the Geneva Conventions were developed just after the Second World War, they related to situations where a formal state of war had been declared between countries. Later protocols, UN declarations and resolutions[31] have tried to update accepted 'rules of engagement' to accommodate the more complex nature of modern conflicts, but in these situations, where conflicts are often waged by groups within countries and with no sense of accountability to international authority, the main problem is a complete disregard of the values and norms represented by the Geneva Conventions.

36.   In the face of this it is argued that the development of a knowledge and understanding of the preferred norms for human behaviour in the midst of conflict should be part of the core content of compulsory education

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[24]Graça Machel (2000) 'The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: a critical review', Winnipeg, Canada.
[25]Op cit p26.
[26]i.e. education provides knowledge and skills that enables people to access other rights.
[27]Fourth Geneva Convention, Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 12 August 1949, Article 24.
[28]Fourth Geneva Convention, Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 12 August 1949, Article 50.
[29]Fourth Geneva Convention, Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 12 August 1949, Article 94.
[30]Geneva Conventions, Protection of Victims of Non-International Conflicts (Protocol II), 8 June 1977, Article 4(3)(a)
[31]See www.unesco.org/education/emergency/inter agency/resol declar.shtml

provided by the state.[32] It is also argued that international humanitarian law is often overlooked in human rights education programmes and should be part of the core content for state education.[33]

37.   **Limits to the Rights approach.** While the concept of a 'Right to education' is a useful tool, there remains a problem about the priority or sequencing of different rights. Those engaged in a 'liberation struggle' might place the long-term achievement of eliminating poverty above immediate concerns about education and even human life. The right to be heard may clash with the right to education. Maoists in Nepal target private schools[34] (and teachers) because they are seen as representatives of an unjust social order[35]. In the view of the Maoists the heart of the issue is governance: education is an aspect of a wider picture. As time has gone on the Maoists have directed their attentions to all schools, and anything seen as connected with government. The conflict has shifted from 'the right to equality in education' to 'the right to more say in governance'. To outsiders this may simply have the appearance of mindless violence as the conflict becomes less specific in the course of its development.

38.   The fundamental problem is that rights compete for priority. In the Nepal case the 'right to education' was challenged first on grounds of equality and then on grounds of representation. To simply assert the 'right to education' in such circumstances would be naïve. Each situation requires systematic analysis.

39.   It is not appropriate in this paper to make proposals that are too wide-reaching, but it may be helpful to compare the notion of 'rights' with the notion of 'freedoms' as proposed by Prof Amartya Sen.[36] A major advantage of 'freedoms' is that they put much more emphasis on the choices of the person in need rather than the interests and policies of the aid giver. The availability of education is a primary freedom for a child and the method of education may enhance those freedoms. Education then creates new freedoms that the educated child can exercise. The concept of 'freedoms' is a development by Sen of his 'capabilities' approach now used by UNDP in its Human Development Index. But it is not yet commonly used in international debates.

40.   Another variation is the 'rights' perspective in numerous international treaties referring to children in armed conflict. The common emphasis is that the maintenance or speedy restoration of education provides essential protection, particularly for displaced adolescents and girls, from sexual abuse and rape, sexually transmitted diseases, recruitment into military service and economic exploitation.[37]

41.   **Conclusion.** The Rights approach is useful in terms of international discussions between states, especially in relation to budgets and the allocation of aid. But in conflict situations the question whether education has a positive or negative influence may be paramount, and the problem of a hierarchy of Rights is likely to emerge. At the extreme, issues of life and death will take precedence. It may be useful to promote wider understanding of Rights and in particular of International Humanitarian Law.

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[32]This is the purpose of the Exploring Humanitarian Law project at the International Committee of the Red Cross.

[33]Tawii, Sobhi (2000) 'International Humanitarian Law and Basic Education', International Review of the Red Cross, No. 839, pp581-99.

[34]Under International Humanitarian Law (Geneva Convention 1949) the destruction of schools is prohibited.

[35]See DFID 'Strategic Conflict Assessment for Nepal' CHAD.

[36]Sen, A (1999) Development as Freedom, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

[37]For a helpful summary of international treaties to protect children in armed conflict see, Lowicki, J (2000) *Untapped Potential: Adolescents affected by armed conflict. A review of programs and policies*, New York, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, Appendix II. This report is also available at www.intrescom.org/wcrwc.html.

1.2. EDUCATION AND MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

42.   In recent years, education has come to be viewed as one of the most important tools for human development and the elimination of poverty. This is reflected in the importance attached to education in the International Development Targets (IDTs)[38] identified by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

43.   There is now considerable international consensus that the primary goal for all sectors involved in international development work is the elimination of poverty. Currently one quarter of the world's population live in extreme poverty (less than US$1 per day) and 70% of these are women. DFID is committed to the international target of halving the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. Education has a key role to play in the elimination of poverty and to break the cycle whereby poverty itself limits access to education. Education provides a foundation for the knowledge, skills and values that fuel personal, social and economic development - the means by which sustainable development might be achieved.

44.   The importance of education to the elimination of poverty is reflected in the two international development targets that make specific reference to education:
   • The achievement of Universal Primary Education by 2015;
   • Demonstrated progress towards gender equality and the empowerment of women by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005.

45.   The 1990 World Conference on Education For All (EFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand marked the emergence of an international consensus on the importance of education in eliminating poverty and the 1990s have seen greater appreciation of the inter-relationship between economic and social development. Despite this, greater progress towards universal primary education has still to be achieved in practical terms.

46.   In 2000 the World Education Forum held in Dakar was entitled 'Meeting Our Common Commitments' and provided an assessment of progress towards EFA goals. Country reports were collated by UNESCO and made available online as part of the EFA 2000 Assessment. These revealed that some progress has been achieved in the decade since Jomtien, but this still means that approximately 113 million children, 60 per cent of whom are girls, have no access to primary schooling and 880 million adults are illiterate, of whom the majority are women.

47.   The World Education Forum meeting resulted in the Dakar Framework for Action which identifies six Education For All goals:[39]
   i.   Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;
   ii.   Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory education of good quality;

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[38]IDTs are now referred to as Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
[39]World Education Forum (2000) The Dakar Framework for Action, paragraph 7.

iii.   Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes;

iv.   Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;

v.   Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality;

vi.   Improving all aspects of the quality of education, and ensuring their excellence so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

48.   The issue of conflict as an impediment to the achievement of EFA goals was highlighted at a strategic session on Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis as part of the World Education Forum. As a consequence, the main declaration of the Dakar Framework for Action states that, *'countries in transition, countries affected by conflict, and post-crisis countries – must be given the support they need to achieve more rapid progress towards education for all.'*[40] This is re-emphasised by a further statement that, *'Countries in conflict or undergoing reconstruction should be given special attention in building up their education systems.'*[41] However, it is not clear how these commitments will be met in practical terms.[42]

Box: The expanded commentary on the Dakar Framework for Action

'Education For All must take account of the needs of the poor and most disadvantaged, including working children, remote rural dwellers and nomads, ethnic and linguistic minorities, children and adults affected by armed conflict and HIV/AIDS, and those with special learning needs.' (para. 19)

'The significant growth of tensions, conflict and war, both within nations and between nations and peoples, is a cause of great concern. Education has a key role to play in preventing conflict in the future and building lasting peace and stability.' (para. 28)

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49.   The Dakar Framework identifies twelve strategies that are likely to contribute to the achievement of Education for All. One of these is to '*meet the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability, and conduct educational programmes in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict*'.

50.   Since Dakar, a DFID issues paper[43] has analysed the numbers of children out of school by region and country and by gender and circumstance. The three regions with the lowest net enrolment ratios[44] for primary education in 1998 were:

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[40]The Dakar Framework for Action, main declaration, paragraph 12.

[41]The Dakar Framework for Action, main declaration, paragraph 14.

[42]Following Dakar an Inter-Agency Consultation on Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis was convened jointly by UNESCO, UNHCR and UNICEF in Geneva, November 2000 – this is mentioned in a later section on international networks.

[43]Department For International Development (2001) *Children out of school*, Issues Paper, DFID, London.

[44]Source: World Education Forum, Dakar, Senegal, 26-28 April 2000, Final Report, p. 11.

- Sub-Saharan Africa - net enrolment ratio 60% (42 million children out of school). Two countries, Nigeria and Ethiopia with approximately 7 million children out of school in each country, account for one-third of the total.[45]

- Southern and Western Asia - net enrolment ratio 74%. In India 30% of school age children (35 million) are not in school. In Afghanistan 70% (until recently), in Bhutan 50% and Bangladesh 20% of children are not in school.

- Arab States and North Africa - net enrolment ratio 76%. The two countries with the largest numbers of children out of school are Yemen (1.5 million) and Morocco (1.4 million).

51.   Globally the percentage of girls enrolled in school has increased (to about 80%), but there remains a disparity with the number of boys enrolled in school (87%). Disparities are greater in many regions and countries where the education of girls is given low priority for a variety of religious, cultural and social factors. The DFID paper identifies conflict as a significant factor in preventing enrolment in school[46] and cites one estimate that, '*50% of children who do not attend school live in countries in crisis or emerging from conflict*'.

52.   The achievement of the goals established by the Dakar Framework will ultimately depend on the implementation of effective National EFA plans at country level. However, despite the prevalence of conflict in countries where the challenge of EFA is greatest (and often where the exclusion of girls is highest), a significant weakness of the Dakar Framework is that none of the six goals make any explicit reference to conflict. This provides no encouragement for educational planners at country level to include an analysis of the specific measures that might contribute to conflict reduction at all levels in their overall EFA national plan for the education sector.

53.   **Limitations to the development target approach.** The problem with the quantitative approach of development targets is that the 'quality' of education is particularly important in relation to conflict. There have been some moves to address the issue. The International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century chaired by Jaques Delors[47] highlighted the need for education to take account of significant world trends and identifies 'learning to live together' as one of four main pillars that needs to be strengthened in light of increasing globalisation. Delors states that, '*an education at any level that focuses directly on narrow utilitarian aims will be sadly incomplete and ultimately will fail to fulfil adequately even those aims it has itself set*'.[48]

54.   But conflict, although mentioned, is underplayed in the Dakar Framework. It is not clear whether Goal 6 of the Dakar framework ('*improving all aspects of the quality of education*') includes measures by which education might contribute towards conflict prevention. Indeed, the way that conflict is

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[45]The Oxfam Education Report (2000) indicates that 10 of the 15 countries in Africa requiring urgent support because enrolment rates are less than 50% are experiencing or recovering from conflict.

[46]The DFID paper lists Gender; Poverty; Rural location and distance from school; Disability and special needs; Conflict; HIV/AIDS; and Child labour as the main reasons for children being out of school, pp. 6-7.

[47]Delors, J et al (1996) *Learning: The Treasure Within*, Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, UNESCO Publishing, Paris.

[48]Delors, J et al (1998) *Education for the Twenty-first Century: Issues and prospects*, UNESCO Publishing, Paris.

represented in the EFA Global Monitoring Report for 2002[49] suggests that the implications of conflict for education is conceptualised as a 'special case' or only relevant in emergency situations[50], rather than an ongoing concern for all education systems. This is in distinct contrast to the way in which, for example, 'gender sensitive education' is fully integrated into the model of 'education quality' put forward by the monitoring report.[51]

55.   **Conclusion.** The measurement of progress towards development targets does not necessarily indicate whether an education system is sensitive to or likely to exacerbate conflict. Simply increasing the number of children in school may not necessarily decrease the likelihood of conflict and related increase in poverty. EFA plans should have a clear analysis of the conflict dimension and also a focus on the *type* of education being provided as well as a focus on enrolment rates and levels of literacy and numeracy. The challenge is to develop methods of tracking whether 'progress' in the education field might also be creating tensions that could lead to or exacerbate conflict. There is an urgent need to develop 'conflict-sensitive indicators' for the education sector. This is one of the main recommendations of this report.

1.3 EDUCATION AS PART OF THE PROBLEM AS WELL AS PART OF THE SOLUTION

56.   Generally agencies treat education as inherently benevolent and argue that it represents a 'force for good' in situations of conflict, without acknowledging that education can have negative consequences. This view is reflected in Education for All documentation, which describes education as one of the best means of preventing conflict, '*Education is increasingly seen as one means to reduce and overcome the effect of violence. It can help prevent emergencies from occurring and can bring a sense of normalcy and stability into an otherwise chaotic situation.*'[52]

57.   However, a recent UNICEF study highlights some of the negative aspects of education in relation to conflict.[53] For example:

- The use of education as a weapon in cultural repression of minorities, denying them access to education, or using education to suppress their language, traditions, art forms, religious practices and cultural values.

- Segregated education such as the apartheid system in South Africa that served to maintain inequality between groups within society.

- The denial of education as a weapon of war, for example, through the forced closure of schools for Palestinian children by Israel during the Intifada.

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[49]EFA Global Monitoring Report (2002) *Education For All. Is The World On Track?* UNESCO Publishing, Paris also available at http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/monitoring/monitoring_2002.shtml.

[50]The main references to conflict in the global monitoring report are mainly in terms of 'education in emergencies' (see pp. 122-127) rather than in terms of the need for 'conflict sensitive education' as an integral part of quality education (see pp. 80-88).

[51]'Gender sensitive' education is identified in both the inputs and processes of quality education (see p.81) whereas' conflict sensitive' education is not mentioned.

[52]'Learning to Live in peace' EFA 2000 Bulletin 26 (January-March 1997) at UNESCO website.

[53]Bush, K and Saltarelli, D (2000) *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence,p.3.

- The manipulation of history and textbooks for political purposes, particularly where government defines the 'national story'.

- The inculcation of attitudes of superiority, for example, in the way that other peoples or nations are described, and the characteristics that are ascribed to them.

- The likelihood that many of these negative practices are in addition to gender-based discrimination and practices prevalent in conflict environments.[54]

Box: Two Faces of Education

'Prejudiced children are more likely to be moralistic, to dichotomize the world, to externalise conflict, and to have a higher need of definiteness....Under conditions of inter-ethnic tension and conflict, such characteristics unavoidably find their way into the classroom and must be taken account if the peace-destroying impact of education is to be minimized.'

Bush and Saltarelli (2000)

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58.   The UNICEF study draws attention to the role of education in political and social processes, and therefore implies an active rather than passive role for education in relation to conflict. Aspects of education with the potential to exacerbate conflict may be deeply embedded in state-provided education education and taken for granted. Therefore an analysis of the relationship between education and conflict needs to be a central and consistent feature of all education sector planning and development as a matter of routine.

59.   **Conclusion.** By asking critical questions about the relationship between education and conflict we can see that education may be deeply embroiled in the conflict. This raises a serious question about whether contributing resources to education could make conflict worse. In conflict countries or those where severe tensions exist, country specific analysis is necessary to ensure that this does not happen. Secondly education issues cannot be tackled in isolation. There has to be a comprehensive understanding of the political, security, economic and social dimensions of conflict so that the role of education can be understood in context.

Box: Education as a central issue of conflict in Nepal

In the absence of good quality state education in Nepal, the private sector burgeoned and became a way by which jobs could be, in effect, bought. This fuelled the Maoist insurgency. Education was a cause of the conflict and then became one of its main battlegrounds. The Maoists took as their aim the total overthrow of the government system. They attacked not only private schools but also state schools. Amnesty International reports that 28 teachers have been killed, but in areas where they have gained control the Maoists are running schools and there are indications that teachers are sympathetic to their views.

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[54]Ibid, p.14.

SECTION 2: RESPONSES TO CONFLICT FROM THE EDUCATION SECTOR

2.0 UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT

60.   The greatest challenge is to develop better understanding and awareness of the links between education and conflict as an integral and routine part of policy, planning and practice amongst those working within all levels of the education sector. DFID has been developing tools for conflict analysis at three different levels:
- Policy (Strategic Conflict Assessment)
- Programme Review (Programme Level Conflict Assessment)
- Peace-building (Peace-building Framework).

61.   SCA is normally undertaken by a small team and is based mainly on interviews with key actors, supported by a review of the literature. The causes of conflict are broken into categories. Education most commonly features as a social factor in the form of declining quality of education, or lack of access creating a sense of exclusion.[55] Aid responses are analysed according to the level of awareness of conflict issues.[56] From 1999-2001 DFID conducted assessments of conflicts in Nepal, Sri Lanka, Moldova and Kyrgyzstan. A synthesis report was published at the end of the process[57] and this has now led to publication of a Guide approved by the Secretary of State.[58] Subsequent studies have covered Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Nigeria. The studies of Nepal and Moldova have been updated and redrafted.

62.   The challenge now is to apply the analysis in practical ways by reviewing current programmes in relation to conflict (PLCA) and designing new programmes to address conflict (PBF). The problem is that a single sector cannot logically be separated from others and therefore it is normally necessary to undertake the full SCA process before going into PLCA or PBF processes. The development of indicators for particular sectors might help to focus the process more sharply and this could shorten the overall process.

63.   **Conclusion.** In order to integrate education into DFID's conflict analysis there is a need to develop a consensus around indicators of the positive and negative roles of education in situations of conflict. This could be done by reviewing a number of existing programmes and then working towards a synthesis of indicators that might be used as more flexible tools than SCA.

64.   Such a process could help to deepen the analysis of progress towards achieving development goals. It could also play a valuable role in developing tools that would enable other international organisations and forums (EFA and World Bank, for example) to link education and conflict. Ways forward could include:
- Collecting case studies from DFID Education Advisers
- Involving Education Advisers in SCA processes
- Conducting PLCAs focused on Education
- Involving conflict analysts in Education programme design

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[55]for example, see Goodhand, J. et al. (2000) *Aid, Conflict and Peace Building in Sri Lanka*, DFID, London, Table 5, pp 55-56.

[56]Op cit pp 43-46.

[57]Goodhand, J (2001) *Conflict Assessments: A synthesis report – Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Nepal and Sri Lanka* CDS, King's College 2001.

[58]DFID (2002) *Conducting Conflict Assessments: Guidance Notes.*

Box: DFID Approach to Conflict Analysis

DFID is developing three methodologies:

1. Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA)
Summary of the process:

Stage 1. Description
The first stage is to describe the history and impact of conflict (or reasons for tension).
This should include relevant physical factors such as terrain.

Stage 2. Causes
In this section conflict is divided into different aspects, and into different levels
– international, regional, national and local:
  • Security
  • Political
  • Economic
  • Social

Stage 3. Links, dynamics and triggers
The process of dividing and separating the causes will demonstrate the important linkages.
This, in turn, will bring to light the interests of the key actors and their perspectives as individual
elements within the conflict. This leads to an analysis of dynamics, bearing in mind critical events or
'triggers' that might produce sudden change.

Stage 4. International Actors
This section focuses on aid organisations and others interacting with the conflict. The way they function
together can be examined by dividing them into categories:
  • Working 'around' conflict
  • Working 'in' conflict
  • Working 'on' conflict

Stage 5. Conclusions
The aim is to match the relationship of crucial elements of the conflict to the influence and capacity
(potential or otherwise) of international actors. The SCA process ends with recommendations for strategy.

2. Peace-Building Framework (PBF)
The process draws on SCA in order to design a project or programme of responses.

3. Programme-Level Conflict Assessment (PLCA)
The SCA is used to review an existing programme or sector.

65.   In the next sections we examine the educational issues that are likely to be relevant to conflict
analysis by those working with and within the education sector.

2.1 CONFLICT AND STATE EDUCATION

2.1.1 WORKING WITH GOVERNMENT

66.   In relation to conflict the most important characteristic of school education is that it is almost always run by the state, and the state may be a party to the conflict. This makes intervention in such a situation extremely difficult because it will be hard to separate impartial humanitarian objectives from political judgments. Decisions about the potential impact of development assistance for education are also difficult in situations where there are unstable political structures, no clear view about long-term, sustainable governance arrangements, undemocratic regimes or lack of confidence in government authorities.

67.   The existence of conflict inevitably raises questions concerning government views on the *purpose of education* and the extent to which education is seen as a tool for political or ideological purposes. Political involvement in operational matters, such as education appointments, deployment of teachers, determination of the curriculum etc., may provide some indication of the extent to which government perceives education as mainly about 'social control' or about 'empowerment' through social, economic and cultural development. Military expenditure compared to education is an important indicator of the relative importance attached to education.

68.   In many circumstances political elites are likely to want to use education for their own purposes. Where there is conflict this suggests an even greater need for systems and structures that 'insulate' the education sector from *political bias*, potential *corruption* and interference in operational decisions to implement policy. Capacity building and training for those working within the public service may therefore be a necessary prerequisite for the success of any overall education sector plan that takes account of conflict.

69.   At all levels of the education system ***governance*** is a crucial issue. The arrangements that are in place for representation and participation in consultation, decision-making and governance may be potential sources of conflict, or they may be opportunities for inclusion and the resolution of grievances. Arrangements for *transparency* and *accountability* also reflect the system's capacity to accept and address inequalities that might otherwise become sources of conflict.

70.   ***Decentralisation*** has become a common feature of education reform proposals in many countries. This can take the form of devolution of powers from a central Ministry to regional or local authorities for matters such as education planning and the allocation of resources. Further decentralisation of school management, finance, advisory and inspection systems is often advocated as a means of democratising and improving the quality of education by increasing participation, ownership and accountability. However, Gaynor cautions that there 'i*s some evidence to suggest that decentralisation can hold more of a threat than a promise for poor people*'.[59]

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[59]Gaynor, C. (1995) *Irish Aid and Education*, Irish Aid Committee, Dublin.

> **Box: Decentralisation in Bosnia**
>
> Within the Federation, responsibility for education is devolved to 10 Cantons each with its own Minister and Deputy Minister for Education. Eight of the ten Cantons have a distinct Bosniak (Muslim) or Croat (mainly Catholic) majority and the influence of nationalist politics is visible in many aspects of education including control of curricula, textbooks, appointments and issues of access. Decentralisation has also made the education system more difficult to coordinate at the national level because of lack of consensus between local regions.

71.   In situations of conflict, the benefits of decentralisation of education may also carry risks. For example, decentralisation of education is susceptible to *partisan decision-making* influenced by local politics and carries the potential for dominant groups to force their views. In certain contexts decentralisation may also exacerbate the exclusion of women from consultation, decision-making and participation.

72.   ***Differentiated education systems.*** Alongside decentralisation, it is also common for structural reform proposals to encourage the development of education systems that are more differentiated and specialised in terms of the responsibilities of organisations within the overall system.

OVERVIEW OF A DIFFERENTIATED EDUCATION SYSTEM

POLITICAL STRUCTURES

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

POLICY

structural issues   funding

Curriculum authorities
Curriculum development agencies
Standards and assessment agency, examination bodies

Primary

Secondary

Post school leaving age

Youth

implications of conflict for

Initial Training

Induction

Early professional development

In-service courses

Further professional development

Masters degrees Research studies

Senior management Training

Training and professional development providers
Teacher Education Colleges
Local education authorities
Management training agencies, Higher Education

PRACTICE

(resources, teaching methods, information technology)

SCHOOLS and YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

NGOs, Voluntary organisations

Involvement of wider society in governance

73.   The benefits of a more *differentiated system* may include quality improvements in education because of the greater focus provided by specialised agencies. For low-income countries the move away from a single Ministry of Education with responsibility for all aspects of education may appear expensive and challenging in terms of the availability of personnel and skills. Differentiated systems also provide greater challenges in terms of communication and coordination between the various parts. However, it can also be argued that in situations of potential or actual conflict, a differentiated and more diverse education system can provide better protection against political and ideological abuse, patronage and corruption. Responsibility and authority are more dispersed within differentiated systems and should therefore be more resistant to authoritarian control.

74.   **Equality issues.** Irrespective of the degree of decentralisation and differentiation within a system, issues of equality carry the potential to inflame or ameliorate conflict between different groups within society. Equality concerns may arise in terms of 'inputs' such as equal access of all groups to education, transparency in the allocation of resources and the recruitment, training and deployment of teachers. Bush and Saltarelli claim that restricted access to education '*should be viewed as an indicator of deteriorating relations between groups*' and '*a warning signal that should prod the international community to initiate what the World Bank would call a 'watching brief' so that it might anticipate and respond to further deteriorations*'.[60]

75.   Equality issues also arise in terms of educational 'outputs' such as differentials in education attainment and qualifications between groups. These have important consequences for equal opportunity of employment. Bush and Saltarelli suggest that educational attainment is one of the ways in which dominant groups seek to maintain their privileged position within diverse societies. They cite examples from Rwanda, where historically Catholic missionary schools favoured the Tutsi minority through preferential treatment that led to employment by the colonial government; and Burundi where restrictions on the admission of Hutu children to secondary schools prevented the acquisition of necessary employment skills.[61]

76.   The identification of inequalities, whether in terms of educational 'inputs' such as access or 'outputs' such as qualifications, requires *accurate information and reporting systems*. When conflict is a factor, interpretations of inequalities will be politically and emotionally charged and the reliability of statistics and impartiality of monitoring systems contested. This makes it crucial that a 'critical' interaction between government statistics departments, non-governmental monitoring bodies and independent academic research takes place. Monitoring may also provide the basis for the development of education policies to address inequalities as a means of building greater trust between groups in conflict.

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[60]Bush, Kenneth D and Saltarelli, Diana (2000) *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, United Nations Children's Fund, Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, Italy, p.9.
[61]Op Cit, p. 10.

77. ***Characteristics of education institutions.*** The issue of 'trust' between groups in conflict may also be related to the way in which diversity is managed within the overall education system and its institutions. For example, the education system and its institutions may be characterised as:

- **Assimilationist** (single institutions operating according to the values of the dominant tradition, where minority needs and interests are often neglected);

- **Separatist** (separate institutions each serving different constituencies with relatively homogeneous populations - processes within institutions may or may not acknowledge broader diversity outside the institution);

- **Integrationist** (common or shared institutions with diversity represented within the population of each institution).

- The extent to which government policy supports movement in any of these directions may increase or decrease the likelihood of education becoming a source of conflict.

78. Equally important are the dynamics within institutions as the educational environment and the educational processes within the institution may emphasise different concepts of pluralism in practice.[62]

Box: Forms of Pluralism

Conservative pluralism
Education environments emphasising *similarities* between people and the view that all people share a common humanity; may use language such as 'differences are not important', 'we have more in common than dividing us'; avoids overt expression of cultural identity and religion is regarded as a private matter of personal conscience not for the public space; display of religious, cultural symbols avoided, the workplace or learning environment regarded as a 'neutral space', controversial issues avoided.

Liberal pluralism
Education environments placing more emphasis on accepting *differences* between people, may become preoccupied with 'exotic cultures' and politically correct 'celebration of diversity' as an end in itself, the workplace or learning environment may contain diverse symbols and expressions of identity juxtaposed within the same space, more willingness to acknowledge difference as having potential for conflict, uncomfortable at addressing underlying causes.

Critical pluralism
Recognising similarities and differences between people but also acknowledging differences in status, privilege and *power relations between groups* within society and societies, willing to identify underlying causes and explore possibilities for action to address social injustice.

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[62]Adapted from Kincheloe, J and Steinberg, S (199?) *Changing Multiculturalism*, Open University, Milton Keynes.

79.   The *structure* of an education system has a bearing on the extent to which it promotes assimilation, separate development or social inclusion. Each of these has different implications for the likelihood of conflict within the broader society. Educational processes within schools and other education institutions provide evidence of the way in which diversity is being managed and are a further indicator of the dominant values within the wider society. An analysis of education structures and educational processes from a conflict perspective could therefore be an important component of a conflict '*early warning system*'.

2.1.2 THE CURRICULUM

80.   The main instrument for the organisation of teaching and learning as part of formal education is the school curriculum and this is often the focus for tensions related to conflict within broader society. The curriculum therefore carries the potential to be 'part of the problem' as well as 'part of the solution' in a number of ways.

81.   How 'curriculum' is conceived, may determine the extent to which it is an instrument for control or a tool for empowerment. Knowledge-based concepts of 'curriculum' emphasise teaching content and are often characterised by overcrowded syllabuses listing facts and information to be learnt. Such curricula place a high value on the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next and learning may be a passive experience with limited opportunity to question or challenge curriculum content. When curriculum is conceived in this way, it may be perceived as an extremely powerful tool to promote particular political ideologies, religious practices or cultural values and traditions.

82.   The contemporary trend in many countries is to 'modernise' the curriculum so that it is defined in terms of 'learning outcomes' and not solely in terms of the content identified in the syllabus for each academic subject. Learning outcomes refer to skills, attitudes and values as well as factual knowledge. This trend is fuelled partly by recognition that the expansion of knowledge can no longer be contained by already overcrowded syllabuses and partly by the changing nature of employment and the need for transferable skills.

83.   However, curricula based on learning outcomes also offer considerable potential for the development of skills that may be helpful in averting or preventing conflict. Learning outcomes may include development of a range of communication skills, the ability to draw on multiple sources of information and evaluate conflicting evidence, the development of media literacy, critical thinking and social and moral development. These are all aspects of a learning outcomes model of curriculum. The argument is that these are the type of *skills* that may be helpful to avoid conflict, but there remains a question about the values that are also acquired through the process of education.

84.   All areas of school curricula communicate values, but some areas have particular relevance as 'carriers' of values that may contribute towards or mitigate conflict. In broad terms, aspects of the curriculum that have a particular relevance include:

- The way in which the curriculum deals with identity issues such as language, religion and culture;

- The role of traditional subject areas such as, the arts, music, literature, history and geography;

- 'New' or innovative areas with descriptive labels that claim a preventative role and seek a place within the curriculum.

2.1.3 LANGUAGE

85. There are many ways in which language has a relationship to education and conflict. Of central importance is the 'medium of instruction' in national education systems. In many situations, particularly where government policy is insensitive to minority needs[63], language becomes highly politicised and may be used by nationalists to argue for separate schools. This may in turn become a focal point for conflict and divisions within the wider society.

86. The role and status of languages within the curriculum may also create tensions. This is particularly the case where many local or 'mother tongue' languages[64] exist alongside a 'national' or 'official' language. There is a continual struggle between the need for a common language to promote national unity and a language policy for education that reflects the diversity that exists within most societies. It is not difficult therefore to mobilise political dissent around the denial of linguistic rights[65].

87. In the case of refugees there are issues about the curriculum to be provided in refugee schools and what medium of instruction is to be used (that of the refugees or that of the host country).[66/67] These issues also arise where refugees attend host country schools and where a government has to make provision for internally displaced persons from a variety of linguistic groups.

88. Language learning (whether local, national or international) also carries with it the potential to convey, in an implicit way, highly politicised messages, simply by the vocabulary used. This is particularly important in situations of tension between different groups and where conflict exists. Descriptions of people, places and events will carry different connotations depending on whether the words chosen refer to, for example, 'rebels', 'freedom fighters' or 'terrorists' and such language will help construct a child's developing view of reality. A similar challenge is to encourage a sense of self-respect, and pride in one's heritage without denigrating others. Educators therefore carry an unavoidable responsibility for the implicit messages conveyed by the language they use. At the heart of the matter may be whether a child's educational experience provides the linguistic tools that develop a predisposition towards either inflaming or resolving conflict.

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[63]De Varennes, Fernand (1996), *Language, Minorities and Human Rights*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague.

[64]Walter, Stephen, L. (2000) 'Explaining Multilingual Education: Information on Some Tough Questions', Working Paper of the Summar Institute of Linguistics, North Dakota, Session 2000, Volume 44 http://www.und.edu/dept/linguistics/wp/2000Walter.PDF.

[65]UNESCO's MOST Programme provides information and annotated links to documents on language rights, language legislation, and linguistic minorities. See http://www.unesco.org/most/ln2lin.htm.

[66]For more detailed consideration of issues arising around refugee schools and reference to a number of other case studies see Brown, T (2001) 'Improving Quality and Attainment in Refugee Schools: The Case of the Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal' in Crisp, J, Talbot, C and Cipollone, DB (eds)(2001) *Learning for A Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*, Geneva, UNHCR, Cht. 3, pp.109-161.

[67]Rutter, J (1996) *Refugees. We Left Because We Had To*, London, The Refugee Council, provides learning resources for 14-18 year olds that includes case study materials from a many different parts of the world.

> **Box: UNESCO Position on Education in a Multilingual World**
>
> The General Conference of UNESCO has recommended that Member States should promote:
>
>   i.   the early acquisition (in kindergartens and nursery schools) of a second language in addition to the mother tongue, offering alternatives;
>
>   ii.   further education in this second language at primary-school level based on its use as a medium of instruction, thus using two languages for the acquisition of knowledge throughout the school course up to university level;
>
>   iii.   intensive and transdisciplinary learning of at least a third modern language in secondary school, so that when pupils leave school they have a working knowledge of three languages - which should represent the normal range of practical linguistic skills in the twenty-first century.
>
> <div align="right">3OC/Resolution 12 of UNESCO General Conference, 1999</div>
>
> The decision was also taken to observe 21st February as the International Mother Language Day and UNESCO has subsequently developed a position paper on Education in a Multilingual World.

2.1.4 RELIGION

89.   Identity issues are also reflected in the relationship between religion and schooling. Historically, religion has been an important focal point for the development of personal and group identity and the churches have been significant social institutions prior to the emergence of nation states. By definition religious identity transcends national boundaries and may command a loyalty that is set above other aspects of identity. The resurgence of interest in the churches in former communist and eastern European countries indicates how religion is an enduring dimension of identity, particularly when former political loyalties are no longer available. For example, the reintroduction of religious education to schools in Serbia is partly in response to renewed expression of religious identity following the disintegration of the former republic of Yugoslavia.

90.   Churches have a long history of involvement in education. In some situations this has been because churches established and owned schools before the advent of state education. In some cases the emergence of states has led to the disestablishment of churches, removing their privileged access to education. In other cases, certain churches have become closely identified with particular nation states to the extent that national and religious identity are virtually synonymous.

91.   Much like education therefore, religious identity may be a unifying or divisive influence. It is simplistic to suggest that the existence of faith-based schools leads to separatist thinking or intolerance, but arguments for secular education or multi-faith schools usually emphasise how church involvement in education can be a source of tension. Segregated schools are prevalent in many contemporary conflicts

and may reinforce a sense of separate identity when there is limited opportunity to interact with members of other communities.

92.   Church involvement in education gives rise to a range of questions that may in themselves be contested issues, particularly in diverse societies where a state funded school system serves children from different faith communities. In meeting parental rights to have children educated in accordance with their religious beliefs, governments must reconcile the extent to which churches should be involved in the ownership and management of state funded schools, or whether faith-based schools should be funded completely by the churches on a voluntary basis. This latter position may not be consistent with a commitment to ensure that all children receive free primary education.

93.   Other controversies related to religion and schooling include the emphasis on 'religious instruction' (instructing children in the practices of their faith) or 'religious education' (addressing broader moral issues, often with a comparative dimension) within or outside the school curriculum; church influence in the appointment of teachers and rights of access to pupils; the extent to which school values have a particular faith base and the influence that these might have on, for example, school holidays, assemblies, celebration of religious festivals and display of religious symbols or icons within the school. These issues are even more complex when children from different faith communities are enrolled in the same school. Additionally religious codes often ascribe a 'subordinate' role to women and this raises significant concerns about unequal access to and experience of faith-based education for girls.

2.1.5 CULTURE, HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY

94.   A significant part of the curriculum is dedicated to the arts, music, literature, history and geography and in some countries these are referred to as 'national subjects', that is, they are seen as an important way of consolidating a common sense of national identity. The potential for conflict arises when the cultural heritage and traditions of a majority group dominate the school curriculum and when the art forms, music and literature of minorities are un-represented. Even where there is little diversity within a population the curriculum may portray a picture of national heritage that is chauvinist or ethnocentric.

95.   The teaching of history is of particular significance in contested societies and stands out as an area of the curriculum particularly open to charges of bias and prejudice. This is more likely to be the case when the history syllabus is based on a single text that tells the national story, often to the detriment of other peoples and nations. The contested nature of history teaching was addressed as part of a Schools History Project in the UK during the 1970s. Its central ideas have found their way into history teaching in many countries and are well represented in approaches advocated by the Council of Europe.[68] Essentially the approach represents a shift away from an over-emphasis on the 'factual' content of history to the view that history is best understood as an interpretation of evidence.[69] The skills involved therefore take on a special significance and students are encouraged to evaluate evidence from a variety of sources, consider competing interpretations and develop their own critical perspective on events of the past. Issues concerning the reliability of evidence, bias and multiple interpretations of the same events inevitably arise.

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[68]See, for example, Slater, J. (1995) *Teaching History in the New Europe*, Cassell, London & New York.

[69]Arthur, J. and Phillips, R. (2000) *Issues in History Teaching*, Routledge, London.

This contrasts starkly with text based approaches that tell the national story. Similar issues arise in the teaching of political geography where descriptive terms may carry political bias, and an emphasis on boundaries and territory may contribute towards an ethnocentric view of the world.

2.1.6 IMPLICATIONS FOR RESOURCES, TEXTBOOKS, MEDIA

96. The controversies that can arise around the teaching of history highlight the 'knock on' implications of a conflict-sensitive approach to learning resources that applies across the curriculum. The following brief examples illustrate some of these:

- The operation of a single textbook policy may offer a Ministry of Education a way of guaranteeing a 'minimum entitlement' for all pupils to basic learning resources, particularly important in low-income countries and where equal access needs to be demonstrated. However, questions may arise about who controls or benefits from the production of textbooks and about their content.

- In contested societies arguments over the content of textbooks can become cultural and ideological 'battlegrounds'. For example, part of the education reforms in Bosnia has involved the removal of 'offensive material' from history textbooks.[70] Such a process necessarily raises sensitive issues about the judgement of what might be considered offensive and by whom; about who should be involved in such a process and how it is implemented.

- The production of single textbooks for different linguistic communities can also present difficulties. For example, textbooks produced by Sinhalese authors in Sri Lanka have been translated to produce copies for Tamil pupils. However, the Tamil Teachers' Union identified inaccuracies in the translated versions and claimed cultural bias in some of the illustrations and content matter. This has lead to demands for greater involvement of Tamil authors in textbook production.

- Education reforms that promote a change from content-based syllabuses to a 'learning outcomes' model have significant implications for learning resources. Drawing on a variety of texts, incorporating the use of different media and new technologies, may contribute towards the development of multiple perspectives, but there is an economic cost and such an approach requires different skills from the teacher than simply teaching from a textbook.

2.1.7 TEACHERS, TEACHER EDUCATION AND TEACHING METHODS

97. Curriculum, pedagogy and the nature of learning resources are all inter-related. Any reform strategy that seeks to harness education as a positive force to ameliorate or avert conflict must therefore take account of the central role of teachers. Equally, any reform strategy which ignores the well-being of the teaching profession may undermine a crucial aspect of social cohesion and add to tensions that could lead to conflict.

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[70]See, for example, *Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, George Eckert Institute, UNESCO, Paris.

98.   Teachers can become targets of violence such as the case in Cambodia where 80% were eliminated under Pol Pot because they were a part of the local intelligentsia and a perceived threat. Current examples include attacks on teachers in Nepal where 28 teachers have been killed since a state of emergency was declared in November 2001. In such situations even the threat of violence may be sufficient intimidation to cause an exodus of teachers. This depletes the capacity of a country to recruit, retain and deploy the personnel required to maintain schools and education infrastructure in regions experiencing conflict. It is also the case that teachers themselves are not 'value-free' and may become enlisted to the conflict for ideological or other reasons. Even where tensions are not expressed in terms of violent conflict teachers carry a considerable moral responsibility for the values and messages conveyed through the 'hidden curriculum' (for example through the use of corporal punishment legitimating violence).

Box: Teachers and conflict

- The status of teaching within a society may be related to factors such as entry qualifications, rates of pay and terms and conditions of employment. These are factors that will affect morale and motivation.

- Conflict-sensitive recruitment and deployment policies, for example, to ensure that there is adequate recruitment of male and female teachers from different ethnic groups and that there is an adequate supply of teachers to provide education to different groups in their first language.

- The quality of initial teacher education and the type of training that teachers receive is crucial. The extent to which teachers are trained in the basics of human rights education, and the extent to which personal values and perspectives are challenged may also be important.

- The 'learning outcomes' model of curriculum provides an opportunity to develop 'critical thinking'; this may enable teachers to play a role in addressing controversial issues in society.

2.1.8 PEACE EDUCATION

99.   Throughout the 1990s there have also been increasing demands for the inclusion of new areas in school curricula mostly in response to perceived crises within wider society. Sometimes referred to as 'descriptive education' because of the labels attached, arguments have been made for new programmes in areas such as economics, health, the environment and peace education. All these areas have a strong emphasis on 'values' and the challenge for schooling is how such interdisciplinary themes might be integrated successfully within curricula largely organised around traditional academic disciplines. Most have argued for an approach that integrates the work at different levels - as part of a whole school commitment through the 'hidden curriculum' and extra curricular activities, as part of existing subjects and as discrete areas with dedicated space within the school timetable.

100. Areas relevant to the 'preventative role' that education might play in terms of conflict come with many different labels and emphases. During the 1990s UNESCO became preoccupied with trying to draw these disparate areas together under the common label of a 'culture of peace'. However, this approach has been criticised for being too eclectic and unfocused with too much energy devoted to securing agreement around definitions.

101. A recent UNICEF staff working paper[71] defines peace education in broad and inclusive terms and emphasises its preventative role, '*Peace education in UNICEF refers to the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural.*' The UNICEF paper emphasises the view that peace education is an essential component of quality basic education that should be part of school education in all countries. The paper also acknowledges the difficulties around terminology and points to a variety of terms used in country and regional offices such as 'education for peace' (Rwanda), 'education for conflict resolution' (Sri Lanka) and 'values for life' (Egypt).

102. In the context of refugee education the UNHCR Peace Education programme[72] has been developed from a pilot project in Kenya and includes a formal education and community component. The programme has resource materials centred around 210 different activities developing 14 concepts across eight grades and is used in all refugee schools in Kenya, where some 42,000 children have a peace education lesson each week and more than 3,000 young people and adults have followed the community training.[73]

103. The key point about all these education programmes is that individually, none of them offers a 'magic solution' for the prevention of conflict. Rather they represent a complex matrix of education initiatives that address key themes and values that could have a preventative effect in the long term. It is unrealistic to expect that such programmes will have immediate impacts within short periods of time - in certain situations they may even give the illusion of government action but detract attention away from more deep-rooted problems. It may be more realistic to adopt an audit approach that encourages education authorities to take stock of educational provision with a special focus on features that could have a preventative role in terms of conflict. Nor is it reasonable to expect that non-specialist aid managers will be familiar with the intricacies and claimed 'efficacy' of individual programmes. More serious attention needs to be given to evaluating the 'efficacy' claimed for preventative education across a range of international contexts and monitored over a sustained period of time.

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[71]See http://www.unicef.org/pdeduc/education/peace_ed.htm.

[72]Baxter, P (2000) *UNHCR Peace Education Programme*, UNHCR Regional Services Centre, Nairobi. See also www.unhcr.ch.

[73]Sinclair, M (2001) 'Education in Emergencies' in Crisp, J, Talbot, C and Cipollone, DB (eds)(2001) *Learning for A Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*, Geneva, UNHCR Cht. 1, p.30.

Box: Forms of 'Peace Education'?

- *Skills-based programmes* involve workshops in communication skills and interpersonal relations as well as conflict resolution techniques. It is important to consider how the development of interpersonal skills in conflict resolution might have an impact on the dynamics of *inter-group* conflict within wider society.

- *Peace programmes* that are explicitly labelled 'peace education' often share many of the characteristics of skills-based programmes but a defining characteristic may be that a particular orientation is taken towards 'violence'. In some cases the defining characteristic may be that the programme material is heavily contextualised within a specific local or regional conflict. The rationale as to why peace education programmes are directed towards certain groups (children, adolescents, adults, politicians, combatants, bereaved?) is also an important question to ask.

- *Multicultural and intercultural education* emphasises learning about diversity and concepts such as mutual understanding and interdependence. It may be simplistic to think that conflict arises simply because of lack of understanding of other cultures. MCCarthy (1991) suggests that such approaches lack impact if they '*abandon the crucial issues of structural inequality and differential power relations in society*'.

- *Human rights education.* Here the emphasis is on universal values, concepts of equality and justice, and the responsibilities of individuals and states. There are significant difficulties in achieving approaches that are well integrated within the curriculum and other school activities. One issue is the absence of a human rights dimension in initial teacher education. Other difficulties include lack of commitment at political level because of the challenges that human rights education might raise.

- *Civic education, citizenship and education for democracy.* Modern civics programmes go beyond simple 'patriotic' models of citizenship that require uncritical loyalty to the nation state. By defining 'citizenship' in terms of human rights and civic responsibilities, such programmes attempt to uncouple the concept of 'citizenship' from 'nationality' in a way that may make it more difficult to mobilise political conflict around identity issues.

- *Education for international development.* The relevance of such programmes for the prevention of conflict has been heightened by the impact of globalisation and the events of 11 September 2001. The relationship between global security, the role of international development aid and social justice issues in an unequal world is an important question.

2.1.9 EDUCATION REFORMS AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

104. From a curriculum, pedagogical and resources point of view, the potential for education to become a positive force for conflict reduction seems to be very closely bound up in the broader dynamics of education reform processes. International support for education reform processes, mainly through World Bank funding to 'low-income', 'post-conflict' and 'transition' countries, therefore presents an opportunity

to develop more conflict-sensitive systems of education. However, it is not always clear that this is an explicit goal in 'education reform packages' that are sometimes perceived as 'structural adjustment' programmes in another guise.[74]

105.   It is therefore important to develop a clear view on which characteristics of education reforms have most potential to contribute to conflict reduction given the individual circumstances of the country concerned. In some cases conflict reduction strategies may share some of the same features as structural adjustment programmes but have different implications. A move towards multiple textbooks is a good example of an education reform policy with potential benefits from a conflict reduction perspective, but may raise issues about the appropriateness or capacity of a low-income country to quickly develop a commercial publishing environment suited to a market economy.

106.   This suggests that planning for a conflict-sensitive approach to education needs to be undertaken on the basis of a comprehensive overview and conflict analysis of the whole education sector. Conflict analysis therefore needs to be present in all aspects of planning for basic education and as part of any education reform process. Conflict analysis of the sector should result in the identification of a set of conflict reduction measures. Such an approach is consistent with the benefits claimed for sector wide approaches (SWAps).[75] However, a more important point is that governments are encouraged to develop sustainable, long-term plans for the education sector that include conflict reduction measures.

Box: The case for Sector-Wide Approaches

'Traditionally, poorer countries have sought technical assistance and other resources mainly through development projects. Projects usually underplay the need for resources to sustain and maintain systems and capacity. Separate, donor driven projects may inhibit the development of coherent sector policy. Management capacity can be undermined by the need to service donor funded projects. And projects may have their own, but not system wide, budget disciplines.'

DFID 'Learning Opportunities for All'

2.2 EDUCATION AT TIMES OF ARMED CONFLICT AND WAR

2.2.1 EDUCATION AND EMERGENCIES

107.   Over the last decade there has been a growing debate about the involvement of the education sector in emergency responses to armed conflict and war. At the World Conference on Education for All at Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 there was limited reference to emergencies but this is changing, according to Tawil.[76]

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[74]Watkins, K (2000) *The Oxfam Education Report*, Oxfam, GB, pp. 279-82.
[75]DFID (1999), 'Learning Opportunities For All. A Policy Framework for Education', pp. 38-39.
[76]Tawil, S (2000) 'International humanitarian law and basic education' International Review of the Red Cross No 839, pp581-599.

> ### Box: Higher Priority for 'Education in Emergencies'
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> *'Recognition of the importance of ensuring continued education in situations of armed conflict is steadily gaining ground. Indeed, the interagency mid-decade review of international achievement towards the goal of education for all devoted one of its round table sessions to Education in Emergencies and identified 'escalating violence caused by ethnic tensions and other sources of conflict' as an 'emerging challenge for education.'*
>
> S.Tawil (2000)

108. DFID's Policy Statement on '*Conflict reduction and humanitarian assistance*' does not give a prominent role to formal education in conflict or emergency responses. Emphasis is placed on '*social cohesiveness and inclusion*', but DFID focuses here on the role of the media. A role for education might be presumed in the objective of '*encouraging protection of the rights of minority groups*' but it is not explicit in DFID policy. In relation to the protection of human rights, the paper emphasises the need for '*promoting measures against the use of children as combatants, and providing stronger protection for children affected by armed conflict*'. However, the focus is on children rather than education. Finally, in relation to post-conflict peace-building DFID gives priority to '*supporting the disarmament and demobilisation of ex-combatants, and re-integrating them into society*'. Educational processes are implied but not explicit.

2.2.2 THE MACHEL REPORT

109. The most significant document on issues of education and conflict, and the benchmark against which other activities are measured is a report on 'The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children' prepared for the UN Secretary-General by Graca Machel and released in August 1996.[77] Subsequent actions have led to widespread concern about the abuse of children in war situations.

110. Machel states that, '*Education is vital during armed conflicts, offering a sense of community and stability for children and for the whole community. Education gives shape and structure to children's lives. When everything around is chaos, schools can be a haven of security that is vital to the well-being of war-affected children and their communities.*'

111. The Machel Report placed great emphasis on the role that children themselves should play, '*Young people must not be seen as problems or victims, but as key contributors in planning and implementing long-term solutions*'[78]. Although the report encouraged international bodies to reconsider their strategies in consultation with children, it is not evident that such a process took place and it remains a challenge to the international community.

112. The focus of the report is on children rather than conflict and so it does not go far into the analysis of education's role in conflict. However, it is noted that '*education systems in war-torn communities often reflect the dynamics of the conflict and the injustices that take place outside the classroom*' and she supports the use of innovative and non-formal teaching methods so that '*stereotypes can be dismantled inside the classroom*'.

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[77]Available at www.waraffectedchildren.com.
[78]p34.

113.   As an immediate response to the Machel Report, UNHCR's Executive Committee established the provision of basic education and recreation activities for refugee children and adolescents as principal protection objective in the initial phase of an emergency. UNICEF, UNESCO and UNHCR jointly produced a discussion document, 'Rapid Educational Response in Complex Emergencies',[79] in order to '*open a dialogue among educators working in the area of complex emergencies*'. After summarising the international instruments this report focuses on examples of field experiences, non-formal education and the provision of temporary classrooms.

114.   Initiatives to include education as a component of humanitarian assistance include the development of a Teacher Emergency Package (TEP), sometimes known as 'school in a box'. These include basic materials to operate classes in situations of emergency and crisis. They were initially developed by UNESCO in Somalia and later used in 1994 in Tanzania and Rwanda.[80] UNICEF has also been involved in the development of kits of educational resources and the development of the concept of 'Child Friendly Spaces'. Sinclair[81] provides an extremely helpful summary of the subsequent debate that has emerged

115.   At an International Conference on War-Affected Children in Winnipeg, Canada in September 2000, Graça Machel presented a review of progress since the original paper. She noted that there is increasing debate about education as 'the fourth pillar' of humanitarian assistance (along with food, shelter and health care) and that it is now included in UN Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeals.

116.   In the update report[82] Machel identifies a number of key areas affecting children as a direct consequence of armed conflict and each of these has implications for those working within the education sector.

2.2.3 GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

117.   The Machel report highlights the increased risk to women and girls of gender-based violence and sexual exploitation in the midst of armed conflict. Destabilised communities and the suspension of normal value systems increase the incidence of domestic violence and sexual abuse. Sexual humiliation, mutilation and rape are used as weapons of war and in many cases the perpetrators are members of armed forces.

118.   The maintenance or re-establishment of schools alone cannot prevent these atrocities, but the continued provision of education within a secure environment may go some way towards providing registration points and safeguards against abuse.[83] In describing education responses Machel notes that '*In virtually all instances, donors have responded more quickly to the need for primary schools during emergencies but have been slower to invest in education for adolescents.*' She particularly draws attention to the needs of adolescent girls because they are anyway marginalized within education programmes.

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[79]Aguilar, P and Retamal, G (1998) *Rapid Educational Response in Complex Emergencies: a discussion document*, UNESCO-IBE, UNESCO-UIE, UNICEF, UNHCR, Geneva, International Bureau of Education available at www.ibe.unesco.org.

[80]For details of UNICEF, UNESCO, Teacher Emergency Packs in Rwanda see http://www.unicerusa.org/.

[81]Sinclair, M (2001) 'Education in Emergencies' in Crisp, J, Talbot, C and Cipollone, DB (eds)(2001) *Learning for A Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*, Geneva, UNHCR, Cht. 1, pp.57-66.

[82]'A critical review of progress made and obstacles encountered in increasing protection for war-affected children' available at www.waraffectedchildren.com and due to be published in book form.

[83]However, it should also be noted that there are instance where girls are the subject of abuse by teachers – see, for example, Leach, F., Machakanja, P. and Mandonga, J. (2000) 'Preliminary Investigation of the Abuse of Girls in Zimbabwean Junior Secondary Schools', DFID, Education Research Serial No. 39.

> **Box: The importance of girls education**
>
> *'Education, especially literacy and numeracy, is precisely what girls need during and after armed conflict. Education can help prepare adolescent girls for the new roles and responsibilities they are often obliged to take on in conflict situations.'*
>
> Machel Report (1996)

119. DFID's commitment to the International Development Targets related to progress towards gender equality would also seem to imply the need to include the protection of girls as a fundamental aspect of the emergency response. This could include support through UNHCR, NGOs and other channels. It might also include a demand that the security of girls be included in all aspects of the response, especially in the planning of camps for refugees and displaced people. The siting of water and sanitation facilities away from secure areas can create unnecessary risks. Lack of such facilities within a camp may also expose girls to risk. The dangers arising from firewood collection are often overlooked. An extremely serious factor is that vulnerable girls may risk HIV/AIDS as well as physical attack.

120. There is ample evidence cited by Machel and others that conflict particularly disrupts the education of girls. Machel suggests that the issue of adolescent girls has been even more neglected than that of education facilities. In many cases girls are not allowed to go to school because their parents fear attacks on the way and the increasing threat of HIV/AIDS makes this an issue of great concern. Often, during and after conflict, girls are discriminated against in terms of their access to education. This can occur if they have babies as a result of rape during war, if they cannot attend schools in refugee camps because they'd not have adequate sanitary provision, or simply because those in charge of providing education do not ensure that obstacles to girls' attendance are being addressed.

2.2.4 CHILD SOLDIERS, ARMAMENTS

121 Recruitment of adolescents and young children, including significant numbers of girls, is a common feature of many armed conflicts. The Machel review estimates that, 'At any given time, more than 300,000 children under the age of 18 are being used as hostile soldiers'.[84] In the more extreme situations, those likely to be recruited are from poorer backgrounds or who have been separated from their families. Initial motivation is often for food, survival or protection, but 'children may also fight for social causes, religious expression, self-determination or national liberation'.[85] Military service may also give child soldiers a sense of status and purpose that is lacking from school education.

122. Since the original report, the UN General Assembly adopted an Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (May, 2000) establishing 18 as the minimum age for participation in hostilities, although States may still establish a lower minimum age for *voluntary* recruitment. Additionally, the International Criminal Court created a Statute in 1998 that defines the conscription or enlistment of children under 15 years of age as a war crime. However, Machel identifies a number of

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[84]Machel, 2000 p.4.
[85]Machel, 2000 p.11.

countries where there are consistent reports of children involved in hostilities with no consequences to the organisations and States involved in recruitment.

123. Machel cites the ready availability of inexpensive small arms that are easy to use and light to carry, as a factor in the recruitment of child soldiers. 'In 1999, close to 400 companies in 64 countries were manufacturing small arms and light weapons'.[86] She notes some progress through initiatives to stem the flow of small arms at regional level; the establishment of an Action Network on Small Arms by more than a hundred NGOs; and the establishment of an International Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers between parties to conflicts.[87]

Box: Child Soldiers and the education sector

The issue of child soldiers has clear implications for the education sector in terms of:
- A normative role in educating people about accepted international standards concerning the non-involvement of children in armed conflicts.
- A protective role in terms of maintaining normal functioning of school wherever possible and in adverse circumstances, to provide registration and attendance at school as an alternative to recruitment and participation in the conflict.
- A specific role in developing education programmes for the demobilisation and reintegration of child soldiers that take account of emotional and psychological needs, the special needs of girls and children with disabilities.

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124. Images of young boys carrying guns are highly emotive and the issue has attracted the attention of a number of powerful organisations and funding bodies. For DFID the issue of priority must be influenced by the fact that so many other actors are involved. Commitment to the MDGs suggests that DFID's role should be on the return of children to school, but perhaps even more on the neglected issue of adolescent girls, whose lives are deeply affected by the insecurity of conflict, and increasingly so with the threat of HIV/AIDs. Providing a safe environment for their education could be an important focus for DFID. This would imply a shift in current policy, which focuses more on the issue of demobilisation.

2.2.5 LANDMINES, DISABILITY

125. Excessive focus on child soldiers serves to heighten one of the most neglected aspects of the debate, namely disability. One of the most significant education-related outcomes of conflict is disability, especially because of landmines.[88] Causes of disability can change over time, for example, landmines in Vietnam have diminished but the effects of 'agent orange' are still evident. Where attention has been given to disability it is almost entirely focused on physical rehabilitation, and especially the supply of prosthetic devices. But disability as a social and educational issue has not been addressed by any of the major agencies.

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[86]Machel Op cit. p.25.
[87]Machel Op cit. p.26.
[88]DFID recognises the problem of lack of statistics in Issues Paper *Children out of school*, p.7.

126.   Disabled children are likely to suffer more than the physical wounds, but also severe psychological stress both because of the reactions of other children and because their disability may lead to their exclusion from school and other social activities. Even where disability is caused by war, it is not uncommon for the victim to be blamed, or to be perceived simply as a burden on the family. Especially in the case of girls, marriage prospects may be severely affected.

127.   The exclusion of disabled children from mainstream education is a primary cause of economic and social exclusion. Innovative work by Oxfam in Lebanon, Bosnia and elsewhere[89] suggests that progress is best made by working through organisations of disabled people or through parents of disabled children. Where such organisations exist progress has been sustainable.

128.   The issue of disability cannot be addressed in a sustainable manner without some understanding and commitment. The fundamental problems are not restricted to conflict. However the neglect of the issue by other agencies may suggest that DFID could take it up as a specific area of expertise, drawing on support from organisations such as Oxfam and SCF, but also disability organisations in the UK. This might imply the commitment of specific resources, such as an Education Adviser with a specific focus on disability.

2.2.6 REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED CHILDREN

129.   The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that there are nearly 22 million refugees and other groups of concern, including asylum seekers, refugees returning home and people internally displaced within their own national borders.[90] Statistical trends during the 1990s show a decrease in the number of reported refugees and an increase in the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs), partly due to recent changes in the nature of conflicts within, rather than between States. Overall estimates for 1996 indicated twice as many internally displaced persons as refugees.[91]

130.   The Machel review focused attention on the issue of IDPs because 'no UN body has an explicit or global mandate to protect and assist the internally displaced' (the original mandate of UNHCR applies to refugees across international borders). She recommends that in such situations a lead agency (in most cases UNCHR) should be identified and expected to collaborate with other agencies (such as UNICEF, the World Food Programme). Despite the development of UN mechanisms to ensure that the rights of IDPs are not neglected or abused, including the appointment in March 1992 of a United Nations Secretary-General for IDPs[92] and a unit within the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)[93], IDPs may still fall between the mandates of different bodies, and be subject to deliberate neglect by governments.

131.   A priority for humanitarian relief programmes in such situations is to identify unaccompanied or separated children to ensure their safety and survival.[94] Subsequent studies have illustrated the importance of school registration as a means of affording protection during times of conflict particularly for girls and adolescents.[95]

[89]See Abu-Habib, L (1997) *Gender and Disability*, Oxfam. Also Coleridge, P (1993) '*Disability, Liberation and Development*' Oxfam.
[90]Figures from www.unhcr.ch April 2002.
[91]Schmeidl, S (1998) 'Global trends in forced displacement: IDPs and refugees, 1964-96', in Hampton, J (1998) *Internally Displaced People. A Global Survey*, London, Earthscan & Global IDP survey & Norwegian Refugee Council.
[92]Deng, Francis, M (1993) *Protecting the Dispossessed. A Challenge for the International Community*, Brookings Institution Press.
[93]Link to Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) Internatl Displacement Unit http://www.reliefweb.int/idp/.
[94]Mawson, A, Dodd, R and Hilary, J ((2000) *War Brought Us Here. Protecting Children Displaced Within Their Own Countries By Conflict*, Save The Children provides case studies from Angola, Colombia, Kosovo, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka.
[95]Lowicki, J (2000) *Untapped Potential: Adolescents affected by armed conflict. A review of programs and policies*, New York, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

132. Machel expressed concern that some governments have been '*reluctant to allow international agencies to establish education programmes for fear that this may encourage refugee families to remain permanently in these countries*' pointing out that this is contrary to both the CRC and the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The long-term challenge is whether education can be sustained despite the conflict or re-established as soon as hostilities permit. This focuses attention on the extent to which host governments can respond to the education needs of refugees and internally displaced persons. In the case of refugees this may mean arrangements for children to attend existing schools in the host country or special arrangements to ensure continuity of formal education. This may give rise to a series of issues and resource implications that may make host governments reluctant to meet needs of refugees.

133. Sinclair[96] provides counter-arguments to three main '*spurious arguments against rapid educational response in refugee emergencies*' – that education might prevent rapid voluntary repatriation; that humanitarian staff are too busy or there are insufficient resources; and that education is not urgent, nor life-saving. Counter arguments are that in practice the provision of education of itself is unlikely to deter refugees desire to return home; that emergency education specialists are often available; and that education provides protection and essential knowledge and life skills for health care and survival.

134. In 1998 the UN Commission on Human Rights produced a set of 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement'[97] that affirm the universal right of education to displaced persons. The guiding principles assert that authorities should ensure that displaced children in particular receive free and compulsory education at primary level which respects their cultural identity, language and religion; that women and girls should have full and equal participation; and that education and training should be made available to all internally displaced people whether or not they are living in camps.

135. The nature of contemporary conflicts is producing an increase in the number of IDPs. This group is likely to be one of the least educated. Despite the fact that IDPs may not be properly recorded in figures for the achievement of IDTs, there is every reason for DFID to focus on them. It is difficult to secure data on the specific issue of education among IDPs, and within that the exclusion of girls, but all the indications are that it is an issue that should receive close attention both in terms of emergency responses and in terms of longer-term planning.

2.2.7 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON CHILDREN

136. Based on experience in the Balkans in the mid 1990s, trauma counselling, including training of teachers, began to be prominent in the Western humanitarian response, with heavy support especially from the Scandinavian countries. But even those most strongly wedded to 'individual counselling' approaches have now shifted their focus towards a wider view.[98] It is being recognised that children share in the debates and stresses of the surrounding conflict and that their suffering cannot be isolated from the social and political factors within the society in which they live.

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[96]Sinclair, M (2001) 'Education in Emergencies' in Crisp, J, Talbot, C and Cipollone, DB (eds)(2001) *Learning for A Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*, Geneva, UNHCR, Cht. 1, pp.14-15.

[97]UN document E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 Principle 23.

[98]See for example Agger et al 'Evaluation of Norwegian Support to Psycho-social projects in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Caucasus' The Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway 1999.

137. In 1998 Save the Children (SCF) published '*Rethinking the Trauma of War*' and questioned 'the increasing focus on trauma' noting that '*projects aimed at the psychological wounds of war, and the notions of trauma and trauma counselling have become popular*'.

138. The review of the Machel Report[99] in 2000 adopts a considerably more cautious approach towards psycho-social interventions than the report of 1996. Teachers play an important role in the lives of children and are likely to have an impact on their ability to recover from shock. Most children will recover with support from those around them including teachers. What may be useful is a short training for teachers that emphasises recognition of shock, and training in listening to those who wish to describe their experiences. However, there is no clear consensus about the role of teachers in relation to the psychosocial needs of children in conflict situations.[100]

Box: Psychosocial responses to conflict – two views

'*In times of war, children witness and experience terrible atrocities. The physical, sexual and emotional violence to which they are exposed shatters their world. War undermines the very foundations of children's lives, destroying their homes, splintering their communities and breaking down their trust in adults.*'

Machel Report (1996)

'*There is growing concern that the models developed in Western psychiatry with regard to the effects of trauma should not be exported uncritically.... There is a concern that the export of this discourse has tended to deflect attention from the broader social, emotional and economic development of children and adults who have experienced extreme suffering.*'

SCF 'Rethinking the Trauma of War' (1998)

2.2.8 HIV/AIDS AND PERSONAL HEALTH

139. The Machel Report identified HIV/AIDS as an increasing risk for children in conflict situations. This is partly due to the fact that, '*Worldwide, HIV/AIDS has killed 3.8 million children and orphaned 13 million more. In many parts of Africa, HIV/AIDS is now the main threat to human survival and in a number of the worst-affected countries, it is estimated that up to half of all today's 15 year-olds will die from the disease*'.[101]

140. The increased risk to women and girls in the midst of conflict is attributed to increased likelihood of sexual abuse and the increased contact of civilian populations with armed forces comprised of young, sexually active males. HIV/AIDS has an additional, detrimental impact on education infrastructure when it spreads to teachers gradually reducing the capacity of the system to provide information about prevention and protection against the disease. The death of parents also leaves children without the adult care that might assure school attendance and the development of important skills necessary for personal hygiene and survival. The compounded impact of HIV/AIDS, increased risk to girls, and the loss of teaching capacity suggests that a tightly focused response on these issues is required in the midst of conflict.

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[99]Machel Op cit. See Chapter 7 'The psychosocial impact'.

[100]Sinclair, M (2001) 'Education in Emergencies' in UNHCR (2001) *Learning for A Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*, Cht. 1, pp.21-23.

[101]Machel Op cit. p.12.

2.2.9 EMERGENCY RESPONSES FROM THE EDUCATION SECTOR

141.   There is increasing pressure for education to be considered an essential part of humanitarian responses.[102] UNICEF and UNESCO have developed guidelines for education in emergencies with a developmental approach.[103] But despite the Machel Report and other developments, there is little evidence that education is actually becoming part of the front-line emergency. As already noted, refugees are more likely to receive attention than IDPs but the provision is still at a very low level. Education specialists in international organisations find themselves arguing for a role for education in 'relief' against the prevalent view that education is a 'development' or at most a 'reconstruction' issue.

142.   This can make it difficult for aid agencies to tackle education as part of the dynamic of conflict. In situations of apparently endemic conflict, as in Sudan or Angola, there will be no education at all. And yet in Sudan especially, the people affected by conflict often cite education as a very high priority and will sacrifice a great deal to achieve it (but with preference for boys). The present paper argues for education to be included in a comprehensive analysis of the causes of conflict and a factor in its dynamics, uniting relief responses with developmental approaches in a 'smart'[104] and 'coherent'[105] way. A key implication for the education sector is that short-term humanitarian assistance should include an education response where it is suggested by strategic analysis, particularly where the response contributes to the security of girls and ensures continued access to primary education.

2.3 EDUCATION AS PART OF RECONSTRUCTION AND RECONCILIATION

2.3.1 CURRENT DEBATES

143.   Violent conflicts and wars have destructive impacts that need to be addressed. It could be argued that this needs to happen even whilst hostilities continue, but to date the dominant and pragmatic view of most aid organisations, is that the main opportunities to recover from conflict arise as hostilities subside or cease. There are conceptual problems about deciding whether a conflict has ended. It may simply have transformed into a longer-term dispute with less intense or different forms of confrontation, intimidation or violence. Events such as ceasefires and peace accords may simply mark transition points along the way. These are often the points at which international aid may be offered as an inducement to transform the conflict into a less violent phase. These are usually the points at which aid is discussed in terms of 'reconstruction' and 'reconciliation' and this terminology features prominently in the literature.

144.   A report on '*Education for Reconstruction*' was conducted for the ODA in 1996.[106] The study draws heavily on Europe's experience of reconstruction after World War Two but covers a wider range than might be expected from the title. The paper presents case studies from Bosnia and Rwanda and highlights the specific challenges for educational reconstruction that differentiates between:

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[102]see Retamal and Aedo-Richmond (1998) *Education as a Humanitarian Response*, London, Cassell.

[103]Pigozzi ((1998) Education in Emergencies and for Reconstruction: Strategic Guidelines with a Developmental Approach in Retamal, G Aedo-Richmond, R (1998) *Education as a Humanitarian Response*, London, Cassell.

[104]The designation 'smart' has been used to describe relief interventions based on deep understanding of war situations and using their dynamic for humanitarian purposes. See Richards, P (1996).

[105]The term is not always used in a positive sense. It has been used to describe increasing connections between humanitarian and foreign policy objectives notably in Macrae and Leader (2000).

[106]Published as Philips, D et al (1998) *Education for Reconstruction – The regeneration of educational capacity following national upheaval*, Oxford Studies in Comparative Education, Symposium Books.

- 'physical' reconstruction of school buildings, including emergency repair strategies, the needs of refugee children and landmines safety issues;

- 'ideological' reconstruction that refers to democratisation of the education system and retraining of teachers;

- 'psychological' reconstruction that responds to issues of demoralisation, loss of confidence and nostalgia; and health related issues of stress and depression;

145. In 2000, DFID published a set of case studies from Save the Children UK, *Towards Responsive Schools'* which includes three studies on children affected by conflict (Palestinian children in refugee camps in Lebanon, rehabilitating child soldiers in Liberia and new tasks for education with few resources in the aftermath of conflict in Mozambique).[107] These case studies provide a child-centred perspective on the impact of conflict on education provision and offer practical examples of good practice in conflict situations. The main issues that arise concern dissatisfaction with the coordination and sustainability of international interventions.[108]

146. A significant issue running through the literature on 'post-conflict' reconstruction is the impact of conflict on human, as well as physical resources. Colletta and Cullen draw on a conceptual framework that relates conflict to the concepts of 'social capital' and 'social cohesion'[109] 'Social capital' is defined as 'the norms, values and social relations that bond communities together' (horizontal relations) and 'the bridges between civil society and the state' (vertical relations).

Box: Conflict and Social Capital

'Unlike interstate conflict, which often mobilizes national unity and strengthens societal cohesiveness, violent conflict within a state weakens its social fabric. It divides the population by undermining interpersonal and communal trust, destroying the norms and values that underlie cooperation and collective action for the common good'.

Colletta and Cullen (2000)

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147. 'Social cohesion' within a society is the density and interplay between these two sets of relations. In practice societies with strong social cohesion exhibit strong horizontal ties between members of groups based on kinship, ethnicity and religion; high levels of involvement and commitment to community associations and networks that bridge across differences in kinship; and high levels of interaction between civil society and government. Colletta and Cullen use this framework to analyse how 'social cohesion' was undermined by conflict in Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala and Somalia.[110]

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[107]DFID (2000) *Towards Responsive Schools: case studies from Save The Children*, Serial No. 38.

[108]DFID (2000) *Towards Responsive Schools: case studies from Save The Children*, Serial No. 38 pp. 95-97.

[109]Coletta, N.J. and Cullen, M.L. (2000) *Violent Conflict and the Transformation of Social Capital: Lessons from Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala and Somalia*, World Bank, Washington D.C. p.3.

[110]Coletta, N.J. and Cullen, M.L. (2000) *Violent Conflict and the Transformation of Social Capital: Lessons from Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala and Somalia*, World Bank, Washington D.C. pp. 6-16.

148   Within this framework education is one of a number of social institutions that sustain the relations that contribute towards social cohesion. Concepts of social capital and social cohesion require a broader view of reconstruction that goes beyond physical reconstruction. Similarly repairing damage to the social fabric implies coming to terms with the legacies of conflict in social and emotional terms and this is why the concept of 'reconciliation' is increasingly linked to 'reconstruction'. Some aspects of 'reconstruction' and 'reconciliation' are reflected in the table below:

Table: Educational Aspects of Reconstruction and Reconciliation (Smith, 2002)

Factor	Issue
Reconstruction	• Reconstruction - physical and human resources • Physical reconstruction, emergency and long-term • Replace what was there before or create new types of organisations and schools? Who decides? • Issues about location, displacement of people • Rebuilding confidence, trust and capacity within the education system, retraining, training for new purpose? • Developing 'social capital', 'social cohesion' through education, building in equality features • Developing commitment and participation in a 'reconstructed' education system, governance issues
Reconciliation	• Explaining to children what happened during the conflict • Multiple perspectives on the conflict, personal stories • Media involvement in reporting the conflict • Dealing with the legacies of conflict, how it is still present • The dead and injured, the bereaved, the disabled • Issues about remembrance, commemoration • The participants in violence, amnesties, prisoner releases, members of security or armed forces, demobilisation • The role of justice, reparations, new safeguards • The concept of reconciliation -issues of forgiveness, expressions of regret, apology, symbolic events • The 'preventative' role of 'new' education programmes, human rights, civic education, democratisation of education

2.3.2 RECONSTRUCTION

149.   The concept of 'reconstruction' is not easy to apply when conflict simply persists through active and passive phases. Where there is no real transition from war to peace, but only (at best) from violent to less-violent conflict, even the concepts of relief and development become meaningless. In a society that has seen a long period of conflict it is very likely that severe tensions will persist, and there will be little consensus about what is to be reconstructed, or even whether such a reference to recreating the past is relevant. It may be better to think of 'transformation' than reconstruction.

150.   The fundamental problem of reconstruction is that it may seem to re-establish a situation that was only transient. In Afghanistan, for example, processes of reconstruction had scarely been under way when a new phase of conflict erupted, and with it came totally new ideas about the functions of the state, including education. Furthermore, investments made during such periods can prove to be a burden to the new administration and might even cause its collapse. Unless massive resources are provided, coupled with security protection, reconstruction is unlikely to stabilise a situation that would otherwise revert to conflict.

Box: Reconstruction in Bosnia

Despite the intentions of the international community, Bosnia's schools are now segregated, and nationalist agendas are pursued through them.

The decision of the international community to push forward rapidly with reconstruction hoping that this would create stability meant that there was not enough time (or leverage) to negotiate about access to schools by minorities, issues of curriculum, teacher selection and language of instruction.

As a result control of education was decentralised from the central authority - where the pledge of multi-ethnicity could be enforced by the international community - to the three entities created under the Dayton Peace Agreement. The original intention that the three entities would evolve common policies has been overtaken by the fact that they have reconstructed without having to make concessions beforehand. Now there is little chance of harmonising the educational systems.

On the contrary they are moving further apart, with development of separate national histories, language and religious instruction.

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151.   Similarly, premature reconstruction has created a climate in which illegal activities can flourish, using the appurtenances of a legal state as and when it suits them. The situation is similar in Kosovo. The case of Mozambique is instructive. The relative success of reconstruction is based on the (unexpected) development of democratic governance following elections in which the voters turned out in unprecedented numbers but showed no clear preference between the two major contenders for power.

152.   Macrae[111] argues that reconstruction should not be attempted after war until the state has been established and she warns against a shift from humanitarian to development responses before such a transition has occurred. Unfortunately such a clear distinction would leave many of the world's poorest countries without development aid, and it would also mean that there would be little opportunity to 'manage' conflict around achievement of the Millennium Development Goals as proposed in this report.

153.   There is a danger that an artificial distinction can be created between 'conflict countries' and others. In reality there is no absolute distinction but rather a set of gradations through tension towards violence. Conflicts in the past may qualify a country for conflict-related inputs when its problems may not be

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[111]Macrae, J (2001) *Aiding Recovery*, ODI/Zed.

entirely different from those of its neighbours. It is best to view conflict as an integral part of a comprehensive analysis. By implication, responses that purely address conflict and ignore wider issues of governance are unlikely to succeed.

154.   The significant issues that appear to arise around concepts of reconstruction are:

- The development of a clearer view about the extent to which reconstruction should include a strong emphasis on repairing the social fabric as well physical reconstruction. Such a commitment has significant implications for the weighting of aid funding in post-conflict situations. An implication for the education sector is that some judgements need to be made about the efficacy of the education strategies that can contribute best to conflict transformation and longer-term social redevelopment.

- The enduring issue of distinctions between short-term, emergency relief and longer-term development are thrown into sharp relief in reconstruction efforts. A recent UNICEF working paper[112] argues forcefully that, '*An emergency education programme must be a development programme and not a stop-gap measure*' arguing that reconstruction provides an opportunity for transformation and changes that create education systems geared towards conflict prevention.

- There has been considerable criticism of the lack of co-ordination between aid organisations in situations of emergency and reconstruction. There are examples of agreements between agencies, for example, principles of cooperation for education in emergencies between UNHCR/UNESCO/UNICEF developed in 1995.[113] The issue arises partly because of the different mandates of different organisations and these are discussed further in the final section of this report.

2.3.3 RECONCILIATION

155.   The concept of reconciliation is not new and has been a central feature of rebuilding relations between peoples and states in post-war Europe. Some of these legacies of the Second World War are still visible today, for example, the Austrian Fund for Reconciliation, Peace and Cooperation is still making 'voluntary payments to former slave and forced labourers of the Nazi regime on the territory of present-day Austria'.[114]

156.   Explicit reference to reconciliation as part of post-conflict 'peace building' has gained more prominence in recent years, particularly since the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa.[115] A focus on processes of reconciliation has also been a feature of developments following the genocides in Rwanda and as part of the 'peace process' in Northern Ireland supported by substantial European Union funding for Peace and Reconciliation programmes.

[112]UNICEF (1999) *Education in Emergencies and for Reconstruction*, Document No. UNICEF/PD/ED/99-1, UNICEF, New York.

[113]Pigozzi, Mary Joy, *Education in Emergencies and for Reconstruction: Strategic Guidelines with a Developmental Approach*, in Retamal, G. & Aedo-Richmond, R. (1998) Education as a Humanitarian Response, Cassell, London, Annexe 2.

[114]See http://www.reconciliationfund.at

[115]See http://www.truth.org.za.

157.   Whilst the concept of reconciliation has received more prominence across a range of international contexts, it is extremely important to remember that each conflict is quantitatively different in terms of the level of violence and number of casualties and qualitatively different in terms of the social context and the nature of atrocities that may have taken place. These factors mean that those affected by conflict will have different perspectives on what is 'reasonable' or 'realistic' to expect in terms of a commitment to reconciliation. This makes it extremely difficult to consider reconciliation as a generic concept with the same implications for different conflicts.

158.   The concept of 'reconciliation' is even more problematic than reconstruction. Hamber and van der Merwe[116] suggest that generally the term is considered to embody some positive connotations about coming together and healing past conflicts and that most people would probably say they are in favour of it. Their paper goes on to say that *competing understandings of the term are seldom debated or spelled-out clearly* and conclude that, at least in the South African context, seldom is anyone talking about the same thing when they refer to reconciliation.

159.   The role of education in contributing to reconciliation processes has been the focus of at least one detailed study in Rwanda[117] The study identifies many of the education responses that have already been mentioned in earlier sections of this report – changes to the curriculum, reviewing the role of history teaching, strengthening human rights education. However, the report also highlights the highly sensitive and emotional dimension of education for reconciliation when atrocities are part of the recent past and where many pupils and teachers will have been affected directly.

160.   Another example of the term being used in an African context was in 1999 when the government of Angola offered an amnesty to all rebel soldiers who laid down their arms and announced that it would be 'implementing broad political and economic reforms in order to establish peace and begin the process of national reconciliation'.[118]

161. In a European context, the European Union provided funding of 503 million euros for a programme of Peace and Reconciliation (1995-99) to support the peace process in Northern Ireland and promote reconciliation within the island as a whole.[119] The long-term nature of these processes is underlined by a decision of the European Council in Berlin in March 1999 to continue the Peace Programme for Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of Ireland for a further five years (2000-2004).[120]

162.   Sustained support for reconciliation processes in Ireland has meant that initiatives have penetrated more deeply within social sectors. There are examples of education programmes grappling with the concept of reconciliation and how it relates to education programmes.[121] Part of the issue has been to distinguish between the very loose way in which reconciliation is used as a generic term to describe

[116]Hamber, Brandon, and van der Merwe, Hugo. *What is this thing called Reconciliation?* Paper presented at the Goedgedacht Forum '*After the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*' Cape Town, 28 March 1998.

[117]African Rights (2001) *The Heart of Education: Assessing Human Rights in Rwanda's Schools* ISBN 1 899477 38 1.

[118]See http://www.angola.org/fastfacts/peace.html.

[119]See http://www.eu-peace.org.

[120]See http://www.eugrants.org/peace_summary.pdf.

[121]CDVEC Curriculum Development Unit, (1999) *Education for Reconciliation: A Curriculum Investigation.* Dublin.

programmes with very different purposes[122] and the implications of its more particular characteristics such as an emphasis on 'repair of relationships', 'healing', and 'acknowledging of past hurts or injustices'.

Box: 'Levels' of Reconciliation

- reconciliation within one's self, coming to terms with events of a conflict that have had a direct personal impact, particularly the bereaved and injured;

- reconciliation at an interpersonal level where the conflict has had impacts on relations between neighbours and families, for example in Bosnia and Rwanda;

- intra-community, inter-community reconciliation, usually with an emphasis on rebuilding trust and cooperation within and between groups at a local level;

- reconciliation between peoples and nation states with a history of conflict e.g., post-war reconciliation in Europe and between Japan and the USA;

- reconciliation with an international or global dimension, past or present, for example, related to the impact of colonialism on the slave trade and on indigenous peoples such as Aboriginal rights in Australia.[1]

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163. Some of the controversial issues that arise through proposals to include an exploration of 'reconciliation' as part of education programmes include concerns that it has religious connotations, often associated with Christian concepts of 'forgiveness'. Debates arise about whether 'acknowledgements of blame' and 'expressions of regret' (by whom and to whom?) are a necessary part of reconciliation. Issues about justice feature strongly and this gives rise to debates about compensation or 'reparations', sometimes in respect of events that have taken place generations before.

164. There are important distinctions between 'public reconciliation' (such as gestures that are made by public representatives in the wake of an atrocity or by heads of state concerning historical events) and 'private reconciliation' which takes place between individuals or groups but out of the public eye.

165. It is a clear challenge for education to provide a framework for teaching and learning about reconciliation that may help children and survivors of conflict avoid transmitting the conflict from generation to generation. The area requires a level of sustained commitment that is difficult to secure from international organisations.

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[122]For example, 'reconciliation' is used to describe processes of healing in Rwanda, see http://www.richmond.edu/~jpjones/confinder/LEB.htm but is also used by the World Bank to describe the programme for economic reform in Kosovo, see http://www.seerecon.org/Kosovo.

SECTION 3: INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND NETWORKS

3.0 DIVISION OF MANDATES

166. The international structures concerned with conflict and education are complicated because many of the issues have become compartmentalised or specialised units deal with only certain aspects of conflict. The UN system is aligned more to the consequences of conflict, through organisations such as UNHCR and WFP, rather than the understanding or prevention of conflict. This may be a reason why international responses focus so much on post-conflict child issues, rather than either pre-conflict education, or a structural approach to conflict as it occurs. The main reasons why international organisations become involved in matters related to education and conflict appear to be three-fold:

- The organisation's mandate is concerned primarily with *education*;
- The organisation's mandate is concerned primarily with *children*;
- The organisation's mandate is concerned primarily with *conflict and emergencies*

3.0.1 EDUCATION AGENCIES

167. The main UN body with a direct focus on education is UNESCO. Historically UNESCO has been associated with formal education issues such as policy and curriculum development. During the 1990s priority was attached to the 'culture of peace' programme but this became criticised for being too wide-ranging and difficult to co-ordinate. The current Director-General is encouraging a more focused agenda around monitoring and support for Education For All and this provides the context for any proposed focus on 'conflict prevention' through education. UNESCO's involvement with formal education issues suggests that it should have a sharper focus on the relationship between conflict and the *type* of education that children receive. The organisation also has a particular focus on human rights education.

168. Traditionally, UNESCO has not had an operational involvement with emergencies. However, the organisation does have a section for Education in Crisis and Post-Conflict Situations that consults with other UN agencies.[123] The current website also highlights UNESCO's involvement in providing support to education developments in Afghanistan.

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[123]See http://www.unesco.org/education/emergency/inter_agency.

Box 1: UNESCO

1. Mandate
'The main objective of UNESCO is to contribute to peace and security in the world by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science, culture and communication'

www.unesco.org

2. Principles and roles
'UNESCO performs five principal functions:
Prospective studies
The advancement, transfer and sharing of knowledge
Standard-setting actions
Expertise
Exchange of specialized information'

3. Education and Conflict
UNESCO considers that victims of conflict have an inalienable right to education. Its response is based on five principles: decentralisation, information, co-operation, capacity-building and prevention[123].

4. Issues for DFID
DFID's strategy paper in relation to UNESCO is focused on its internal systems with the objective of encouraging UNESCO to be an effective organisation with clear, focused objectives and strategies. Currently, there needs be more clarity about the role of UNESCO as part of emergency responses to conflict. This needs to be weighed alongside UNESCO's new emphasis on Education For All and previous work involving preventative strategies such as human rights education and curriculum reform processes.

169. The work of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education[125] has obvious importance in this area, although it carries no operational role in emergencies or specific mandate for work in conflict.

170. Among NGOs the Save the Children Alliance has been active in promoting education as a right under the Convention on the Rights of the Child. SCF UK is actively involved in educational responses during emergencies and can be considered a resource on that issue. This includes a useful definition of emergency education as 'a set of linked project activities that enable structured learning to continue in times of acute crisis or long-term instability'. SCF's view of education is relevant to conflict because it emphasises informal approaches and a focus on change,

'Education is a process of learning that begins from birth onwards and takes place in the family and community as much as in the school. Education efforts are diverse and focused on stimulating change wherever children's learning takes place within a given community'.[126]

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[124]Interagency Consultation Report, November 2000.

[125]See http://www.right-to-education.org/.

[126]SCF UK Education in Emergencies –Save the Children Policy Paper, undated, probably 2001.

171. Oxfam GB has campaigned on the universal right to education[127] but is not widely active in operational responses in the education sector. Although Oxfam GB commissioned an internal review of Education in Conflict in 1998[128] its published analysis of the obstacles to education for all does not address the issue of conflict.

3.0.2 CHILDREN'S AGENCIES

172. UNICEF is a multilateral agency with a mandate focused on children's needs. This means that the organisation is often present during all phases of a conflict, although it has a choice whether or not to make an educational response or offer support in emergencies.

Box 2: UNICEF

1. Mandate
UNICEF's role is to advocate for the protection of children's rights, to help meet their basic needs and to expand their opportunities to reach their full potential.[129]

2. Policies
Rights-based approach and decentralised form of organisation. Strong focus on emergencies (UNICEF keeps education kits available in its Copenhagen warehouse) and is actively involved in debates about rapid responses[130]. It has developed a policy position on education in emergencies.[131]

3. Conflict and education
Since the Machel Study, UNICEF has become increasingly involved in the protection of children in armed conflicts. UNICEF has also become a leading agency in relation to psychosocial programmes with children affected by conflict.[132]

4. Practice
In Burundi UNICEF appointed child protection officers for the first time. A study of this experience[133] suggests the need for greater clarity on child rights protection within UNICEF and better collaboration within the international community.

5. DFID strategy
DFID is supporting UNICEF with a capacity-building project to increase its ability to respond effectively to children and their families in times of emergency, including conflict. A focus of the work is the integration of child protection and child rights into UNICEF's work in emergencies and the development of their Core Corporate Commitments to take account of both protection and conflict.

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[127]Watkins, K (1998) *Education Now –break the cycle of poverty*, Oxfam.

[128]Smyth, I and D. Plager (1998) *Education in Conflict*, Oxfam (draft) unpublished.

[129]DFID: UNICEF Strategy Paper.

[130]See for example: Aguilar, P. and Retamal, G. (1998) *Rapid Educational Response in Complex Emergencies: a discussion document'* , UNESCO/UNICEF/UNHCR.

[131]UNICEF (1999) *Education in Emergencies and for Reconstruction: a developmental approach.*

[132]See UNICEF in bibliography.

[133]Majekodunmi, M (1999) *Protection in Practice: The protection of children's rights in situations of armed conflict –UNICEF experience in Burundi'* UNICEF.

173. UNICEF's mandate for the protection of children inevitably means that its perspective on education is child-centred rather than curriculum or systems driven. This is reflected in a strong commitment to a field-based presence, although this can lead to a project approach that is difficult to integrate into the formal education structures. UNICEF education programmes[134] address a variety of issues related to conflict, including a strong emphasis on the Rights of the Child, girls' education, child protection, excluded children, HIV/AIDS and education in crisis and conflict. A number of UNICEF field-based programmes focus on the development of conflict resolution skills. The main challenge seems to ensure sure that the work of individual projects has an impact on formal education policy and development within the countries where UNICEF operates.

174. The United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)[135] is responsible for the planning, preparation, conduct and direction of UN peacekeeping operations and has a training unit on humanitarian assistance. Child Protection Officers have been appointed in some peacekeeping operations[136].

175. Other organisations active in the same field include the Save the Children Alliance. In the UK, Save the Children Fund (SCF) has focused on pre-schools, and devised a guide to good practice for the Balkans. SCF has also studied the impact of violence on children's education and development.[137] Practical examples from SCF's experience are described in the joint publication with DFID '*Towards Responsive Schools*'.[138]

176. Discussions about children in relation to emergencies and conflict have been strongly influenced by the Machel Study. High profile programmes in this sector include those for demobilised child soldiers, such as UNICEF's Support for War Affected Youth (SWAY) project in Liberia and Children Associated with War (CAW) project in Sierra Leone. World Vision International commissioned a study on the effects of conflict on girls[139] and campaigned on the issue.

3.0.3 EMERGENCY AGENCIES

177. By far the largest international actor in the field of emergency responses in the education sector is UNHCR. The UNCHR mandate means that it must offer assistance in any emergency or conflict situation that involves refugees. UNHCR has actively addressed the issue of emergency and refugee education[140] and at any one time the organisation is responsible for the education of about a million children, even though it has fewer education specialists than other UN organisations. UNHCR has also supported a range of peace building activities and the development of a peace education programme for refugee children and adults.[141] In March 2001, UNHCR convened a workshop on 'Refugee Education in Developing Countries: Policy and Practice' in Washington DC and this has resulted in the publication of a number of significant papers including an important overview of education in emergencies.[142] As in most of the literature, the issue of conflict is not treated separately.

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[134]http://www.unicef.org/pdeduc/education/index.html.

[135]The United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) training unit http://www.reliefweb.int/training/t2.html.

[136]See http://www.un.org/special-rep/children-armed-conflict/cpator.htm.

[137]SCF *Palestine: the impact of occupation and violence on children's education and development* Unpublished.

[138]Lebanon, Liberia and Mozambique.

[139]World Vision International (1996) *The Effects of Armed Conflict on Girls*.

[140]Crisp, J, Talbot, C and Cipollone, DB (eds)(2001) *Learning for A Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*, Geneva, UNHCR.

[141]UNCHR Peace Education Programme http://www.UNHCR.ch.

[142]Sinclair, M '*Education in Emergencies*' in Crisp, J, Talbot, C and Cipollone, DB (eds)(2001) *Learning for A Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*, Geneva, UNHCR.

178.   Among NGOs, the Norwegian Refugee Council has been active in raising the profile of education in humanitarian assistance, promoting the argument that education should be the fourth component along with food, shelter and medical care. SCF UK also '*believes that education is a priority component in humanitarian assistance*'. The International Rescue Committee (IRC) promotes the role of youth leaders as peer educators in emergency responses and the role of youth councils in school governance. One example is IRC implementation of the UNHCR-funded programme for Liberian refugees in Guinea.

Box 3: UNHCR

1. Mandate
Responsible for leading and co-ordinating international action for the world-wide protection of refugees and the resolution of refugee problems. It also provides, under special mandates and specified circumstances, support and protection to other displaced populations of concern[143]. UNHCR's own reports have pointed out that the 1951 Refugee Convention provides limited guidance for refugee education and that more useful policy guidance is found in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

2. Policy
UNHCR has actively followed up the Machel Study with an evaluation of work with adolescents and children and a strategy paper for the response in 1997. A review of progress in 2000[144] indicates that financial constraints have severely limited the response. UNHCR (with SCF Sweden) initiated a programme 'Action for the Rights of Children' to increase the capacity of UNHCR and NGO staff related to children through training and also integrated child issues into its Operations Management System (OMS).

3. Education and Conflict.
UNHCR has a recent policy statement[145] and reviewed its education activities in 2000[146]. The review places strong emphasis on 'increased priority for primary education' and achievement of the education IDT. The same review notes that a number of conflicts have been resolved and 'there are notable examples of education as a means to facilitate reintegration'. There is much debate on education and conflict issues, especially about the value of psycho-social interventions, but no specific policy. Education as a tool for protection of children e.g by reducing the opportunities for them to be sexually abused, is still not widespread, nor is understanding of the need to protect children in education settings.

4. Co-ordination
UNHCR and UNICEF have a Memorandum of Understanding giving UNHCR the lead in refugee situations and UNICEF in in-country situations. UNHCR works closely with the Save the Children Alliance on capacity-building and with UNICEF on a number of specific projects, notably reintegration education for children in Liberia.

5. Practice
In Uganda, UNHCR activities in the education sector include - access to primary education, girls education campaign; support to self-help and national secondary schools; small-scale loans to families to support children in schools; environment and peace education.[147]

6. DFID Strategy
DFID's Institutional Strategy Paper focuses on improved organisational performance, collaboration and accountability. This includes capacity-building with partners.

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[43]UNHCR Interim Strategy Paper, DFID.
[144]*Refugee Children and adolescents, including follow up to the 1997 evaluation and report on the implementation of the Machel study* UNHCR report to ExCom 2000 (UNHCR website).
[145]*Briefing Paper on the Education Sector in UNHCR's Programmes* UNHCR 2000 (UNHCR website).
[146]*Review of UNHCR's Refugee Education Activities* (UNHCR website).
[147]Report on Machel implementation p8.

3.0.4 CONFLICT AND EDUCATION

179. Outside of national governments, The World Bank is one of the largest providers of funding for education and currently finances 164 programmes in 82 countries.[148]

Box 4: The World Bank

1. Mandate
Founded in 1944, the World Bank Group is one of the world's largest sources of development assistance. The World Bank is owned by 183 countries represented by a Board of Governors and a Washington based Board of Directors. Member countries are shareholders in the Bank.

2. Policy
The main focus is on helping the poorest countries to develop 'stable, sustainable and equitable growth'. The Bank works with government agencies, nongovernmental organisations and the private sector to formulate assistance strategies.

3. Practice
The Bank provides loans, policy advice and technical assistance (US$17.3 billion in loans in 2001). Country offices liase with governments and civil society to deliver the Bank's programmes. Investment in social sector development has grown from 5% in 1980 to 25% in 2001.

4. Education and Conflict
The Bank's website currently lists 753 active projects concerned with education sector development.[149] Many of these involve education sector reform and governance issues. The Education section's strategy paper emphasises support for Education For All and quality improvements.[150] The Bank's main involvement in education related to conflict is as part of 'post-conflict' reconstruction programmes.

5. DFID Strategy
The UK is the Bank's fourth largest shareholder (5%). DFID's Institutional Strategy Paper is critical that the Bank's poverty focus has become diluted and that it has disproportionate influence because the scale of its resources dominates borrowers.

180. The World Bank is mainly involved with conflict as part of post-conflict reconstruction. The Bank has published a framework for involvement in post-conflict situations[151] and this outlined a five stage process for Bank involvement that includes a watching brief; a transitional support strategy; early reconstruction activities; post-conflict reconstruction; and a 'return to normal operations'.

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[148]http://www.worldbank.org.

[149]http://www1.worldbank.org/education.

[150]World Bank (1999) *Education Sector Strategy*, World Bank, Washington D.C. – available at website above.

[151]World Bank (1997) *A Framework for World Bank Involvement in Post-conflict Reconstruction*, World Bank, Washington D.C.

181.   Lessons have been drawn for the World Bank's involvement in post-conflict reconstruction through case studies of nine country experiences.[152] The establishment of a Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit has also led to the development of new operational policy[153] and the establishment of a Post-Conflict Fund.[154] A discussion paper by Jamil Salmi provides a typology of different forms of violence (direct, indirect, repressive and alienating) and considers how these might have implications for education.[155] In relation to education, the World Bank has become a strong advocate for use of the mother tongue in education but not explicitly because of conflict factors.[156]

182.   The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)[157] actively engages in education about international humanitarian law (IHL). Since 1999 it has established a network of 15 sites for its 'Exploring Humanitarian Law' project and produced a draft manual for use in secondary schools and non-formal education programmes.[158]

Box 5: The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

1. Mandate
The ICRC's role is 'to protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict and violence and to provide them with assistance.[159]

2. Policy
The ICRC's work derives directly from international humanitarian law, notably the Geneva Conventions. It recognises that armed conflict has proved a major obstacle to the EFA goals but also recognises that 'political change and armed conflict are dialectically linked to processes of educational transformation'[160].

3. Conflict and education
The ICRC recognises that 'the right to education is seen as binding under all circumstances and to be protected in all situations, including crises and emergencies resulting from civil war and strife'.160 The ICRC often has access to areas which cannot be reached by other organisations, but as a corollary is not easily open to external influence regarding responses.

4. Practice
In practice the ICRC's main educational activity is the promotion of international humanitarian law notably under the Exploring Humanitarian Law project launched in 1998. The long-term strategic goal is that education in humanitarian law become fully accepted as an integral part of basic education both in secondary curricula and in non-formal programmes for young people (aged 13-18) around the world.[162]

5. DFID Strategy
DFID's intention is to strengthen ICRC's operational capabilities in various ways including the enhancement of the capacity of national societies of the Red Cross and Red Crescent to carry out International Humanitarian Law educational activities.

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[152]World Bank (1998) *The World Bank's Experience with Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, World Bank, Washington, D.C.

[153]World Bank New Operational Policy/BP 2.30, Development Cooperation and Conflict.

[154]http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/essd/essd.nsf.

[155]Salmi, J (2000) 'Violence, Democracy and Education: An Analytical Framework', LCSHD Paper Series No. 56.

[156]World Bank *Education and Empowerment: the role of the World Bank* - report for meeting of managers and staff July 2001.

[157]http://www.icrc.org/.

[158]Tawil, S *International Humanitarian Law and Basic Education* International Review of the Red Cross, 82, 581-600.

[159]DFID Strategy Paper: ICRC.

[160]Tawil, S I*nternational Humanitarian Law and Basic Education* International Review of the Red Cross Sept 2000.

[161]Tawil, S op cit.

[162]Tawil, S op cit.

183. A number of organisations in the UK, such as International Alert and Conciliation Resources, include peace education as part of a wider approach to conflict. Responding to Conflict (Birmingham) provides a useful short description and case studies in their publication '*Working with Conflict: skills and strategies for action*'.[163] There is an important distinction between organisations that seek to intervene in conflict for humanitarian purposes, such as the ICRC, and those that seek to eliminate conflict per se. As already noted above, DFID's focus is on poverty rather than peace.

3.1 INTERNATIONAL NETWORKS, CO-ORDINATION AND CO-OPERATION

184. As with the organisations themselves, networks have arisen around thematic interests, such as aspects of school-based education or education in emergencies, rather than networks that cut across compartmentalised agendas.

3.1.1 NETWORKS

185. At international level the main network for debate regarding developments in formal education is the International Consultative Forum on Education for All (EFA), established as the prime network concerned with keeping basic education on the world's political agenda. It was sponsored by UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNICEF, the World Bank and a number of bilateral agencies after the 1990 World Conference at Jomtien. Following the World Education Forum in Dakar, April 2000, UNESCO assumed international responsibility for assisting governments in meeting the development targets in education for 2005 and 2015.

186. There has been some criticism of a narrow EFA focus on simply increasing enrolment and retention rates without becoming too closely involved in quality issues. Although there was a special session on education and conflict at the World Education Forum in Dakar, this concentrated primarily on education in situations of emergency and crisis. This highlights the need for educational responses as part of emergency assistance. Given the huge numbers of children affected by development aid for formal education there is also a need for education sector policy and planning to be more conflict-sensitive.

3.1.2 CO-ORDINATION

187. The Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) is tasked with 'developing coherent approaches to tackling humanitarian crises'[164] and has developed a 'strategic framework' approach to complex emergencies in which all factors are brought into an integrated analysis. It plays an important role in the dissemination of reports and other information about emergencies through its website[165] and has developed a range of services in respect of co-ordination and resource mobilisation. However, education does not feature as a specific activity or in OCHA's current priorities.

188. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee[166] serves as the primary mechanism for inter-agency coordination relating to humanitarian assistance in response to complex and major emergencies under the

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[163]Fisher et al (2000) *Working with Conflict,* Zed/RTC see p142 onwards.
[164]DFID strategy paper (1999) *Working in partnership with the United Nations: OCHA*
[165]www.reliefweb.int.
[166]http://www.reliefweb.int/iasc.

leadership of the Emergency Relief Coordinator. An example of the work of the IASC is the establishment of a Task Force on Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Humanitarian Crises[167]. The task force has elaborated recommendations that specifically aim to eliminate sexual exploitation and abuse by humanitarian personnel and the misuse of humanitarian assistance for sexual purposes.

3.1.3 CO-OPERATION

189. The thematic paper on education in emergencies prepared for the World Education Forum in Dakar[168] identified poor communication between headquarters and field staff, as significant problems in complex emergencies. The report recommended that a Technical Working Group, comprised of representatives from UN, multilateral and bilateral agencies, the academic and NGOs communities be established to ensure inter-agency cooperation in the field of emergency education.

190. In November 2000, UNESCO, UNHCR and UNICEF hosted an 'Interagency Consultation on Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis' which led to formation of the Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE). INEE does not have the mandate to implement or co-ordinate during crises, but will enable network members to share information and encourage collaboration. A Steering Group has been established with representatives from UNESCO, UNHCR, UNICEF, Norwegian Refugee Council, CARE International and the Save the Children Alliance with a network coordinator based at UNESCO headquarters in Paris.[169] An important goal for INEE is to promote the discipline of Education in Emergencies and enhance its professional practice and in March 2002, INEE convened a meeting of experts as a first step towards defining best practices and minimal standards for education in emergencies.[170]

3.2 TRAINING AND RESEARCH

191. UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning and the UNESCO Unit for Support to Countries in Crisis and Reconstruction have recently launched a research initiative in this field (partly funded by DFID).[171] A number of case studies on policy issues in education in emergencies and reconstruction, with a focus on the responses of government Ministries of Education, will be researched and written. The planned output will be a handbook, a series of training materials and training courses for government ministry and UNESCO staff, as well as for other practitioners.

192. Proposals for research have also emerged. In July 2001 the Office of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict (OSRSG/CAAC)[172] convened a workshop in Florence entitled 'Filling the Knowledge Gaps: A Research Agenda on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children'. This has led to a draft research agenda that identifies knowledge gaps (reliable data; trends in effects of warfare on children; cultural norms and values concerning the protection of children) and gaps in methodology.

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[167] http://www.unicef.org/media/publications/iasctfreport.pdf.

[168] World Education Forum (2000) *Thematic Study: Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis: Challenges for the New Century*, UNESCO, Paris.

[169] There is a link to the Inter-Agency Network on Education and Emergencies (NEE) at the UNESCO website www.unesco.org and through the Global Information Networks in Education (GINIE) website based at the University of Pittsburgh www.ginie.org.

[170] A dedicated INEE website is planned for 2002. Updates on INEE developments are made available through the INEE list-serve which can be accessed by contacting the INEE Network Co-ordinator n.drost@unesco.org.

[171] www.unesco.org/iiep.

[172] www.un.org/special-rep/children-armed-conflict/freports.htm.

193.   The US Social Science Research Council[173] is undertaking a research initiative on education in emergencies involving case studies of education and emergency programmes for displaced populations of Afghans and Southern Sudanese. The research programme is being completed over a five-year period (2001-05).

[173]www.ssrc.org *Education in Emergencies Planning Meeting: Final Report* Social Science Research Council, September 2001.

SECTION 4: CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1.   **Recognition of education as part of the problem as well as the solution.** This study emphasises that the relationship between education and conflict can be both positive and negative. Education can be a casualty of conflict, but it may also exacerbate the tensions and underlying causes of conflict. Therefore it is extremely important to consider the many ways in which education can be part of the problem as well as part of the solution. Education is a factor to be considered in the strategic assessment of conflict.

2.   **More 'systemic' analysis required rather than fragmented, compartmentalised responses.** Most current thinking about the role of education in conflict has been conceptualised in terms of 'phases' of conflict. This does not correspond to the nature of conflict today, and it has led to compartmentalised thinking that characterises education responses according to whether they are 'preventative', 'emergency responses', or part of 'post-conflict' reconstruction. This decreases the likelihood of deeper systemic analyses of the relationship between education and conflict and has led to fragmented and disconnected responses.

3.   **System-wide Approaches.** Similarly, the activity of a single funding agency focusing on a single issue is unlikely to create any positive impact on conflict. It is necessary to view the system as a whole and work together with others in a strategic manner.

4.   **More attention required on the role of formal education.** Within the international community most attention is being focused on special forms of education with specific groups of people. This may be because the Machel report has raised the profile of the immediate impact of war on children, notably the issue of child soldiers. This has led to neglect of issues concerning the huge number of children involved in formal education. Similar attention should be given to the systemic issues that have a potential to inflame or ameliorate conflict.

5.   **Reconstruction as an opportunity to develop conflict-sensitive education systems.** More attention should be given to the nature of conflict as a transforming process, and similarly to the role of education as a transforming process. 'Post-conflict reconstruction' should not necessarily mean replacing what has been destroyed through conflict. For example, there may be opportunities to develop 'conflict-sensitive' education systems or use education as a means of reconciliation and transformation.

6.   **Education as a Right.** The achievement of international development targets is seriously undermined by the impact of conflict. In terms of emergency responses there is a tendency to regard education as a luxury rather than a Right and to wait for 'peace' before seriously addressing education issues. But with the persistent nature of conflict today, such an approach denies education to millions of children. Education must be regarded as an integral part of the response even during 'emergency' operations.

7.   **Issues of Exclusion.** The attention given to (boy) child soldiers has perhaps diverted attention from the exclusion of adolescent girls from education during conflict. The threat of HIV/AIDS has exacerbated the risk to girls. The exclusion of disabled children from mainstream education is also a neglected issue.

8.   **Current International Mechanisms**
   • **Key international agencies.** Given the proliferation of organisations interested in conflict, there is the potential for overlap and confusion between the different mandates and levels of resources of institutions such as UNICEF, UNESCO, UNHCR, and World Bank. In general, there is a need for better co-ordination both internationally and at government level.
   • **International networks.** Currently the main international networks are focused on the impact of war on children rather than systemic education issues.
   • **Disability.** This issue is a gap in the attention paid to this issue by agencies and networks.
   • **Research initiatives.** The focus is more on specific forms of education in conflict situations rather than formal education sector adaptation to a conflict environment.

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