

## Education in Peace Agreements, 1989–2005

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*Education has been on the minds of peacemakers since the end of the Cold War, contrary to expectations. An examination of how education is addressed in full and partial post-Cold War peace agreements shows that education is mentioned in a large number of the agreements. However, the way in which education is addressed and incorporated into peace agreements varies significantly in terms of what is mandated to occur in the education sector after the signing of the peace agreement, including what kind of education will be provided and to whom and how education is viewed in these agreements.*

Between 1989 and 2005, 144 peace accords were signed between warring parties for forty-six armed conflicts around the world, the majority of which were civil wars (Harbom, Högbladh, and Wallensteen, 2006; Gleditsch and others, 2002; Harbom and Wallensteen, 2007). Number of conflicts is calculated according to the definitional criteria of the Uppsala University Conflict Data Program (UUCDP), which defines armed conflict as “a contested incompatibility which concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths”

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(see Gleditsch and others, 2002). These 144 accords represent attempts to solve, regulate, or decide on a process for resolving an armed conflict.

This article examines patterns and trends of how education is addressed and incorporated in peace agreements between 1989 and 2005. The article takes as its starting point the assumption that education reform and reconstruction can be a critical element of long-term, sustainable peace building in countries affected by armed conflict. Education is generally negatively affected by armed conflict, but it can also play a contributory role in the outbreak of armed conflict. The lack of and unequal access to education as well as the exclusionary content of the curriculum and the failure of education to connect to employment after graduation have been directly linked to the outbreak of civil war in countries such as Sudan and Sierra Leone (Thyne, 2006; Sambanis, 2004). Educational inequalities reflect and reproduce social inequalities more broadly, and an inadequate system of education can thus operate as a direct grievance of a rebel group against the state, motivating individuals to fight. Alternatively, a low education level within a population can entail low opportunity costs of participating in armed conflict and a large pool of potential rebels (Collier, 2000; Thyne, 2006).

Though education can play a role in the outbreak of conflict, education is also intimately intertwined with the building of peace in conflict-affected societies, where peace is understood to entail provision of social justice and realization of human rights such as the right to education, and where building peace entails tackling the root causes of conflict—causes that can include unequal access to social resources such as education. Yet few scholars have specifically addressed education as a peacemaking strategy, either by examining how education has been addressed in peace agreements or by investigating the degree to which including education in peace agreements can have an impact on the likelihood of creating a lasting peace. Because peace agreements are blueprints for postreconstruction and change, including education in peace agreements is a step toward addressing how to mitigate the impact of armed conflict on education as well as how to transform the roots of conflict through the education sector. However, there is no systematic overview of the frequency and manner in which education has been included in peace agreements. This article seeks to fill the gap, giving scholars a better understanding of how education has been addressed in peace agreements in the post-Cold War period to improve theory regarding the role of education as a peacemaking strategy and of

the relationships among education, conflict, and peace. Importantly, the article outlines a roadmap for further research within this field of inquiry to help improve understanding of the added value of including education in peace agreements. For practitioners involved in crafting peace agreements, improved knowledge about the trends regarding inclusion of education in peace agreements can help to shape future action in peace negotiations and processes.

### Ending Armed Conflict Through Peace Agreements

Armed conflict is defined as “open, armed clashes between two or more centrally organized parties, with continuity between the clashes, in disputes about power over government and territory” (Smith, 2003, p. 3). Armed conflicts revolve around an incompatibility of some kind between organized groups of people, in response to which the conflicting parties resort to the use of force to achieve their objectives (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall, 2005; Wallensteen, 2007).

Since the end of World War II in 1945, the vast majority of armed conflicts have been intrastate conflicts, or civil wars, conflicts that take place between parties within a single nation state rather than between the governments of two separate states (Gleditsch and others, 2002; Harbom and Wallensteen, 2007). This pattern has continued during the post-Cold War period. Between 1989 and 2006, eighty-nine intrastate and twenty-six internationalized intrastate conflicts (occurring between the government of a state and internal opposition groups with intervention from other states; (Gleditsch and others, 2001). Only seven interstate wars were observed (Harbom and Wallensteen, 2007).

Armed conflicts end in different ways, through the military victory of one warring party over another, extermination of one warring party by another, reduction or suspension of violent interaction between the warring parties, an official ceasefire, or a negotiated peace agreement that attempts to settle the dispute in question (Bell, 2000; Wallensteen and Sollenberg, 1997; Walter, 1997). Since the 1990s, many more conflicts than ever before have been subject to negotiated settlement, as evidenced by the increase in the number of peace processes and formal peace agreements (Human Security Brief, 2006). Between 1940 and 1990, 55 percent of interstate conflicts were resolved through negotiation, whereas only 20 percent of intrastate conflicts ended in a negotiated settlement (Walter, 1997). This changed during the 1990s, when approximately 35 percent of all

armed conflicts ended in a negotiated settlement, and more conflicts ended in a settlement (forty-two) than in a military victory (twenty-three; Human Security Brief, 2006). Between 2000 and 2005 the number of negotiated settlements was seventeen, whereas the number of military victories was four (Human Security Brief, 2006). This upsurge in negotiated settlement during the post-Cold War period is due to the increased involvement and intervention of the international community, particularly the United Nations, in peacemaking and peace-building processes (Human Security Brief, 2006; Sisk, 2001).

Negotiated solutions to armed conflict often entail creation of peace agreements, defined as “formal arrangements designed to end a violent conflict” (Darby and Rae, 1999, p. 46). The label *peace agreement* is “often attached to documented agreements between parties to a violent internal conflict to establish a cease-fire together with new political and legal structures” (Bell, 2006, p. 374). Peace agreements are not formulaic documents; the structure and content are necessarily context-specific, based on the type of conflict and the issues disputed. A range of documents and elements fall into the category of peace agreement, but it is still possible to view similarities between agreements (see Bell 2000, 2006; Yawanarajah and Ouellet, 2003; and the UN Peacemaker Website, <http://peacemaker.unlb.org>, for typologies of peace agreements). Prenegotiation, interim, and cease fire agreements stop violence and establish a process for how political negotiations will proceed, while comprehensive, substantive (or framework) agreements and subagreements offer a framework for postconflict governance. Substantive agreements seek to find common ground between the interests and needs of the parties to the conflict in order to address the substance of the underlying issues of a dispute and halt the violence permanently. Finally, implementation agreements flesh out the detail of a substantive agreement and facilitate implementation of such agreements (Bell 2000, 2006; Yawanarajah and Ouellet, 2003; UN Peacemaker Website, <http://peacemaker.unlb.org>).

### Numerical Trends in Addressing Education in Peace Agreements

The following sections detail how education is addressed in full and partial peace agreements from 1989 to 2005. These agreements for intrastate, interstate, and internationalized intrastate conflicts were examined and their contents analyzed using a coding scheme developed by the author.

The list of agreements included in the analysis is taken from Harbom, Högladh, and Wallensteen (2006). Peace process agreements are not included in the analysis, because these documents agree on a timetable and process for negotiations rather than discussing the substantive issues that underlie the incompatibility between the warring parties. Various publicly accessible sources were used to access the peace agreements for intrastate, interstate, and internationalized intrastate conflicts, to include the Websites of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), UN Peacemaker, and other publicly available written and electronic sources. The post-Cold War period is chosen to limit the number of peace agreements examined.

This article focuses on how education is included in two broad categories of peace agreement, full and partial. *Full agreements* are those wherein the warring parties agree to settle the whole incompatibility, whereas a *partial agreement* is an accord where the warring parties agree to settle part of the incompatibility (Harbom and Wallensteen, 2007). A *peace process agreement* is one in which the warring parties agree to initiate a process to settle the incompatibility; this is a type of agreement where education issues are not normally addressed.

Of the forty-three full peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2005, thirty-seven (86 percent) are publicly available via the sources listed above. Of these thirty-seven, eleven (30 percent) make *no* mention of education at all, while twenty-six (70 percent) do mention education in some way. Of the seventy-nine partial peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2005, sixty-six (84 percent) are publicly available. Of these, thirty-five (53 percent) do *not* mention education at all, while thirty-one (47 percent) do in some way. This lower incidence within partial peace agreements is likely due to the fact that many of the partial agreements include ceasefires and implementation time tables, components that do not generally or necessarily incorporate education matters. Thus, in total, 57 out of 103 peace agreements (55 percent) signed between 1989 and 2005 mentioned education in some form.

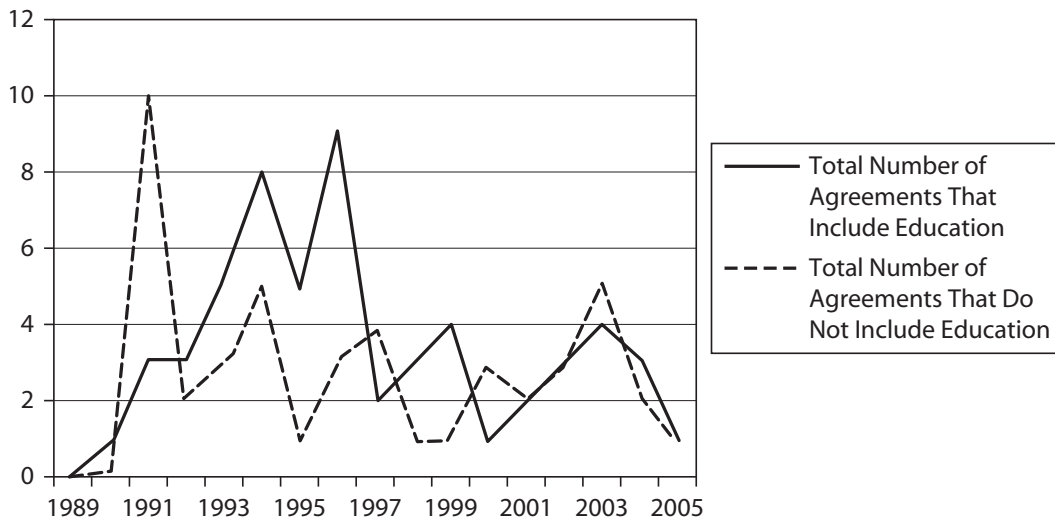
Table 1 and Figure 1 show the variation over time of the inclusion of education in peace agreements.

Education has thus been on the minds of peacemakers since the end of the Cold War. However, there is significant variation in how education is addressed and incorporated in peace agreements in terms of how education is viewed as well as what is mandated to occur in the education sector after the signing of the peace agreement, including what kind of education will be available, to whom, and why.

Table 1. Education Provisions in Full and Partial Peace Agreements by Year, 1989–2005

	Year of Agreement																	Total
	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	
Total number of accessible agreements analyzed	0	1	13	5	8	13	6	12	6	4	5	4	4	6	9	5	2	103
Total number that include education	0	1	3	3	5	8	5	9	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	3	1	57
Total number that do not include education	0	0	10	2	3	5	3	3	4	1	1	3	2	3	5	2	1	46
Share of agreements that included education (%)	0	100	23	60	63	62	83	75	33	75	80	25	50	50	44	60	50	Avg: 55%

Figure 1. Trends in Education Provisions in Full and Partial Peace Agreements, 1989–2005



## Patterns in the Inclusion of Education in Peace Agreements

### *Resumption to Reform: Postagreement Activities in the Education Sector*

The fifty-seven agreements mentioning education in some way stipulate four types of activity to occur in the education sector on signing the agreement: respecting and implementing the right to education, resuming education services, responding to conflict-created issues within the education sector, and actively reforming the education system as a way to address the issues at the heart of the incompatibility between the warring parties. These activities are mandated to occur in some cases singly and in some cases simultaneously.

Full and partial agreements that specifically address the right to education do so in several ways. These agreements mandate that the state must grant the right to public education to all citizens of the state; that the right to education must be realized, promoted, protected, guaranteed, or secured by the state; and that the right to education for all must be respected by the state. Generally, the right to access formal education is called for in the agreements, though the 1996 agreement for the Philippines and the Guatemalan agreements of the mid-1990s call for access to and recognition of nonformal education. The peace agreements included in the analysis call for provision of access to all levels of schooling within the formal school system, to include primary, basic, secondary, postsecondary, and tertiary or higher education. In the agreements where education is mentioned, educational

provision is almost universally viewed as a public service that the state is responsible for delivering. Because most armed conflicts are either against the state or involve the state in some manner, it is not surprising that the government is party to the peace agreement, nor that the government is mandated to provide, resume, or reform education in the aftermath of a conflict.

A handful of agreements, such as the 2003 Linas-Marcoussis agreement for Côte d'Ivoire, state that activities within the education system should be resumed, in effect restoring the right to education without explicitly using rights-based terminology. Framed within this set of agreements, resumption includes reestablishing state authority to carry out educational services; redeployment of civil servants in the education sector and ministerial offices, allowing officials in the education system to carry out their functions again; marking of exams; reopening of closed schools and rehabilitation and rebuilding of educational facilities destroyed by war; running transitional education programs to facilitate resumption of education services (such as catch-up programs for war-affected children or particular education programs for ex-combatants); establishing transitional education governance bodies, such as District Councils; and immediately improving capacity within the education system to absorb a large number of students returning to school after the end of a conflict.

Agreements detailing a response to conflict-created issues in the education system address several concerns, to include integration and reintegration of ex-combatants into the education system as well as of returned refugees and internally displaced persons, and restoration of the right to education for war-affected persons whose schooling has been interrupted by conflict. In particular, the 1992 protocol agreement for Rwanda gives a detailed plan for reintegrating returned refugees and internally displaced persons into the formal education system, to include recognizing education received in exile, while one of the 1996 Guatemalan agreements calls for formal and nonformal education of the opposition forces (the URNG) to be recognized. Several of the peace agreements for Colombia from the years 1991, 1994, and 1998 establish formal, nonformal, and vocational educational and literacy programs as elements of reintegration schemes for ex-combatants. Mandates for educational reintegration of ex-combatants intersect with the view of education as a security and protection issue; this is examined in more detail in the following section.

Some peace agreements go so far as to lay out detailed plans for how the education system will be reformed. Among the more notable examples



are the 2003 Inter-Congolese negotiations agreement for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the 1996 Chiapas (Mexico) peace agreement, the Guatemala peace accords of the mid-1990s, the 1996 peace accord for the Philippines, and the 2001 Framework Agreement for Macedonia. Agreements mandating full or partial reform of the education sector are those where education features most prominently, and also where education is strongly viewed as a sociopolitical issue as well as an economic one.

### *Views of Education Within the Agreements*

Education is viewed within the agreements in four ways: as a security issue, a protection issue, an economic issue, and a sociopolitical issue.

In the agreements where education is addressed as a security issue, provisions are made for education to be an integral part of reintegration of ex-combatants, particularly those from the nonstate group or groups. Such agreements call for both formal and nonformal or professional education and training to be given to ex-combatants in order to reintegrate them. This includes job training, vocational education, literacy training, and primary and secondary education. Some of the agreements call for provision of additional assistance for ex-combatants to acquire further education beyond that made available to reintegrate them. Education is also viewed as being a needed aspect of security sector reform in terms of retraining and reeducating police and military forces. Examples of education within security sector reform are found in the 1992 Chapultepec agreement for El Salvador and the 1992 Protocol of Agreement for Rwanda. The 1992 Rwanda agreement calls for new forms of civic and political education for the army and for educational access to be granted for the children of service members.

The potentially protective aspect of schooling is addressed in only a few agreements, with the idea of protection taking on other dimensions, from protection from recruitment in an armed group to mine risk education. Section 26 of the 2003 Inter-Congolese Negotiations Agreement states that the peace agreement participants “are aware that the Congolese youth must be protected and supervised through education, sport and recreation.” The 1999 peace plan for Colombia states that education can prevent young people from becoming involved with armed groups. The 1991 Cambodia agreement calls for education to be delivered about explosive devices to protect individuals from harm.

Education is also viewed as an economic issue within the agreements, in that education is viewed as being a necessary component of economic development and reconstruction and a means to achieve self-reliance and alleviate poverty. Both formal education and vocational or skills training are linked with economic development in the agreements. In the 1996 Abidjan agreement for Sierra Leone, poverty is labeled as a root cause for the outbreak of the conflict, and education is viewed as a way to alleviate poverty and eradicate it as a cause for future conflict. To improve the quality of life of Sierra Leoneans and address the socioeconomic causes of the conflict, Article 26 of the agreement calls for “improved educational services to enable all children of primary and junior-secondary school age to receive free and compulsory schooling as well as provide the opportunity for the youth and all other Sierra Leoneans to receive affordable quality education.” The Guatemalan agreements also point to education as a means of poverty alleviation and in turn as a means of eradicating discrimination against those less well off in society, particularly among the indigenous groups who made up the bulk of the armed opposition in that country’s civil war—an intertwining of economic and sociopolitical views of education.

Finally, education is viewed as a sociopolitical issue in many of the agreements. This is a broader category than the preceding three, one that is almost always addressed in agreements that call for and outline the reform of an education system. Peace agreements are political solutions to armed conflict, and education is fundamentally a political matter because education is a central component of the production and reproduction of power structures in society. In this way, education is strongly connected to the root causes of conflict, which include distribution of resources, access to political power in societies, recognition of identity and cultural development, and poverty (Degu, 2005; Gates, 2002). Thus, mandates for education system reform in peace agreements are also mandates for social and political reform, as the education reform plans outlined in the agreements require a restructuring of social and political hierarchies and structures as they are reflected in, and reproduced by, the education system.

The agreements that address the sociopolitical aspects of education and that also focus on reform within the education system call for numerous types and degrees of educational reform, depending on the country context. However, several areas of reform are consistently called for in these agreements: reforms in distribution of educational opportunities and resources (to include distribution of funding), in access, in selection

functions within the education sector (particularly regarding exams), in training and distribution of teachers, in educational governance, and in the content of the curriculum and the language in which teaching is carried out.

First, equal and equitable distribution and allocation of resources and institutions within the education system—to include books, buildings, equipment, trained teachers, and institutions (including higher education institutions)—is explicitly called for to rectify inequalities in the education system, particularly in areas where conflicts have broken out. This is not merely a coincidence; rather, those areas where conflict has erupted and been fought generally correspond to areas in which educational exclusion is high and the level of socioeconomic development low.

Second, educational access is pinpointed as an area of reform. Exclusionary systems of education (in terms of access to the system) are targeted for eradication, and an education-for-all perspective is embraced in these agreements. Access to free, compulsory, quality public education that is based on mechanisms of equal opportunity, nondiscrimination, parity, and inclusivity are all called for in many of the agreements. The 2000 Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi goes so far as to specifically point to unequal educational access as a cause of the conflict: “One of the causes of violence and insecurity in Burundi . . . is a discriminatory system which did not offer equal educational access to all Burundian youths from all ethnic groups” (Protocol III, Chapter I, Article 3). To rectify this, the agreement calls for equitable distribution of buildings, equipment, and textbooks within the education system to benefit all children equally. Several agreements, however—such as the 2001 agreement for Macedonia and the 1997 agreement for Bangladesh—call for programs of equity and affirmative action rather than equality in access and scholarships to help disadvantaged groups (especially those groups involved in fighting a conflict) to reach equality.

A handful of agreements, such as the 2000 Arusha agreement for Burundi and the 2003 Inter-Congolese negotiations agreement, call for use of merit-based selection practices for both education system employees and students. The 2000 Arusha agreement states that there should be transparency and fairness in examinations to overcome social exclusion (which the agreements point to as being one of the causes of the outbreak of conflict and violence in Burundi), while the 2003 Congo agreement refers to corruption and nontransparent practices in selection and promotion of education system employees as a contributing factor to

the conflict in that country. Plans to improve teacher salaries, training, professionalism, and status feature in the agreements, as do plans to equally distribute trained teachers throughout the country. The Guatemalan and Chiapas agreements of the mid-1990s in particular state that indigenous teachers should be trained and employed to carry out bilingual and multicultural education to improve social equality and inclusion, thereby eradicating grievances around which groups of people in these countries mobilized.

Educational governance is also consistently addressed in these agreements. Calls are made for effective management within the education system; for participatory management of schools; and for decentralization of power, authority, control, and decision making within the education system to regional, state, and local levels. The 1996 Guatemalan Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples calls on the government “to facilitate the effective participation of community representatives in the management of education and culture at the local level in order to guarantee efficiency and relevance.” Some of the agreements, such as that in 1996 for the Philippines, call for autonomous regional governance of education in order to reflect larger political solutions of greater autonomy for certain regions and groups of people, as well as to create mechanisms through which group identities are recognized and communicated in and through the education system.

Finally, the content of the curriculum is addressed in these agreements. This appears in the form of encouraging the teaching of certain values such as tolerance, forgiveness, cooperation, solidarity, respect, responsibility, and valuation of diversity. Human rights and peace education are seen as critical mechanisms to transmit these values. Civics education is viewed as being necessary to teach citizens about their rights and responsibilities, but also to support the development and strengthening of democratic forms of governance. In conflicts where identity has been a critical divide, such as in Chiapas, Guatemala, and the Philippines, calls are made for identity issues to be taken into account through institution of a pluralistic, heterogeneous curriculum that incorporates group-specific epistemological and ontological values and views. The language of instruction is of utmost importance in conflicts that have an identity dimension to them; local language instruction is called for in a number of agreements and is framed as an issue of both access and recognition of identity, as is relevant knowledge that connects with the local context, needs, and reality.

## Why Address Education in Peace Agreements?

Although a good number of peace agreements in the post-Cold War period have incorporated education in some manner, there are many agreements that have not included education. This is likely due to three factors. First, education is often viewed as a developmental, rather than humanitarian, issue, one to be addressed outside the realm of the peace-making process. Second, and connected to the first factor, individuals and parties involved in peace processes may be more concerned with the immediate cessation of direct violence and with satisfying the demands of the warring parties for a share of the political pie than with outlining long-term educational and sociopolitical reforms and responses. Moreover, educational specialists may not be present during a peace process to contribute to an appropriate insertion of educational issues in a peace agreement. Finally, the type of conflict (inter- or intrastate, and whether the conflict can be described as an identity, secessionist, revolutionary, or factional conflict; see Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall, 2005; and Rupesinghe, 1998) and whether education is perceived to have played a role in the outbreak of the conflict may also factor into whether or not education is included in a peace agreement.

There is not enough variation by year to point to any pattern in the frequency of inclusion of education in peace agreements during the post-Cold War period, which points to the idiosyncratic and context-dependent nature of the processes surrounding creation of peace agreements and the individuals involved in them. Thus, any effort to increase the frequency with which education is addressed in peace agreements must consider the context of the country and the conflict in question, as well as how education might be linked to the causes, outbreak, and dynamics of each individual conflict, and what role education can and should play in resolving a conflict.

Nevertheless, education should be considered an important element both of peace agreements and of the peace-building processes that peace agreements are a part of, for three reasons. First, peace agreements can determine the agenda for the postconflict period, to include funding and program priorities of governments, donors, and humanitarian organizations alike. Including education in a peace agreement thus makes it more likely that education will receive attention after a conflict and that the impact of the conflict on the education system will be addressed as well as the role that education may have played in the outbreak of conflict (Cohn, 1999).

Second, addressing education in peace agreements by, for instance, committing the state to providing wider access to education can signal that the state cares about the population and is committed to keeping and building peace by transforming the roots of conflict, thus restoring faith in the government and diffusing dissent (Thyne, 2006; Collier and others, 2003). Explicitly addressing education in peace agreements can thus constitute an important incentive for individuals to lay down arms, particularly where educational exclusion is at the root of young people's motivations to fight. Therefore, incorporating education into peace agreements can be critical in bringing the direct physical violence of a conflict to an end.

Perhaps the most important rationale, however, for employing education as a peacemaking strategy lies in the peace-building potential inherent in education systems. More than just bringing the fighting to an end, education has a vital role to play in building long-term, positive peace that transforms the roots of conflict. Including education in a peace agreement can create a vital window of opportunity to build positive, sustainable peace through education. As blueprints for postconflict state building, social reformulation, and conflict transformation, peace agreements are critical elements in mapping out how peace will be built and how the social contract will be renegotiated in the aftermath of a conflict. Education "is an essential long-term building block of a functional civil society" (Torsti, 2005, p. 64), and incorporating educational issues into peace agreements can help to ensure that education plays a central and active role in building peace in the aftermath of conflict by supplying a catalyst for postconflict changes and mapping the way forward. Detailing how the education system will be reconstructed to overcome the generally negative impact that armed conflict has on the education sector is one element of this, but so too are provisions for how an education system—and society more generally—will be reformed, given the contributory role that education can play in the outbreak of armed conflict. As Tawil and Harley (2004) write:

The nature of the cessation of hostilities and of the peace achieved is crucial to defining the possibilities for social and civic reconstruction through education policy. The nature of the political settlement, whether internally developed or externally imposed, has implications for the nature of political will to reform education, as well as for the construction or consolidation of legitimating mechanisms which gave education policymakers a mandate for change [p. 14].

## A Road Map for Further Research

This study opens the way for further inquiry in this area. In particular, four areas of inquiry would be relevant in exploring improved understanding of the incorporation of education in peace agreements. First, an examination of peace agreements during a longer time period than that in the present analysis (perhaps since the end of World War II) would give more insight into the variation of patterns and trends of incorporation of education into peace agreements over time. In addition to this, information on the contents of the agreements missing from the analysis would present a more comprehensive and complete picture of incorporation of education in peace agreements in the post-Cold War period.

Second, examination of why and when education is included in some peace agreements but not others is needed, to include investigation into the conditions and circumstances of the negotiation processes and of the actors involved in negotiating various peace agreements. This would improve understanding the conditions under which education is or is not included in peace agreements, and it would yield valuable lessons for peacemakers and policy makers about the contexts in which it is most appropriate, and most fruitful, to incorporate education into peace agreements.

Third, examination of the relationship between including education in a peace agreement and the relapse into violence or maintenance of peace would be fruitful. It may be that those agreements where detailed provisions for education were included were also agreements where negotiations were at a much deeper level and thus went further in resolving and transforming the incompatibilities and relationships between the two parties. A peace agreement addressing the needs of a war-affected population (such as access to education) may also increase public confidence in the agreement and the likelihood that in turn the warring parties will comply with the provisions of the agreement where the political survival of warring parties relies on the support of the population (Cohn, 1999). However, cursory examination of the agreements included in this analysis shows a mixed record in this respect. Although a good number of the conflicts have not resumed after the signing of an agreement that included detailed educational provisions (examples are Guatemala, Angola, Cambodia, Macedonia, Sierra Leone, Bangladesh, and Northern Ireland), armed conflict continued or reemerged in other countries such as Côte d'Ivoire, Sudan, Colombia, and Chad. In some of these countries where conflict resumed or continued, signed peace agreements included detailed educational provisions,

particularly at the socioeconomic level. Thus, more systematic investigation and rigorous testing is needed to draw any conclusions about the relationship between educational provisions in peace agreements and the relapse into violence or the maintenance of peace. To begin with, the parameters of conflict continuation and reignition would have to be clearly defined, and the impact of educational provisions in peace agreements on the level of violence and hostility accurately measured.

Finally, and connected to the previous point, this article has not examined implementation of educational components of peace agreements. Future research should investigate the correspondence of inclusion of education into peace agreements and implementation of educational provisions. Examination of whether, how, to what degree, and the conditions under which the educational provisions of peace agreements are implemented should be carried out, as well as evaluation of the degree to which these provisions improve conditions in the education system and of their role in building peace in the affected societies. In this respect, a comparison of postconflict educational reforms and measures that have stemmed from peace agreements versus reforms and measures that did not stem from peace agreements, and the relative impact of these two types of reforms and measures on building peace, would be useful in better understanding the added value of educational provisions in peace agreements in terms of building peace and preventing reemergence or continuance of armed conflict.

## Conclusion

It must be stressed that peacemaking through signing peace agreements is thus not the same as actually building peace. Even if education is included in a peace agreement, this may not matter, given that the signing of a peace agreement does not mean the end of war. Peace agreement provisions such as equal access to education may fail to be implemented even if violence or war does not resume. But peace agreements can be and often are an important step in the direction of building peace through renegotiation of the social contract, an integral part of which is, and should be, the education system.

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