THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN PEACEBUILDING
Literature Review

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ACRONYMS

CAP	Consolidated Appeals Process (of the United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs)
CCA	Common Country Assessments
CHAP	Common Humanitarian Action Plans
CIDA	Cultural Industries Development Agency
CDA	Conflict Development Analysis
CERF	Central Emergency Response Fund, United Nations
CFS	Child-Friendly School
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DDR	disarmament, demobilization and rehabilitation
DFS	Department of Field Support
DPKO	Department of Peace-keeping Operations
ECHA	Executive Committee on Humanitarian Affairs (UNDG/OCHA)
EEPCT	Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition
EFA	Education for All
EFA-FTI	Education for All – Fast-Track Initiative
ESWG	Education-sector working group
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IDP	internally displaced people
IMPP	Integrated Missions Planning Process
INCAF	International Network on Conflict and Fragility
INEE	Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies
ISF	Integrated Strategic Framework
IRA	Immediate Rapid Assessment
JENA	Joint Education Needs Assessment
MDG	Millennium Development Goals

OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OROLSI	Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions (DPKO)
PBA	Peacebuilding Architecture
PBC	Peacebuilding Committee
PBF	Peacebuilding Fund
PBSO	Peacebuilding Support Office
PCIA	Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment
PCNA	Post Conflict Needs Assessment
PDNA	Post Disaster Needs Assessment
PKO	Peace-keeping Operations
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RALS	Rapid Education Assessment of Learning Spaces
SA	Strategic Assessment
SRA	Strategic Research Agenda
SWAp	Sector-wide approach
TRF	Transitional Results Framework
UNCT	UN Country Team
UNDAF	UN Development Assistance Framework
UNDG	UN Development Group
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is part of a knowledge generation study within the Education and Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) programme – a partnership between the Government of the Netherlands and the European Commission. The study was commissioned by UNICEF to examine the role of education in peacebuilding in post-conflict contexts. The focus is especially relevant because of concerns regarding the frequency of relapses into conflict that have been highlighted as a priority to be addressed by United Nations peacebuilding. The main purposes of the study are to:

- Provide evidence on the role of education in peacebuilding, based on academic, programming and evaluation literature;

- Provide a basis for consultation and discussion within UNICEF on how it can most effectively contribute to peacebuilding through education; and

- Examine how education interventions and programming could have a stronger role in the UN peacebuilding architecture.

The study comprises two phases: i) a review of research and programme literature to assess existing knowledge about education's role in peacebuilding, identify critical gaps and analyse initiatives by UNICEF and its partners in post-conflict contexts; and ii) completion of a number of country case studies and a final report that summarizes the findings.

The literature review identifies themes emerging from recent research related to education, conflict and peacebuilding, including:

- The Rewrite the Future campaign by Save the Children (2006–2009), which commissioned and drew upon existing research to highlight the under-funding of education in conflict-affected countries and identified six priority areas related to programming: teachers, relevance of education, protection from attack, emergencies and finance.

- Research on Education for Peace for Save the Children, Norway (Dupuy 2008) used the concept of 'conflict transformation' to analyse how education supports peacebuilding by promoting inclusion, socialization, social capital and social benefits.

- A review of research for Comic Relief (James 2010) that identified five main roles for education in supporting recovery for children in conflict-affected countries: protection, return to normality, psychosocial support, education for peace and economic recovery.

- The EFA Global Monitoring Report (2011) – *The Hidden Crisis: Armed conflict and education* – identified four priority areas: i) the need to combat violations and attacks on education; ii) problems with funding and the humanitarian aid system; iii) identifying opportunities to support post-conflict peacebuilding; and iv) unlocking the potential of education to act as a force for peace.

A review of UNICEF and partner programme literature was also undertaken in terms of i) whether documents made 'explicit or implicit' reference to peacebuilding; ii) whether there was reference to 'theories of change'; iii) the sequencing of education programming in post-conflict situations; and iv) analysis in terms of programme relevance to security and political, economic and social transformation in post-conflict societies.

Findings

The review found that the theoretical literature on peacebuilding draws an important distinction between 'negative peace' (the cessation of violence) and 'positive peace' (structural changes that address social injustices that may be a cause of violence). Peacebuilding theory also suggests the need for education to support transformation processes related to changes in security, political institutions, economic regeneration and social development within post-conflict societies.

The review of the education literature highlights three broad discourses that have emerged during the past decade. The first area concerns 'education in emergencies', which prioritizes a concern for the protection of children and a response to the negative impacts of conflict on their education. Such programmes are mostly framed in terms of humanitarian response. A second area of literature emphasizes the need for 'conflict-sensitive' education that 'does no harm', for example, by making sure that education does not reinforce inequalities or fuel further divisions. A third area relates to 'education and peacebuilding', and is often framed in terms of a development role for education through reforms to the education sector itself and by contributing to political, economic and social transformations in post-conflict society.

These broad discourses may assist and guide organizations in their operations in the aforementioned contexts and may present implications for programming interventions. For example, organizations that make an explicit commitment to peacebuilding need to consider the implications in terms of the degree of intervention this requires. Other considerations include implications for programming, the institutional capacities required and how impact can be measured in terms of peacebuilding.

These discourses have also emerged within the overall context of growing concerns about global security. This is reflected in recent trends where aid to education has increased significantly to countries seen as risks to global security (GMR 2011). This suggests that organizations committed to peacebuilding must also consider how their activities are influenced by and sit within these broader trends, and how this might affect their operations at local level. A significant gap in the literature is the lack of accounts on political economy factors that operate on and within post-conflict societies, and how these affect the implementation of education programmes.

Conceptually, there are different emphases in the literature reviewed concerning the role of education in post-conflict peacebuilding. Programme literature places much greater emphasis on protection and reconstruction, while academic literature is more explicit about the need for post-conflict transformation. This reflects a significant gap between theory and practice, but also a different degree of intervention, since 'transformation' requires a more explicit commitment to political, economic and social change than forms of reconstruction that simply replace infrastructure destroyed by conflict.

The literature review indicates that most education programming in post-conflict contexts is not being planned from an explicitly peacebuilding perspective. It also highlights the weak evidence base on the impact of education; only a small number of documents identified an explicit theory of change.

The review also found that peacebuilding requires more attention to education sector reform and how such reform can contribute to social transformation in post-conflict societies. The

prevalence of relapses into conflict suggests that sustainable peacebuilding requires more than macro reforms such as disarmament, multi-party elections and establishing a market economy (Paris 2004). Education can also contribute to transformations within post-conflict societies in terms of changing attitudes and behaviours to violence, policing and the legal system; to better understanding of the political system and its implications for local communities; to the development of skills that support economic regeneration and sustainable livelihoods; and to changing social relations between groups dealing with the legacies of conflict. These are all important peacebuilding challenges that need to be initiated early and sustained over time.

The study also reviews the UN peacebuilding architecture (Annex A). The peacebuilding agenda received renewed impetus following the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission, the Peacebuilding Support Office and the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), which has secured US$360 million and is supporting more than 150 projects in 18 countries (as of 2010). It is intended to inject fast, relevant and catalytic funding that responds to immediate post-conflict peacebuilding needs.

As part of the UN integration agenda, there is a commitment to develop a more integrated strategic framework for the UN presence within post-conflict contexts and a variety of assessment and planning tools such as the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF). However, there is little agreement on, or firm guidance to practitioners about which to use, as well as a lack of coordination on the ground in developing shared analysis. Education does not appear to feature strongly in these UN planning and assessment processes.

The analysis of PBF allocations to date (US$205 million) indicates that US$80 million has been provided for Priority 1, primarily security sector reform and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. Priority 2 has received US$50 million focused on national reconciliation and good governance, with some support going to projects that promote human rights, end impunity, prevent corruption and strengthen women's participation in the peacebuilding process. Priority 3 projects have received US$36 million and are focused heavily on youth employment and projects related to internally displaced persons. Although education is relevant to all of these areas, education programming does not feature strongly in PBF funding. An additional challenge is that PBF funding engages early, within two or three years after a conflict, but education is rarely seen as a high priority at this stage – even though it would make sense to prepare for and initiate longer-term education development processes as early as possible in the post-conflict period.

Conclusions
- Peacebuilding theory has not had a strong influence on education programming.
- Education for peacebuilding goes beyond 'do no harm' and can contribute to peacebuilding through post-conflict transformation.
- Most education programming is not planned in advance from a peacebuilding perspective.
- The sequencing of education programming is important.
- The transition from humanitarian to development funding is an important concern.
- Peacebuilding requires more attention to education sector reform as well as timing and sequencing.
- Education needs to engage with the United Nations peacebuilding architecture..

- UNICEF needs to review the implications of a more explicit commitment to peacebuilding.

The literature review highlights conceptual differences between education in emergencies (humanitarian response), conflict-sensitive education (do no harm) and education to actively support peacebuilding. Given UNICEF's strong field presence in most countries before, during and after conflict, this suggests that the organization needs to review what a commitment to peacebuilding means for its programming interventions advocacy efforts.

Questions include:

- How is the concept of peacebuilding currently interpreted by UNICEF?
- What level of shared understanding is there between headquarters and field offices?
- What are the implications of an explicit focus on peacebuilding for the way UNICEF is perceived by donors, by national governments, and by local populations?
- What are the implications of an explicit commitment to peacebuilding for emergency operations, protection and education programming?
- What is the UNICEF institutional capacity to implement education programming that explicitly supports peacebuilding?
- How can impact in terms of education's contribution to peacebuilding be measured?

1. INTRODUCTION

The role of education in conflict-affected countries has received increased attention during the past decade because of its significance for the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) related to education. There has been an increasing awareness that Education for All (EFA) goals will only be achieved through success in accessing children in conflict-affected contexts, who are among the hardest to reach (Save the Children Alliance 2006).

Since the publication of a UN Special Report on children and armed conflict (Machel 1994), attention has been given to assessing the impacts of conflict on education. These include the disruption of schools, attacks on teachers and pupils, forced recruitment of child soldiers, and the needs of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs). Numerous studies have subsequently been released on this topic, including two recent reports from UNESCO (O'Mally 2010; UNESCO 2010). The aim has been to expose the extent and nature of the abuses perpetrated against children and education systems in conflict-affected situations, as well as to explore strategies to prevent and address the effects of conflict on education.

The past decade has also seen an increased awareness of the 'two faces' of education, that is, how education may sometimes exacerbate or mitigate conflict. Research has identified a range of issues that may have such impacts, including factors related to access to education, the structure of schooling, teacher recruitment and training, and curriculum content (Bush and Salterelli 2000). While this has had the merit to highlight the need for 'conflict-sensitivity' in education programming, its emphasis has mainly been on the negative effects. Conversely, as expressed in the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE)'s Strategic Research Agenda, there continues to be a need to identify how education may make a positive contribution to peacebuilding.[1]

The concept of 'peacebuilding' has also received renewed attention following the UN Secretary-General's call for the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) and the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) in 2006. These structures have emerged because of concerns to prevent relapses in the aftermath of conflict. They provide support to countries in the immediate post-conflict period mainly through funding for political, governance, security and macroeconomic reforms.[2] However, the new UN peacebuilding architecture also provides the opportunity to initiate social programming in areas that support peacebuilding.[3]

In recognition of existing gaps in knowledge and practice, the present research project was commissioned by the UNICEF Evaluation Office to undertake a study on the role of education in peacebuilding processes in post-conflict contexts. The project is part of a wider knowledge generation effort undertaken by the UNICEF Evaluation Office and Education Section towards

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[1] See the important distinction made between 'conflict sensitivity' and 'peacebuilding' by Woodrow and Ghigas, 2009.
[2] See, for example, 'OECD Guidance on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities', p. 18.
[3] The June 2009 *Secretary-General's Report on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict* places the provision of social services, including education, among the five recurring priorities for peacebuilding. These priorities are: 1) support to basic safety and security, including mine action, protection of civilians, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, strengthening the rule of law and initiation of security sector reform; 2) support to political processes, including electoral processes, promoting inclusive dialogue and reconciliation, and developing conflict-management capacity at national and sub-national levels; 3) support to the provision of basic services, such as water and sanitation, health and primary education, and support to the safe and sustainable return and reintegration of internally displaced persons and refugees; 4) support to restoring core government functions, in particular basic public administration and public finance, at the national and sub-national levels; and 5) support to economic revitalization, including employment generation and livelihoods (in agriculture and public works), particularly for youth and demobilized former combatants, as well as rehabilitation of basic infrastructure.

the achievement of Goal Four of the Education in Emergencies and Post-CrisisTransition (EEPCT) programme, which is a partnership between UNICEF, the Government of the Netherlands and the European Commission. Goal Four of the EECPT is designed to achieve: evidence-based policies, efficient operational strategies and fit-for-purpose financing instruments in emergencies and post-crisis transition.

The three main purposes of the study are to:
- Provide evidence on the role of education in peacebuilding, based on academic, programming and evaluation literature;
- Provide a basis for consultation and discussion within UNICEF on how it can most effectively contribute to peacebuilding through education; and
- Examine how education interventions and programming could have a stronger role in the UN peacebuilding architecture.

Methodology

The study is being undertaken in two phases. This report relates to the first phase, which consists of a review of academic and programming literature to examine the existing evidence base on the role of education in peacebuilding processes as well as to identify knowledge gaps. The second phase involves in-country data collection for a number of country case studies to identify where education has played an important role in contributing to peace, or where it has missed the opportunity to do so, and identify strengths and weaknesses of different approaches to education programming and interventions for peacebuilding.

Methodology: Literature Review

The search for documents expanded on the initial stock provided by the UNICEF Evaluation Office assembled as part of the knowledge management carried out within the EEPCT portfolio. Literature searches were carried out at three levels:
- Level 1. Academic research related to peacebuilding theory and concepts;
- Level 2. Academic research and programming literature making explicit reference to 'education and peacebuilding'; and
- Level 3. Research evidence, programming, evaluation and institutional planning documents that do not have peacebuilding as an explicit objective, but are understood to be present within a broader set of terms, such as material related to 'education and fragility', 'education and emergencies' and 'education and conflict'.

The literature searches resulted in access to 2,550 documents from a variety of sources, including: academic research; UN peacebuilding documents; UNICEF internal reports, documentation, evaluations; international NGOs (programmes, evaluations and manuals); donors (policies, programmes, frameworks, programme evaluations and research); and calls made to communities of practice announcements (UN Peacebuilding, OECD, UNDP and INEE). The team was also granted access to the Global Monitoring Report's database on education and conflict (1,353 documents). However, only approximately 526 documents were reviewed for the present report due to time constraints as well as to the low relevance of the majority of the documents accessed for the purpose of this study. Of the 526 documents, 325 were programming-related documents, while the remaining 301 documents encompassed academic and organization literature.

This report is structured as follows:

Section 2 begins with an overview of key concepts and definitions. This includes theoretical influences mainly from academic literature, which make distinctions between negative and positive peace and highlight the importance of addressing structural issues and underlying causes of conflict, as well as symptoms of conflict such as violence. UN and OECD definitions of peacebuilding are then identified. Finally, distinctions are highlighted between concepts often associated with peacebuilding, such as the distinction between conflict management, conflict transformation and conflict resolution.

Section 3 begins with an overview of three broad discourses that are evident in the literature and which have emerged during the past decade. These place different emphasis on education as a humanitarian response, the need for conflict-sensitive education that does no harm, and education that might contribute towards longer-term reconciliation and peacebuilding. These discourses have emerged within a context of increasing concerns about global security that have implications for the work of humanitarian and development organizations, particularly those with a commitment to peacebuilding.

This section also includes the findings from a review of academic and programme literature related to education, conflict and peacebuilding. Section 3.4 reviews the main findings from a number of important initiatives that identify the main rationales for the role of education in conflict-affected societies. Section 3.5 concludes with a review of UNICEF and partner education programming literature that attempts to identify whether explicit reference is made to peacebuilding, what types of programming exist and whether they involve any particular theory related to peacebuilding.

A review of the UN peacebuilding architecture is provided, along with a summary of post-conflict strategic assessment and planning tools and frameworks (Annex A). A brief review of UNICEF involvement in peacebuilding was also undertaken (Annex B). A number of conclusions are drawn from this first phase of the study. The second phase involves a number of case studies through a combination of desk review and fieldwork.

2. THE CONCEPT OF PEACEBUILDING

This section briefly introduces the concept of peacebuilding. It first discusses early theoretical work on peacebuilding and then turns its attention to the current international definitions upon which the international peacebuilding architecture rests (a review of the UN peacebuilding architecture is provided in Annex A). The section also introduces several concepts related to peacebuilding in order to distinguish between peacebuilding and other common post-conflict processes.

2.1. Theoretical influences on the concept of peacebuilding

The term 'peacebuilding' was coined by Johan Galtung in 1975 with the publication of 'Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding'. Galtung developed many of the core concepts that continue to be applied in peacebuilding work and definitions today, including in the UN's 2007 definition. Core concepts from Galtung's work include: **negative peace**, **positive peace**, **structural violence**, **root causes of conflict** and **sustainable peace**. These core concepts that inform Galtung's notion of peacebuilding are summarized in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1: CORE PEACEBUILDING CONCEPTS AS DEVELOPED BY JOHAN GALTUN

Concept	Definition
Negative peace	The cessation and/or absence of violence.
Positive peace	The absence of structural violence. The presence of social justice. The conditions that eliminate the causes of violence.
Structural violence	Indirect violence. "Violence that is built into structures and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung 1990: 171). Structural violence accompanies and is an underlying cause of direct violence.
Root causes of conflict	Manifestations of structural and cultural violence, leading to direct violence.
Sustainable peace	Peace and processes towards it that address the root causes of violent conflict.

For Galtung, peacebuilding involves addressing and removing the root causes of violence – the structural and (a later addition to his work) the cultural violence – that feeds into and enables direct violence. The goal of peacebuilding is positive, sustainable peace. In Galtung's words "… structures must be found that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur" (1976: 297). Galtung also emphasizes the importance of local knowledge, ownership and participation in peacebuilding.

The work of John Paul Lederach has also been important for evolving definitions of peacebuilding. Lederach's emphases on peacebuilding as a *process* that is *dynamic* and *social* and involves *transforming relationships* have been important. In 1997, Lederach wrote that peacebuilding:

> *… is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is a dynamic social construct* (p. 84–85).

Transformation is an important concept within Lederach's work and the idea regarding the transformation of conflict and the relationships between conflicting parties continues to be important for peacebuilding definitions and practice.

Many scholars, international organizations and community groups have taken these concepts and the ideas of peacebuilding that they inform forward in their work, approaching

peacebuilding from a variety of perspectives and refining peacebuilding in conceptual and practical ways.

In 1992, with the publication of *An Agenda for Peace* by then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the idea of 'post-conflict peacebuilding' entered UN vocabulary.

2.2. International organization definitions

Section 3 discusses the current UN peacebuilding architecture, its development and its linkages with the peacebuilding work of other international agencies in detail. Here, it suffices to introduce two contemporary and important definitions of peacebuilding that guide work at the international level today.

In 2007, the Secretary-General's Policy Committee provided a "conceptual basis for peacebuilding to inform UN practice," defining peacebuilding as follows:

> *Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.*

The OECD/DAC also recently offered a definition of peacebuilding within the 2008 Guidance Note on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding. The guidance states:

> *Peacebuilding covers a broad range of measures implemented in the context of emerging, current or post-conflict situations and which are explicitly guided and motivated by a primary commitment to the prevention of violent conflict and the promotion of a lasting and sustainable peace.*

The legacies of the work of both Galtung and Lederach are visible within these definitions. Both endeavour to work towards the idea of a lasting and 'sustainable peace'. National capacity and ownership are emphasized in the UN definition. Lederach's emphasis on peacebuilding as a broad and dynamic process is maintained in both definitions that embrace a '(broad) range of measures'. Neither definition explicitly adopts Galtung's emphasis on the root causes of conflict or the elimination of structural violence, although these can perhaps be implied in the commitment towards sustainable peace.

Since these definitions currently inform work done internationally, and guide UN peacebuilding work in particular, they are the definitions of peacebuilding that guide this literature review and they inform the ways that the contributions of education towards peacebuilding are conceptualized and identified.

2.3. Related concepts and distinctions

Given the history and range of work in conflict and post-conflict contexts as well as the work on preventing violent conflict around the world, it is unsurprising that many concepts, terms and vocabularies have emerged. This section defines and draws distinctions between peacebuilding and **peacemaking**, **peacekeeping**, **conflict management**, **conflict resolution**,

conflict prevention, **conflict sensitivity** and **conflict transformation**. Like peacebuilding, definitions of these related concepts and terms abound; so too does debate around the meanings and interrelationships of these various processes in conflict-affected contexts.

Table 2 below lists these concepts, which are regularly employed in contexts affected by conflict and, sometimes, in contexts not affected by direct violence, in order to prevent its future emergence. The definitions presented in Table 2 draw on literature by respected scholars and international agencies that work to promote these processes. However, the point to draw from Table 2 is not so much that each of these processes have fixed and agreed-upon definitions (they do not). What the table shows is that peacebuilding is related to, but, in general, goes beyond each of these other concepts. The concepts and processes described below may accompany and contribute towards peacebuilding. To illustrate this point, Table 2 also describes distinctions between the concepts listed and peacebuilding as defined above.

TABLE 2: RELATED CONCEPTS AND DISTINCTIONS WITH PEACEBUILDING

Concept	Definition	Distinction
Peacemaking	Generally refers to the processes of diplomacy, mediation, negotiation or other forms of settlement that arranges an end to a violent dispute and attempts to resolve the issues that led to it. McCandless et al. (2007) present the following definition, adapted from UN documents: "political, diplomatic, and sometimes military interventions directed at bringing warring parties to agreement."	Peacebuilding moves beyond the diplomatic negotiation of (negative) peace to include efforts to make that peace sustainable (positive).
Peacekeeping	"… a unique and dynamic instrument developed by the [UN] Organizations as way to help countries torn by conflict create the conditions for lasting peace" (UN 2010).	Peacekeeping missions are increasingly 'multidimensional' and are no longer limited to the 'traditional' missions that involved strictly military tasks. Nonetheless, they focus on the implementation of comprehensive peace agreements and the early foundations of sustainable peace, where peacebuilding generally proceeds over a longer time frame than peacekeeping activities (UN 2010).
Conflict management	"Aims to limit escalation or avoid future violence by promoting positive behavioural changes among the parties" (McCandless et al. 2007; Fisher et al. 2000).	Peacebuilding includes but goes beyond the aims and methods of conflict management, especially in including processes beyond the behavioural.

Conflict resolution	"Aims to address causes of conflict and seeks to build new and lasting relationships between hostile groups" (McCandless and Bangura 2007; Fisher et al. 2000).	In practice, conflict resolution tends to prioritize relationships more than causes of conflict, and peacebuilding may generally involve a wider set of activities, including but not limited to relationships.
Conflict prevention	"Aims to prevent outbreaks of violence (minimalist) and to root out structural injustices that may cause conflict (maximalist)" (McCandless et al. 2007; Fisher et al. 2000).	While the maximalist approach to conflict prevention has much in common with peacebuilding, the minimalist approach is arguably the one most often applied.
Conflict sensitivity	Refers to the ability of an organization to: a) Understand the context in which it is operating b) Understand the interaction between the intervention and that context c) Act upon that understanding, in order to avoid negative impacts and maximize positive impacts on conflict (International Alert et al. 2004).	Conflict sensitivity tends to be applied to discrete programming or the work of a specific agency – it is a lens that can be applied to programming. Peacebuilding as a concept is broader and goes beyond programming to imply a cohesive approach motivated primarily by creating a sustainable peace.
Conflict transformation	Constructive social change, the "building of right relationships and social structures through a radical respect for human rights and non-violence as a way of life" (Lederach 1995). "Focuses on the relationships and transactions between the parties in the midst of or previously engaged in a given conflict; addresses wider, social, economic, and political sources of a conflict; and seeks to transform negative energy and war into positive social change" (McCandless et al. 2007; Fisher et al. 2000).	Perhaps the process most closely related/synonymous with peacebuilding, although conflict transformation concepts emerge from conflict resolution and conflict studies, while peacebuilding emerges from peace studies (McCandless et al. 2007).

3. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN PEACEBUILDING

> *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.[4]*

Education is perhaps the most important tool for human development and the eradication of poverty. It is the means by which successive generations develop the values, knowledge and skills for their personal health and safety and for future political, economic, social and cultural development. This may be one reason why the MDGs place so much emphasis on achieving universal, free and compulsory primary education through Education for All (EFA).

There are many impediments to the achievement of EFA. These include lack of priority to education on the part of national governments (such as insufficient spending as a percentage of GNP, or inequitable distribution of funding and resources), or lack of effective action by the international community in the use of development assistance. Within countries, poverty, child labour, distance from school, unequal access due to gender or cultural factors, and the existence of conflict are all barriers to the enrolment of children in school.

Research by Save the Children Alliance has highlighted that, "The number of out-of-school primary-age children in the world has fallen in recent years, but the situation in conflict-affected countries has seen little improvement. These countries are home to only 13 per cent of the world's population, yet half of all the children out of school (37 million out of 72 million children) live there. More disconcerting is the fact that they receive less than one-fifth of education aid" (Save the Children 2006). The most recent estimate by the EFA Global Monitoring Report (2011) is that 28 million children live in conflict-affected countries (42 per cent of the world total of children out of school).

This section provides a brief summary of three ways in which we can think about the role of education in conflict-affected situations. In broad terms, they represent areas that have gained greater attention during the past two decades in international development discourses, although their roots go back to at least the Second World War. Each represents a slightly different perspective arising from a common concern about the way that violent conflict affects the lives of children and their right to education. The first represents a concern for the protection of children and a response to the negative impacts of conflict on their education. To some extent this is primarily a humanitarian motivation. The second represents a concern that education is provided in a way that 'does no harm'. This approach can be defined as conflict-sensitive education. That is, it is sensitive to sources of conflict in the society in which it is situated and is provided in a way that does not make antagonisms or animosities worse. The third represents a concern that education can 'do some good', for example, by contributing to transformations within conflict-affected societies that might make peace possible and more likely to endure – that is, education that contributes to peacebuilding.

Elements of these discourses have emerged and coexisted throughout a considerable period of time, although at times one perspective may have gained more prominence than another. Sometimes they interact, but separate development of these discourses has been more common than their integration. To some extent, this has also been reflected in the emergence of distinct communities of practice.

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[4] Government of the United Kingdom, White Paper, 2000, para. 78.

3.1 Education as a humanitarian response

Education systems face exceptional challenges during times of violent conflict. During conflict, international humanitarian law has a particular importance. The Geneva Conventions make specific reference to protections related to education at times of war, including that:

- parties to a conflict ensure that children under 15, orphaned or separated from their families are provided with appropriate education;
- occupying powers should facilitate the maintenance of education;
- education should be provided for interned children and young people; and
- education should be provided throughout non-international conflicts.

A main weakness of such provisions is that, because the Geneva Conventions were developed just after the Second World War, they relate to situations where a formal state of war had been declared between countries. Later protocols, UN declarations and resolutions 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 disregard of the values and norms represented by the Geneva Conventions (Tawil 2000).

Concerns about the impact of violent conflict and war on children received considerable attention during the 1990s and were comprehensively documented through a study commissioned by the UN Secretary-General (Machel 1996). The report identified a number of important implications for the education sector, including arrangements for the education of refugees and displaced persons (Crisp, Talbot and Cipollone 2001), strategies to prevent the use of child soldiers, protection for girls against sex crimes, landmine education and trauma counselling. It provided the basis for a number of initiatives, and many issues identified by the report have become specialized areas of international development.

Arguments were also made that education should be an integral part of humanitarian responses (Retamal and Aedo-Richmond 1998). Attention was drawn to the fact that education is a fundamental right as articulated in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1981). Children should not lose this fundamental right to education simply because they live in the midst of a conflict. It has also been argued that education is an important element in the physical, psychosocial and cognitive protection of children during conflict. By providing a sense of normalcy and stability, education may ease the psychosocial impact of conflict. A safe learning environment may shield children from the everyday physical violence of a conflict, while also conveying life-saving information on how to protect oneself from danger (for example, sexual attack, child recruitment, landmines). Education can also provide cognitive protection by supporting intellectual development through the teaching of literacy and numeracy and, in some cases, conflict resolution and peacebuilding skills.

There remains considerable debate about the necessity to include education in frontline humanitarian aid responses. A significant danger is that immediate responses are disconnected from longer-term development plans for the education sector. This may be exacerbated where the international agencies involved in immediate responses are different from those involved in longer-term development aid for education; and where education sector personnel within local education authorities are not involved in the early stages. However, this

area has developed significantly since the World Education Forum in 2000 and its resulting Dakar Framework for Action includes an explicit call for donor support to the field, which is now known as 'education in emergencies' (Johnson and van Kalmthout 2006). While this field is not defined exclusively in terms of conflict, the disruption of education due to conflict is certainly one set of circumstances that come within the definition of an emergency (Sinclair 2002). An important initiative has been the formation of the Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE) led by CARE International, Norwegian Refugee Council, Save the Children Alliance, UNESCO, UNHCR and UNICEF. INEE does not have the mandate to implement or coordinate during crises, but enables members to share information and encourages collaboration. A goal for INEE has been to define minimum standards for education in emergencies, and these standards are currently being used in more than 60 countries (Anderson and Mendenhall 2006).

Despite these achievements, those working within other sectors may still need to be convinced about the inclusion of education in frontline humanitarian responses. The evidence suggests that despite a decade of advocacy, education still receives only 2 per cent of humanitarian aid, and receives the lowest response to funds requested when compared with food, health, shelter, water and sanitation (GMR 2011). Education continues to be perceived as part of longer-term development, rather than as an immediate humanitarian response. Part of the problem is that the arguments that field workers use to justify more funding for education during the humanitarian phase are more about the need for earlier engagement with longer-term issues (such as gathering accurate data, assessing whether and how to reform education, and developing better capacity). Their concerns are that rebuilding the education system during the emergency response period may reproduce old problems such as unequal access and leave legacies that are more difficult to redress in later development phases. It could also be argued that the inclusion of conflict-affected contexts within the broader concept of 'education and emergencies' has not been helpful from a peacebuilding perspective. While conflicts undoubtedly create crises and lead to situations similar to other emergencies (for example, refugees, displaced persons and destruction of infrastructure), it is conceptually confusing to suggest that understanding the role of an education system during or after conflict is the same as responding to humanitarian or natural disasters such as famine, health epidemics, earthquake, floods or tsunamis. This suggests that any analysis needs to be context-and conflict-specific.

3.2   Conflict-sensitive education

Throughout the past decade, an increasing number of studies have highlighted aspects of education that have implications for conflict (Bush and Salterelli 2000; Smith and Vaux 2003; Buckland 2004; Davies 2004; and Tawil and Harley 2004) and suggest a number of reasons why we should be cautious about how education is provided. Firstly, education may be perceived politically as a powerful tool for ideological development. This can take many forms, ranging from the use of education in the development of liberal ideas, to nation building and, in extreme cases, political indoctrination. Secondly, education may be perceived as an instrument for providing the knowledge and skills necessary for economic development and societal mobility. However, this may or may not be include equity concerns, thus further excluding certain groups from economic and social benefits that education can provide. Thirdly, education is a means by which social and cultural values are transmitted from generation to generation and, depending on the values concerned, these may convey negative stereotypes or encourage attitudes that explicitly or implicitly condone violence or generate conflict.

Thorough analysis of education systems from a conflict perspective is an underdeveloped area. It is relevant for a range of professionals, including politicians, policymakers, education administrators, teachers, parents, community activists, youth and development workers. There are many entry points to the various levels of an education system and the development of conflict-sensitive education systems involves analysis at each of these. This includes a critical analysis of the political ideology driving a system, as well as its legislative, structural and administrative features. These may have significant implications for non-discrimination and equal access to education. The most contentious challenge in terms of international development is to find a way of raising critical questions about the form and content of education and its implications for relations between peoples, groups and nations. The difficulty will be in finding ways for this to be accepted internationally as a legitimate concern as part of improving the quality of education.

The extent to which education is a tool for political or ideological purposes may be evidenced by political involvement in operational matters, such as education appointments, deployment of teachers or the determination of the curriculum. In many circumstances, political elites will want to use education for their own purposes. Although decentralization of education systems may carry the potential to increase participation and ownership, it may also leave education open to manipulation as part of local politics. This highlights the need for analysis that identifies the political and economic influences operating on and within the education system in post-conflict environments. Capacity building and training for those working within the public service may therefore be a necessary prerequisite for the success of any overall education sector plan that takes account of conflict. At all levels of the education system, *governance* is a crucial issue (UNESCO 2005). The arrangements that are in place for representation and participation in consultation (Lindblad et al. 2002), decision-making and governance may be potential sources of conflict, or they may be opportunities for inclusion and the resolution of grievances (Burde 2004). Arrangements for transparency and accountability also reflect an education system's capacity to accept and address inequalities that might otherwise become sources of conflict.

In broad terms, the way in which education provision is implemented may compound inequalities and erode confidence in government's capacity to provide basic services (Pherali, Smith and Vaux 2011). In such a situation, grievances are likely to become increasingly politicized, making it easier to mobilize support for violent conflict (Spinner-Halev 2003). For example, education may become a source of conflict depending on whether it promotes conformity to a single set of dominant values (assimilation) (Ahonen 2001), permits the development of identity-based institutions (separate development) or encourages shared institutions (integration) (Phillips, R. 1998). The extent to which any of these approaches make conflict more or less likely will be highly context-dependent.

At the practical level, there are many aspects of curriculum that have a bearing on conflict (Apple 1990). When curriculum is conceived narrowly as the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next, it may be perceived as an extremely powerful tool to promote particular political ideologies, religious practices or cultural values and traditions. The contemporary trend in many countries is to 'modernize' the curriculum so that it is defined in terms of 'learning outcomes', where learning outcomes refer to skills, attitudes and values as well as factual knowledge. They may include the development of 'generic skills' that include communication skills, the ability to draw on multiple sources of information and evaluate conflicting evidence, the development of media literacy, critical thinking and moral

development (EFA 2003). Within international development settings there is a particular emphasis on 'life skills' as a means of providing child protections, social and health education (id21, 2004) and the argument is that these are the type of skills that are also helpful for peace-building (UNICEF, 2005).

Additionally, in terms of 'content', every area of the curriculum carries values with the potential to communicate implicit and explicit political messages. Many of these involve specialized areas of study. For example, the UNESCO position paper on language of instruction highlights the importance of sensitivity to majority and minority languages and distinguishes between 'official' and 'national' languages:

> *The choice of language in the educational system confers a power and prestige through its use in formal instruction. Not only is there a symbolic aspect, referring to status and visibility, but also a conceptual aspect referring to shared values and worldview expressed through and in that language.* (UNESCO 2003: 13–14)

Another area of curriculum is the teaching of history and the extent to which history education may become a vehicle for promoting particular versions of history, revising historical events or confronting the past in a critical way. Political dimensions in the way that geography is taught and the lexicon it uses for disputed territories can be problematic and the content of teaching material for areas such as culture, art, music and religious education often get drawn into controversy (Tawil, S. and Harley, A. 2004). Such areas are sometimes referred to as 'national subjects', in many instances tightly controlled by governments and regarded as essential tools for nation building.

The values represented in textbooks and other learning resources are a further area of specialist concern. For example, 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 regarding textbook content can also become cultural and ideological battlegrounds. Textbook review processes have a long history. For example, there were joint initiatives on French-German textbooks during the 1920s; German-Polish cooperation following the World War II; and a US-Soviet textbook project in the 1970s (Höpken 2003). They raise sensitive issues about what might be considered offensive and by whom. A project reviewing Palestinian and Israeli textbooks has been underway for some years. Further examples include concerns raised by China and Korea about the treatment of World War II in Japanese textbooks and a critique of international assistance for the replacement of textbooks in Afghanistan (Spink 2005).

However, there has also been a concern that an emphasis on conflict analysis highlights potentially negative aspects of education provision. From a practical perspective, some aid workers suggest that this makes it more difficult to persuade donors to invest in education in conflict-affected countries. Others suggest that it makes it difficult to maintain a positive relationship with local education officials and underplays the contribution that education can make to 'peacebuilding'.

3.3   Education for reconstruction, reconciliation and peacebuilding

An early report on 'Education for Reconstruction' (Philips et al. 1998) distinguishes between 'physical' reconstruction of school buildings (including emergency repair strategies, the needs of refugee education and landmine safety issues); 'ideological' reconstruction that refers, for example, to democratization of an education system or retraining of teachers; and 'psychological' reconstruction that responds to issues of demoralization, loss of confidence and health-related issues of stress and depression. This contrasts significantly with a report on the World Bank's experience with post-conflict reconstruction, which suggests that the main priority during the 1990s was on the reconstruction of physical infrastructure (World Bank 1998).

The report's main recommendations illustrate how the World Bank's position was to maintain a watching brief, but stop short of providing development assistance while conflict is underway. However, a later publication from the World Bank Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit acknowledges the need for a shift in position from an emphasis on post-conflict reconstruction to 'a sensitivity to conflict' (World Bank 2004). This is also reflected in a study undertaken by the World Bank on education and post-conflict reconstruction (Buckland 2004). The main objective was to review experience of education system reconstruction in post-conflict countries and to identify lessons that may assist in the achievement of EFA goals. These reports reflect a move away from the notion of thinking about conflict in discrete stages, to an appreciation that the analysis of conflict and 'conflict sensitivity' needs to be built into routine thinking as part of mainstream operations. There is also a growing appreciation that reconstruction is not simply about replacing the physical infrastructure of schools, but needs to include opportunities for rebuilding human relations and inclusive education systems.

The concept of reconciliation has received attention across a range of international contexts, but 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 have different perspectives on what is reasonable or realistic in terms of attempts at reconciliation. This makes it extremely difficult to consider reconciliation as a generic concept with the same implications for different conflicts. The concept of 'reconciliation' is also problematic in terms of the difficult and controversial issues it raises. Hamber and van der Merwe (1998) suggest that the term embodies positive connotations about healing past conflicts. Despite research into the role of education in relation to truth and reconciliation processes in contexts such as Sierra Leone (Paulson 2006; Paulson 2011; UNICEF 2010), deeper understanding of the role of education in contributing to reconciliation processes has yet to be developed. Reconciliation may be necessary at many levels (between individuals, between groups in conflict, between peoples or nations at war). There are implications for education in terms of facilitating reconciliation by addressing the legacies of conflict. These include the impact on the bereaved and injured, remembrance and commemoration; debates about forgiveness, expressions of regret, apology and symbolic events; understanding the role of amnesties, prisoner releases, alongside concepts of restorative and transitional justice. These are challenging, long-term tasks that link reconstruction programmes into the mainstream education sector and the longer-term goal of conflict prevention. Education for reconciliation may therefore be seen as a contribution to peacebuilding, concerned with conflict transformation within societies.

The concept of 'peacebuilding' has received renewed attention following the UN Secretary-General's call for the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), the

Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) and the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) in 2006. A review of the UN peacebuilding architecture is provided in Annex A. These structures have emerged because of concerns to prevent relapses in the aftermath of conflict. They provide support to countries in the immediate post-conflict period mainly through funding for political, governance, security and macroeconomic reforms. However, Collier and Hoeffler (2002) recommend that "focusing on social policies such as education and healthcare, as opposed to macroeconomic reforms, is especially important for preserving peace in countries that have emerged from civil conflict." Paris (2004) also highlights the limitations and sometimes negative effects of peacebuilding that focuses exclusively on electoral and economic reforms. The PBF has funds of US$360 million and is supporting more than 150 projects in 18 countries, but social programming, such as education, has received less than 14 per cent of its funds (PBF status as of November 2010).

Renewed interest in peacebuilding may also be due to the greater priority that is being given to security as a consequence of global events during the past decade. This is evidenced by the focus of the most recent World Development Report (2011) on Conflict, Security and Development. It is also reflected in the EFA Global Monitoring Report (2011) in two main ways. Firstly, the GMR reports on an increasing number of attacks on education that use political and military violence against education staff, students, teachers' unions, government officials and institutions (O'Malley 2010). UNESCO has also produced a report on 'Protecting Education from Attack' that explores possible motives, responses and prevention strategies including armed protection, community defense, and strengthening international monitoring systems and humanitarian law (UNESCO 2010). Secondly, the report highlights concerns about links between aid and security. It identifies 21 developing countries that are spending more on arms and the military than on primary schools, and presents evidence that the amount of aid to certain countries may be driven more by global security concerns rather than poverty. The merging of national security concerns and international development policies is a significant challenge for those in both the development and peacebuilding fields. It highlights the use of education to 'win hearts and minds' as part of counterinsurgency strategy in Iraq and Afghanistan and raises concerns about the confusion of roles between military and aid personnel (Novelli 2010).

The change in security context during the past decade also creates new challenges for aid agencies and development organizations. There are two main dimensions to this. Firstly, there is growing awareness among donors that a purely technical approach to programming is insufficient in the political environments present in situations of conflict. This has led to more emphasis on the need for political economy analysis of the education sector. "There is increasing recognition that blockages for effective reform at the sectoral level (including for delivery, planning and procurement) can be political and that technical solutions alone may not be enough. Governance of a sector, and the way in which politics and institutions interact within that sector, will in practice have a critical impact on sector policies and services" (Foresti and Wild 2009). A number of donors have developed tools and approaches to political economy analysis (OECD 2008; World Bank 2008; DFID 2009) and these have been reviewed by Boak (2011). These build on early work by DFID on 'drivers of change' and approaches such as the Government of the Netherlands, Strategic Governance and Corruption Analysis (SCAGA), but there are very few examples in the literature of these being applied to the education sector or in post-conflict environments, although the European Commission is currently reviewing how political economy analysis can inform its programming in education.

Secondly, the changing context and increased emphasis on the global security agenda will require aid agencies to make more explicit choices about how they position themselves and their work. Humanitarian interventions suggest time-limited emergency responses to humanitarian crises and natural disasters, some of which will be caused by conflict. Development assistance that adopts a 'conflict-sensitive' approach has been encouraged by both the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and the OECD DAC Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States (2007), and suggests only a degree of intervention that 'does no harm'. However, if agencies accept that 'conflict transformation' is the distinguishing feature of a peacebuilding approach, then this is likely to require a more interventionist stance. Development informed by political analysis inevitably means making decisions based on judgments about what is best from a peacebuilding perspective, and these may not always be consistent with the views of national governments or the Paris principles.

In terms of linkages between education and peacebuilding, the role of education is often stereotyped as 'peace education', perceived to involve working with children and youth on peace education programmes for personal development, inter-group contact and conflict resolution techniques (Salomon 2004). However, there have been a number of more recent initiatives that have reviewed research in this area (Dupuy 2008; Save the Children Alliance 2010; Comic Relief 2010; Global Monitoring Report 2011) and these are included in the following sections, which provide a review of the education research literature and then an analysis of programme literature related to education and peacebuilding.

3.4. Review of the research literature on education, conflict and peacebuilding

There are a number of extremely problematic issues in reviewing literature in this field:

- Firstly, the lack of a precise definition of 'peacebuilding' means that it is extremely difficult to set boundaries. This is reflected in both the academic and agency programme literature that identify numerous specialized areas, ranging from concerns about the impacts of conflict on education systems to immediate programme responses and longer-term development issues related to the structure and functioning of education systems. The latter can include a multiplicity of issues related to governance, funding, structural reforms, capacity development, teaching and learning content, pedagogy and outcomes for children. This is further complicated by the tendency for education programming to be defined in terms of overall service delivery, which makes it very difficult to distinguish between what is common to education provision in any context and what specific components have been developed in response to conflict or because they make a particular contribution to peacebuilding.

- Secondly, virtually all of the literature refers to a weak evidence base for linkages between education, conflict and peacebuilding. There are many reasons for this: The field is a complex area with imprecise definitions of terms and many variables, so it is difficult – if not impossible – to demonstrate correlations, let alone causality; implementation in the field is mainly undertaken by development agencies whose main priority is quick impact rather than reflective research; the volatile environments in conflict-affected societies mean that operational conditions and data gathering are difficult; short programme cycles, high levels of staff mobility and poor institutional memory make systematic research uncommon; and even where there is a commitment to evaluation this is most commonly defined in terms of indicators of achieving programme goals, rather than focusing on impact in terms of the concept of peacebuilding.

This section identifies key themes and issues that emerge from academic and agency research, including a number of relevant reviews that have already drawn conclusions about the role of education in relation to conflict and peacebuilding. The following is a summary of four significant reviews of existing research literature that have been completed within the past five years (2006–2011).

3.4.1. Save the Children, Rewrite the Future

Rewrite the Future was an international campaign by the Save the Children Alliance that took place during a three-year period (2006–2009) and which focused attention on education provision for children in conflict-affected and fragile states. Advocacy for children in conflict-affected countries was the main purpose of the initiative, but it was underpinned by literature reviews and research that highlighted a number of key issues, including the following:

- **Conflict as a significant impediment to EFA.** The initial report identified 28 'conflict-affected and fragile states'[5] and highlighted the fact that almost half of all children out of school are in conflict-affected and fragile states – at the time, 39 million children out of a total of 72 million children who were not in school (International Save the Children Alliance 2006).

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[5] These included Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Republic of the Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Haiti, Iraq, Liberia, Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Timor-Leste, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

- **Education in conflict-affected and fragile states is underfunded.** A second report examined aid allocations and highlighted the fact that education for children in conflict-affected and fragile states receives 'less than one-fifth of education aid despite representing almost half of the world's population of out of school children'. The report suggested that donors were favouring low-income countries other than those affected by conflict. Particular attention was drawn to the fact that education receives little more than 1 per cent of funding from humanitarian appeals (Save the Children 2007).

- **Lack of attention to education following peace agreements.** A third report stated that, 'of the 37 full peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2005 that are publicly available, 11 make no mention of education at all. Even in those that do include education, there is great variation in the way it is perceived and addressed in terms of security, protection, economic development or socio-political issues' (Save the Children 2008c). The report highlighted research that documented attacks on education (O'Malley 2007) and suggested that investment in education has a potential 'peace dividend' following peace agreements so long as it is developed in ways that are inclusive and accessible; safe and protective; relevant and appropriate; and accountable.

- **Recommended priorities and programmes in conflict affected countries.** The final report of the campaign recommended the following six priority areas in conflict-affected countries (Save The Children 2008c):
  - **Increase educational opportunity for the poorest and most disadvantaged,** particularly through early childhood education, social protection, and flexible and alternative education such as accelerated learning programmes;
  - **Focus on teachers and teaching quality,** particularly through strategies for recruitment, training and professional development; plus offer sufficient remuneration and incentives to work in the poorest and most remote areas.
  - **Increase relevance and purposefulness of education** through relevant curricula that are sensitive to diversity and promote values that support peace.
  - **Protect education from attack** through inclusive learning environments, training in children's rights, child protection, non-violent teaching methods and codes of conduct that maintain separation between political, military and humanitarian activities.
  - **Address the increasing threat of emergencies** by including education in humanitarian work and increasing humanitarian aid for education to 4.2 per cent.
  - **Increase the financing of education in conflict-affected and fragile states** by ensuring allocation of 20 per cent of national budgets to education, access to free education and civil-society involvement in monitoring of budgets; increasing international aid to meet the annual financing requirement for basic education needs in low-income; and reducing volatility of aid through longer-term, multi-year commitments.

3.4.2. Save the Children Norway, Education for Peace

As part of the Rewrite the Future global campaign, Save the Children Norway commissioned 'Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict through Education Systems', based on case studies of Guatemala, Liberia and Nepal (Dupuy 2008). It is significant because it reviews various theories about the underlying causes of conflict and links this to the identification of four main ways that education contributes to peacebuilding – by promoting inclusion, socialization, social capital and social benefits. The study suggests

that education programming in post-conflict societies should go beyond simple response and seek ways to contribute to social transformation through attention to the following:

Inclusion
- National policies and laws related to free and compulsory education
- Equality in access to different levels and types of education
- Equality and equity in the distribution of resources
- Merit -based selection practices
- Philosophy and aims of education system (an elite leadership or education for all)
- Curriculum content and language of instruction sensitive to diversity

Socialization
- Relationships between individuals and groups at school
- Disciplinary methods and attitudes to bullying
- Role of teachers and school staff in socialization and values
- Teaching methods and pedagogy
- The official curriculum, what is included, and how it deals with the past conflict
- The hidden curriculum, norms and values rewarded at school

Social capital
- Community: school relationships, school management and parent involvement
- Children's clubs to learn participatory decision-making and discuss peace
- Codes of conduct for teachers and pupils, transparent decision-making processes
- State-school relationships, central authority and decentralization
- Civil society-school relationships, role of NGOs, voluntary groups in peacebuilding

Social benefits of education
- There needs to be an economic return on schooling, and improved educational opportunity at all levels should reduce the attractions of going to war.
- Education also raises awareness of direct and social costs of conflict and therefore opportunities for educated people and future generations.
- It is low levels of secondary school enrolment, not primary, that lower opportunity costs of participating in armed conflict.
- The social benefits of education include the fact that education may reinforce political stability through improved civic participation and the teaching of values that reinforce participation.

3.4.3. Comic Relief Review

Comic Relief is a UK-based charity established in 1985 that raises funds "to help tackle the needs of poor and disadvantaged people in Africa and in the UK." The organization commissioned a review to help determine how to provide support to education for conflict-affected children and young people. In reviewing the literature, it identifies a number of roles for education in supporting recovery for conflict-affected children (James 2010):

- **Education that protects.** This draws mainly on literature from the field of education in emergencies and suggests that education can provide protection from violence, particularly for girls (Kirk 2008); that schools can help to protect from recruitment and exploitation (Nicolai 2005); in terms of survival skills such as landmine awareness and protection from HIV and AIDS (Bird 2007; Davies 2004); by providing opportunities for psychological, emotional and cognitive development (Bird 2007); and some evidence that education can protect from frustration, boredom and risk of conflict (Deng 2003; Tomlinson and Benefield 2005).

- **Education for 'normality'** highlights evidence that the restoration of formal education contributes to stability (INEE 2010) and hope (Nicolai 2009), and provides a focus for services for children such as feeding and vaccination (Boyden 1996).

- **Education for psychological support and healing.** The literature identifies limitations to the impact of psychosocial support programmes in terms of teacher capacity and the need to provide family support (Boyden 1996), but there is a common theme that education can provide children with opportunities to rebuild trusting relationships and regain confidence (Machel 1996).

- **Education for peace.** The literature identifies a range of ways that education can be problematic in relation to conflict, such as fostering inequalities, indoctrination, segregation and not meeting youth expectations (Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Smith and Vaux 2003; Tomlinson and Benefield 2005; Davies 2008). Although the research evidence on the impact of peace education is weak (Saloman 2004), there is still a strong commitment to its inclusion in conflict-affected situations, and this is reflected in the literature (Tomlinson and Benefield 2005).

- **Education for economic recovery.** The literature review concluded that, "Both academic research and project evaluations demonstrate that, while training can increase feelings of self-confidence and worth (Boyden 2009), many programmes just feed into an already saturated market; increase gender gaps (as training often supports traditional activities for girls and boys). Even worse, some increase young people's feelings of frustration and trigger their further alienation (Baxter and Benthke 2009; Davies 2010). Monitoring and evaluation of many programmes is poor and does not follow young people through to achieve lasting change. However, some research claims that education can prevent inter-generational transmission of poverty by increasing people's resilience so they can interact with authorities; diversify livelihood strategies; travel more for trade; take on leadership roles; get more returns for agriculture; and support their children's education as they value it."

The Comic Relief Review also identified different forms of Alternative Basic Education Programmes from the literature reviewed (James 2010):

- **Community schools** are successful in providing education in remote areas or where it is too dangerous (Baxter 2009; Nicolai 2009).
- **Accelerated Learning Programmes (ALPs)** have worked well with ex-combatants (Zeus 2010). Problems involve transition into formal schooling and the fact that they can be too ambitious, leading to teachers ignoring non-core subjects.
- **Remedial catch-up programmes**: Similar to ALPs, but rather than covering a whole education programme, they help children catch up to the appropriate level for their age

group and then enter the formal system. Literature suggests they are more appropriate in CACs, as they are simpler than ALPs.

- **Vocational Training Programmes**. The literature suggests that such programmes work best with 17–30-year-olds and with ex-combatants, but there is little evidence of impact and they carry the risk of linking youth into the local economy in ways that puts them at risk of exploitation (Boyden 2009).

3.4.4. Education for All, Global Monitoring Report

The Education for All Global Monitoring Report (GMR) is produced annually by an independent team based at UNESCO headquarters and monitors progress towards the education MDGs. The theme for the 2011 report was education and armed conflict and this provides the most recent and comprehensive overview and analysis of literature on the theme. The main messages from the report related to four broad areas:

- **The need to combat violations and attacks on education.** Although more than 15 years have passed since the Machel report, the GMR reports on many of the same negative impacts of conflict on children. Concerns related to the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war, the use of child soldiers, education of refugees and IDPs, the traumatic effect of violence on families and children, and the need for psychosocial support all continue to feature as significant impacts of conflict. The GMR also reports on more recent research (O'Malley 2010) and on the way in which children and education personnel have become deliberate targets. There are very important recommendations about the need to monitor such attacks and find mechanisms to end impunity for perpetrators.

- **Problems with funding, security and the humanitarian aid system.** The GMR highlights continuing concerns about the lack of adequate funding for education in conflict-affected countries. Education receives only 2 per cent of humanitarian aid (p.204), and development aid to conflict-affected low-income countries is less (US$16 per pupil) when compared with other low-income countries (US$22 per pupil). In addition, the report highlights concerns about links between aid and security. It identifies 21 developing countries that are spending more on arms and the military than on primary schools (p. 148) and presents evidence that the amount of aid to certain countries may be driven more by global security concerns rather than poverty and need (p. 173).

- **Identifying opportunities to support post-conflict peacebuilding**. The report refers to the Secretary-General's establishment of the PBF as a means of quick response to support early post-conflict development and to prevent relapses. The GMR recommends a significant injection of funding of between US$500 million and US$1 billion a year to integrate education into wider peacebuilding strategies. The suggestion is that the international aid system needs to engage earlier with education in post-conflict societies and stay engaged over a longer period of time in a way that makes a smoother transition between humanitarian and development funding.[6]

- **Unlocking the potential of education to act as a force for peace.** The GMR concludes that education is not being used to its full potential as a force for peace. A background

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[6] The GMR (p. 231) provides a comparison between post-conflict funding for education in Sierra Leone and Liberia, which suggests that over-dependence on humanitarian funding for early reconstruction of education may create problems of sustainability in terms of longer development.

paper (Smith 2010) summarizes research related to the role of education in peacebuilding by identifying a number of areas that have emerged from the literature:

- **Governance and control of education systems**. This covers a broad range of concerns, including the extent and nature of political influence on the education system; adopting transparent practices for funding, procurement and employment; structural issues such as the balance between central authority and decentralization; and the challenge of achieving equal access and outcomes for different regions, identity groups and minorities. For example, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) suggest that educational attainment is one of the ways in which dominant groups seek to maintain their privileged position within diverse societies, citing Rwanda as an important example. Stewart (2001) refers to differences between identity-based groups as 'horizontal inequalities' to distinguish them from 'vertical inequalities' based on economic status and access to power, although these often map closely on each other and the potential for conflict may be greater. This means that it is difficult for education to be perceived as 'neutral' in conflict-affected countries, particularly where divisions are organized around identity factors (Johnston and Stewart 2007). How these issues are addressed in the post-conflict period will have an influence on the level of trust in government as well as an impact on the likelihood of return to violence.

- **Education and identity development.** The GMR highlights how the role of education in identity development is relevant to peacebuilding. Areas of particular concern include the language of instruction in schools and the impact this has on the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups; the relationship between religion and schooling; the existence of faith-based schools; the involvement of schools in faith development; and the role of the school in the development of national identity, communicating the nature of the state and the relationship of the state to citizens.

    - *Language.* Many ethno-linguistic minority groups face a language barrier in education. Almost 70 per cent of out-of-school girls belong to ethnic, religious, linguistic, racial and other minorities. A World Bank report states that 50 per cent of the world's out-of school children live in communities where the language of schooling is rarely, if ever, used at home (Bender et al. 2005). In sub-Saharan Africa, the population has the least access to education in the mother tongue (16 per cent) (UNDP 2004; SIL International 2004). This research indicates that instruction in the mother-tongue language results in (i) increased access and equity; (ii) improved learning outcomes; (iii) reduced repetition drop-out rates; (iv) sociocultural benefits; and (v) lower overall costs. From a peacebuilding perspective, the significant issue is that there are examples where language policies have been used in ways that exacerbate conflict. These include repression of mother-tongue languages was as part of political conflict in Spain (Shabad and Gunther 1982); how overt bilingual and covert monolingual language policies fuel tensions with Uyghur nationalists in Xinjiang (Dwyer 2005); how language policies in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka were used as a means of dominating access to education by particular groups (Rösel 2009); and difficulties with attempts to use bilingual education as "an approach to conflict resolution and the improvement of inter-group relations in Israel" (Bekerman 2005; Amara et al. 2009).

    - *Religion.* Concerns about proselytization and indoctrination have increased since the attacks of 9/11, with considerable attention being focused on the role of madrasas (Winthrop and Graff 2010). According to Grare (2007), the growth of madrasas in Pakistan was partly due to the state's failure to provide basic educational facilities, so madrasas "became the main breeding grounds for sectarianism." However, a study by

Billquist and Colbert (2006) found "little evidence to connect madrassas to transnational terrorism," but they "do have ties to domestic and regional violence, particularly Sunni-Shia sectarian violence in Pakistan." It is clear, therefore, that the evidence about the relationship between conflict and faith-based schooling is disputed and heavily context-dependent. Where there are concerns about faith-based schooling in conflict-affected countries, there is no conclusive evidence whether the existence of separate faith-based schools fuels divisions or whether the demand for separate faith-based schools is a consequence of lack of confidence in government, lack of trust between groups within society or fear of assimilation.

– **National identity, citizenship.** These issues draw attention to distinctions between nation building (which tends to seek unity around a common identity) and state building (which seeks social cohesion while acknowledging diversity among citizens). For example, in exploring the links between schooling and conflict, Durrani and Dunne (2009) found that, "the complex nexus of education, religion, and national identity tends to construct 'essentialist' collective identities. To promote national unity across the diverse ethnic groups comprising Pakistan, the national curriculum uses religion (Islam) as the key boundary," which "creates social polarization and the normalization of militaristic and violent identities, with serious implications for social cohesion, tolerance for internal and external diversity, and gender relations" (Durrani and Dunne 2009). Education plays an important role in the development of these ideas, which need to be considered as part of post-conflict peacebuilding.

- **Peace education.** Definitions and forms of 'peace education' place different emphases on non-violent 'conflict resolution' and 'conflict transformation' (Saloman and Nevo 2002). Many approaches to peace education draw heavily on social phsychology and the inter-group 'contact hypothesis'. One research study states that, "A series of quasi-experimental studies carried out with Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian youngsters revealed that despite the ongoing violence, participation in various programmes yield positive attitudinal, perceptual and relational changes manifested in, for example, more positive views of 'peace', better ability to see the other side's perspective, and greater willingness for contact (Saloman 2004). However, Beckerman (2010) cautions against over-optimism about the impact of inter-group contact unless it also engages with deeper issues of identity and historical inequalities in power relations. The most influential ideas on the contribution of education to peacebuilding come from Galtung (1990), who draws an important distinction between negative peace (the cessation of violence) and positive peace (structural changes to address social injustices that may be a cause of violence). Lederach (1997) also emphasizes the importance of working simultaneously at policy, community and grassroots levels to achieve sustainable peace. This suggests that the most effective forms of peace education go beyond interpersonal and inter-group encounters, but also address underlying causes and structural inequalities that can fuel conflict within societies.

- **Dealing with the past.** Cole (2007) indicates how "the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was set up as part of the negotiated transition from white majority rule to democratic governance in South Africa as a way to create a public record on the abuses of the apartheid era through public testimony." Cole suggests that reconciliatory processes must reach beyond macro-level processes involving the legislature, judiciary and military and at some point "become part of people's lives, and also part of the midlevel and grassroots institutions, such as schools whose workings relate more closely to the lives of average citizens." She points to the lessons learned from the

more positive relations that Germany has built with its neighbours since World War II and the role played by the reform of history education and textbooks. Other studies have examined education and TRCs in Guatemala,[7] Peru,[8] Rwanda[9] and Sierra Leone,[10] and highlight the need for further research into the ethical issues for educators; the role of education in relation to remembrance and commemorative sites and events; and better understanding of the nature of intergenerational learning.[11] It is common, therefore, to point to a role for education in promoting longer-term reconciliation as a means of preventing recurrence of violent conflict.

- **Teachers.** Issues related to teachers as part of post-conflict peacebuilding include the challenges of rebuilding teaching capacity as well as policies related to recruitment, training, upgrading qualifications, rates of pay, and terms and conditions of employment. These factors affect morale and motivation, as well as the prospects of retaining teachers in conflict-affected countries. INEE has developed 'Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-Crisis Recovery' and UNESCO IIEP also provides guidance on the identification, selection and recruitment of teachers (UNESCO-IIEP 2006). Other issues include the role of teachers in political socialization. Bar-Tal and Harel (2002) researched 866 high school students in the three main cities of Israel, who were asked to identify those teachers who influenced their political attitudes. They found that the most influential teachers hold "more progressive, democratic, dovish and Zionist attitudes than the non-influential teachers, support more political education and tend to be more aware of and involved in politics." This suggests that for teachers to be part of post-conflict peacebuilding, there is a need for professional development that sensitizes them to their own values and strategies for the discussion of controversial issues (Montgomery and McGlynn 2009).

- **Youth.** The issues of youth engagement, youth training and employment have received considerable attention partly because of research related to 'youth bulges' in conflict-affected countries. Research by Collier and Hoeffler (2004) suggests that conflict is one of the main barriers to development, reducing economic growth by about 2.3 per cent per year, and that half of the countries that have experienced civil conflict will relapse into conflict again within 10 years. Collier suggests that the main three factors that make people more likely to engage in political violence are being young, being uneducated, and being without dependents. Barakat and Urdal (2009) found that countries with large youth populations that invest less in secondary education for young men are more likely to experience armed conflict. Such research has highlighted concerns about 'youth bulges' and analysis of conflicts in many African countries, such as Liberia and Sierra Leone, and identifies lack of youth engagement and employment as significant factors related to recent conflict. One response to this from agencies such as German Technical Cooperation (GTZ), Save the Children, CARE, IRC and UNICEF has been to support youth technical skills and training programmes, and the US Department of Labor has invested US$25

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[7] Oglesby (2007) indicates how schools deal with the findings from the Guatamalan Historical Clarification Commission.
[8] Paulson (2010) highlights how despite commitments to introduce textbooks that dealt with recent conflict in Peru, changes in government can influence whether these are actually used.
[9] Buckley-Zistel (2009) examines how the Government of Rwanda's approach was to place a moratorium on the teaching of history after the genocide and the use of *ngando* camps to promote national unity by promoting a narrative that omits any reference to ethnicity.
[10] Paulson (2006) documents how "the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SLTRC) included children's testimony and children guided the development of the children's version of the commission's report."
[11] Research into these issues has been undertaken by the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, the International Center for Transitional Justice and Harvard Law School (www.unicef-irc.org/knowledge_pages/resource_pages/children_and_transitional_justice/index.html).

million in more than 16 countries to address the needs of some 50,000 children and youth in conflict-affected countries, including in Afghanistan, Burundi, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Indonesia, Liberia, the Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka.[12] However, it has yet to be demonstrated that youth employment and livelihood programmes result in positive outcomes in terms of conflict prevention, and there are some concerns that many programmes may focus on increasing supply of skills that cannot be met by the labour market in post-conflict economies.

3.5. Review of education programme literature

This section examines the education programme literature of UNICEF and its partners. Documents included donor reports, agency-commissioned studies, situation analyses, education materials (modules, programme designs, manuals and tools), evaluations, agency strategy papers and policy papers. The documents were reviewed in four main ways: i) whether they made 'explicit or implicit' reference in terms of a contribution to peacebuilding; ii) any 'theories of change' that were mentioned in relation to the programmes; iii) any patterns in the sequencing of education programming in post-conflict situations; and iv) an analysis in terms of programme relevance to security and political, economic and social transformation in post-conflict societies. The main findings are provided below:

3.5.1. Explicit or implicit reference to peacebuilding

Those documents with explicit rationales directly link the activities of the programme with peacebuilding. Those with implicit rationales claim that the programme is meant to help a conflict-affected population in a way that will contribute to peace or stability in a society. In general, programmes with explicit rationales that claim that education builds peace are much less frequent than programmes using implicit rationales. It is much more common to find explicit links to peacebuilding in the immediate post-conflict phase, where programmes are often in direct response to the impacts of conflict, for example, education for displaced and refugee children, and accelerated learning programmes for older children who have missed out on education due to the conflict. The shift from humanitarian to development funding is also accompanied by a shift towards more implicit rationales for the contribution of programming to peacebuilding. Examples of such implicit rationales include: teacher training will improve education quality – it can be inferred (implicitly) that education quality can contribute to peace; sector-wide approaches can enhance educational equity – it can be inferred (implicitly) that equity will contribute towards peace. This is consistent with the recent evaluation of the EEPCT programme, which found that out of 29 countries only 11 "implemented conflict-risk reduction and management programmes (peace education, LAB4LAB schools, Talent Academies, schools in zones of peace and psychosocial support)."

3.5.2. Theories of change

This section presents findings from the analysis of 326 programming documents in the areas of education and conflict, but also includes programming documents in the area of child protection and psychosocial support. A mapping of programming activities is part of Annex B. The vast majority of programming documents did not explicitly mention a theory of change. Throughout the documents reviewed there was a general commitment to human rights, democratic principles and socio-economic development, but aside from commitment to these principles, the most regular theory of change that we describe as an 'action-oriented theory of change' could be observed within the bulk of programming documents. Action-oriented

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[12] Stern, US Department of Lobor.

theories of change operate on the premise that if a certain intervention (action) is applied successfully, a particular change will result. Some of these theories of change identified in the analysis of education programming literature are explained below in terms of the education programming relationship to security and political, economic and social transformations in post-conflict societies. However, these are tentative and still quite broad, but could form a starting point for further analysis of the role of education in supporting peacebuilding and would obviously need to be closely linked to analysis of underlying causes of conflict in each particular context. A common theme running across all categories is the important role of education in developing knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and behaviours that are consistent with human rights principles.

Theories of change and the role of education in post-conflict societies	
Post-conflict transition	**Theory of change and role of education**
Security The challenge is to move to a more secure society, free from intimidation and violence and subject to the rule of law.	• If education services can be maintained during conflict, then the most vulnerable, especially children and girls, can be protected. • Early reconstruction of education services can provide a return to normality and a sense of hope for the future. • If education services can provide education free from violence and equip children to resolve conflict in non-violent ways, then these life skills will contribute to a more peaceful society. • Education about the rule of law can underpin transformation to a more peaceful society.
Governance The challenge is to establish functioning political structures for participatory decision-making as a sustainable alternative to violence.	• Education-sector reform can support peace if it addresses issues that may have fuelled conflict, such as unequal access to services and lack of opportunity. • A commitment to secondary education by government can provide added protection against relapses into conflict (Collier). • Civic and 'political' education can support peacebuilding by educating members of society about their rights and responsibilities and their relationship to the state as citizens. • Education can model participatory behaviours in decision-making and engagement with political institutions.
Economic The challenge is to develop the economy after conflict in a way that provides equitable and sustainable livelihoods.	• An economic commitment of at least 20 per cent of national budgets for education is necessary to support peacebuilding (FTI). • Equitable and transparent distribution of funding for education will support peacebuilding. • Economic growth and private-sector development lead to development (education can foster these). • Unemployment of youth is a risk factor for conflict, so education should be aligned to skills needed for job creation.
Social The challenge is to re-develop social relations	• If learners' attitudes towards other groups change/become more tolerant, conflict can be prevented. • Personal attitudes will only change if structural inequalities are also

in a way that deal with conflict in a transformative manner	addressed and education.
	• Education has an important role to play in identifying underlying causes for conflict related to social justice.
	• Education has a role to play in helping new generations understand why conflict took place and in dealing with its legacies.

3.5.3. Programme types and sequencing

It is also important to understand the relevance of education programming to peacebuilding in terms of timing and sequencing. The literature reveals a fairly clear pattern of sequencing that suggests different forms of education programming relevant to early humanitarian response, through early recovery and into post-conflict reconstruction and development.

Humanitarian response
Education in humanitarian response is largely about programmes that protect legal, physical and psychosocial needs,[13] and often combines both education and protection-sector approaches into one intervention. This goal for education to 'protect' is often articulated in humanitarian emergencies. As a follow-on, the early UNESCO PEER school-in-a box type response strategies that date back to early education work in Somalia (Aguilar and Retamal 1998) are the foundation for what are called child-friendly spaces today. This programme serves as a mix that combines learning with play, peer-to-peer socialization and expressive activities all within a protective space for children. This signature response by the education sector, in collaboration with protection partners, is offered in a number of contexts, although limited evaluation of this response strategy has been undertaken.

It has been more than 15 years since this programme was initiated and it was pioneered initially by UNICEF as a programme response in emergencies. Currently, there is a thematic working group, housed within the global education cluster, which has drawn together inter-agency practitioners to agree upon child-friendly space principles to guide and improve its work by setting standards and eliminating potential harm.[14] Different agencies use different terminology; for example, Save the Children has used emergency spaces for children, while Child Fund International has used child-centred spaces. Generally speaking, these spaces allow for structured recreational and learning activities that act as a first step in the early stages of an emergency. It has been said to give children a chance to play, sing, draw or participate in recreational activities and are meant to provide normalcy in the aftermath of war. An added goal is to provide psychosocial healing for those children who have experienced extreme exposure to war, and services also often includes health, child-tracing services and education.[15] Examples of child-friendly spaces can be found in Angola, Burundi, Chad (Child Fund International), East Timor (International Rescue Committee), Sierra Leone and Uganda, and UNICEF operates them in Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Colombia, East Timor, El Salvador, Haiti, Kosovo, Liberia and Turkey.[16]

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[13] INEE Minimum Standards, Standard 2
[14] Child Friendly Spaces principles were developed and led by Michael Wessells and a team of interagency practitioners, unpublished document, 2010.
[15] Descriptions are drawn from the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2004.
[16] Information on the programme, agency and location are drawn from the WCRWC's Education in Emergencies mapping, 2004.

Demobilization, disarmament and rehabilitation (DDR)
DDR programmes constitute another humanitarian response programme with education components. This programme type is aimed to protect school-age children, youth and adults who were engaged in the war in some way. Children associated with fighting forces and armed groups (CAFFAG) is the most recent agreed-upon terminology, according to the Paris Principles developed in 2007, to help guide programming terms and impacts on a child's status, role and trajectory once separated from the armed forces. On the one hand, DDR programmes reduce violence; for example, in Colombia, disarmament processes were part of broader DDR effort that between 2003 and 2006 collected more than 18,000 weapons. This was thought to account for more than one third of the insurgent weapons in the country. The programme was believed to have reduced homicides by 13 per cent in areas where demobilized groups had been operating, preventing between 650 and 2,300 homicides in its first year. In Cambodia, weapons collection efforts following the end of the civil war removed 130,000 non-government-controlled firearms between 1998 and 2006. Data analysis suggested that the measures contributed to reducing both firearms deaths and overall homicides (Willie 2005). In addition to the removal of arms, DDR programmes work directly with child and youth soldiers who, at times, have been forcibly conscripted into fighting forces. Programming for these groups often has an educational component to gain skills, re-enter formal schooling or take part in non-formal educational activities during transitions from war to a time of peace.

Refugee and IDP education
Formal education is often set up in camp settings and incorporates primary and sometimes secondary education services. The vast majority of agencies, however, focus on primary-level schooling. All educational activity is coordinated with the camp committees, and very often youth who have missed out on years of education are overlooked, as they tend not to attend primary-level classes due to being overage. Generally, the international agencies working on formal education programmes for refugee and IDP camp settings or returnee areas collaborate directly with communities, governments and religious actors to support continued schooling opportunity through support to construction, education materials, furniture and supplies. Teacher training and school rehabilitation are also supported as part of formal education programmes. Some examples of agencies working on formal education include GTZ; Care International in Afghanistan, Kenya, the Sudan and Zambia; the International Rescue Committee in Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Uganda; Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) in Thailand and Uganda; Lutheran World Federation (LWF) in Kenya; Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) in Pakistan; Plan International in Sierra Leone; Save the Children in a variety of settings, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Pakistan, the Sudan and Uganda; and ZOA Refugee Care in Thailand.

Early recovery, reconstruction and development
During early recovery, there is often an emphasis on physical reconstruction of school infrastructure and return-to-school programmes that may focus on resettlement and reintegration. "There is also a need to find ways to support the generation of youth that have completely or partially missed out on their education during conflict. As countries emerge from conflict and governments focus on primary age children, UN agencies and NGOs have supported different forms of Alternative Basic Education" (James 2010). These include Accelerated Learning Programmes (ALPs), which are cost-effective ways of concentrating formal education programmes into fewer years of schooling. Catch-up education programmes have similar goals but operate by supporting children who have missed out to catch up with their age group and reintegrate into school. Early recovery periods may also provide

opportunities to begin addressing legacies of conflict, such as shortages of teachers and capacity development needs within the education sector, such as lack of qualified personnel, and the establishment of reliable systems for gathering data and information, finance and education planning.

Psychosocial support and recovery
Many examples of psychosocial programmes both in and outside of school settings aim to increase the well-being of students and learning capacities by reducing stress and allowing for greater concentration in the classroom. Psychosocial support mechanisms are put in place for teachers by training them on how to care for themselves and identifying particular stress-related behaviours in the classroom. The Mental Health and Psychosocial Guidelines in Emergencies (2007) identify specific actions that can be taken to improve education-sector commitment to psychosocial support needs by following suggested protocols. Example programmes include training for teachers on psychosocial support by the IRC, and UNICEF psychosocial support training for teachers, which was applied recently in Haiti. Based on a review of 13 studies of psychosocial interventions, it was concluded that interventions can help to improve aspects of psychosocial functioning in children and that the evidence is strongest for group interventions focusing on normalization.[17]

Promoting inclusion
Education programmes that promote inclusion are designed to include minorities, vulnerable groups and girls in education. Minorities may be ethnic groups poorly represented, while vulnerable groups include, for example, disabled persons, former child combatants or separated children, and allow for them to be mainstreamed in the regular classrooms with support that does not target nor set them apart. The inter-agency network for education in emergencies has developed Guidance on Inclusive Education, illustrating the increasing importance of this issue within the education sector. Reducing discrimination in the curriculum is a less visible yet important early activity in post-conflict settings on the part of UNICEF, UNHCR and, in some cases, UNESCO, in collaboration with Ministries of Education.

It is clear from the literature that there is a 'chronology' of education development in post-conflict situations. The patterns of change are not well documented, partly because they take place over long periods of time (at least a decade) and institutional memory is often poor because of changes in personnel. The country case studies provide an opportunity to get a better sense of the chronology in terms of the different programmes that were relevant at different times, and how progress changed with the changing post-conflict political environment. This will also mean making an effort to interview local and international personnel who were previously involved.

3.5.4 Programme relevance to post-conflict transformation

Given the eclectic range of education programming in post-conflict environments, an attempt was made to develop a framework to analyse these documents. The framework organized the documents into three broad categories of intervention: i) service delivery; ii) education sector reform; and iii) the contribution of education to broader social transformation processes:

Education service delivery
Initiatives to improve *access* to education are often a key feature of post-conflict recovery, not only providing a sense of normality but also, at times, acting as a preventive strategy by

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[17] Mental Health and Psychosocial Guidelines in Emergencies (2007).

addressing inequalities that may exacerbate grievances between groups within society. There are also a range of factors related to the *quality* and type of education that may be relevant for peacebuilding, particularly aspects related to identity formation (such as language of instruction, religious education, civic and citizenship education) and the values that the education system communicates (either through whole school approaches – such as rights respecting schools or through programmes with labels such as 'peace education', 'intercultural education' or 'life skills').

Education service delivery literature made up the majority of literature reviewed by this study, constituting 65 per cent of documents reviewed. There are many examples of programmes that refer to peace and/or peacebuilding and are used in post-conflict situations both in schools, after school and outside of school for school-age children. Despite the wide range of programming types and varying depth of education service delivery in practice, there is a very limited or, in many cases, no rigorous evidence base in relation to the contribution to peacebuilding. However, multiple actors seem to have come to similar conclusions on 'what works' through years of practice. A service delivery example is a programme that teaches *child rights* using the Convention on the Rights of the Child or other human rights instruments. This is an important programming approach commonly found throughout the literature.

An example of a programme addressing social transition includes teaching about the history of conflict and its causes in order to address the past and what has transpired. These interventions often aim to revise the curriculum in order to remove bias, inaccuracy and/or discriminatory content, and newly designed lesson plans or supplementary learning forums targeting issues related to conflict within and outside of schools are also employed.

Despite these promising approaches to learning for and about peace, a common problem is the lack of appropriate active learning methodology that should accompany these 'lessons'. In Baxter's (2010) *A Decade of Lessons Learned in Peace Education Programs*, she notes that, "The single most important lesson learned in all the time working in this area, is this one of methodology and the fact that it must respond to the complexity of the learning." Inadequate training for those delivering these programmes also appears as a common oversight, as well as the limited availability of financing to build sustainable capacity within or outside the education system to ensure these interventions do not become 'one off' or known as agency-driven and, thus, not locally owned.

Education governance and education sector reform
Another contribution of education to peacebuilding can be understood in terms of programming directed towards education-sector governance and/or reform. There is growing awareness among donors that a purely technical approach to programming is insufficient in the political environments present in situations of conflict. In post-conflict societies, opportunities arise to raise questions about the extent to which the education system reproduces previous structures and power relations, or whether it will provide a basis for peacebuilding through the establishment of new arrangements. Early engagement with this issue may be particularly important, since the window of opportunity to initiate change in the immediate post-conflict period is limited. Entry points may range from initiatives related to reform of governance, control and administration of the education system; to education policies related to the structure of schooling or the recruitment, deployment and professional development of teachers.

Of the documents reviewed, 47 per cent included programming that addressed education-sector governance and policy reform. Programmes at this level focus on the education sector as a whole and include entry points such as new legislation, sector planning, establishment of information systems to monitor equity, policy change, educational budgeting and financing, and issues such as decentralization and educational outcomes and indicators. Although interventions in this domain were less frequent in the literature, promising practices were nonetheless identified, such as those below:

Programming in education sector governance and policy reform

Nepal: A sector-wide approach

UNICEF supported the development of a sector-wide approach (SWAp) in Nepal. A recent evaluation found that the SWAp was partial and superficial and therefore had limited impacts, particularly in the ability of the education sector to contribute towards producing a more equitable system and to fostering cohesion. It nonetheless found potential to be approached with genuine commitment and planning. The review of the Nepal SWAp recommended strengthening Ministry of Education and government capacity and greater buy-in from the Government of Nepal and donors to the SWAp. It is important to note that in this case, conflict, its root causes, effects and post-conflict needs were addressed only very marginally in Nepal's SWAp, a great oversight given the realities of conflict in the country. Future SWAps in post-conflict contexts should endeavour to consider conflict and peacebuilding throughout.

Source: Archarya, Susan, 'Social Inclusion: Gender and equity in education SWAPs in South Asia: Nepal case study' UNICEF, New York, 2007.

El Salvador: Education-sector reform

After the conflict in El Salvador, education-sector reform was part of a broad reconstruction programme that aimed to promote equitable economic development and strengthen democracy and sustainable peace. Education-sector reform was designed through a participatory process with USAID funding. In 1995, a 10-year reform plan was unveiled, which aimed to improve quality and access. The reform plan envisioned quality, universal, equitable and efficient education with community participation and learning in human and ethical civic values (there was a strong post-conflict element here). A recent case study finds the reform to have been largely successful, although the fact that education in El Salvador still faces serious challenges in terms of quality and equitable access is acknowledged. The case study also discusses unease about certain elements of the community participation agenda, which local communities objected to as opening the doors to the privatization of the education sector. The case study also highlights the unique situation in El Salvador, where the same Minister of Education was in office from 1989 to 1998. Her commitment and long-term engagement were seen as major factors in the success of the reform.

Source: Guzmán, José Luis, 'Education Reform in Post-War El Salvador', 2005.

Documentation tends to include policy documents and sector plans, as well as some research (Magill 2010; Sigsgaard 2009; European Commission 2009; Vargas-Barón and Bernal Alarcón 2005). Although there is literature about education reform programming, there is a gap in the research and evidence base in terms of what works in practice from a peacebuilding perspective.

Contribution of education to post-conflict transformation
There are two main aspects to this: One is the extent to which education itself is the means of responding to immediate impacts of conflict, for example, through the provision of education for refugees or internally displaced persons or the provision of 'catch-up' or accelerated learning programmes as part of DDR. Education may also play a role in longer-term transformation processes related to dealing with the legacies of conflict, and there has been growing literature about the role of education in truth, reconciliation and transitional justice processes.

Another aspect is the contribution that education can make to broader social transformations and reform processes in other sectors, particularly in the post-conflict period. UN peacebuilding tends to prioritize security, political and economic reforms in the early post-conflict period, and education has a role in contributing to such processes. For example, security reforms often have an education and training component, such as the inclusion of human rights education as part of police training or reforms to the administration of justice system. Even when security, political and economic reforms have been addressed, in many conflict-affected situations, underlying causes may still need to be tackled. There will be a need for education to address social and cultural issues related to fundamental freedoms within broader society. These could involve programmes that address, for example, the role of the media and media independence, religious freedoms and attitudes to expressions of cultural identity.

Approximately 40 per cent of the documents reviewed contained programming that relates to education and post-conflict transformation within broader society. Programming in this domain does not consist of educational service delivery or of work within or on the education sector itself (as discussed in the previous two sections). Instead, it identifies ways in which education contributes towards peacebuilding through supporting work in other sectors.

The table below summarizes a broad, conceptual understanding of how education programming can be viewed in relation to different types of transitions that a population may experience following conflict. The education programmes found in the review may address or underpin different forms of post-conflict transition, grouped as 'security', 'political', 'economic' or 'social' transitions. Categorized in this way, it draws attention to the linkages with other sector programming and emphasizes the role that education has to play, not just within the sector but also in terms of post-conflict transformation.

Relevance of education programming to post-conflict transformations		
Post-conflict transformation	**Focus of programming**	**Types of programmes**
Security	- demilitarization - disarmament - demobilization - reintegration - security and policing reform - justice system - community safety 'fundamental freedoms' conscience, speech, movement, etc.	- Emergency-relief programmes - Child protection, registration - Refugee and IDP education - Schools as safe places - DDR - Accelerated learning for former combatants - Schooling restoring normality - Education about the impact and consequences of violence - Anti-corruption programmes - Human rights education
Political	- constitutional reform - political institutions - representation - elections - political freedoms	- Education programmes about political rights - Education programmes on child's rights - Civic and citizenship education - Participation programmes - Media education
Economic	- transforming the conflict economy - redirecting resources from conflict to development - addressing unemployment - developing new skills for economic regeneration - addressing economic inequalities	- Development of skills to support economic regeneration - TVET programmes

Social	- social capital - social cohesion - socialization with adversaries - inter-group conflict - shifting social identities - social networks	- child-friendly spaces - Psychosocial support - Education programmes about social and cultural rights - Peace education programmes - Dealing with the past, truth and reconciliation - Coexistence education

4. CONCLUSIONS

This section provides the main conclusions that have arisen from the literature review. These refer to issues that have arisen from this phase of the study in terms of broader literatures on peacebuilding (theory, UN architecture, UNICEF engagement), as well as the specific attempt to review research and programme literature related to education and peacebuilding.

The main conclusions from this phase of the study are:

Peacebuilding theory has not had a strong influence on education programming.
One of the most significant contributions of peace theorists has been to highlight how peacebuilding is a process that does not end with a ceasefire or peace accord; it is about transformation processes within societies that have experienced violent conflict. The challenge is to understand how education can support such political, security, economic and social transformation processes. Few of the programmes reviewed stated an explicit theory of change that linked the education intervention to these broader peacebuilding goals. Rather than address sector-wide issues or take inter-sectoral approaches, most education programmes tend to adopt, single-issue approach, although rationales did include explicit and implicit 'action-oriented' logic. For example, 'peace education programmes aimed at attitudinal change may prevent conflict'; 'sector reform that addresses unequal access may reduce inter-group grievances'; or 'education for employment skills will divert youth from conflict'. Most education programmes therefore tend to represent single-issue approaches, rather than be based on a more comprehensive conflict analysis.

Education for peacebuilding goes beyond 'do no harm'.
The literature reveals a subtle distinction in perspective between education programmes in post-conflict contexts that attempt to 'do no harm' by taking conflict analysis into account, and approaches that are more explicit about contributing to peacebuilding through post-conflict transformation. For example, a 'conflict-sensitive' approach to the reconstruction of schools might simply rebuild schools in their former locations, even if this means that divisions between schools remain. No further harm is done if communities remain separate and cooperation between them can even be encouraged. A 'peacebuilding' approach may more actively seek local consensus on rebuilding shared schools in line with the sort of structural change and transformation of social relationships necessary for 'positive peace', as advocated by theorists such as Galtung and Lederach. Similar distinctions could be made about virtually any aspect of education programming. In terms of the literature review, it is much more common to encounter the former. One reason may be that peacebuilding is more explicitly political. It is possible to be sensitive to the post-conflict environment, but still take an essentially technical approach to education. However, a peacebuilding analysis may diagnose the need for deep structural and institutional changes, and this inevitably means attempts to change existing power relations within a society.

Most education programming is not planned in advance from a peacebuilding perspective.
Post-conflict education programming could generally be described as service provision, with primary concerns to provide essential protection and to improve education access and quality. This means that peacebuilding rationales tend to be justified retrospectively, rather than planned in advance. There is also a tendency for education interventions to be framed in technical and apolitical terms, operating as if relatively insulated from broader ideological,

political and economic influences acting on and within the sector. There is a significant gap in both academic and programming literature about geopolitical influences and political economy factors that operate on and within post-conflict societies, and how these affect the implementation of education programmes. The country case studies may provide an opportunity to gain further insight into these issues.

The sequencing of education programming is important.
There is a significant difference between short-term, humanitarian approaches to protect children and provide access to school as a means of consolidating peace, and longer-term developments to support peacebuilding through education, such as engaging children and youth with values, attitudes and skills that might sustain peace. It is important that short-term approaches do not undermine longer-term development, for example, by reconstruction of the education system in ways that reproduce or reinforce inequalities and lack of trust between groups.

The transition from humanitarian to development funding is an important concern. The literature review identified a range of education programmes in post-conflict contexts, highlighting significant differences in humanitarian and development interventions and a complex array of funding mechanisms. From the perspective of post-conflict peacebuilding, the main issue is the transition. Humanitarian responses for refugees, for example, need to take account of longer-term issues such as the skills that refugees will need when returning to their homes. Similarly, development programmes may need to engage with post-conflict reconstruction at a much earlier stage to influence whether the education system is rebuilt in a way that replicates former divisions or seeks reforms that are more conducive to peacebuilding. To address this humanitarian aid to development gap, much greater insight is required into the specific challenges for education programming.

Peacebuilding requires more attention to education sector reform as well as timing and sequencing.
Education programming has given limited attention to sector reform during post-conflict reconstruction. In some cases, the immediate post-conflict period has provided an opportunity for greater inclusion of girls or minorities, or to introduce policy changes that might support peacebuilding, such as changes to the language of instruction or revisions to history curricula. Opinions on timing and sequencing vary; some suggest that addressing these areas too early can reopen animosities, while others claim that failing to engage with reform processes as soon as possible misses a window of opportunity during the immediate post-conflict period. It is also argued that while security, political and economic reforms may receive priority during early peacebuilding efforts, the prevalence of relapses into conflict suggests that such macro reforms are not sufficient to sustain peace. Other necessary transformations include addressing structural violence that might have been the root cause or fuelled conflict (such as inequalities, exclusion or discrimination), or transformation of social relations (for example, from fear to security, from mistrust to greater trust, from antagonism to cooperation). These longer-term processes need sustained attention, but also need to begin early and to involve education.

Education needs to engage with the UN peacebuilding architecture.
The priority for the Peacebuilding Commission is to respond quickly to immediate needs, and security, political and economic responses typically receive early support from the PBF. But more attention needs to be given to the education sector and the role it might play in initiating plans for recovery and reforms that support longer-term peacebuilding. There is increasing

demand for better coordination between UN agencies in post-conflict environments, which means that the opportunity for early engagement through agencies with a mandate for children and education is particularly relevant.

UNICEF needs to review the implications of a more explicit commitment to peacebuilding.

Since its creation in 1946, UNICEF has a history of involvement in providing protection and provision of education for children in conflict-affected countries (see Annex B). UNICEF is currently co-leader (with Save the Children) of the IASC Education Cluster and within the UN structures is represented on the ASG-level Senior Peacebuilding Group, on the senior working-level Peacebuilding Core Group and the Peacebuilding Fund Advisory Group.

The literature review highlights conceptual differences between education in emergencies (humanitarian response), conflict-sensitive education (do no harm) and education to actively support peacebuilding. Given UNICEF's strong field presence in most countries before, during and after conflict, this suggests that the need to review what a commitment to the UN peacebuilding agenda means for the organization. Questions include:

- How is the concept of peacebuilding currently interpreted by UNICEF?
- What level of shared understanding is there between headquarters and field offices?
- What are the implications of an explicit focus on peacebuilding for the way UNICEF is perceived by donors, by national governments, by local populations?
- What are the implications of an explicit commitment to peacebuilding for emergency operations, protection and education programming?
- What is the UNICEF institutional capacity to implement education programming that explicitly supports peacebuilding?
- How can impact in terms of education's contribution to peacebuilding be measured?

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ANNEX A: AN OVERVIEW OF THE UN PEACEBUILDING ARCHITECTURE

1. Evolution of peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding

Since its creation in 1945, the United Nations has played a vital role in facilitating peace agreements and assisting in their implementation. From the outset, the notion of peace was central to its work. There was early emphasis on 'peacekeeping', with the first mission established in 1948. Until the 1980s, peacekeeping was focused on military monitoring of ceasefires, verifying troop withdrawals, patrolling borders and demilitarized zones, and using forces as buffers between hostile parties. By the late 1990s however, the notion of an 'integrated mission' – now increasingly referred to as Integrated Peace Support Operations – was developed to ensure a system-wide UN response to the challenges of improving coordination, reducing duplication and providing a means for all UN actors at the country level to work together towards achieving a common objective. Research suggests that this form of peacekeeping has increased the probability of success by 36 per cent.[18]

Peacemaking, for the UN, is the diplomatic process of brokering an end to a conflict, principally occurring through mediation and negotiation, with the desired outcome a peace agreement that definitively ends the conflict and lays the basis for sustainable peace.[19] International peacemaking efforts, alongside preventive diplomacy, have increased during the past two decades,[20] accompanied by a clear normative shift towards negotiating an end to wars rather than pursuing victory.[21] The UN considers the political tools of *diplomacy* and *mediation* central to preventing and resolving conflicts peacefully to avert the suffering and destruction of war.

It was not until the UN Secretary-General published *An Agenda for Peace* in 1992, that 'post-conflict peacebuilding' officially entered the UN lexicon. The concept was defined as 'an action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict' and was linked to, but distinguished from, preventive diplomacy (actions to prevent the outbreak of war), peacemaking (halting war by bringing parties to the negotiation table) and peacekeeping (providing security through the deployment of UN forces).

In the 1995 *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace*, the concept of peacebuilding was expanded to address all conflict phases, and greater emphasis was placed on creating structures for the institutionalization of peace. That same year, the Secretary-General established a UN Inter-departmental Task Force to identify peacebuilding activities that could be undertaken by UN agencies.[22] The successive publications of *An Agenda for Development* (1994) and *An Agenda for Democracy* (1995), as well as the 1994 UNDP report on human security, contributed to a greater interaction between the security agenda and those considering issues related to development, democratization and human rights. On the development side, the *Agenda for Development* suggested that land reform, water-sharing schemes, common

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18 Sambanis, N., 'Short-Term and Long-Term Effects of United Nations Peace Operations', The World Bank Economic Review, vol. 22, no. 1, 2008.
19 United Nations Department of Political Affairs, 'Glossary'. United Nations Peacemaker, http://peacemaker.unlb.org/glossary.php?f=P&d=25#d25.
20 This includes a six fold increase in UN preventive diplomacy missions between 1990 and 2002, and a fivefold increase in UN peacemaking missions between 1989 and 2002. Mack, A., 'Global Political Violence: Explaining the post Cold War decline, Coping With Crisis Working Paper Series, International Peace Academy, New York, 2007, p. 4.
21 While in the 1990s there were almost twice as many (42) negotiated settlements as victories (23), between 2000 and 2005 there were four times as many. Ibid., p. 9.
22 As described in 'An Inventory of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Activities', 1996.

economic enterprise zones, joint tourism projects and cultural exchanges can make a major difference in addressing the roots that led to war and fostering a culture of peace. It also emphasized that "restoring employment growth will be a strong inducement to the young to abandon the vocation of war." The 2000 *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* (known as the Brahimi Report) helped to bridge a growing divide between those within the UN who saw peacebuilding as primarily a political exercise, versus those who viewed it as an economic one. It stated that, "Effective peacebuilding is, in effect, a hybrid of political and development activities targeted at the sources of conflict." The work of the Secretary-General's High Level Panel, resulting in the report *A More Secure World* (2004), as well as the Secretary-General's report *In Larger Freedom* (2005), also contributed to greater consensus around the meaning and practice of peacebuilding.[23]

Despite the increasing referencing to peacebuilding in UN documents and reports, an awareness of a profound 'strategy deficit' grew during this period, noted in many influential reports, evaluation studies and academic research.[24] The creation of the UN's Peacebuilding Architecture at the World Summit in September 2005 was premised upon the international community's recognition of the need for a dedicated structure to integrate different elements of peacebuilding. The emergent response was twofold: the creation of the UN's Peacebuilding Architecture on the one hand, and strengthened efforts to promote coordination and integration through strategic frameworks and tools on the other. These are discussed in consecutive sections.

Alongside these developments the practice of both peacekeeping and peacemaking are shifting in ways that illustrate the integrated nature of the concepts and practices associated with peace efforts. As recognized in DPKO's 2008 report, 'United Nations Peace-keeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines' (or the Capstone Document)[25], UN peacekeepers increasingly play a significant role as early peacebuilders. DPKO's Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions (OROLSI) has been working during the past year to prepare an 'Early Peacebuilding Strategy', as mandated by the Secretary-General, aimed at outlining critical early peacebuilding tasks undertaken by OROLSI peacekeepers. A new document, 'Peace-keeping and Peacebuilding: Clarifying the Nexus', has also been developed by DPKO and the Department of Field Support (DFS), outlining how peacekeepers contribute to peacebuilding by: 1) helping to articulate priorities and facilitate strategy development and implementation; 2) enabling others to implement by providing a security umbrella; and 3) directly implementing certain peacebuilding tasks, and engaging in early capacity building in collaboration with other partners.[26]

These developments accompany the greater recognition on the part of the UN that different tools will be required in different contexts. As highlighted in the 2009 New Horizon report by DPKO, where there is high political tension, or in contexts where regional or national support is lacking, prevention, mediation, peacebuilding and conflict-sensitive development activities may be more effective than peacekeeping.[27] This suggests the need for greater examination

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23 Schwoebel, Mary-Hope and E. McCandless, 'From Making to Building Peace in the 21st Century: New approaches for new conflict contexts', Global Almanac, CQ Press, Washington, D.C., 2009, pp. 710–711.
24 See the Secretary-General's Report, No Exit Without Strategy: Security Council decision-making and the closure or transition of UN peacekeeping operations, 20 April 2001, S/2001/394, and Smith, D., 'Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting their act together', overview report of the Joint Utstein Study of Peacebuilding, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo.
25 Approved 18 January 2008.
26 Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, 'Peace-keeping and Peacebuilding: Clarifying the Nexus', DPKO and DFS, New York, 2010.
27 Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 'A New Partnership Agenda: Charting a new horizon for U.N. peacekeeping, United Nations', DPKO, New York, 2009, p. 10.

of entry points for greater collaboration with UN Country Teams (UNCTs) on the ground, as well as a wider array of international, regional and nongovernmental actors in the development of context-appropriate responses.

The practice of peacemaking is also shifting, in terms of substance and process, with implications for UN agencies and the wider development community. In April 2009, the Secretary-General released a report on Enhancing Mediation and its Support Activities (S/2009/189) that illustrates these trends. Moving well beyond traditional notions of peacemaking, the report calls for a strengthening of conflict prevention and resolution through early UN engagement to help parties design and pursue processes that aim to address root causes and all major grievances, and to establish new institutions that can deal with them over time. On the process side, it underscores the need for coherent partnership between the UN and regional and subregional organizations, Member States and NGOs – all of which have different strengths (and interests) in peacemaking. This complements the emergent scholarly and think-tank literature that supports a stronger role for development actors in political peacemaking processes, and ongoing work to implement them at all levels.[28] Signifying this need in real terms, a review of 19 categories of provisions in peace agreements (between 1999–2006) found that education tied for the fifth-highest percentage (60 per cent) representation in peace agreements, behind only political provisions (elections, transitional government and decentralization) and reintegration of refugees. It tied with provisions of constitutional design and physical infrastructure, ahead of nine other economic recovery and reform-related provisions.[29]

2. Conceptual debates and practical challenges around peacebuilding

It is well recognized that the lack of conceptual clarity around peacebuilding during the past decade, often resting on ideological differences and competing organizational mandates, has threatened the utility of the concept. Peacebuilding practice has been further compounded by operational challenges, including inadequate and at times competing pools of resources, policies and institutional arrangements.[30] Key debates during the past two decades that have divided UN thinking and practice have included debates about: 1) purpose: whether the aim is maximalist (addressing root causes) or minimalist (a narrower set of objectives, i.e., stabilization), and 2) strategy: whether peacebuilding applies to all phases of a conflict or only post-conflict; whether it is primarily political or developmental in nature; whether it should be broad or targeted; issues of sequencing; and whether and how it relates to conflict prevention.[31]

While the 1990s brought agreement that peacebuilding involves all conflict phases, the mandate of the new PBC has focused on *post-conflict* peacebuilding. This more cautious approach represented efforts by Member States to limit the reach of the Commission – reflecting similar debates and trends that occurred around efforts to institutionalize efforts for conflict prevention. The 2010 review of the PBC, however, underscores the continued

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[28] See, for example, Papagianni, Katia, 'The Role of Political and Development Actors in Mediation Processes', Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Geneva, 2009.
[29] Study undertaken by UNDP and Christian Michelsen Institute, 2006, sourced in: BCPR, 'Post-Conflict Economic Recovery: Enabling local ingenuity, BCPR, 2008, p. 9.
[30] McCandless, Erin, 'Lessons from Liberia: Integrated approaches to peacebuilding in transitional settings', Occasional Paper 161, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2008;
Barnett, Michael, Hunjoon Kim, Madalene O'Donnell and Laura Sitea, 'Peacebuilding: What is in a Name?', *Global Governance,* vol. 13, no. 1, January-March 2007; and Call, C., 'Institutionalizing Peace: A review of post-conflict concepts and issues for DPA', consultant report, 31 January 2005.
[31] McCandless, 2008, op. cit.

widespread and problematic existence of a sequential approach to peacekeeping and peacebuilding in practice. It argues that peacebuilding must accompany peacekeeping.[32]

Achieving consensus on the precise meaning of peacebuilding has been highly contentious and UN staff often expresses concerns that trying to achieve consensus might do more harm than good. Some suggest that the term presently means everything and nothing, doesn't lend itself to rigour and is regularly being conflated with integration, and that there is a particular lack of understanding about its meaning on the part of much of senior management across the UN. There is also an increasing use of the terms 'stabilization' and 'peace consolidation', which are not officially 'owned' by any one section or agency, and as such, there seems to be less anxiety about defining them.[33] This confusion, however, may contribute to the wider problematic tendency internationally to conflate peacebuilding with multilateral peace operations overall, and even, the US-led 'war on terror'.

In May 2007, the UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee adopted the following system-wide conceptual definition of peacebuilding to guide its work:

> *Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.*

This understanding reflects the emerging consensus to move beyond a minimalist or 'negative' peace approach, and towards a more strategic, integrated one that prioritizes consideration of local context. It also highlights the need for attention to building capacities, rather than simply structures, for peace – an emphasis that has long been underscored by peacebuilding and development practitioners.

This Policy Committee decision however, is not being implemented across the system. While DPKO's Capstone Document maintained the first part of the Policy Committee's definition, it departed from the second, referring to a more maximalist notion of the need to address the structural roots of conflict, alongside state-building functions that seek to enhance the functioning of society and state. A more cautious direction is reflected in the more recent Horizon Study, which emphasizes the "core capacities and comparative advantage" of UN peacekeeping in traditional areas of supporting the national political process and provision of basic safety and security. The new OROLSI Early Peacebuilding Strategy, however, reverts to the Capstone version. With DPKO leading in the rolling out and management of multidimensional, integrated missions, its understanding of peacebuilding and how it is operationalized will be pivotal in determining peacebuilding outcomes.

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[32] Member States of Ireland, Mexico and the Republic of South Africa, 'Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture', 2010.
[33] Views of different UN staff at headquarter level represented. As cited in: McCandless, Erin, 'In Pursuit of Sustainable Peacebuilding: Where the UN's peacebuilding architecture needs to go', part of a research project sponsored by the Centre for International Policy Studies (CIPS) at the University of Ottawa, the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), and the Carnegie Corporation, 2010.

The PBA has not made its views explicit on a concept that should drive UN action, although its 'Peacebuilding Orientation Paper' appears to suggest alignment with the Policy Committee concept, noting the PBF's four priorities as illustrating a selective set of narrow priorities that must be tailored to country circumstances. At the same time, it recognizes that some countries may need initiatives targeted at their conflict drivers.[34] As discussed in the next section, however, the Secretary-General's report on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict (A/63/881-S/2009/304), with drafting led by the PBSO, suggests increasing recognition of the economic recovery and developmental nature of sustaining peace.

Conceptual challenges exist alongside operational challenges. Peacebuilding is a messy and complex endeavour, and there remains much to be learned about what actually drives and sustains peace.[35] The financial challenge – or funding gap in international response – both in the early period between humanitarian and longer-term peace and development efforts, as well as in sustaining international attention for longer-term engagement are compounded by expectations of rapid improvement in living conditions and limited state capacity, in most cases, to respond. Communication challenges – a weakened public and private media may not be able to provide independent and reliable information, undermining the potential for a strategic public information campaign.[36]

3. The UN Peacebuilding Architecture

The growing recognition of the 'strategy deficit' in peacebuilding and the need for one dedicated body to focus on peacebuilding resulted in identical resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly in 2005.[37] These established a new United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture (PBA) in 2006, with three pillars – the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) and the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO). Together these serve as a dedicated institutional mechanism to assist countries in laying the foundations for sustainable peace and development.[38]

3.1. The Peacebuilding Commission and its Support Office

The PBC is an intergovernmental subsidiary organ of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The core pillars of its mandate are focused on: (1) bringing together all of the relevant actors, including international donors, international financial institutions, national governments and troop contributing countries; (2) marshalling resources; and (3) advising on and proposing integrated strategies for post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery and, where appropriate, highlighting any gaps that threaten to undermine peace. There are currently five countries on the Commission's agenda – Burundi, the Central African Republic, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone.

The PBSO works to sustain peace in conflict-affected countries by garnering international support for nationally owned and led peacebuilding efforts. Its primary mandated tasks are to support the PBC, administer the PBF, and to serve the Secretary-General in coordinating the UN in its peacebuilding efforts – catalysing the UN system and partnering with external actors to develop peacebuilding strategies and marshalling resources. This support is based on

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[34] United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, 'UN Peacebuilding: An orientation', PBSO, New York, 2010, p. 7.

[35] McCandless, 2010, op. cit.

[36] PBSO, 2010, op. cit., p. 10.

[37] The concept evolved from Secretary-General Kofi Annan's 'Review of Technical Cooperation in the UN' (2003), with the PBC and PBSO recommended in the 2004 report of the Secretary-General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change: A More Secure World.

[38] United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, Report of the Peacebuilding Commission On Its First Session, June 2006–June 2007, A/62/137–S/2007/458, p. 4.

PBSO's function as a knowledge centre for lessons learned and good practices on peacebuilding. The PBSO is headed by an Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support, and comprises a PBC Support Section, a Policy Planning Section and a Financing for Peacebuilding Section.[39]

3.2. Lessons, priorities, directions

During the first few years of operation, the PBC focused on its mandate to bring together "all relevant actors and to advise on integrated strategies for post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery." The mixed results of these efforts, particularly in Sierra Leone and Burundi as the first two countries on the PBC's agenda, have been well documented. There is now considerable consensus that the processes suffered greatly from lack of clarity about the precise nature of a 'peacebuilding strategy', and the corresponding poor quality of their design. Additionally, there were problems of sequencing and coordination between the interventions of the PBC and PBF, where the PBF was funding short-term projects disengaged from, and prior to, the wider strategic framework spearheaded by the PBC.[40]

However, the PBA appears to be learning, both from these cases as well as others, such as Liberia, where more flexible and adaptive approaches were employed. The PBC is now emphasizing the intention to support existing frameworks within country, and to work to ensure that key priorities for peacebuilding that are left out of existing frameworks, are met in other ways.

In 2009, in response to growing demands for attention to address the gaps in UN and wider international community early post-conflict (and 'early recovery')[41] action, the PBSO was tasked with leading the preparation of what would become the Secretary-General's Report on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict. The agenda that emerged from this now constitutes a focal point of the PBA's work.

At its core, the report argues that in the first 24 months after a major cessation of hostilities, "national and international efforts … should focus on meeting the most urgent and important peacebuilding objectives: establishing security, building confidence in a political process, delivering initial peace dividends and expanding core national capacity."[42] It then suggests that the most commonly requested needs in this same period roughly correlate, though it expands upon national capacity with the need for institution building – particularly around public administration and finance at national and subnational levels. It also adds a fifth dimension: "Support to economic revitalization, including employment generation and livelihoods (in agriculture and public works) particularly for youth and demobilized former combatants, as well as rehabilitation of basic infrastructure."[43]

In addition to importantly prioritizing security – development linkages and placing emphasis on economic recovery in early peacebuilding efforts, it endeavours to link strategic processes and frameworks, and usefully suggests a UNCT role in early efforts and the need for peace operations to build upon UNCT capacities. It admits failures, in particular that the UN has

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[39] <www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/pbso.shtml>.
[40] Street, A., H. Mollet and J. Smith, 'Experiences of the PBC in Sierra Leone and Burundi', *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2008, pp. 33–46.
[41] In particular, a critical report commissioned by the UK Government highlights gaps in early efforts to secure stability and establish peace, to address economic and social dimensions by resuscitating markets, livelihoods and services and the state capacities necessary to foster them, and finally to build the core state capacity to manage political, security and development processes. Chandran, R., et al., 'Recovering from War: Gaps in early action,' NYU Center on International Cooperation for the UK Department for International Development, New York, 2008, p. 2.
[42] A/63/881-S/2009/304, para. 15.
[43] Ibid., para. 17.

failed to catalyse a response that delivers immediate, tangible results. Capacities and resources have been too limited to meet the needs on the ground. Other critiques of the report have included that too strong a focus on the 'immediate aftermath' or 'early recovery' period diverts attention from important discussions regarding the nature and drivers of peace sustainability (part of the PBA's original raison d'être) to immediate operational and procedural concerns.

Attention is needed to conceptually and practically link the immediate aftermath or early recovery period following a peace agreement with longer-term peace.[44] Much greater attention is now being given to the need to understand the drivers of conflict and to ensure that knowledge and policy about best practices around conflict drivers is used to direct future peacebuilding efforts.[45] This is accompanied by an enhanced commitment to increasing the PBSO's ability to undertake its knowledge management function.

Since the Secretary-General's report, progress has been made in key areas set out as part of the report's agenda in the areas of stronger, more effective and better-supported teams on the ground, and steps are being taken towards enhancing civilian capacities and the UN's ability to respond, although there remains much debate and concern that local capacities are not garnering sufficient attention in these efforts.[46] While the goal of increasing system-wide coherence is being addressed through efforts to cohere strategic tools and frameworks (discussed later), the Secretary-General admits, there is a long way to go, with strategic and management changes needed at Headquarters to enable the UN to deliver more effectively and to have real impact on the ground.[47]

3.3. The 2010 PBC review

The 2010 Review of the PBC underscored that five years on, despite dedicated efforts, many of the hopes which accompanied the founding resolutions have yet to be realized, and that the UN is at a crossroads: either there is a conscious re-commitment to peacebuilding at the very heart of the UN's work, or the PBC settles into the limited role that has developed so far. The report, based on extensive consultations with stakeholders globally, suggests that the PBC's membership strongly favours the former.

The report makes a number of recommendations around strengthening the PBC's internal mechanisms at headquarter and country level, and around its key relationships – in particular, with the Security Council, the General Assembly and ECOSOC, as well as with the World Bank. A better-performing PBC, it argues, should result in its advice being sought by the Security Council when peacekeeping missions are being established, reviewed, or approaching draw-down. For the PBSO, a strengthening of resources and better use of existing resources is needed, drawing on research and field experience within and outside the system. The PBSO within the Secretariat should be enhanced and organizational arrangements put in place that properly reflect the priority of peacebuilding within the Secretariat. It argues that greater synergy is needed between the PBC and the PBF, as highlighted in its revised terms of reference in 2009. This should involve better communication, and sustained focus of PBF support to countries on the PBC agenda. The need for a considerable degree of risk tolerance in PBF support is also suggested.

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[44] McCandless, 2010, op. cit., p. 5.
[45] Judy Heng-Hopkins, 'Message from the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support', in PBSO, 'Peacebuilding Review', 2010a, p. 3.
[46] These views are reflected in the PBSO 'Community of Practice' debates online.
[47] A/64/866-S/2010/386.

3.4. The Peacebuilding Fund

The United Nations Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) is designed to inject fast, relevant and catalytic funding into key projects and programmes that help prevent a country from relapsing into violence. It was launched on 11 October 2006, through General Assembly Resolution A/60/180 and Security Council Resolution S/RES/1645-2005. With initial funding target set at US$250 million, the PBF has raised US$360 million,[48] from which it is supporting more than 150 projects in 18 countries. It is managed by the PBSO and administered by the UNDP Multi-Donor Trust Fund Office (MDTF Office). The PBF relies on voluntary contributions from Member States, organizations and individuals.

The PBF's Guidelines were revised in 2009 to enhance its effectiveness.[49] The PBF now allocates funding through two facilities:

- Immediate Response Facility (IRF): helps to jumpstart peace initiatives that can be scaled-up into longer-term programmes. It is designed to be flexible and fast, and to provide those working in the field with a funding tool for single or multiple projects. Proposals that meet the criteria receive funding within days.

- Peacebuilding and Recovery Facility (PRF): a country programme driven by national stakeholders. Upon receipt of a Priority Plan identifying key peacebuilding needs, the PBSO will review and establish a country allocation and delegate project approval authority to the Joint Steering Committee (JSC). Once formed, the JSC can focus attention on the long-term peacebuilding agenda.

Both facilities fund initiatives that respond to one or more of the following criteria:
1. Respond to imminent threats to the peace process and initiatives that support peace agreements and political dialogue;
2. Build or strengthen national capacities to promote coexistence and peaceful resolution of conflict;
3. Stimulate economic revitalization to general peace dividends for the population at large;
4. Re-establish essential administrative services and related human and technical capacities.[50]

Countries on the PBC's agenda may receive funding, and those not on the agenda may also receive funding following a declaration of eligibility by the Secretary-General. The Fund's work in countries on the agenda is informed by the PBC's work in these countries.

3.5 Allocation trends to date

In the latest disaggregated figures,[51] most funding (US$80 million) has gone to the first category, with heavy emphasis on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) and security sector reform (SSR) (approximately 75 per cent of this figure), focusing on the strengthening of prisons, police forces and peacetime militaries, with the remainder allocated to rule of law, followed by dialogue. Projects in the second priority area (totalling US$50 million) have focused primarily on national reconciliation and good governance (approximately 80 per cent of this figure), with some support going to projects that promote human rights and aim to end impunity and stamp out corruption, as well as to projects aimed at strengthening

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[48] As of 31 August 2010, PBSO, 2010a.
[49] This came in response to two evaluations, one by the UN Office for Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) and one initiated by donor governments of Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom.
[50] Peacebuilding Fund website, <www.unpbf.org>.
[51] Peacebuilding Fund, 'PBF Business Plan (2011–2013)', 2010, p. 7.

women's participation in the peacebuilding process. Priority area three (approximately US$36 million) projects have focused heavily on youth employment schemes and the management of natural resources, with close to 25 per cent on IDP related projects, and a small percentage on strengthening economic governance through promotion of partnerships with the private sector.[52]

The PBF is meant to address "immediate needs in countries emerging from conflict at a time when sufficient resources are not available from other funding mechanisms and to support interventions of direct and immediate relevance to the peacebuilding process."[53] As such, there are numerous other funds designed to support peacebuilding as well as emergency relief that precedes it. These include the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF), which accompany 'flash appeals', where education acquires a low percentage of its requested appeals – i.e., 28 per cent in 2009 – while flash appeals overall were funded at 57 per cent.

Additionally, there is the World Bank State and Peacebuilding Fund (SPF), the UNDP Thematic Trust Fund for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, The Multi-donor Trust Funds, the EC Instrument for Stability, the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, a number of DPA Trust Funds, and the UN Trust Fund in Support of Ending Violence Against Women.[54] Despite the PBF's 'immediate needs' focus, of the US$205 million allocated to date,[55] 56 per cent has gone to the four PBC agenda countries.[56] While the 2010 review has highlighted the need for the PBF to sustain attention on PBC countries on its agenda, the current priorities are focused on similar priorities as outlined in the Secretary-General's Immediate Aftermath report. It is worth noting that the newest country on its agenda is Liberia, which replicates the pattern of engaging with significantly (i.e., +/- 7 years) post-conflict countries. The PBF has anticipated, however, that approximately one third of its funding in 2011–2013 will go towards large-sized allocations, many of which will be PBC countries, another third will go to medium-sized allocations and the last third to small-sized allocations, many of which will likely fall under the IRF.[57]

As highlighted in the PBF's Business Plan (2011–2013), the PBF anticipates a funding flow of up to US$100 million of allocations per year by 2013, with a portfolio of 20 active countries at any one time. It expects the allocation emphasis to remain in priority areas 1 and 2, up from 72 per cent to date, to 75 per cent. At the same time, it still suggests that a significant share of resources will be directed towards economic and government service-related projects that are of direct and immediate relevance to peacebuilding – in particular, youth employment. The plan underscores the need for increased policy work to better inform partners and to help establish PBF guidance about how to prioritize those economic and government service activities that 'can most contribute to peace (and how to measure them)'.[58] This work, it suggests, will be done in collaboration with the UN system. PBA staff have high expectations that the work that UNICEF is doing on education and peacebuilding, as well as the planned PBSO-PBF 'thematic reviews' will contribute to this endeavour.

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[52] These figures reflect approved project budgets by priority areas and outcomes as of 30 September 2010. Ibid.
[53] <www.unpbf.org/mission.shtml>.
[54] For a full description of these, refer to PBSO, 2010, op. cit., p. 24.
[55] Member states…, 2010, op. cit., p. 34.
[56] This includes 20 per cent to Burundi, 18 per cent to Sierra Leone, 15 per cent to the Central African Republic and 3 per cent to Guinea-Bissau, 2010 Review, p. 35.
[57] Peacebuilding Fund, 2010, op. cit., p. 7.
[58] Peacebuilding Fund, 2010, op. cit., p. 7.

4. Possibilities for greater education linkages with the PBA

Considering the four priority areas of PBF support, if it is possible to better understand and articulate education and peacebuilding linkages it may be possible to make a case for education to access all priority areas of the PBF. For example, in the area of DDR and SSR, there may be possibilities to develop accelerated learning programmes and educational and vocational training in ways that support thinking about the emergent national vision for economic revitalization and peace. In the area of reconciliation, and strengthening national capacities to promote peaceful resolution of conflict, peace education is vital, as well as conflict management/prevention education and training for youth, children, and also ex-combatants and other war-affected populations. More thinking must be given to how to target the fourth, state-building oriented PBF priority area of re-establishing essential administrative services and building related human and technical capacities. It is usually vital that re-establishing working ministries across countries that have been at war fully accompany more political restoration of state authority functions – effective social services are often central to what entices people to return to their communities. It should also be possible to work with the host country Education Ministry to build capacity, along with other national institutions involved in research, to be able to gather and assess data vital to post-conflict education planning.

It may also be possible to develop benchmarks and indicators around education and other social-sector contributions to peacebuilding – articulating recommendations for conflict and peace-sensitive policymaking and programming, and methodologies for how to undertake this. Not only will this support knowledge management and development efforts in the PBSO, but also the PBF's aims to gain greater insight into these areas. Such analysis will contribute to greater understanding about the impacts of peace dividends. While host-country governments in post-conflict settings are very clear about the need for peace dividends, particularly in the area of social service delivery, to rebuild social cohesion and to support their legitimacy to govern, research is needed to prove the most strategic and effective means for delivering. This would require becoming more engaged at the country level with emergent national peacebuilding structures that are engaging the PBA, when priorities are developed. The question of what education goals can be achieved in short (2–3 years) time frames will continue to be raised. It is important that thinking is shifted towards *processes* and *mechanisms* put into place during these time frames that, according to evidence elsewhere, do produce results over longer periods of time.

ANALYSIS OF EXISTING UN INTEGRATED STRATEGIC AND PROGRAMMATIC FRAMEWORKS

OVERVIEW OF THE TOOLS

Beyond the development of the UN's Peacebuilding Architecture (PBA), during the past decade efforts have been underway to promote peacebuilding under the rubric of 'integration'. This has occurred both within the UN and 'coordination and coherence' more widely with partners across humanitarian, security, political and development interventions through a range of policies, tools and mechanisms. Building on reforms catalysed through the 2000 Brahimi Report, in mid-2008 the Secretary-General's Policy Committee accepted integration as the guiding principle for all conflict and post-conflict situations where the UN has a country team and a multidimensional peacekeeping operation or political mission/office. At the core of this approach should be a shared analytical and planning capacity as well as an Integrated Strategic Framework (ISF) to articulate a shared vision of the UN's strategic objectives, and a set of agreed results, timelines and responsibilities for the delivery of tasks critical to consolidating peace. There is a strong awareness of the need to deepen awareness around the relationship of the varied strategic tools and frameworks operating in post-conflict contexts, in particular with the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) and national development frameworks, as well as early humanitarian related tools. This remains a work in progress.[59]

The Integrated Strategic Framework (ISF)

The UN system has now accepted the ISF as a shared peace consolidation plan based on a consultative, priority-setting process between the UN field mission and the UN country team. It is the first system-wide framework to bring the UN together as one, across security/political and developmental concerns. The Integrated Mission Planning Process (IMPP) guidelines, which include the ISF, spell out the minimum requirements for the implementation of the IMPP at the field level, recognizing that each situation is unique and will require a tailored response, guided by the UN's senior leadership on the ground. ISFs are under way in all integrated mission contexts and must be completed by mid-2011,[60] and there is a growing sense that they are promoting greater awareness and coordination across UNCTs and missions.

The IMPP guidance emphasizes the importance of conflict analysis, ideally through the Strategic Assessment (SA) tool.[61] If no SA has taken place, conflict analysis will need to be consolidated from existing strategies or reports, including the CCA, CAP/CHAP, reports of the Secretary-General, etc. In practice, only one SA has been undertaken[62] and it is increasingly apparent that different forms of conflict analysis, depending on the context, will inform the development of ISFs at the field level. The SA is a Headquarter-led tool, with particular added value for guiding mission reconfigurations as a country progresses through transition. There remains considerable lack of awareness about the ISF, and some resistance at field level to the wider notion of integration, given the long-standing concerns on the part of the humanitarian community to protect humanitarian space. Some have identified tensions with the ISF's aim for peace consolidation as a UN-driven process, given the simultaneous

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[59] McCandless, E., and N. Tschirgi, 'Strategic Frameworks that Embrace Mutual Accountability for Peacebuilding: Emerging lessons in PBC and non-PBC countries', *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2010.

[60] There are 18 in total: 10 DPKO-led (2 in Sudan) and 8 DPA-led missions. For more information, see the IMPP Guidelines: Role of the Field – Integrated Planning for UN Field Presence, approved by the Secretary-General in January 2010.

[61] *UN Strategic Assessment Guidelines*, approved by the Secretary-General in May 2009.

[62] Burundi recently completed an SA, which UNICEF participated in.

discourse of 'endogenous' state-building exercises and 'nationally owned' peacebuilding processes.[63] Further, their relationship to UNDAFs and PRSPs – as well as other international tools (such as the '3D' and '3C' approaches, OECD/DAC principles of fragile states) evolving through other multi- and bilateral processes require much clarification. In practice, a good number of ISFs prepared to date have adopted the UNDAF, or a modified UNDAF, as their ISF. This makes practical sense in countries that are farther along in transition, particularly where there is often resistance to adding yet another 'layer' of strategic planning to an already overly crowded field.[64] In settings where security priorities remain primary, however, the levels and types of integration that can be undertaken will be more limited, and will likely vary considerably depending on the mission leadership commitment to principles of integration. At best, such settings at least in the short term may only produce mission-UNCT communication and agreement on key messages.

Humanitarian and development assessment and planning tools

The cluster approach in humanitarian settings
The global humanitarian reform effort, underway since the mid-2000s, has established the 'cluster approach' under which each sector/theme has developed strategies, analysis tools, technical guidance, information management systems, preparedness and contingency planning and integrated processes that work to reflect both long-standing and newly developed humanitarian standards. This approach aims to improve the effectiveness of humanitarian response with overarching goals of greater predictability, accountability and partnership across and within UN agencies and NGOs.

The vision is to provide comprehensive needs-based relief and protection in an effective and timely manner with the international humanitarian community reaching more beneficiaries. To support this aim, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) designated global sector leads, largely among UN agencies, in the following 11 areas of humanitarian activity: education, protection, water/sanitation/hygiene, health, logistics, telecommunications, camp coordination and camp management, nutrition, early recovery, agriculture and emergency shelter – each of which work to develop their strategies, work plan, tools (assessment, who does what and where (3Ws), information management and databases, along with other planning and strategy documents. Education is unique by having both UNICEF and Save the Children in a co-lead structure of leadership.[65]

While rosters and staffing is organized within the first 72 hours after a large-scale emergency, some clusters are still functioning some five years following the original 'piloting' of this approach (Uganda), and in fact, some clusters are well positioned to set the stage for long-term consolidation of peace in conflict-affected countries. As such, the early recovery and education clusters are well positioned and claim potential to bridge this gap from the humanitarian through to the development stages. As a mechanism to raise funds, the clusters do not have a role in funds distribution but are central to coordinating appeals within each sector and deciding on synergies and overall inputs from those clusters operating in any given country context.

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[63] McCandless and Tschirgi, 2010, op. cit., p. 43.
[64] In this sense, the Liberia efforts towards ensuring strong coherence across both UN and government strategic frameworks in ways that link the developmental and political, and that have sought to infuse concern for conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding, with government, in both the UNDAF and PRSP processes, may offer a useful path. See McCandless and Tschirgi, 2010, op. cit., pp. 24–26.
[65] Memorandum of Understanding: UNICEF and Save the Children, October 2007.

CHAPs, PCNAs, UNDAFs and PRSPs

When there are major humanitarian issues and/or short-term socio-economic emergencies, **Common Humanitarian Action Plans** (CHAPs), and/or post-conflict or post-disaster needs assessments (PCNAs, PDNAs) are usually undertaken. With short time horizons for rapid delivery, CHAPs tend to take the existing institutional context as a given. Increasingly, however, they suggest the need for 'do no harm' principles.

Post-Conflict Needs Assessments (PCNAs) are undertaken in early stages of post-conflict, where often transitional governments are in place.[66] They are used by national and international actors as an entry point for conceptualizing, negotiating and financing a common shared strategy for recovery and development in fragile, post-conflict settings. At the heart of the PCNA is the Transitional Results Framework (TRF), sometimes called the results matrix, with priority actions and outcomes and their financial implications. While PCNAs have been critiqued for lack of conflict analysis and effective consideration of sequencing and prioritization concerns, efforts have been under way to improve them since 2007, following an extensive UNDG-World Bank led consultation process. The revised PCNA-TRF methodology explicitly links relevant security, political and humanitarian processes and actors in a common platform for action that aims to maximize the opportunities for a successful transition and minimize the risk of reversal into violent conflict. A PCNA toolkit is being enhanced with practical tools for capacity assessments and conflict analysis, communication protocol within the UN and between PCNA partners within the context of a PCNA-TRF.[67]

These exercises usually precede United Nations strategic planning processes, including the **United Nations Development Assistance Framework** (UNDAF) and integrated mission planning processes, such as the ISF. The UNDAF is the collective and strategic response of the UNCT to the development and implementation of national development priorities. It is developed through an inclusive approach, covering the entire range of analytical, normative, technical and operational expertise of the UN system, and including resident and non-resident agencies and funds and programmes. Unlike CHAPs and PCNAs, UNDAFs place strong emphasis on national ownership, and the identification of the added value that a coherent UNCT response can bring to national development.[68] UNDAF's are preceded by Common Country Assessments (CCAs), where the UNCT and partners decide that existing analysis of the development context is insufficient. CCAs are meant to refer to and build upon other documents, and where a quality PCNA exists, a CCA is not required.

In the revised guidance of 2009, there is greater attention to conflict prevention and disaster risk reduction, as well as other issues that critically interact with conflict and peacebuilding, i.e., the human rights-based approach, gender equality, environmental sustainability and capacity development. The CCAs and UNDAFs of Liberia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Colombia, Rwanda and Sri Lanka all endeavour to analyse and respond to conflict. UNCTs in Afghanistan, the Congo and Sierra Leone have developed transitional recovery strategies combining the basic elements of the CAP, CCA and UNDAF into a single strategic plan to address the root causes of conflict.[69]

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[66] The revised PCNA-TRF process is flexible, and can be applied in varied contexts. See the PCNA toolkit for more information: <www.undg.org/index.cfm?P=148>.
[67] Ibid.
[68] The UNDAF's expected results are called UNDAF outcomes, and show where the UNCT can bring its unique comparative advantages to bear in advocacy, capacity development, programming and cutting-edge knowledge and policy advice, for the achievement of MD/MDG-related national priorities. For more information on CCAs and UNDAFs, see the 'Guidelines for UN Country Teams on preparing a CCA and UNDAF', updated February 2009, available at <www.undg.org/?P=226>.
[69] Ibid., p. 33.

Increasingly, UNDAFs are being linked to the World Bank-sponsored national **Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers** (PRSPs), in which governments lay out their national development and economic recovery plans, intentionally linked to poverty reduction and prioritizing consultation and 'country ownership' of the document. PRSPs are now well established, having been developed in some 150 countries.[70] Assessments point to advances in country ownership and poverty reduction becoming more prominent in policy debates, facilitating more open policy dialogue on the issues,[71] while critiques by scholars, particularly from the South, have pointed to the propensity for inadequate diagnosis of poverty, narrow approaches that are focused more on stimulating growth rather than complementary policies to reduce structural poverty, questionable quality of participation and national ownership, and the lack of quality links to conflict analysis.[72]

While commitment is clear in the new UNDAF guidelines to improve practice, it will depend on host-country interest and capacity. The World Bank developed a promising and sophisticated tool for conducting conflict-sensitive PRSPs. This involves integrating conflict analysis into the poverty diagnostic, selecting and prioritizing policy actions through a conflict lens, ensuring that institutional arrangements to support the process are conflict sensitive, and that donor behaviour follows suit.[73] The very useful methodology, however, was not mainstreamed through its country PRSP efforts to support governments.

Wider context assessment and conflict sensitivity tools
The complexity of post-conflict contexts and increasing concerns around fragility has led to a heightened awareness and focus on developing tools to assess context. While conflict and context assessment are often conflated, it is important to recognize the wide array of assessment tools that contribute to the wider assessment of context. These include the following illustrative examples:

- Needs assessments: i.e., *PCNAs* and *PDNAs* (UN, discussed above); *Technical Assessment Missions* (UN)

- Risk assessments: i.e., IRA and other emergency assessments; risk assessment tool in *Hands-on PCIA* (Kenneth Bush)[74]

- Dilemma analysis: i.e., Sisk and Paris[75]

- Political economy analysis: i.e., *Drivers of Change, and Problem Driven Analysis* (DfID; World Bank); *Analysing Governance in Sector Operations* (EC)

- Conflict analysis: i.e., *Conflict Analysis Framework* (World Bank); *Conflict and Policy Assessment Framework* (Clingendael Institute); *Strategic Conflict Assessment*; DFID; and several within the UN[76]

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[70] Figures as of July 2010 identify 98 PRSPs completed, and 50 preliminary, or 'interim' PRSPs, <www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/prsp.htm>.

[71] Ibid.

[72] A new OECD/DAC study assesses PRSPs in 14 countries that are part of the International Dialogue on State-building and Peacebuilding. It finds that while all of the plans have some articulation of related objectives, the links between state-building, peacebuilding and poverty reduction are not deploy-examined. See also Cheru, F., 'The Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative: A human rights assessment of the PRSP', report submitted to the Commission on Human Rights, 2001.

[73] World Bank, 'Toward a Conflict-Sensitive Poverty Reduction Strategy: Lessons from a retrospective analysis', *World Bank Report No. 32587*, 2005.

[74] Bush, K., 'Hands-on PCIA: A handbook for Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA)', author's version, published under the auspices of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2003.

[75] Paris and Sisk, eds., *Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the contradictions of postwar pear operations*, Routledge, London, 2009.

[76] Comprehensive guides to the various conflict analysis tools include: Fewer, et al., 'Conflict Sensitive Approaches to Development, Humanitarian Assistance and Peacebuilding: A Resource Pack', International Alert, London, 2004, available at <www.international-alert.org/publications/pub.php?p=140>;
Leonhardt, et al., 'Conflict Impact Assessment of EU Development Co-operation with ACP Countries: A review of literature and practice', 'International Alert, London, 2000, available at <www.international-alert.org/publications/pub.php?p=129>.

- Conflict sensitivity and peace and conflict impact assessments: i.e., *Do No Harm/ Local Capacities for Peace Project* (CDA); *A Measure of Peace* (Kenneth Bush); *Aid for Peace* (Thania Paffenholz and Luc Reychler)[77]

Key challenges in the effective development and use of conflict analysis tools start with the notion that there are simply too many tools in use within the international community and little agreement on – or firm guidance to practitioners about – which to use. There is also a lack of coordination on the ground in developing shared analysis, as well as a systematic lack of inclusion of national/local actors and often a reluctance on the part of internationals to share information.

Context assessment is merely the first step. Programmes need to be developed and implemented in conflict and context-sensitive ways that are adaptable and flexible to fragile contexts. This involves iterative processes between analysis, strategy and programming, using conflict-analysis findings to modify priorities and design in ways that support peace. An authoritative source on this continues to be the 'Conflict Sensitivity Resource Pack' developed by International Alert, with Saferworld and other partners.[78]

Ensuring conflict sensitivity often requires peace and conflict impact assessment (PCIA), which is challenging and time consuming, explaining why there is a gap in understanding and action within the wider international community with respect to ensuring programming and policy *actually* contributes to peacebuilding. Nonetheless, there are a plethora of tools and methodologies for assessing the role and impacts of conflict and peace in programming and policymaking. They are simply not being implemented. While this has something to do with lack of knowledge, it probably has more to do with lacking political will. In many cases substantial, quality conflict analysis exists, but it is not reflected in donor programming. Efforts spearheaded by OECD/DAC's International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF), in particular to monitor the implementation of the Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States, are a promising, albeit somewhat limited exception.[79]

Beyond the Strategic Assessment, the UN throughout the years has developed varied tools that incorporate conflict analysis, conflict sensitivity and a concern for conflict prevention. There appears to be increasing commitment to putting these tools institutionally into practice across programming, policy and strategy development – i.e., the new emphasis being placed on conflict analysis within the PCNA guidelines and CCA/UNDAF guidelines. The Conflict Analysis Framework developed under the guidance of the UNDG/ECHA Working Group further aims to ensure that UN programmes are based on a common contextual analysis of the key elements of peacebuilding. The methodology aims to guide the UNCT in analysis of conflict factors, essential actors and existing or potential capacities for peace. A mapping of ongoing responses and an assessment of the impact of those responses follows, in order to identify gaps and needs for strengthening the conflict sensitivity of on-going interventions.[80] UNDP's Conflict Development Analysis (CDA) similarly incorporates analysis of conflict; analysis of current responses; and identification of ways forward. It aims to serve as a

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[77] Paffenholz, T., and L. Reychler, 'Aid for Peace: A guide to planning and evaluation for conflict zones', Nomos, Baden-Baden, Germany, 2007.
[78] Fewer, et al., 2004, op. cit.
[79] The OECD Principles for Good International Engagement with Fragile States, available at <www.oecd.org/document/46/0,3343,en_2649_33693550_35233262_1_1_1_1,00.html>.
[80] UNDG/ECHA-CWGER, 'Introductory Note to the Transition Guidance Toolkit', 2009, p. 5, Available online at : <www.undg.org/index.cfm?P=145>.

practical tool to better understand the linkages between development and conflict, and has sought to mainstream gender into the tool.

There have been some attempts to create conflict analysis tools that are specifically relevant to education assessment, strategic planning and programming. UNICEF has developed an Integrated Rapid Assessment Field Data Checklist for the Education Sector. This tool is used as part of cross-sectoral rapid needs assessment efforts of the education sector/cluster. In order to assess the condition of learning spaces in greater detail, UNICEF has developed the Rapid Education Assessment of Learning Spaces (RALS) tool, which is also meant for use on a regular basis to monitor programme developments. More recently, the Global Education Cluster, co-led by UNICEF and Save the Children, has developed a Joint Education Needs Assessment Toolkit that includes a 72-hour assessment tool as well as the assessment, analysis and guidance for long-term education needs that includes analysis of specific cross-cutting issues such as youth, protection, rights, conflict mitigation (JENA Toolkit Education Cluster 2010) – all of which are critical elements to inform peacebuilding processes. These complement the development of tools analysing pre-crisis vulnerability and risk, multi-cluster and multi-sectoral assessment (IRA and other emergency assessments) and finally, the cluster/sector-specific tools that have developed during the past five years.[81]

Other notable tools by bilaterals and NGOs include:
- *Education, Conflict and Peacebuilding: A diagnostic tool* (CIDA)[82]
- *Education & Fragility: An assessment tool* (USAID)[83]
- *Education and Fragility Barometer* (Save the Children)[84]

Both the CIDA and USAID tools draw on PCIA methods. The CIDA tool explicitly states this, while the USAID tool does so implicitly in locating the tool in the post-EFA (Education for All) paradigm with a focus on how education can mitigate the sources of fragility and support resiliency. Save the Children's resource builds on the CIDA and USAID tools to offer more operational indicators that allows for fragility comparisons.
Overall, continued work is needed to align and ensure complementarity of strategic frameworks, and to continue to ensure their peace and conflict sensitivity. There is also a need for UN agencies to better understand and articulate their interests and comparative advantages in different frameworks, to ensure their work has maximum impact at the strategic level.

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[81] United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs: Assessment and Classification of Emergencies Project: Mapping of key emergency needs assessment and analysis initiatives, OCHA, New York, 2009. <http://oneresponse.info/Coordination/ClusterApproach/publicdocuments/Mapping%20of%20Key%20Emergency%20and%20Needs%20Assessment%20and%20Analysis%20Initiatives.pdf>.

[82] Isaac, A., 'Education, Conflict and Peacebuilding: A Working Diagnostic Tool', prepared for the Peacebuilding Unit, CIDA, 2001, available at <www.acdi- cida.gc.ca/cida_ind.nsf/0/8608832c0af115cb85256b37001311ac/$FILE/Ed2.PDF>.

[83] United States Agency for International Development, 'Education and Fragility: An assessment tool', USAID, Washington, D.C., available at <www.**usaid**.gov/our.../conf_**conflict**_assessment.pdf>.

[84] Save the Children, 'The 'Education that Protects' Project: The education and fragility barometer – An early warning tool to aid conflict prevention', Save the Children, London, 2007.

	Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP) Common Humanitarian Action Plan (CHAP)	Post-Conflict Needs Assessment (PCNA) Transitional Results Framework (TRF)	Conflict analysis (or UN Strategic Assessment) and Integrated Strategic Framework (ISF)	Common Country Assessment (CCA) UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF)	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)
Primary post-conflict strategic assessment and planning tools and frameworks for relief, recovery and peace consolidation					
Tool creator/audience	• CAP: created by GA Resolution 46/82. Used by the humanitarian sector, including the UN, host government, donors and NGOs. • CHAP: intended for use by INGOs, NGOs and UN operational agencies contributing to emergency relief.	• UNDG, World Bank and European Commission • UNCT, UN agencies and departments involved in the field, national stakeholders, other multilateral actors, donors.	System-wide ownership. Undertaken by UN field presence (Mission and UNCT) in consultation with IMTF/ITF, where there are integrated field presences – DPKO or DPA-led missions and UNCTs.	UN actors involved in development assistance and interventions.	World Bank and IMF. The PRS is prepared by the national government in consultation with the international community, especially the Bank.
Purpose of tool	• CAP: tool for coordination, strategic planning and programming, fundraising, joint monitoring. • CHAP: tool for prioritization and strategy setting of	• PCNA: A methodology to map the needs of a country emerging from conflict and define a set of priorities and their implications. PDNAs, alternatively, focus	• SA: Inter-agency/ departmental conflict analysis tool; builds upon existing analysis and inform ISF. Also used for Mission mandate development or reconfiguration.	• CCA is a common UN instrument to analyse the national development issues with a focus on MDGs, and where UNCT can most contribute. • UNDAF: The	• The PRSP is an operational vehicle intended to translate a country's poverty reduction strategy into a focused action plan. Sets development priorities. Also used

		on natural disasters. • TRF: the plan of action consolidated and costing of identified priorities.	• ISF: Mandatory tool for integrated mission planning to achieve strategy for UN's role in a given country.	strategic programme framework for the UNCT. Sets priorities for engagement with the MDG-related priorities in the national development strategy.	to coordinate development assistance.
Scope/when tool applies	Emergency relief/ humanitarian action phase of intervention. CAP created annually in chronic emergencies (i.e., Haiti; Democratic Republic of the Congo).	Used where countries are emerging from conflict or crisis.	ISF should ideally come before an RBB and CCA/UNDAF, or a CHAP/CAP, with a view to harmonizing UN planning cycles.	Synchronized with national planning cycle, usually 3–6 years, but often shorter in post-conflict countries.	Required before a country can receive World Bank (and increasingly all donor) lending, and before it can apply for HIPC debt relief.
Relationship to other tools	The CHAP is the foundation for CAP. Analysis conducted during this phase can help inform PCNA and CCA.	PCNA is synonymous with joint needs assessment (JNA). PCNA feeds into Strategic Assessments and CCAs. TRF should serve as analytical platform for all country strategies during transition and later for UNDAF.	Depending on context and phase in transition, other planning tools such as the UNDAF, RBB or CHAP should be adapted to fulfil the minimum requirements of the ISF.	PCNA can be used in place of a CCA. Builds on other tools and meant to be complementary with World Bank Country Assistance Strategy (CAS). Works to align and support the national development strategy/PRSP.	Increasingly, the framework for coordinating domestic and international efforts to achieve the MDGs. UNDAF sets out the UN's engagement with PRSP.
Peacebuilding content	Includes a common context analysis and	The TRF acts as a compact for recovery,	Explicitly emphasizes the need for conflict	The UNDAF is not designed with the	Not explicit but there have been some

	needs assessment, based on which roles of actors are defined.	articulating the shared responsibility of all actors in the process. The PCNA highlights process as much as outcome –a participatory effort focused on building national ownership and consensus among stakeholders.	analysis, with IMPP guidelines suggesting a SA to precede ISF. Different context/conflict analysis tools are also promoted, and more common in practice to date. Flexible model that sets minimum requirements: each ISF will have to be context-specific.	explicit purpose of peace consolidation but the latest guidelines for the CCA and UNDAF (February 2009) suggest that the process should seek to analyse and respond to conflict (pp. 20–21). For countries emerging from conflict, UNDAF is likely to follow a Transitional Strategy based on PCNA.	attempts to infuse PRSPs with conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding concerns (i.e., Liberia). The World Bank conducted early research to promote a conflict-sensitive approach to PRSPs, but this was not mainstreamed through its country PRSP efforts to support governments.
Education content	Usually features in both, but requested appeal is often greatly underfunded. UNICEF co-leads the education cluster.	Usually included, but often focused on service delivery for primary education. Analysis of conflict/peace and the sector usually weak (Pakistan exception).	UNICEF actively participating to date. UNDAFs have in some cases been used as the basis for ISFs, in which case social sectors are better articulated.	Stronger inclusion of education concerns, as they come later in the development process. Usually good analysis (i.e., Liberia).	PRSPs usually very strong on education, given strong priority this often takes in post-conflict government budgets.

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ANNEX B: AN OVERVIEW OF UNICEF INVOLVEMENT IN PEACEBUILDING

This annex provides a brief review of the historical evolution of UNICEF's involvement in education and peacebuilding. Within UNICEF there is a commitment to working on child rights, protection and participation across the agency. The MDGs have prompted wide-ranging debates in the education sector on how to attain these in conflict-affected environments. In addition, UNICEF has been working as a founder member of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) and participates collaboratively in setting up and improving emergency response through the education cluster and other clusters in humanitarian response.

UNICEF also occupies new, high-level representation roles that support peacebuilding aims. For example, UNICEF holds a seat on the ASG-level Senior Peacebuilding Group, on the senior working-level Peacebuilding Core Group and Peacebuilding Fund Advisory Group. These representational roles were referred to by the Chinese, Japanese, Belgian and Swiss representatives' mention of them in the briefing to UNICEF's executive board, where it was further stated that "co-ordination on peacebuilding also falls under our role on the USG/ASG-level Integration Steering Group and Integrated Mission Planning Process Working Group. These new roles and invigorated participation should yield important strategies, discussions and better articulation of UNICEF's niche in peacebuilding."

UNICEF's organizational approach to peacebuilding is guided by its Country Programme Document to engage with the Peace Building Commission's country-specific planning. Together with partners, UNICEF's has developed and utilized conflict analysis tools.[85] These new tools should also inform integrated presence strategic planning. Peace and conflict impact assessments have been conducted to set baselines for interventions and finally, tools have been newly developed by the education sector for use in assessing needs both in emergencies and after conflicts. These developments are discussed in more detail below.

UNICEF focus on child rights, participation and protection

UNICEF's origins can be traced back to the General Assembly's adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959. Two years later, UNICEF expanded its work to include education and shifted its focus to reach beyond the child health issues that it had been focused on for more than a decade and reorient its programmes to address the 'whole child'. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) serves as a basis for what is referred to as a 'rights-based framework' that guides the UN and, in particular, UNICEF's programming. These rights include the right to participation and contribution to (re)building society. Articles 12–15 of the CRC state that girls and boys have the right to organize themselves and contribute to the development of their societies and to take part in decision-making processes affecting them.

Protection of children is one of the five core UNICEF programming focus areas. UNICEF's mandate brings together these three elements (child rights, participation and protection) to safeguard children from violence, exploitation and abuse by giving them a voice. UNICEF's operational frameworks include Protective Environment[86] and Core Commitments for

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[85] See Annex A.
[86] The Protective Environment is drawn from the UNICEF child protection strategy.

Children,[87] both of which address the protection needs of children at various levels and situations, including during conflict and in post-conflict settings. For UNICEF and others, protection is central to education's contribution to peacebuilding, as it is said that education works to protect the physical, cognitive and psychosocial needs of children affected by armed conflict[88] while trying to re-establish their overall well-being in post-conflict periods.

Development of UNICEF peace education programmes and materials

In earlier years, UNICEF's peace education was conceptualized as an essential component of basic education and defined by Fountain as "the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behavior changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level."[89] It was not meant to be considered a distinct 'subject' in the curriculum, nor as programming that was separate from basic education, but rather something to be mainstreamed into all education experiences.[90] However, it generally was and still is considered a separate, subject-oriented programme by some UNICEF staff, the idea being that peace education is a subject, to be taught in school for children and youth to learn attitudes and peacebuilding skills that can be applied in post-conflict settings.

Education's role in peacebuilding has therefore been most commonly associated with peace education programmes. Ten years ago, UNICEF peace education included trainings on children's rights and human rights, education for development, gender training, global education, landmine awareness, life skills education and psychosocial rehabilitation.[91] Today, many of these initiatives still exist and have since expanded to include disarmament, demobilization and rehabilitation (DDR), children as agents of peace, statement giving in transitional justice programmes and women and children's direct participation in peace processes.[92]

Throughout the past decade, an increase in conflicts has met with an increase in programmes that exist to address peace. However, the most significant change has been with particular innovative programmes relying less on content and more on how to 'approach' learning that contributes to peacebuilding, for example, selecting locations for education programmes that are known to experience tension (e.g., border areas) or creating peaceful environments (child-friendly schools), both with an aim to encourage those in conflict-affected regions to work towards shared objectives.[93]

The Machel report and impact of armed conflict on children

Ten years ago the original Machel study alerted the world to the brutal realities faced by children living in situations of armed conflict. A further report was released that reviewed the

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[87] Core Commitments for Children in Humanitarian action, updated 2010. This constitutes UNICEF's central policy on how to uphold the rights of children affected by humanitarian crisis. For more information, see <www.unicef.org/publications/index_21835.html>.
[88] Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies update on the Minimum Standards, 2010, <www.ineesite.org>.
[89] Fountain, 1999.
[90] Ibid., 1999.
[91] Fountain, Peace Education in UNICEF, 1999.
[92] 'Where Peace Begins', Save the Children, Global Study on Participation, Save the Children Norway.
[93] Life skills-based education (LSBE), LAB4LAB, child-friendly spaces (CFS) and talent academies are some of the innovative programme approaches that UNICEF has developed recently that aim to bring peace to situations of conflict by bringing children together for informal learning, livelihood and schooling environments.

changing impacts of conflicts on children. The Machel report has been the basis for a number of significant initiatives, such as landmine awareness programmes, strategies to prevent the use of child soldiers, protection for girls against sex crimes, psychosocial support programmes for children, and programmes to reunify separated children. The report has subsequently been updated and continues to be an important component of post-conflict education programming. [94]

Graca Machel also suggested 'Education for Peace Programmes' as one way that education might have an impact on peacebuilding efforts. Various levels of child participation are highlighted by the report, including the way children take part in peace processes, participate in transitional justice mechanisms and take part in events to voice their views on war and peace. UNICEF has identified prevention of conflict and building peace among the four recommendations for future, expanded action, along with achieving universal international norms and standards, ending impunity and prioritizing the care and protection of children in armed conflict.[95]

Involvement of UNICEF in establishment of INEE, education in emergencies

UNICEF, is a founding member of the Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE), an open network of practitioners and policymakers "working together to ensure all persons the right to quality education and a safe learning environment in emergencies and post-crisis recovery."[96] As an early member and continuing member of the INEE Steering Group, UNICEF has contributed to its growth and direction through a number of practical, representational and functional roles. UNICEF hosts the Coordinator of the Minimum Standards development since it started back in 2000, and is also member of the Working Group on Education and Fragility. In addition, it is the co-lead for the global education cluster, which responds to humanitarian emergencies through education sector work.

UNICEF's strategic plans overlap and reinforce those articulated by the INEE in two ways. First, there is a shared, generalized focus on education-specific work and seeking ways to learn about what works for education programming in meeting a learner's preparedness, response and recovery needs after conflict. Second is a shared interest in building an evidence base for education in emergency and post-conflict settings.[97]

The INEE Strategic Research Agenda (SRA) is a platform to engage and connect researchers, practitioners, policymakers and donors working in the field of education in emergencies and post conflict. It aims to facilitate the expansion of the knowledge and evidence base for education in emergencies by identifying research gaps, research themes for investigation and guiding research questions, including links between education and peacebuilding.[98]

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[94] United Nations Children's Fund, *Machel Study 10-Year Strategic Review: Children and conflict in a changing world*, UNICEF, New York, 2009, <www.unicef.org/publications/files/Machel_Study_10_Year_Strategic_Review_EN_030909.pdf>.

[95] See *Machel Study 10-Year Strategic Review* at <www.un.org/children/conflict/english/machel10.html>.

[96] Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies, 'Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, response, recovery', INEE, New York, 2010.

[97] This is both objective #4 for UNICEF's Education in Emergencies and Post-Conflict Transitions (EEPCT) programmes and stated as a strategic objective in INEE's strategic plan, 2007 (<www.ineesite.org>).

[98] INEE Strategic Agenda Research Question on Peace Education found at
<www.ineesite.org/index.php/post/strategic_research_agenda_soft_launch/>.

UNICEF involvement as lead agency for three clusters, including education

The global humanitarian reform effort, under way since the mid-2000s, has established a 'cluster approach' under which UNICEF has been the designated lead agency for three areas: (1) nutrition, (2) water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH); and (3) as a co-lead for education and co-lead for telecommunications. The rationale behind this approach is that designated agencies should be responsible at both the global level as well as the national level during an emergency response to provide enhanced leadership, accountability and predictability of emergency actions in key sectors.

The multi-sectoral nature of the cluster approach is aligned with peacebuilding processes in that it integrates work across disciplines and/or sectors. In general, the vision of the cluster system is to provide comprehensive needs-based relief and protection in an effective and timely manner with the international humanitarian community collaborating at the onset of an emergency. To support this aim, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) designated global sector leads, largely among UN agencies, in the following 11 areas of humanitarian activity: education, protection, WASH, health, logistics, telecommunications, camp coordination and camp management, nutrition, early recovery, agriculture and emergency shelter.

An opportunity to lessen the gap between immediate emergency response and long-term development may be present through the creation of the cluster approach, as UNICEF is well positioned and uniquely mandated to work before, during and after conflicts occur. Local context, local ownership and locally driven activities are three keys to the education cluster having an impact on the education sector in emergencies. As with peacebuilding processes, tensions exist when external support is needed, yet local support determines its success. Adaptation to the context in-country is a crucial first step to education programming that intends to have a long-term impact on peace and stability. For example, in countries where an education sector working group (ESWG) exists, efforts are made to engage and link with the group to ensure a more effective response by the cluster once it has been declared.

UNICEF Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) Programme

The Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) programme was made possible by an investment of $201 million by the Government of the Netherlands and €4 million from the European Commission (EC). The programme has operated since 2006 and supports UNICEF education programming in 39 countries and territories. The EEPCT program has four designated goals:
   1. Improved quality of education response in emergencies and post-crisis transition countries;
   2. Increased resilience of education-sector service delivery in chronic crises, arrested development and deteriorating contexts;
   3. Increased education-sector contributions to better prediction, prevention and preparedness for emergencies due to natural disaster and conflict; and
   4. Evidence-based policies, efficient operational strategies and fit-for-purpose financing instruments for education in emergencies and post-crisis situations.

Peacebuilding is not identified as the main emphasis of EEPCT, but conflict represents a characteristic in many of the countries that are funded. UNICEF states that, "education after conflict serves as a peace dividend through its Back-to-School campaign that provides a first

tangible, visible reflection that peace has been secured for communities that have emerged from a period of civil conflict. In practice, these campaigns usually bring together former opposing parties to mobilize resources and advocate for getting children back to school.''[99]

There is also the opportunity to create a more inclusive education system with a curriculum that contributes to long-term peace and reconciliation. While economic growth, political stability and other desirable goals can take a long time to achieve in these fragile circumstances, getting children back to school is a 'quick win' that may yield tangible benefits and signal prospects for the future. However, a recent evaluation of EEPCT indicates varied interpretation of the designated goals within country-specific contexts that had an impact on determining what types of initiatives were most effective.[100]

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[99] United Nations Children's Fund, Education Strategy, p. 2.
[100] Columbia Group for Children in Adversity, 'Progress Evaluation (PREV) of the UNICEF Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition Programme (EEPCT)', 2010.

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