Education and Conflict

**The role of education in the creation, prevention
and resolution of societal crises – Consequences for
development cooperation**

Klaus Seitz

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Contents

Foreword

_At the beginning of September 2004 several hundred children, teachers and parents are held hostage in the gymnasium of a school in Beslan, North Ossetia. The harrowing events in the days during and after the hostage situation briefly place the media spotlight on the conflict in the Caucasus. Yet the images most likely to remain with viewers are those of children in a state of extreme horror, distress, and despair. It is testimony to the power of these images that, in the future, a minor comment will be all that is required to conjure them up in the mind's eye. Despite the fact that viewers are increasingly becoming accustomed to acts of barbarism, those who saw the images from Beslan were gripped by a feeling of insufferableness, which not only arises from the extent of the cruelty and brutality shown on television, but also from a perfidious logic in the general climate of terror. Children in schools have become targets. The sights are literally set on those who are our hopes and guarantees for the future. The contempt for mankind displayed in Beslan challenges education in the same way it has been challenged elsewhere. The subject of "Education and Conflict" has thus – in this unexpected manner – become more topical.

_A sub-division into four partial worlds has become common practice in political science as an aid in the analysis of international relationships. Typical characteristics of the Fourth World are the collapse of the post-colonial state, as well as the extreme politicisation and militarization of ethnicity. The failed states are the result of the disintegration of empowered central governments, or endemic violent conflicts within formally independent states. The key features of such states are the domination of war-lords and the marketplace of violence they create, accompanied by their international involvement in the trading of drugs, diamonds, arms, women and children etc. Such failed states are to be found in every region of the world, and in particular in Africa and Central Asia, in the successor states of the former USSR, and in Latin America. For a description and explanation of such processes and phenomena in the Fourth World, peace and conflict research often avail of historical examples such as the Thirty Years' War. Given the divisions in beliefs and their instrumentalisation in the political arena at the time, unimaginable suffering determined the everyday life of whole sections of the population, and political divisions emerged, without a permanent peace solution in sight. This is where the superordinate imperative for a "civilisation of the modern social conflict" (Senghaas) today draws its significance. Peaceful coexistence, however, presupposes corresponding mindsets, which in turn result from collective learning experiences. These mindsets are primarily found in a culture of constructive conflict management.

_It is no coincidence that the first major conceptualisation of education for the masses came about during the time of the Thirty Years' War. After fleeing the turmoil of a war in which he had lost his wife Magdalena and his two sons, the Hussite bishop Johann Amos Komensky (lat. Comenius) formulated his political utopia and religious vision of education for the general population, "to teach everything to everybody". This then includes – as Klaus Seitz expressly points out – education for peaceful co-existence as a fundamental and "over-riding task in all pedagogical endeavours".

_In terms of his ideas Comenius provided important intellectual stimuli, which were able to contribute to initiating collective mental reorientation. On the threshold of the Enlightenment, Comenius ranks among the forerunners of rationalism in the 17th century, who believed in the promotion of peace on earth, and who, together with representatives of other schools of faith and also representatives of the ruling aristocracy, specifically endeavoured to set about building a bridge over the divide that had emerged. The programme of general national education and its peace-building bases were soon to be found in the school plans of German states, at first, for example in the duchies of Gotha, Braunschweig and Brandenburg. Nevertheless, in Europe alone centuries will have passed by the time the vision of Comenius, the vision of general education for all, becomes a reality.

_Furthermore, the germ cell for the modern school, which can already be glimpsed in the work of Comenius, emerged alongside the creation of the modern world system. The global development process has universalised schools and turned them into a relatively autonomous sub-area of modernising societies. However, education for all worldwide is still a long way off, as the United Nations, its subordinate organisations and others regularly reveal in their evaluation and monitoring reports. It is above all in the failed states – but not only there – that we find failed schools. Among their products are the countless young people in urban centres, in particular in those of the Third World. With the considerable pressure of the expectations placed in them by their parents' generation, in the search for "green meadows" they face the threat of failure due to their incomplete education. In searching for such "green meadows" they cut their rural ties, and with an ever-growing lack of perspective they become prone for the advances of the old and new leaders of all kinds of movements. In many parts of the Third World there is not enough mobilisation of competences in a multi-facetted education system as the basis for innovations, and for the creation of appropriate technologies in line with the level of development, or the adaptation of alien technologies to their own needs. The "anomic school" can in an environment of "anomic" state structures not be a medium to counter anomie, but is characterised in its own conduct by arbitrariness and inordinateness, despite the existence of generally valid rules, i.e. it itself creates anomie. The legacy of Comenius, utilising education for all for peaceful co-existence, is still one of our mandates.

_In his study Klaus Seitz addresses the heirs of Comenius, who are committed to promoting peaceful coexistence through education in the context of the global Education for All initiative, the international agreements and development objectives (Millennium Development Goals etc.), and the human rights declarations adopted by the international community.

_The study was prepared at the instigation of the two sector projects "Innovative Approaches in Formal And Non-formal Education" and "Education And Conflict Transformation". Both sector projects are being conducted by Division 43, Health, Education, Social Protection at GTZ on behalf of the Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The objective of the sector project "Education And Conflict Transformation" is the implementation of education concepts and instruments for the promotion of democratic conduct and peaceful co-existence in the development of key strategies and programmes for development cooperation. Alongside the consulting services for BMZ in the development of basic education projects with a conflict- and crisis-sensitive orientation, and of key strategies and programmes for development cooperation geared to the utilisation of basic education, the remit is also to further develop concepts, methods and instruments for conflict management and the promotion of democratic conduct and peaceful coexistence in the field of basic education. In this respect Klaus Seitz has made a major contribution with his overview of the international debate as reflected in German- and English-speaking publications. In this respect it is essentially a comprehensive literature study. A separate bibliography may be ordered from the sector project.

_The study outlines the fundamental issues in an ongoing debate. It does not claim to be in a position to submit a comprehensive, theoretically-founded concept for further work in this field. The systematic review and evaluation of the diverse approaches, and the available findings with peace education measures in the field of German development cooperation are open to further development. At the same time, however, the study offers significant and helpful ideas for the positioning of basic education assistance in the context of peace-building, crisis prevention and conflict management, as well as further discussion of these issues.

_After his presentation of the relevance and scope of the problem "Education and Conflict", Klaus Seitz

discusses the most important strategies, methods and instruments for basic education assistance in times of war and crisis, as well as in post-war situations. In peace and conflict research a break-down into conflict phases (pre-conflict, escalation, post-conflict) is prevalent, on which the corresponding assignment of tasks in development cooperation (crisis prevention, development-oriented emergency aid, reconstruction) is based. Klaus Seitz has opted for a different approach, focusing instead on the discussion of four complex questions, on which he comments in detail in the introductory chapter. This approach allows him to look more closely at aspects given less accord in basic education assistance to date, and to specify the resulting consequences and conclusions for development cooperation. At this point it is only necessary to refer to the vivid descrip-

tion of the "The two faces of education" in Chapter Four. In a dialectic twist of the liberating potential of education he calls for the development of criteria for crisis-sensitive education systems and their application in education reform processes.

_To summarise, Klaus Seitz has extended the debate which began some years ago in German development cooperation in the context of peace-building, crisis prevention and conflict management. The sector project "Education And Conflict Transformation" has thus been given justified recommendations for its upcoming tasks, as well as for more forward-looking work in the future.

Rüdiger Blumör
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List of abbreviations

AKUF Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kriegsursachenforschung, Hamburg (Germany)

BICC Bonn International Center for Conversion (Germany)

BMZ Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)

CIDA Canadian International Development Agency

CPN Conflict Prevention Network

CPR Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, World Bank, Washington

CRC Convention on the Rights of the Child

DAC Development Assistance Committee of the OECD

DED Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (German Development Service)

DFID Department for International Development (Great Britain)

EFA Education for All

EON Entwicklungsorientierte Nothilfe (development-oriented emergency relief)

EU European Union

FAKT Fördergesellschaft für angepasste Techniken, Stuttgart (Germany)

FEWER Forum on Early Warning and Early Response

GINIE Global Information Network in Education

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GTZ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit GmbH (Germany)

HDN Human Development Network, World Bank, Washington

HIIK Heidelberger Institut für Internationale Konfliktforschung (Heidelberg Institute on International Conflict Research) (Germany)

IAE International Association for Educational Achievement

ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross

IDP Internally Displaced Persons

INEE Interagency Network on Education in Emergencies

InWEnt Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung gGmbH, Bonn (Capacity Building International; Germany)

IRC International Rescue Committee

KfW Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (Germany)

NGO Non-governmental Organisation

NRC Norwegian Refugee Council

ODA Official Development Assistance

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PEER Programme for Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction (UNESCO)

PCIA Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment

SIDA Swedish International Development Assistance Agency

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

USAID United States Agency for International Development

VENRO Verband Entwicklungspolitik deutscher Nichtregierungsorganisationen (Association of German development non-governmental organisation)

WFP World Food Programme

* original in German (translated into English)

Summary

1

_The hopes that the world would become a more peaceful place with the end of the Cold War have not yet been fulfilled. On the contrary, the number and intensity of violent conflicts has seen a further increase; violent conflicts, wars and civil strife unsettle the developing nations in particular. The extensive damage, as well as the subsequent social and economic costs in the wake of violent conflicts, are a source of concern that the global development objectives which the international community set itself at the beginning of the new millennium cannot be met. This also affects education-oriented development objectives, such as those agreed upon within the framework of the "Education for All" process.

_In recent years development cooperation has increasingly assumed the role of promoting measures for civil crisis prevention and peace-keeping. Less emphasis is placed on the role to be attached to education within the framework of development cooperation in order to prevent crises and establish peace. The contribution which education can make to promoting individual and collective peace competence is only to be found on the margins of the majority of plans of action and guidelines in national and international development policy – above all there is a lack of a systematically developed, coherent concept for conflict-sensitive education assistance.

_This literature study provides an overview of the international discussion on the relationship between education and conflict within the framework of development cooperation as reflected in current German and English publications and documents. Thus it is also intended to allow for an initial review of the most important discussion ideas, the approaches and strategies being pursued, as well as the achievements, research desiderata and action deficits on the topic complex "education and conflict management", and the latter's relevance for development cooperation.

_In this respect the complex interplay between education and social conflict is expanded in various dimensions and the literature examined on the basis of the following key questions:

- How can education be guaranteed under conditions of humanitarian catastrophe, crisis and war?
- In what way does education contribute to exacerbating the causes of violent conflict?
- How can the ability of children, young people and adults to solve conflicts in a non-violent manner be enhanced through specific peace education and citizenship education measures?
- Which observation and analysis instruments are available to enhance the crisis-sensitivity of all the measures in education assistance?

_After an introduction to and explanatory statement on the problem (1) the study initially presents (2) the extent to which the impact of violent conflicts affects educational structures and facilities and undermines the realisation of adequate education opportunities for all, and finally sums up the literature in the topic areas (3) education in emergencies, (4) impact of educational structures and processes on the causes of violent conflicts, (5) peace-education and democracy education concepts for the prevention of crises and violence, (6) crisis indicators and conflict-specific impact assessment. The study concludes (7) with recommendations for the sector project "Education And Conflict Transformation".

2

_Wars and military conflicts impair the functioning of education systems and often lead to extensive damage to the original educational infrastructure. Millions of children are prevented from attending school as a consequence of violent conflicts. The objective of ensuring basic education for all by the year 2015 is threatened with failure unless it is possible to stem such destructive societal conflicts. The extent to which violent conflicts may be held responsible for the fact that at present more than 104 million children

are excluded from attending school is evaluated in differing ways in the literature in the face of a confusing and unsatisfactory data base. There is an urgent need for reliable data on the education situation in conflict regions.

_However, a number of individual examples testify to the manner and extent to which wars and military conflicts impair education opportunities and even make education totally impossible. Although attacks on educational facilities are regarded as war crimes under international law, schools are increasingly being focused on by warring factions and are, as the recent hostage-taking situation in Beslan demonstrated in a particularly dramatic manner, even regarded as war targets and a part of the battlefield.

_The humanitarian catastrophe which war and civil strife represent for the civilian population generally also implies an education catastrophe. For this reason it is necessary that all plans of action to realise the "Education for All" objectives integrate the issue of pedagogical intervention in regions impacted by conflict and crisis, and take this seriously as a task to a much greater degree than has been the case to date.

3
_Numerous international law documents emphasise the right of each individual to quality basic education, even in situations of societal crisis, in wars and catastrophes; this education is obliged to protect human rights and reinforce individual and collective peaceability. The right to education is also expressly applicable in humanitarian crises, therefore, and may not be disregarded during crises and wars. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) from 1989 is regarded as the most significant human rights document to lay down the special protection needs of children in emergency situations in a differentiated manner, and is thus, at the same time, able to provide some orientation for the planning of educational measures under conditions of armed conflict.

_Following the Convention on the Rights of the Child it was only in the course of the 1990s, against the background of virulent crises in many parts of the world, that the world became much more aware of the specific protection and education needs of children in complex emergencies; therefore, differentiation within the corresponding education programmes within the framework of education assistance and humanitarian assistance is a relatively recent concept. Although the necessity of offering education measures with the objective of providing peace education under crisis conditions is generally acknowledged, as of yet it cannot be claimed that education within the framework of humanitarian assistance in complex emergencies truly has the same value as the other pillars in humanitarian assistance. Education assistance is primarily regarded as an instrument for (long-term) development, i.e. as a development policy instrument, and not as a core task within humanitarian assistance. In the wake of various endeavours to interweave emergency relief and development cooperation (e.g. within the framework of the contiguum concept or "development oriented emergency relief"), the value of education assistance in complex emergency situations has become much more visible.

_The status of research and the conceptional basis in the young working field of "education in complex emergencies" is unanimously regarded as inadequate in literature, despite the advanced experience gathered above all by UNICEF and UNHCR in this field. In particular there is a lack of qualitative standards; however, intensive work is currently being conducted in this respect within the framework of INEE.

_The prevalent standardised linear package concepts in education work with refugees and internally displaced persons are viewed in a highly critical manner. There is a general consensus that complex emergencies also require complex educational responses, which, for instance, bring together recreational activities, trauma therapy, the teaching of practical everyday competencies and skills, and peace education measures.

4

_That education plays a fundamental role in promoting interpersonal cooperation and understanding, and reinforces social cohesion ranks among the major self-delusions in education. An unbiased observation of the ambivalent influences which education can have on the genesis and dynamics of violent conflicts is necessary to demystify the apparent peace-building power of education. Only recently has significance been attached to the negative influence of educational structures and processes on societal conflict situations. This destructive potential on the part of education is not only seen when education is abused for the purpose of propagating war propaganda or when teachers agitate one ethnic group against another or against ethnic minorities. The educational institutions themselves are shaped to a considerable degree by structural violence, something which is true not least of all of the most significant educational institution in society, the family.

_The formal education system contributes to exacerbating and escalating societal conflicts in particular when it (re)produces socio-economic disparities and brings about social marginalisation or compartmentation, or promotes the teaching of identity and citizenship concepts which deny the cultural plurality of society and which then lead to intolerance towards "the other". Education is, as numerous examples document, a key medium with which ethnicity is mobilised for the escalation of conflicts.

_The differentiated factors stated here, which make it clear under which conditions education can lead to the exacerbation of violent conflict, may also be used positively: under the perspective of the greatest-possible avoidance of destructive elements and the minimisation of risks, positive criteria for the constructive conflict sensitivity of education systems may be stated. One of the key questions for the relationship between education and conflict is the manner in which education systems organise their dealings with diversity. The issue of the constructive

handling of heterogeneity, which has to be reflected institutionally as well as conceptionally with regard to education access and curricula, goes beyond the conventional horizons of classical peace education. The development of a conflict-sensitive education system therefore requires a holistic approach, which takes account of the potentially constructive and destructive impact of education in all its manifestations. The transformation of education systems in post-war societies can only be successful if there is a critical and uncompromising analysis of the destructive potential of the prior education system, its curricula and common educational practices.

_The following factors play a key role in the design of conflict-sensitive education systems:

- Educational facilities and structures have to be as inclusive and integrative as possible, i.e. allow for equal access for all population groups, and also reflect the social and cultural diversity of society in the curriculum.
- Educational facilities should practice a democratic and participatory learning culture so as to allow for a constructive way of dealing with conflicts, and at the same time be embedded in a democratic educational environment which allows all the societal powers to participate in shaping the education system accordingly.
- Educational facilities have to take into account the plurality of human societies to a greater degree and allow for the development of multiple and inclusive identity concepts, which appreciate differences and heterogeneity and which are able to encounter foreignness with tolerance and empathy.

5

_Despite the large number of publications on the peace education discussion there is increasing criticism of the theoretical backwardness of peace education. Critics note that the entire field suffers from a conceptional confusion, which is reflected above all in the lack of clarity on the subject matter and objectives in peace education. Given an extreme deficit

in evaluation practice, peace education also has very few empirical findings as to which approaches work and which do not.

_In this respect the long tradition of peace education thought and action has certainly brought forth an abundance of proven concepts and action models, which may be utilised within the framework of development cooperation. The available experiences and concepts should be viewed and examined with a specific view to their benefits for crisis-preventive education assistance with the southern hemisphere and adapted for the corresponding regional framework conditions. In this respect it is necessary to observe the, in part, massive criticism of the "western bias" and the lack of situation-adequate differentiation of many of the peace education approaches developed in Europe and in the USA.

_Above all, the approach of a "culturological" oriented peace education anchored in the recognition of difference, heterogeneity and foreignness opens up promising prospects for peace education, especially in the context of ethno-political conflicts. Peace education also has to be integrated into the individual and collective learning process for the evolvement of a democratic culture of conflict and debate, and in the strengthening of societal competence for the sustainable civilisation of conflict management. Furthermore, an education programme which is geared to international understanding and global peace is fundamentally dependent on a cross-border pedagogical discourse. "Internationality" has to be not only a part of the subject matter, but also has to be reflected in the development framework of such a pedagogical concept.

6
_If aspects of crisis prevention and conflict management are to be taken into consideration systematically in all fields of education assistance and education cooperation, this presupposes a sufficiently differentiated set of instruments for conflict-specific observation, analysis and impact assessment. In the course of the literature research, however, it was not possible to identify any comprehensive and elaborate analysis and indicator concepts which would meet the demands placed by a comprehensive set of instruments for conflict impact assessment in education assistance.

_Based on a differentiation between the evaluation of the corresponding conflict-preventive programmes and conflict impact assessment of all potential measures in risk regions, the range of conflict-specific analysis instruments relevant to education assistance in crisis regions are to be further differentiated into:
- crisis indicators for education system specific conflict analysis and for "early warning";
- instruments to assess the impact of conflicts on education assistance measures;
- standards and procedures for conflict impact assessment and analysis of the efficacy of education assistance measures;
- standards and processes for the evaluation of peace education measures.

7
_From the discussion status presented here the general conclusion may be drawn that education assistance and crisis prevention in the context of development cooperation have to be more closely interlinked than has been the case to date – and this in two respects: it is urgently recommended that education components be expressly anchored with the objective of reinforcing individual and collective conflict transformative competences in all programmes and concepts for crisis prevention and conflict management – and, conversely, the question of the possible conflict-exacerbating and crisis-preventive implications with all measures in education assistance be considered and examined ("mainstreaming conflict").

_For the sector project "Education And Conflict Transformation" the following main points are proposed for the implementation of this strategic objective:

- Bringing together national and international networks for research, data gathering, innovation and strategic planning in the field of "Education And Conflict Transformation".
- Reinforcing the crisis resistance and adaptability of educational facilities.
- Developing and implementing concepts for complex and adapted education intervention in emergency situations and under crisis conditions.
- Developing criteria for conflict-sensitive education systems and applying them to education reform processes.
- Utilising peace education concepts for crisis-preventive education assistance.
- Developing and implementing instruments and processes for conflict analysis and conflict-related efficacy analysis for the education sector.

Introduction and problem: Education promotion and crisis prevention in development cooperation

"It is easier to rebuild roads and bridges than it is to reconstruct institutions and strengthen the social fabric of a society" (Raphael 1998, 8).

_During the 1990s, the focus of development policy shifted increasingly towards the impact of violent conflicts. Above all the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 made it clear that violent conflicts not only involve immeasurable suffering for the population affected, but also that the achievements of development endeavours to date are destroyed in one fell swoop and can harm the future development opportunities in the long term. Since the terror attacks of September 11, 2001 the world has also been confronted with a dramatic deterioration in global security due to international, predominantly Islamic, terror networks. The extent and dynamism of the global conflict almost certainly threatens to escalate further as a consequence of the anti-terror war being conducted by the USA and its allies.

_The extensive damage caused by violent conflicts, as well as the subsequent social and economic costs, are a source of concern that the global development objectives which the international community set itself at the beginning of the new millennium cannot be met. Realising these objectives will become ever less likely, therefore, as the military measures to stem terrorism and violence are currently absorbing immense resources and political attention, which are actually urgently needed to complete global development tasks. Without defusing the global security risks and finding a peaceful solution to regional conflicts it seems, at the very least, an illusion that the millennium development goals (MDGs) of the United Nations, which include halving extreme poverty and ensuring access to education for all children and young people by the year 2015, can actually be achieved.

_The bulk of the 44 war-like conflicts recorded in 2002 (cf. AKUF 2003) were taking place in the world's poorest nations. This is indicative of the complex interplay between poverty and violent conflicts

(cf. VENRO 2003). Development policy, which has the goal of combating poverty, is thus forced into positioning itself against the problem of escalating violent conflicts and into developing specific strategies to foster peace.

_Against this background, peace-building and peaceful conflict resolution have in recent years become key areas of activity and cross-cutting tasks for German and international development cooperation. In the year 2000 the German government elaborated its own overall concept "Civil conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict peace-building". Therein – on the basis of an expanded definition of security which takes into account political, ecological and social stability – all the fields of politics are called upon to contribute in a coherent manner to preventing violent conflicts. Development policy is primarily given the task of contributing to
- reducing the structural causes of violent conflict by improving the economic, social, ecological and political situations in partner countries,
- as well as developing mechanisms for non-violent conflict management.

_The role of the education sector in the promotion of a "prevention culture" is also expressly mentioned in this overall concept, albeit only marginally: "The German government intends to promote a culture of prevention and dialogue. Peace and conflict research have to be strengthened, international education policy, foreign culture policy and media policy have to be oriented towards the dismantling of feelings of hatred and fear, the promotion of intercultural dialogue and endeavours to find peaceful solutions to conflicts."* Following on from this overall concept, the German government in its plan of action "Civil conflict prevention, conflict solution and post-conflict peace-building" from 12 May 2004 specified the role of culture and educational work in a separate sub-chapter under the key heading "Fostering peace potential": "Crisis prevention has a cultural dimension. Intercultural understanding and respect

for other cultures – intra-state as well as inter-state – are decisive prerequisites for crisis prevention. Among these are dialogue and exchange, as well as culture-sensitive transfer of the values and instruments of crisis prevention, and supporting education systems which promote a non-violent solution to conflicts and which allow for differing perspectives, and in particular towards contemporary curricula" (Bundesregierung 2004, 48*). The German government intends "to attach greater significance to peace education activities within the framework of development cooperation in the education sector" (ibid., 50*). At the same time the plan of action concedes that there is not yet sufficient operationalisation of the UNESCO model of a culture of peace within the German intermediary organisations (ibid., 49*).

_In the implementation of the anchoring of crisis prevention as a cross-cutting task in development cooperation, the German government and BMZ take up the OECD/DAC guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation (OECD/DAC 1997), with which the DAC claims to have broken new ground (cf. OECD/DAC 2001, 3). As for the relevant area of education assistance, on the one hand these guidelines highlight the particular significance of peace education measures for crisis prevention and for the promotion of a peaceful conflict culture, on the other hand there is reference to the long-term conflict-exacerbating societal consequences which result from crisis-driven education emergencies:

"iii) Education and cross-cultural training
_166. Through support for education, and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, development agencies have a crucial, if sensitive, role to play in furthering non-violent solutions to inter-group conflict and breaking the cycle of inter-group hostility and conflict along ethnic, cultural and sectarian lines. This can range from support for the development of non-partisan curricula and textbooks, to help cultivate and disseminate shared values such as tolerance and pluralism, to specific assistance for "peace education" initiatives,

designed to help create a better understanding of the origins and history of societal relations and promote inter-group co-operation and reconciliation. The considerable development co-operation resources currently allocated to the field of education in many countries should place donors in a good position to play a central role in these areas.

_167. The effect that disrupted schooling can have on children who witness brutality and the breakdown of social and moral structures can increase societal instability. This can inhibit learning processes on how to deal with disputes without resorting to violence, and how to co-exist peacefully with other religions and ethnic groups, thus reinforcing the conflictual history of inter-group relations" (OECD/DAC 1997).

_In 2001 the DAC guidelines "Helping Prevent Violent Conflict" supplemented and superseded the DAC guidelines from 1997; however, the education components remain comparatively under-stressed therein. Here the DAC limits itself to more general recommendations such as: "Support education on small arms, reconciliation and peace-building in order to promote the non-violent resolution of disputes" (OECD/DAC 2001, 41).

_The EU Commission in its "Communication on Conflict Prevention" (European Commission 2001), which is guided by the issue of "mainstreaming conflict prevention in co-operation programmes", refers in particular to education programmes, yet accentuates therein the significance of education for the rehabilitation of children directly affected by armed conflict: "Emergency education programmes as well as child related rehabilitation measures are crucial to ensure that children and young adults do not become destabilizing elements in post crisis situations" (ibid., 15).

_Even if one considers other recent forward-looking development policy documents and resolutions, in which the correlation between education and conflict

is mentioned (be this within the framework of German or EU development policy, the DAC or in the context of the Education for All process) it may be unanimously stated,

- that education can make a significant contribution to avoiding violent conflicts and consolidating civil conflict management potential,
- and that the stabilisation and reconstruction of education offerings is of major significance above all in violence-based emergency situations for the protection of adolescents and to guarantee the elementary prerequisites for the peaceful development of the affected societies in the future.

_The fact that the education sector is generally only briefly outlined in the relevant documents shows, however, that development cooperation does not yet have a theoretically well-founded and comprehensive concept, nor are there differentiated strategies for the promotion of peaceability and conflictability in the education sector. Moreover, it cannot avail of a sufficiently well-elaborated set of instruments for education assistance in the context of man-made complex emergencies.

_Admittedly the democracy and peace education discourse can look back on a long tradition in the history of educational science – indeed contemporary educational science is originally (and not only in the Western world) fundamentally based on a universal mission for peace. Theory and practice in the peace education tradition have to date, however, only been utilised sporadically in the context of development cooperation. Yet in the wake of the growing explosiveness of the context of "education and conflict", in recent years in the development cooperation, humanitarian assistance and peace education of international organisations, of non-governmental organisations, and state as well as non-state development agencies, an abundance of approaches have been developed, which can be taken up in the long overdue elaboration of well-founded concepts for conflict-sensitive education assistance. The relatively small number of ex-

perts in this field are of the unanimous opinion that the entire working field is still very new, with very little theoretical research and that it is generally unexplored in empirical terms. The available literature is also generally "too thin" (e.g. Sommers 2002, 2). Indeed the first really systematic, theory-based educational science monograph on the topic of "education and conflict", which expressly looks at the development policy context, is the book "Education and Conflict", by the Birmingham-based professor of International Education Lynn Davies (Davies 2004), which was only recently published, in 2004. Lynn Davies also assumes "that the link between conflict and education is a grossly under-analysed area" (ibid., 7). At the same time, in recent years several insightful expertises, a number of compendia, scientific considerations, as well as the first evaluation studies and approaches to the documentation and bundling of the available findings, have been submitted. Within the framework of the literature research preceding this study, over 500 publications in English relevant to the topic of "education and conflict management in the context of development cooperation" were found for the period since 1990.

_It is noticeable that, given the apparent increasing explosiveness of the problem, of late the endeavours in science and politics have been stepped up to sound out this field: thus, for instance, the British National Foundation for Educational Research in 2004 commissioned a framework study on the subject of "education and conflict", based on the finding "that this is an embryonic but growing area of research" (cf. www.nfer.ac.uk, May 2004). Institute for Peace Education Tübingen and InWEnt also hosted an international conference in February 2004 under the motto "Promote Peace Education around the World" (cf. Institute for Peace Education et al. 2004), at which the significance of peace education concepts for development cooperation were discussed. Furthermore, the annual conference of the British Association for International and Comparative Education (BAICE) in September 2004 was devoted to the topic "Education

in the 21st Century: Conflict, Reconciliation and Re-construction".

This study endeavours to summarise the current status of discussion. It is intended to allow for an initial reca-pitulatory overview of the various lines of discussion, the approaches and strategies being pursued, as well as of the accomplishments, research desiderata and action deficits on the topic of "education and conflict" within the framework of development cooperation.

_In this respect it may be useful to differentiate more precisely the various levels on which the interplay be-tween education and conflict is relevant in the context of development cooperation. If one looks in general at the dimensions where crisis prevention and conflict management appear to be a development policy task or problem, then it is possible to differentiate between four areas of activity and analysis horizons (cf. also Ropers 2002, 48 et seq.):

- the best-possible protection of the civilian population against the effects of armed conflict and the pro-tection of development successes as well as of concrete development programmes against damage or destruction through conflicts, crises and wars;
- the promotion of structural stability and the re-moval of the causes of potential conflicts and crises;
- the promotion of conflict management competence on the part of societal groups, local and regional institutions;
- the systematic consideration of crisis prevention and conflict management aspects in all fields of development cooperation.

_With regard to the education sector the focus is then on the following problems and questions:
1. How can education be guaranteed under conditions of humanitarian catastrophe, crisis and war? What special demands have to be met by educational measures in the corresponding emergency situations?
2. In what way do educational structures and edu-cational processes contribute to enhancing the

causes of violent conflict? What conditions do conflict-sensitive education systems have to meet so as to have a constructive impact on the peace-building potential of a society?
3. How can peace education measures be used to specifically enhance the ability of children, young people and adults to resolve conflicts in a non-violent manner and develop the social prerequisites for peaceful coexistence?
4. Which assessment and analysis instruments are available to enhance the crisis sensitivity of all measures in education assistance and to initiate the planning, implementation and evaluation of programmes which have the objective of develop-ing crisis-sensitive education structures?

On 1: Education in emergencies
_The first complex concerns the broad area which is treated in the international discussion under the title "education in emergencies" (key works: Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998; Sinclair 2002; Crisp et al. 2001; Aguilar/Retamal 1998; Bensalah et al. 2001). The initial prob-lem arises here as a consequence of the extent and the manner in which the existing educational infra-structure has been damaged or destroyed in the course of humanitarian crises or violent conflicts, or is no longer accessible to the affected population as the latter has had to flee. In this respect UNESCO uses the expres-sion "educational emergencies". Sinclair (2002, 22) defines "emergency programmes", based on a broad sense of complex humanitarian emergencies, "all programmes for refugees and displaced or conflict-affected populations, as well as disaster victims". In a positive sense these are concepts and instruments which
- guarantee access to and the right to education even under the conditions of complex emergencies and crises,
- take into consideration the special psychosocial (protection) needs of children, young people and adults in emergencies
- and fulfil through education the prerequisites for societal reconstruction and reconciliation.

_With regard to the context in which it takes place, according to Sinclair (2002, 26) "education in emergencies" may be broken down further into the following main categories:

- education for refugees,
- education for internally displaced persons (IDPs),
- education under conditions of armed conflicts, insecurity and instability,
- education for reconstruction after armed conflicts and catastrophes.

_Under emergency, war and catastrophe conditions educational activities are also confronted with a diversity of special challenges which necessitate specific pedagogical reactions; this concerns for example the endeavours to demobilise and re-integrate child soldiers, to protect children (and in particular girls) from sexual violence, dealing with traumata and serious psychological stress, coming to terms with the past and reconciliation work between antagonistic population groups.

_Furthermore, in crisis situations it is necessary to teach specific survival techniques, something which had led to the identification of further pedagogical working fields, e.g. developing a consciousness for the danger of landmines (mine-awareness education), health and hygiene education to prevent epidemics or violence prevention, and conflict mediation in refugee camps.

On 2: Education as a conflict-exacerbating factor
_The second problem area looks at the manner in which education, both from a structural and procedural stance, impacts on the structural causes of violent conflicts. The various causes of violent conflicts may, according to Lund/Mehler (cf. Ropers 2003, 33), be traced back to four key causes:

- political, cultural and economic disparities,
- legitimation deficits on the part of the government,
- mistrust between identity groups and the lack of possibilities for peaceful equilibrium,
- absence of an active civil society.

_In each of the above respects it may be fundamentally expected that education has a positive impact, which is able to contribute to overcoming the structural causes of conflict: education, it is generally assumed, reinforces social cohesion, contributes to social balance by opening up education careers regardless of social origin, promotes civic and political commitment, and supports an educated attitude of tolerance and capability for dialogue with those of a different opinion. Seen in this light, the lack of education itself could be regarded as one of the key secondary causes of escalating societal conflicts. However, the common assumption, "whatever is done to ensure more education, contributes to promoting democratic attitudes " (Schell-Faucon 2001, 56*) has been vehemently contradicted by recent analyses on the two faces of education in the context of so-called ethnic conflicts (cf. Bush/Saltarelli 2000; Smith/Vaux 2003): "Simply providing education does not ensure peace" (Smith/ Vaux 2003, 10). Education systems may, for their part, be it through the structural effects of the social status allocation through education careers, be it through the conveyed knowledge, attitudes and identity concepts, make a decisive contribution to the creation or intensification of societal tension, and in particular ethnic tension, which ultimately develops into violent conflicts. In contrast to the peace education tradition, which fundamentally accentuates the peace-building and enlightening power of education, within the framework of this study particular attention is paid to the potentially conflict-exacerbating impact of education measures and structures. Smith/Vaux in their pioneering expertise prepared for the British DFID assume that education systems per se reflect the conflict risks of a society: "An analysis of education structures and educational processes from a conflict perspective could therefore be an important component of a conflict 'early warning system'" (Smith/Vaux 2003, 28).

On 3: Education as a prerequisite for peace
_In contrast to the issues raised under 2), which looks at the significance of education structures and education processes as a whole with regard to their contribution to the creation or resolution of the

structural causes of conflicts and crises, the peace education discourse revolves around the development of a pedagogical approach which specifically aims to reinforce peace competences in society, and thus to bring about crisis and violence prevention through a pedagogically-induced change in consciousness and conduct (on the status of international discussion cf. above all Salomon/Nevo 2002; Burns/Aspeslagh 1996; Wintersteiner et al. 2003; Gugel/Jäger 2004; Fountain 1999; Baxter 2000; Sommers 2001; European University Centre 1997). What does "peace education" mean? As a standard definition, to which reference is often made in current literature, the characterisation formulated by Susan Fountain (based on a UNICEF concept) may be used: "Peace education (…) refers to the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level" (Fountain 1999, 1).

_However, the extent of the existing peace education concepts varies considerably: based on the UNESCO recommendations on "Education for international understanding, cooperation and peace, and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms" from 1974, UNESCO advocates a comprehensive peace education understanding, insofar as education here, in compliance with Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is fundamentally committed to the objectives of strengthening human rights and promoting peace. In contrast, UNICEF regards its peace education concept as a specific yet indispensable element of quality basic education, whereby here it is also assumed that peace education is also necessary in all the countries of the world and should ultimately not be anchored as a separate differentiated subject, but as a cross-cutting topic in the curriculum. The "Peace Education Programme" de-

veloped by UNHCR as recently as 1997 (cf. Baxter 2001, 2004), which has in the meantime been adapted by the Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), by contrast, specifically refers to the context of humanitarian emergencies and the educational activities in refugee camps.

_Apart from the above-mentioned pertinent UNICEF and UNHCR programmes, which have been and are being developed and implemented in the context of humanitarian assistance and development cooperation, development cooperation programmes have scarcely utilised the rich tradition of peace education, as well as the vast number of pedagogical concepts and training programmes for mediation techniques and violence prevention (cf. also Schell-Faucon 2001; Gugel/Jäger 2004). There are, however, also a number of critical reservations towards the "western bias" of the peace education tradition (cf. Sommers 2001). Gavriel Salomon (Salomon/Nevo 2002, 5 et seq.) believes the generalisation and universalisation of peace education concepts to be confusing anyway, and expressly advocates a context-related differentiation of peace education into at least three very different categories:

- peace education in regions with intractable, ongoing violent conflicts,
- peace education in regions of interethnic tension,
- peace education in regions of experienced tranquility.

_Special attention has to be devoted to such differentiation, which questions the coverage of conventional peace education models, within the framework of this study. The same is true of the current discussion in Anglo-Saxon countries and in Germany of "citizenship education", which although it can take up pedagogical traditions (in particular the reform approaches of John Deweys), has of late been placed in the context of education for violence prevention and civil conflict management in multicultural and pluralistic societies (cf. Edelstein/Fauser 2001; Osler 2000/2003). Within

the framework of this study, pertinent citizenship concepts which are already being applied in education assistance with developing countries cannot be recorded separately – the sporadic review of the literature leads to the assumption, however, that in this field to date no designated research projects have been able to establish themselves for the reflection of the available findings and programmes (a remarkable exception is the comparative civic-education study of the IEA, which has surveyed the political understanding of 14-year-old students in Chile and Columbia, among other countries (cf. Torney-Purta 2001; Händle 2003).

On 4: Conflict indicators and impact analysis in the education sector

_The systematic consideration of crisis prevention and conflict management aspects in all fields of education assistance presupposes a sufficiently differentiated set of instruments for conflict-specific observation, analysis and impact assessment. For some time now intensive work has been under way in German and international development policy on analysis models and indicator systems for the evaluation of conflict risks, so that these may act as an "early warning" for the identification of crisis and violence potential in a region (cf. Spelten 2000; Mehler/Ribeaux 2000, 58 et seq.; Sardesai/Wam 2002). The expression PCIA (Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment) covers – in the meantime advanced – endeavours to develop observation instruments capable of recording or assessing the intended and unintended effects of development cooperation measures on the dynamism of a conflict, and conversely also the potential impact of conflicts on the course of development programmes (cf. Bush 1998; Fischer/Wils 2001): "Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment is a means of evaluating (ex post facto) and anticipating (ex ante, as far as possible) the impacts of proposed and completed development projects on: 1) those structures and processes which strengthen the prospects for peaceful coexistence and decrease the likelihood of the outbreak, reoccurrence, or continuation, of violent

conflict, and; 2) those structures and processes that increase the likelihood that conflict will be dealt with through violent means" (Bush 1998, 7).

_Although as a rule the education sector is also taken into consideration within the framework of the development and application of crisis indicators and conflict-specific impact assessment, in accordance with the available literature it is to be assumed that the elaboration of appropriate education-specific instruments for risk screening and impact assessment is still in its infancy. From the general research status in the field of indicators and PCIA it is at least possible to acquire important clues as to the necessary tasks in terms of education assistance. Given the available case studies on the role of education in particular in the creation and aggravation of identity-based (ethnic) conflicts (cf. Bush/Saltarelli 2000) it may be assumed that the structure of education systems may be used as a precise and early indicator of the crisis-proneness of societies – insofar as suitable analysis instruments are available. Corresponding indicators and analysis methods are also intended to contribute to general conflict sensitisation with all education assistance measures, and allow for the development of well-founded criteria for the planning, implementation and evaluation of the corresponding measures.

_The four problem dimensions presented here, upon which the following attempt to bundle the status of international debate is also based, are not in line with the prevalent sub-division into conflict (escalation) phases in conflict research. Although there have been repeated attempts to assign the various concepts and peace-building areas of activity, and above all in the field of education assistance, to a pre-conflict phase, an escalation phase and a post-conflict phase (and accordingly the tasks in development cooperation and education assistance are, for instance, assigned to the tasks of crisis prevention, humanitarian aid and reconstruction) (cf. e.g. DED 2003; Gugel/Jäger 2003; Isaac 1999; Tawil 2003), the validity of such a phase-specific concept development is highly controversial

(cf. among others for criticism Smith/Vaux 2003, 6). As, for example, it is obvious that peace education measures are necessary and make sense in all conflict phases (especially also in refugee camps for instance), and as so-called post-conflict societies are often on the verge of a fresh conflict escalation, an alternative mode of access to the phase model is to be selected; reference will be made to the corresponding discussion at a suitable point, however. Only the area of "education in emergencies" found in the phase model is treated here separately, as this expression may be used to demarcate a comparatively extensive discussion context, which is also triggered by a differentiated area of activity for development cooperation and humanitarian assistance.

_This study is structured as follows: Following an introductory overview of the relevance and extent of the problem "education and conflict" in the context of the "Education for All" process, the most important discussion categories, insofar as these are reflected in the reviewed literature, may be summarised in accordance with the above topic areas:

- Education in emergencies.
- The impact of educational structures and processes on the causes of violent conflicts.
- Peace education and citizenship concepts to prevent crises and violence.
- Crisis indicators and conflict impact assessment.

_The study also names the relevant institutions and networks active in the respective fields, attempts to sum up the lessons learned, and concludes by listing the research desiderata and the recommendations for further work in the sector project "Education And Conflict Transformation".

The extent of the challenge:
Violent conflicts jeopardise "Education for All"

"In every failed state there is a failed education system"
(Emily Vargas-Baron based on: Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 3)

_Wars and military conflicts inevitably impair the functioning of education systems, and they are often associated with considerable destruction of the original educational infrastructure. Millions of children are prevented from attending school as a consequence of violent conflicts. UNESCO therefore regards conflicts and their consequences as the largest obstacles to realising the EFA objectives for many of the affected countries (cf. Bensalah 2001, 40; UNESCO 2002). As part of the Education for All Assessment 2000 UNESCO prepared a special inventory for the World Education Forum in Dakar in April 2000, including concrete recommendations for action, on "Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis" (Bensalah 2001, 40).

_The coordinator of this thematic study (at the same time also the UNESCO Director for Emergency Educational Assistance), Kacem Bensalah, pointed out at a UNESCO workshop in Paris in March 2002 that at present over 30 per cent of all the UNESCO member states are affected by serious emergencies and crises in the wake of violent conflicts or natural catastrophes (cf. UNESCO/INEE 2002, 3). This can illustrate the explosiveness of the challenge of what it means to want to realise the global development objectives in the education sector under catastrophe conditions.

_Initially the question discussed here is how the extent of the impairment of the provision of education in the conflict-related emergencies is appraised and evaluated in the available literature.

_According to conservative estimates more than seven million people were killed in the course of the 44 military conflicts which AKUF (2003) recorded for the year 2002 (cf. Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden 2003, 312). The majority of victims were to be found among the civilian population. In the 1990s some two million children died in violent conflicts according to

figures released by UNICEF, six million children suffered severe injuries in the course of wars, one million were orphaned, and twelve million lost their homes (cf. Bensalah 2001, 8). The majority of the violent conflicts, of which 17 were taking place in Africa and 16 in Asia, were so-called "intra-state conflicts", whereby this expression certainly hides the fact that these very often had a regional, cross-border dimension, yet were not conducted between two different states. The "Heidelberg Conflict Barometer" uses a different categorisation and puts the number of political conflicts conducted with a high degree of violence at 35 for the year 2003, the use of violence was seen in isolated cases in a further 45 conflicts of medium intensity. Of the 35 conflicts of high intensity, only three were inter-state conflicts/wars. The figures released by HIIK (2004) show that the proportion and number of violent intra-state conflicts in the world has been more or less increasing since 1945.

_Millions of people worldwide are fleeing from war, civil strife, and serious infringements of human rights. The UN refugee agency, UNHCR, which protected and supported 20.6 million refugees in 2003, estimates the number of refugees and persons in refugee-like situations in 2003 to have been a total in excess of 40 million, of which 20 to 25 million were internally displaced persons (UNHCR 2003). UNESCO surmises that nearly 1 per cent of the world's population had to involuntarily leave their homelands as refugees or internally displaced persons (Bensalah 2001, 9; Sinclair 2002, 23). Marc Sommers (2002, 3) assumes that over half of those people forced to flee their homeland are children (at least 18 million). If the UNHCR reports that the number of pupils in schools or refugee camps or in the national schools of the host country under the protection of the UNHCR (1997/98) totals 648,000 (Bensalah 2001, 11), this data cannot by any means convey an impression of the actual extent of the problem. The above UNESCO report concedes that it is not known how many refugee children are attending schools outside the UNHCR programmes: "The total number of refugee

students attending host country schools, on their own initiative or with external funding, is not known" (Bensalah 2001, 11).

_The most comprehensive global inventory to date on "education in emergencies" (Women's Commission 2004) puts the number of children and young people affected by armed conflicts and who have no access to formal school education at a minimum of 27 million (ibid., 9). The majority of these (over 90 per cent) are internally displaced persons (ibid., 9). The largest number of internally displaced persons who do not attend school are said to be in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan and Columbia. The comparatively well-documented number of 27 million children not attending school, however, only refers to those ten countries which had the most displaced persons in 2002. If one assumes that some 70 per cent of the world's refugees and internally displaced persons were to be found in these ten countries in the year under consideration (ibid., 10), then the projected figure worldwide (albeit only speculative) is 35 to 40 million children affected by conflicts and not attending school.

_The extent to which violent conflicts may be held responsible in concrete terms for the fact that worldwide 104 to 121 million children are excluded from attending school is quantified very differently in the literature (as is the number of out-of-school children itself). According to UNESCO figures 104 million children of primary school age could not attend school in the year 2000 (UNESCO 2003a) – whereby the clear decrease in this number over the figure submitted for the year 1999 (UNESCO 2002b) (115 million children) was attributed to the lowering of the primary school age in a number of countries (incl. China). UNICEF puts the number of children who do not attend school at 121 million, a much higher figure (UNICEF 2004). The DFID study by Smith/Vaux (2003, 9), which is currently the leading study in the field of "education and conflict", cites figures from Emily Vargas-Baron (2001, cf. also Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003) whereby 82

per cent of children who cannot attend any form of school live in countries affected by crises or in post-conflict countries. Elsewhere Smith/Vaux (2003, 1 and 17) also refer to a further DFID study, however, which presumes that about half the children who do not attend any kind of school live in countries affected by crises or which have suffered a crisis, without explaining the contradiction inherent in these two statements. UNESCO also refers on its current (2004) website under the title "Education – Who are excluded and why?" (http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php, viewed on 07.08.2004) to estimates whereby half of the 104 million children who do not attend school live in countries affected by violent conflicts or which have just endured corresponding conflicts. The thematic study within the framework of the Education for All 2000 Assessment does not make any concrete statements in this respect – apart from the general, and ultimately controversial, assessment that in many cases violent conflicts make the realisation of the EFA objectives impossible – yet adduces detailed figures which demonstrate the extent to which refugees, internally displaced persons, child soldiers etc. are excluded from education.

_Sommers, who in a study by the Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit of the World Bank himself puts forwards the thesis that "most primary-school-age children in war-affected areas are not in school and have no realistic hope of enrolling in one" (Sommers 2002), discusses the difficulties and possibilities of recording the impact of wars and conflicts on the education system and on attaining the EFA objectives. He laments the fact that the data is generally confusing, stating: "The statistical imprecision of data on populations affected by wars presents a serious constraint on the ability to accurately estimate war's impact on education systems, administrators, teachers and students. All we know for certain is that the impact has been tremendous" (ibid. 3). Sommers puts forward four approaches which are intended to allow a more accurate view of the available data on the impact of conflicts on education, and the evaluation of

the data with a view to the specific challenges to attaining the EFA objectives:

a) To focus the analysis on the following three country groups: States/regions with ongoing violent conflicts that have more or less affected the whole country, countries with isolated conflicts, as well as countries in the emerging from conflict. In this respect he identifies seven countries in the first category, 13 in the second, and 12 in the third.

b) The focus of the study is on those 12 countries in which the largest number of forced refugees live (Sudan, Angola, Columbia, Pakistan, Iran, DR Congo, Jordan, Palestine, Sierra Leone, Burma, Turkey und Yugoslavia with a total of 23.24 million refugees and IDPs).

c) To focus the analysis on those regions in which the largest refugee populations live close to their home region (in this respect primarily Palestine, Afghanistan and Sudan).

d) To select those 12 countries which, in line with the current trends, are at risk of failing to meet the EFA objective of universal primary school completion, and which are either affected by acute conflicts or which are recovering from crises which have just ended.

_Based on the latter criteria Sommers arrives at a selection of 12 countries which "are presumed to be at the highest risk of failing to reach current EFA targets by 2015" (ibid., 4): Angola, Burundi, DR Congo, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan and West Bank/ Gaza. For five of these countries Sommers' study presents the results of a study by Nicholas Wilson of the HDN of the World Bank, which aims to measure the average number of school-years which have been lost since the beginning of the violent conflict (ibid., 39 f.). This survey arrives at the following instructive conclusion for Burundi and DR Congo for example: "The analysis suggests that overall school enrolment has dropped as much as fifty percent during the conflict years. In the two countries combined, the equivalent of more than 11.2 million student-years

of schooling have been lost during the period of war" (ibid., 5).

_Applying and further developing the processes a) and d) proposed by Sommers, in a study commissioned by Save the Children UK, Nicolai/Triplehorn (2003, 4) characterise the education situations in conflict regions using a cross-classified table of the countries affected by conflicts, their general prospects of attaining the EFA objectives, as well as the number of children not enrolled at present. Nicolai/Triplehorn also stress that there are still not enough reliable data on the education situation in conflict regions.

_However, a number of individual examples are documented and examined, which at least convey an impression of how and to what extent wars and military conflicts impair education opportunities or make education totally impossible. In this respect it is possible to differentiate between three totally different levels at which the education opportunities of children and young people are impaired as a result of violent conflicts (cf. Davies 2004, 95):

- first of all, young people are themselves often directly affected by violent conflicts and acts of violence, be it that they or their closest relatives are killed, injured, raped or forced to flee, or be it that they themselves are possibly involved in acts of violence as child soldiers;

- moreover, the damage caused by wars and civil wars in the societal environment indirectly reduces the possibility to attend educational facilities, for instance as the economic situation no longer makes it possible for children to attend school or because the journey to school is no longer a safe one;

- and, ultimately, educational infrastructure and educational facilities are often destroyed or suffer serious damage in the course of violent conflicts, either because such damage is accepted as "collateral damage", or because they have become direct military targets at the focus of violent conflicts.

_The negative impacts of violent conflicts on the education system occur in differing, yet generally closely interwoven, forms. The following primarily takes a look at the implications for the education system; the field of extra-curricular education can only be considered marginally as it is treated in a step-motherly fashion in the literature:

1. Decrease in enrolment and school attendance rates:

_Generally it has to be assumed that school enrolment rates decrease and progress towards a universalisation in basic education slows down considerably under conditions in which protracted conflicts are raging: "In war-affected areas, many children who should be in school are hard to find, hard to get into school, and hard to make sure they remain there until completing (…) their primary education" comments Sommers (2002, 6). Here but a few exemplary cases:

_In the first part of their instructive World Bank study on "Education Reform in a Post-conflict Setting" using the example of Central America Marques/Bannon (2003) analyse in detail the impact which the many years of civil war in Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador had on the respective education systems, and in doing so compare the development of enrolment rates with those in "peaceful" Costa Rica: "Following a decade of strife the Guatemalan and Salvadoran education systems had fallen even farther behind their Costa Rican counterpart. Illiteracy rates were five times the level in Costa Rica, primary and secondary enrolment ratios roughly three-quarters and one-half, respectively, of Costa Rica's. Nicaragua's impressive enrolment gains, however, placed it between Costa Rica and the other two countries" (ibid., 6).

_According to the Oxfam Education Report two thirds of the African countries affected by conflicts have enrolment rates of less than 50 % (Watkins 2000). Of the 17 countries in sub-Saharan Africa in which school attendance rates have fallen in the past decade, six were affected by a major armed conflict (UNESCO 2003).

_"Difficulties in collecting reliable data should not hide the fact that access to education in parts of Angola, the DR Congo, Somalia and Southern Sudan elsewhere is minimal. An estimate of the GER for Somalia for example suggests, that only 9 % of children (and only 6 % of girls) are in school" (Bensalah 2001, 13)

_The World Bank describes the legacy of the dictatorship of the Red Khmer and years of violence for the education system in Cambodia as follows: "More than one-third of Cambodians are illiterate. One-third of the population over five have had no education, only 20 per cent have had schooling beyond primary level, and only 4 per cent have completed lower secondary school" (World Bank 2002a, 3).

_In its "Flash Appeal for Haiti" from March 2004 UNESCO points out that as a result of the most recent wave of violence in spring 2004, which led to the fall of President Aristide, school attendance by pupils decreased by 10 to 15 % (cf. unesco.org).

_In Somalia the education system saw a remarkable upturn in the period from the country gaining independence in 1960 through to the beginning of the 1980s. However, the education system suffered a fatal crisis long before civil war broke out in full in 1990: while the number of children enrolled at elementary school rose from 28,000 in 1972 to 271,704 in 1982, through to 1990 it slumped back to 150,000. Whereas there were only 287 elementary schools in 1970, by 1980 this figure had risen to 1,407, falling to 644 again by 1985: "The educational crisis in Somalia started even before the collapse of President Siad Barre's regime. The emergency situation sharply accelerated the collapse" (Retamal/Davadoss 1998, 75).

_The enrolment rates (primary education) for refugee children under the protection of UNHCR are estimated to be a average of 54 % (65 % four boys, 44 % for girls) (Bensalah 2001, 12), whereby this is to be regarded as a major success for "refugee education" as the rate for 1990 was put at as little as 13 % (ibid.). It is

to be assumed, however, that the education situation for IDPs, who generally do not receive such good treatment, is much more dramatic (cf. also Women's Commission 2004, 9 f.).

_ Under flight conditions the opportunities for post-primary education are limited. According to the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2004, iii, 11 et seq.) a mere six per cent of all refugee pupils are enrolled for secondary education, whereby the proportion of girls among secondary school pupils is seeing an above-average decrease (ibid., 15).

_ The generally negative effect of violent conflicts on enrolment and school attendance rates in turn results from a number of causes: the requisite educational facilities have been destroyed, plundered or damaged; there are no teachers available; parents prefer to keep their children at home given the dangers of travelling to school and the risk of attacks on schools; the economic situation of the family does not permit a child to attend school; priorities have shifted given the task of ensuring survival; educational facilities are no longer accessible as people have taken flight etc. Thus alongside the negative impact on enrolment rates and school attendance levels, in an analysis of the implications of violent conflicts on education systems a number of other factors, which in part are closely inter-linked, also have to be considered:

2. Physical dangers for teaching staff and students:
_ The fact that schools, and with them students, teachers and parents, can become direct targets of violent conflicts, was recently demonstrated to the world in a dramatic manner by the hostage-taking drama in Beslan/North Ossetia. The massacre in School No. 1 in Beslan, perpetrated by Chechen terrorists and others, claimed at least 335 victims, among them over 150 children. Yet educational facilities, teachers and students have repeatedly been drawn into military conflicts in the past decade; thus for instance the Russian army had no scruples about

bombarding schools during the war in Chechnya, as Nicolai/Triplehorn (2003) report: "Chechen schools have been bombed during class hours because they were deemed to be sheltering military targets, and grenades have been thrown into classrooms" (ibid., 3). In Rwanda many schools were the scene of atrocities during the genocide of 1994.

_ In numerous countries ravaged by war and civil strife children are at risk from landmines on their way to school, often many years after the fighting has ceased. Some 8,000 people die every year as a result of mine explosions, a further 16,000 are injured. Every third or fourth victim of a landmine explosion is a child.

_ In the course of violent conflicts teachers are often among the population groups most at risk. Thus, for example, it has been proven that teachers in Columbia and Sudan are specifically being threatened or killed by the warring factions (cf. Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 3).

_ In Burundi 25 % of all primary school teachers have either been murdered or have fled abroad since 1993 (Fountain 2000).

_ In Cambodia nearly 75 % of the teachers were murdered during the era of the Red Khmer (World Bank 2002a, 6).

3. Schools as a place of recruitment for child soldiers:
_ In the 1990s there was a clear increase in the tendency for warring factions to recruit children as soldiers, a clear contravention of all the relevant international conventions and international law. The number of child soldiers worldwide is estimated to be at least 300,000 (Bensalah 2001, 18). Schools have proved to be suitable places for rebel armies and armed mobs to easily recruit children in large numbers. The International Criminal Court has accused the Lord's Resistance Army LRA in Uganda of having kidnapped over 20,000 children in past years and then abused these as soldiers or sex slaves.

It is estimated that some 85 % of the LRA soldiers are aged between 11 and 15 (cf. Zeitschrift Entwicklungspolitik 10/2004, 6). There is evidence of attacks on schools for the purposes of recruiting in numerous conflict regions:

_ "... in southern Sudan, for instance, schools have been used as a convenient way of assembling young men for military service. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DR Congo), schools have been a common site of child recruitment by Rwandan-backed rebel groups. Propaganda teams from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka have positioned recruitment booths near schools, and used street theatre to induce children into joining the military. In northern Uganda, fighting forces have kidnapped schoolchildren directly from classrooms. One rebel group in Burundi abducted more than 150 students from two schools in November 2001, setting fire to several classrooms as they did so. The prospect of education may itself serve as a rationale for joining an armed group. In southern Sudan during the 1980s, boys were lured hundreds of kilometres from their homes by promises of education, only to find that the 'schools' promised to them were also military training camps" (Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 3f.).

_ Alone in the first week of May 2004, according to an epd report from 6 May 2004, in the west Nepalese district of Rukum 1,500 students and teachers were kidnapped by the Maoist People's Front as part of its so-called "mobilisation campaign".

_ The EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/2004 (UNESCO 2003) adduces estimates whereby in the 1990s some 100,000 girls were involved in armed conflicts as sex slaves and servants in over 30 countries.

4. Damage to and destruction of educational infrastructure:
_ Educational facilities themselves, as well as the structures of the educational administration, are often targets of violent conflicts and a military target:

_ "In East Timor, the violence of September 1999 destroyed between 80 % and 90 % of school buildings and related infrastructure" (Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 2).

_ "In Burundi 20 % of all school buildings have been destroyed in the course of the conflict since 1993" (Fountain 2000).

_ With regard to the civil war in Mozambique Retamal et al. report: "From 1983 to 1987, 2,665 schools were closed or destroyed. That is to say, about 45 % of those existing at the beginning of this period. This has affected 448,530 students and about 5,686 teachers" (Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998, 3).

_ "An estimated one-third of education communities in Guatemala were affected in some measure by the civil war" (Marques/Bannon 2003, 5).

_ "In Somalia, the war almost totally destroyed the nation's textbooks and curricula" (Bensalah 2001, 9). "The cessation of educational activity during the civil war coincided with the serious damage suffered by the educational infrastructure of the country. School buildings were completely or partially destroyed; roofs, windows, furniture and the fittings were looted. The school buildings that were partially or completely preserved were occupied by displaced persons or clan militia. All educational records of the country were destroyed" (Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998, 77).

5. Increasing level of violence in schools:
_ In an environment shaped by violence schools also run the risk of becoming a place of violence: "In a conflict situation, what happens in the classroom often reflects what is going on outside" (Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 26). "The stress that conflict places on communities can make the school environment itself more threatening. Corporal punishment, for instance, seems to become more common in schools during times of conflict. While teachers in many countries may see caning and slapping as an appropriate disciplinary tool, war can exacerbate its use as teachers take out

their frustrations and stress on their pupils. In conflict areas of West Timor, Buton and Ambon, for example, teachers' use of physical punishment, ridicule and humiliation to control and discipline children appears to be connected to the stresses they themselves experience" (Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 5).

6. Increase in gender-specific violence and sexual abuse:
_In schools in conflict regions, as well as in schools in refugee camps, girls in particular are increasingly subject to the danger of being sexually abused by teachers and fellow students. It is reported, for example, that in many refugee camps in West Africa teachers "regularly" (!) demand sexual favours from female students in return for good school marks (Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 5; cf. also Grohs/Tietze 2003). Above all girls, therefore, are, for understandable reasons, refused permission by their parents to attend schools in conflict situations (Sommers 2002, 7; Women's Commission 2004, 16).

7. Impairment of learning ability, learning motivation, mental health of students:
_The atrocities which children have been forced to experience in the course of military conflicts, together with the general devastation of their future prospects and opportunities, the increase in social anomie and economic uncertainty, as well as the prioritisation of securing immediate survival, impair the psychological development of children on a sustained basis, and thus also their ability and willingness to concentrate on school lessons. Teachers, who in the majority of the world's poverty-stricken regions have only received scant training, do not as a rule have the professional abilities to deal with traumatised children and their learning barriers, let alone be able to help the children come to terms with their traumatic war experiences (cf. Scherg 2003).

_With regard to the war in Yugoslavia at the end of the 1990s Sinclair reports (2001, 8): "Child psychologists at the University of Belgrade found that many

refugee children in collective centres were unable to play and that their parents were unable to provide normal parenting".

_The UNICEF Survey of Rwandan Children points out that more than two thirds of the surveyed children had been witnesses to one or more murders during the genocide of 1994. The report refers to the resulting risks for the mental health of the children (Sinclair 2001, 8).

_Graca Machel (2000) refers to empirical surveys in Palestine, according to which many teachers and students suffered from serious impairment of their ability to concentrate, above all if they were confronted with violence or had relatives in prison.

8. Reduction in education efficiency and education quality:
_Insofar as it is at all possible to maintain a semblance of regular school operations in times of war and crisis, it has to be assumed that the quality of teaching, and also the performance of students, suffers considerably, as does the standard of the school-leavers' qualifications, not least of all as a result of a higher number of drop-outs :

_A World Bank study on the "hidden costs of ethnic conflict" (Alva et al. 2002) takes Kosovo as an example and reaches the conclusion: "Our results suggest that the last decade of ethnic tension has claimed a substantial toll on the educational outcomes of young male Albanian Kosovars" (ibid.)

_The above-mentioned CPR World Bank study by Marques/Bannon (2003) also evaluates the impact of civil wars in three Central American states with regard to education efficiency, and in a comparison of the matriculation rates and the drop-out rates compared to Costa Rica, which was not affected by any violent conflict, arrives at the following assessment of the state of the education system at the end of the civil war phase: "Education system efficiency in El Salvador,

Guatemala and Nicaragua was very low, dropout and repetition rates far exceeding Costa Rica's. Education quality was poor by various standards: contents, teaching and learning materials, teacher training, educational and psychological services, school buildings and equipment, learning environment, and evaluation systems. Education matters were centralized in the education ministries, which were ill-equipped to regulate, supervise or evaluate their school systems" (ibid., 7).

9. Downturn in public and private education financing:
_ In times of violent conflict and war, state spending usually concentrates on the security and military sectors; correspondingly the resources to date earmarked for the education sector are reduced. Private households also generally have less money for education spending in times of war or are less willing to spend money on school fees, school uniforms etc. given the shift in their priorities. For Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua Marques/Bannon (2003, 19) also verify: "Education spending suffered as defense spending rose".

_ "In El Salvador, defense spending doubled as a share of GDP between 1978 and 1989, while education spending dropped to less than 2 % of GDP" (ibid., 6).

10. Instrumentalisation of educational facilities for the interests of the conflict parties:
_ In the course of protracted crises and conflicts there is a growing danger that educational facilities may be used for the interests of individual parties to a conflict: education itself becomes a "battleground and the students pawns in the conflicts" (Marques/Bannon 2003, 19). For the Central American civil wars of the 1980s it is very clear that schools were increasingly politicised to the extent that the parties to the conflicts used and abused schools to convey their ideas, messages and values (ibid.). In El Salvador, and in part also in Guatemala, it was not least of all the universities, as well as the teachers unions, who themselves often played an active role in the conflicts (ibid.).

_ With a view to the fatal ability of rebel groups in Sierra Leone, for example, to indoctrinate and win children and young people for their military goals with paedagogical means, using the "Rambo" films for instance, Sommers comments: "Many who conduct modern wars are experts at using educational settings to indoctrinate and control children" (Sommers 2002, 8) (see also Chapter 4.)

11. Impact on social distribution of education participation and education opportunities:
_ Frequently the better-off population groups are in a position to guarantee education for their children even in war and crisis situations than is the case with the socially-disadvantaged. As a rule this then involves a further shift in education opportunities to the detriment of the poor population groups. In Guatemala and El Salvador Marques/Bannon (2003, 5) observed: "Education services for the poor were hit hardest by the fighting, particularly in rural areas". In the case of Guatemala there is also an ethno-political factor of growing societal disparity, insofar as "indigenous communities, which had suffered through many decades of exclusion and lack of access to education, bore the brunt of the hostilities" (ibid., 19). In this respect it is above all marginalised children and young people, such as handicapped children and those injured in the conflicts, HIV infected children and street children, who have difficulty availing of education offerings in crisis situations, and in certain cases cannot avail of these at all.

_ The summary diagnosis of Marques/Bannon (2003, 7) at the end of a period of protracted civil wars in Central America conveys a striking image of the diverse effects of violent conflicts on the development of education systems: "In sum, education systems that had been weak to begin with at the start of the 1980s were severely debilitated following ten years of conflict. Problems common to the systems toward the end of the 1980s were low enrolment rates, under-funding and inferior education quality. School management was highly centralized in ministry headquarters. In the

Guatemalan and Nicaraguan systems too little account was being taken of those nations' cultural and linguistic mosaic. Education systems, including teacher appointments, had become politicized during the hostilities."

_A key study, which for the first time ever surveyed extensively and in detail the impact of wars on children and young people, is considered to be the 1996 report "Impact of Armed Conflict on Children" (Machel 1996), which was coordinated by Graca Machel and commissioned by the UN General Assembly. The report also looks at the effects of armed conflicts on the education situation and issues an urgent appeal for education offerings to be maintained during crisis situations, and also highlights a wide range of potential threats to which children in crisis situations are exposed, including
- recruiting of child soldiers,
- flight and expulsion,
- sexual exploitation and gender-specific violence,
- landmines,
- impact of economic sanctions,
- risks for health and nutrition,
- traumatisation.

_The Machel Report attaches particular significance to the psychosocial needs of children in armed conflicts, to special education programmes to deal with the dangers of landmines, and to peace education measures.

_On the whole the literature which has been examined and reviewed here in brief presents a dramatic picture of the adverse effects which crises and violent conflicts have on the realisation of the right to education, and documents the dangers to which teachers and students are exposed. One is inclined to answer the question posed by Sommers: "How can countries affected by conflict arrive at EFA objectives?" with the answer by an expert cited, yet not named, by Sommers: "They can't" (Sommers 2002, 26). The humanitarian catastrophe which war and civil strife represent for a civilian population as a rule also implies an education catastrophe.

_UNESCO talks in this case of "educational emergencies" and defines these as "crisis situations created by conflicts or natural disasters which have destabilized, disorganized or even destroyed the education system and which requires an integrated process of crisis and post-crisis response" (Bensalah 2001, 8). Given the observed trend towards such conflict escalation being on the rise rather than on the wane, the objective of Education for All seems to be a distant prospect. And this is, given the enormous humanitarian consequences associated with the destruction of educational infrastructure, not simply a financial issue, even though this aspect cannot be ignored: in the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2002 UNESCO estimated the additional investment required to attain the goal of universal basic education by 2015 as a consequence of complex emergencies und crises to be around half a billion US dollars per year. The provision for this is that the average costs for the realisation of the EFA objectives in four to five crisis-ridden countries increase by around 25 % per year (UNESCO 2002). The Global Survey of the Women's Commission (2004, 24 et seq.) points out that the sum requested by 11 countries (without Afghanistan) for "education in emergencies" in 2002 within the framework of the UN Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP) was much higher than the available funding: in total it was, on average, only possible to meet with 36 % of the registered sum required.

_In order to be able to appraise more accurately which measures have to be taken to also guarantee adequate education even in crisis situations, Sommers believes that considerable research endeavours are urgently required. The inadequacy and unreliability of the available data on the education situation in wars and post-conflict situations is highly alarming (Sommers 2002, 26). He identifies a specific research need with a view to the life situation of children who cannot attend school in times of crisis, and also with a view to the wishes and education needs of young people: "Without a more concerted effort in this direction, it will remain difficult to calculate the scope of need that exists and

the level of investment that is needed to address it"
(ibid.). The Global Survey on Education in Emergencies
(Women's Commission 2004), which is, after all, able
to provide what is currently the most substantiated
and up-to-date data on the extent of the problem,
complains that there is no centralised statistical re-
porting system (ibid. iii) and believes that such data
collection efforts must be continued for the further
planning and control of this working area (ibid., 25).

_Although the extent to which conflicts and crises
affect the realisation of the goal of universal primary
education may only be roughly estimated, it is obvi-
ous that all strategic endeavours towards Education
for All inevitably integrate the issue of pedagogical
intervention in conflict- and crisis-ridden regions and
have to be taken more seriously as a task than has
been the case to date: "It is essential that education
in situations of emergency and crisis become part
and parcel of all national and regional EFA Plans"
(Bensalah 2002, 38). Critics interpret the fact that
the interplay between education and conflict, and in
particular the conflict-exacerbating and destructive
effects of education (as these are discussed in
Chapter 4), has to date remained under-analysed
is indicative of a generally "apolitical and ahistorical
character" (cf. Tawil/Harley 2004, 6) of the prevailing
discourse within the framework of international
education cooperation and the Education for All
process.

"In today's world it is not realistic to draw up plans where all variables progress smoothly towards a better future, without also having preparedness for setbacks and unforeseen problems" (Sinclair 2002, 128).

3.1 The right to education in crisis situations

_The right to education, as laid down in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ranks among the fundamental human rights. In numerous human rights documents, principles of humanitarian international law, international agreements and declarations by world conferences it is stressed that this human right to education is also valid during emergencies, wars and armed conflicts (cf. also Lenhart 2003, 89-95; Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, as well as Bush/Saltarelli 2000, 36-38, who list all the relevant international provisions for the field of "ethnicity, education and conflict"). In this respect educational facilities are also given special protection under humanitarian international law: their destruction is regarded as a war crime. Moreover, numerous international law documents refer to the basic task of education in contributing to peace, tolerance and understanding between peoples, and also emphasise the right of every individual to receive quality elementary education, which is obliged to the protection of human rights and reinforcing individual and collective peaceability, even in the context of complex emergencies. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which was adopted in 1989, is regarded as the document under international law, which, at least with regard to children, differentiates the right to education in crisis situations and the protection of children from the effects of armed conflicts in the most comprehensive manner to date and bundles all the preceding documents. The CRC has been signed by all the states of the world with the exception of the USA and Somalia. International agreements on the protection of children in times of war go much further back, however: as long ago as 1924 the League of Nations adopted a corresponding "Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child".

_The Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1948 lays down in Article 26 the right of every individual to education. Education should be free and obligatory, at least at the elementary and primary levels. "Education must be oriented to the full development of the human personality and to strengthening respect for human rights and basic liberties. It must foster understanding, tolerance and friendship between all peoples and all races or religious groups, and support the activities of the United Nations to uphold peace". The right to education is further specified in Article 13 and Article 14 of the Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights from 1966, as well as in Article 18 (freedom of parents to decide on the religious and moral education of their children), Article 20 (ban on war propaganda), as well as in Article 27 (ban on discrimination and the right of all ethnic, religious and language minorities to participate in cultural life), without, however, looking in more detail at the special situation of people in conflict-based emergencies.

_The Fourth Geneva Convention from 1949 on the protection of civilians in times of war decrees (among other things in Article 24) that in the event of the military occupation of a country the occupying powers have to ensure that facilities are provided which serve to protect and educate children. The Additional Protocol I from 1977 declares that schools and other buildings which serve civil purposes are to be granted absolute protection from military attacks. The Additional Protocol II on the protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts decrees that education for children is one of the fundamental guarantees even in civil war situations and states under Article 4 (3): "Children will be given the care and assistance they need, in particular (a) they receive the education, including religious and moral education in line with the wishes of their parents, or – if there are no parents – the persons who have to take care of the children".

_The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees lays down the human right to education for refugee children in concrete terms and obliges the countries accepting refugees to grant refugee children the same opportunities in elementary education that are already open to their own citizens.

_The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) from 1989 is unanimously regarded as the most comprehensive human rights document, which, among other things, documents the special protection needs of children (as defined in the convention any person who has not yet reached the age of eighteen) in emergencies in a differentiated manner, and thus, at the same time, is able to provide some orientation for the elaboration of education measures under conditions of armed conflict (cf. e.g. Smith/Vaux 2003, 55). Among other things the convention obliges all the contractual states to allow all children living in their territories, including refugee children and internally displaced persons, access to education without any form of discrimination. In this respect diverse dimensions of the protection of the psychological, physical and cognitive development of children are to be observed. Nicolai/Triplehorn (2003, 10) document a differentiated overview of the contribution which education can and must make to safeguarding the protection needs of children as expressly laid down in the CRC, sub-divided into the areas "physical protection" (including: providing a safe place to play and learn, improving the health and nutrition situation), "psychosocial protection" (including: reinforcing the identity, providing a forum for cultural expression) and "cognitive protection" (including: learning vital survival techniques), and assigned to the corresponding CRC articles. The approach to the protection rights of the child is also used with the "IRC child protection reporting form for teachers" in a practical monitoring instrument (ibid., 32 et seq.). For the area of "education in emergencies" the following provisions of the CRC are relevant, above all:

▪ Article 38: "In accordance with their obligations under international humanitarian law to protect the civilian population in armed conflicts, States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure protection and care of children who are affected by an armed conflict".

▪ Article 39: "States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of a child victim of any (…) or armed conflicts. Such recovery and reintegration shall take place in an environment which fosters the health, self-respect and dignity of the child".

_Furthermore Article 29 stresses that all children have the right to education which is specified in terms of quality to the effect that such education is able "(...) to prepare the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin".

_The plan of action adopted at the fourth World Conference on Women in Peking in 1995 stresses the special necessity of providing education and further training for girls, boys and women affected by flight and displacement (Paragraph 147). In this respect, education on peaceful conflict management should take into consideration the key role which women play in the development of a culture of peace (Paragraph 146).

_Article 8 of the Rome Statute on the International Criminal Court (1998) declares that with international armed conflicts, as well as armed conflicts which do not have an international character, all "premeditated attacks on buildings which are devoted to religious services, education, the arts, sciences and charitable purposes are war crimes" which fall within the jurisdiction of the ICC.

_With Resolution 1261 from August 25, 1999 the UN Security Council also expressly condemned all attacks on "objects protected under international law, including places that usually have a significant pres-

ence of children such as schools and hospitals" and called on all conflict parties to put an end to such practices (Roger 2002, 47).

_The "Dakar Framework for Action" adopted at the World Education Forum 2000 in Dakar refers in several places to the relationship between armed conflicts and attaining the objective of universal elementary education. The international community is called on to pay particular attention to the education situation in crisis regions and "(v) meet the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability and conduct educational programmes in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict" (Para. 8). Furthermore, it is pointed out that "countries in conflict or undergoing reconstruction should be given special attention in building up their education system" (Para. 14) and that "education has a key role to play in preventing conflict in the future and building lasting peace and stability" (Para. 28). In the six Education for All objectives adopted in Dakar, however, at no point is express reference made to the challenge resulting from societal conflicts – a point which Smith/Vaux regard as a decisive weakness of the Dakar objectives (2003, 17).

_Education is regarded – and especially under crisis conditions – as an "enabling right", which enables children to become familiar with all their other rights, to stand up for and to exert these rights (cf. Pigozzi 1999; Smith/Vaux 2003, 13). Insofar as being aware of one's own rights is a prerequisite to actively making use of such rights, human rights education in the sense of "education on and for human rights" (cf. Lenhart 2003, 9) would be recommendable. However, Smith/Vaux (2003, 13) point out that the research to date does not allow the establishment of any form of relationship between the frequency of conflicts and the efficacy of human rights education.

_The fact that the human right to education also applies in humanitarian emergencies, and may not

be suspended in war and crisis situations, is – as is shown by the cited documents – expressly anchored in international law. However, there are a number of reservations towards the "rights approach" (Smith/ Vaux 2003), with regard to the insistence on the positive legal bases for a human right to education, which at the very least indicate the limitations of such an approach:

_Basic education is, in contrast to general secondary education, vocational training, adult education and university education, essentially 'much more' institutionalised in human rights terms (Lenhart 2003, 94 et seq.), pre- and post-primary education tend to be neglected.

_The obligations to guarantee basic education are generally expressed in present tense intentional sentences ("are to be": free of charge, obligatory ...), in the case of secondary education in future tense intentional sentences ("are to be made ...") (ibid.). In this respect there is the tendency to interpret the obligations placed on the state in the provision of universal basic education as being relative to the respective available financial possibilities (ibid.).

_In the human rights documents the right to education is generally interpreted as being too school-centric (Smith/Vaux 2003); other learning methods and forms of education, be these in the further education sector, be these in the informal sector, seem, by contrast, to be either "surplus" or "second-rate education", even though, given the current perspective of life-long learning, the pluralisation of education and the recognition of informal learning achievements are increasingly coming to the fore.

_Also associated with this is the prevailing view that the realisation of the human right to education is primarily attached to quantitative objectives such as enrolment rates, as these are concretised in the EFA objectives and in the Millennium Development Goals in particular. In this regard the role of education quality

is neglected, yet is of central significance, and especially so in crisis situations (cf. Smith/Vaux 2003, 17).

_The rights concept may, according to Smith/Vaux (2003, 14) be a helpful instrument in the discussion between states, and in particular when it comes to providing budgetary funds and allocating aid budgets, it reaches its limits, however, when a decision has to be made on the priority of rights, and above all in intra-national crisis situations. Various rights may, under certain circumstances, come into conflict with one another, their realisation can also demand hierarchisation under shortage conditions, which often implies the deferment of education goals. "Who wants to listen to the teacher in the middle of a violent conflict?" asks Emily Vargas-Baron (in Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998, 275).

_Smith/Vaux make the worthy suggestion of making use of the alternative "capability" approach by Sen for the international development and education discussion (Smith/Vaux 2003, 14), a proposal which goes beyond the widely prevalent rights concept. For Sen the quality of a person's life is not primarily measured in terms of the fundamental rights attained, nor in terms of the available economic goods, but rather through the actual freedoms a person has to use and expand the ensemble of his capabilities (cf. Sen 1999). Seen in this light, education could be considered an essential instrument and an asset which allows a person to increase his options.

3.2 Education in complex emergencies: On the genesis of a working field

_The working field "education in emergencies" is very new. It has only developed in the past ten to fifteen years. Only in the course of the 1990s, against the background of virulent crises in many parts of the world, did the specific protection and education needs of children in complex emergencies come more to the fore in the general consciousness, whereby the differ-

entiation of relevant pedagogical programmes was suggested within the framework of education assistance and humanitarian aid. The much-vaunted thematic UNESCO study for the World Education Forum in Dakar 2000 expressly concedes that the massive impairment of education endeavours as a result of a wave of armed conflicts and civil wars was not really given enough consideration at the World Education Forum 1990 in Jomtien: "The tone was optimistic and there was little mention of education in emergencies, just a reference in Article 3 of the Declaration to removing educational disparities for underserved groups including refugees; those displaced by war; and people under occupation" (Bensalah 2001, 7). The plan of action devoted a mere three sentences to the education of populations affected by catastrophes (ibid.).

_As the first comprehensive attempt to record the specific education needs of refugees and people in emergencies, Retamal/Aedo Richmond (1998, 6 et seq.) refer to the study "Education in Exile" (Dodds and Inquai 1983), which was presented in 1983 by the Cambridge-based International Extension College IEC (cf. also T. Jäger 2002). The proposals developed therein for the establishment of an inter-institutional pedagogical agency, which should, among other things, set up emergency teams, develop the corresponding education programmes for refugees which should bundle and review the available findings, as well as mobilise international support for education for refugees, failed, however, due to a lack of funding, yet possibly also – as Retamal/Aedo-Richmond (1998, 7) presume – due to the fact that at that time there was very little understanding of the necessity for inter-organisational cooperation.

_The first "Consultation on the Provision and Co-ordination of Education for Refugees", which was jointly organised in November 1990 in Geneva by UNHCR and the World University Service WUS, however, then initiated cooperation between the relevant organisations in this field. A working group was established, which in 1992 submitted the first draft of

the Guidelines for Educational Assistance for Refugees, which was ultimately submitted in a revised form in 1995 which is still valid today (fully documented among others in Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998, 289-341).

_At the "Mid-Decade Meeting on Education for All" in Amman in 1996 greater attention was devoted to education in complex emergencies than was the case in Jomtien in 1990. "Delivering basic education in situations of crisis and transition" ranked among the points on the conference's agenda; an improved understanding of the role played by education in conflict management and crisis prevention was called for in the recommendations, and schools were declared to be "safety zones", which have to be respected at all costs in times of armed conflict (cf. Bensalah 2001, 7).

_The "Report of the Expert on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children", coordinated by Graca Machel (1996) and submitted in the same year, commissioned by the UN General Assembly in 1993, led, with its urgent appeal for "educational activity to be established as a priority component of all humanitarian assistance", to greater endeavours at the level of the UN organisations and NGOs to place "education in emergencies" in the context of humanitarian aid and for it to be anchored accordingly at programme level. Considerable significance was attached in this respect to the campaign initiated by the Norwegian Refugee Council NRC to acknowledge education as a fundamental "fourth pillar" in humanitarian aid, alongside the conventional pillars of food, health, shelter (cf. Sinclair 2002). The Norwegian and Canadian governments have, in the meantime, based their humanitarian response on a corresponding understanding of education as a "fourth pillar" (ibid., 120).

_To date, however, there can still be no talk of education actually being given the same status within the framework of humanitarian aid in complex emergencies as that given to the other "pillars" – something which is probably due to the fact that education assistance

is primarily regarded as an instrument of (long-term) development cooperation, i.e. as a development policy instrument, and not also as a core task in humanitarian aid. Sommers illustrates this using the example of the renowned Sphere Project (which was initiated in 1991 by aid organisations and the Red Cross so as to formulate minimum standards for emergency aid): "The tendency for relief agencies more generally to 'see education as a development activity' (Foster 1995, 20) is underscored by its absence from the areas covered by the Sphere Project. This groundbreaking initiative is spearheaded by a diverse array of humanitarian organizations, led by the humanitarian consortia (sometimes described as alliances or coalitions) Steering Committee for Humanitarian Response (SCHR) and InterAction, with support from VOICE, the International Council of Voluntary Associations (ICVA) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). (…) Two officials involved in the Sphere Project stated that education was considered as a potential category by Sphere's authors but ultimately dropped because a majority of committee members did not view it as an essential emergency provision" (Sommers 2001b).

_Nicolai/Triplehorn confirm this impression with a view to the governmental and non-governmental donor organisations: "Because education has traditionally been seen as part of development work, not humanitarian relief, humanitarian donors have generally been reluctant to fund emergency education responses. Moreover, few bilateral donors have a policy specifically on education in countries in, or emerging from, conflict. A notable exception is the Swedish agency SIDA, which has produced guidelines for humanitarian assistance in the education sector. These list the right to education as the basis of grants, and highlight that protection can serve as a further justification for education programmes in humanitarian situations" (l.c., 16). The SIDA guidelines for humanitarian aid in the education sector (SIDA 2002a) emphasise the right of access to education for all persons affected by an emergency, stress the necessity for the provi-

sion of quality education, the adaptation of methods and content to local conditions, and the inclusion of the corresponding education intervention in a long-term perspective. The SIDA reference paper "Education in Situations of Emergency, Conflict and Postconflict" (SIDA 2002b) also foresees the promotion of international networks which advocate strengthening the significance of education in the context of humanitarian aid and development cooperation.

_In the meantime "education in emergencies" enjoys a comparatively high degree of awareness in the UN organisations UNICEF, UNHCR and UNESCO (and also in part within the World Food Programme WFP):

_1) For UNHCR education is, in accordance with the guidelines from 1995 (see above) and the "Agenda for Protection" submitted in 2002, an elementary component in the protection of refugees (although Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 14, draw attention to the fact that the UNHCR education programmes are suffering in particular from budget cuts). UNHCR is fundamentally obliged to the concept of "education for repatriation", links the educational activities with the prospect of the return of the refugees, something which is also reflected in the orientation towards the curricula of the native country and the teaching languages of the refugees' country of origin. In 1997 UNHCR also began to develop a special "Peace Education Programme", starting with the refugee camps in Dadaab and Kakuma in Kenya, which in the meantime has been implemented in twelve countries, thereof nine in Africa, and which was also adapted and taken over by the INEE (see below, also Chapter 5) in 2001 (cf. Baxter 2004). There are a number of evaluations of the UNHCR/INEE Peace Education Programme (among others Obura 2002). Alongside the peace education programme, UNHCR has independent curricular concepts for education in the refugee context, among other things for environmental education and human rights education. A letter of intention signed with UNICEF states that as a rule UNHCR is responsible for education programmes in refugee

situations; UNICEF, in contrast, coordinates education programmes for internally displaced persons (Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 14). Provided UNHCR is in agreement, responsibility for the coordination of education in refugee projects can also be transferred to UNICEF. Moreover, in individual cases UNHCR may also be entrusted by the UN Security Council with taking care of internally displaced persons, something which very rarely happens, however (cf. Sommers 2002, 13).

_2) At UNICEF, whose task is generally that of protecting the rights of children, and which in the opinion of Sommers (2002, 13) has the most extensive institutional capacities in all three phases of an emergency (before, during and after the crisis), education assistance in complex emergencies bears the name "Rapid educational response" (Aguilar/Retamal 1998). For this sector UNICEF has developed special "survival packages", "recreation kits" and "schools-in-a-box", which are intended to be available within a period of 3 days in emergency situations. The establishment of "child friendly spaces" plays a key role in the UNICEF concept. The pioneering and much-documented Education Emergency Programme for the Rwandan refugees in Tanzania and eastern Zaire after the genocide in April 1994 (cf. among others Aguilar/Richmond 1998) was jointly developed by UNICEF and UNESCO (and also with the support of GTZ among others). UNICEF also has a well-founded concept of "peace education", which, in contrast to the above-mentioned UNHCR programme, however, is regarded as a cross-cutting topic in all forms of general education and is not therefore specified as education under complex emergency conditions (Fountain 1999, cf. Chapter 5).

_3) UNESCO, generally responsible for the broad area of international cooperation in the fields of culture, education, sciences and communication, established a "Programme for Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction" (PEER), based in Nairobi, as long ago as 1993. The programme began with the development of so-called "Teacher Emergency

Packages" in Mogadishu in 1993, was then extended to all of Somalia and thereafter Somaliland, as well as to refugee camps in Kenya, Yemen and Ethiopia. The UNESCO PEER concept of Teacher Emergency Packages was also a key element for the above-mentioned education programmes in the camps for Rwandan refugees in Tanzania and eastern Zaire.

_In accordance with the overview from Nicolai/Triplehorn (2003, 14 et seq.) the following actors also play a leading role in the field of "education in emergencies":
- the International Committee of the Red Cross ICRC, which, among other things, designs curriculum materials on international humanitarian law and in individual crisis regions provides assistance for schools, e.g. on Mindanao and in Chechnya;
- the International Rescue Committee IRC (based in Washington), which set up a "Children and Armed Conflict Unit" in the wake of the Machel Report from 1996; with a focus on "rapid response" and "displaced persons", IRC operates education projects in nearly 20 countries;
- the Norwegian Refugee Council NRC regards education as a fourth pillar in humanitarian aid and has Norwegian and African emergency teams ready for deployment within 72 hours;
- in 2001 the International Save the Children Alliance began to coordinate and intensify the work in the education sector and hosted an Emergency Education Coordinator in 2002; of the Save the Children member organisations Sweden, Norway, US and UK are particularly active in this field;
- the Jesuit Refugee Service has a Resource Centre for Education in Emergencies in Nairobi;
- the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, an offshoot of the International Rescue Committee IRC, has established itself as a lobbying and consulting organisation and taken on the issue of education in crisis situations; in February 2004 it presented an extensive inventory "Global Survey on Education in Emergencies" (Women's Commission 2004). The underlying data basis, which covers over 500 projects from 160 organisa-

tions in 113 countries, is accessible to INEE members on the internet (www.ineesite.org).

_Although several non-government organisations do produce excellent work in this sector, writes Margaret Sinclair, there is not one "international NGO that has pre-eminence in the field of emergency-education" (Sinclair 2002, 113). At least the above-mentioned survey by the Women's Commission, conducted in co-operation with UNICEF, UNHCR and INEE among others, shows that the challenges of education in complex emergencies have been taken up by the actors in humanitarian response and development cooperation, and that in the meantime an inter-organisational international cooperation and discussion context has been established. A key role here is played by the Interagency Network on Education in Emergencies INEE, which, taking up the impetus of the Dakar conference, was established at the Geneva Interagency Consultation on Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis in November 2000 (UNESCO/INEE 2002). INEE has, in accordance with the mandate from Dakar, set itself the overriding goal of "promoting access to and completion of education of high quality for all persons affected by emergencies, crises or chronic instability" and has the following individual objectives:
- "to share knowledge and experience;
- to promote greater donor understanding of education in emergencies;
- to advocate for education to be included in emergency response;
- to make teaching and learning responses available as widely as possible;
- to ensure attention is paid to gender issues in emergency education initiatives;
- to document and disseminate best practices in the field; and
- to move towards consensual guidelines on education in emergencies" (according to Nicolai/Triplehorn 2003, 14).

_INEE, with its secretariat at the domicile of UNESCO in Paris, covers not only the relevant UN organisations

and international agencies, but also numerous national NGOs, research institutes, lobby organisations, as well as national ministries. The members of the Steering Group include UNESCO, UNHCR, UNICEF, CARE US, IRC, NRC and the Save the Children Alliance. INEE has also been assigned to the "Working Group on Standards of Education in Emergencies" since 2003, which intends to present quality standards for education programmes for children and adolescents in crisis situations by the end of 2005.

_Alongside the INEE, the International Bureau of Education of UNESCO (IBE) in Geneva also has a certain coordinating function, at least in the field of research, training and concept development on issues regarding education in emergency situations and reconstruction. Only recently the results of a major research project were submitted, including instructive case studies on Guatemala, Rwanda, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mozambique, Lebanon, Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland, on "curriculum change and social cohesion in conflict-affected societies" (cf. Tawil 2003; Tawil/Harley 2004, and also www.ibe.unesco.org). Finally the Global Information Network in Education (GINIE) should also be mentioned, which, located at the University of Pittsburgh, provides an electronic database on the internet with countless documents on this working field (www.ginie.org).

_The harsh criticism which Sommers (2002) levels in a World Bank study at the conceptional shortcomings, the lack of empirical findings, the inadequate planning basis, as well as the poor division of work and cooperation between the relevant actors, has to be relativised somewhat given the latest intensive research and cooperation endeavours in this field. Sommers notes that with regard to the cooperation of the actors in this field there is no clear division of work, which often leads to confusion of the institutional mandates: "Competition, confusion and some level of conflict is commonplace" (Sommers 2002, 13). Even between the UN organisations, and in particular in the post-

conflict phase, the mandate apportionment is not sufficiently clear. Conflicts are pre-programmed, he states, and in particular between UNICEF and UNHCR, when it is a question of the overlapping responsibilities for internally displaced persons and refugees returning to the same post-war communities (ibid., 149). Sommers also points out that numerous multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank and the regional development banks, yet also powerful agencies such as USAID and ECHO, are more interested in supporting education in the reconstruction phase than in acute emergencies.

3.3 Conceptional parameters and lessons learned

3.3.1 Comments on the literature and research status

_The following comments concentrate on the conceptional parameters for education programmes in so-called "complex emergencies". "Complex emergencies" are understood to be man-made and comparatively protracted crises such as civil strife and war (Pigozzi 1999, 1; Sinclair 2002, 22) – in contrast to emergencies of a lesser duration triggered by natural catastrophes such as earthquakes and flooding. Moreover, there is also talk, e.g. in UNICEF publications, of "silent emergencies", i.e. creeping, chronic emergencies resulting from extreme poverty or the consequences of HIV/AIDS (cf. Sinclair 2002, 23; on the dramatic negative implications of HIV/AIDS on the realisation of universal basic education particularly enlightening: UNESCO 2002). The latter are not taken into account here, and given the thematic focus of this study on the relationship between education and conflict the pedagogical implications of natural catastrophes are to be ignored, although the literature expressly differentiates astoundingly rarely between education concepts in emergencies resulting from violence and those resulting from natural catastrophes: thus for Margaret Sinclair (2002), in her study that is crucial to this area, "education in emergencies" ex-

pressly includes both basic forms of humanitarian catastrophe (not, however, "silent emergencies"). Ultimately a characteristic feature of such catastrophes is the fact that people are forced to leave their home country – inversely this almost paradigmatic focus on the position of refugees and internally displaced persons also means that other no less prevalent emergencies, in which people are confronted with civil strife, war and other armed conflicts without being able to flee from their familiar environment for a longer period, are only mentioned in passing as "education in emergencies", and are very often not mentioned at all. Sinclair, however, warns: "Every crisis is different, and there are no sure formulae for successful response" (Sinclair 2002, 26).

_The status of research and the conceptional basis in this – as outlined above – still comparatively young working field is unanimously bemoaned in the literature as being inadequate. The thematic UNESCO study from 2001 states in its introduction: "The field of education in emergency and post-emergency situations is rather new and poorly documented" (Bensalah 2001, 9). The working field lacks systematic research "and there is an atmosphere of improvisation which hampers effectiveness" (ibid., 38). The available case studies have a descriptive rather than an evaluative character (ibid.). Above all there is a lack of qualitative standards: "The wide variation in the quality of emergency education reflects uncertainty among supporting agencies about standards for provision of educational materials, in-service-teacher training, non-formal education" (ibid., 6). In its detailed recommendations the study attaches particular significance to the development and institutionalisation of the further training of the persons operating in this field of humanitarian assistance and education assistance (ibid., 39), and believes more in-depth research to be necessary, above all with a view to the neglected fields of education in the secondary and tertiary sectors, as well as in vocational training, the significance of gender-specific aspects, and consideration of handicapped children.

_In addition to the criticism of the division of work and the flimsy data available, Sommers also finds fault with the superficial nature of the available literature: "The literature on education during emergencies (…) tends to be limited in depth and scope and fairly defensive" (Sommers 2002, 9). In his view, with the exception of two extensive compendia (Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998; Crisp 2001), there have been no academic book publications on the topic – a finding confirmed by the underlying literature research for this study, whereby, however, there are in the meantime further extensive surveys on the state of the art of the discipline in the form of Margaret Sinclair's 140-page UNESCO-IIEP study "Planning education in and after emergencies" and the "Global Survey on Education in Emergencies" by the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2004), which can certainly claim to have a "manual character".

_Sommers also complains that there is no evaluation of the available findings and experiences (ibid., 16), and even identifies it as a particular weakness of this working field that very little value is generally attached to evaluations (ibid., 25). Ultimately he rejects the widespread "kitting approach" (ibid., 18): the majority of endeavours in the field of education in complex emergencies consistently use technologically simple material solutions, such as the "school kits", which, because they are usually purely top-down models (which were developed without the involvement of the affected communities), are to be regarded as questionable (ibid., 27, see also Sinclair 2002, 41). Although it is possible with the aid of the popular "teacher education packages", writes Lynn Davies, to quickly provide important material requirements for the resumption of pedagogical measures, due to their standardised form, however, they are not suited to leading "to creativity or problem-solving about the conflict itself or children's response to it" (Davies 2004, 150). The Inter-Agency Consultation in Situations of Emergency therefore also recommended the phasing out of teacher education packages and school-kits wherever feasible as quickly as possible (ibid.).

Nevertheless, the "'one-size-fits-all' approach to education" (ibid.) is still very common everywhere. Sinclair also bemoans the often poorly conceived didactic-methodical approaches of many organisations working in the field of "education in emergencies" when she points out that many actors "often see education in terms of its narrowest interpretation: chalk and talk" (Sinclair 2002, 113).

_The above-mentioned compendium from Retamal/ Aedo-Richmond (1998) had already noted that "during the past fifteen years, very little has been done to assess educational interventions intended to tackle the humanitarian and refugee crisis" (l.c., 1). However, the publishers hoped that progress could be made not so much through a conceptional basis as through concrete project experiences and case studies, which, accordingly, are well documented in their compendium: "We are convinced that the movement towards collaboration and education programmes can only be effected in the field" (ibid., 3).

a) Phase model versus child-(learner-)centred approach

_Education programmes in emergency situations in the wake of armed conflicts were originally guided by the idea that humanitarian and development measures may be structured in a specific sequence in line with the assumed stages and escalation stages of the conflicts, and that relevant phase-specific models are to be used and different priorities observed. Regarding "education in emergencies" as a specific working field presupposes certain assumptions on the temporal dynamic of a conflict, into which "education in emergencies" may then be slotted between education in the pre-war phase and education in the post-war phase. In a study by UNESCO-IBE this relationship is illustrated convincingly, whereby, however, education assistance in the pre-conflict phase is primarily assigned the task of prevention, and education assistance in the post-conflict phase is primarily given the task of societal and democratic reconstruction:

Conflict status and type of educational initiative					
Conflict status	Non conflict; relativ peace	Internal trouble; social unrest; "pre"conflict	Armed conflict	Transition out of violence; Peace process	"Post"conflict
Type of educational initiative	Education for prevention	Education in emergencies			Education for social and civic reconstruction

Source: Tawil/Harley 2004, 11

3.3.2 Conceptional bases

_The conceptional debates documented in the literature revolve around two central, closely-linked controversies, which may be characterised as tension between a phase model and a child-centred approach, on the one hand, and the tension between an aid concept and a development concept of education programmes in humanitarian emergencies, on the other hand:

_If education in emergencies is not merely to be understood as a humanitarian emergency relief measure but as a quality education programme, which sows the seeds for reconstruction and which, as for example in the UNHCR Peace Education Programme, includes significant peace education components, then this model questions the common opinion, and above all in the German literature, that peace-building measures in the main phase of an armed conflict "are neither possible nor effective" (DED 2003, 9). Schell-Faucon

puts forward a similar line of argumentation: "Peace-building education and youth work is required above all when there is a latent conflict, and in post-war and peace phases. There is very little opportunity to have any influence during violent conflicts" (Schell-Faucon 2001, 6*; see also Ropers 2002, 74). "Education in emergencies", in contrast, can, at least in the explicit peace education-oriented approaches, as represented above all by UNHCR, UNICEF and UNESCO, certainly be regarded as peace-building work with population groups directly affected by armed conflicts.

_The sequence of the respective stages also plays a major role in the organisation of the education measures in emergency situations: UNICEF, UNESCO and UNHCR differentiate, based on the school-training experiences of the joint refugee programme in the camp at Ngara/Tanzania (cf. Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998), between three phases. Accordingly, Phase 1 comprises the leisure time and recreational activities for children rapidly organised on site, as well as the preparatory measures for the launch of education programmes; Phase 2 comprises the establishment of non-formal teaching activities; Phase 3 the development of quasi-normal school operations, with the implementation of a curriculum, school leaving examinations and regular teacher training. This phase model has also been included in the revised (1995) Guidelines for Educational Assistance to Refugees (cf. Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998, 289 et seq. and Aguilar/Retamal 1998). A differentiated planning matrix for the measures to be adopted "immediately", "sooner" and "later" is presented by Nicolai/Triple-horn (2003, 31 et seq.).

_Sinclair points out that in practice this phase model no longer has any compelling significance (2002, 41): major significance is attached to institutionalising regular school operations as soon as possible even in emergency situations and in refugee camps; above all the start of a new school year on the normal dates is an important psychological signal for the recreation of normality (ibid.).

_Yet not only the three-phase model of UNHCR with its graded priorities of "Rapid Educational Response" has lost ground in terms of its ability to convince, the conflict phase model itself is very controversial with respect to its analytical incisiveness and its practical relevance for development cooperation and education assistance: the common assumption that three different sets of framework conditions are required for suitable action with a pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict phase, is considered by Sommers (2002, 14) to be very "artificial". He points out that the commencement and conclusion of protracted wars and armed conflicts are often difficult to identify, that instability and insecurity may be present in all three phases, and that the conflict zones in the countries affected by armed conflicts can constantly shift. Acute security threats, e.g. through landmines and violent crime, can have a much more dramatic effect on the living conditions of the population following armed conflicts. Thus, for instance, more people are currently dying as a consequence of violent crime in El Salvador than they did during the civil war. It is also probable that following the 1991 Gulf War more people died due to the effects of the war than during the military combat itself (Davies 2004, 143). The DFID study also considers it problematic to differentiate between the individual conflict phases (Smith/Vaux 2002, 6); it is no less problematic to draw a line between countries affected by armed conflicts and countries not affected: "In reality there is no absolute distinction but rather a set of gradations through tension towards violence" (ibid., 47). The German government points out in its plan of action that in the reality of modern warfare the traditional conflict phases are becoming increasingly blurred: "Only in about half of all cases does the formal termination of violence lead to a lasting peace" (Bundesregierung 2004, 5).

_In particular with a view to the crisis prevention function of education we can see the limits of the phase model, as the ability for civil conflict management seems to be required in every phase, and certainly not only in the pre-crisis phase or the phase

of pedagogical prevention, which can only be determined ex-post anyway (and whose end paradoxically enough becomes visible when the failure of all prevention endeavours has become evident as there is now a violent conflict). Above all, the everyday situation in overcrowded refugee camps is often characterised by violence and overt conflicts, and demands suitable conflict management competence (cf. Obura 2002). Sommers (2001b) characterises the young refugees as the most explosive segment of a population in situations affected by conflicts. And under the conditions of violence and war, in particular, the social foundations have to be laid for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in the subsequent societal upheavals. Yet it is not only the necessity for continuity in conflict-sensitive education work, but also the acute protection and development needs of children which make a gradation of education intervention in accordance with the pattern of assumed escalation phases seem less than reasonable.

_Nicolai/Triplehorn (2003, 17 et seq.) therefore put forward the "child-centred approach", which, for example, the work of Save the Children pursues, as an alternative to the phase model. They note that the phase models ultimately correspond to the action logic of the providers of humanitarian aid, however, and not to the needs of children and the communities affected. Rather the focus has to be on the well-being of children, their psychosocial and cognitive protection, they state, and be supported by four equally important instruments: support for existing education structures, special measures to get as yet non-enrolled children into school, extra-curricular education measures for all those not able or willing to attend school, as well as extra-curricular education measures for small children and young people no longer of an age where they are required to attend school (ibid., 18).

_Save the Children advocates education be perceived as a key instrument in the protection of children. Nicolai/Triplehorn (2003, 26), however, also see the need for further research into this view of "education

in emergencies": "Child protection should be an integral part of all emergency education activities, and should be a fundamental criterion in the approval of a programme by NGO staff, host governments and donors. Emergency education is a young and developing field, and there is no consensus among implementing agencies as to what constitutes 'best practice'. There is a need for in-depth research into education projects that aim to enhance the protection of children."

b) From the aid concept to the development approach

_Whereas the above basic understanding (Chapter 3.2) of education assistance as an instrument for long-term development cooperation has in the past tended to hinder the acknowledgement of education priorities within the framework of humanitarian aid, the latest endeavours to integrate education components into the social assistance provided in humanitarian emergencies run the risk of being conceptualised as emergency measures without a longer-term development perspective: "Rapid responses to complex emergencies still follow a medical-relief model" criticise Retamal/Aedo-Richmond (1998, 3).

_The provision of education offerings, however, always has to have a short-term and a longer-term time horizon: education can, on the one hand, serve the immediate satisfaction of the psychosocial and cognitive needs of learners, and in particular children, yet is also to be understood as an investment in the development of a peaceful society (cf. Sinclair 2002, 119). Pigozzi therefore expressly advocates a long-overdue change of paradigm (Pigozzi 1999, 20) from an assistance concept to a development concept of education measures in times of emergency, crisis and war: "Education in emergency situations has frequently been viewed as a short-term response that is a stop-gap measure until normalcy can be restored: a relief effort. This concept must be challenged (…). Any emergency education programme must be a development programme and not merely a stop-gap measure" (Pigozzi 1999,3). "Education is not a relief activity; it is

central to human and national development and must be conceptualized as a development activity" (ibid. 1999, i).

_The UNESCO study "Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis" also advocates "that the distinction between emergency and development be disregarded in the case of education" (Bensalah 2001, 37). In the literature there is a unanimous vote for the development-oriented approach, with the effect that the regular polemic towards the restricted aid concept of "education in emergencies" occasionally seems like superfluous shadow-boxing. It is to be presumed, however, that practice in education aid in the context of humanitarian aid actually deviates from this conceptional consensus, as Aguilar/Retamal state that there is generally a wide chasm between theorists and practitioners in this area: "A big gap remains between educational practitioners working in the field of complex emergencies and the copious methodological contributions and curriculum development initiatives produced in developed countries on the issue of education, peace and reconciliation" (Aguilar/Retamal 1998, 41).

_Sinclair even expressly warns aid organisations against offering direct aid activities in the education sector unless they are also prepared to commit themselves to the more complex, long-term tasks of education assistance: "NGOs should not take on the narrow task of providing classrooms, blackboards and teachers if they are not prepared also to take on the wider task of providing access to education enriched with recreational (…) activities and messages needed especially by emergency-affected children and young people" (Sinclair 2002, 114).

_A World Bank study talks of a continuum between humanitarian aid and long-term development cooperation. With a view to the specific tasks of reconstructing education structures following armed conflicts the study forecasts the genesis of a new integrated concept: "The future, however, will demand that short

term relief and long-term development processes become merged into the type of transition programming that is now beginning to occur" (Raphael 1998, 3). The DFID paper "Education, Conflict and International Development" also advocates the integration of the aid and development approach, something which for the authors, however, implies a challenging analytical dimension which goes far beyond the context of humanitarian aid: "The present paper argues for education to be included in a comprehensive analysis of the causes of conflict and a factor in its dynamics, uniting relief responses with development approaches in a 'smart' and 'coherent' way. Short-term humanitarian assistance should include an education response" (Smith/Vaux 2003, 44).

_Until well into the late 1980s, development organisations, relief organisations and international organisations assumed in their work that fundamentally different approaches and objectives apply to emergency relief und development cooperation as a rule. The "continuum" model developed in the UN context in the 1980s was intended to help bridge the period between the emergency response and the resumption of education programmes following natural catastrophes or in post-war situations, and foresaw a clearly structured division of work on the part of the respective responsible actors for the activities in the successive phases. This approach proved unsuitable, above all, in the context of violent conflicts and in post-conflict situations, yet showed, for example, that emergency relief, reconstruction aid, development programmes, food aid, repatriation aid for refugees etc. have to be closely inter-linked after the end of civil war, and, given the frequently very disparate situations in different regions of the affected countries, also have to run in parallel over a longer period. With the "contiguum" model developed at the beginning of the 1990s it was intended to take into account that corresponding integrated bundles of measures are necessary in post-war situations, and, at the same time, that these measures require close cooperation between the actors involved. Within the framework of

the European Union and European non-governmental organisations, the renunciation of the idea of successive linear intervention phases is to be seen in the so-called LRRD concept ("Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development", cf. Solari 2003; Brambilla et al. 2001); UNDP has developed a triple-R approach, which endeavours to link rehabilitation, reconstruction and reintegration (cf. Bruchhaus 2002). Linking immediate aid, refugee programmes, reconstruction and catastrophe prevention is also at the heart of the GTZ approach for "development-oriented emergency relief" (EON). Although the necessity for linking emergency relief and long-term development cooperation is now generally acknowledged, the implementation of corresponding concepts, e.g. at EU level, is apparently still only progressing slowly (cf. Solari 2004).

_Insofar as there is a unanimous opinion that "education in emergencies" has to be located at the interface between humanitarian and development cooperation, education for crisis-affected populations should, in Sinclair's opinion, also be funded from both budgets (Sinclair 2002, 120). In her opinion, however, the difference between education aid in emergency situations and the longer-term cooperation with the (state) education sector under "normal" conditions should not be blurred too much in developing countries. She cites three specific characteristics for "education in emergencies": on the one hand the community of aid institutions, insofar as they assume responsibility for the education assistance in emergencies, has a certain obligation towards the donors, who attach major significance to the recognisable effectiveness of the measures provided; on the other hand the special needs and problems of crisis-affected populations have to be taken into consideration; and ultimately "education in emergencies" is inevitably subject to very short-term planning horizons (Sinclair 2002, 30 et seq.).

_This is why early preparatory planning of the corresponding intervention in emergency situations is necessary; "preparedness planning", however,

ranks among the least pronounced and least-researched instruments in this working field (e.g. Sommers 2002, 17; cf. also Pigozzi 1999, 6 et seq.). "In today's world it is not realistic to draw up plans where all variables progress smoothly towards a better future, without also having preparedness for setbacks and unforeseen problems" (Sinclair 2002, 128).

3.3.3 Guidelines and lessons learned
_In its latest global inventory, which recorded some 500 education programmes in complex emergencies, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2004, 6 et seq.) lists a wide range of pedagogical measures which are applied in this field (see also Schell-Faucon 2001):
- structured recreational activities for children and young people,
- development of youth centres,
- formal education,
- vocational training,
- accelerated short-term education programmes,
- bridging programmes,
- life skills education,
- teacher training,
- distance courses.

_In this respect there is general consensus in the literature that the various instruments and measures may not be viewed and used in isolation, rather they have to be interlinked within the framework of a coherent concept. Complex emergencies need complex educational responses, sums up Lynn Davies (2004, 164). Thus, for example, it is necessary to link up recreational activities, trauma therapy, the teaching of practical everyday competences and skills, and peace education measures.

_Pigozzi (1999, 15) points out that alongside the "classical" target group of children of school age, special attention has to be devoted to a number of population groups, including:
- former child soldiers,
- peacekeeping and intervention troops,

- infants (early development),
- adults.

_In general, maintains Pigozzi, special significance should be attached to the specific needs of girls and women, as well as to their participation in education. The survey by the Women's Commission (2004) has shown that girls are clearly under-represented in education offerings under complex emergency conditions as a rule, whereby the education participation of girls decreases dramatically in the secondary stage, above all. The Women's Commission recommends, among other things, that more female teaching staff be deployed, as in refugee schools they generally only make up about one quarter, and in some cases less than one tenth, of the teaching personnel (ibid., 20).

_With regard to the development of curricula, prominent significance is attached to the teaching of "life skills". The important elements of the necessary everyday competences in conflict-driven complex emergencies as listed by Pigozzi (1999, 14 et seq.) are:
- skills for civil and constructive conflict management,
- addressing grief, traumata and mental stress,
- mine awareness,
- health and healthy lifestyles,
- decision making and assertiveness skills,
- safe learning environment.

_The non-governmental organisation "Save the Children" has developed a contentual framework concept for the design of the curriculum which covers three competence dimensions (cf. Save the Children 2002; Nicolai 2002):
- "Survival skills: learning to live where you live": among these Save the Children ranks abilities which allow learners to participate safely and productively in community life; topics such as security issues, health education, environment education, vocational training are to be assigned to this area.
- "Development skills: learning to be": this includes social competences, cooperation and communica-

tion abilities etc., as well as the ability to express oneself in an adequate linguistic manner.
- "Academic/learning skills: learning to learn": Save the Children expressly stresses the significance of qualified specialist and methodical competence, with a view to reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as to geographical, historical knowledge etc.

_UNESCO has published "Guidelines for Education in Situations of Emergency" (Bensalah 2002) within the framework of the EFA strategy planning; these are, above all, motivated by the significant issue that the possibility of a pedagogical reaction to crises and emergencies has to be integrated from the very outset into all the planning concepts for the EFA process. The guidelines highlight the core functions of education in crisis situations:
- helps meet the special psychosocial needs of children and adolescents;
- is a tool for protecting children in emergencies;
- teaches vital survival competences;
- is a tool for social cohesion;
- teaches the skills required for the reconstruction of the economic basis of a society (l.c., 11).

_Above all the guidelines take as their main theme the differing levels of education accessibility on the part of refugees and internally displaced persons, as well as parameters for the design of curricula. They stress the necessity for certification of the education courses in refugee camps and the need for cooperation between aid organisations. On the whole, however, these guidelines are very heavily influenced by the ideal of the peace-building aspect and positive function of education (ignoring the possible destructive impact of failed or mistaken education, which is to be discussed here in Chapter 4) and neglect, for example, the problem of violence and criminality and of sexual abuse, which is often virulent in refugee camps, and often also in the educational facilities in refugee camps (cf. e.g. Obura 2002; Sommers 2001). The perspective of these guidelines seems heavily state-centred and oriented towards the agreement of

the respective governments involved – generally ignoring the negative role which state organs play as conflict actors in the armed conflicts under consideration here (cf. also Smith/Vaux 2003).

_Against the background of the survey of numerous experts and practitioners in this working field, the analysis of the available studies, and her own extensive experience, Margaret Sinclair (2002, 29 et seq.) has drawn up a total of 14 principles which may be regarded as exemplary and comprehensive standards for "emergency education" (see also the "lessons learned" in UNESCO-PEER in Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998, 210 et seq.):

I. Access to education
1. The right of access to education, recreation and related activities must be ensured, even in crisis situations.
2. Rapid access to education, recreation and related activities should be followed by steady improvement in education quality and coverage, including access to all levels of education and recognition of studies.
3. Education programmes should be gender-sensitive, accessible to and inclusive of all groups.
4. Education should serve as a tool for child protection and prevention of harm.

II. Resources
1. Education programmes should use a community-based participatory approach, with emphasis on capacity-building.
2. Education programmes should include a major component of training for teachers and youth/adult educators, and provide incentives to avoid teacher turnover.
3. Crisis and recovery programmes should develop and document locally appropriate targets for resourcing standards, adequate to meet their educational and psychosocial needs.

III. Activities/Curricula
1. All crisis-affected children and young people should have access to education, recreation and related activities, helping to meet their psychosocial needs in the short and longer term.
2. Curriculum policy should support the long-term development of individual students and of the society and, for refugee populations, should be supportive of a durable solution, normally repatriation.
3. Education programmes should be enriched to include life skills for education for health, safety, and environmental awareness.
4. Education programmes should be enriched to include life skills for education for peace/conflict resolution, tolerance, human rights and citizenship.
5. Vocational training programmes should be linked to opportunities for workplace practices of the skills being learned.

IV. Co-ordination and capacity-building
1 Governments and development cooperation agencies should promote co-ordination between all agencies and stakeholders.
2. External assistance programmes should include capacity building to promote transparent, accountable and inclusive system management by local protagonists.

_Of late, in line with Sinclair's advice of linking up with local competences and resources, within the framework of the INEE Working Group on Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies (cf. www.ineesite.org/standards, August 2004) the recommendation of increasingly basing pedagogical crisis prevention and conflict management measures on the traditional forms of conflict management and thus developing these from the respective "conflict cultures" has been gaining in importance (cf. Davies 2004, 186 et seq.).

_Margaret Sinclair assumes that the above principles for adequate educational answers to acute emergencies may also serve as a point of orientation for all crisis-prevention educational work: "Prevention of new emergencies thus implies that governments

and agencies which provide support in emergencies should follow principles similar to those of emergency response, including adequate resourcing for education. This should be reflected in Education for All Strategy Papers, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, and development planning generally. The alternative to investing in education and education reform may be destruction of the educational infrastructure and disruption of the national economy through civil conflict" (Sinclair 2002, 125). The criteria she puts forward for comprehensive inclusive access to education, for transparent and adequate resources, a curriculum aimed at educating tolerance and peace, as well as responsible and participatory management and cooperation structures, may at the same time serve as indicators for the proneness of a society (or its education system) to crisis. This worthy argument is to be taken up again in the following chapters.

The two faces of education:
Education and the roots of peace and violence

"In many conflicts around the world, education is part of the problem, not the solution" (Bush/Saltarelli 2000, 33).

4.1 Myths relating to the peace-building potential of education

_Following the discussion of how the education sector is impaired by violent conflicts and how education offerings can be guaranteed even under the dramatic conditions of conflict-based emergencies, in this chapter it is intended to examine the question of the extent to which education itself possibly contributes to the development and exacerbation of conflicts – and what consequences may be drawn from such findings and used positively for the establishment of conflict-sensitive education systems. Pedagogical concepts for peace-building, that is peace and citizenship education in the narrower sense, are then discussed separately in the fifth chapter.

_An unbiased observation of the negative influence which education has on the genesis of violent conflicts is necessary to demystify the apparent peace-building nature of education per se. That education plays a fundamental role in promoting interpersonal cooperation and understanding, in reinforcing social cohesion, in dismantling social inequality and morally improving people ranks among the most influential fallacies and self-delusions in education. The fundamental idea of a universal improvement in human relationships through education was anchored in the universal education programme of Comenius, who may be regarded as the founder of modern educational science: "If the whole human race were taught about the cosmos from the outset, they would be truly wise, and the world would be full of order, light and peace" (Comenius, Pampaedia, 16). The UNESCO Commission for Education for the 21st Century has also placed its faith in the fundamentally positive, civilising power of education. It "regards education (...) as one of the most important means of advancing the development of the human race in

an enhanced manner and with greater harmony. With its help poverty, exclusion, ignorance, repression and wars may be reduced " (German UNESCO Commission 1997, 11*).

_That education can also have unplanned negative side-effects which completely contradict these noble intentions, or that education may by all means be specifically used for misanthropic purposes is only mentioned in passing in the history of pedagogy. The dimensions of a functional education or of a latently operative "hidden curriculum", which have certainly been registered and considered in isolation, tend to be found in the marginalia of a pedagogical self-concept, which prefers to orient itself to the promotion of the "good, truthful and beautiful" – and authors who have examined the murky underbelly of the history of pedagogical history or education practice, e.g. Katharina Rutschky with her "Schwarze Pädagogik" (1977), run the risk of being accused of "running down their own kind".

_That education fosters social peace, contributes to overcoming social inequality, and is the key to equal societal participation, still ranks as one of the elementary legitimation formula for all education policies, including international policy. Thus alongside the economically relevant qualification function, the World Bank also stresses the key significance of education and lifelong learning in reinforcing social cohesion: "By improving people's ability to function as members of their communities, education and training increase social cohesion, reduce crime and improve income distribution" (World Bank 2002b, IX).

_Yet in many regions of the world there can currently be no talk of education fostering social equality, as presumed here. An education system which has differentiated school-leaving examinations and qualifications inevitably creates social differentiation and practices social selection. In a generally egalitarian social environment, in which there are very few social hierarchies, this is not associated per se with a sus-

tained and irreversible status allocation. However, the more status, societal participation opportunities, influence, esteem and income are intertwined, the greater the extent to which schools will also reproduce social disparities. Under peripheral conditions the modern school is not a driving force in improving the economic situation of marginalised population groups or advancing social justice (cf. Seitz 2003). In international education research and the discussion on international education assistance there has long since been a focus on this insight, as well as on the finding that maladjusted education systems in developing countries can certainly be effective "development barriers" (cf. Goldschmidt/Melber 1981).

_Only in recent years has any attention been paid to the negative impact which education can have on the genesis and dynamics of violent conflict situations. One of the key texts in this respect is the study by Kenneth D. Bush and Diana Saltarelli "The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict" (2000), published by the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre in Florence. The key idea that education programmes in conflict regions fundamentally have to retain an eye not only for the possibly constructive impact, but also the destructive impact, is also taken up and continued by the DFID study from Smith/Vaux (2003).

_Seen in precise terms the perspective here is more than merely the application of the "do no harm" concept for education cooperation, something which has already been widely discussed in a development cooperation context (cf. Anderson 1999). The observation of the unintended societal consequences of the institutional structure of education systems, of the "hidden conflict curriculum" in organised teaching, of the latent violence socialisation in a non-peaceful environment, as well as the conscious instrumentalisation of education for war-mongering purposes, place a tremendous challenge on educational sciences, education assistance and education planning. For, given the stated dominance of the paradigm of the intended and planned personal

and moral education, there are very few pedagogical theory approaches and analytical instruments for the observation and classification of latent, functional education and learning processes (cf. also Treml 1982). A comprehensive peace education concept based on a "theory of structural education" (Treml 1982), which is consequently able to focus on functional and latent learning processes which do not come about through indoctrination and instruction but through experience, is to all intents and purposes a desideratum.

4.2 Education and the roots of violent conflicts

_Conflicts are the driving force behind every modernisation process in society. Societies exposed to modernisation processes are ultimately in a permanent state of conflict with themselves (cf. Senghaas 1998, 21). If a conflict is described very generally as a state of tension which comes into being "as there are irreconcilable differences between two or more parties with respect to a certain commodity" (Pfetsch 1994, 2*), it is obvious that social change and societal development cannot result from the avoidance or suppression of conflicts. Given the advancing pluralisation of values and the democratisation of all options, development is fundamentally a source of conflict – and the resulting challenge for the peaceful coexistence of man in a modern society is that of succeeding in civilising the forms of conflict resolution and using conflicts constructively in the form of conflict transformation (Senghaas 1998): "Development (…) is inevitably conflictual, destabilizing and subversive because it challenges the established power structures that prevent individuals and groups from reaching their full potential" (Bush/Saltarelli 2000, X).

_That education is capable of unleashing and multiplying conflicts, and also political conflicts, is, seen against this background, an inevitable effect of successful education processes, which to a certain extent is also desirable. Conflicts can only be produc-

tive for society and the individual, however, if they are conducted peacefully. If in the following there is talk of the negative effects of education on the dynamics of a conflict, it is not the conflict potential of education processes which is the subject of critical discussion, but rather the contribution made by education to exacerbating and channelling societal tension so that it is more probable that it will see a violent escalation.

_In contrast to the above assumption and the pedagogical myth that education per se fosters societal peace and reinforces the potential for constructive conflict transformation, a look at history often also confirms the destructive effect of education. The renowned peace educationalist Lennart Vriens arrives at a sobering conclusion on education since the genesis of the nation state: "Together with the army it was the most successful instrument for the propagation of a national identity and for the dissemination of militarism (...) From this point of view we must be suspicious when people claim that education is a necessary instrument for peace. Until now we have little historical evidence for this statement, and in fact history points more to the contrary" (Vriens 2003, 71 et seq.).

_In view of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 Aguilar/ Richmond question the education received by the protagonists and the main perpetrators in the massacre: "The role of well-educated persons in the conception, planning and execution of the genocide requires explanation, any attempt at explanation must consider how it was possible that their education did not render genocide unthinkable. The active involvement of children and young people in carrying out acts of violence, sometimes against their teachers and fellow pupils, raises further questions about the kind of education they had received" (Aguilar/Richmond 1998, 122 et seq.). The fact that well-educated persons have also been responsible for the worst atrocities in recent history is also referred to by the educational scientist Lynn Davies (2004, 3). Evidently it is not simply the failure of education to make peo-

ple immune to any possible susceptibility to rallying cries of violence and hatred, omnipresent are rather the examples in which education has conveyed hate and violence: "Many who conduct modern wars are expert at using educational settings to indoctrinate and control children" (Sommers 2002, 8).

_The destructive potential of education is not only seen when education is abused for the purposes of war propaganda or when there is baiting and agitation of other ethnic groups and ethnic minorities in schools and classrooms. Educational institutions themselves are, something which is true not least of all of the most significant educational institution in society, the family, shaped by violence to a high degree (Vriens 2003, 78; Davies 2004, 109 et seq.).

_Jamil Salmi, departmental head in the Human Development Network of the World Bank, has presented an enlightening analytical framework which allows for the differentiation of the various forms of violence in education. In a summarised and slightly modified form the following typology (page 51) may be seen (Salmi 2000, 20):

_In the prevalent terminology of Johan Galtung one could characterise 2) and 3) as "structural violence" and 4) as "cultural violence".

_As examples of direct, personal violence in educational facilities Salmi cites the common practice of corporal punishment in schools in Morocco, Columbia and Japan, for instance, the increasing presence of violence among students (through to the widely documented shooting sprees and massacres) in American schools (the lack of security in schools is placed by Americans in second position among the most pressing problems facing its society), as well as the direct threats and dangers which schools and teaching staff suffer as a result of armed conflicts in the region, be it in Columbia or various African civil war regions. "In many countries, societal violence reaches into the schools" (Salmi 2000, 10). As examples of indirect,

Forms of Violence in the Context of Education – Typology According to Salmi 2000	
1. Direct violence **("deliberate injury to the integrity of human life")**	e.g. effects of violent conflicts, weapons and violence in the school, corporal punishment, sexual abuse, suicide of students due to failure
2. Indirect violence **("indirect violation of the right to survival")**	e.g. illiteracy, inequality of access to education, inequality of education opportunities, insufficient educational infrastructure (lack of hygiene etc.)
3. Repressive violence **("deprivation of fundamental political rights")**	e.g. absence of democracy and co-determination opportunities in schools
4. Alienating violence **("deprivation of higher rights")**	e.g. culturally biased curricula (dominance culture), suppression of: subjects/views/language of ethnic minorities, no teaching in mother tongue

"structural" violence Salmi cites the virtual exclusion or discrimination of certain population groups in state education systems, e.g. in Peru; the fact that children who speak Quechua have, on average, 30 % poorer school achievements than Spanish-speaking children, is indicative for Salmi of the indirect violence exercised by the education system. Illiteracy is potentially life-threatening, which is why the fact that worldwide over 800 million adults have had no opportunity to learn to read and write has to be interpreted as an expression of structural violence. Democracy deficits in society are also reproduced through the "repressive violence" of education, when, for instance, the full participation of individuals in a democratic life is curtailed by the illiteracy of adults or a lack of political education in schools. Examples of "alienating violence" in education are the ban on minority languages in schools e.g. in Morocco (repression of the languages of the Amazigh), the disregarding of the history of the black population in many of the history books in Latin America, yet also the growing influence of the Evangelical Fundamentalists on the curricula in the USA.

_ The comparative educationalist Clive Harber (2002), a professor at the University of Birmingham, interprets formal school education in its current prevalent authoritarian form worldwide as a manifestation of violence on the whole. The school itself exudes violence in a direct form, be it through the use of corporal punishment or the sexual abuse of students, be it in the form of examinations and grades frightening to students, or the militarization of schools (e.g. through the introduction of military training at schools in Venezuela since 1999); yet schools are also indirectly culpable by failing to make use of violence, for example by omitting to educate students in an appropriate manner on the possibilities for preventing HIV infection. School education could be the most important factor in stemming the AIDS pandemic – yet very often the school has proved to be a place which has contributed directly to the further spread of the pandemic (cf. also Grohs/Tietze 2003), and which through the fatal culture of remaining silent has abetted the further spread of HIV, and thus also the otherwise avoidable loss of millions of lives.

_Corporal punishment is expressly forbidden under Article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Nevertheless the World Health Organisation (WHO 2002) states that corporal punishment of children is still permitted in schools in at least 65 countries. Highly dramatic is the sexual violence to which schoolgirls in particular are exposed. According to a report by Human Rights Watch (2001), around one third of the rapes in South Africa are perpetrated by teaching staff.

_Lynn Davies sees the culture of fear induced by examinations and the competition concept of schools as being responsible for enhancing the violent potential of education – and has no scruples about assigning the prevailing grades system, alongside the militarization of schools, the presence of direct violence in schools, corporal punishment, and the hatred of other ethnic groups conveyed in classrooms and textbooks, to the general heading of "war education" (Davies 2004, 109 et seq.). She points out three correlations between an excessive examination system and the generation of the potential for violence: firstly, failure in school can lead to a violent reaction; secondly, excessive competition promotes corruption; and, thirdly, the competitive conduct thus created undermines any attempt at cooperation and the development of the corresponding social competences (ibid., 122).

_In the opinion of Davies (2004) the formal education system in its current prevailing form worldwide contributes greatly to exacerbating societal conflicts. In line with her analysis, schools are interlinked with the causes of violent conflicts through at least three factors:
▪ the reproduction or production of socio-economic disparities and the aggravation of social exclusion;
▪ the conveying of an authoritarian, "hegemonic" concept of masculinity;
▪ the development of "essentialist" identity and nationalistic citizenship concepts, which deny the cultural plurality of society and promote intolerance towards "the other".

_In their study on the two faces of education Bush/Saltarelli concentrate on the genesis and management of ethno-political conflicts. In this respect they assume that ethnic differences themselves are not per se a source of potential conflict or even violence ("While most, if not all societies are ethnically plural, not all suffer violent internal conflict between ethnic communities", Bush/Saltarelli 2000, 2), but that ethnicity and collective identity are increasingly being mobilised and politicised in the current violent conflicts. And education is, as Smith/Vaux (2003, 5) also state, a key medium, with which ethnicity may be mobilised to incite conflicts.

_Bush/Saltarelli cite, among others, the following factors with which we can see the destructive effects of education which exacerbate ethno-political conflicts, be it through the institutional structure of educational facilities, be it through the content and attitudes conveyed (l.c. 9 et seq.):

1. The uneven distribution of education and educational opportunities.
Thus, for instance, restricted access to education for Albanian children, young people and students in Kosovo, and the creation of an underground Albanian education system had a decisive impact on the escalation of the war in Kosovo. Under the colonial education system in Burundi and Rwanda, Hutu and Tutsi were given greater and restricted access, respectively, to education, leading to educational disparities which exacerbated the violent ethnic conflicts and massacres during the 1990s.

2. Education as weapon in cultural repression.
Examples cited by Bush/Saltarelli include the Arabisation of schools in Sudan and the exclusion of the Kurdish language and Kurdish culture in schools in Turkey.

3. Denial of education as a weapon of war.
Examples are the specific destruction of schools in the civil war in Mozambique and the closure of schools in Palestine by Israeli troops.

4. The manipulation of history for political purposes.
"Under conditions of inter-ethnic tension, national elites often force teachers to follow curricula or use textbooks that either homogenize diversity and difference or worse, present it as a threat to be feared and eliminated" (ibid. 13). Bush/Saltarelli refer here, for example, to the manipulation of history by the Nazis in Germany.

5. The manipulation of textbooks.
An analysis of history textbooks submitted by UNESCO in 1998 concluded that the tendency of history textbooks to exalt nationalism and address territorial disputes correlates with the xenophobia and violence found in many countries today. Textbooks in Sri Lanka in the 1970s and 1980s declared that the Tamils were the historical enemy of the Sinhalese and stylised the Buddhist Sinhalese, in denial of the historical facts, as the only legitimate heirs of the history of Sri Lanka.

6. The conveying of images which assert the superiority of the dominant culture or another group's inferiority and which incite hatred for other ethnic groups.
South Africa's education system during the apartheid era was a key example of an education system which conveyed to the black majority an image of being inferior and a feeling of superiority to the white elite.

7. Ethnically segregated education to ensure inequality and prejudices.
Here too we can take the example of the apartheid system; the societal tension which ethnically or religiously segregated education systems produce may also be studied using examples from Rwanda and Northern Ireland.

_Nation state education systems are still responsible on a very fundamental level, not described here in detail, for the constitution of a society's image of itself, which hinders to a considerable degree any adequate way of dealing with the ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic diversity of a state-based society, and thus lays the foundation for the explosive power of ethno-

political conflicts. Modern education systems, whose histories are closely interrelated to the genesis of the nation state, played a key role in the construction of a national identity, a national fiction, which assumes the homogeneity of the respective ethnic groups and which denies the actual diversity or attempts to level out this diversity on behalf of a culture of dominance (cf. Bush/Saltarelli 2000; 6, Seitz 2002).

_A further important aspect, which should supplement Bush/Saltarelli's exemplary categories, arises from the question of whether the (non-)provision of education and educational qualifications can at all exacerbate violent conflicts under certain societal conditions, regardless of the curricula and the social selection function. Thus the argument is often put forward that a lack of education favours the escalation of societal conflicts or creates the breeding ground for terrorism. In this respect it is often overlooked that the opening up of education careers for which society offers no employment opportunities after the conclusion of education and training, and cannot therefore offer young school-leavers any employment options, can create a degree of frustration. This situation can be more explosive for society than an inadequate level of education.

_Boyden and Ryder (1996) also pointed out that education which does not offer the prospect of employment opportunities arouses the wrong expectations in the younger generation, whose disappointment can lead to violent conflicts. A FAKT study, which focuses above all on the promotion of employment opportunities for young people in post-conflict situations, states: "The level of education can be a further proximate cause of conflict. Conflicts tend to break out in countries where a majority is denied access to appropriate education. Collier points out, in Sierra Leone, the pool of marginalized and/or socially excluded young men with a low level of education was a significant driving force behind the conflict. Vice versa, education may fuel conflict if it does not lead to economic opportunity. Unemployed secondary school and university gradu-

ates roaming streets in search for employment are by many societies considered as 'ticking time bombs' (a quote from Kenya)" (Lange 2003, 9). Taking the example of Sri Lanka, among others, the study looks at how a comparatively high level of education and a deteriorating economic situation lead to a crass disparity between education and the available employment. The comparison of the differing situations in Sri Lanka and Sierra Leone leads to the following conclusion: "The level of education alone is not the driving force behind violent youth conflicts or participation of youth in conflict, it is the lack of desired 'life chances', lack of opportunities in the future which makes the youth vulnerable to violent movements and conflicts" (ibid. 17).

_A study by Krueger/Maleckova (2002) has also put forward reservations about the thesis that poverty and a lack of education form the breeding ground for terrorism, yet at the same time relativises other economic factors such as a lack of employment opportunities as factors which give rise to terrorism: "Instead of viewing terrorism as a direct response to low market opportunities or ignorance, we suggest it is more accurately viewed as a response to political conditions and long-standing feelings of indignity and frustration that have little to do with economics" (ibid.). On the other hand, there is certainly empirical evidence for the theory that a low level of education is accompanied by the increasing willingness to use violence in inter-personal conflicts (cf. Obura 2002, 13). A glance at the generally notable education biographies of the assassins from the September 11 terror attacks and the key personalities within Al Qaeda reveals, however, that international terrorism in its current form has certainly not been fuelled by a lack of education.

4.3 Criteria for conflict-sensitive education systems

_The factors cited by Salmi, Bush/Saltarelli, Davies, Lange and others which show the conditions under which education can exacerbate violent conflicts may also be approached positively: Under the perspective of the greatest-possible avoidance of the destructive elements and the minimisation of the risks, positive criteria for the (constructive) conflict sensitivity of education systems may be stated.

_Salmi cites the following (pedagogical) positive strategies to stem the respective violence categories; these are listed here in a modified and abridged form (cf. Salmi 2000, 20).

Positive Strategies to Stem Violence (According to Salmi 2000)	
1. Direct violence	"Education for Peace": weapon-free schools, ban on corporal punishment
2. Indirect violence	"Education for All": equal education opportunities for all, full integration of the disadvantaged, adequate infrastructure
3. Repressive violence	"Education for Democracy": democratic school on all levels, civic education
4. Alienating violence	"Education for Cultural Diversity": use of mother tongue, bilingual lessons, suitable curricula which respect diversity

_In line with Bush/Saltarelli the following factors may be listed whereby education can contribute to alleviating ethno-political conflicts (cf. Bush/Saltarelli 2000, 16 et seq.):

1. Creating specific education opportunities for the educationally-disadvantaged: e.g. the affirmative action programmes for blacks in the USA.

2. Nurturing a climate of ethnic and cultural tolerance: e.g. the Education for Mutual Understanding concept in Northern Ireland.

3. Banishment of segregation and racism in the mind: "Communities cannot desegregate until the idea of desegregation has taken root" (l.c., 16).

4. Fostering linguistic diversity and tolerance: e.g. the recognition of numerous ethnic languages as national and teaching languages in Senegal and in South Africa, in part also in Guatemala.

5. Cultivating inclusive citizenship: "There is a need to move away from the idea that a particular ethnic group, perhaps claiming descent from a common ancestor, is the only legitimate holder of state power and toward ideas of nations as multi-cultural entities" (l.c., 19).

6. The disarming of history: e.g. by training a critical sense of history.

7. Educating for peace: for Bush/Saltarelli this includes the development of "democratic, participative and inclusive schools" (l.c. 21).

8. Educational practice as an explicit response to state oppression: as, e.g., started by numerous church schools in the apartheid state.

_Given the consequence of the diagnosis of the FAKT study, that above all the frustration of young people in the face of a lack of employment opportunities creates the breeding ground for new conflicts, and especially in post-conflict societies, it is obvious: Greater significance has to be attached to linking education and training offerings with the labour market and above all the creation of jobs for young people (cf. Lange 2003, 60 et seq.). Smith/Vaux, as well as Davies (2004), identify the manner in which education systems organise their handling of diversity as one of the key issues for the relationship between education and conflict. Ideally this can be described in accordance with the basic patterns of assimilation, separation or integration. An integrationist concept which represents the diversity of the population in all institutions then promises the lowest degree of susceptibility to the escalation of ethno-political conflicts, even though this is accompanied by a very divided basic understanding of "critical pluralism" (Smith/ Vaux 2003, 27). The ability of a society to constructively deal with its inner diversity and heterogeneity, is reflected in the manner with which curricula in schools and universities deal with identity issues such as language, religion and culture (ibid., 29 et seq.). The reinforcement of multiple, hybrid identities and the development of inclusive, democratic schools, which at the same time foster a positive conflict culture, calls for the acknowledgement of differences which does not sidestep the conflicts arising from cooperation between different groups; for Davies (2004, 140 and 223 et seq.) schools which cultivate the diversity of a community ("collaborative diversity") are also the model of schools which can contribute to breaking the cycle of violence.

_The dimension of a constructive handling of heterogeneity, which has to be reflected institutionally as well as conceptionally, with respect to education access as well as education content, transcends the conventional horizons of classical peace education. The development of a conflict-sensitive education system therefore requires an all-encompassing approach which takes account of the potentially constructive and destructive impact of education in its entirety: "Planning for a conflict-sensitive approach to education needs to be undertaken on the basis of a comprehensive overview and conflict analysis of the whole education sector" (Smith/Vaux 36). The as yet to be developed analytical instruments for such planning could also function as an "early warning system" (ibid., 28). However, it should also be noted that the development policy impact of education could certainly be contrary to the conflict-exacerbating or peace-building impact of education (Bush/Saltarelli 2000, 28).

_In societies characterised by tension Smith/Vaux, as well as Bush/Saltarelli, consider a conventional peace education concept to be inadequate; they advocate an extension of peace education which helps people to deal with the direct triggers of violence, towards "peace-building education", which is able to react both to overt violence as well as to the causes of violence (cf. Bush/Saltarelli 2000, 23): "Peace-building education ... is seen to be the next step in the evolution of peace education" (ibid., 23). They characterise peace-building education as follows: "Peace-building education

▪ would be a bottom-up rather than a top-down process driven by war-torn communities themselves, founded on their experiences and capacities;
▪ is a process rather than a product;
▪ is long-term rather than short-term;
▪ relies on local, rather than external, inputs and resources;
▪ seeks to create opportunities rather than impose solutions" (ibid., 27).

_The project of the International Bureau of Education UNESCO-IBE, "Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected Societies", is also committed to this more extensive peace-building education, which transcends the conventional peace education concept: "Finally, it is important to note that the project is informed by a broad, peace-building approach that takes into account historical and socio-political factors and defines education as multidimensional and necessarily linked to other subsystems, rather than the narrower peace education approach that focuses on the discrete or cross-cutting subject area. In adopting a socio-educational approach, which considers education as multidimensional and as necessarily linked to social and political processes of reconciliation and reconstruction, the case studies trace the processes of the social construction of educational knowledge at the level of official school curricula" (Tawil 2003, 8).

4.4 Crisis as an opportunity: Reconstruction and transformation of education structures in post-war phases

_The above-mentioned IBE project (cf. Tawil 2003; Tawil/Harley 2004) assumes that the reconstruction of education structures following the extensive damage left in the wake of armed conflicts offers a favourable opportunity for the development of conflict-sensitive education systems. A feature considered to be essential here is that this reconstruction of the education system has, at all costs, to avoid reproducing those structures which contribute in the pre-conflict phase to exacerbating or bringing about the political conflicts which ultimately escalate into violent conflicts. The focus of the IBE study, in this respect, lies on curriculum reform, which is regarded as the key to all school reform (ibid., 8).

_Throughout the literature there is a unanimous warning that the re-establishment of educational structures in post-conflict societies may not be understood to mean the reconstruction of the education systems which existed before the crisis: instead of talking about reconstruction, it would be better to speak of "transformation" (cf. Smith/Vaux 2003, 46). According to Smith/Vaux, in this respect the transformation of education systems also encompasses physical, as well as ideological and psychological components (ibid.). Juan Carlos Tedesco also advocates in his foreword to the standard work by Retamal/Aedo-Richmond (1998): "It must be recognized in this regard that the term 'reconstruction' is not exactly the most appropriate one (…) Returning to the past is impossible for two fundamental reasons: first, because the pre-conflict system is itself part of the problem, and its reconstruction would bring about the same cycle that resulted in the conflict; second, because after the conflict the participants are no longer the same" (ibid., XXVI).

_In contrast to the prevailing opinion that the crisis-driven destruction of existing education structures is

an opportunity for the development of an innovative, peace-building education system, there have been a number of critical objections in the meantime: "War is not an ideal situation in which to introduce any reform" is how Michael Sommer (2002, 23) quotes Kingsley. Revolution research also raises considerable reservations with regard to the innovative potential of tangible societal crises: "Nothing is learned in a crisis. And if the pressure of a crisis makes action necessary, the action brings no new findings, but clings to past findings and experience, to passable proven practices. At best these are refined, at worst brutalised" (Gronemeyer 1977, 131*). Marianne Gronemeyer draws a conclusion that is both worthy of consideration and also sobering: "Only those who have acquired competence outside of an emergency are able to act competently in an emergency" (ibid.*).

_The expectation that post-conflict situations offer particular potential for development policy and pedagogical innovations may also have contributed to the fact that development agencies prefer to invest in post-conflict situations within the framework of education assistance, whereas preventive work in the preliminary stages of foreseeable escalating conflicts and education assistance in complex emergencies tend to be neglected (according to Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998, 279). According to Mehler/Ribaux the selection of countries for assistance is indicative of the predilection of larger technical cooperation organisations for post-conflict situations – "yet this occurs despite the fact that crisis prevention involves, as the term implies, the prevention of suffering, and the protection of achievements of development co-operation, which in turn saves tax monies" (Mehler/Ribaux 2000, 159).

_Marques/Bannon (2003) point out that the "window of opportunity" for an innovative process of education reform in post-conflict situations is rapidly closed – and that it is imperative not to wait until the formal end of an armed conflict before beginning with such reform endeavours (ibid., 20). On the basis of their

detailed case studies of the education reforms in the post-conflict countries Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador they arrive at the following recommendations for the planning and implementation of education transformation in post-conflict societies:

- develop a broad-based consensus and a clear vision of the reform of the education system at an early stage;
- all taboo issues have to be actively addressed (e.g. cultural discrimination, distribution of societal wealth);
- the technical preparations for the implementation of the reforms have to begin as early as possible;
- the support of all the most important stakeholders in society has to be acquired;
- the education system has to be depoliticised;
- the education system has to be decentralised; the parents have to be granted the widest possible rights of co-determination;
- in multi-cultural societies curricula have to be developed in line with the plurality of the society and bilingual education offerings introduced.

_At the same time, however, they warn against expecting more from education reforms in post-conflict societies than these are capable of delivering (ibid., 21).

_A further World Bank study, based on the findings of the Operations Evaluation Department OED of the World Bank, arrives at the conclusion that social and economic development which is above all aimed at overcoming social inequality, exclusion and humiliation has fundamentally proved to be the best form of conflict prevention (Raphael 1998, 4). In order for reconstruction measures to succeed in post-conflict societies it is also important that the divide between humanitarian aid and development cooperation is closed swiftly and that all development endeavours are based on a strong element of local "ownership". In the reconstruction following armed conflicts priority has to be given to reinforcing the social capital and fostering trust: "It's easier to rebuild roads and bridges than it is to reconstruct institutions and strengthen

the social fabric of a society" (Raphael 1998, 8). With regard to the education system this can also mean that it is more a question of re-establishing societal learning than reconstructing schools (according to Sommers 2002, 22).

_Reconciliation processes are an indispensable prerequisite for peace-making after armed conflict and civil strife. Peace agreements and conflict solutions of every kind otherwise run the risk of again being overtaken and undermined by the emotional injuries, hate and mistrust resulting from the prior acts of violence (cf. Nadler 2002). The reconciliation work and coming to terms with the past in the post-conflict phase are extremely challenging collective learning processes, which have to be consciously and specifically supported in the reconstruction of education systems. Nadler (ibid.) differs between two elementary forms of reconciliation, socio-emotional reconciliation on the one hand, which aims at replacing the cycle of retaliation with a cycle of apology and forgiveness, and, on the other, instrumental reconciliation, which is based on projects of equal cooperation for mutual benefit. In this respect the various levels on which reconciliation processes are necessary also have to be observed: Smith/Vaux (2003, 50) differentiate between reconciliation with oneself, reconciliation on the interpersonal level, reconciliation between communities, reconciliation between groups and nation states, as well as reconciliation on an international or global level. "It is a clear challenge for education to provide a framework for teaching and learning about reconciliation that may help children and survivors of conflict avoid transmitting the conflict from generation to generation" (ibid.).

_The transformation of education systems can only succeed if there has already been a critical and uncompromising review and analysis of the destructive potential of the prior education system, its curricula and the widespread educational practices: "Without very serious and critical re-examination of the role and purpose of education, however, reconstruction

might simply entail a stronger dose of the same old stuff, or panic innovations reflecting some ideology which emerged as dominant from the civil conflict" (Wright 1997, quoted from Isaac 2001). Without a fundamental transformation of the education structures and practices underlying the societal tensions, the establishment of new pedagogical concepts is ultimately doomed to failure; there is a necessity "to go beyond solutions that are merely additive towards solutions that are transformative – solutions that change the underpinning logic and structures of behaviour. (…) It is easier to add new educational initiatives than to change old ones" (Bush/Saltarelli 2000, 33).

Education for peace: Concepts for peace education and their relevance for development cooperation

"Its programmes are usually targeted at people who are already peaceful" (Sommers 2001b).

5.1 Peace as an education programme: New dimensions in peace education

_Education and teaching are fundamentally committed to the goals of improving human relationships (Comenius: "emendatio rerum humanorum"), enhancing communication between people, and bringing about peace between nations. This pedagogical self-image was laid down at the very outset of the development of modern pedagogy. The early peace education tradition, in which educating for peace is not seen as a partial area but as an over-riding task in all pedagogical endeavours, may be traced from Comenius through European humanism to the cosmopolitan education programmes of the European enlightenment. In the era of the nation states, however, the cosmopolitan peace tradition of education very often clashed with the nationalist education concept. The genesis of the European nation state, the expansion of the education system, and the differentiation of academic educational sciences went hand in hand: in this respect education was assigned the task of fostering a national identity, which was also based on linguistic and cultural homogenisation internally and on exclusion and delineation externally (cf. Seitz 2002). The theory and practice of nationalist education towards the end of the 19th century displayed a growing affinity to fostering militant feelings of superiority, and made a not inconsiderable contribution to paving the way for the catastrophe that was the First World War. The colonial education concept disseminated the concept of nationalist education in many parts of the southern hemisphere – and in the wake of its universalisation the model of the "national school" still exists worldwide (cf. Adick 1992).

_The burgeoning international peace movement at the beginning of the 20th century was characterised above all by resistance to the militancy of the imperialistic national states, and linked up, although its pedagogical approaches were somewhat sporadic, with the cosmopolitan tradition. The foundation in 1921 of the New Education Fellowship saw the establishment of the first international peace and reform-pedagogical network, which also included a number of peace education-oriented educationalists from the southern hemisphere (e.g. Rabindranath Tagore). Social open-mindedness and international understanding formed the central features of this alliance, which Hermann Röhrs dubbed the first "pedagogical global society", however, it placed its focus on the reform-pedagogical endeavours for a holistic view of man, and therefore to a certain extent on the spiritual renewal of the social, emotional and intellectual powers of mankind. It was less forthcoming on macro-political issues and questions of political education. The burgeoning peace education approaches after the Second World War, in contrast, were more interested in the emerging structures for international cooperation. Peter Manniche, who founded the first international adult education centre in Helsingör in 1921, aptly summed up the motives behind this dominant peace education approach in the first 25 years after the First World War: "The League of Nations and other international organizations provided the machinery for peace, and the war-weary populations had the earnest wish for peace, which might be transformed by education into intelligent international cooperation". Hermann Röhrs played a major role in the further development of this approach in post-war Germany: he saw international cooperation ambitions as "the true breeding ground for international understanding, which is all the more effective, however, if it is borne along by a humane attitude and foresightedness, and practiced in even the simplest forms of interpersonal communication" (Röhrs 1963, 132*). The UNESCO programme "Education for international understanding" at that time was aimed at mobilising the necessary societal legitimation and acceptance for the international cooperation endeavours of the states, and to a certain extent creating the personal bedrock for the inter-governmental peace endeavours. This corresponded to a simple model of

a peace continuum from the interpersonal to the inter-state level, which assumes "that those elements which can create harmony in the family are fundamentally the same as those which can create peaceful existence in the wider community" (Gillett 1957, 234).

_The beginning of the 1970s saw the rise of a "critical peace education" movement, which articulated itself against this harmonistic tendency on the part of peace education to bow to the state; this peace education was aimed at societal change, and in doing so attached key importance to the ideology-critical and politico-economic analysis. In this respect a conflict-based debate was, in contrast to the traditional stance, regarded in a positive light and the suppression of conflicts seen in a critical light: "Peace education which sees itself as political planning and which wishes to bring about a change in society's framework conditions with a view to reducing structural violence is also conflict education. It has to assume that the societal conditions for peacelessness cannot be changed without a conflict of interests or without debate and conflict" (Wulf 1973*).

_The stimulus provided by this school of critical peace education and the emphatic appeal for a "conflict didactic" has still not been taken up by the most important international peace education reference document, the UNESCO recommendation "concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedom" from 1974. The UNESCO recommendation cites, above all, the following basic principles for education policy (quoted from European University Centre 1997, 51 et seq.):
- introduction of the international dimension and global perspectives on all education levels and in all forms of education;
- understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life; i.e. both the cultures of peoples in their own countries as well as in other nations of the world;

- consciousness for the growing mutual dependence between the peoples and nations of the world;
- ability to communicate with others;
- mediation of a consciousness not only for the rights but also the obligations of individuals, societal groups and nations towards one another;
- furtherance of the understanding for the necessity for international solidarity and cooperation;
- promotion of the readiness of the individual to help overcome societal problems in his more immediate environment, within his country and in a global framework.

_The coordinates which define the tasks of international education and peace education have shifted considerably since the adoption of the UNESCO recommendation on education for international understanding. In view of the global political changes it was often suggested within UNESCO that the recommendation from 1974 be revised. Instead of a new draft of the recommendation, at the 44th International Education Conference in Geneva in 1994 a Declaration and an Integrated Framework Action Plan for Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy were presented (cf. European University Centre 1997). These documents now address additional aspects not taken into account or left largely unaddressed in the 1974 recommendation: among these are primarily
- the emphasis on democracy,
- greater emphasis on intercultural learning and environmental education,
- the consideration of the gender dimension and the postulate of equality between the sexes,
- the revaluation of extra-curricular education and the advocacy of improved collaboration between formal education and extra-curricular education,
- the debate on the positive definition of peace, which, when regarded as a "culture of peace", goes beyond the mere negative understanding of peace as the "absence of war",
- the recognition that societal change and living together in a pluralistic and multicultural society will always be accompanied by conflict, a culture of

peace cannot be founded on the elimination of conflict, but rather has to be anchored in the ability to peacefully resolve conflict.

_Also of significance is the implicit revision of the conventional view of international understanding, which at the same time lends the expression "international education" a totally new meaning. Since the foundation of UNESCO, the concept of international understanding has been bound to the principle of national sovereignty. International relationships were primarily interpreted as relationships between states and their representatives – and education for international understanding was, as already shown, primarily given the task of ensuring the acceptance of the population for the international obligations to which the respective government had committed itself. The 1974 recommendation by UNESCO is shaped by the prerequisite that the actors in international relationships are exclusively governments or the representatives of nation states. Yet countless non-governmental actors have long since entered the international stage – the documents of the International Education Conference from 1994 take this development into account insofar as they expressly acknowledge the equality of the various levels on which societal actors move, from individuals, through ethnic, cultural, social and religious groupings through to non-governmental organisations, governments and international organisations. With the recognition of interpersonal, intra-national, inter-cultural and trans-national action levels, the nation-state paradigm is relativised and the tasks in international education liberated from the yoke of the quality of inter-governmental cooperation. Seen thus, the point of reference for international education is no longer the world of states but world society (cf. Seitz 2002).

_The Delors Report of the UNESCO Commission on Education for the 21st Century (German UNESCO Commission 1997) expands the idea of a global learning society into further dimensions. As the four pillars for future-viable learning the Commission lists:

- learning to live together,
- learning to know,
- learning to do,
- learning to be.

_In this respect the social competences relevant to peace education are primarily to be assigned to the pillar "learning to live together"; accordingly the International Bureau of Education at UNESCO regards "learning to live together" as a framework concept which encompasses various topic areas such as conflict management, human rights, civic education, international and intercultural understanding to the same degrees. Relevant, diverse practical models which may be assigned to this "pillar" are, in the meantime, documented in the RelatED database of IBE (at www.ibe.unesco.org).

_With the "new and extended dimensions" (Koehler 1994, 10) accorded to peace education and international education through the Integrated Framework Plan of Action from 1994 and the Delors Report from 1997, the profile of the peace education concept of UNESCO threatens to become blurred, however. Of an undoubtedly groundbreaking nature is the reformulation of peace education in the context of a constructive understanding of conflict, as well as the new and comprehensive concept of a "culture of peace". In the meantime the extensive framework thus covered by UNESCO, and the diversity of topics and issues which are subsumed under the expressions peace education and culture of peace have also led to justifiable criticism – such a wide span seems highly eclectic (cf. Smith/Vaux 2003, 34). The necessary perspective of a positive peace definition, which also considers the causes and cultural roots of direct and structural violence, is expressed through the concept of the culture of peace. Nevertheless, it has to date been omitted, concedes UNESCO's Christine Merkel, to clarify the architecture and dynamics of a "multi-track approach" (Merkel 2004). And the plan of action of the German government for civil conflict prevention considers a general "operationalisation of

the overall concept of the culture of peace" to be a long overdue task, and in particular with a view to the German "intermediary organisations" (Bundesregierung 2004, 49).

_With the expansion of the subject matter of peace education as described here, the borders to related pedagogical working fields such as intercultural pedagogy, development education, global education, environmental education and human rights education then become blurred. There is some considerable debate as to whether the generic term to be taken for the whole field of a pedagogy intended to react to society's development problems should be global education or peace education; and of late – against the backdrop of the commencing UN Decade – also whether "Education for Sustainable Development" could be used (cf. also Wintersteiner 1999, 26 et seq.). In this respect, however, it has to be taken into account that to date neither peace education, nor global education, development pedagogy or education for sustainable development has succeeded in establishing itself as a partial discipline in educational science or becoming anchored on an academic footing to a sufficient degree. Seen thus, the immeasurable scope of the task does not correspond to the degree of attention which such issues have so far found in the mainstream of academic educational sciences.

5.2 Comments on the literature and research status

_Despite the extensive publications of the long-standing peace education traditions, there has been talk for some time now in the German-speaking literature of a "theoretical backwardness in peace education" (cf. Wintersteiner 1999, 15 et seq.). A sobering verdict on the current state of the art of international peace education is also arrived at by the renowned Israeli peace educationalist Gavriel Salomon: the academic basis for peace education is lagging behind practice,

he states. While, in agreement with Johan Galtung, it has to be said of the field of peace policy that there is much more peace research than practical peace activity, in the field of peace education it is precisely the reverse which is the case (Salomon/Nevo 2002, XI). This may on no account be misunderstood as praise for a progressive practice – the whole field of peace education suffers from considerable conceptional confusion, which Salomon sees above all in three factors:

- firstly, there is general disagreement as to what "peace education" actually is;
- secondly, there is no agreement and no clarity on the (attainable) goals of peace education;
- and thirdly, in peace education there are not sufficient empirical findings as to which approaches function and which do not.

_Looking further afield, Salomon considers the context-overarching generalisation of peace education to be unsuitable, and he expressly advocates a differentiated approach taking into consideration the socio-political contexts in which peace education is provided (see below).

_That evaluation practice in peace education is not at all satisfactory is confirmed by a survey conducted by Nevo and Brem (2002, 271 et seq.). The authors from the University of Haifa identified a total of over 1000 articles, book chapters and conference documents in English published on questions of peace education in the period 1981-2000. According to Nevo/Brem, some 300 publications describe a concrete peace education programme. Only about a third of these refer in any form to methods for the evaluation of the programme. Nevo/Brem were at least able to show that of 79 publications which report on evaluations and which were included in the detailed analysis, only 10 regarded the respective measures as being ineffective or as having failed; in 51 cases, however, the intervention measures were evaluated as being successful (ibid., 275). Nevo/Brem see their finding as clear testimony "to the relative scarcity of evaluation

studies in Peace Education (PE). It is quite clear that hundreds of PE programs are initiated and operated around the globe, at any particular period, without being subjected to any act of empirical validation" (ibid.). They state four main reasons for the lack of evaluations: a general underestimation of the significance and usefulness of an evaluation phase, a lack of experience in dealing with evaluation methods, budget considerations, and specific avoidance strategies.

_The extensive literature analysis by Nevo/Brem attest to a whole series of shortcomings on the part of the peace education programmes which have been documented in the past 20 years, in addition to the inadequate evaluation practice:

- very few programmes are aimed at a change in behaviour;
- scant attention is paid to possible contradictions between differing target dimensions and intended abilities;
- very few peace education programmes are devoted to work with adults;
- the majority of peace education programmes appeal to reason, very few are aimed at feelings;
- most programmes are short-term programmes, very few programmes are designed such that they work with the same participants for a period of more than one year;
- where evaluations are at least conducted, it is very rare that the important later follow-up tests are implemented (cf. Salomon/Nevo 2003, 274 et seq.).

_The lack of evaluation practice in peace education and education in emergencies, as well as the inadequate empirical findings on the efficacy of their methods is also attested to by Retamal/Aguilar (1998, 41), Michael Sommers (2001, 2002), and, in particular for the context of the UNICEF programmes, Susan Fountain: "There is a clear need for more systematic research and evaluation of peace education programmes in UNICEF, in order to provide more information on factors that contribute to effectiveness in the wide range of social and cultural contexts in which UNICEF operates. Relatively few systematic attempts to evaluate peace education programmes have been carried out by UNICEF offices so far" (Fountain 1999, 32).

_In addition to criticism of the meagre evaluation knowledge, Sommers (2001) lists two further major criticisms of the current status of peace education theory and practice, and above all in the context of development cooperation:

- peace education predominantly focuses on target groups who do not require peace education or do not require it to such a large degree; its clientele is above all the (potential) victims and sufferers of violence, while the perpetrators and actors are generally neglected;
- peace education concepts are based on a "western bias"; given the fact that it is rooted in a western and Christian concept of man, any transfer to non-western contexts is extremely problematical.

_With regard to the above-mentioned target group problem, the noticeable focus on children, and specifically on schoolchildren, is extremely precarious for Sommers. Peace education is often positioned between children and adults (parents) if the conflict conduct patterns which children see in the adults in their immediate environment do not correspond with those they are supposed to learn through peace education. Such elementary dissonance between the values taught in school and at home can trigger angst and stress in children – seen in this light peace education in school would be counter-productive. The necessity for the inclusion of the parents in peace education programmes is obvious, above all, with education measures in refugee camps. Refugee education also demonstrates a further target group paradox in peace education: peaceability is primarily conveyed to those who have suffered violence and strife, while the actors and aggressors are often not reached by peace education measures. This criticism, which is above all based on Sommers' observations in refugee camps, should not be applied prematurely as a generalisation to the

entire field of peace education; in the meantime there have been numerous findings and concepts in Germany, e.g. within the framework of the campaign programme of the German government "Together against violence and right-wing extremism" for the anti-aggression work with young violent offenders and young people with right-wing tendencies. Furthermore, there are also practical learning models for civil courage-oriented intervention in acute violent conflicts (cf. Meyer et al. 2004; Weidner et al. 2000).

_The western bias, which Sommers addresses as a handicap in peace education, becomes clear above all in the strong emphasis on the individual and on individual self-esteem. The majority of peace education programmes are aimed at reinforcing self-esteem: yet "self" is a European concept, a concept which is associated with individualistic societies. The resulting fixation on the regulation of inter-personal relationships is often mistaken in many contexts as the dynamics of armed conflicts are often determined by collective action and group identity.

_Sommers summarises his striking criticism of the current concepts in peace education thus: Peace education "is popular but hard to define. Its values are widely embraced but its implementation inspires scepticism. It espouses universal ideals that are often interpreted according to Western cultural notions of universality. It preaches acceptance, communication and inclusion, while programmes relating to it may actively resist collaboration and coordination with each other. Its programmes are usually targeted at people who are already peaceful. And peace educators strongly endorse its expansion while claiming that its results cannot be easily assessed" (Sommers 2001b).

_The literature on peace education theory and practice is frequently regarded as inadequate, especially in the area of development cooperation relevant here. Alongside the high-profile peace education programmes backed up by numerous project evalua-

tions, such as those conducted by UNHCR, UNESCO, UNICEF and INEE in emergencies, and above all in refugee camps, there are few mature concepts which have been documented and in which peace education research has been utilised for development cooperation practice. There is, at the very least, a lack of systematic analysis of the available findings, as Schell-Faucon also states in a GT study: "The approaches tested in conflict regions for the education of peace-ability and conflictability have to date not been subject to a systematic observation or evaluation in either the formal or non-formal education sector" (Schell-Faucon 2001, 8*).

_A lamentable "lack of consensus with the label of peace education" is also confirmed by a concept paper commissioned by the Canadian CIDA (Isaac 1999, 2). Annette Isaac refers in this study to a survey conducted in 1998 among Canadian aid organisations and NGOs, which revealed that very few facilities have had any experience with peace education in a development cooperation context.

_In their joint working paper "Essentials der Friedens-pädagogik im Kontext von Entwicklungszusammen-arbeit" [Essentials of peace education in the context of development cooperation] InWEnt and the Institute for Peace Education Tübingen undertake the remarkable attempt, starting from their finding that there is no uniform definition of peace education, to at least sharpen the profile of this working field through the identification of existing common ground and "essentials" (Gugel/Jäger 2004, see below). This paper also warns that the necessity for cultural and regional differentiation of peace education topics and approaches is a "major challenge for the endeavours to initiate peace education and learning processes within the framework of development cooperation" (ibid., 4). The paper regards the evaluation, application and further development of existing standards for the minimum conditions for successful peace work, the qualification and professionalisation of peace education activities, and the clarification of the relationship between

peace education and "basic education" as the key tasks in further work at the interface between development cooperation and peace education.

_In all events the further qualification of this working field requires an expansion of the international perspective of peace education research and practice. In the German-speaking literature there has been very little critical review of peace education experiences in other countries. Thus Teutsch/Wintersteiner also see a "lack of comparative approach" in the standard works on peace education (Wintersteiner 2003, 123). With the compendia from Wintersteiner et al. (2003), Salomon/Nevo (2002), Burns/Aspeslagh (1996) (and also, albeit specifically for education in emergencies, Retamal/Aedo-Richmond 1998, Crisp et al. 2001) there are now a number of handbooks which indicate the usefulness of the international and comparative view. They also make it clear that any decisive progress in the qualification of peace education theory and practice in the context of global crises is only to be expected if pedagogical research and concept development are themselves allowed to develop internationally, through cross-border discourse. In this respect clear problems are the inadequate inclusion of peace educationalists from the southern hemisphere, as well as the fact that in Germany the peace-building and educational reform traditions in Africa, Asia and Latin America have rarely been analysed and documented (cf. also Datta/Lang-Wojtasik 2002; Reagan 1996).

_Given the excessive and generally unrealisable expectations placed in the contribution which peace education can make to the genesis of a more peaceful world, Lennart Vriens recommends a "modest concept of peace education" (Vriens 2003, 79). It is important in this respect, he states, to be aware of the difference between pedagogical and political action: peace education cannot create or guarantee peace, neither in the world, nor in organisations or in people. Yet peace education can reinforce the competence of people to contribute to the peace process. Ian Harris also advises that there be some reservation vis-à-vis

the political efficacy of peace education and the significance of its pedagogical logic: "Peace education can help people understand the causes of conflict and generate potential solutions, but conflicts must be transformed through a complicated process of agreement, reconciliation, compromise, and forgiveness if they are to be resolved and overcome" (Harris 2002, 23) – and these are tasks which cannot be regarded as part of guided education processes (certainly, however, as part of collective learning processes).

5.3 Conceptional differentiations

_Peace education is influenced by differing pedagogical traditions in different regions of the world, and depending on the context has a different focus, which is also often reflected in the terminology: thus, for instance, peace education in Japan is primarily understood to be "anti-nuclear bomb education", in Ireland as "education for mutual understanding", in Korea it is seen as "re-unification education", whereas in countries in the southern hemisphere the preferred talk is of "development education", and in North America and in Europe the discourse in peace education is currently guided by "conflict resolution education". Ian Harris interprets this specific regional diversity in peace education profiles as an indication that peace education reacts to the respective prevailing, diverse forms of violence (Harris 2002, 16, cf. also Bar-Tal 2002, 28 et seq.).

_Several more or less practical suggestions on how the complex and multi-facetted field of available peace education concepts may be logically structured are to be found in literature. Gavriel Salomon (2002) puts forward four approaches for discussion:

1. The differentiation of the peace education concepts in accordance with the underlying "peace" and/or "violence" concept. Here possibilities for definitions are differentiation according to direct/personal, structural

and cultural violence as put forward by Galtung, or the use of a negative or positive definition of peace (cf. also Sommers 2001).

2. Differentiation using the levels on which changes are desired: these may, ideally, be at the macro-level of changes in conduct on the part of collectives towards one another or changes in structures which generate strife; on the micro-level, in contrast, changes in the dealings between individuals.

3. A further possibility for differentiation is offered by distinguishing between peace education concepts on the basis of the social, economic or political status of those addressed or also that of the actors in peace education: minorities or majorities, the conquerors or the conquered, oppressors or victims. Peace education for the weak and oppressed cannot mean the same as peace education for the strong and dominant.

4. Ultimately peace education concepts may be differentiated by the socio-political contexts in which they take place. To this end Salomon puts forwards three basic categories:
▪ peace education in regions with intractable, protracted and violent conflicts,
▪ peace education in regions of interethnic tension,
▪ peace education in regions of experienced tranquility.

_For Salomon the latter is the key differentiation as the conditions set by the respective contexts also dictate the other differentiations with regard to the requisite tasks, targets, methods and target groups. In this respect peace education designed for and practiced in regions with intractable conflicts has a paradigmatic character for Salomon for the entire peace education field, as it covers the superordinate principles and practices which are also of significance under other context conditions. He characterises the central challenges facing peace education under the conditions of intractable and protracted conflicts as follows: "(a) it faces a conflict that is between collec-

tives, not between individuals; (b) it faces a conflict which is deeply rooted in collective narratives that entail a long and painful shared memory of the past; and (c) it faces a conflict that entails grave inequalities" (Salomon 2002, 7).

_Based on a context-relative understanding of peace education, Salomon advocates that the respective differing agendas of peace education endeavours not be ignored: "In this light, conflict resolution and skills for school-yard mediation are not of primary relevance for peace education in regions of conflict or tension; the former programs deal with the micro, individual level, whereas the latter needs to focus on the collective" (ibid., 7). Above all in German-speaking peace education the paradigm of personal peacefulness plays an outstanding role, something which is currently receiving fresh impetus from the warm reception being given to mediation techniques, conflict management etc. The relationship between individual conflict management competence and the level of collective strife remains unexplained to a large degree, however.

_From the analysis of the conflict situation Salomon arrives at the following extensive definition of "peace education": "We can see peace education, in its best form, as an attempt to change individuals' perception of the 'other's' collective narrative, as seen from the latter's point of view, and consequently about one's own social self, as well as come to practically relate less hatefully and more trustingly towards that collective 'other'. More specifically, peace education would be expected to yield four kinds of highly interrelated dispositional outcomes:
▪ accepting as legitimate the 'other's' narrative and its specific implications;
▪ a willingness to critically examine one's own group's actions toward the other group;
▪ a willingness to experience and show empathy and display trust toward the 'other';
▪ and a disposition to engage in non-violent activities" (ibid., 9).

_This definition has a different focus against the background of overt ethno-political conflicts to the description given at the beginning (Chapter 1), which Susan Fountain coined within the peace education concept of UNICEF: Peace education was described there as a process to change behavioural attitudes which allow the learner to avoid personal and structural violence, to resolve conflicts peacefully, and to create conditions conducive to peace at a personal and political level (Fountain 1999, 1). Fountain attaches significance to this basic understanding of peace education being seen as an educational mandate which has to be observed and can be realised in all societies. At the same time she points out that he respective practical approaches can indeed be amended in line with the specific context: "An overview of approaches to peace education in UNICEF illustrates the fact that programmes are highly responsive to local circumstances, and that no one approach is universally used" (Fountain 1999, 16).

_Conceptionally Fountain differentiates between three methodical approaches to peace education: one approach which is primarily aimed at knowledge and specialist competence in all issues of peace, conflict resolution and violence; an approach aimed at personal skills, attitudes and values; and her preferred "mixed" approach, which aims to promote knowledge, skill and attitudes to an equal degree (Fountain 1999, 39).

_For the German peace education discussion Brigitte Reich (1985) has identified four main categories:
- education for international understanding – the idealistic-appellative approach;
- education to deal with conflict – the individualistic-training approach;
- critical peace education – the society-oriented educational approach;
- education for disarmament – the political-collective approach.

_Above all Werner Wintersteiner has contributed greatly to the development of a new paradigm of peace education, the "culturological" paradigm, which is not in line with these conventional discourse levels (Wintersteiner 1999). He advocates a shift in emphasis from the political to the cultural aspects, and for a debate on the generally subconscious cultural structures in which individual and structural violence often have their roots. In this respect he also advocates a dedicated pedagogical concept of peace education, which removes peace education from its traditional subordination to peace research and peace policy. Peace education, he states, has instead to be the didactics of socio-scientific peace research (ibid., 36).

_Insofar as Wintersteiner places the conflict with the symbolic forms in which dealing with the "other" is expressed at the focus of peace education, his concept of a "pedagogy of the other" is very close to the approach taken by Salomon. His specifications, which in this context can mean "culture of peace", can be very helpful for the pedagogical operationalisation of this generic expression: "Culture of peace (...) should (...) in particular (…) look at the question of which symbolisations and symbolic practices of peaceful conduct are to be seen in history and are of relevance today" (Wintersteiner 1999, 99*).

_The peace idea of dealing with the other and having respect for the countenance of the other, based to some extent on the anthropology of Emanuel Lévinas, is also meeting with greater resonance as a central feature of the international peace education discourse. Thus in the compendium from Salomon/Nevo several authors outline the contours of a new peace education concept which focuses on inclusion, the acceptance of differences, the acknowledgement of the other (thus e.g. Svi Shapiro 2002, 63 et seq.). Sherry B. Shapiro (2002, 145) goes even further from a post-modern and feminist stance, warning of the need to turn away from the dehumanising rationality of the modern spirit: "If we are to find the seeds of a culture of peace, we surely cannot seek them among the ruins of enlightenment thinking and practices." Rather she advocates an "embodied pedagogy", which should primarily be aimed at tracking down our deep-set

cultural feelings and passions, which are also manifested physically to a certain extent. Whether such an anti-educational concept can be helpful in promoting discourse abilities on constructive conflict management has to be doubted, however.

_The approach of a "culturologically-oriented" peace education, anchored in the recognition of difference, heterogeneity and foreignness, however, opens up a number of promising perspectives for peace education, and especially in the context of ethno-political conflicts. Attempts to take up this concept within the framework of development cooperation have not yet been documented, however.

_The wide range of areas of activity and forms of education assistance with a peace-building orientation within the framework of technical cooperation is set forth by Stephanie Schell-Faucon (2000, 2001):
- breaking down a segregative and developing an integrative education system,
- promotion of mother tongues and foreign languages and the establishment of bilingual schools,
- development of new teaching materials and revision of examination contents,
- anchoring of peace-building and conflict-preventive work in the curriculum,
- participative structure and opening of schools through peer group education,
- recreational and integration offerings for children and young people (incl. work camps, mediation training, encounter work, sporting activities),
- conflict and reconciliation work in community work,
- training of teaching staff (among other things on the fundamentals of constructive conflict management and dealing with collective traumata),
- international exchange measures (among other things between countries with similar conflict situations and within the framework of the North-South dialogue).

_Lynn Davies (2004) differentiates between two elementary forms of offering for peace education, the explicit peace education curricula on the one hand,

and the diverse forms of permeated curricula and extra-curricula offerings on the other hand, whereby with the latter she highlights the comparatively sophisticated dialogue and encounter programmes in conflict situations (e.g. in Israel/Palestine and in Northern Ireland, cf. also in details Salomon/Nevo 2002). For Davies the "3 Es" are the most important pillars for successful peace education: "exposure, encounter and experience" (Davies 2004, 139).

5.4 The peace education programmes of UNHCR and UNICEF: Lessons learned

_The UNHCR Peace Education Programme, in the meantime adapted by INEE, is regarded as the peace education concept with the highest profile to have been used to date in humanitarian aid and development cooperation. Accordingly, it receives considerable attention and is widely documented in the literature. In contrast to the above-mentioned UNICEF peace education concept, which is aimed at integrating peace education as a cross-cutting task in all areas of education, UNHCR expressly advocates that peace be an independent "topic", and in the case of schools an independent subject. This is based on the plausible assumption that when attempting to establish peace-building as a cross-cutting topic and principle, the concrete peace education components then generally disappear or are neglected, given the abundance of teaching subjects. For Baxter it is a major error in peace education to believe that it can be integrated at all times in a suitable manner into other topics and teaching curricula (Baxter 2004).

_A comparatively stringent concept and curriculum was developed for the UNHCR Peace Education Programme, therefore, based on the experiences in Kenya in 1997. To the amazement of its creators, according to Pamela Baxter, it was possible to introduce this programme in other African regions without any culture-specific modifications and it apparently

met with unreserved acceptance (Baxter 2004, 2001). The programme, originally based on a collection of material, which was then redeveloped as a set of individual activities, includes not just a school programme but also a "community programme", as well as the corresponding training and advanced training offerings for teachers, community-leaders and facilitators.

_"The Peace Education Programme of UNHCR (PEP) is derived from the belief that peace can be fostered in the world through the adoption of peace promoting behaviour and by the practice of specific peace related skills, which can be taught. The objectives of PEP can be summarised as follows:

▪ PEP educators strive to promote what they call positive peace, enhancing the quality of life for all individuals, and for the community and nation; and they aim to prevent violent conflict.

▪ They teach peace-building skills to pre-empt conflict, including an initiation into mediation techniques for conflict resolution and dispute containment.

▪ At the same time, in order to strengthen skill acquisition, PEP provides opportunities for individuals to acquire new understandings, values and attitudes related to peace" (Obura 2002, 1).

_A comprehensive evaluation of the Peace Education Programme, which was conducted in the refugee camps in Dadaab and Kakuma in 2001 for the term of the programme from 1998-2001, attests to the efficacy of the programme. The programme has contributed to promoting peace in the refugee camps above all with regard to the following seven points (Obura 2002):

▪ conflict prevention,
▪ resolution of small problems, disputes and fights,
▪ small dispute containment,
▪ prevention of conflict escalation,
▪ improved security situation and reduced criminality in the camp,
▪ enhanced interaction between the various population groups,

▪ spontaneous, unplanned positive effects such as independent initiatives on the part of the refugees for the multiplication of the peace education programme in the camps and in their home countries (ibid., 34).

_In contrast, Sommers points out a number of considerable weaknesses of the programme, which in his opinion, however, are not only typical of the UNHCR programme (Sommers 2001):

1. The training and further training of leaders is an inappropriate means of dealing with the problems of experience of serious violence. Leaders in refugee camps often do not represent those refugee groups which have been subject to direct violence.

2. Further training is a form of empowerment. Giving preference to an elite group among the refugees, generally anyway well-trained males, over the most vulnerable and possibly also violent groups reinforces the existing power structures and contributes to further frustration on the part of the marginalised.

3. Peace education has, just like peace itself, a quintessentially symbolic dimension. This is also seen in the language used. The fact that the UNHCR programme uses English, the language predominantly mastered by the refugee elite in Uganda and Kenya, as the teaching language, has a counterproductive connotation therefore.

4. "Fourth, the real and perceived threat of violence in the refugee camps blurs the distinction between conceptions of conflict prevention and conflict resolution in peace education work. A more important distinction is prioritizing those who could make the best use of peace education training. Clearly, the limited participation of marginalized 'drop-out' youth in the programme limits the programme's potential to transfer needed problem-solving skills to refugees who could benefit from the experience. The 'drop-outs' are marked by frustration and a tendency towards involvement in violent activities, and peace education alone cannot solve these

significant problems. These youth need jobs and the sort of productive activities that very few seem to be receiving".

5. The proportion of young females among the participants in the programme is very low.

6. Peace education programmes have to take grater account of the fact that peace education can be counter-productive if it is only aimed at children and not also at parents.

_For the peace education programmes of UNICEF Susan Fountain lists the following elementary conditions which make the success of the corresponding measures more probable, as lessons learned so to speak (Fountain 1999, 31):

- conducting a precise situation analysis prior to designing the programme, and planning for monitoring and evaluation prior to beginning any intervention;
- the specific training of project staff/teachers;
- the use of cooperative and interactive methods;
- teaching problem-solving skills and key qualifications through the use of real-life situations;
- transfer and use of the acquired skills in non-school contexts;
- ensuring gender and cultural sensitivity in the education process;
- incorporating analysis of conflicts in the community;
- the necessity to enlist broad-based community support for the peace education programme before it is integrated into the education system.

5.5 International structures in peace education

_An education programme aimed at international understanding and global peace is fundamentally dependent on a cross-border pedagogical discourse. "Internationality" not only has to be expressed in the subject matter but also in the context that gives rise to such a pedagogical concept. UNESCO makes

available a framework– albeit a very sweeping one – for the global "scientific community" working on peace education issues. To date, however, it has not been possible to institutionalise a relevant peace education network in the UN context, as has been the case for the field of "education in emergencies" with the INEE network. An information platform for good-practice examples within the framework of the wide-ranging concept of "learning to live together" is offered by the RelatED database of UNESCO-IBE.

_In the meantime a number of international discourse and work platforms for the exchange of results from peace education research and practice have been established, which should also be consulted on the further development of peace education approaches in development cooperation (see also Spajic-Vrkas 2003): among these are, for example, the International Peace Research Association IPRA, which is based in Copenhagen and which maintains its own Peace Education Commission; Association mondiale pour l'école instrument de paix (EIP) in Geneva; the International Association of Educators for World Peace (IAEWP), which is based in Huntsville/Alabama; as well as the International Teachers for Peace. A Global Campaign for Peace Education was ultimately founded in 1999 on the basis of the Hague Appeal for Peace and Justice in the 21st Century by renowned peace education pioneers, including Betty A. Reardon (cf. Reardon 2003). The Global Campaign feels obligated to the UNESCO recommendation from 1974 and the plan of action from 1994 (see above). The Hague Appeal calls for greater public and political support for peace education to be anchored in all areas of education, including non-formal learning, as well as the training of all teaching staff in issues of peace education (cf. www.ipb.org). In the case of Europe mention has to be made of the network "Education for Europe as Peace Education" EURED, which was founded in 2000 (cf. Wintersteiner et al. 2003), and which is focusing on the development of a further training programme for teachers. An important element in the further development of interna-

tional peace education could be the new master's degree course in peace education, which begins in 2005 at the Peace University of the United Nations in San José/Costa Rica. The peace education core curriculum foresees the following elements (cf. www.upeace.org):

- introduction to peace studies,
- cultures on learning – from violence to peace: to handle difference as a central assumption in peace education,
- human rights,
- research methods,
- sustainable development education,
- psychology of violence and peace,
- education for inter-cultural solidarity, environmental care and personal peace,
- education systems and educational change,
- education for conflict transformation and peace-building,
- language and media.

_It will have to be examined to what extent education assistance and the specific issues of peace education work in conflict regions in the southern hemisphere can also be taken into sufficient account in this forward-looking curriculum of peace education research and teaching. There is at least hope that the internationally acclaimed establishment of a postgraduate peace education course will be able to promote the long-overdue recognition of this working field as an independent academic discipline.

5.6 Citizenship education

_The condensed review of the current literature on education in complex emergencies and peace education presented to this point should have made it clear that peace education within the framework of development cooperation can neither be restricted to simply insisting on promoting competences for the management of interpersonal and inter-human conflicts, nor would it be well advised to primarily see itself as a broker of socio-critical messages and appeals to

improve the world. Rather peace education has to be included in the individual and collective learning process for the development of a democratic culture of conflict and debate, and in reinforcing societal competences for the sustained civilisation of conflict management: "Education for peace can only mean education for politics. And education for politics is in turn a matter for the entire community – to be implemented for the whole persons and over the course of a whole life" (von Hentig, 1987, 9*).

_Seen thus, peace education is closely linked to citizenship education, under the prerequisite, however, that education for democracy is re-formulated in the post-national situation as education for cosmopolity and is not tied to the exclusive concept of national citizenship. It would be beyond the scope of this literature overview to also sum up the international peace education discussion – the following concise comments are intended, however, to at least forge a bridge to a discussion context still requiring a critical analysis in the context of conflict-sensitive education assistance. As an example, however, reference can be made to the community-based peace-building concept of the Life and Peace Institute Uppsala, which was tested in Somalia and Sudan as a civic-education programme (cf. also Mehler/Ribaux 2000, 105 et seq.).

_There have already been several references to the significance of inclusive concepts of democratic citizenship for peace education. The question of the extent to which it is possible to establish structural stability in post-conflict societies essentially depends on national democratic institutions regaining legitimacy and on the trust placed in them on the basis of an inclusive understanding of citizenship. "Conceptualizations of citizenship" are, therefore, quite rightly a key element in the IBE project "Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-Affected Societies" (cf. Tawil/Harley 2004).

_"Inclusive democracy" refers above all in this respect to the acknowledgement of the de facto ethno-cultural

plurality of a society and the equal participation of all population groups (cf. also UNDP 2004; Davies 2004). The plurality of the cultural roots of all members of a national society also has to be reflected in the education process in the multi-perspectivity of the curriculum and the learning process. The peaceability of a society is determined by how it deals with heterogeneity, by how much plurality and foreignness it can accommodate without losing its social cohesion. The current debate on "citizenship education", "civic education" and "education for global citizenship" (Audrey Osler among others), presently taking place in Great Britain above all, and inspired to a significant degree by the "cultural studies" (Stewart Hall among others), offers considerable potential for stimulus.

_Based on the "alarming signs of an increase in violence, right-wing extremism and xenophobia, disenchantment with politics and scepticism towards democracy, and in particular among young people" these ideas have been taken up in part in the BLK model project "Demokratie leben und lernen" [Living and learning democracy] (Edelstein/Fauser 2001) – regrettably without taking into account a cosmopolitan expansion of horizons. The tolerant acceptance of difference, on the one hand, the development of democracy as a life form which also has to be expressed in the republican constitution of our educational facilities, on the other hand, are also underscored here as central elements of a peace education concept. The destructive implications of mistaken education conditions, which we examined with a view to the South in Chapter 3, are also being scrutinised here in Germany: the orientation framework for the BLK project expressly raises the question "which structural and socio-psychological conditions in schools have led to reinforcing socio-ethical deprivation and anomie with the consequence of a right-wing orientation and affinity to violence on the part of young people" (Edelstein/Fauser 2001, 78*).

_It would also be wise to examine to what extent the concepts and tried-and-tested practice models developed to overcome democracy deficits in our schools can be utilised for education assistance within the framework of technical cooperation – and, in return, to what extent findings and the relevant pilot programmes from the field of development-oriented emergency relief and education assistance with the South could offer input for school development in Germany.

Measuring peace: Instruments for conflict impact assessment in education assistance

"When international assistance is given in the context of a violent conflict, it becomes a part of that context and thus also of the conflict" (Anderson 1999, 1).

_If aspects of crisis prevention and conflict management are to be systematically taken into account in all areas of education assistance and education cooperation, this presupposes a sufficiently differentiated set of instruments for conflict-specific observation, analysis and impact assessment. Given the paucity of the literature on this subject, the following comments on conflict impact assessment must, therefore, be restricted to a brief outline of the problem: the urgent need for the development of conflict analysis and conflict impact assessment instruments specially adapted to the education sector.

_In the course of the literature research it was not possible to detect any extensive and elaborated analysis and indicator concepts which would meet the demands placed on an extensive set of instruments for conflict impact assessment in education assistance. Although there are some admittedly useful, tried-and-tested evaluation grids for peace education measures and education programmes in conflict-based emergencies (cf. Fountain 1999; Nevo/Brem 2002), and although individual planning instruments for conflict-oriented education programmes and the reconstruction of education systems have been and are being submitted for discussion (e.g. Isaac 1999, 2001; Tawil 2003), there can, however, be no talk of the elaboration of a standard set of instruments for a comprehensive peace and conflict impact assessment (PCIA) in the education sector. Inasmuch, this is not surprising as the entire field of PCIA is still in an early stage of its development, even though considerable work is being conducted on the corresponding instruments and methods at many sites. The German government in its "Plan of Action" from May 2004 refers to the incomplete character of the developments to date: "Instruments such as conflict analysis and peace and conflict impact assessment (PCIA) are intended (...) to facilitate the selection of the right options and

actors, and reinforce these if need be. At the same time they are intended to aid the selection of the most suitable organisations for the implementation of projects. However, the development of this instrument has not yet been completed – and the findings from the joint PCIAs of German intermediary organisations have still not been implemented" (Bundesregierung 2004, 46*).

_A comprehensive overview of the status of the PCIA debate as a whole – without, however, any specific restriction to education assistance – is offered by the Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation (Fischer/Wils 2001). The publishers concede that widely differing expectations are associated with PCIA and that accordingly diverse discussions have developed: while some see PCIA as a tool for programme planning above all, others expect a concept for evaluation and comparative analysis. As a rule, it is a question of the observation of the contribution made by an intervention for the peace development process, yet, inversely, many authors also regard PCIA as the analysis of the negative effects which conflicts can have on technical cooperation projects themselves. Given the scope of the spectrum the publishers state: "The variety of concepts and methodologies for assessing and measuring impacts makes it unlikely that a single concept of PCIA will emerge soon" (Fischer/Wils 2001, 7).

_The international PCIA discussion owes a great deal to the prior works of "Collaborative for Development Action" by Mary Anderson (1996) and the Swedish Life and Peace Institute. As with the original "do-no-harm" approach (cf. Anderson 1999), PCIA is not a conventional evaluation instrument which measures the extent to which the goals have been attained for a project: its scope far goes beyond an examination of the intended results and project objectives (cf. Bush 1998). It is rather a question of recording all the intended and unintended effects of a project on the conflict dynamic and peace potential in the entire environment of a crisis-endangered region. Thus it

also covers the analysis of the ancillary effects of development projects whose objectives do not initially directly encompass peace-building or conflict prevention issues. It is obvious that objective conflicts could also possibly arise between the immediate intended development policy objectives and the possibly unintended effects on the conflict dynamic.

_Based on this differentiation between the evaluation of the relevant conflict-preventive programmes and conflict impact assessment of all the potential technical cooperation measures in risk regions, it may prove useful to differentiate the spectrum of conflict-specific analysis instruments relevant to education assistance in crisis regions as follows:

1. Education system-specific conflict analysis and "early warning":

The development of crisis indicators (cf. Spelten 2000, or the Conflict Analysis Framework CAF of the World Bank; cf. Sardesai et al. 2002) can contribute to identifying potential conflicts at an early stage and taking specific "early action". Above all socially precarious tension becomes visible in the education sector, and the structures of the education system and the curricula themselves, can, as shown in Chapter 4, aggravate conflicts. The factor grid used by Bush/Saltarelli for the destructive and constructive potential of education in conflict situations still has to be developed into a manageable analytical instrument able to provide a considerable level of detail (cf. also Smith/Vaux 2003, 21).

2. Conflict impact assessment of education assistance measures:

This is a task of PCIA in the narrower sense: the impact assessment (ex ante) and the efficacy measurement (ex post) of all the education assistance measures in regions which have to be identified as risk regions in accordance with the above conflict analysis, with respect to their effects on the dynamics of the conflict and the peace-building process.

3. Instruments to assess the impact of conflicts on education assistance measures:

Knowledge of how conflicts can affect the implementation of projects in the education sector or impair the success of a project is of major significance for suitable project planning and project control. As could also be seen in Chapter 3, the data basis on the extent of conflict-based destruction of educational infrastructure is inadequate in each respective case, hindering the planning of effective pedagogical emergency measures and the development of realistic education-for-all strategies.

4. Standards and methods for the process-accompanying observation and evaluation of peace education measures:

The need for more and improved evaluation endeavours in the peace education sector is obvious (cf. Chapter 5). In this respect, the monitoring measures integrated into a project and the accompanying evaluation and efficacy checks have to be differentiated from ex-post evaluations. In peace education practice systematic project monitoring and accompanying efficacy control are generally non-existent.

5. Indicators and standards for the ex-post evaluation of peace education measures:

The ex-post efficacy analysis ultimately has to be integrated into the planning (and not least of all budget planning) of peace education measures from the outset and undertaken before the start of a project, through surveys on the starting situation and the identification of comparison groups, for example: "Measuring the impact of programming must begin before peace education takes place" (Sommers 2001). The comparatively well-developed evaluation practice in the education sector still has to be extended to the specific conditions and tasks of peace education measures.

_A number of problems are generally associated with efficacy checks and evaluation in technical cooperation projects, which gain in contentiousness in the context

of acute conflict situations: the central issue is how to avoid background knowledge on conflict situations and project impacts becoming or being perceived as "knowledge for the sake of action or control". The role which the local stakeholders play in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of projects has to be given special consideration therefore (cf. Fischer/Wils 2001). The complex interplay between the macro- and micro-level has also proved to be largely unexplained, especially when it is a question of the extent to which the established impact of a project on the micro-level is also able to have a sustainable impact on the macro-structural roots of ethno-political conflict and violence.

_As with the evaluation of education projects on the whole, which is generally faced with the problem of not being able to directly attribute long-term, and only indirectly traceable, changes in attitudes and consciousness to specific pedagogical intervention (or rather the fact that the corresponding changes at point X cannot be established or do not indicate the lack of impact of the intervention), it may also be useful for the field of pedagogical PCIA to orient the analytical instruments more strongly towards the observation of processes than to the "outcomes". Peace education work has proved, paradoxically enough, to be particularly successful when initially no spectacular impact has been established (cf. Schell-Faucon 2001, 40): It is precisely when "nothing happens" and it was possible to avert the escalation of conflicts that conflict prevention has evidently been most successful.

Conclusions and recommendations

_The hope that the world would become more peaceful after the end of the Cold War has not yet been fulfilled. Rather in recent years the number and intensity of violent conflicts have increased, with violent conflict, war and civil strife unsettling the developing countries above all. Development successes painstakingly achieved are destroyed overnight, and in the long term violent conflicts threaten the development and life outlook for millions of people, possibly even for several generations. And, given the growing socio-economic disparities accompanying the globalisation process, it is to be feared that the potential for conflict worldwide will increase rather than decrease against the background of fresh global security threats and the ever more intensive struggle for dwindling resources, and also in view of the advancing progressive pluralisation of life forms and people's values.

_Given the fact that there are now over 40 flashpoints ridden by violent conflict worldwide, there are increasing signs that the global development goals, which the international community intends to attain in the first 15 years of the 21st century, can only be achieved if it is possible to stem such destructive societal conflicts and pave the way for the affected societies to see peaceful change. This is true in particular of the global objectives for education, such as those agreed upon within the framework of the Education for All process. The examples and data presented in this study have, among other things, shown the extent of the dramatic impact that the effects of violent conflicts have on education structures and facilities and how such conflicts undermine the realisation of adequate education opportunities for everybody.

_Against this background, it is a welcome move that development policy-makers and technical cooperation have increasingly begun to promote measures for civil crisis prevention and peace-keeping recently, and that development policy as a whole has oriented itself strategically towards crisis prevention on a global, regional and national level. In this respect, in the context of national and international development policy discussion and practice, however, little attention has been paid to the special role played by education assistance within the framework of crises-preventive and peace-building development cooperation.

_In this respect it is obvious – and is also generally acknowledged in the development policy debate – that reinforcing societal peace constituencies, and thus also promoting the conflict-transformative competences of individuals and groups, plays a key role in finding a peaceful solution to conflicts. Conflicts are regarded as key catalysts for social change. Their productive transformation towards social progress can, as a rule, only succeed, however, if they may be resolved peacefully. This presupposes, in addition to the reliability of the corresponding societal, institutional and legal framework conditions, the particular ability of individuals and collectives to manage and resolve conflicts peacefully and constructively. However, the specific contribution which education can make to reinforcing such individual and societal peace competence is only mentioned in passing in the majority of plans of action and guidelines for national and international development policies – above all there is a lack of a systematically developed, coherent concept for conflict-sensitive education promotion.

_The diversity of the individual programmes for education assistance with a peace education objective – the majority of which are impressive and some of which certainly pioneering – cannot mask the fact that a systematic review and justification of their conceptional bases and implications is lacking, as is the formulation of acknowledged guidelines and minimum standards for the corresponding pedagogical intervention; a particularly urgent desideratum is, above all, the lack of evaluations and impact analyses, with the effect that there is scarcely any empirical knowledge of the suitability and use of the respective methodical approaches.

_In the educational science discussion in the Anglo-American area, as well as in particular in the context

of UNESCO, much more attention has been turned of late to the structural dimension of conflict-sensitive and peace-building education programmes, which has to date been acknowledged in the German-speaking literature. Alongside the noble pedagogical intentions, planned competence profiles, findings and values und curricular teaching/learning content, the focus is on issues such as the function and impact of education structures, their social exclusions and distribution effects, latent socialisation through the "hidden curriculum", the democratic or authoritarian character of school organisation and learning culture etc. That pedagogical goals such as the promotion of peaceful and democratic behaviour also have to be reflected in peace-building, dialog-based, democratic education structures and learning conduct, is certainly also an acknowledged postulate in the German peace education discussion, and is at the core of all education reform endeavours – to date, however, very little significance has been attached to the negative effects which can be emanated by education structures on the course of societal conflicts. In the meantime, with the studies from Bush/Saltarelli, Salmi, Smith/Vaux, Davies and Harber, instructive observation grids exist, which allow for a clearer description of the "two faces of education" regarding the negative and positive effects on the course of societal conflicts.

_The indications that "bad" education and badly-organised education, whether intended or not, can contribute to the escalation of societal conflicts, and that schools are not per se places of peace – but rather all too often places of violence – are indeed overwhelming. The exacerbating impact of the direct, gender-specific, structural and cultural violence manifest in educational structures and facilities on the causes of violent conflicts, as well as the risk that educational structures regarded as being unjust can themselves be the cause of escalating conflicts, are not to be underestimated. Such insights should prompt a fundamental and systematic examination of education systems and learning cultures with regard to their potentially conflict-exacerbating factors. On the basis

of some of the indicators mentioned in this study, such as the advancing discrimination of cultural minorities and a creeping militarization of schools, it is certainly possible to identify the potential for societal conflict in the form of an "early warning". Seen in a positive sense, this also means that special attention should be paid to these structural and curriculum policy implications in the establishment of conflict-sensitive education arrangements that also foster peace. An opportunity for this is primarily offered by the reconstruction of destroyed educational structures in post-conflict phases. If the ability of a society to transform conflicts productively and peacefully is to be reinforced through education assistance, then structural and processual factors such as participatory curriculum reform, a democratic school-life, an integrative school structure, and a "fair" allocation and selection function of the educational system not geared to social or ethnic origin are just as important as the implementation of the relevant peace education teaching units, conflict training and mediation programmes.

_From the status of discussion presented here it may be concluded that education sector support and crisis prevention in the context of development cooperation have to be more closely linked than has been the case to date – and this in two respects: it is urgently recommended that education components be expressly anchored in all programmes and concepts for crisis prevention and conflict management with the goal of reinforcing individual and collective conflict-transformative competences – and, conversely, at the same time the issue of possible conflict-exacerbating or crisis-preventive implications be considered and examined with all education assistance measures ("mainstreaming conflict").

_Against the background of the discussion status outlined here, and bearing in mind this two-pronged strategic key issue, the following recommendations may be made for the sector project "Education And Conflict Transformation":

1. Bring together national and international networks for research, data gathering, innovation and strategic planning in the field of "Education And Conflict Transformation".

In order to systematically record and describe the complex interplay between "education" and "conflict" in practice, as well as be able to utilise the corresponding insights for practical development and education cooperation, the available scientific instruments would seem to be inadequate and the current empirical knowledge "too flimsy". The limited number of experts in this field are of the unanimous opinion that the research status to date has been extremely unsatisfactory. As urgent as the need for action is, we know far too little about the following points in particular

- the precise extent to which violent conflicts impair education opportunities and are thus a barrier to the realisation of the universal education goals, and the conditions under which education can continue to be upheld in a societal environment shaped by violence;

- the manner in which education can aggravate conflicts and intensify the risk of violent conflict escalation;

- which peace education measures are effective and why, and why which measures fail?

_The sector project can provide important impetus for the treatment of the cited research desiderata, and is itself dependent on an in-depth academic basis for the development, observation and evaluation of corresponding (pilot) measures. Using the relevant expertise which GTZ has acquired in the fields of "crisis prevention" and "education assistance", and not least of all in the areas where these intersect, GTZ should contribute to networks between educational science/international education research and development policy, between science and the specialists and experts in technical cooperation, as well as between non-governmental organisations, state actors and international organisations, and encourage and/or support their development. Given the dimension of the problem, the considerable

deficits in knowledge and interpretations, the inadequate planning bases, and in view of the lack of coordination and ensuing confusion over responsibilities, something that is often bemoaned in the field of "education in emergencies", closer cooperation between the actors in these areas seems to be urgently required on both a national and international scale.

_To date German actors have not been represented to a sufficient degree in the existing networks. (Stronger) cooperation would be advisable, in particular, in Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE); in the various conflict-relating working contexts of UNESCO, and in particular in the context of UNESCO-IBE; and also in the peace education networks "Education for Europe as Peace Education" EURED and the Global Campaign for Peace Education; as well as with the UN Peace University in San José. The existing information platforms such as RelatED at IBE, which primarily bundles programmes within the framework of the "learning to live together" concept, as well as the database of the Global Information Networks in Education (GINIE), which above all communicates information and projects on pedagogical innovations in crisis regions, should be used to a much greater degree. The potential arising from cooperation and exchange of findings between technical cooperation/humanitarian aid on the one hand, and experts and actors in peace education on the other, has to date been left fallow; here it would make sense to establish the corresponding "interfaces". It is recommended that contact be established with Britain's DFID and Sweden's SIDA, whose conceptional considerations on the subject of "education and conflict" in the field of state development cooperation seem comparatively advanced, as well as with Britain's National Foundation for Educational Research NFER, which also commissioned a "scoping study" on the subject in 2004.

2. Reinforce the crisis resistance and adaptability of educational facilities.

Violent conflicts and societal crises are increasingly responsible for the human right to education still

being denied to millions of people and, given the present situation, for it being scarcely possible to fully realise this human right by the year 2015. In view of the dramatic extent of the destruction which violent conflicts can wreak overnight, as it were, on existing educational capacities, and the experience that apparently stable societies are not immune to the unexpected outbreak of violent conflicts, greater significance has to be attached to the protection of educational facilities, as well as teachers and students, in times of crisis. Attacks on schools and educational facilities violate international law and are regarded as war crimes – albeit the instruments to document and punish such crimes are just as weak as the measures to protect educational facilities against attack.

_From the very outset education assistance measures with cooperation countries in which latent conflicts indicate a certain crisis risk have to take into account the possibility of the outbreak of a violent conflict and make provisions for how, under conditions of violence, the protection of teachers, students, educational facilities and space for peaceful learning can be guaranteed ("preparedness planning"). From the precise analysis of educational facilities or even whole "shadow systems", which have succeeded in weathering crises and to offer peaceful and protected places of dialog and learning in crises and in a societal environment unsettled by violence ("resilient schools"), it may be possible to identify factors which on the whole favour the crisis-resistance and adaptability of education systems.

3. Develop and implement concepts for complex and adapted education intervention in emergency situations and under crisis conditions.
It has been widely acknowledged in the meantime that the provision of education capacities in situations of catastrophe, emergency, crisis and war has to be an indispensable element in humanitarian aid and development oriented emergency relief, even though this is not always given the corresponding priority in

practice. It is peace education offerings which are, above all, necessary in view of overt violent conflicts; greater significance has to be attached to these offerings compared to the present focus placed by peace-building measures in education assistance on so-called post-conflict societies.

_Complex emergencies also require complex educational responses, which in addition to the conveying of fundamental competences, survival skills and peace education measures, also have to include trauma and reconciliation work and the opportunity for recreation, games and sporting activities. While "package" solutions based on the "Teacher Emergency Packages" are certainly helpful, and in particular for the swift provision of basic materials, the applied didactic concepts have to be closely geared to the respective local situation, to the existing resources and capacities, to the cultural conditions, and have to take into account all the affected local participants. A "one-size-fits-all-approach" would likewise be totally wrong; however, a number of guidelines, intervention principles and success factors for education emergencies may be listed, e.g.
- the acknowledgement of the "ownership of conflict", i.e. the principle that conflicts may ultimately only be solved by the participants themselves;
- the necessity to tie in with the respective cultural traditions and processes for conflict management;
- the necessity to give attention to and assist marginalised target groups, e.g. handicapped children, cultural minorities, demobilised child soldiers;
- linking up education offerings with measures to reinforce the capacities of the respective communities, with further education offerings for parents and for young people past school age, as well as with the provision of income opportunities for young people in particular;
- specifically promoting women and girls, and designing and implementing all education measures in a gender-sensitive manner;
- not merely conceptualising education for peace, citizenship and human rights as a cross-cutting

task, but foreseeing it as an independent subject with its own course offerings and a differentiated curriculum.

_Within the framework of the sector project priority should, above all, be given to the following measures against the background in the field of education intervention under crisis conditions as laid out above:

- specific promotional measures for the education integration of disadvantaged children and young people, and in particular handicapped children, ex-combatants and HIV-infected children;
- additional education offerings for internally displaced persons (IDPs), who can be reached by assistance and education measures to a much lesser degree than refugees under the protection of UNHCR;
- specific promotion and qualification of female teaching staff, who are extremely under-represented in educational facilities under crisis conditions, yet whose presence and roles can contribute to the increased educational participation of girls, to a reduction in gender-specific violence in schools and to reinforcing the role and gender perception of schoolgirls;
- the development of suitable methods and curricular approaches for conflict-related education programmes, teaching units and teacher training courses under crisis conditions;
- of considerable significance is the creation of education and training offerings accompanied by and linked to the establishment of employment opportunities for young school-leavers, as frustrated and unemployed young people in particular represent an enormous risk potential. Here it makes sense to take up the approaches put forward by FAKT on vocational assistance for young people in post-conflict societies. The discussion and transfer of the corresponding pilot programmes could also counter the apparent school-centred nature of the debate outlined here.

4. "Mainstreaming conflict": Develop criteria for conflict-sensitive education systems and apply these in education reform processes.

The insights on the "two faces of education" in societal conflicts, examined above all in Chapter 4, demonstrate, on the one hand, that mistaken education structures themselves can contribute to the escalation of societal conflicts, and, on the other, that peace-building through education cannot simply take place through the implementation of peace education measures in the narrower sense, but, on the whole, presupposes a conflict-sensitive structure of the educational infrastructure in which the corresponding measures are embedded. The diversity of aspects which can play a role in this respect has not by any means been examined in full. In accordance with the latest research, however, it is to be assumed that the following factors in particular play a key role in the design of conflict-sensitive education systems, and that they should be further operationalised for education assistance within the framework of the sector project:

- "The integrative school": Educational facilities and structures have to be as inclusive and integrative as possible, i.e. allow for equal access for all population groups, and also reflect the social and cultural diversity of society in the syllabi.
- "The democratic school": Educational facilities should practice a democratic and participatory learning culture so as to allow for a constructive way of dealing with conflict and also be embedded in a democratic educational environment which allows all the societal powers to participate in shaping the education system accordingly.
- "The pluralistic school": Educational facilities have to take into account the plurality of human societies to a greater degree and allow for the development of "multiple" and "inclusive" identities, which appreciate differences and heterogeneity and which are able to encounter foreignness with tolerance and empathy. The peace-building identity work to be performed through education is to be further specified in each case with a view to the

cultural, political and gender-specific identity
concepts:
- from a cultural stance it is a question of respect-
  ing and acknowledging diversity and the develop-
  ment of multiple or "hybrid" cultural identities,
- from a political stance it is a question of develop-
  ing a pluralistic, "cosmopolitan" and non-exclusive
  understanding of citizenship,
- from a gender-specific stance it is a question
  of dismantling a culture of authoritarian male
  dominance and violence-conducive models
  for maleness, and bringing about the equality
  of the sexes.

_A current stating point for the debate on the "demo-
cratic school", which could also be availed of for de-
velopment cooperation, is offered by the current BLK
model project "Demokratie lernen" [Learning democ-
racy]; with a view to the issue of the cultural identity
concepts it is recommended that the guidelines for
a multicultural policy in a world of diversity as devel-
oped in the latest Human Development Report (HDR
2004) be specified in educational terms.

5. Utilise peace education concepts for crisis-
preventive education assistance.
The long tradition of peace education thought and
action has brought forth an abundance of proven
concepts and action models, which to date have not
been utilised within the framework of development
cooperation. The justified criticism – in part massive –
from development experts and educationalists in the
southern hemisphere of the "western bias" and the
lack of situation-adequate differentiation of many of
the peace education approaches developed in Europe
and in the USA should, however, not be an obstacle
to specifically examining the available findings and
concepts with a view to their benefits for crisis-pre-
ventive education assistance with the South, and
where necessary adapting these in line with the cor-
responding regional framework conditions. Above all
the following segments of peace education work
seem to be of particular relevance:

- the highly developed conflict pedagogy, above
  all in Europe and in the USA, for reinforcing a con-
  structive and peaceful way of dealing with con-
  flicts;
- concepts for encounter measures with members
  of "enemy" population groups;
- ideology-critical approaches to the deconstruction
  of concepts of the enemy, war propaganda, the
  influence of the media, the hidden curriculum of
  schools etc.

_An element to be regarded critically is the fact that
in peace education practice it is, evidently, above all
activities of only a short and medium duration which
predominate. Greater attention should be devoted to
long-term measures and to spiral-curricular approaches
in curricular development which develop in the course
of the school career. Against the background of the
criticism that peace education predominantly deals
with people who need such education least of all,
with peace education measures in conflict and post-
conflict situations priority should be given above all
to those target groups which are able to implement
the corresponding learning experiences most fruit-
fully. A particular challenge for peace-oriented edu-
cation work has proved to be the work with potential
and actual perpetrators of violence.

_In the context of identity-based and ethno-political
conflicts, measures have proven effective in which the
members of hostile groups and prejudiced groups go
beyond mere encounter and work together on joint
projects in which the mutual benefit of cooperation is
clear to see. The cooperation between those of differ-
ent opinions towards a joint third objective (Davies'
"collaborative diversity") has certainly proved to be
extremely conflict-prone. Yet it is learning to be able
to "endure" and acknowledge differences in situations
of heterogeneity that marks out what is perhaps the
most significant "school of peaceability".

_In this respect it is to be taken into account that
comments above on the impact of education struc-

ture factors on societal conflicts are not intended in any way to relativise the relevance of specific peace education measures. Peace-building and crisis prevention cannot merely be regarded as pedagogical cross-cutting tasks, rather they also have to be expressly laid down as topics and subjects in an education context. Peace-building is to be conceptualised, where necessary, as a complementary "subject" and "cross-cutting task" in education contexts.

_The sector project can, in the course of the adaptation of peace education approaches and methods for education assistance, make a significant contribution to the operationalisation of the overall concept of a culture of peace as called for in the German government's plan of action (Bundesregierung 2004).

_In this respect it would also be logical to examine to what extent the approach of the sector project can also be used for development policy education in Germany and for the North-South dialogue. In its plan of action for civil crisis prevention from May 2004 the German government expressly refers to the significance of educational work here in Germany for global crisis prevention: "The German government is making an important contribution to crisis prevention through more educational work in Germany. Thus in 2003 it made available a sum of over 8.5 million euros for development policy information and educational work" (Bundesregierung 2004, 49*). As much as it is to be welcomed that domestic work is viewed thus and that BMZ has in recent years increasingly provided funds for development education, the proclaimed interplay between the development-political information and education work of BMZ and crisis prevention is extremely vague. It is necessary to determine much more precisely which education measures are able to contribute to crisis prevention, and to specifically promote suitable measures for the creation of political awareness in Germany able to strengthen the peace-building measures worldwide. In this respect, the campaigning and lobby work of non-governmental organisations on controversial topics such as arma-

ments, intervention, arms exports etc. should also be considered and supported to a greater degree.

_An innovative contribution to the sector project for the promotion of the North-South dialogue and to consolidating global responsibility in Germany could be that of specifically conveying and making use of experiences and models for civil conflict management from abroad in societal conflict situations in Germany through the corresponding specialists from the southern hemisphere. Promising previous experiences have been made with this model, among others with the "Learning from the South" programme of INKOTA, the adaptation of the anti-bias training (from South Africa) or the Betzavta model (from Israel) (cf. on the latter also Michael Bommes and Ulrike Wolff-Jontosfohn in Institute for Peace Education et al. 2004). As the GTZ itself does not operate in the field of domestic work, cooperation should be sought with the relevant organisations operating in the respective field.

6. Develop and implement instruments and processes for conflict analysis and conflict impact analysis for the education sector.
Regardless of intensive efforts to develop a comprehensive set of instruments for conflict impact assessment (PCIA), there is still a need for the elaboration of the relevant analysis and observation instruments, which may be used, in particular, in the field of education assistance. Given the growing insight that it is not least of all the latent effects of education structures and intervention in education assistance which can impact on the dynamism of conflicts, and also in view of the regular criticism of the complete and utter inadequacy of evaluation practice in the field of peace education measures, the development of the corresponding observation instruments and their implementation has to be given high priority. In this respect, as explained, differentiated indicators and processes have to be developed, which, where possible, have to take into consideration several pressing issues:

- crisis indicators for education system-specific conflict analysis and for "early warning";
- standards and processes for conflict impact assessment and analysis of the efficacy of education assistance measures;
- standards and processes for the evaluation of peace education measures.

_At first glance many of the proposals cited here appear to go beyond direct education assistance with a conflict-preventive objective, and encompass, in particular with regard to considerations on conflict-sensitive educational structures, a very wide range of educational reform issues. The comparatively broad approach recommended here has, however, shown itself to be warranted by the facts when seen against the background of the international debate also outlined here. It is also based on the intuition that that which is good for the personal development of children is also able to foster peace within a society.

_At the same time, however, with all the endeavours, and especially those aiming to contribute to peace in the context of North-South cooperation through education assistance, the capability of pedagogical intervention should not be overestimated, and the difference between pedagogical and political action should not be overlooked. Peace education arrangements can motivate and enable people to act for peace, building peace itself, however, goes beyond the remit and possibilities of all forms of education assistance.

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The Sector Project "Education And Conflict Transformation"

_In the future the promotion of basic education and crisis prevention are to be more closely interwoven in development cooperation than is the case at present. This is the objective of the sector project "Education And Conflict Transformation", which GTZ Department 43 "Health, Education, Social Security" has been conducting since the beginning of 2004 on behalf of the Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). In concrete terms this means that children and young people in cooperation and partner-countries for German development cooperation learn to live together in peace and to defend social cohesion.

_The objective of the first, three-year phase is that of implementing education concepts and instruments for the promotion of democratic conduct and peaceful co-existence in the development of key strategies and programmes for development cooperation. The elaboration and further development of education concepts and instruments takes place through evidence-based evaluation and documentation of findings and experiences to date, and analysis of the pilot measures conducted to test innovative approaches in curricular and extra-curricular basic education. The findings provided by the sector project primarily contribute towards programme-oriented development cooperation in the basic education sector. They are available for use at project level in crisis and post-crisis situations, as well as in other key development cooperation sectors. It is intended to anchor basic education measures with a crisis- and conflict-relevant orientation as clearly designated components in development cooperation projects.

_In initial discussions with sector and country departments within BMZ, and also with specialist and regional departments at GTZ, four key topic complexes have emerged:

- Specific promotional measures for the education integration of disadvantaged children, in particular child soldiers, refugees and those displaced by war, street children, children with handicaps, and others.

- Measures to prevent violence in schools and in non-formal education (e.g. introduction of peaceful conflict strategies in schools and teacher training, eradication of stereotypes, prejudices und concepts of the enemy in teaching plans and text-books).
- Trauma and reconciliation work (e.g. encounter pedagogy and coming to terms with the past, linking up modern psychological methods with traditional healing processes).
- Political education and social learning (e.g. advising on the introduction of new subjects such as civic education, values education, human rights and tolerance education, intercultural learning, participation and co-determination of pupils and parents in education matters).

_With regard to the situation-specific design of these topics in partner countries of German development cooperation the sector project has taken a flexible approach. Thus examples of areas of activity to date are:

- Support for peace-building programmes in the integration of basic education measures. Thus support is provided in Sri Lanka for the long-standing basic education project towards its integration into the main assistance focus "Poverty Eradication and Conflict Transformation". And in Columbia the "Civic Participation for Peace" programme has been advised on the design of a component with the target group children and young people.
- In Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo, advice is provided on the preparation and implementation of projects for the reintegration of marginalised children and young people, and in particular child soldiers. In this respect the experiences of programmes for development-oriented and humanitarian emergency response are of particular significance.
- With regard to basic education for displaced persons and refugees the technical cooperation experiences in Rwanda and Tanzania, as well as in Pakistan and Afghanistan, have been systematically analysed.

- In Kosovo an empirical study has been conducted on the political attitudes of the population in a conflict situation, in close cooperation with two projects for vocational training and the promotion of young people, among other things so as to be able to offer justified assistance for curriculum reform and teacher training in the introduction of a new subject "Social Studies and Civic Education".
- The preparation of a new project for basic education promotion in Afghanistan is being given ongoing support, and in particular with regard to education for girls, the prevention of violence and addiction.
- For a new project, "Peace development and conflict prevention in Mindanao", Philippines, the sector project is providing consulting services in the design of a basic education component.
- In the expansion of the basic education programme in Yemen to include the country's crisis-ridden regions, the sector project is actively providing consulting services, and in doing so is endeavouring to create promising points of contact for the Arab region.
- Together with the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, the sector project is working on the development of criteria and instruments for conflict impact assessment in the basic education sector.

_A total period of eight years is foreseen for the sector project, which will increasingly endeavour to anchor basic education components with the objective of strengthening individual and collective conflict transformative competences in peace-building, crisis prevention and conflict management prgrammes, and also in development-oriented emergency aid and reconstruction. At the same time, with all new projects involving basic education promotion the issue of possible conflict-aggravating and crisis-preventive implications will have to be taken into consideration and examined. The development of appropriate instruments for this process is to be accorded high priority.

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