

Research Consortium on
Education and Peacebuilding

The role of education in Peacebuilding Country Report: Myanmar

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February 2016

Executive Summary



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The report on Education and Peacebuilding in Myanmar is part of the work of the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, which is co-led by the Universities of Amsterdam, Sussex and Ulster, and supported by UNICEF’s Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme. This two-year partnership with UNICEF (mid 2014 - mid 2016) seeks to build knowledge on the relationship between education and peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts. Our data collection and analysis has focused on two specific geographical regions: the wider Yangon area and Mon state. This report addresses the three thematic Research Areas (RA) of the Research Consortium in the case of Myanmar:

1. Policy	How is peacebuilding integrated into the education sector at macro and micro policy levels?
2. Teachers	What is the role of teachers in the peacebuilding process of a country?
3. Youth	How do formal/non-formal peacebuilding education programmes address the agency of youth?

It also discusses the two cross-cutting themes of gender dynamics and direct and indirect violence in the context of Myanmar

Analytical Framework and Methodology

The report draws on the theoretical framework developed for this broader consortium (Novelli, Lopes Cardozo, Smith, 2015). This gives a distinctive focus on the role of education within cultural, political and economic processes of conflict and peacebuilding from a “4R’s perspective”, including the strongly interconnected dimensions of:

“The 4Rs framework combines social justice and transitional justice thinking to develop a normative framework for the study of education and peacebuilding, which recognises the multiple dimensions of inequality and injustice that often drive contemporary conflicts and the need to address the legacies of these conflicts in and through education.”

- **Redistribution:** equity and non-discrimination in education access, resources, and outcomes for different (marginalised) groups in society;
- **Recognition:** respect for and affirmation of diversity and identities in education structures, processes, and content, in terms of gender, language, politics, religion, ethnicity/race, culture, and ability;
- **Representation:** participation, at all levels of the education system, in governance and decision-making related to the allocation, use, and distribution of human and material resources; and
- **Reconciliation:** dealing with legacies of past events, injustices, and material and psychosocial effects of conflict, as well as developing trust.

This 4Rs framework combines social justice and transitional justice thinking to develop a normative framework for the study of education and peacebuilding, which recognises the multiple dimensions of inequality and injustice that often drive contemporary conflicts and the need to address the legacies of these conflicts in and through education. The framework is in line with broader and well-established peacebuilding thinking (c.f. Galtung 1976; Lederach 1995, 1997) of the need to move beyond negative peace (the cessation of violence) towards positive peace, or the underlying structural and symbolic violence that often underpins the outbreak of conflict.

“The study included 72 policy-related respondents (including policy-makers, peacebuilding actors, and experts), 115 teacher-related respondents (including head teachers, teachers, and teacher trainers), and 144 youth-related participants (including youth and staff of micro-cases) in the wider Yangon area and in Mon state. Hence, the data presented reflects a particular period and geographical focus.”

The team, consisting of three researchers from the University of Amsterdam, one colleague from the University of Auckland and seven researchers in Myanmar, carried out the fieldwork between January and April 2015. To date, the study included 72 policy-related respondents (including policy-makers, peacebuilding actors, and experts), 115 teacher-related respondents (including head teachers, teachers, and teacher trainers), and 144 youth-related participants (including youth and staff of micro-cases) in the wider Yangon area and in Mon state. Hence, the data presented reflects a particular period and geographical focus. Moreover, the authors are mindful of the unique contexts of both Mon and Yangon in relation to peacebuilding within the broader national context, such that our findings are not generalizable to other areas of the country with specific conflict drivers, some of which are currently conflict-affected.

The report was completed at the end of October 2015, a few weeks before the elections on 8 November and hence the findings of this report should be seen in the light of this specific time period. As policy documentation of on-going reforms is of conditional nature, our analysis covered the ‘latest’ versions available to the research team, this way illustrating the ‘emerging’ (rather than ‘finished’) nature of Myanmar’s transition. The team gathered again in January 2016 for validation workshops with teachers, youth groups and other (inter-)national stakeholders. During these workshops and based on the findings of this study, joint recommendations were developed with these actors and these ‘ways forward’ are presented at the end of this report.

Education Within the Historical and Contemporary Context of Conflict-Affected Myanmar

To understand the country’s conflict-related context and peacebuilding processes, it is important to examine the main historical and present characteristics of the country, and the location of education within those (see chapter 2 for an extensive analysis). Conflict within Myanmar largely falls into three interdependent movements: the struggle of armed ethnic groups for greater self-determination; the pro-democracy movements resisting oppressive practices by the military-dominated State; and the more recent resurfacing of inter-religious tensions. After the election in 2010, there have been tensions around and partial successes with regard to the government’s quest for a nation-wide ceasefire agreement. Since 2011, the government initiated multiple reform processes, including an education sector review. However, actual transformations towards a more sustainable peace remains volatile. Myanmar’s education system is in need of profound reforms, and suffers from poor access indicators, particularly for marginalised groups. Inequities along ethnic, class and gender lines exist among and between different regions of the country and disaggregated analysis of enrolment data is limited. Finally, although slowly increasing, the government spends relatively little on the education sector in comparison with other countries of the Asian region and with other sectors, including the military.

Policy Challenges of a Situation in Flux

“A central issue in the current landscape of Myanmar is the ongoing processes of peace negotiations between the government and multiple ethnic armed groups (EAGs), which are as yet unresolved after six decades of fighting.”

Locating education within the broader peacebuilding architecture of Myanmar, and the particular nature and function of peacebuilding discourse within current education reforms, it is inevitable to pay attention to the evolution of change, rather than its outcomes (see chapter 3 of the full report).

The Location of Education Within the Peace Process

A central issue in the current landscape of Myanmar is the **ongoing processes of peace** negotiations between the government and multiple ethnic armed groups (EAGs), which are as yet unresolved after six decades of fighting. Education is not an explicit component of the National Ceasefire Agreements (NCA), but is seen as an important aspect of the peace dialogue, as it is recognised that education has and continues to be a key grievance for many of the armed ethnic groups, other elements of civil society, and minority groups. Current education reform is deemed as vital to securing peace dividends through improved service delivery and a renewed focus on inclusion and equality of provision. At an overt level, even if **education has often been mentioned in the text of peace agreements** for the bilateral ceasefires or the NCA, **it has not featured prominently as an important contribution to sustainable peace or explicitly emerged as a political claim**. In locating peacebuilding within the process of educational reform, **peacebuilding seems to be implicitly** part of broader discourses of social inclusion, equity and improved access for those traditionally neglected by the state, rather than being explicitly mentioned in education reform discourse.

The Drivers of Educational Reform in Myanmar

The primary rationale for education reform at present is driven by an imperative to modernise the education system for Myanmar’s integration into ASEAN and the global economy, and to improve inclusive access to quality education provision from a human capital and economic development paradigm. Hence, the key driver for reforms at present is focussed on improving educational service delivery to ensure that the education system promotes, rather than hinders, broader macro-economic reform processes.

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Macro Reform: CESR, National Education Law and NESP

In 2011, President U Thein Sein committed the government to a wholesale reform of the education sector as part of a broader package of reforms. In February 2012, the Ministry of Education (MoE) agreed to undertake a Comprehensive Education Sector Review (CESR), which aimed to develop evidence-based and more transparent policy decision-making. There was a sense that the multiple actors, actions and interests involved in the reform have led to a current situation where the desire for rapid, visible change precludes the initial aim of CESR—which was to provide a comprehensive, coherent view. Analysis of draft texts of the National Education Sector Plan (NESP) and Education Law suggests that *“peacebuilding is everywhere*

and nowhere”: everywhere in the sense that there seems to be a recognition of the need to place education reform process in the actual context of inequalities and frustrations; yet it is nowhere as a peacebuilding logic or language is notably absent from key reforms. The reform and policy direction potentially might do more harm, rather than address the root causes that drove many aspects of the conflict in the first place: a lack of fair **redistribution** of resources and opportunities; a reflection of **recognition** of the various linguistic and cultural needs; a sincere **representation** and a participatory process that not only informs, but rather engages with oppositional and minority perspectives; to on the long run enable first steps to addressing the grievances expressed through and inflicted by education through **reconciliation**.

Gender and Violence

Regarding the cross-cutting themes of gender and violence, it needs to be pointed out that **gender-based forms of inequity** are notably absent from mention in the reform process, or tend to **solely focus on quantitative parity** in enrolments and completion. In fact, **little attention** has been given to the gendered forms of bias, discrimination and (structural and indirect) violence that the education system and structures have imposed on learners and communities for decades, and are not appropriately considered and rectified in current reform efforts.

Addressing Inequalities: The Quick Wins Platform and Educational (De)Centralisation

A key tension exists within this reform package between the **aim to deliver quick, visible peace dividends**, and the desire to take an evidence-based, systematic approach to the education sector as a whole. The focus on **redistributing** educational resources and reducing access-related barriers to schooling may work against goals of **recognizing** the plurality of viewpoints and actors (e.g. regarding language of instructing). Despite efforts to ensure inclusivity, many key national stakeholders felt side-lined. There exists an uneasy tension between, on the one hand, a state which has expressed an intent to address issues of redistribution, representation and recognition through decentralisation of a strongly centralised system, while on the other hand, the connected process of convergence raises questions about whether this limits opportunities (at least in the short term) for citizens, and particularly minority ethnic groups, to continue to vocalise and represent their interests for education.

Teachers' Roles in Ongoing Processes of Peacebuilding and Conflict

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Positioning Teachers in Contemporary Myanmar

Traditionally, teachers have been held in high esteem within communities across Myanmar. However, the status of the profession has been undermined by chronic underinvestment in the education sector, leading to teachers suffering material hardship. Accordingly, contradictory perceptions on teachers’ roles create a tension between the recognition of the potential peacebuilding agency of teachers in the community and the instrumental, exam-oriented expectations of the state that require teachers to act as obedient civil servants.

Teacher Governance and Accountability

There exist continuing **material imbalances in resources and provision of teachers** between the government and the monastic, ethnic and community education systems. Despite moves to decentralization, the continuation of a centralized system of governance limits management of teachers to ensure their suitability within their working environment. A new **competency framework** aims to systematize teacher accountability, potentially promoting greater understanding of tasks and responsibilities between actors involved, but there remain risks relating to their generic nature and possible mobilization for authoritarian or coercive purposes. Teachers expressed three main **challenges with regard to their deployment**:

1. In remote areas teachers may be expected to teach various subjects and at different levels, for which they are not trained;
2. The material hardship in remote areas undermined teachers’ wellbeing and job motivation, and
3. A specific gendered impact of current deployment of teachers, many of whom are single women, as taking up teaching posts in conflict-affected or remote areas meant isolation from their families and structures of social support and safety.

Teacher Education and Professional Development

Current flaws in the process of teacher recruitment, training and promotion undermine efforts to bring more experienced and qualified teachers into primary education. Across the different education sectors in Myanmar, the opportunities for teacher professional (pre-/in-service) development vary considerably (see diagram in chapter 4.3, p.110). While interacting with a highly politicised and challenging context, there has been a recent proliferation of teacher education interventions, of which a small selection was reviewed, including a programme focused on (pre-service) teacher trainers, a programme on in-service teacher education, a training for school principals and a community-based training for unqualified teachers.

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“Teacher education interventions could benefit from greater coherence and logic, attention to the constraints within which teacher work, reorienting international insights/influences to the Myanmar context and developing a long-term strategic vision.”

Most of these newly emerging interventions reviewed use **promising creative and context-sensitive approaches**, including site-based collaborative clusters, community rooted content, tailored competency frameworks and a focus on the empowerment of teacher educators and head teachers. **Peacebuilding was implicit** in the content of trainings, while their efforts in bringing teachers together across divides were a significant outcome. Teacher education interventions could benefit from greater coherence and logic, attention to the constraints within which teacher work, reorienting international insights/influences to the Myanmar context and developing a long-term strategic vision.

Curriculum and Textbooks

As part of the broader reform agenda, Myanmar’s primary level basic education curriculum is being reformed under the guidance of JICA since March 2014. The revised curriculum, which is currently awaiting approval from the minister, **is not explicitly referring to peacebuilding**. However, specific components of envisaged content, including the reduction of references to the military in social studies, indicate a commitment to the opportunity to **delegitimise violence**. Nonetheless, current plans for textbooks to be written only in Burmese - and uncertainty about how the curriculum will use the freedom to include 20% local content - suggests the curriculum’s limitations in relation to addressing pressing issues of social justice linked to lack of **recognition of the diversity** of cultures and **representation** of ethnic/minority groups. While teachers within government and ethnic systems were aware of the potential of **history** to contribute to peacebuilding, they felt constrained by existing curricula frameworks. At the same time, teacher’s own (community-driven) attachment to sectarian approaches to history undermined the subject’s potential to contribute to social cohesion. Optimistically, the current revision of the primary curriculum has potential to support a change in teacher practices, yet this would require a close connection to teacher professional development.

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Youth’s Restricted Space for Peacebuilding in and Beyond Education

The research situates youth within current processes of social, economic and political change within Myanmar, underlining the constraints, opportunities and horizons of action available to youth (in Mon State and Yangon) (see chapter 5).

Situating Youth in Myanmar’s Current Transitions

The absence of data on youth was perceived to undercut effective policymaking tailored to the specific (economic, but also political and socio-cultural) needs and concerns of youth across the country. While (urban and rural) youth recognised the potential positive impacts of the tentative **opening up of political and social freedoms** since 2010, they also reported continuing **constraints on their political engagement** because of tokenism in youth participation in high level meetings, and the legacy of inadequate formal education systems to prepare young people to participate in politics. Youth also felt excluded from the potential benefits of the country’s **economic transition**, pointing to their urgent need for job opportunities

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and relevant vocational education. As result of being caught up within processes of economic migration, inter-generational relationships and tensions are leading to **socio-cultural transitions** of communities that see their younger generation leave. Finally, participants’ expressed concerns at what they perceived as mounting levels of drug abuse among youth.

Youth Related Policy and Framings

In the absence of state level youth policy, there is both limited acknowledgment of the **political citizenship** rights of youth, nor recognition of **cultural and linguistic identities** and needs in policy and programmatic responses. In contrast, youth capacity to contribute to the country’s **economic growth** is most dominantly recognized within state policy (and to a certain extent programmatic efforts) on technical and vocational education.

Within the priorities and programming of international actors, there is acknowledgement that Myanmar’s **youth has been neglected**. Various reasons render youth-related programming problematic and difficult to operationalize, including: framings of youth as potential “troublemakers”, the diversity of youth constituencies and needs, as well as the lack of evidence for interventions that might support youth as agents of peacebuilding. The dominant perception of youth as a potential security threat leaves little space for youth to employ political, economic or socio-cultural agency for peacebuilding.

Formal and Non Formal Education Initiatives for Youth

The research team analysed selected initiatives that engaged youth in a variety of ways including drama, cultural and language activities, civic and political awareness, vocational training and community development. A common strength of the selected initiatives was their **connection with the daily realities and political, social, economic and cultural challenges** experienced by young people. Also promising were the ways in which programmes drew on the pre-existing indigenous initiatives of young people and those that encourage inter-group peer networking. However, what makes implementing these interventions specifically **challenging is the lack of political will and resource commitment, together with a constraining political economy context**, that mostly undermines youth (political, economic and socio-cultural) agency. A major societal challenge in Myanmar is the absenteeism and high dropout rates in formal schooling, which was largely understood as a product of family poverty, financial pressures and inadequate education provision. Due to a legacy of neglect of the formal education sector, **youth experiences with schooling are mainly negative and disempowering**, because of the lack of relevant content and pedagogical practices. Frustrations were most notably expressed with regard to the language of instruction and history curriculum (see highlighted sections on p.161-167).

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Youth Agency for Transformation

“Education was seen as a key contribution to the transformative strategies identified by youth in relation to their agency as peacebuilders.”

Youth identified **various factors which undermined their agency**, including: lack of access to quality and relevant education, restricted political engagement, lack of job opportunities and low salaries, lack of access to health facilities and reproductive health awareness and poverty. We found contrasting priorities of rural and urban youth, where socio-economic precarity for rural youth frequently took precedence over (more urban-rooted) concerns with leveraging changes at the national level of political reform. Some groups, particularly young women and LGBT youth, experienced concerning levels of discrimination and violence.

Youth identified a range of **engagements at multiple scales that enhanced their agency**, including international links with global youth movements, national civil society groups, and collective youth mobilisation through youth forums and peer networking. **Education was seen as a key contribution to the transformative strategies** identified by youth in relation to their agency as peacebuilders. While acknowledging concrete obstacles for implementation mentioned above, **our data calls for a more nuanced picture** that does not just portrays youth as a potential threat, yet sees youth empowerment and courage as a potential leverage for peace.

Highlights From Transversal Research Themes	
Violence and Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers and students suffer from violent attacks as a product of on-going conflict between the state and armed ethnic groups and sectarian violence between Buddhist and Muslim communities; There is an absence within policy discourse of considerations of and responses to violence on and within education; Teachers are vulnerable to direct violence when placed in remote or conflict-affected areas and intersects with the gendered issues relating to the teaching profession; Youth identified direct and indirect violence as features of their educational experiences (including corporal punishment, discrimination and abuse).
Gender and Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Despite the high numbers of women working in the education sector, they continue to be under and misrepresented in education leadership; There is a tendency to overlook issues that affect men, including gendered violence in conflict and forced recruitment, and the effect of militarisation on gender identities; Curriculum materials dominated by representations of military men fail to provide girls with models of leadership and also glorify and reinforce dominant associations of masculinity and violence for boys.

Ways Forward

Below are summaries of suggestions developed collaboratively with research participants and other key stakeholders in Myanmar in January 2016 (see the full report for more details).

Better Consider the Role of Education in and Within Peacebuilding Processes

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1. At present, there is a stark divide between the national peace process and education reform. As ways forward:
 - a. Educational actors need to better understand the key grievances of the multitude of non-state actors and civil society to formulate appropriate policy responses.
 - b. On the side of the (inter-)national peacebuilding community, there needs to be greater acknowledgement of the foundational importance of equitable social service delivery that is both quantitatively and qualitatively supporting the construction of a sustainable peace.
 - c. There is a need to move education reform beyond the modernisation paradigm, and to situate it with processes of building a citizenry that is inclusive and reconciliatory.
2. New opportunities exist to make inclusion, conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding central pillars for further reform. To date, peacebuilding principles are notably absent from key reforms.
3. Venues for more effective engagement and multi-stakeholder participation in processes of education reform need to be considered, to avoid the creation of new grievances.
4. Stronger reform is needed of existing language of instruction policy. The inability for children to learn and use their mother tongues in schooling has been a long-standing grievance of various ethnic groups.
5. The gendered experiences and outcomes of schooling for boys and girls vary and must be better considered.

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Supporting the Role of Teachers and Teaching/Learning to Foster Peacebuilding

“From a peacebuilding perspective, teacher education could benefit from greater coherence and logic, with particular attention to the constraints within which teachers work.”

1. From a peacebuilding perspective, teacher education could benefit from greater coherence and logic, with particular attention to the constraints within which teachers work.
2. Opportunities to bring teachers together across the various (non-)state education sectors could be increased.
3. In the urge to draw on so-called international best practices, the valuable contextual knowledge and practical wisdom of current teachers working in diverse communities within the country may be side-lined.
4. There are concerns that bridging the parallel systems and offering greater standardisation may not acknowledge the particular needs, challenges and expected roles of teachers vis a vis their communities - teacher accountability might be better managed within the profession itself, and ideally at the level of the school or township.
5. Teachers are acutely aware of the inequalities that exist in terms of the resourcing and distribution of learning materials (i.e. textbooks, school uniforms etc.). It is critical from a peacebuilding standpoint, that promises of change are followed by meaningful action.
6. Policies that aim to redistribute resources related to teaching and learning should better consider consequences in terms of equity within and across the various education sectors.
7. To ensure the adequate representation and recognition of women’s voices in administrative and policy-making roles in education, avenues for the promotion of women into key decision-making roles in the education sector need to be strengthened.
8. Significant issues remain in how teachers are deployed and managed within the state system and at the school level. In particular:
 - a. Greater consideration must be given to the needs of particular school communities, as well as the qualifications, language(s) spoken, experience, background, and obligations (i.e. family) of individual teachers.
 - b. Schools and townships across the country should maintain a standard teacher : student ratio that needs to be regularly monitored, with processes of deployment/redeployment responding to changes in enrolment numbers.
 - c. At the school level itself, school leaders and township education officers should (be made able to) ensure that teachers’ time and skill levels are being efficiently and effectively utilised across all grades.
9. Curriculum reform should provide teachers with training and a greater sense of autonomy to contextualise content and to be able to incorporate principles of peacebuilding. Reform of the assessment system, and the consolidation of an overcrowded curriculum will be essential.
10. Appropriate school facilities should be made available to all students and teachers in Myanmar, including those outside the state system.

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Supporting the Socio-Cultural, Political and Economic Agency of Youth in Peacebuilding

“There is a clear need for greater coherent policy development and institutional co-ordination at national and state level on youth related issues including under/unemployment, marginalisation, and disempowerment from political processes.”

1. There is a strong desire and need for increased physical and virtual spaces available for youth to learn and connect both formally and informally
2. There is a clear need for greater coherent policy development and institutional co-ordination at national and state level on youth related issues including under/unemployment, marginalisation, and disempowerment from political processes.
3. There is an urgent need for greater and meaningful representation of diverse youth voices in political processes at multiple scales.
4. (Formal and non-formal) education can contribute to youth political empowerment by equipping them with knowledge and understanding of political processes.
5. Policy and practice must move beyond considering youth as a singular entity, and better acknowledge the distinctive, contrasting priorities of various youth constituencies.
6. The impact of gender, sexual orientation and sexual health and reproductive rights require greater systematic consideration within and throughout education experiences and interventions.
7. In the reform of the formal education systems, attention needs to be paid to ensure relevance of both content and learning experiences.
8. There is a need for a greater variety of flexible and continued learning opportunities responding to the diverse needs of different youth constituencies.
9. The strengths of non-formal educational initiatives – recognition of pre-existing youth agency and experiences and their ability to attend and respond to their diverse contexts and challenges – can be built upon in the formal and non-formal system.

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The Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding

Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR), University of Amsterdam

The AISSR Programme Group Governance and Inclusive Development (<http://aissr.uva.nl/programmegroups/item/governance-and-inclusive-development.html>) consists of an interdisciplinary team of researchers focusing on issues relating to global and local issues of governance and development. The Research Cluster Governance of Education, Development and Social Justice focuses on multilevel politics of education and development, with a specific focus on processes of peacebuilding in relation to socio-economic, political and cultural (in)justices. The research group since 2006 has maintained a particular research focus on education, conflict and peacebuilding, as part of its co-funded 'IS Academie' research project with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Centre for International Education, University of Sussex

The Centre for International Education (CIE) (www.sussex.ac.uk/education/cie) was founded in 1989 on the premise that education is a basic human right that lies at the heart of development processes aimed at social justice, equity, social and civic participation, improved wellbeing, health, economic growth and poverty reduction. It is recognised as one of the premiere research centres working on education and international development in Europe. The Centre has also secured a prestigious UK ESRC/DFID grant to carry out research on the Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding in Conflict Affected Contexts, which aligns directly with the research strategy of the PBEA programme and will form part of the broader research partnership.

UNESCO Centre at Ulster University

Established in 2002 the UNESCO Centre (www.unescocentre.ulster.ac.uk) at the University of Ulster provides specialist expertise in education, conflict and international development. It builds on a strong track record of research and policy analysis related to education and conflict in Northern Ireland. Over the past ten years the UNESCO Centre has increasingly used this expertise in international development contexts, working with DFID, GiZ, Norad, Save the Children, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank, providing research on education and social cohesion, the role of education in reconciliation and analysis of aid to education in fragile and conflict affected situations.

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