



Picture: Ingrid Lund, Save the Children Norway

Education for Peace

Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems

By Kendra Dupuy
Researcher
International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO)
for Save the Children Norway

Report no.
ISBN 82-7481-165-8

Executive Summary

This study demonstrates that formal education systems have a vital role to play in building peace in countries affected by armed conflict. Fieldwork conducted in three countries – Guatemala, Nepal, and Liberia – highlights a number of ways in which education is contributing to building the conditions for long-term, positive peace in those countries. The analysis of the report centers around four conflict-transforming concepts that mediate the relationship between education and peace:

- Equitable educational *inclusion* within the formal education system can redress motivations and eliminate opportunities to engage in armed conflict.
- School *socialization* processes can impact social acceptance of and constraints regarding the use of violence. As a result of improved quality and safer, protective learning environments, individuals may have less motivation, as well as fewer opportunities, to engage in armed conflict.
- Building up trust and cooperation (*social capital*) through school-based organizations can rectify grievances over lack of participation and improve relationships between individuals and groups.
- The various *social benefits* of education (including hope and possibilities for the future, as well as improved levels of socio-economic development) can raise the social, direct, and opportunity costs of engaging in armed conflict.

The report identifies six interconnected areas of *key findings* on how education can contribute to building peace:

- Educational inclusion lowers motivation and raises opportunity costs for participating in armed conflict.
- Government investment in formal education systems is critical for building peace.
- Quality education delivered in violence-free, cooperative learning environments teaches children critical lessons about nonviolent conflict resolution.
- The curriculum is a critical element in efforts to heighten constraints against the use of violence and promote human rights.
- Participatory education systems can raise the social costs of and constraints against engaging in armed conflict.
- Education that fosters positive socio-economic development can help prevent armed conflict.

In relation to building peace through formal education systems, the study advances the following *recommendations*:

- National governments, donor countries, and participants in peace processes (such as peace mediators) must:
 - incorporate education as an integral and integrated element of peacebuilding and conflict transformation processes.
- National governments, donor countries, international agencies, and civil society must:

- promote social justice and conflict transformation through the formal education system;
- provide sufficient financial support to education systems;
- design and promote relevant, peace-promoting curricula in a participatory manner;
- better connect the formal education system with the labor market.
- **National governments, civil society, individual schools, staff at schools, and local communities must:**
 - actively use participatory planning and decision-making methods within the formal education system;
 - ensure that policies and school practices promote violence-free learning environments;
 - promote children's participation and the use of active teaching methods.

Foreword: A force for change

Half of the world's out-of-school population – 37 million children – live in countries affected by armed conflict, even though these countries make up just 13 % of the world's population. The numbers of out-of-school children are disproportionately high in these countries for a variety of reasons. Almost all are low-income countries, some lack the political will to provide education, and conflict has almost inevitably left the national institutions – including education authorities – in disarray.

Armed conflict often has a significant, detrimental effect on the education system, as students, teachers and administrative personnel are killed, injured, displaced or forced to join fighting forces. School buildings and materials may be damaged, destroyed or occupied by fighting forces. In addition, national education spending is often diverted to defence spending, lowering both provision capability and quality.

However, even during times of unrest and armed conflict, education is a basic human right. It is also what children and their families want. It gives children skills and knowledge to improve their lives and life chances. It contributes to economic growth, peace and stability, and promotes critical thinking in citizens and thus, their ability to hold local and national systems to account, paving the way for good governance and institution-building. Ultimately, its benefits are long-lasting and transferable to future generations.

To Save the Children Norway, who for many years has prioritized education in our programme work, this is not surprising. To strengthen the evidence base, we asked PRIO to provide research into how education can build peace and transform armed conflict as part of the Save the Children Alliance' international campaign *Rewrite the Future*. This report by PRIO; *Education for Peace. Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems* looks at how inclusive, quality education systems can promote peace and foster the possibility of a stable future, particularly looking at Liberia, Nepal and Guatemala. Research shows that well-managed, national education systems can prevent civil unrest, and encourage conflict resolution, tolerance, human rights and citizenship; they can reduce both poverty and inequality – common root causes of conflict - and lay the foundation for good governance, effective institutions and prosperity.

Support to post-conflict education is vital and there is a need for a framework to discuss the range of issues and to oversee the implementation of commitments agreed by national and international parties to any peace agreement. By allowing millions of children's hopes and potential to slip away, their leaders and the international community run the risk of them growing into disaffected, unskilled, angry young adults.

Education is a force for change. In order to live up to its commitment to ensure all children are in school by 2015 (Millennium Development Goal 2), the international community must prioritize the funding and quality of education systems in conflict-affected countries, or further generations of children will lose their futures to war.



Gro Brækken,
CEO, Save the Children Norway

Contents

Executive Summary	2
Foreword	4
Table of Contents	5
Abbreviations	7
List of Tables and Figures	8
1. Introduction to the Study	
• Introduction	9
• Save the Children’s <i>Rewrite the Future</i> Initiative	9
• Objectives and Overview of the Study	10
• Research Design and Methodology	10
• Country Case Studies: Historical Background and Social Context	10
2. Conceptual Background on Armed Conflict	
• Introduction	16
• Definition, Trends and Stages of Armed Conflict	16
• Conflict-Affected Fragile States	19
• Causal Theories of and Factors Associated with the Outbreak of Armed Conflict	20
• Resolving Conflicts and the Conditions and Definition of Peace	24
• Conclusion: Education for Peace	25
3. Education That Is Inclusive	
• Introduction	28
• Defining Inclusion	28
• National Education Laws and Policies	29
• Access to Different Levels and Types of Education	30
• Equality and Equity in the Distribution of Resources	37
• Merit-Based Selection Practices	38
• The Philosophy and Aims of the Education System	39
• Curriculum Content and Language of Instruction	40
• Conclusion	42
4. Quality Education That Protects and Is Violence-Free	
• Introduction	44
• Defining Socialization	44
• Relationships Between Individuals and Groups at School	45
• Teachers and School Staff	50
• The School Environment: Conditions in the School and Quality Education	51
• Socialization Through the Official and Hidden Curricula	54
• Conclusion	56

5. Education That Builds Trust and Cooperation Through Participation	
• Introduction	58
• Defining Social Capital	58
• Community–School Relationships	60
• State–School Relationships	65
• Civil Society–School Relationships	66
• Conclusion	67
6. Education That Gives Hope and Possibilities for the Future	
• Introduction	69
• The Social Benefits of Education	69
• Human Capital Theory and Economic Development	70
• Raising the Direct and Opportunity Costs of Engaging in Armed Conflict Through Education	73
• Social Values for and Costs of Education	76
• Conclusion	80
7. Conclusion	
• Summary of Findings and Lessons Learned	81
• Recommendations	86
• Future Directions for Research and Concluding Remarks	89
8. References	91
9. Appendices	
• Appendix One: Methodology of the Study	100
• Appendix Two: List of Interviews Conducted	103
10. Endnotes	107

Abbreviations

ALP	accelerated learning program
CAFS	conflict-affected fragile state(s)
CZOP	Children as Zones of Peace
DDR	disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration
EFA	Education For All
GDP	gross domestic product
IDP	internally displaced person
IO	international organization (e.g. the United Nations)
NGO	nongovernmental organization
PTA	parent–teacher association
PTCA	parent–teacher–child association
SMC	school management committee
SZOP	Schools as Zones of Peace
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia

Tables and Figures

Table 1: Conflict stage and type by country	19
Table 2: Prewar educational access by country case in relationship to conflict outbreak and fighting	32
Figure 1: Map of Guatemala ¹	11
Figure 2: Map of Nepal	12
Figure 3: Map of Liberia.....	14
Figure 4: Conflict stages.....	18
Figure 5: Code of conduct from Nepal ²	48
Figure 6: Dalit children in a classroom in Nepal	49
Figure 7: Elements of peacebuilding and the four conflict-transforming elements of education	83

Chapter One

Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Throughout the world, millions of children are currently missing out on education because they live in or come from countries affected by armed conflict. Indeed, at the present time, some 36 million children who are not receiving primary education live in countries affected by armed conflict – amounting to one-half of the 72 million children who are out of school globally (International Save the Children Alliance, 2007a; UNESCO, 2007). Many of these out-of-school children live in conflict-affected fragile states, countries that receive a very low share of education aid from donors.

Armed conflict generally has a significant detrimental effect on the formal education system, as students, teachers, and education governance personnel are killed, injured, displaced, and/or recruited or forced to join fighting forces. School buildings and materials may be damaged, destroyed, or used as barracks by fighting forces. National education spending is often diverted to the military during an armed conflict, lowering both the availability and the quality of educational provision (O'Malley, 2007; Lai & Thyne, 2007).

Formal education systems may have played a role in fuelling an outbreak of armed conflict – for instance, through failure to provide adequate educational opportunities or through the promulgation of stereotypes and militant ideologies in the curriculum. Furthermore, the question of education is strongly connected to root causes of conflict, such as the distribution of resources, access to political power within a society, and the recognition of identity and cultural development (Degu, 2005). However, education systems also have a vital role to play in building and maintaining peace before, during, and after armed conflict, as previous Save the Children publications have stressed (see Save the Children, 2006, 2007a). Not only can education mitigate the impact of conflict by providing safe spaces and developmental opportunities for children; it can also actively transform the roots of conflict and build peace. This study, then, examines how formal education systems can contribute to the building of long-term, positive, sustainable peace in societies affected by armed conflict.

“Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed” (UNESCO Constitution, 1945).

Save the Children’s *Rewrite the Future* Initiative

Rewrite the Future is a Save the Children initiative to promote quality education for children affected by armed conflict. Through the organization of high-quality education programs in conflict-affected areas, Save the Children aims to reach a total of eight million children in more than twenty countries over a five-year period (2005–09). The initiative’s target is to help some three million out-of-school children in to school by 2010, and to improve the quality of education both for these and for an additional five million children. Locations in which the initiative is being implemented include countries experiencing acute emergency, ongoing armed conflict, and post-conflict situations.

So far, Save the Children's *Rewrite the Future* campaign has resulted in the building of new schools in Sudan, Nepal, and Uganda; the provision of education to displaced Iraqi children; and the provision of accelerated learning and catch-up classes to children in Haiti, Indonesia, and Liberia. Educational access for indigenous children in Guatemala has been improved; former child combatants in Nepal have been reintegrated into schools and communities; and educational quality has been improved in schools in Côte d'Ivoire, Indonesia, and Somalia (International Save the Children Alliance, 2007b).

Objectives and Overview of the Present Study

The study presented in this report has been carried out as a collaboration between the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO) and Save the Children-Norway (SCN). This study analyzes the relationship between formal education systems, peace, and armed conflict in order to support Save the Children's *Rewrite the Future* goals and advocacy campaign. The study also proposes recommendations for how education programs might be designed to ensure that peace, rather than conflict, is promoted in situations where armed conflict is taking place or has recently ended.

The following research questions are addressed in the study: How, why, and under what conditions does education contribute to building or maintaining peace or to furthering conflict during or after armed conflict? What dimensions of an education system might contribute to building peace, transforming conflict, and/or preventing future violence in situations where armed conflict is taking place or has recently ended?

This report is divided into seven sections. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter Two provides background knowledge on the phenomenon of armed conflict, defines key terms, and offers an introduction to the four conflict-transforming concepts examined in the study. Chapters Three through Six examine each of these four concepts in detail. Finally, Chapter Seven concludes the study and gives recommendations for policy and programming action, as well as for future research.

Research Design and Methodology

In terms of research design, a multiple case study approach has been implemented. Three countries were chosen as case studies for the project: Guatemala, Nepal, and Liberia. Each of these has experienced armed conflict; in each of them Save the Children is running educational programs; and those programs are taking part in Save the Children's *Rewrite the Future* initiative. Data were collected during short-term visits to each country through a total of 125 qualitative in-depth individual and group interviews, as well as through participant observation³ (see Appendices One and Two). The study has been funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). The author of this report wishes to thank those bodies for their financial support, and to thank those employed at Save the Children's offices in each of the three countries visited during the project for their assistance in carrying out the fieldwork components of the study.

Country Case Studies: Historical Background and Social Context

This section will provide a brief overview of the social and historical contexts of the three countries examined in this report, along with summaries of the armed conflicts that occurred

in each country. Of course, the histories and societies of these countries and conflicts are enormously complex, so it will be possible only to give short outlines here. Where relevant, particular aspects of each country's conflict, society, and history will be examined in more depth in subsequent chapters of the report.

Guatemala



A successful CIA-backed coup in Guatemala in 1954 against the democratically elected leftist government then in power (which had challenged the USA's economic dominance in the country) provided the impetus for the beginning of Guatemala's civil war in 1960. The coup was followed by 36 years of war and repressive, abusive military rule, under which not only the military but also the Roman Catholic Church (and, later, Protestant churches) and agro-export and big business elites gained political power and socio-economic dominance in the country (Woodward, 1992, 2005; Jonas, 2000a,b; O'Kane, 2000).

The guerilla groups that would fight against successive military governments until the late 1990s first emerged during a Cuban-supported revolt against the US-backed government in 1960. This revolt was repressed by the military, but remnants of the insurgent forces fled to the hills of eastern Guatemala, where they re-formed over the next several years and then launched the civil war.

After guerillas began to attack government forces in 1965, a military operation was launched against the civilian population in full earnest, killing thousands of people who were suspected of having ties to the guerillas. The counter-insurgency continued until the end of the civil war in 1996, increasing in intensity with the genocide campaign against Guatemala's indigenous peoples during the 1980s, the most violent period of the conflict. In all, more than 200,000 people died or were disappeared during the war, while thousands of others were tortured, harassed, and forced to flee their homes and live as refugees and/or internally displaced people (IDPs).

Many of those affected by the war were indigenous peoples who had long suffered repression, exploitation, exclusion, and discrimination under successive regimes – from the colonial period onwards (Tetzagüic & Grigsby, 2004). Ever since the arrival of the Spanish *conquistadores* in 1523 and their brutal conquest of Central and Southern America, the socio-economic and political fabric of Guatemalan society has centered around a number of divisive social relationships that have sustained the privileges and power of a small elite at the expense of the majority of the population. These divisions include indigenous versus Spaniard versus ladino (descendants of the original Spanish colonizers who have ruled Guatemala since the end of the colonial period); rural versus urban; rich versus poor; landowner versus landless peasant; and Catholic versus Protestant. The inequalities created by these divisions have often been reproduced in extremely violent fashion throughout Guatemala's history, particularly through the use and political empowerment of the military, as well as through continued agro-

export dependence within the economic sector. These inequalities are viewed as being some of the root causes of the outbreak of the country's civil war (O'Kane, 2000; Woodward, 2005).

After the 1991 elections and the country's first-ever transition from one democratically elected civilian government to another, peace talks began between the then-unified guerilla groups (the Guatemala National Revolutionary Unity, or URNG) and the Guatemalan government, culminating in a final ceasefire in 1996. The final peace agreements were also signed in 1996, after which refugees began to return home and a United Nations peace accord monitoring mission (MINUGA) was deployed in the country. In its report, a Historical Clarification Commission established under the peace accords concluded that 91% of all atrocities committed during the civil war had been committed by the military and the Civil Defense Patrols that the military had largely forced rural villagers to join during the 1980s (Woodward, 2005).

Education was an important and significant component of the Guatemalan peace accords. The 1995 Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples⁴ called for educational reform, including decentralization of and increased funding for the education system, expansion of the system, promotion of multicultural education, and use of indigenous languages in schools as mediums of instruction (Jonas, 2000b). As the agreement itself states, educational reform was seen as a necessary part of the peace process as a means to promote equity and national unity and thus rectify the deep-rooted discrimination long suffered by Guatemala's indigenous peoples. However, for the most part, the educational portions of the peace accords have not been implemented. (This is discussed further at the end of Chapter Three.)

The post-conflict period between 1996 and the present day has not seen the re-emergence of war, but instead an increase in large-scale social violence. War has metamorphosed into crime with the proliferation of organized criminal networks and gangs. Continued violence may be due to the fact that the problems that led to the outbreak of the war remain largely unresolved, gross social inequalities being a primary factor. While there is evidence of increased and improved democratic governance and progressive social reforms in the country, the political and socio-economic system remains exclusionary in nature. This is indicated by the fact that Guatemala's post-conflict governments have continued to support and represent the interests of big business, continuing a long tradition of government catering to selective, elitist interests rather than to the needs of most of the people in the country, especially those of the indigenous population (Woodward, 2005).

Nepal



The Nepalese conflict broke out in 1996 as Nepal was in the process of transitioning to a democratic system of governance. Closed to the outside world until the 1950s, and the world's only Hindu kingdom, Nepal has long been ruled by an aristocracy, at the head of which sits the king, considered divine as a reincarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu.

Elections in the 1950s and a new constitution paved the way towards the establishment of a democratic system in Nepal (with the king as head of state), but this was hindered in 1962 when the king established a party-less, indirect system of government, with officials appointed by the crown. Democratic rule was returned to Nepal in 1989 in the aftermath of protests labeled the “People’s Movement” (Whelpton, 1990; Thapa, 2003; Deraniyagala, 2005).

Elections in 1991 brought the Communist Party of Nepal-Unified Marxist-Leninist (CPN-UML) into power in a coalition government. The 1994 elections returned the CPN-UML to power in a second coalition government, but this government was dissolved a year later. A succession of failed governments and political troubles followed, and in 1996 the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) launched a “Peoples War” from the western hills of Nepal, citing grievances over government corruption. In 2001, members of the royal family were murdered when one of the princes went on a shooting rampage. The former king’s brother, Gyanendra, assumed the throne and dissolved parliament in 2002. In February 2005, King Gyanendra imposed direct rule and declared a state of emergency, triggering large-scale protests that ultimately culminated in the reinstatement of Parliament by the king and the overturning of direct rule by the king.

A peace agreement between the government of Nepal and the Maoists was signed in November 2006,⁵ the end result of a two-year process of peace negotiations (Thapa, 2003; Deraniyagala, 2005; International Crisis Group, 2006; Bohara et al., 2006). Education is mentioned in various ways in the 2006 peace agreement, which states that policies should be adopted to guarantee the rights of all citizens to education, and that both sides of the conflict should not impede the right to education by taking over and controlling educational institutions, abducting students and teachers, and turning schools into barracks.

While physical damage was limited as a result of the war, many thousands of people were killed (approximately 13,000 in total), and violent acts were perpetrated against numerous civilians by both the Maoists and the Nepalese army. Currently, a transition coalition government (which includes the Maoists) is in place, but elections scheduled to be held in November 2007 have been postponed. Although the “People’s War” has been concluded, violence is ongoing, particularly in the southern region of Nepal (known as the Terai), where a separatist movement has emerged and has been held responsible for a bombing in Kathmandu in September 2007. The Terai is one of the most densely populated and poorest areas of Nepal. It forms the agricultural heartland of the country, where old (and officially outlawed) practices of indentured labor continue to be practiced. The region is also home to many of Nepal’s ethnic minorities – some of whom do not speak Nepali as their mother tongue, and many of whom have been barred from holding Nepalese citizenship (though this is changing). Now that the Maoists have regained central political power, many Terai dwellers fear that their concerns will be neglected by the Maoists, and that the Maoists will discriminate against them in favor of hill-dwellers (*The Economist*, 2007; Sengupta, 2007; Haviland, 2007).

The ongoing conflict in the Terai reflects the root causes of the wider Nepalese civil war. Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world. However, it is not poverty per se that should be viewed as a root cause of the war, but rather inequality more generally. As in the case of Guatemala, inequalities in Nepal cut across many lines and take many forms, including regional, ethnic, gender, and religious inequalities. The Maoists have purposely

attacked the structures of Hinduism and the country's enormous gender inequalities. Yet, even within the structure of the Maoists themselves, it is higher-caste male Hindus who form the upper echelons of the organization, which has created grievances among lower-caste peoples. Socially and economically privileged higher-caste, male, ethnic Nepalis from the Kathmandu Valley continue to dominate political power in Nepal, to the exclusion of large sections of the population, as they have done for centuries (Murshed & Gates, 2005; Whelpton, 1990; Thapa, 2003; Lawoti, 2005).

Liberia



The Liberian civil war broke out on 24 December 1989, when rebel fighters from Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) invaded Liberia from Côte d'Ivoire. The conflict ended in 2003 with the signing of a peace agreement in Accra, Ghana, followed by the departure of Taylor from power as the president of Liberia and his subsequent exile in neighboring Nigeria.

The war began after ten years of dictatorial rule by President Samuel Doe, a former army sergeant who had usurped power through a coup in 1980 and who implemented a program of ethnic massacres and repressive violence in the country (Ellis, 1998). Doe was Liberia's first indigenous, non-Americo-Liberian president. The term "Americo-Liberian" refers to slaves, primarily from the USA, who were resettled in what is now known as Liberia in the 1820s, and who evolved into a tiny elite that completely dominated political, social, and economic power in the country until Doe's presidency. As they settled in Liberia, the Americo-Liberians re-established the social order that they had left behind in slavery-era USA, creating a dual class structure in which the indigenous peoples of Liberia were completely excluded from power and even enslaved, excluded from holding citizenship until 1904 and denied voting rights until the 1940s. The Firestone Tire and Rubber Company completely dominated Liberia's economic sector, exacerbating the political and social exclusion of indigenous peoples, since it was primarily these who worked for Firestone and it was their land that was taken and used by the company. In many ways, this divide between settler and indigenous was at the root of the outbreak of the civil war in Liberia, as was the patrimonialist system of governance whereby the president distributed political power and economic dividends through personalized clientelist networks (Schwab, 2004; Dunn, 1995; Anderson, 1992; Bøås, 2005).

The Liberian conflict quickly descended into ethnic factionalism and fighting as armed groups split along ethnic lines, killing members of ethnic groups aligned with opposing warring factions. At stake was the presidency of the Liberian state itself, representing the pinnacle of the patrimonial networks that granted access to valuable economic resources and political power (Reno, 1998; Ellis, 1998). In an effort to stop the conflict, a regional peacekeeping force was sent to Liberia by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which remained in the country throughout the conflict. Numerous peace agreements (14 in all) and several interim governments were set up between 1990 and 2003, with Charles Taylor

being elected into office as the president in 1997, largely out of fear that he would resume the war if he was not given this position (Reno, 2004). Taylor was finally ousted from office in 2003 after two newly formed rebel groups (LURD and MODEL) launched a series of brutal attacks against Taylor and his regime in Monrovia, destroying much of the city and causing the deaths of numerous civilians.

Education was addressed in several different ways in the 2003 Accra Peace Agreement.⁶ The Agreement states that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights⁷ (of which Article 26 states that everyone has a right to education, which should be free and compulsory) shall be respected and upheld. The Agreement also calls upon the country's Independent National Commission on Human Rights to promote human rights education throughout the country. Earlier peace agreements, such as the 1993 Cotonou Agreement and the 1994 Akosombo Agreement, called for ex-combatants to be given an opportunity for education and training as part of the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration process.

Fourteen years of extremely destructive civil war have completely devastated the people and infrastructure of Liberia. Thousands of children were used as child soldiers during the conflict; thousands more people fled into exile as refugees and internally displaced persons; and approximately 200,000 people (or more) died as a result of the conflict, from both direct and indirect effects of the war. A large United Nations peacekeeping mission (UNMIL) has been in the country since 2003, helping to disarm fighters, to maintain peace, and to rebuild society, though tensions remain high and change has been slow. One very positive development in the post-conflict period, however, has been the election of Africa's first democratically elected female president, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf.

Chapter Two

Conceptual Background on Armed Conflict

Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the conceptual background regarding armed conflict. Terms such as *armed conflict* will be defined, and an overview of theories about the causal factors of armed conflict will be given. The trends, types, and stages of armed conflict will be detailed, and the concept of *conflict-affected fragile states (CAFS)* will be discussed briefly. This will be followed by an outline of current knowledge on resolving armed conflicts and building peace. The chapter will conclude with an introduction to the four conflict-transforming concepts that mediate the relationship between education, peace, and armed conflict.

Definition, Trends, and Stages of Armed Conflict

Defining Armed Conflict

The term *conflict* carries many meanings and can encompass a broad spectrum of phenomena, ranging from interpersonal conflicts to mass, organized violence. This study is concerned with one specific form of conflict, *armed conflict*, defined as “open, armed clashes between two or more centrally organized parties, with continuity between the clashes, in disputes about power over government and territory” (Smith, 2003, p. 3). At the heart of most definitions of armed conflict is a view that armed conflicts revolve around an incompatibility of some kind between groups of people, in response to which the conflicting parties resort to the organized use of force⁸ (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005; Wallensteen, 2007).

The concern in this report is with armed conflict and not with other forms of social violence – such as riots, crime, political protests, state repression, politicide, intercommunal fighting, terrorism, or one-sided violence against unarmed civilians (e.g. genocide). However, such forms of violence may play a role in the outbreak of armed conflict and may also be part of the dynamics of a particular armed conflict⁹, and theories of armed conflict can partially explain many forms of violence. Additionally, an armed conflict may transform into other forms of social violence once a conflict has stopped, as in Guatemala (Sambanis, 2004). However, the concern in this report is with organized and armed group conflicts, not random or one-sided violence (Østby, 2004; Stewart, 2000).

Worldwide Trends in Armed Conflict

Since the end of World War II in 1945, the vast majority of conflicts have been *intrastate conflicts* – that is, internal armed conflicts, or what are more commonly referred to as civil wars, conflicts that do not take place between the governments of two sovereign states but rather between parties within a single state (Gleditsch et al., 2002; Harbom & Wallensteen, 2007). Thus, though there have been a number of interstate wars during this period – such as conflicts between Iran and Iraq and between Eritrea and Ethiopia – the three countries selected as cases for the present study were affected by internal armed conflict, and the study will be more concerned with intrastate rather than interstate armed conflict.

Internal armed conflict has touched every continent in some form or shape, though it is now largely concentrated in very poor nations in the so-called developing world. Some of these conflicts have been ongoing for many years, and whole generations have thus grown up knowing only violent armed conflict (Murshed, 2002; Singer, 2006). Armed conflicts are extremely destructive and costly to the populations of the countries they affect in terms of lives lost, suffering endured, and damage and destruction wrought by fighting.¹⁰

Though violent internal armed conflict is currently ongoing in countries such as Iraq, Sudan, Somalia, and Colombia, the Human Security Report Brief (2006) indicates that the incidence of armed conflict actually declined by 15% between 2002 and 2005, with the greatest decline taking place in sub-Saharan Africa. This is a very promising trend. However, as recent conflicts in Lebanon¹¹ and a number of other countries demonstrate, this does not mean that the trend may not swing back upwards, nor that the incidence of armed conflict will decline to zero. As the worldwide gap between rich and poor increases and climate change alters the physical world as we have come to know it, new tensions may arise as a result of changes in access to social and environmental resources and consequent shifts in social, economic, and political power structures.

Typologies of Armed Conflict

Besides the different *levels and intensities* of armed conflict outlined in footnote 8 (minor armed conflict, intermediate armed conflict, and war), there are also different *types* of armed conflict. The broad category of armed conflict can be divided into different subcategories, according to the nature of the warring parties and, to some extent, the object of the fighting. The Human Security Brief (2006, pp. 6, 9) suggests the following distinctions:

- *intrastate* – internal conflicts fought between a government and a non-state group;
- *internationalized intrastate* – conflicts in which either the government, a non-state armed group, or both receive external military support from a foreign government (e.g. Afghanistan or Iraq);
- *interstate* – conflicts fought between two or more states;
- *extra-state* – conflicts between a state and a non-state armed group outside that state's territory, such as wars of liberation from colonial rule;
- *non-state armed conflict* – conflicts fought between militias, rival guerilla groups, clans, warlords, or organized communal groups, without the involvement of a government (e.g. Somalia).

A subtypology of internal armed conflict based on the underlying reasons for why conflict may erupt can also be made (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005; Rupesinghe, 1998):

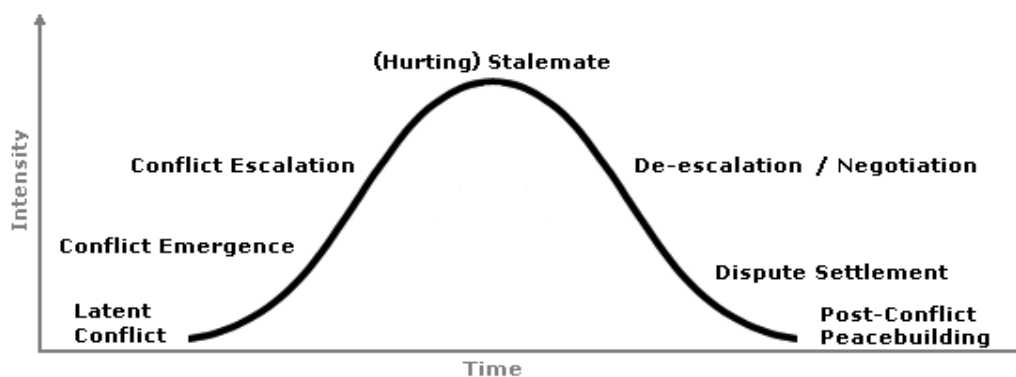
- *revolution/ideology* – conflict is based on ideological goals, with the aim of changing the nature of the government in a state (a struggle to change the nature of the state);
- *identity/secession* – competition between differing groups, such as ethnic or religious groups, with the purpose of securing territorial access, control, autonomy, or secession (a threat to the integrity of the state);
- *factional conflicts* – conflict is about the competing interests or power struggles of political or even criminal factions with the aim of seizing or retaining state power to further economic and other interests, such as access to natural resources (a conflict over control of the state or resources controlled by the state).

It should be noted that conflicts may exhibit several of these typologies simultaneously and can be interpreted differently by different people. Every conflict is unique; conflicts change over time; and lines between the different types of conflict listed above may blur (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005). For instance, the Liberian civil war might be viewed as a power or factional conflict if seen as a struggle for control over natural resources and state political power, or perhaps as an identity (or “ethnic”) conflict if interpreted as a conflict between different ethnic (or even religious) groups within Liberia. Conflicts are also viewed differently by different participants and parties (e.g. elites versus rank-and-file combatants versus non-combatant grass-roots supporters) (Kalyvas, 2003, 2006).

Phases of Armed Conflicts and Their Aftermaths

Armed conflicts can be divided into a number of phases, as shown in Figure 4 below. There have been a number of different approaches to defining the stages and phases of armed conflict, many of which follow a linear path from conflict beginning through to conflict end and aftermath. It should be recognized, however, that conflicts do not necessarily follow such a path, and that the intensity of physical violence may vary over time and geographic location during a conflict.

Figure 4: Conflict stages



Source: Brahm (2003)

The country cases in this study were selected on the basis of a broad, linear approach to conflict stages:

- Nepal has just *emerged from armed conflict* (though Nepal was in the midst of armed conflict before fieldwork was carried out and was selected for the study on that basis, and a secessionist conflict is ongoing in the southern Terai region of the country). The more general *armed conflict* phase can be divided into many smaller phases according to the intensity of violence and other factors.
- Liberia is currently in a *short-term post-armed conflict phase*. This phase is temporally defined as one in which approximately five years have passed since the end of the conflict. The post-conflict phase begins once large-scale violence has stopped. A successful peace agreement and the laying down of arms may also mark the termination of the conflict and the beginning of the post-conflict phase (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005; Brahm, 2003). This stage is focused on

peacebuilding, reconciliation, reconstruction, and conflict transformation. However, this phase may also be a *pre-conflict phase* if the underlying conditions that led to the outbreak of the conflict are not addressed and conflict subsequently re-erupts. Post-conflict countries have a very high risk of conflict recurrence, perhaps as much as a 44% risk of returning to conflict within five years of a conflict's end (Collier et al., 2003).

- Guatemala is currently in a *long-term post-armed conflict phase*. This phase is temporally defined as one in which approximately ten years have passed since the end of the conflict. During this phase, specific post-conflict assistance from the international community, including peacekeeping operations, is likely to have ended. It is important to have a long-term perspective when looking at conflict phases, particularly because the post-conflict stage does not necessarily entail the eradication of violence or the resolution of the problems that led to the conflict in the first place (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005). The social, political, and economic legacy of conflict lingers long after the immediate post-conflict phase and may contribute to the mobilization of renewed grievances for armed conflict.

Table 1 summarizes the conflict type and stage for each of the countries examined in the present study:

Table 1: Conflict stage and type by country

Country	Conflict Years	Current Stage of the Conflict	Nature/Type of Armed Conflict
<i>Guatemala</i>	1960–1996	Long-term post-armed conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identity conflict • Revolution/ideological conflict
<i>Nepal</i>	1996–2006	Emerging from armed conflict, but still experiencing conflict in the Terai region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revolution/ideological conflict • Currently secessionist/identity conflict in the Terai
<i>Liberia</i>	1989–2003	Short-term post-armed conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identity conflict • Factional conflict

Conflict-Affected Fragile States (CAFS) and Education Systems

Recently, the term *fragile states* has attained salience within the international community, partially as a continuation of discourse around the characteristics of particular states in the developing world.¹² The term *conflict-affected fragile states* (CAFS) refers specifically to fragile states experiencing armed conflict (International Save the Children Alliance, 2006). As outlined by Rose & Greeley, the Development Assistance Community (DAC) within the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) characterizes *fragile states* as “countries with poor governance as identified by a lack of *political commitment* and/or *weak capacity* to develop and implement *pro-poor policies*; fragile states also often experience *violent conflict*” (Rose & Greeley, 2006, p. 1; emphasis in original). In defining fragile states, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) views the elements of governance (i.e. the quality of the relationships between those who govern and

those who are governed), the outcomes of governance, and the public's perception of the legitimacy and effectiveness of the state as indicators of fragility (USAID, 2006).

In terms of education, a "fragile states" analysis is primarily concerned with education service delivery and aid effectiveness in such states, and with how to support "education's role in alleviating the conditions related to fragility" (USAID, 2006; see also Rose & Greeley, 2006). As a recent Save the Children (2007a) publication shows, CAFS receive a low share of education aid from donors, and donors fail to prioritize education in their aid programs and fail to deliver on their promises to CAFS, thus facilitating the continued fragility of these countries.

Though this report will, where appropriate, draw on some scholarship surrounding the concept of fragile states, it should be noted that only two of the three countries selected for study as part of this project (Nepal and Liberia) are considered by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development to be fragile states (DFID, 2005). Fragile states are often characterized by armed conflict; however, this is not always the case. Some fragile states are not experiencing and have not experienced armed conflict.

Causal Theories of and Factors Associated with the Outbreak of Armed Conflict

There is considerable divergence in theories about the causes of armed conflict, particularly since the outbreak of armed conflict usually involves numerous factors and conflicts are always context-specific (Gardner, 2002; Smith, 2003; Sambanis, 2002). A distinction can be made between (a) underlying, structural, and background causal factors; (b) factors that merely facilitate the outbreak of conflict (such as rugged terrain); and (c) more immediate factors that actually trigger conflicts and mobilize individuals to participate in armed conflict. Background and causal factors of a conflict are located in political, social, economic, and national group cleavages; conflict triggers are the factors that affect the timing of the onset of armed conflict; while mobilizing factors reveal the causes for which people fight and how they understand their causes (Smith, 2003).

Gates (2002) outlines several social, economic, and political factors that increase the risk of the outbreak of armed conflict (quoted in Mack, 2002, p. 519):

- poverty, lack of economic opportunities, and a low level of economic development;
- a previous history of armed conflict – the more recent the conflict, the greater the risk;
- dominance of one ethnic community over another; and
- political instability.

Gardner (2002) explains the outbreak of civil war through four key causal variables:

- *Insecurity* – In a situation of insecurity (such as government collapse or economic or political change), groups try to increase their security, but this may decrease the perceived security of other groups, creating a security dilemma that can cause the outbreak of conflict as groups compete to heighten their security.
- *Inequality* – Group inequalities underpin grievances that mobilize people for conflict.

- *Private incentives* – Elites are motivated to engage in armed conflict by opportunities for private accumulation, and followers are likely to support elites when they lack other sources of income.
- *Perceptions* – Group identity and the degree of group cohesion can facilitate mobilization for armed conflict, and group inequalities can aggravate perceptions of difference and discrimination needed for mobilization.

A significant debate within the civil war literature revolves around whether the economic opportunities associated with armed conflict or the grievances such conflict potentially resolves are causal factors of civil war. This is known as the “greed versus grievance” debate, which questions whether individuals act out of self-interest to exploit the economic opportunities associated with participating in an armed conflict, or whether they act out of a desire to rectify historical inequalities. The remainder of this section will explore the two different sides of this debate. Elements of each theory are drawn out in the exploration of the relationship between education and peace throughout this report, as each theory holds some explanatory power under particular circumstances.

Is the outbreak of armed conflict explained by the pursuit of self-interest for material gain, or by the desire to rectify historical social inequalities?

Economic Opportunities Theory of Armed Conflict

The economic opportunities theory posits that armed conflict is caused not by a desire to rectify “grievances” (i.e. real or perceived injustices) but rather by “greed”, or economic opportunity (i.e. the income that can be achieved from rebellion through looting or control of state revenues) (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002; Regan & Norton, 2005). Rebel groups are motivated to fight because rebellion is economically profitable, and profitable opportunities for conflict will not be passed up (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). The roots of civil war thus lie in the private benefits that elites and their followers can reap from armed conflict, which is why elites initiate and sustain armed conflict (Gardner, 2002). In particular, the low cost of rebel labor – that is, where the income forgone by joining a rebellion is very low – increases the likelihood of rebellion. Collier (2000b) claims that it is much more difficult for groups to overcome collective-action problems and mobilize people around grievances (or justice provision), while individuals are more easily motivated to serve their own economic self-interest in joining a rebellion. This neatly coincides with the need for rebel groups to economically sustain themselves in order to survive (Regan & Norton, 2005).

The economic opportunities theory of armed conflict is based on statistical analyses of indicators of needs-deprivation and economic incentives. Collier (2000a) claims that needs-deprivation (or grievance) indicators do not correlate with the incidence of armed conflict, whereas economic-incentive (greed) indicators do (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005). Moreover, discourses of grievance are present both in societies that have experienced armed conflict and in those that have not, and conflict itself often gives rise to grievances over time, which makes it difficult to pin down grievances as the cause of armed conflict (Mack, 2002). Indicators of opportunity (greed) used in Collier’s statistical model are the share of primary commodity exports (such as diamonds or drugs – easily lootable goods) in a country’s gross domestic product (GDP); the proportion of young males in a society (since it is primarily young men who join rebellions); and, importantly for this study, the number of years of education the population has received, which acts as a proxy for the potential income forgone by joining a rebellion. Indicators of grievance in the model include ethnic or religious hatred;

economic inequality between individuals (measured through individual incomes and ownership of assets such as land); lack of political rights (political repression and exclusion); and government economic incompetence (Collier, 2000a; Collier & Hoeffler, 2004).

Collier (2000a) argues that rebel leaders use narratives of grievance to recruit combatants, and that grievances may be generated as a result of and shaped by conflict. Grievance narratives may be used to justify the existence of a rebel group, and may even provide psychological satisfaction to rebel leaders and supporters, but these narratives are not the real motive for armed conflict. Rather, exploitation of the economic opportunities associated with conflict (e.g. profit from the exploitation of natural resources) is the cause of armed conflict. This is especially the case for poor countries, and much of the economic opportunities theory is concerned with armed conflict in very poor, developing countries, in which armed conflict is much more likely to occur and which are characterized by high scores on the indicators of both greed and grievance listed above. One of Collier's primary arguments is that the key cause of armed conflict is the failure of economic development (Collier et al., 2003). Also, because conflict occasions acts that people may want to avenge, as well as increasing poverty levels owing to the destruction wrought, the risk of conflict recurring in a poor country is high. This is what Collier terms the *conflict trap*.

Importantly, Collier (2000a) argues that ethnicity is not a cause of conflict in and of itself, contrary to what is often believed. Instead, group-based attributes such as religion or ethnicity serve as mobilizing tools for armed conflict. In fact, the more ethnically heterogeneous a society is, the less the likelihood that armed conflict will erupt, since it will be more difficult for a large number of groups to cooperate around similar objectives or to mobilize resources for objectives held by only a small group (Collier, 2000a; Murshed, 2002; de Soysa, 2002; Sambanis, 2002). What is problematic is when a country is characterized by the dominance of one ethnic group, which can correspond to socio-economic inequalities between groups. Indeed, "those conflicts that appear to have a religious or cultural base can often be traced back to an economic root, such as unequal access to power, employment, housing or water" (Davies, 2005, p. 359). It is this imbalance of power between groups that is at the heart of the injustice and inequality theory of civil war, to which we now turn.

Injustice and Inequality Theory of Armed Conflict

The economic agendas theory of armed conflict is hotly debated by scholars, leading some to reject the theory altogether. Instead, emphasis is placed on understanding the contextual and structural nature of particular conflicts, viewing armed conflict as the outcome of multiple causes, rather than only one. This is because, as Bøås & Dunn (2007, p. 37) point out, "the 'economic agendas' literature may be useful in explaining how armed movements are sustained, but it does not tell us much about why conflicts start in the first place. To understand this transformation, we need to take into consideration political, cultural, and historical factors as well. All current conflicts in Africa [as elsewhere] are deeply entrenched in history". This is not to say, however, that the present study subscribes to the view that certain conflicts are rooted in primordial, ancient, or "tribal" hatreds that are incapable of resolution or change (see, for instance, Kaplan, 1994). Rather, the emphasis here is on the idea that single-causal explanations are insufficient to explain the genesis of armed conflicts.

Indeed, what may be labeled one man's greed may be another man's grievance, and vice versa. Moreover, elements of both greed and grievance may be factors in the same conflict, interacting to fuel the outbreak of armed conflict – that is, some elites may be greedy, while

some non-elites express and mobilize around certain grievances, or the other way round (Ballentine, 2003; Smith, 2003). In addition to the economic opportunities associated with armed conflict, emotions such as “rage, humiliation, or despair, as well as felt grievances ... may affect the propensity of a people to resort to violence” (Mack, 2002, p. 522) and should not be overlooked in explaining the outbreak of armed conflict. In fact, economic agendas may not even be part of the motivation to fight for either rebel leaders or their supporters, as Murshed & Gates (2005) point out in their article on the role of horizontal or intergroup inequalities in the outbreak of the Nepalese civil war. *Vertical inequalities* are differences that exist between individuals (such as income distribution) and are considered by Collier & Hoeffler (2004) as an indicator of grievance. *Horizontal inequalities* are inequalities and deprivations that exist between different groups in society (such as between different ethnic, gender, age, religious, urban, or rural groups), and are measured along four political and economic dimensions: (i) political participation; (ii) economic assets, such as land and access to water; (iii) access to employment and income; and (iv) the social situation of a group, such as levels of poverty within the group and its degree of access to social services, such as education (Stewart, 2000, 2002). The greater the horizontal inequalities between groups in a given society, the greater the risk of conflict between these two groups.

One variant of the arguments about the relationship between horizontal inequalities and armed conflict is *relative deprivation theory* (Gurr, 1970; Sambanis, 2002; Urdal, 2006; Regan & Norton, 2005). Relative deprivation theory stresses that conflict is the result of a perceived (but not necessarily actual) discrepancy between what people believe they are entitled to and what they believe they are capable of attaining, given the means available to them (Gurr, 1970). Horizontal inequalities in particular may create the conditions for the outbreak of armed conflict through the formulation of a sense of injustice based on the differences between groups and the incongruity between capabilities and expectations, and this can then be used to mobilize groups of people into participating in and supporting an armed conflict (Gardner, 2002; Ndikumana, 2005; Gurr, 1970). A sense of injustice is key to persuading people to join a rebellion through the formulation of group identities. As Smith (2003, p. 9) writes, “an exploitable sense of injustice, arising out of the underlying divisions of power and prosperity ... is the basic material for political mobilization”. Mobilization for armed conflict develops when “large numbers of people become convinced that taking up arms is not only legitimate but may perhaps be the only way to secure the necessities of life. They feel they are in an unjust situation and must therefore decide to rectify it” (Smith, 2003, p. 7; see also Sugnami, 1996). In this way, collective-action problems over grievances that are perceived to effectively prevent mobilization for armed conflict in the economic agendas theory may be overcome if large horizontal inequalities facilitate mobilization through group cohesion (Murshed & Gates, 2005). As emphasized at the beginning of this chapter, civil wars are organized group conflicts, and inequality between groups is critical in this respect.

In particular, economic inequality is a key predictor of violent conflict (Deraniyagala, 2005; Smith, 2003). But, so too is the nature of the political system in a state, which intersects with economic inequalities. Indeed, successful mobilization largely depends on whether a state is strong enough to stop rebellions (Fearon & Laitin, 2003; Stewart, 2000; Collier et al., 2003). Economically and politically poorer (and thus weaker) states lack the capacity to retain the state monopoly on the use of force and to effectively police and control violence (Fearon & Laitin, 2003). Nor do such states have the capacity and/or willingness to redress grievances and rectify the horizontal inequalities that may motivate individuals to join a rebellion. This provides both motive and opportunity for armed conflict.

Viewed in conjunction with the theories on the causes of armed conflict outlined above, this study will show that education can play either a positive or a negative role in the maintenance of peace by influencing:

- *motivations* to engage in armed conflict to seek justice for actual or perceived grievances;
- *social acceptance* of and *social constraints* regarding the use of violence, mobilization for armed conflict and participation in armed conflict;
- the *costs* of engaging in armed conflict, including social, direct, and opportunity costs;
- *opportunities* to participate in armed conflict.

Resolving Conflict and the Conditions and Definition of Peace

Resolving conflict does not just mean ending the direct, physical violence of a conflict by bringing warring sides together to sign a peace agreement or the deployment of peacekeeping troops to stop direct violence. If an armed conflict is to truly end, the conflict must be both resolved and transformed, so that peace is a sustainable and lasting arrangement. *Conflict resolution* is a situation “where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other’s continued existence as parties and cease all violent action against each other” (Wallensteen, 2007, p. 8). This implies that “behavior is no longer violent, attitudes are no longer hostile, and the structure of the conflict has been changed” (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005, p. 29). Reconciliation may be a critical part of the conflict resolution phase to heal and restore broken relationships (Åkerlund, 2005).

Conflict transformation is a deeper level of conflict resolution, implying a “deep transformation in the institutions and discourses that reproduce violence, as well as in the conflict parties themselves and their relationships” (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005, p. 29). Such transformation funnels the dynamics and conditions of violent conflict into constructive, nonviolent processes; addresses the structural and cultural roots (not just the immediate, trigger factors) of the conflict (see below); and is thus a preventive measure against future conflict (Åkerlund, 2005). It is particularly at the level of conflict transformation that education can play a role in the building and maintaining of peace in countries affected by armed conflict.

The term *peace* can be broken down into two elements, negative and positive. A *negative peace* entails the absence of direct violence and conflict. But, a situation in which conflict or even direct physical violence are absent is not necessarily peaceful, as structural and cultural violence may be present. *Structural violence* entails “circumstances that limit life, civil rights, health, personal freedom and self-fulfillment. It occurs when wealth and power exploit or oppress others, and standards of justice are not upheld. It is created by the deprivation of basic human needs and creates suffering for individuals” (Harris & Morrison, 2003, p. 12). Cultural violence entails cultural attitudes and aspects that legitimize violence, whether in its direct or in its structural forms (Galtung, 1990). A *positive peace*, on the other hand, is a sustainable peace, because it entails the presence and promotion of social justice. As Elias & Turpin (1994, p. 5) write, “the presence of social injustice ... and structural violence [in the form of] economic deprivation, social neglect, and racial or class injustices ... provides not only the immediate violence of repression and oppression but also the breeding grounds for the development of war or other direct violence such as crime”. Thus, the absence of positive

peace (social justice) creates the conditions for the outbreak of armed conflict (direct violence).

As an ongoing process both before, during, and after a conflict, *peacebuilding* addresses the root structural causes of conflict and the long-term relationships between warring parties in order to change behaviors and transform identities and institutions (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005; Ponzio, 2007). The United Nations (2001) views peacebuilding as consisting of three key elements: (a) the consolidation of internal and external security; (b) the strengthening of political institutions and good governance; and (c) the promotion of economic and social rehabilitation and transformation, for instance in the education sector. Education is thus only one part of the peacebuilding process, and it cannot by itself resolve the root causes of a conflict or address all the problems created by conflict. However, this report will show how, as one element of the peacebuilding process, education can contribute to creating the conditions for peace.

Peace entails the presence of social justice, and peacebuilding transforms the structural roots of conflict.

In order to avoid a relapse into conflict, peacebuilding is needed at many levels and in many different realms to create the appropriate conditions for a sustainable, stable peace that can continue long after peacekeepers and peace negotiators have left (Gardner, 2002; Paris, 2004; Doyle, 2007). It may take many years – perhaps even generations – to build a positive peace and to change the degree and relationships of direct, structural, and cultural violence within a society that may have fueled the outbreak of armed conflict (Doyle, 2007). A Nepalese government employee working on child justice issues pointed this out in an interview:

Peace does not mean the end of war. Peace is a long-term policy that needs to be thought about. We always talk about peace as the end of the war. Promotion of peace is different: it has to entail social justice. Most of the development programs say that when you stop the use of arms, that is peace. But, in terms of education's role in promoting peace, that is a very long-term plan, perhaps 10 or 15 years. It takes a lot to stop discrimination in society. Children need to be educated so that they can understand the society and the dynamics of social harmony (#N-45).

Conclusion: Education for Peace

This chapter has given a brief overview of conceptual issues regarding the relationship between education, conflict, and peace. A theoretical understanding of the causes of armed conflict and the conditions needed for building positive, long-term, sustainable peace is critical if we are to understand the role that education can play both in the outbreak of armed conflict and in the building of peace. As Birgit Brock-Utne (1989) points out, we must understand the conditions that lead to peace in order to understand the effect education can have on producing those conditions.

Brock-Utne defines the concept of *education for peace* as “education or socialization that *results* in more peace in the world or that at least has as a result the greater likelihood that peace will be the existing condition than the case would have been without that education” (Brock-Utne, 1989, p. 78; italics in original). In this study, the term *education* is defined as formal schooling. A *formal education system* is a mass schooling system that is regulated, financed, and provided (in theory) as a universal public service to all citizens by the state, on an equal basis. This kind of schooling takes place in specially constructed school buildings for

a certain number of hours a day, over the course of many days during a year (Ramirez & Boli, 1987; Giddens, 2001; King, 2005). Thus, this study is concerned with education at the systemic level – that is, with the role that formal education systems play in creating the conditions for positive peace in countries affected by armed conflict. It is the contention of the present study that four concepts mediate the relationship between education systems, peace, and armed conflict. These are:

- *Inclusion* – This concept covers issues related to who has access to the education system, and to what levels and types of schooling, as well as what is included in the curriculum. In the chapter of this report examining the concept of inclusion, it is argued that equitable educational inclusion is critical for building and maintaining peace because inclusion can redress grievances that motivate individuals to take up arms. Educational inclusion may also eradicate opportunities to engage in conflict.
- *Socialization* – This concept refers to the types of behaviors, beliefs, values, and attitudes that schools and education actors such as teachers implicitly and explicitly sanction and communicate through the curriculum, as well as through social interactions. The chapter of the report examining this concept argues that protective, violence-free education is critical for building and maintaining peace because individuals may thus be less likely to accept using violence to resolve problems. Moreover, as a result of better conditions at schools, individuals may have fewer grievances and thus less motivation, as well as fewer opportunities, to engage in armed conflict.
- *Social Capital* – This concept refers to the types of social relationships that schools, the education system, and educational actors such as students and teachers are embedded in and sustained by. The chapter examining this concept argues that an education system that helps to build trust among individuals through participation and cooperation can help to build and maintain peace. This is because grievances over a lack of participation may be redressed, and the level of social constraints against and costs of participating in armed conflict heightened.
- *Social Benefits of Education* – This concept refers to the benefits that are endowed by education systems that may build peace. The chapter that examines this concept argues that education that gives hope and possibilities for the future through an improved quality of life is essential to building and maintaining peace because there will be fewer opportunities and motivations to engage in conflict, and because the direct and opportunity costs of engaging in armed conflict will be higher.

These four conflict-transforming concepts emerged from the field interviews conducted for this study, as well as from the literature surrounding the topics of armed conflict, peace, and education in crisis and post-crisis situations. The theories presented above regarding the causes of armed conflict (economic opportunity and injustice/inequality theories) and regarding peace and peacebuilding (that positive peace and social justice are needed to transform the root causes of conflict) have also guided the emergence of these concepts, which are very much interrelated.

Each of these concepts is examined in depth in the following chapters. Chapter Three examines inclusion; Chapter Four, socialization; Chapter Five, social capital; and Chapter Six,

the social benefits of education. Chapter Seven concludes the report by summarizing the findings of the study and advancing recommendations.

Chapter Three

Education That Is Inclusive

Introduction

This chapter examines the first key concept of the present study, that of *inclusion*. This concept covers issues related to who has access to the education system, and to what levels and types of schooling, as well as what is included in the curriculum. The chapter argues that educational inclusion is critical for building and maintaining peace, because inclusion can redress grievances that motivate individuals to take up arms. Educational inclusion may also eliminate opportunities to engage in armed conflict (this subject will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six). In the present chapter, the concept of inclusion will first be defined and then broken down into six elements, each of which will be discussed individually. The chapter concludes with an examination of how the concept of inclusion connects to the other three key concepts outlined in the present study.

Defining Inclusion

In this study, the concept of inclusion is used to cover issues related to the inclusion of individuals into the formal education system of a given nation-state. Here, inclusion is defined broadly – that is, within an ‘Education For All’ perspective, not just in terms of the inclusion of children with physical or mental disabilities and/or learning difficulties into an education system through *inclusive education* (Mitchell, 2005). Seen from a systemic view, inclusion is concerned with educational coverage and with the social outcomes and consequences of that coverage. The aim of educational inclusion is “to ensure that all pupils can have access to the whole range of educational and social opportunities offered by the school ... [so that they] avoid segregation and isolation” (Mittler, 2000, p. 2). Inclusion is “the educational philosophy of being part of the whole, that children are entitled to fully participate in their school and community” (Berns, 2001, p. 265).

Educational – and thus social – exclusion does the opposite, cutting people off from full involvement in the economic and social life of their countries (Giddens, 2001; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). As an experience of deprivation, social exclusion is often the consequence of severe horizontal inequalities, and as such it can underpin grievances that can mobilize groups for conflict (Gardner, 2002; see also Marshall, 1998). Exclusion through horizontal inequalities undermines social cohesion, which is defined as “a process of building shared values and communities of interpretation, *reducing disparities in wealth and income*, and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges, and *that they are members of the same community*” (Maxwell, 1996, cited in Jenson, 1998, p. 3; italics added). Large horizontal inequalities may instead increase group cohesion among those who are disenfranchised, facilitating mobilization for armed conflict (Østby, 2004).

Østby (2004) has found that, statistically, there is an increased likelihood of civil war in countries with large *social* horizontal inequalities (rather than economic or health horizontal inequalities), which are measured in terms of access to education and employment opportunities. Educational inequalities reflect social inequalities more broadly, since

dominant groups in society, particularly dominant ethnic groups, generally control state resources and may discriminate against minority groups in terms of access to social resources, such as education, and employment opportunities (*ibid.*; de Soysa & Wagner, 2003). As Davies (2005, p. 359) points out, “social exclusion is not random, but concentrated in already marginalized groups”. Exclusion and discrimination occur not just along ethnic lines. Other axes for discrimination include gender, age, class, religious group (including caste), geographical location, and race, and these may be equally important in mobilizing individuals to participate in armed conflict. Exclusion and inequalities may furthermore be political, social, or economic in nature, or a combination of the three (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 2004; Stewart, 2002).

Educational inclusion is not simply a quantifiable measure of the number of individuals participating (or not participating) in an education system. Educational inclusion involves a social dimension, in that education systems underpin the maintenance and reproduction of political, economic, and social structures. Education confers socio-economic and political power and mobility on certain individuals and groups within a society, and these have historically comprised the ruling elites in most countries. In this way, education is a strong social sorting mechanism, creating, reproducing, and exaggerating social and structural inequalities and legitimizing privileges. This can lead to grievances among groups of people excluded from education, fuelling armed conflict (Davies, 2004, 2005; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Carnoy & Levin, 1985; Giddens, 2001; Carnoy, 1990; O’Brien, 1996; Torres, 2003). As Østby (2004) points out, groups are able to maintain their social advantages and access to resources over the long term, but these advantages also allow groups to secure access to more and better resources, increasing inequalities over time. Thus, parents with higher levels of education are more likely to have higher socio-economic status, and their children are more likely to benefit from better education and have access to education for longer periods of time, completing higher levels of schooling because they have the necessary resources to do so (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

If conflict transformation entails a deep transformation in the institutions and discourses that reproduce violence, including structural and cultural violence, then educational inclusion has a key role to play in such transformation because of the larger social equalities and inequalities that are (re)produced through education. In this way, educational inclusion can represent a form of social justice, which is an important function of the Education For All (EFA) campaign, in that EFA entails not only equal access to schooling but also an insistence on increased social equity (Hallak, 1991). A member of a teachers union in Nepal emphasized social justice as a critical element in building and maintaining peace:

It is difficult to sustain the peace when people do not feel they have justice. Society is there for justice, and people don’t feel that they have justice. If I offend your rights, one day, it may be okay. But if it happens the second day and again with the same behavior, you become more angry and if it happens again and again, you may feel that you are undermined, humiliated, offended. Then there will be a problem. Justice should prevail in society for sustainable peace (#N-34).

National Education Laws and Policies

Education cannot be considered fully inclusive and thus able to play a role in building peace until it is codified as a universal right in national laws and policies. This is because positive peace entails the presence and promotion of social justice through the protection of human

rights, including the right to education (Elias & Turpin, 1994). But, positive peace must be about more than just *protecting* human rights, because protecting rights assumes that these rights already exist and are in theory enjoyed by citizens, which is not universally the case. Such rights must therefore not only be protected: they must first be recognized and fulfilled by the state. This is not the case in respect of formal education in many countries, particularly in the developing world, where the right to formal education is not always recognized, fulfilled, or protected. The right to free primary education is still not constitutionally recognized in countries as diverse as Fiji, Laos, Burundi, Botswana, and the Central African Republic (Tomaševski, 2001, 2006). Where rights are promised but not fulfilled, this sets up a fundamental tension that can nurture rebellion against the state. As noted earlier, Elias & Turpin (1994, p. 5) emphasize that “the presence of social injustice (the absence of positive peace) provides not only the immediate violence of repression and oppression but also the breeding grounds for the development of war and other direct violence such as crime”. Thus, structural violence, perpetuated through forms of deprivation such as differential educational access, can create the conditions for greater direct violence, including armed conflict.

Free and compulsory public primary education may be considered a universal human right internationally, but it is not considered a national right in Nepal. In Nepal, public primary education is by law free, but it is not compulsory and education is not considered a national right. Legislation has existed in Liberia since 1912 declaring education to be free and compulsory for all Liberian children between the ages of five and eleven, and the Free Compulsory Primary Education Act was adopted in 2003, but enrollment levels have been historically very low. In 2006, the Liberian government declared its commitment to providing free primary education for all, but this policy has not been uniformly implemented and education is not considered a national right. In Guatemala, however, education is considered a national right, and primary education is free and compulsory by law. However, this right is not a reality for everyone, owing to the imposition of fees and the poor distribution of educational resources within the education system – including teachers, school buildings and materials, and money.

Compulsory schooling can itself be an act of violence, particularly where compulsory schooling policies are not accompanied by policies to facilitate access (for instance, policies that provide formal education free of direct and most indirect costs, and provide education in local communities) (Harber, 2002). This can create conditions that enable the authorities to harass parents who cannot afford to send their children to school, or force parents to send children to private or public schools of low quality that may be far from children’s homes and families, where they may be exposed to negative teaching that transmits hateful ideologies and stereotypes.

Access to Different Levels and Types of Education

Educational access has been defined as “the proportion of the relevant age cohort reached by the education system” (Claffey, 1990, p. 93). Access is used here as an umbrella term that includes enrolling in, regularly attending, and remaining in the education system until a certain phase of schooling has been completed. Access is thus in part a quantitative measure of who has access to different levels of schooling within the formal education system. In this context, it can be viewed in terms of the numbers of individuals enrolled in different levels and sectors of the formal education system. These numbers can be broken down into different components – such as gender, region, age, and ethnic/religious/socio-economic groups – to

enable a more comprehensive understanding of what types of groups are included in or excluded from the education system.

Measures of other inputs in the educational system are also critical in creating a full picture of the nature of access within a given education system. The number and location of schools is an indication of the distribution of the resources within – and thus access to – a given education system. In the three countries studied in this report, the geographical areas and social groups excluded from education (as measured by numbers of children attending school and numbers of schools) roughly correspond to the groups and areas where socio-economic development levels are low, and in turn to the groups and areas that have been involved in armed conflict. A simplified summary is presented in the table below:

Table 2: Prewar Educational Access by Country Case in Relationship to Conflict Outbreak and Fighting.

Country	Groups Fighting	Pre-war Educational Access and Achievement	Conflict Outbreak and Dynamics
<i>Guatemala</i>	Primarily indigenous peoples	Social exclusion, including exclusion from the formal education system, was concentrated among the indigenous population, many of whom live in the western region of Guatemala. Historically, formal education primarily benefited the urban, non-indigenous elite. In 1967, only 33% of the country's primary schools were located in rural areas, which were populated largely by indigenous peoples. In the 1970s, net primary enrollment was 58%, and primary-completion rates were 49%.	Conflict breaks out in the western region of the country and is largely fought there, negatively impacting educational provision. Indigenous peoples form the primary support base of the guerilla groups fighting the government.
<i>Nepal</i>	Primarily lower-caste and non-Nepali ethnic groups	Formal education was historically reserved for the upper castes and classes and for men, and was available largely in urban areas. Expansion of the formal education system began in the 1950s and increased dramatically through the 1990s. However, in 1993, only 40% of rural 15-year-olds had completed primary schooling, with high levels of stratification in educational access and achievement along caste, ethnic, religious, geographical, and gender lines. In 1995, net primary enrollment was 69%, with a completion rate of 40%.	Conflict breaks out in the rural western region of Nepal. The Maoists draw much of their support from among the low-caste and various ethnic groups living in this region. Fighting occurs predominantly in rural areas and negatively impacts educational provision.
<i>Liberia</i>	Primarily non-Americo-Liberian groups	Access to political, economic, and social power, including access to formal education, was historically reserved for the urban-based Americo-Liberian elite. Educational enrollment levels increased in the 1970s and 1980s, but resource allocation within the education system did not keep pace with increased enrollment levels and spending, and school numbers declined. In the 1970s, one-third of education spending was concentrated in Monrovia, and 60% of trained school teachers were located in the capital. In 1990, net enrollment was 12.3% and gross enrollment 28%.	Conflict breaks out in Nimba County, a rural area in the northern region whose inhabitants had been persecuted and discriminated against under the regime of Samuel Doe. Much of the fighting occurs in rural areas, and later in urban areas. Many of the combatants in the different factions were excluded from the formal education system. The negative impact of the war on educational provision was considerable.

Sources for information in the table: Duberg (1994); Fahnbulleh (2005); Khaniya & Kiernan (1994); Kline (2000); Marques & Bannon (2003); Save the Children (2005); Soto (1994); Stash & Hannum (2001); Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2006); World Bank and UNDP education statistics.

Both lack of educational access and unequal access to education played a role in the outbreak of conflict in each of the three countries selected for study in this report, primarily because

such deprivation is a source of friction between different groups of people. Unequal educational access results in spatial discrimination, creating grievances that can mobilize people for participation in armed conflict (Degu, 2005). For these very reasons, lack of educational access has been a major contributory factor in the outbreak of other conflicts, such as the Rwandan genocide and the conflict in Kosovo (Aguilar & Richmond, 1998; Sommers, 2002a). Lack of educational opportunities was viewed by former child soldiers in Sierra Leone as a major factor in their decision to fight (Peters & Richards, 1998). Thus, while conflict may limit or even stop educational provision, such a development may have already happened prior to the outbreak of armed conflict, providing a pool of recruitable young people and a cause to motivate them to take up arms.

As Thyne (2006, p. 735) writes, “poor systems of education [do not simply] work through some other mechanism [such as opportunity cost] to lead to rebellion; rather, the failure of the government to provide for an adequate system of education is so severe that it, in itself, is the root of rebellion”. This was echoed during an interview with an employee in the Nepalese Ministry of Education, who stated that “lower caste households feel that education is not for them, since they have always been excluded. The school has never approached them and these groups feel they are neglected by society” (#N-53). This provided motivation for individuals to join the Maoist rebellion, as a member of a teachers union in Nepal pointed out: “People who did not have education at all or who did not have a good education, who were discarded from schools, who were humiliated in schools, they took guns in their hands and came to take revenge with teachers and others in society” (#N-34). The role of educational deprivation in the outbreak of armed conflict was also discussed during two interviews with a teacher, a UNMIL representative, and a Save the Children employee in a rural area of Liberia (#L-21 and L-22):

- UNMIL Rep: If people are not educated, they get jealous of people who are educated.
- SC Employee: Yes. People who don't go to school get jealous of your own children you are sending to school. You send your child to school so they will get a good job, but the others are jealous.
- Teacher: Yes, and they killed them. It's true.
- SC Employee: Yes, so we must make sure that other children are going to school to protect your child. So we encourage everybody to access education, everybody.

Public schools in particular represent the state, and, during a conflict, anger against the state and over exclusion from power through the unequal educational access may be directed against state symbols such as schools and/or educated persons. Taylor (2005, p. 3) writes that, during the Sierra Leonean civil war, rebels targeted schools “to register their discontent and contempt for a system that failed to provide [drop-outs] with opportunities for a better life”. This seems to negate the claim that Carnoy (1990, p. 66) makes about the pacifying aspect of educational inequality: “failing in school ... helps to pacify those who might otherwise claim increased access to resources and political power, since such claims are officially restricted to those of proven ‘merit’”.

When the state fails to provide education and other public services, this gives rebel groups and other actors an opportunity to function as alternative or surrogate service providers, enabling them to gain legitimacy and support for their cause among the population, as well as creating dependency on the armed group for the provision of such services (Singer, 2006). In

Nepal, Maoists highlighted gaps in public service provision to build up support for their movement, going so far as to set up parallel governments in areas where the state was absent, forming “people’s governments” that provided health and judiciary services, and collecting taxes (International Crisis Group, 2007; *The Economist*, 2006). Similarly, Hezbollah has built up its support in Lebanon by providing health services and schooling (Singer, 2006). Members of a Nepalese teachers union discussed this issue, stating that “we have had violence, the Maoists, for many years, which is a result of the failure of the education system and of the political system. The political system could not deliver to people what they deserve. The state could not deliver to people what they need. And because of the state inability in delivering people their basic needs and rights, there was a gap. In that gap, the Maoists played their role” (#N-34). Alternatively, rebel groups may attack the education system to weaken the state as a way of building support for their cause, recognizing that the existence of other opportunities may undermine their support among the population. This has been the case, for example, with the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Inclusive educational provision signals the state’s willingness and capacity to deliver public goods and state services to citizens, as well as its strength. That is, state investment in domestic social institutions such as education signals that the state cares about the population and is committed to keeping the peace (Thyne, 2006; Collier et al., 2003). Of course, the state is not always a benign entity, and states can be as predatory and violent as any rebel group. But, equal and equitable provision of and investment in education is an important signal that the state is committed to creating the conditions for long-term peace, which can defuse grievances that might facilitate mobilization for armed conflict. As outlined in Chapter Two, many rebellions are waged against the state, and whether a particular mobilization will be successful largely depends on the strength of the state and its ability to put down a rebellion.

Weak states may also be unable to exercise what Galbraith (1983, quoted in Meek, 1994, p. 1715) calls *conditioned power*, or the ability to persuade people to submit to the will of others, namely, to the rule of the state. Through mass public education systems, nations are able to construct unified national polities, enhancing the state’s power over its citizens and its legitimacy in the domestic and international realms (Ramirez & Boli, 1987). Nation-building through education may thus help to strengthen the state by improving levels of political consensus and cooperation between groups, and by breaking down regional or ethnic loyalties and identities through the incorporation of individuals within the state and within national identities (Saha & Fägerlind, 1994; Miguel, 2004). This model, of course, is contentious and can work in the opposition direction, facilitating the transmission of stereotypes or justifying discriminatory power structures. Extreme nationalism can create conditions for conflict, as in Nazi Germany and former Yugoslavia, while the imposition of nationalism can create the kind of cultural and political repression that can also lead to armed conflict, as in Sudan (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Seitz, 2004). A context-specific balance must therefore be struck between accommodating diversity and striving for national unity.

Barriers to Entry and Progression Through the Education System

Educational access is mediated by mechanisms that may be exclusionary or inclusionary. Barriers to entering and remaining in the education system can be low or high: tuition-free education lowers the barriers to entering school, whereas indirect costs – for example, for uniforms and books – can raise the barrier to entry. The higher the costs associated with schooling, the higher the barrier to entry into the educational system – especially for poor families, who must also face the opportunity cost of lost income in sending their children to

school – and thus the more unequal the system, particularly when poverty levels are high. Consequently, those with greater access to socio-economic and political power and resources have improved access to education and to better-quality education because they can afford it, exacerbating social exclusion in already highly stratified societies (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Seitz, 2004; Boyden & Ryder, 1996; Tomlinson & Benefield, 2005). Furthermore, vocational education is often very expensive, excluding those who are economically poorer but who would likely benefit from the potentially higher incomes and improved livelihoods that vocational education can deliver.

As a student progresses through the education system, barriers to retention and progression within that system are also raised in non-monetary ways (Samoff, 2003). In developing countries, formal education is highly exclusionary and based on rigid methods of selection and stratification that may foster intense competition rather than cooperation. Education is a progressively restricted and selective good that endows progressively greater benefits to individuals, up to a certain point. That is, progression through the education system becomes increasingly difficult, because the higher levels of schooling – which arguably offer higher pay-offs for students and their families – are more severely restricted, for example through exams and fees or through the concentration of facilities in urban areas. Thus, fewer people have access to higher levels of the education system and to the greater income and status accorded by those levels. The more extreme the stratification methods within an education system, the more extreme the exclusion from the potentially greater social and economic benefits of education. Enforcing rigid exclusion from higher levels of education can create both grievances – for instance, among adolescents who have no access to secondary schooling – and a large pool of young people who may be more easily recruited into an armed group, particularly when few viable alternatives exist outside the formal education system. The failure of a student to progress to higher levels in the education system can create deep feelings of exclusion, shame, resentment, and humiliation, as can beatings and other acts of violence committed by teachers or fellow students. Such feelings can serve as powerful recruitment tools for armed groups.

Access as Measured by Type of Education

Access to the education system is not simply a quantitative measure. Access must also be viewed in terms of the *type* of education to which individuals have access, such as formal schooling or vocational training, higher- or lower-quality education, and public or private schooling. In this respect, expanded access to formerly elite systems of education can have an unintended, adverse impact on educational equality and social inclusion, particularly when the initial focus of mass education policies is on improving quantity, rather than simultaneously improving quantity and quality. Overcrowding and poor-quality education in public schools can encourage the growth of a private sector with better-quality education for the rich, or can discourage students from attending school altogether if they feel that the quality of the education they are receiving is too low. Thus, the right to education and access to education must be viewed not only in terms of quantity, but also in terms of the quality of education (Smith, 2005).

There has been enormous growth in the private (secular, not religious) education sector in Nepal. The growth of this sector was hotly debated and much despised by the majority of interviewees because of the widespread social exclusion it engenders. Economically better-off families send their children to private schools, which are considered to be of higher quality, while poor families send their children to overcrowded, poor-quality public schools, where

failure rates are high. In this instance, quality included better teaching methods, more individual attention for students, fewer students in the classroom, and, for some interviewees, the use of English as the language of instruction. In this way, education is widening the gap between the haves and the have-nots in Nepal.

As members of a local organization in Nepal stated, “the education system promotes discrimination by having private and public education. Those who are studying in the public schools, they feel discriminated against compared to the private school students. Nepal needs equal education, not a divide between public and private education – only one type of education” (#N-31). Furthermore, some Nepalese families choose to send boys to private schools and girls to public schools, creating further divisions between individuals and reinforcing social inequalities as social resources continue to be distributed to those who have more socio-economic power. The Maoists have tapped into this dimension of exclusion, promoting gender equality within their ranks and advocating the abolition of private schooling. (Educational quality is discussed further in the next chapter.)

Educational Access as a Peace Dividend

Improving educational access in the aftermath of a conflict through the expansion of facilities and the provision of free education can be viewed as a peace dividend to rectify grievances over social exclusion, particularly educational exclusion. Educational access can be a vital means of restoring faith in the government during or after a conflict, as well as a means of providing social justice and promoting inclusivity within the state and society more generally. Moreover, improved educational access could offer many individuals an alternative to re-engaging in conflict and thus spoiling the peace; there would also be fewer incentives to engage in fighting, since grievances over social exclusion would be addressed, opportunities for advancement created, and young people supervised and their time occupied.

Improving educational access entails increased spending on education. In countries affected by armed conflict, government revenue is often reduced because of the climate of insecurity, and money is usually directed away from social sectors towards the military to enable the government to prosecute the war, as well as to prevent its collapse (Seitz, 2004; Lai & Thyne, 2007). For instance, during Guatemala’s civil war, education spending declined from 1.8% to 1.4% of GDP between 1978 and 1989, while defense spending increased from 1.3% to 1.9% of GDP (Marques & Bannon, 2003). Redirecting spending away from the military and back into social institutions can help to demilitarize a society and indicate that the state is committed to the well-being of its citizens (Thyne, 2006). For combatants, educational provision can be an important incentive for them to lay down their arms, particularly where educational exclusion is at the root of young people’s motivations to fight. This was the case at the end of the Liberian civil war, where many young combatants demanded that they be allowed to go back to school in return for laying down their arms. But, while improving educational access may be key to ending a conflict, as well as to maintaining the peace in its aftermath, high expectations of immediate benefits and improvements in livelihoods from a near-instantaneous massification of a formerly elitist system must be carefully managed.

Educational inclusion may have additional pay-offs in terms of building peace. In countries where very few people are formally educated, and those that are thus command disproportionate rank and power within the society, people may be more inclined to follow educated war-makers than might be the case were educational levels more equal. Those with more education tend to be more socially, politically, and economically powerful, and have

better access to information and resources. Improved educational access, and thus higher educational levels within the population, could improve access to information and socio-economic resources and give people the skills they require to pressure leaders and their fellow citizens to behave peacefully. Furthermore, raising education levels among groups that have been marginalized may provide an important equalizing experience if education reduces inequalities and creates a more level social playing field (Carnoy, 1990). As a Save the Children employee in Guatemala pointed out, “access to education makes relationships change from vertical to horizontal. It is an equalizer. It creates respect, which is important because we are a multicultural country and the indigenous people are discriminated against. We can eliminate this with respect, these relations of discrimination. More equality between people can bring peace” (#G-21).

Equality and Equity in the Distribution of Resources

Equal opportunity within the formal education system entails that educational access does not depend on the child’s socio-economic position or geographic location (see Wise, 1968; Joseph, 1980). Equal educational opportunity is critical, as a Save the Children employee in Liberia pointed out: “if educational opportunity in a state is not equal, this creates both immediate and longer-term disparities that can evolve into conflict when the present leadership is not capable or willing to fix these disparities” (#L-40). Thus, building peace through education is fundamentally about the resolution of the social, political, economic, and developmental issues that are usually at the root of and facilitate the outbreak of armed conflict, such as large horizontal social inequalities. That is, it is the root causes of conflict (as they are reflected in and reproduced by the formal education system), and not only the impact of conflict on the education system (such as destroyed infrastructure) or the problems created by the conflict within the education system, that must be addressed in order for formal education to play a role in building and maintaining peace.

A fully inclusive education system is characterized not only by equality of access to the system but also by equal and/or equitable distribution of resources within the system – equal and/or equitable both in terms of locations and numbers, and in relation to resources such as money, trained and qualified teachers, teaching and learning materials, school buildings, and school furniture (Smith, 2005; Degu, 2005). This is a question of educational supply. Equality entails sameness and nondiscrimination, while equity entails social justice and fairness (Samoff, 2003; Farrell, 2003). These two things, however, are not always compatible: it might be thought necessary to give disadvantaged, marginalized groups special, equitable treatment through positive discrimination or affirmative-action policies to raise their status, despite goals of equality. Indeed, for groups such as members of non-Nepali ethnic groups, low-caste, and *dalits* (“untouchable” peoples) in Nepal, indigenous peoples in Guatemala, and rural non-Americo-Liberians, equity of access and supply within the education system may be needed to eradicate inequalities that can create widespread social discontent and motivate individuals to take up arms (Samoff, 2003; Degu, 2005). In other words, equity may be needed to create equality.

Education is not an evenly distributed public good, particularly in developing countries. Rural areas and areas populated by marginalized groups are often neglected in the distribution of educational resources, particularly where there has been a tradition of centralization within the education system (Carnoy, 1990; Degu, 2005). This is in part due to expenditure patterns within the education system. As Thyne (2006) points out, more money often goes to the tertiary level, which disproportionately benefits the urban and the wealthy. But, an unequal

distribution of education can also be a function of power, in that “those who control political and economic power tend to allocate priority of educational opportunities first and foremost to their own children and then to those who are next in line to maintain the power holder’s position of interest (ethnic, religious/regional communities)” (Degu, 2005, p. 138).

However, just because groups are given equal educational opportunities, this does not mean that they will receive equal treatment at school. Moreover, as Farrell (2003) and Smith (2005) point out, equality of access and equality of supply are related to levels of equality of survival within an education system (the likelihood that individuals will finish a certain level of schooling) and to equality of learning outcomes (the likelihood that all children will learn the same things to the same levels and be able to secure employment as a result). Unequal distribution of education affects educational quality, and thus learning outcomes, as well as survival within the system. Poor and rural children are less likely to attend good-quality schools or to complete school, which determines patterns of educational distribution within different groups within a society as well as subsequent opportunities for employment (Smith, 2005). In “societies [where] the average educational attainment [is] very low, the distribution of years of schooling attained is very unequal” (Farrell, 2003, p. 160). Educational attainment in such societies is more likely to be achieved among socio-economically and politically dominant groups in society, creating and sustaining group inequalities, as groups use educational attainment to maintain their privileged status (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

The issue of equal and equitable distribution of resources within the education system was brought up by a group of parents in Liberia during a discussion about the great educational inequalities that have characterized Liberia’s history. One parent felt that “for education to promote peace, there needs to be education that is affordable and that reaches everybody. Everyone should have access to the same type and standard of facilities, and there should be equal opportunities for all, both in the capital and in rural areas” (#L-2). Physical reconstruction efforts have been ongoing in Liberia since the end of the war in 2003: many schools have been rebuilt and renovated, and materials such as furniture and textbooks have been supplied to schools. However, there continues to be an urban bias in schooling patterns, as trained teachers are not teaching in rural areas and the few high schools that do exist are located in urban areas. Thus, rural areas continue to be excluded from the education system, continuing a historic pattern of educational exclusion. One area visited in a rural part of eastern Liberia had no schools until three were built by UNDP in 2006. But, these three schools were still far from a number of villages in the area – as much as two hours’ walking distance in some cases. In such situations, children often must live with relatives or rent a room in the town close to the schools in order to attend school, or they simply do not attend school until they are old enough to physically manage the walk to school, that is, around 10–12 years of age.

Merit-Based Selection Practices

When students and teachers within the education system are promoted not because of individual merit but rather on the basis of nepotistic, corrupt, and/or discriminatory practices, this undermines equality (non-discrimination) and full inclusion. Nepotistic or corrupt selection practices – such as ethnic-, class-, or caste-based favoritism or the promotion of family or political party members into teaching positions or higher grade levels – undermine both the foundations of a socially inclusive, equal-opportunity education system and the value of education itself, as do practices such as exchanging grades for sex or money. Non-merit-based practices within the education system can thus fuel grievances that can lead to conflict,

particularly where they reinforce existing social horizontal inequalities. On the other hand, the requirements of equity and meritocracy may at times be at odds with each other, in that promotion and privileging of disadvantaged groups through positive discrimination may not necessarily be merit-based or encourage merit-based selection (Cogneau, 2005).

Issues of meritocracy were brought to the forefront in Nepal and Liberia. During the period of fieldwork in Nepal in November 2006, national government education authorities declared that all active temporary teachers would automatically be granted permanent status, without having to pass a certification exam or go through teacher training of any kind. This greatly upset both previously qualified teachers and students at the teacher-training institutes, who have had to or will have to complete their training and go through a certification exam in order to become teachers. The government's proclamation resulted in three weeks of large-scale violent protests. It signaled the degree to which the education system remains highly centralized, as well as the tensions that this centralization creates between the state and communities.

Practices related to the promotion of students within the Liberian education system are also problematic and fail to promote equal inclusion. Because teachers receive very low salaries from the government (approximately US \$30 per month, or US \$1 per day), they are forced to find other ways to make money. These include exchanging grades for money from students. As a result, grades and exam marks completely lose their value, as there is no objective basis for evaluating a student's performance. When teachers ask for money (or sex) from students in return for the grades and exam marks needed to proceed to the next level of schooling, this undermines equality of opportunity for children and lowers levels of respect enjoyed by teachers.

For the creation of a stable peace, merit-based practices have an essential role to play not just within the education system itself, but also in relation to the selection function that education performs within a society more generally (Carnoy, 1990). Through education, individuals are selected for jobs and other positions on a meritocratic rather than a personal basis (such as through family or ethnic-group ties): "Through the principle of meritocracy, education does not serve the interest of any one group or class, but allows every citizen to achieve according to his or her innate ability" (Meek, 1994, p. 1716). This can help to address problems related to horizontal inequalities due to the dominance of certain groups in society. In theory, through merit-based selection based on educational credentials, individuals from virtually any background may advance politically, socially, and economically. Poor children can have a chance to become doctors and achieve middle-class status and socio-economic advancement, assuming such opportunities exist. Educational expansion helps to reinforce the belief in meritocracy and the belief that things can and will change for the better. As a local education governance employee in Guatemala put it, "education can make opportunities for change. People from poor backgrounds can become doctors, with scholarships they can improve their economic level because they are given opportunities" (#G-29).

The Philosophy and Aims of the Education System

"Until relatively recent times, formal schooling has always been restricted to a small proportion of the population" (Fägerlind & Saha, 1989, p. 34) in most countries in the world. This is especially true in developing countries, in which the majority of the world's out-of-school children are located (Farrell, 2003). There is a connection between educational exclusion and the purpose and philosophy of education in different societies, as well as the

formation of the nation-state itself, on the other. Historically, the formal education systems of many developing countries were established in order to provide a limited supply of manpower for a colonial administration, to spread Western culture, and to legitimize colonial rule. Education thus developed as a restricted privilege for the urban elite and served to perpetuate that privilege. This situation was largely maintained even after state independence was achieved, to the exclusion of the majority of people (*ibid.*; Carnoy, 1990). In this way, education has helped to maintain the status quo in these societies by functioning as a form of social and political control, reproducing social and political structures and hierarchies (Harber, 2002; Smith, 2005; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

In the three countries selected for study in this report, education has not been accessible and available to the majority of people, reserved instead for the elites governing the country: the Spaniards and ladinos in Guatemala; upper-caste and Nepali ethnic groups in Nepal; and Americo-Liberians in Liberia. In Guatemala, state education was historically reserved for the descendants of the Spanish colonizers, though some religious education was provided to indigenous peoples. In Nepal, which was closed to the world until the 1950s, education and learning were reserved for the upper castes. In Liberia, public education was reserved for Americo-Liberians until the 1940s and 1950s, when state education was expanded to rural areas on a limited basis. It is only now, for the first time in the histories of these countries, that all children are being given the ability and/or the right to attend primary school.

The education systems of the three countries studied in this report were oriented towards the dominant, ruling groups in society, and the philosophy and purpose of education is directly reflected in the type of teaching and disciplinary methods used in the classroom; in how schools are managed; in the distribution of resources (particularly in the distribution of money); in the provision of quality education; in patterns of educational access; and in what knowledge is or is not accepted within the curriculum and why. More generally, where the curriculum of a country's formal education system is conceived as the narrow transmission of the culture and knowledge of the elite through authoritarian schooling structures and teaching (as discussed further in the next chapter), thus reproducing the status quo, this can help to fuel conflict. Grievances formulated around the fact that a small, urban elite is using education to benefit from and reproduce its own status and the status quo through restricted educational access for non-elite groups, particularly when education is considered to be a universal right internationally, may mobilize individuals to engage in armed conflict.

“Before the war, education was concentrated in Monrovia, and it was also where the best education was. There were few educational facilities in the rural areas. In the past, Liberia was made up of Americo-Liberians versus the indigenous Liberians. The indigenous people had no education, and when they did get education they returned home with grievances against the Americo-Liberians. This was done purposely to keep indigenous people ignorant and uneducated. Education has been designed for desk jobs in the past, and the curriculum in the past was in the interest of the minority. The whole educational philosophy in Liberia is connected to the type of government.” (UN employee, Liberia)

Curriculum Content and Language of Instruction

The content of the educational curriculum is a key mechanism of inclusion. An education system that is designed for and transmits the knowledge of the dominant group in society; that

is appropriate only for a minority or privileged group; that does not reflect the history, needs, values, and social and economic realities of the majority people (including their language); or that perpetuates damaging stereotypes may fuel grievances over exclusion and people's inability to make use of what they have learned. The education system may transmit knowledge that is appropriate only for formal employment in office environments when the majority of people secure their livelihoods through farming, for example; or, the curriculum may transmit and indoctrinate children with hateful ideologies. In Guatemala, a UNICEF employee emphasized that "school is boring since it is monocultural and not bilingual. Children are learning unimportant things, for instance in rural areas they are learning about the cities of Europe, not what is relevant for rural life. Children need to learn useful things for the areas where they live" (#G -20). A curriculum that proves irrelevant for an individual's employment opportunities despite many years of investment in education can foster grievances that can fuel conflict – a point elaborated upon in Chapter Six of this report. Reviewing curricula and permitting the teaching of local knowledge may thus be critical before, during, and/or after a conflict to tackle issues of relevance and exclusion. However, the institution of a local curriculum must be harmonized with the use of national exams, and such an approach must also include the provision of positive teaching about other groups in society by qualified teachers.

It is not only what is (or is not) taught that is important regarding the perpetuation of exclusion through the curriculum, but also the language in which actual teaching takes place (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). In each of the three country case-studies examined here, the official language of instruction is that of the socio-politically dominant group (who comprise numerical minorities in both Nepal and Liberia), which serves to consolidate the power of these groups and means that a good number of children in these countries struggle with language, impeding their progress in school and in some cases leading to drop-out. Language interacts with caste and class in Guatemala, Nepal, and Liberia to form multiple layers of discrimination. Denying the use of particular languages as mediums of instruction is a form of cultural repression and social exclusion. It perpetuates social privilege and social injustice, since language mediates access to education and to power (Degu, 2005; O'Brien, 1996). Indeed, Salmi (2000) refers to the denial of a person's non-material higher rights (such as the right to cultural integrity, expression, and belonging) through the use of a foreign-based or biased curriculum and teaching in a foreign language as *alienating violence*.¹³ While many interviewees recognized the need for children to learn the dominant language of their society (Spanish, English, and Nepali in the three countries studied), so they might find jobs and communicate with other people both in their own country and in the rest of the world, it was also recognized that local languages were critical to the maintenance of cultural identity and to children's success in the classroom.

The argument is often made that pluralistic language-of-instruction policies can heighten tension and contribute to conflict, as ethnically diverse countries seem to have a higher incidence and risk of conflict (cf. Fearon & Laitin, 2003 for an outline of this argument). A single language of instruction is needed, it is argued, since linguistic pluralism is inherently divisive. However, while ethnic identity may be used to mobilize people for conflict, the denial of linguistic rights may in fact become a grievance around which groups may mobilize – making state management of diversity critical. Diversifying the language of instruction can improve the educational and social playing field by equalizing enrollment, retention, and completion rates, and thus the life chances of children and their chances of acquiring both more education and better economic opportunities in the future.¹⁴ It can also instill a sense within the public that the government values the diversity and social equality of all citizens

and all groups in society, lessening the potential for violent dissent against the state and instead promoting tolerance and inclusion as civic virtues.

To promote intercultural understanding and tolerance, the Guatemalan peace accords mandated that multicultural and bilingual education should be an integral part of the curriculum for all children. However, for the most part, the educational portions of the peace accords have not been implemented. Bilingual and multicultural education has become ghettoized, taught only to those who are considered to be “multicultural” (that is, the indigenous peoples), who are then taught in their mother tongue about ladino rather than indigenous culture. The ladino population learns almost nothing about the indigenous peoples of Guatemala, and what they do learn largely revolves around the Mayans and indigenous peoples of the past, not the current situation of Guatemala’s indigenous population. For the most part, bilingual education is used only in the first years of primary schooling within indigenous communities – until children are proficient enough to use Spanish as the language of instruction – which has a negative impact on achievement levels and educational survival rates among indigenous children (McEwan & Trowbridge, 2007). This is made worse by the fact that there are few indigenous teachers teaching in their own communities, while many indigenous parents, who were largely denied access to formal schooling as children during the country’s civil war, cannot (or will not) speak Spanish, which hinders their participation in school decision-making processes and committees. In this way, educational access and content continue to be determined centrally rather than locally, and targeted primarily to the ladino population – thus engendering exclusion, discrimination, and segregation, as the language and culture of the education system is that of only half the population, which serves to reproduce the status quo. This reflects the fact that power structures have changed little in the aftermath of Guatemala’s civil war. The same could be said of Nepal and Liberia – that is, that, despite their being in the minority, socio-politically dominant groups in society learn little, if anything, about dominated groups and communities in their respective countries, and the language of the minority dominates the classroom. In this way, education legitimizes and reproduces existing social and power structures within society (Degu, 2005)

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the importance of equitable inclusion both within the educational system as a whole and within individual schools in the building and maintaining of peace. Educational inclusion is critical, because if all children are to learn the value of peace and how to build peace in their own communities, they need to access some form of schooling where they can receive this knowledge on a continual and consistent basis. But, most importantly, equal educational inclusion is a critical element in reducing the horizontal inequalities that may motivate people to participate in armed conflict. Furthermore, it reduces the opportunities for such participation by engaging individuals in a productive, future-oriented activity (a point that will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six). As a group of secondary school teachers in Guatemala stated, “peace can happen when there is equal access to resources, the elimination of social discrimination, and the fulfillment of basic needs such as food and shelter. When these things are there, then this can change the feelings of those who created the conflict” (#N-10). However, breaking down power relations built on discrimination and exclusion can create conflict, and must therefore be carefully managed within the education system.

Inclusion is also needed to facilitate the interaction of children with a variety of individuals, and to socialize children into attitudes and behaviors that are more conducive to building

peace. This connects to the concept examined in the next chapter, that of *socialization*. But, as Berns's (2001) definition of inclusion put forward at the beginning of this chapter emphasizes, inclusion is not only a school-specific phenomenon, but one that is rooted in and facilitates participation in the wider social context. Indeed, individual schools do not function in isolation, and what occurs outside of the school walls (including patterns and norms of exclusion) is reflected and reproduced within the school (Mittler, 2000). Inclusion within the education system thus also entails the inclusion of parents and communities into the schooling and decision-making processes. This is a critical element of building peace through education, and is elaborated upon in the discussion of the concept of *social capital* in Chapter Five. It is to these two concepts that this report will now turn.

Chapter Four

Quality Education That Protects and Is Violence-Free

Introduction

This chapter examines the second key concept in this study, that of *socialization*. This concept relates to the types of norms that schools and education actors such as teachers implicitly and explicitly sanction and communicate to students. Such norms include behaviors, beliefs, values, and attitudes. This chapter argues that protective, violence-free education is critical for building and maintaining peace, because as a result of such education individuals may be less likely to accept the use of violence as a means for resolving problems. As a result of better conditions and better treatment at schools, individuals may have fewer grievances and thus less motivation to engage in armed conflict. They may also be more likely to stay in school, reducing the opportunities for and increasing the cost of participating in armed conflict (an argument that is examined in detail in Chapter Six).

The present chapter is divided into six sections. First, the concept of *socialization* will be defined. It will then be broken down into four key elements, each of which will be discussed individually. The chapter concludes with an examination of how the concept of socialization connects to the other three key concepts outlined in this study.

Defining Socialization

The concept of socialization has received much attention within the literatures of sociology and psychology, where it has been examined in a number of different ways, including within the school setting. As a sociological term, socialization is defined as “the process whereby individuals become members of society or members of sectors of society. It is concerned with how individuals adopt, or do not adopt, the values, customs, and perspectives of the surrounding culture or subcultures” (Sturman, 1997, p. 528). It is through the socialization process that children learn about the society in which they live, the norms of that society, and how to effectively interact with others (Giddens, 2001; Goslin, 1969; Rodehaver, Axtell & Gross, 1957).

More narrowly, in terms of education and the school setting, schools act as a particular socialization context or force for individuals. Interpersonal relationships and social interactions are embedded in the daily routines and processes of schools. Schools thus act as sites where children learn “to engage in prosocial interactions, regulate behavior to complement that of others, and delay personal gratification”, and where they learn the values of “being socially responsible and responsive to group goals, and of behaving in a cooperative way with peers” (Wentzel & Looney, 2007, p. 382). The concern in this study, therefore, is not with how the socialization process affects cognitive learning outcomes (though that is also important), but rather with how school socialization affects interpersonal and intergroup relationships through the transmission of beliefs, behaviors, values, and attitudes to students that might make it more likely for people to engage in peaceful behavior (or, alternatively, to engage in and approve of the use of violent behavior, including armed conflict) (Singer, 2006). The type and nature of the values and interactions that schools sanction and communicate to students may contribute to social cohesion or fail to do so (*ibid.*).

School-based socialization is a critical element in the relationship between education, armed conflict, and peace, since many children spend a large amount of time in schools during their formative years, making the school a key socialization site for young people. The Millennium Development Goal of 'Education For All' represents a change from past practices in many countries. Education is becoming a universal social institution in a way that no other institution is. Children should now complete at least a full course of primary education, which normally entails regular attendance at school during the formative years of their lives. Besides the family and the community in which children live (and, if they work, the place where they labor), the school may be the only place where children have regular social contact for several hours a day. Schools and education actors such as teachers, staff, and other students implicitly and explicitly communicate and sanction behaviors, values, and attitudes to students on a daily basis. The school environment is thus a critical site for teaching children how to behave in society and how to relate to other people – including both authority figures and peers – as well as for learning what attitudes and values are appropriate and accepted in society at large and in the communities in which they live. Schools have a critical role to play in teaching children how to manage and resolve conflict; how to manage and form interpersonal relationships; and how to enforce authority; as well as for communicating the value of and skills for building peace.

The school socialization process is critical because of the role it can play in determining whether individuals accept the use of violence for resolving conflicts and problems – or, alternatively, in assisting the formation of values that support peaceful actions and peaceful conflict resolution (Davies, 2004). While opportunities may exist for individuals to participate in armed conflict and/or they may have grievances that might motivate them to do so, these factors are not necessarily sufficient to mobilize individuals to actually engage in armed conflict. As Sambanis (2004) points out, “a crucial question is whether coercion and material gain together are enough to motivate political gain” – which challenges the presumption put forward by the economic agendas theory, that is, “that everyone is a potential rebel, given the opportunity” (Sambanis, 2004, p. 268). The question here is what is needed for a number of individuals to overcome collective-action problems, mobilize *en masse* as organized participants with control over the resources needed for action, and accept the use of violence to achieve the objectives of that mobilization (Tilly, 1978).

In this respect, the concept of socialization within schools might be one of the possible links between motive, opportunity, mobilization for, and actual participation in armed conflict. Violent socialization processes within the school context might not only provide people with motivation and/or opportunities to use violence against other individuals and groups, but also make it more likely that such use of violence will be acceptable to them (Sugami, 1996; Harber, 1996, 2002). Violent school socialization processes not only teach children about the acceptable use of violence, but can also play a role in the formulation of feelings of humiliation, shame, and revenge that may motivate and thus mobilize people to join rebel groups and participate in armed conflict (Davies, 2004). Such feelings may also push and keep young people out of schools, providing opportunities for individuals to engage in armed conflict (a point that will be returned to in Chapter Six).¹⁵

Relationships Between Individuals and Groups at School

What and how children learn about the formation and maintenance of relationships at school is critical to teaching children how to manage interpersonal relationships outside of the

school. Relationships that exist at schools are those between students, between teachers and staff members, and between teachers, staff members and students. How these relationships are managed – including how they are formed and what kind of power relations they express and reinforce – teaches children how to relate to and interact with people in society more generally (Berns, 2001). A United Nations employee in Guatemala underscored this as a fundamental function of education: “Education promotes relationships between people. School is a place where children learn how to communicate with every kind of person, different people and different groups, women, men, indigenous, non-indigenous, teachers, leaders, with all the people” (#G-20).

“School is the Peace Place”: Contact Between Children

The variety of individuals with which children come into contact through school (or, *mutatis mutandis*, the lack of such variety) can teach children how to positively interact with individuals who do not come from their own families, communities, or ethnic, religious, or language groups. This is termed the *contact hypothesis*, following Allport (1954), who theorized that intergroup prejudice – and thus the potential for conflict – would be reduced through contact between groups, resulting in positive attitudes towards and improved understanding of other groups (Cairns, 1996). One official at the Liberian Ministry of Education felt that this had helped to break down prejudices between people during his own boyhood in the 1960s: “I went to a boarding school with other students from all around the country. We learned to live together, to respect each other, and to see everyone as Liberian. But this broke down in the 1980s when tribalism was introduced and there was a turn away from the idea that other people have equal worth” (#L-7).

Indeed, an article in a recent edition of BBC’s *Focus on Africa* magazine points to the education system in Ghana as being partially responsible for the country’s long-lasting civil peace. According to the article, “secondary boarding schools are the single most cited reason for the country’s exemplary escape from the ethnic tensions” that have fueled the outbreak of conflict in many African states (Sakyi-Addo, 2007, p. 11). Ghana’s system of mass secondary boarding schools requires students to travel to different parts of the country for their education, narrowing social and ethnic cleavages. In contrast, in Liberia, Ghana’s neighbor to the west, boarding schools were few in number and accessed only by the rich and privileged (primarily the Americo-Liberians) (*ibid.*). While the example of boarding schools being used as a means of promoting the mixing of students from different groups by distributing them throughout the country may work in certain contexts, such an approach is not necessarily economically feasible for all children living in poor countries, especially ones that may be recovering from conflict and where infrastructure and incomes may be lacking.

Contact, however, may be effective even at a local level if students come into contact with children from different classes, castes, or ethnic, language, or religious groups within their own local communities. Contact between children and teachers is also important, and, in this respect, the characteristics of teachers are vital. Recreation (including playtime and sports activities) was repeatedly cited by

“There needs to be recreation and sports to learn about peace. When you are on the field and sharing it is good. It helps for reconciliation.”
(ALP student, Liberia)

interviewees in all three countries as a way for children to positively interact with each other, as well as to increase contact time, since sports activities can be conducted after school.

However, it is not enough for students merely to have contact with each other. As the statement by an official from the Liberian Ministry of Education official in the previous paragraph shows, what is taught by teachers and included in the curriculum is also critical for reducing intergroup prejudices and forming non-exclusive identities. This is discussed further later in this chapter.

In relation to the building of peace, interviewees in each country stressed the importance of children learning to socialize and share with others, and learning about viewpoints different from their own or those of their family members. A group of students at a rural primary school in Nepal pointed to this as a benefit of going to school: “School is the peace place. We cannot say everything with our parents, but at school we can share our own ideas and views with our friends and we can learn some ideas and new things from our friends and teachers” (#N-4). This interaction model, however, depends on giving children the opportunity to learn from each other through interaction in the playground, through group work during classrooms, and through other school-based extracurricular activities, such as drama or children’s clubs.

Violence at School: Disciplinary Methods and Bullying

Students learn norms regarding the resolution of conflict and the use of violence through the disciplinary methods used in schools. Corporal punishment is still widely used in the three countries selected for fieldwork in this study. Interviewees emphasized the relationship between violent disciplinary methods and a more general conflict-created climate of fear found in society at large, stating that violence at school sanctioned violence outside of the school. Sticks and canes were openly present in classrooms, and interviewees spoke about the use of various forms of corporal punishment in classrooms and schools. Such practices range from the use of physical objects to beat students, to teachers hitting students with their hands, to teachers and school staff forcing students either to stand for long periods of time, to clean areas of the school, or to do push-ups or other physical exercises. Students in all three countries stated that verbal abuse is also used by teachers to discipline students. An extreme example of the consequences of corporal punishment was the case of a student who committed suicide in Nepal during the fieldwork period after being beaten by his teacher and prevented from taking the final yearly exam because his school fees had not been paid.

Authoritarian power structures and practices within education systems – such as the use of corporal punishment and passive, rote teaching methods – undermine the potential of education to build peace.

Corporal punishment may create powerful motivations to use violence and exact revenge for the feelings of fear, powerlessness, shame, and humiliation that result from the use of physical discipline (Brett & Specht, 2004). This should be taken very seriously, as the example of Sierra Leone shows, where young combatants attacked and even killed their teachers to avenge past humiliations suffered at teachers’ hands (Keen, 2005). In this way, the violence of a civil war may have an important psychological benefit for combatants, “including an immediate reversal of relationships of dominance and humiliation that have sometimes prevailed in peacetime ... and a chance to avenge past wrongdoings” (Keen, 2000, p. 23). In situations of armed conflict, when violence is prevalent in the world outside the school and the

use of direct violence has been used to resolve conflicts, violent disciplinary methods sanction and are sanctioned by the violence of the conflict and the wider patterns of violence in society. That is, violence outside the school reinforces the use of violence in the school, but

the relationship can also work in the other direction, in that violence in schools can reinforce and legitimize a wider use of violence to assert and enforce authority and obedience, especially during a situation of armed conflict. Corporal punishment also has long-reaching ramifications on the lives of those who suffer from it. As a 1995 report by the Gulbenkian Foundation emphasizes, “hitting children increases the chances of a child becoming physically aggressive, delinquent, or both.... Corporal punishment leaves invisible scars that affect many other aspects of life” (Gulbenkian Foundation, 1995, p. 52; quoted in Harber, 2002, pp. 11–12).

Most of the students and many of the teachers and school staff members who were interviewed in all three countries stated that they disagreed with the use of corporal punishment in schools, instead emphasizing the use of nonviolent disciplinary methods based on dialogue and verbal persuasion to resolve conflicts (which they had learned about largely through Save the Children’s efforts). One teacher in Nepal underscored this: “Corporal punishment is psychologically bad, especially in time of conflict. The focus now is on how to get students to talk to parents, other children, and to teachers. When you beat, the children don’t say anything and can’t express themselves. It hurts both the student and the teacher. Beating is a bad thing. How to give them discipline? The teacher is key. We need to create a friendly environment for children to interact well” (#N-40). Children’s clubs may be useful in helping to eradicate the use of corporal punishment, empowering children through knowledge of their rights to resist and even stop physical punishment. For this very reason, one children’s club member in Nepal who was also a *dalit* stated that, since he had joined the club, he had not been beaten by anyone at school or at home, and discrimination against him had been reduced (#N-23). However, the issue of corporal punishment is a systemic problem that must be addressed at the system level, not only at the level of individual teachers and schools. Policies and action must therefore be taken at all levels in the education system to change disciplinary methods.



Fig. 5

The use of nonviolent methods of discipline within schools provides children with a vital lesson in how to pursue and achieve goals without using violence – a lesson of critical importance in the context of an armed conflict. An employee in the Liberian Ministry of Education felt that one of the most important things that children should learn in schools was to use “nonviolent change for the things they don’t like” (#L-7). The use of physical violence at schools in Guatemala does nothing to challenge or change the larger patterns of social violence that have risen since the end of the civil war, nor does it support the fragile peace that now exists in Nepal and Liberia. But, even if nonviolence is emphasized in school, it may be difficult to change children’s attitudes and behaviors towards the use of violence when what is happening in the world outside the school fails to reflect what is happening inside it. A situation of armed conflict, where levels of violence may be very high, is a strong socializing force regarding the acceptability of violence (Boyden, 2006). In such cases, it becomes even more important to continually reinforce and promote the use of nonviolence at school and to empower individuals to protect their human rights.

Student bullying is also prevalent in schools and contributes to violent school cultures (Harber, 2002). One extreme example of bullying was encountered during the fieldwork period in Guatemala, where two young indigenous girls interviewed had been beaten so badly by their fellow students because they could not speak Spanish that they had dropped out of school. Non-*dalit* children in Nepal harassed *dalit* children, while boys often bullied girls in all three countries. The establishment and use of codes of conduct (most successful in Nepal) can help to eliminate violent behavior between students as well as between students and teachers.¹⁶ Nearly all of the schools visited in Nepal that were assisted by Save the Children had developed a code of conduct that was publicly displayed on a wall of the school. However, the ways in which such codes are developed can enhance or undermine the participation and empowerment of children. In some schools, children and teachers worked in equal partnership to develop the codes, while, in others, teachers and in some cases parents had developed the codes and imposed them on children, using them as a disciplinary measure. Children should be involved in the development of such codes to ensure that real and positive behavioral change and to improve their participatory skills.

Teacher Treatment of Children

When teachers engage in discriminatory and exploitative practices, students learn from this, as well as from the stereotypes that teachers communicate to students regarding the gender, ethnicity, caste, religious group, and/or socio-economic class of students (Wentzel & Looney, 2007; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Brett & Specht, 2004). One local government representative in a rural town in Guatemala pointed this out, stating that “teachers say ‘sometimes the indigenous don’t understand’” (#G-4). This is a carry-over from past beliefs about the inferiority of indigenous people in Guatemala, which has served as a justification for their exploitation and low socio-economic status since the colonial era. One form of classroom-based discrimination that was widely discussed by interviewees in Nepal was a tradition by which *dalit* children had been forbidden from entering classrooms in the past. This is currently changing (and was a key issue brought up by the Maoists), and *dalit* children are now being integrated into classrooms. However, during a visit to a primary school in rural Nepal during the fieldwork period, it was clear that similar forms of discrimination were still being practiced. A row of *dalit* children sat at the back of a level-one class, separated from the rest of the students. Staff at the school stated in interviews that these students did not feel welcome in the school owing to their *dalit* status; that they were not encouraged by the school staff to sit with the rest of the class; and that it was the responsibility of these children to make themselves feel welcome. Such types of discriminatory behavior and practice do not promote inclusion within the education system, and impart critical lessons about social hierarchies and power structures.



Fig. 6

In a post-conflict situation, students learn from the ways that teachers treat children associated with parties involved in the conflict, including ex-combatants, as well as children who may have been refugees or internally displaced during the conflict. Learning from how teachers treat these categories of children is critical to learning reconciliation, forgiveness, tolerance, and respect, especially in the aftermath of a conflict, and for promoting educational inclusion. For example, in Liberia, a large number of young people were combatants and/or were displaced during the civil war, and have been (re)integrated into the formal education system in the aftermath of the conflict. Several teachers in Liberia felt that it was difficult to get ex-combatant youth to submit to the authority of teachers because “they were used to controlling during the war” (#L-2), but that it was critical not to use physical punishment to force them to obey. Rather, as two Liberian primary school teachers pointed out, “the best way of dealing with the ex-combatants is to accept them as they are, be prepared to live with them, make them feel a part of you and that they can make mistakes and learn from those mistakes. We shared with them, forgave them. Now they know that their friends have emotions, have feelings” (#L-11). Just as these former combatants learned that they could no longer use violence to forcibly acquire goods and power over others, and to instead live peacefully alongside other persons, so too did the other students at the school learn to accept, forgive, and live with persons who had used violence in the past. In this way, schools can serve as sites of reconciliation, paving the path for the reintegration of former combatants and displaced persons into society and for wider social reconciliation and conflict transformation through the transformation of relationships between people.

Teachers and School Staff

Teachers are the most powerful socializing force within the school context, because they are responsible for providing the environment and encouragement for learning (Berns, 2001). To a large degree, teachers determine the quality and nature of the school environment, and their behavior, attitudes, motivation, and training are key to ensuring that a quality learning environment is maintained. Teachers are both authority figures and role models for children, and many interviewees felt that teachers should serve as guides who can advise children on how to behave. If schools are to emphasize nonviolent ways of interacting, then “values must be lived in schools” (#L-38), as a United Nations employee in Liberia pointed out, and “school staff need to act peacefully and be aware of how they teach and act around children” (#L-9), as a representative from the Liberian Ministry of Education stated. Teacher interactions with students are important because, as Wentzel & Looney (2007, p. 387) write, “when their interpersonal relationships are responsive and nurturant, children are more likely to adopt and internalize the expectations and goals that are valued by others than if their relationships are harsh and critical”.

Teachers can enforce and reinforce detrimental and authoritarian power relations over children and young people, who may be frustrated by such relations and drop out of school if they are humiliated, scared, and/or physically beaten by teachers. As stated previously, this could provide motivation and/or opportunity for young persons to engage in armed conflict. For their part, teachers may have suffered an enormous amount of psychological trauma during a conflict, which may negatively affect their teaching and interactions with children. Low and irregularly paid salaries and poor working conditions in the classroom can also lead to teachers engaging in behaviors that are detrimental to the well-being and safety of children, such as exchanging money or even sex with students in return for grades or preferential treatment. Children and parents lose respect for teachers when the latter engage in these types

of exploitative behavior, resulting in a vicious cycle of physical punishment and the withholding of grades to enforce obedience. Interviewees in Liberia spoke at length about teacher exploitation of students and how damaging it is for teachers to pressure students to give money and/or sex in return for grades and exam marks. A United Nations employee in Liberia stated that “many people in Liberia feel that going to school is just creating deviance, because teachers are exploiting children sexually and making prostitutes out of children” (#L-38). The sexual abuse of students by teachers in Liberia is likely a result of the climate of violence and impunity created by the war. Codes of conduct and effective children’s clubs and parent organizations could help to pressure teachers to stop exploiting children in such ways, especially sexually, as would adequate teaching salaries delivered on time.

Teachers can bring politics into the school and politicize the learning environment, and can in this way influence students to become involved in political groups. There is thus a risk that, in a situation of armed or post-armed conflict, the line between ‘politicking’ and recruitment of children and teachers into fighting groups may become blurred, or transgressing it may become acceptable. This has been the case in Nepal, where many public school teachers are members of political parties and openly campaign within schools for these parties. Since these teachers are protected by their political parties, it is nearly impossible for children and parents to hold them accountable for doing their jobs, contributing to a culture of impunity. But, perhaps even more detrimentally, teachers and members of political parties have in some cases recruited – or even forced – students to attend campaigns and rallies during school hours. The Maoists have used the similar techniques to recruit children, encouraging and forcing (sometimes through abduction) students to attend rallies and events, and to participate in indoctrination sessions. In fact, the Maoists were originally a political party with power in the national government for a short period of time in the 1990s before they launched their “Peoples War” in 1996. An important initiative that may have helped to address the recruitment of children and young people in Nepal, however, has been the Children as Zones of Peace (CZOP) campaign, together with the subsidiary Schools as Zones of Peace (SZOP) campaigns. These are examined in more detail in the next chapter.

The School Environment: Conditions in the School and Quality Education

Defining Quality Education

During a visit to a private school in Nepal, the school principal was interviewed in his office. Painted on the wall of the office was the following statement: “Quality education is a requirement of quality life.” When asked why he had put this statement on his wall, the principal’s response was that “quality education can make a good life by helping students to be good members of society by acquiring knowledge about how to live together. This will give quality life” (#N-28). In this view, quality education is an essential component of social cohesion. Thus, quality education must be viewed as being as important as educational inclusion in designing education systems that contribute to building and maintaining peace.

For interviewees in each country, definitions of *quality education* varied greatly. Some interviewees defined quality purely in terms of the quantity of material resources present in schools (such as books, desks, and chairs) – an understandable way to define quality in contexts (such as Liberia) where these things are missing and have been missing for a long time. Quantity was also defined in terms of pass rates and similar outcomes of the

Educational quality is as important as educational access for building peace.

educational process. But, many other interviewees felt that quality is not simply a function of quantity, and that quality education, as argued by the principal quoted above, had other meanings that were bound up with the social consequences of the conflict in each country.

Members of a Quality Education Commission in Guatemala stated that among the characteristics of quality education are that it “is based on principles and values of cultural diversity [and] it caters to the different learning styles and individual differences of students” (#G-10). In Nepal, a group of children’s club members stated that quality education “builds self esteem and confidence and gives protection from danger” (#N-4), while a group of local NGO workers in Nepal stated that “quality education is when children can learn in their mother tongue, and when children can learn free from fear” (#N-31). A group of students in Liberia felt that quality education protected children from harm and danger by giving them the ability to express and think for themselves (#L-4). Education can clearly be misused in ways that fuel conflict, but improving educational quality through attention both to the official and hidden curricula and to teaching and disciplinary methods is critical to building peace through education. Some of these issues are explored in depth below.

Teaching Methods

Teachers who use authoritarian, rote learning methods (often because of lack of teaching and learning materials, lack of teacher training, or teacher training that does not train teachers to use participatory methods) can reinforce social hierarchies and fail to instill critical thinking and participatory skills in students, instead instilling overly obedient behaviors (Galtung, 1973). Students may then fail to critically question participation in armed conflict. As Harber (2002) writes, the model of mass, compulsory schooling that is predominant worldwide has historically functioned as a form of social and political control and is built on an authoritarian model, where pupils are continually disempowered and do not control the schooling process, seen instead as passive recipients of knowledge in an educational process designed to discipline bodies and regulate minds. This does not produce teacher–student relationships based on trust and mutual respect (Harber, 1996). This model of authoritarian teaching and learning predominated in the countries visited for fieldwork, with students “only copying, not analyzing or thinking” (#G-32), as one primary school teacher in Guatemala pointed out. Students observed in classrooms in all three countries were asked to silently copy down what had been written on the blackboard or dictated by the teacher; they were not asked to understand what they were learning, only to memorize the lesson. Save the Children has been successful, however, in all three countries in training teachers in the use of participatory methods, which both teachers and students stated that they enjoyed.

“In this institution education is different than it was both before and during the war in how the children are treated, and in the teaching methodologies that require the participation of the children. Some schools still treat children as before and use the traditional teaching methods. But here, there is a group of children that teaches about rights. These children have organized themselves and they go to other schools to teach about child rights. Some of the other schools don’t permit children to talk to other children about rights, because they are afraid for children to know about their rights. They are afraid because they use the traditional system, and in that system they don’t permit the participation and expression of the children. They want the children to be silent, not to move. In this school, there are two children that are on the board of the municipality. We encourage the participation of the children in different activities like theater and dramas and dances.” (primary school teacher, Guatemala)

Participatory, child-centered teaching methods and nonviolent disciplinary measures can help to create a child-friendly school environment that attracts students to school, keeps them there, and helps children “develop as confident, capable, caring and healthy people” (#N-1), as a group of Save the Children employees in Nepal stated. Child-friendly schools are critical to facilitate inclusion within the education system. Participatory, child-centered teaching methods encourage children to go to school, because children are then interested and engaged in learning, and are taught and encouraged to think for themselves. Learning to think independently was viewed by interviewees in all three countries as being extremely important in the context of an armed conflict, as a Save the Children employee in Guatemala pointed out: “With child-centered teaching methods, children learn to think and analyze. One person says something, and all the people go with that ideology. It’s important that people have their own ideas” (#G-19). A group of primary school students in Liberia echoed this, saying that “when you are educated, you can reason by yourself. You can understand that war is not the best way out. You will be able to solve problems, and you can understand, because war is about misunderstanding” (#L-24). Members of a local organization in Nepal agreed, stating that “without education, people can be easily convinced. With education, people can question

whether people are talking rightly or wrongly and make good judgments. Education gives people the ability to analyze and understand why conflict is not good” (#N-16).

Rote learning teaching methods and a failure to instill critical thinking skills in students can be compounded by a more general lack of access to information if there are no textbooks, libraries, or extra reading material available to teachers and students. Teachers may thus communicate inappropriate information to students, such as stereotypes about groups of people or misinformation, particularly when they are not adequately trained, do not know their subject matter sufficiently well, and/or lack access to outside information. Students therefore cannot learn alternative ways of viewing or solving problems. Several community members in a rural area in Guatemala highlighted this, saying that “children should learn about other ways of life so they can use another way to resolve conflict” (#G-26). Such an approach is extremely challenging in places such as Liberia or rural Guatemala and Nepal, where there is a near-total lack of access to any kind of written information, including newspapers.

Socialization Through the Official and Hidden Curricula

The Official Curriculum

The curriculum is the main instrument for the organization of teaching and learning within the education system. It is also a highly political and highly contentious issue, since some knowledge is included in the curriculum while other knowledge is left out. The curriculum is thus often seen as an ideological or political tool (Smith & Vaux, 2003; Smith, 2005). One example of this is provided by Bosnia and Herzegovina, where three parallel curricula emerged during and after the conflict there, “each one purporting to represent the heritage and ideology of one of the country’s three constituent peoples – Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs – and accompanied by deeply entrenched, ideologically based policy positions” (Stabback, 2004, p. 41). The content of the official curriculum is thus an important mechanism of socialization, as the curriculum directly and indirectly transmits values and attitudes to students. Stereotyping and scapegoating of different groups in textbooks or by teachers can contribute to social tension by justifying inequalities, which can be compounded if group discrimination already exists within the education system – for example, in patterns of educational access (Gardner, 2002). School curricula have been used in the past to oppress various groups, such as black Africans under apartheid in South Africa; to promote jihad, for example against the Russians during the 1980s in Afghanistan; and to perpetuate intolerant, xenophobic, racist, and militant ideologies in other contexts (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davis, 2002; Thyne, 2006; Mamdani, 2001; King, 2005; Aguilar & Richmond, 1998). Negative teaching about certain groups can contribute to hardening identities and thus to solidifying the levels of group cohesion needed to overcome collective-action problems and mobilize for participation in armed conflict.

What is taught directly and indirectly at schools is critical for communicating values and norms about interacting with other people, and about inequalities and power structures in society. Knowledge is political, and what is included in and excluded from the curriculum is contentious. But, so too is the way in which knowledge is conveyed, whether through participatory or authoritarian, militaristic teaching and learning methods. Educational content and practices that violate the rights of children fail to build and/or maintain peace.

One school principal in Nepal stressed the connection between the curriculum and the outbreak of the civil war in that country: “the present curriculum is conflict-oriented because it teaches about caste, and this has created the conditions for the conflict” (#N-28). Interviewees in Liberia repeatedly stated that, in the years preceding the war, teachers negatively emphasized differences between different ethnic groups, and in this way strengthened the tribalism that contributed to the outbreak and continuation of the war. This kind of teaching seems to have largely been eradicated in Liberia, though what few books are available in schools are generally foreign books and the curriculum is to a large degree based on teaching children about life in Europe and North America. The use of foreign textbooks does not reflect the reality of children’s daily lives and does not give them the knowledge and skills required to appreciate and value their own culture and context, nor the skills to build peace in their own environment. Interviewees in each country visited stated that peace, human rights, and civics and citizenship education were needed to build peace and should be added to the curriculum (though it should be recognized that the addition of these courses to the curriculum can be

problematic).¹⁷ In Nepal, one NGO worker felt that the insertion of peace education classes in some schools in Nepal would help to prevent future conflict by eliminating discrimination:

The children, the students who participate in peace education classes, they've said that their attitude, their behavior, their activities have been positively changed. Now children are respected. We have a caste system which is deeply rooted. Before there was discrimination between higher and lower castes, between girls and boys, before they used to tease each other and before there was a higher level of non-acceptance. But gradually now, they are accepting their friend as their friend, as a human being rather than considering them as poor or *dalit*. They don't discriminate like that anymore (#N-36).

Dealing with the legacy of the wars in each country in terms of teaching about the conflicts was heavily debated among interviewees in all three countries, and many were very torn in relation to how armed conflict should be addressed within the formal education system. Some interviewees stated that nothing should be hidden from children so that they might learn from the past; others said that teaching about war should be done by teaching about examples of different wars; and yet others stated that it is impossible to talk about a country's conflict because of the trauma people have suffered, the hate and fear such discussion would provoke, and for fear that any glorification of war might entice children into repeating the conflict. Most teachers did not teach about the conflicts in their countries, either because the subject is not included in the official curriculum or owing to their own traumas and fears or those of the students in their classrooms. Whether larger social reconciliation can be promoted through the education system when children cannot think through the reasons and consequences of war for themselves, and when dialogue provokes hate rather than resolution and reconciliation, is questionable. Many interviewees stated, however, that teaching children how to deal with the impact of an ongoing conflict and how to survive was critical for protecting children and ensuring their safety during a conflict situation. Learning how to manage conflict through dialogue about conflict – rather than outright suppression of the topic – is critical for enabling children to learn alternative means of resolving conflict without resorting to violence.

The Hidden Curriculum

What is implicitly communicated to students in the classroom and at school through the

Is the purpose of an education system social control and maintaining the status quo, or is it to promote social transformation and the achievement of social justice?

hidden curriculum is an important element in the socialization process. The hidden curriculum is defined as “the routines, rituals, and practices which govern school life and send messages about who and what are valued” (Munn, 2000, p. 174). It is “all the things that are learnt during schooling in addition to the official curriculum ... a concept that refers to all of those socializing practices that ... contribute towards the reproduction of our culture” (Meighan & Siraj-Blatchford, 2003, p. 65). Norms and behaviors that are rewarded and punished at school are part of the hidden curriculum, as are the types of values associated with what is taught (i.e. conservative or liberal

values, and/or the beliefs, attitudes, values, and behaviors of the dominant group in society) (Berns, 2001). In particular, the setup of the classroom (such as the type and arrangement of the furniture) can encourage or discourage participatory teaching techniques and social leveling between students, as well as between students and teachers. A seating arrangement

based on forward-facing rows can reinforce classroom hierarchies and authoritarian power relationships that legitimize different rights for different groups of people. In such a context, teachers hold full control over the learning process, and students are physically and pedagogically controlled, viewed as vessels to be filled with the irrevocable, eternal truths of teachers. This is what Paolo Freire (1970) termed the “banking model of education”. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the use of such a model of teaching gives an indication of the values underlying the education system and the function of formal education as a form of political and social control over minds and bodies (Harber, 2002).

The banking model of education is facilitated by “militarization” of the school, as a group of Save the Children employees in Guatemala pointed out (#G-24). Teachers have absolute authority in the classroom, commanding students during their lessons and forcing students to collectively stand when greeting visitors, while schools often make it obligatory for children to wear uniforms, speak in unison, and stand and sit in lines for assembly and classroom lessons. In Nepal and Liberia, in particular, most classrooms were set up to facilitate authoritarian, rote learning, with students seated in rows facing forward, copying down the day’s lesson. Even where teachers claim that they use participatory methods, this may simply be as a way of facilitating rote learning in a different way. One example of this was observed in a primary school in Liberia, where students in one classroom were asked to work in groups so that they could copy out a chapter from one of the five textbooks that had been provided for the 25 students in the class. In some of the schools Save the Children had been working with in Guatemala, however, individual desks permitted group work, and teaching aids and student projects hung on the walls, easily reached and used by students during class time. This may be an ideal situation, however, one that is not always immediately achievable in a post-conflict context where overcrowded classrooms and lack materials and money prevail, as in Nepal and especially in Liberia.

While uniforms may encourage militarization, they can also encourage feelings of inclusion at school among students. Children interviewed in Nepal and Liberia expressed such sentiments, declaring that uniforms ensured that all children looked similar, and no one could tell from their appearance whether students were *dalits* (in the case of Nepal) or ex-combatants, over-aged, or very poor (in the case of Liberia). Equal dress may reinforce equal treatment by eliminating opportunities for teasing and harassment, especially in cases where very poor children cannot afford clothing. However, it must be recognized that, owing to their cost, uniforms represent a significant barrier to accessing schooling for poor children. Two important dilemmas must be resolved here: First, in the long run, is inclusion (access to school) more or less important than socialization (treatment and conditions at school) for education to build peace, or are they both equally important? Second, should education be used for the social control of young people through militant teaching, disciplinary methods, and school practices, or should critical thinking and individuality be encouraged, even if this challenges prevailing authorities and social structures?

Conclusion

While the main argument of this chapter is based on the idea that children are socialized into accepting and approving of the use of violence to solve problems, this is not meant to imply that people are not in control of or responsible for their own behavior, particularly in a situation of armed conflict. The point here is that human beings can learn to peacefully resolve conflicts, and that the school is a critical site for teaching children non-violence conflict resolution because of the amount of time that children do and should be spending in

schools during their formative years. The chapter is not meant to be interpreted as a condemnation or judgment of teachers and teaching methods used in many developing countries in the world. Teachers in such countries often struggle with overcrowded classrooms and a lack of school materials, and many teach to the best of their abilities under such conditions. Teachers may be psychologically traumatized as a result of a conflict, which may affect how they teach. Armed conflicts may have a devastating impact on the education system through the destruction of infrastructure and materials and the depletion of trained, qualified teachers, making classroom management and the delivery of quality education a huge challenge. But, these factors does not give teachers the right – in any context, whether in the developed or developing world – to exploit or physically harm students in an effort to control and enforce authority over children, or to fund their salaries.

Socialization is connected to the other key concepts in this report. How students are treated at school and the equality of conditions at schools are critical elements of inclusion, too. Are all children treated equally by teachers, staff, and fellow students, or do some suffer discrimination? The differential treatment of students can create self-fulfilling prophecies, where teachers convey negative stereotypes and hold low expectations for minority students. Such students may then perform poorly and consequently be pushed out of schools, lowering demand for schooling by such groups, perpetuating inequalities in society, and thus fuelling grievances that can feed into armed conflict (Wentzel & Looney, 2007).

Socialization is also connected to the third concept examined in this study, that of *social capital*. Some socialization processes are unique to schools, in that schools are partially closed environments where children sit isolated from parents and communities in a classroom for several hours a day, interacting with non-family members (fellow students and teachers) and participating in school-specific practices and rituals, such as the rules and processes of academic competition and cooperation. The knowledge and experience gained from these interactions and processes are carried into the outside world by students. But, schools and education actors (such as teachers and students) are not isolated from the larger communities in which they are embedded: the school is also affected by social networks and relationships that exist outside of the school walls, though not necessarily independently of the school. In the first place, children build relationships and are part of social networks and groups (such as their families) outside of the daily school routine, and these also function to socialize children. A pair of teachers in Guatemala stressed this, pointing out that “the family is the first school where children learn” (#G-6). But, schools also actively cultivate relationships with actors in the external environment. The next chapter, then, looks at the external environment of schools in relationship to the level and strength of social constraints against the use of violence and engagement in armed conflict.

Chapter Five

Education That Builds Trust and Cooperation Through Participation

Introduction

This chapter examines the third key concept used in this study, that of *social capital*. This encompasses the social relationships with external society in which schools, the education system, and educational actors such as students and teachers are embedded, and by which they are sustained. Here, it is argued that an education system that makes use of school-based participation to build trust among and cooperation between individuals outside the school can help to build and maintain peace. This is because the level of social constraints against, as well as the social costs of, participating in armed conflict may be higher as a result, and because grievances over exclusion and lack of opportunities to participate may be addressed.

First, the concept of *social capital* will be defined. Then, this concept will be broken down into three elements, each of which will be discussed separately. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of how the concept of *social capital* relates to the other three key concepts of the present study.

Defining Social Capital

Social capital is often perceived to be a positive way to build peace in conflict-affected societies through the strengthening of participatory decision-making processes. Social capital exists in and consists of the relations between persons (Coleman, 1988). It is defined as “the web of cooperative relationships between citizens that facilitates the resolution of collective action problems” (Brehm & Rahn, 1997, p. 999). It encompasses the “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Just as physical and financial capital provide resources for individuals to pursue certain actions and goals, social capital also provides individuals with resources. These consist of information channels, norms and sanctions, and values such as obligations, expectations and trustworthiness (Coleman, 1998). Importantly, social capital has been shown to be critical in the creation of human capital, which is the education and training undertaken by individuals or groups of workers that, in theory, raises the productivity of individuals and thus contributes to economic growth (Coleman, 1998; Marshall, 1998; Hartog, 2000). It has been further argued that increased human capital is critical to improving economic development and reducing poverty levels, and, in turn, to reducing conflict. This connection will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

The present chapter is concerned with relationships that are created through the school, but that exist and are produced outside of the teaching and learning process. Schools are embedded within and sustained by a variety of social relationships: relationships between parents, other community members, and the school; between the state, individual schools, and educational actors such as parents, teachers, and students; and between civil society (including NGOs), schools, and communities. These relationships are critical elements of the strength of schools within communities, but they are also critical to building peace where they

mitigate collective-action problems related to maintaining peaceful relations within and between groups in society (de Soysa, 2002). Usually, armed conflict seriously erodes levels and norms of trust and cooperation between people that may under other circumstances facilitate peaceful interactions and nonviolent conflict resolution – though the erosion of trust may also have taken place prior to a conflict, playing a role in its outbreak (Colletta & Cullen, 2000). Participation in school processes – through, for example, the participation of parents in school management committees (SMCs) and/or parent–teacher associations (PTAs) – is one way of building up relationships outside the school, and thus levels of trust, cooperation, and reciprocity within society. Strong horizontal relationships (i.e. between civil society groups) and vertical relationships (i.e. between the state and communities) that create both “bonding” social capital (strong intragroup solidarity) and “bridging” social capital (strong intergroup solidarity) and that enforce norms of cooperation and trust may provide additional mechanisms for resolving conflict peacefully (Goodhand, 2006). The strength of these relationships may heighten social and individual constraints against engaging in armed conflict owing to the benefits of being able to resolve collective-action problems without resort to the use of force and violence, along with the ability to effectively sanction those who do use violence or fail to cooperate (*ibid.*). Alternatively, the social cost of engaging in armed conflict is that relationships and norms of trust and reciprocity that might normally facilitate the peaceful resolution of collective-action problems may be broken, increasing social transaction costs within informal relationships (Putnam, 2000).¹⁸

School-based participation may have another benefit. Increasing avenues for participation entails the inclusion of more people in decision-making processes. When power is diffused through more democratic, participatory structures and processes – for instance, through the engagement of citizens in civic associations, such as PTAs or SMCs (Schuller, Baron & Field, 2000) – this can help to resolve grievances over exclusion from political power and decision-making processes. When it comes to situations of armed conflict, this may prove a critical function of social capital, as it has been shown that democracies are less likely to experience civil wars or to wage war against other democracies (Hegre et al., 2001). However, democracy is not a cure-all for conflict (as seen in Northern Ireland, in the conflict in the Basque region of Spain, and in the ongoing conflicts in India) or for the eradication of violence (as seen in the large amounts of violence in South Africa and in the election campaign in Guatemala during the fall of 2007), and there are probably income effects at play in the correlation between democracy and peace (Collier et al., 2003). Moreover, even in relatively peaceful democratic states in the developing world, educational systems incorporate a number of very non-democratic practices, so the degree to which education strengthens democracy in such countries is questionable. What is important is strengthening local institutions and avenues for participatory peaceful change and regulation of conflict, whether or not this participation takes the form of a liberal democracy (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005).

It should be recognized, however, that while social capital can have a very positive effect on maintaining peace, there is also a negative side to social capital. First, strong relationships and ties between individuals and groups can contribute to group closure and the maintenance of an overly strong in-group identity that excludes outsiders. Thus, while relationships may be strong in one village or community, this does not mean that inclusion within these relationships will necessarily be extended to other individuals or groups. Second, group participation may also detrimentally limit personal freedoms and help enforce conformity and social control over the members of a group, stifling creativity, innovation, change, and alternative views and actions (Portes, 1998; Goodhand, 2006). Thus, strong social capital can

make it easier to overcome collective-action problems involved in mobilizing people to participate in armed conflict, as opposed to engaging in peaceful interactions (Collier & Hoeffler, 1999).

Community–School Relationships

The school can be a site where positive relationships between community members are built up, or it can be a site where trust and cooperation between people break down.¹⁹ Relationship-building (which falls largely within the domain of the socialization concept outlined in the previous chapter) occurs not only within the school walls, but also outside them. Parents and community members interact with schools and school officials in various ways – for instance, through parent–teacher associations (PTAs) and school management committees (SMCs), or through school-initiated programs and activist efforts targeted at the community in which the school is rooted. As Kalyvas (2003, 2006) discusses, the importance of local-level relationships and conflicts should not be overlooked in understanding the causes and dynamics of civil war. This is because “actions ‘on the ground’ often seem more related to local or private issues than to the war’s driving (or ‘master’) cleavage; [and] individual and local actors take advantage of war to settle local or private conflicts often bearing little or no relation to the causes of the war or the goals of the belligerents” (Kalyvas, 2003, pp. 475–476).

In each of the three countries studied in this report, large-scale parental involvement and participation in school decision-making processes is a relatively new phenomenon that has largely emerged since the conflicts in those countries. Though parental participation was present to some degree in various schools in the three countries prior to the outbreak of conflict, the emphasis on participation has increased as a result of the efforts of donors and organizations such as Save the Children, as well as with the increased numbers of children attending school in each country. This was pointed out by several Save the Children employees in Guatemala, who stated that “before education was traditional, and only the teacher was responsible for education. But now the school is the responsibility of the community. The active methodology teacher training now allows for parental involvement in the school” (#G-24). Past views on parental involvement and school engagement with the community have thus reflected more authoritarian models of the role and philosophy of formal education in each country, to include teacher authority.

The nature of the relationship between community members and the school at the micro level can determine the place of the school in the community and the importance that people attach to schooling, as well as the strength of the school’s ability to build peace. A group of Nepalese SMC members pointed this out, saying that “the community surrounds the school and so the school can help to enforce the peace” (#N-11). If participation is not encouraged by the school, parents and community members may not feel ownership of the school and schooling processes, or they may feel that the school is an alien institution. The school as an institution may thus not be well integrated into the community, and its power to broker peace within the larger community may be limited or non-existent. If, on the other hand, parental participation and involvement at school are encouraged, this may contribute to feelings of more general security. For instance, parents in Guatemala stated that they were involved in their children’s schools because they felt there is now more freedom and ability to express oneself and to participate in schools; in turn, their participation in school-based organizations strengthened their feelings of security (#G-26). Two teachers in Liberia pointed out the connection between parental involvement at the school and a holistic sense of community

security: “If the parents are directly involved at school, paying regular visits to the school, coming up with programs to amuse the children to keep the children and teachers at school, then I think the children will be encouraged to remain at the school. They will feel the community is secure and safe for them” (#L-22).

Participation and Organizational Membership

Just as the teaching and learning process can be based on an authoritarian philosophy and model of education whose purpose is social control rather than social transformation and social justice, school management models can also reflect an authoritarian philosophy and model of the formal education system.

Schools can serve as critical sites for participatory decision-making that builds up the citizenship skills of adults and children and promotes social inclusion. However, simply because adults and children are given the opportunity to participate in decision-making (such as through children’s clubs or through SMCs and/or PTAs), this does not mean that participation is always a positive thing. In general in Nepal, most of the members of the SMCs and PTAs are men, while women and *dalits* are largely excluded from membership. While by law there must be a woman and a *dalit* on an SMC or PTA, in practice this is often one and the same person. As a result, though this *dalit* woman will be able to attend SMC or PTA meetings, she may feel that she cannot contribute to discussions or decision-making, given her very low social status. To address these types of problems, the membership of such committees should be evaluated to determine whether membership is biased towards one gender or social group, as such bias can be a way of maintaining hierarchies and practices of social exclusion that may have contributed to the outbreak of an armed conflict. Care must also be taken to ensure that emphasis on participation and peaceful conflict resolution effects positive, nonviolent change, and that individuals are equipped with the skills and knowledge to achieve this.

The degree of involvement of parents varies between schools and communities, and is affected by time constraints and capacity. On a more general level, however, limited parental participation is likely a function of the centralized, authoritarian model of the education systems in each country. Just as the teaching and learning process can reinforce and reflect an authoritarian philosophy and model of education based on social control, so too can school management reflect this authoritarian educational model. In each country studied for this report, it is first the Ministry of Education in the capital city and then the school administration – not the parents or the community – that has the most power in decisions about the school. Characteristic for such an approach were the views of a school principal in Liberia who felt that parents ought “to leave school matters to the school people” (#L-22). The amount of control the state government is able to exercise has varied during the conflicts in each country – particularly in Nepal, where the government has not been present in some communities for many years. But reassertion of overly strong federal authority in the aftermath of each conflict does not necessarily encourage an effective partnership between the community and the school.

Centralization may reinforce the view common in many communities that it is the government, rather than local communities themselves, that should contribute all the resources (financial and otherwise) that schools need. This attitude can be reinforced when parental participation is limited to making food and contributing labor and materials, as was observed in each country visited. Some parents took this approach to parental participation to mean that schools were not interested in meaningful parent participation in decision-making processes, which in turn limited the degree to which participation affected real change. While in each of the three countries visited a large segment of the population is living in extreme poverty, making it necessary for the state to cover the financial costs associated with schooling, this should not prevent local communities from having some authority over schooling within their communities. One problem is that devolution of political authority is often accompanied by devolution of financial responsibility for schooling, a burden that is largely unbearable for poor communities and that heightens horizontal inequalities between groups in society.

Children's Clubs

Schools can serve as critical sites for participatory decision-making that builds up the citizenship skills of children and promotes social inclusion, which can then translate into and strengthen participatory practices outside the school. A group of teachers in Nepal pointed this out, saying that “when there is democracy inside the school, inside the classroom, when children are grown up, the democratic values and culture they have learned in the school will be reflected in the society and community and that in the long run will help peace and democracy” (#N-34). Reflecting this, Save the Children has worked to establish children’s clubs to improve children’s participation and power within the school and the community. Children’s clubs were very prevalent in Nepal, while in Liberia and Guatemala they were present but not yet as widespread.

“During the conflict in Nepal, there was Maoist pressure on schools to form child clubs aligned with their interests. But some child club members refused. They could do this because of the leadership skills and expressive capacities that they had acquired through the child club. They could think about what was right and wrong, about what their duty was, and about what they wanted. They could express their views. There were three children who were abducted from the area in which we work, and the child club from the school where these children were students took initiative through dialogue to get the children released from the Maoists.” (Local NGO member in Nepal)

On the positive side, members of some children’s clubs in Nepal reported that they had engaged in activist efforts and been able to affect peaceful social change within their communities. Several children’s clubs mentioned that they actively worked to encourage out-of-school children living in their communities to attend school and that they had successfully worked to combat discrimination. Members of one children’s club in Nepal reported that “through the street drama, we have been able to change community attitudes about sending children to school. You cannot see any child at home during the school day. Parents are even sending their children to ECD classes. The street drama was very effective. It has even helped to end some caste discrimination” (#N-9). A group of Nepalese government workers stated that children’s club members “are helping other poor children, they control the early marriage, and in some places they are helping keep their villages clean” (#N-14).

Members of children’s clubs stated that they had discussed peace and the 2006 Nepalese peace agreement in meetings, and had organized street plays and public debates to inform the community at large about peace and the peace agreement. In some cases, children’s clubs and

participation by children in PTA, PTCA and/or SMC meetings have led to changes in how children are perceived, whereby they are increasingly seen as community members who can fully participate in decision-making and discussion. This change in perception has been rather slow, however, and many of the parents interviewed in the three countries did not see the necessity of involving children at all in decision-making. When questioned whether children should be asked about matters regarding them and the school, two parents in Liberia emphatically stated they should not – reflecting a common attitude towards children and young people in Liberian society. Considering the fact that the civil wars in Liberia were to a large extent fought by children and youth, and that this was related to the large-scale social exclusion and disempowerment of children and youth in the country, it must be stressed that children should be participating in decision-making to ensure that their needs are addressed and so that they can learn how to peacefully participate in society. Avenues and methods of child participation need to be strengthened, though care must be taken to ensure that children's participation does not end up as tokenism, that it is meaningful and can bring about real change. However, even if children are encouraged to participate by schools, this may clash with what is happening outside the school if the external environment does not reflect the participatory practices within schools.

In evaluating the efficacy and significance of children's participation, the membership of children's clubs, as well as how adults involve children and children's clubs as joint and equal partners in decision-making, must be taken into consideration. SMCs and PTAs are important in the construction of positive social relationships at the local level, but they are also important elements in promoting wider social inclusion. In the three countries studied, SMCs and PTAs did not consistently consult or engage with children in their discussions and activities, and the adult organizations and children's clubs in many cases operated in two very different realms. Some children's clubs seemed to hold real power within their communities, and their members had active roles within the school and the community, while the existence of other children's clubs seemed to verge on tokenism, in that they held no power within the community and affected no real change. Within children's clubs, it was often the case that all students at a school were members of the club, but only a select few were members of the executive committee. These children were the older students in the school: younger students were not viewed as being capable of effectively participating in children's clubs. The leaders of these executive committees (president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, etc.) were primarily boys, with very few girls participating at the top levels. Clearly, the manner in which children's clubs are set up and function can lead to the exclusion of a good number of children from their operations.

Children and Schools as Zones of Peace

In conjunction with the Children as Zones of Peace (CZOP) initiative and the subsidiary Schools as Zones of Peace (SZOP) initiative, children's clubs have been particularly successful in mitigating the impact of the Nepalese civil war on children. The CZOP campaign advocates for children's rights to survival, development, and protection, especially during conflicts.²⁰ Some interviewees in Nepal, such as a UNICEF representative, reported that schools that had been proclaimed zones of peace were not attacked by the Maoists, though other interviewees stated that this had not been the case. A representative from Plan (an international NGO) stated that the C/SZOP campaign had empowered children to tell the Maoists and the Nepalese army not to use children in the conflict. One member of the CZOP network in Nepal reported the following:

Before the CZOP campaign, the Maoists directly entered the schools, and after the campaign, they hesitated to do this. With the CZOP campaign, communities became more vocal about not using schools and children in the conflict. That's why both the Army and the Maoists, they hesitate to use children in front of the gatherings, they try to hide the children. They deny using children and claim that they are not using children. They are aware of the future consequences. They do not forget to say that they are not using children. Initially, the top leaders of the Maoists wrote an article to the daily major newspapers and said that children have a role in the revolution. But after the campaign, they came out and said that children should not be involved under the age of 19 and we are not using children (#N-36).

One aspect of the C/SZOP campaign has been the use of codes of conduct for both teachers and students at schools. These codes are sometimes written by students, sometimes by teachers (or a combination of both), and comprise a statement of the rights of individuals and the rules they should abide by at school. The ways in which these codes are developed can enhance or undermine the participation of children and discourage the use of violence at school. In some schools, children and teachers worked in equal partnership to develop the codes, while in others teachers and parents had developed the codes and imposed them on children, using them as a disciplinary measure. However, in order to produce real behavioral change in both adults and children, as well as to improve participatory skills, it is vital that children be involved as equal partners in the development of these codes.

Decision-making Processes in School-Based Community Groups

Transparent decision-making processes and trustworthy money-handling within school-based organizations were raised as key concerns for the functioning of these groups. This is because the development and maintenance of trust depend on open and accountable financial procedures and inclusive decision-making. In Liberia, two teachers from a rural area near the Côte d'Ivoire border reported that, as soon as any money was earned from the sale of vegetables from their school's PTA garden, a PTA meeting was immediately called to record the relevant figures and ensure that none of the money was stolen. One of the teachers stated that "it is necessary to have transparency about money, because this is the only way forward for the community. The school and the community, they must work side by side, or else the credibility of the school will be lowered and the relationship won't work" (#L-34).

Community divisions over a conflict can impact the workings of school-based organizations such as PTAs and SMCs, as well as the success of reconciliation and reintegration efforts. How these bodies address the above issues may also help to prevent the recurrence of conflict. While teachers have an important role in this context (as discussed in the previous chapter), communities can also contribute significantly to dealing with the legacy of a war. In each of the countries studied in this report, community groups have an important role in teaching about the war and helping children to learn from and deal with the legacy of armed conflict. But, just as importantly, community divisions over a conflict or over politics may also impact the effectiveness and the work of an SMC or PTA and create new tensions. This was particularly the case in Nepal, where SMCs and PTAs at some schools were divided along party lines. In one public primary school in a rural part of Nepal, for example, the headmaster was a member of one political party while the SMC chair and core members were affiliated with an opposing party. The headmaster and the SMC were unable to work together owing to their political differences, destroying the potentially positive impact and efficacy of the SMC.

There is historically a fairly strong democratic tradition in Nepal, but in some cases this is being taken to the extreme in schools and school-based organizations when political polarization prevents participatory bodies from working.

State–School Relationships

The education system is a public good provided by the state, as well as a site for daily interaction between state and citizen. Consequently, the state has an important role to play in terms of building social capital through how the state impacts on levels of participation and in the creation of strong, peace-enforcing local relationships and community–state relationships. State centralization in the education system represents a challenge for community participation, because many parents view education as a state responsibility, as discussed above. In Nepal, the Maoists have stated that all education should be public and state-provided, increasing support for the idea of state responsibility for education among local

Participatory decisionmaking is critical to improving participation and building strong relationships in communities. But this can be problematic if participation entails a transfer of the financial responsibility of providing schooling to poor communities, or if the decentralization of decisionmaking is carried out too quickly.

communities: “Because of the war, most people are focused that government should provide all education services, school buildings, furniture, teachers, monitoring, all this should be managed by government” (#N-15), as a local education authority in Nepal stated.

The degree to which the formal education system is built on a participatory model may be key to building up the skills and participation of communities in schools, and thus to fostering better linkages between the government and communities. However, if decentralization as a way to institute participation is implemented too quickly, if it entails only a transfer of functions and not a real devolution of authority, and/or if it entails a shift of the financial responsibility for schooling from the state to communities, this can work against fostering participation in school processes. Furthermore, politicization of the education system at all levels (school, community, local government, and national government) through decentralization can also have

detrimental effects on local relationships, community participation in schools, and the efficacy of schooling processes, as seen most clearly in Nepal. This has also been the case in Ethiopia, as Degu (2005) points out, where decentralization has been deliberately used by the government to fragment opposition in a divide-and-rule approach that simultaneously benefits the ethnic group holding political power.

Interviewees in Guatemala stated that the fact that parents do not participate in schools has to do with the government’s relations with communities, in that the government does not want to change its centralized practices, is not receptive to what people want from the education system, and lacks a long-term plan for the education sector. Moreover, many indigenous parents in particular stated that they had lost confidence in schools during the war because of the atrocities that the government perpetuated against their communities. As government entities, schools are still regarded by some with fear, and the poor quality and monocultural, monolingual model of schooling in indigenous areas is taken as a sign of the government’s continued refusal to fulfill its responsibilities towards all Guatemalans. There is a good deal of suspicion between indigenous communities and the government within the country, as illustrated in one incident where military personnel entered a school in an indigenous

community to vaccinate children: the community was terrified and asked the military personnel to leave (which they subsequently did). People living in indigenous communities expressed sentiments similar those expressed by one local government official in a rural, indigenous community near the Mexican border: “The government does not prioritize education. They don’t give enough money to the education sector. The government only thinks about business and commerce, and wants to keep indigenous workers poor and to make them think they do not have rights so that the government can force them to work for the businesses” (#G-4).

State spending has also been diverted away from the social sector in Guatemala, and towards the military and police, to address the proliferation of gangs. In Guatemala, large-scale violence has not ceased despite the fact that the civil war ended ten years ago. Indeed, it is not unusual for high levels of violence to continue despite the ending of a conflict. This may be for a number of reasons, including the fact that the signing of peace agreements between elites may leave wider societal tensions and local-level conflicts unaddressed, and the fact that an enormous amount of psychological trauma suffered may linger long after a conflict’s termination (Ginifer, 2004; Goodhand, 2006). The unresolved social inequalities that persist in Guatemalan society have played a large role in sustaining high levels of violence in the country, where militarized violence has morphed into large-scale social violence in the form of crime and gang activities (Goodhand, 2006). Gangs represent a negative form of social capital: they rely on norms of reciprocity, cooperation, and trust, but the external effects and consequences of the social capital generated out of these norms are not positive – gangs are antisocial, not pro-social (Putnam, 2000). Guatemalan society remains extremely violent as a result of gang activities, perhaps more violent than during the civil war itself (Lacey, 2007). As a result, state spending is diverted into efforts to combat the gangs militarily, creating a situation where education continues to receive very little funding and conditions within the education sector deteriorate, further propelling people into gangs as they lose motivation, value, and opportunities for education (to be discussed further in the next chapter). Such deterioration within the education system continues to fuel grievances over social, political, and economic inequalities, contributing to the maintenance of high levels of distrust and suspicion between government and civilians, as well as the militarization of society.

Civil Society–School Relationships

The presence and involvement of local, national, and international civil society and nongovernmental organizations (IOs and NGOs) can have both positive and negative consequences for building social capital through the education system. Civil society groups can help to fill service-delivery gaps where states lack willingness or capacity to deliver educational services, and such groups can raise awareness about the value of education. Where local education authorities lack mobility to visit schools and communities, or are paralyzed by politics, this can give NGOs a window of opportunity to affect lasting, positive social change and to improve school practices and programs. However, while local and international NGOs can play a vital role in creating and sustaining positive relationships at the local level, such organizations also have the potential to create negative relationships at both local and national levels. This is a problem in Liberia, where in some areas local and international NGOs have built schools but failed to report this to local education authorities, who are now responsible for supervising the teachers at these schools. As a result, there is very little government presence in some communities, as schools are being built by and more regularly visited by NGOs such as Save the Children. As a result, NGOs and IOs can

undermine the state's relationship with schools and society if they fail to involve government education authorities in their planning and programs.

NGOs and IOs that fail to take a participatory approach in their education programs may in turn fail to build relationships between community members or to instill a sense of ownership over school processes in community members, instead fostering dependency on NGOs to provide programs and money and to build infrastructure within the community. Two school principals in Liberia commented that they felt that parents in their community were refusing to become involved in or support the local school because they believed NGOs should be doing this, as had been the case during exile in the Ivory Coast. One of the principals stated that "when we went into exile, parents were not paying any money for their children. Everything was free. Materials were provided and they didn't have to pay school fees. So when they came back, they still have that notion, that mind that everything will be done freely. This notion of NGOs is what we are trying to erase" (#L-33). Moreover, NGOs that do not act in a transparent and honest manner, or who fail to maintain political neutrality in a conflict or post-conflict situation, may compromise the social changes they are trying to affect and their relationships with both communities and the state.

Decisions over who should receive NGO assistance, and the way in which such assistance is given, can also have negative consequences for peacebuilding and the development of strong, positive social capital. NGO assistance may be administered in a discriminatory way and/or reinforce power relationships that may have fueled a conflict, heightening tensions between groups. Individuals and/or regions within a country that are already privileged (e.g. urban areas and populations) may be benefiting disproportionately from NGO and IO assistance, aggravating horizontal inequalities (Anderson, 1996; Smoljan, 2003; Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004). In Liberia, financial and educational incentives provided to ex-combatants during the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) phase at the end of the war have been perceived as a reward for participation in the conflict by both victims and ex-combatants. Post-conflict positive discrimination in educational programming (such as special schools or programs that benefit girls or certain castes) may also cause resentment and fuel conflict. NGO workers can themselves reinforce social inequalities (both vertical and horizontal) through the types of relationships that NGO field workers develop with communities. The nature of these relationships may determine whether communities implement changes advocated for and programs provided by NGOs.

Conclusion

This chapter has emphasized the importance of relationships within the education system in building peace – between schools and communities; between schools, communities, and states; and between schools, communities and civil society. These relationships are critical, not only for the functioning of schools and education systems, but also for building peace. In order for these relationships to produce positive benefits, norms of reciprocity, trust, and cooperation must be built up through participation, which may in turn defuse grievances over exclusion from power fueled by more authoritarian education systems. Building strong but positive social capital may therefore heighten social constraints against participating in armed conflict.

While relationships within the education system operate at different levels – local and national, state and non-state – it is important to recognize that these levels are interconnected. Schools are not stand-alone, isolated institutions: they represent the state, as well as the

national and local society or community. What happens inside the school is a reflection and a reproduction of what is happening within society at large (Turner & Mitchell, 1997). Power divisions and inequalities that exist outside the school are replicated within the school – and, thus, inclusion and social capital are very much interrelated, as the relationships that surround the school and link it to the external society may reinforce inequalities found on a wider level.

The concept of social capital is also related to the concept of socialization. What happens in the world outside the school is of critical importance in the transmission of norms and attitudes, because children are also learning in their homes and communities. As Putnam (2000, p. 296) points out, “trust, networks, and norms of reciprocity within a child’s family, school, peer group, and larger community have wide-ranging effects on the child’s opportunities and choices, and hence, on his behavior and development”. While the previous chapter focused on the norms, values, attitudes and behaviors that children acquire at schools that can contribute to building sustainable peace, social capital focuses on the relationships created through but existing outside the school that enforce norms about trust and peaceful cooperation. However, relationships that build up such norms are also formed at schools through the interactions of students, teachers, and staff. The concept of socialization emphasizes how children learn about behaviors and values associated with peace and conflict, whereas social capital emphasizes the outcome of these values and behaviors – the emergence of cooperative, trusting relationships in the world outside the school that facilitate the peaceful resolution of problems and raise the social cost of engaging in armed conflict.

The next chapter looks at the role that the benefits of education can play in the relationship between education and peace. The social benefits of education are an important aspect of the relationship between education and peace, as the benefits that education endows to individuals and groups can be critical elements in building peace.

Chapter Six

Education That Gives Hope and Possibilities for the Future

Introduction

This chapter examines the last concept in this study, that of the *social benefits of education*. This concept is used to refer to the benefits that are endowed by, or are expected to be endowed by, formal education to individuals and societies that may promote, build, and maintain peace (or, alternatively, fuel the outbreak of conflict). Here, it is argued that education that gives hope and possibilities for the future through an improved quality of life is essential to building and maintaining peace, because the provision of such education will entail fewer opportunities and motivations to engage in conflict. Moreover, the direct and opportunity costs of engaging in armed conflict may be higher as a result, making rebellion a less attractive, less desired, and less viable option.

First, a brief introduction to the types of benefits that education endows on individuals and societies will be given. Focus will then be placed on the economic benefits of education, through an exploration of the theory of human capital and its connection to economic development, as well as a look at the role of economic development in the outbreak of armed conflict and in building peace. Drawing on this discussion, a subsequent section will examine how education can raise the direct and opportunity costs of engaging in armed conflict. A discussion of the non-monetary benefits of education will then follow, which will also look at the social value of education and how this may lower motivations to engage in armed conflict. The chapter concludes with a look at how the concept of the social benefits of education relates to the other three key concepts used in the present study.

The Social Benefits of Education

Formal education endows certain benefits on individuals and societies. People with more formal schooling often differ in some ways from those with less formal schooling, and, as more schooling is obtained, individuals change, usually in positive ways (Solmon & Fagnano, 1997; Carm et al., 2003). Generally, people with more formal education have better jobs, higher incomes, and are healthier, while countries with higher education levels have better standards of living (Vila, 2000). The benefits derived from education differ between individuals and groups in society because of differences in social positions (such as income group, gender, religious group, or regional location), differences in the quality of the education individuals receive, and differences in the amount of education individuals receive.

The benefits of education can be divided into different types. First, benefits are either private (individual, or internal) or public (social, or external). Private benefits (such as improved income, social status, and reputation) are those that accrue only to the individual who receives schooling (but may also include the benefits accrued to the family of that individual). Public benefits are those that the individual being educated cannot appropriate, and thus accrue to other people (Vila, 2000; Solmon & Fagnano, 1997). Second, benefits are of either a monetary or a non-monetary nature, and can accrue both to individuals and to societies as a whole. Direct, monetary benefits of education include increased individual productivity, value in the labor market, and income earned. Indirect, non-monetary benefits of education are more

numerous and include psychological, cognitive, and behavioral outcomes. Some of these non-monetary benefits have been discussed in the earlier chapters in this report, such as the acquisition of behaviors, attitudes, values, and beliefs, such as socialization into democratic political participation. This chapter will discuss some of the different benefits of education in more detail, examining the role that these can play in building peace in countries affected by armed conflict.

Human Capital Theory and Economic Development

As stated above, formal education endows economic benefits on both individuals and whole societies. Individuals may be able to gain formal employment and earn a wage as a result of their education, and investments in education may result directly and/or indirectly in national economic development. Human capital theory is at the crux of the link between education and national economic development, emphasizing the importance of the quality of workers' skills and motivation for their productivity, and thus for the economic growth of a country (Saha & Fägerlind, 1994; Hartog, 2000; Marshall, 1998). Within human capital theory, investment in education is viewed as a form of capital accumulation, which early economists such as Adam Smith viewed as a critical element in the economic development of nations (Fägerlind & Saha, 1989). Indeed, virtually no country has reached sustained and significant economic growth without also achieving near-universal primary education (Carm et al., 2003).²¹ Education fosters the development of and facilitates access to new industries, markets, and technologies, and is essential both for the division of labor through specialization and for providing the skilled labor needed in industry and service sectors (Vila, 2000). Thus, improved productivity should lead to better monetary benefits (or rates of return on education) in the form of incomes for individuals and nations. One way in which economic development through education might contribute to economic growth in the short term is through the signals that government spending on social sectors such as education (versus military spending) sends to foreign investors and the private sector (Collier et al., 2003).

Economic development is an important aspect of armed conflict, because armed conflict is concentrated predominantly in poor, underdeveloped countries, whereas there is a statistically lower incidence of civil war in richer countries (Murshed, 2002). This is likely due to a failure of economic development, as “countries with low, stagnant, and unequally distributed per capita incomes that have remained dependent on primary commodities for their exports face dangerously high risks of prolonged conflict” (Collier et al., 2003, p. 53). In such a context, the state is likely to be weak and unable to contain a rebellion, while low and unequally distributed incomes create a pool of impoverished and marginalized young people who may be easily recruited by rebel groups (*ibid.*). Furthermore, enormous economic inequalities in very poor developing countries translate into and sustain social inequalities (and vice versa), maintaining the large horizontal inequalities that may motivate people to take up arms to rectify their situation. In this respect, education's role in furthering economic development and reducing horizontal inequalities may be critical for preventing the onset of armed conflict.

However, it must be recognized that education does not carry full responsibility for economic development. As Gray Cowan, O'Connell & Scanlon point out, “education will not automatically lead to economic development. Only if education becomes part of a closely integrated and comprehensive plan for development, involving both government and private sectors of the economy and including all levels of society” (Gray Cowan, O'Connell & Scanlon, 1965, p. 27; quoted in Degu, 2005, p. 140) can education fully contribute to economic development.

Education, Conflict, and (Un)Employment

Formal education is generally needed for formal employment in most economies, though the type and length of education required for different occupations differs. In developed countries, where there is a large formal labor market that sustains the economy, the relationship between formal education and employment is fairly congruous. However, in developing countries, which have a very limited formal labor market and where most people may be informally employed (but formally unemployed, for instance, because they are working in a market or street stall), the relationship between formal education and employment can be problematic (Fägarlind & Saha, 1989; Vila, 2000). As Carm et al. (2003, p. 27) point out, “higher rates of school enrolment or attainment may not translate into high rates of economic growth if ... educated people are not employed to their potential because of distortions in the labor market”. A very large and very real problem in many developing countries is that formal education is not translating into formal employment for large numbers of educated young people. The Western schooling model employed all over the world is “built [on the] promise [of] formal employment in modern enterprises, when in practice such opportunities are rare” (Boyden & Ryder, 1996, p. 12). When formal schooling does not fulfill expectations of employment, mobility, or a higher standard of living, this can leave young people frustrated, disillusioned, and angry, their aspirations unfulfilled (Gurr, 1970; Seitz, 2004, O’Brien, 1996).

Thus, if the expansion of the formal education system is pursued as an end in itself without addressing economic development and job creation, education can stunt economic development and contribute to the outbreak of armed conflict. This can create a perception of discrepancy that can mobilize individuals to participate in armed conflict, particularly if large numbers of the unemployed originate from disadvantaged communities (Degu, 2005). As Woodward points out, unemployment is problematic for successful peace implementation “whether through disillusionment, lack of alternative activity and status, or the continued availability of the unemployed for mobilization by spoilers” (Woodward, 2002, p. 201; quoted in Nilsson & Kovacs, 2005, p. 408). High unemployment, particularly among the educated, is thus “one of the most destabilizing and potentially violent sociopolitical phenomena in any regime” (Urdal, 2006, p. 612), as evidenced in former Yugoslavia, where unemployment rates soared in the period before the outbreak of conflict following the implementation of liberal economic reforms (Sambanis, 2004).

Gaining formal employment and consequent socio-economic advancement as a result of an investment in education was cited by the majority of interviewees in all three countries as one of the primary motivations for going to school (or for sending their children to school). For instance, one mother interviewed in Guatemala stated that the goal in sending her daughter to school was to enable the daughter to move out of selling in the market where the two women currently worked, so that the daughter would not have to repeat the life her mother had lived (#G-16). Students in all countries stated that they wanted to become nurses, doctors, lawyers, teachers, office workers, and government employees (among other things) after they were finished with schooling; no student stated a desire to be a market or farm worker. Formal employment was valued by interviewees as a way to help their families economically, but also as a way to become financially independent and self-sufficient and to advance both socially and economically. As a school principal in Liberia pointed out, “when you are educated, you will be independent tomorrow, you will not rely on people” (#L-33).

The issue of employment was discussed in nearly every interview in Nepal, where interviewees felt that unemployment has been a root cause of the country’s civil war and that

educated unemployed people were primarily behind the outbreak of the conflict, particularly on the side of the Maoists. Individuals were frustrated and angry that their education did not translate into the economic benefits to which they believed they were entitled as a result of their investment in formal education. As a group of school management committee members in Nepal stated, “the economic condition is the first condition of the conflict. Conflict in Nepal has been caused by unemployment, and poverty creates conflict. If the farmer cannot get money and the children cannot get employment after the parents have invested, this creates conflict” (#N-26). A representative of the local education governance office in a rural area of Nepal felt that “education should be sellable, because education is an investment that people should be able to get a return on. This is not happening now” (#N-41).

Many of those interviewed in Nepal felt that the current education system was not providing them with skills to be self-reliant, because the current system is too theoretically and academically-oriented, catered towards national exams, and does not provide vocational and skills training that might translate into employment. This was underlined by three youths interviewed in a rural area who had recently dropped out of school. When asked why they had dropped out, they replied that it was because they lacked the money to continue their studies, but also because they felt that going to school was a waste of their time. The three felt that the only positive gain they had received from going to school was that they were literate and had received training in numeracy, and that the rest of what they had learned in school was completely worthless (#N-22). The issue of the divide between school and working life will be taken up again in the last section of this chapter.

While most interviewees in Nepal, Liberia, and Guatemala felt that education was inherently important, what was most important about education was the fact that it can facilitate travel outside of the country for some individuals, who can potentially earn higher wages through employment abroad. Interviewees living in villages and remote communities stated that formal schooling contributed very little to improving their livelihoods, and that it did not give them relevant knowledge for their daily survival and needs (such as farming), since formal schooling is academically, rather than practically or vocationally, oriented. Education was thus desired as a way of gaining employment abroad, where more money could be earned – thus depleting the levels of knowledge, skills, and manpower that could be used to develop the country, and worsening the brain drain and loss of human capital that resulted from migration and killings during the conflicts. In Guatemala, for example, emigration (especially to the USA) enables people to earn much more money than they could within Guatemala; having left their home country, emigrants are then able to send money back to Guatemala to fund their children’s education.

Yet, the problem is not only that few formally educated people are able to find jobs after finishing their education in the three countries visited, but also that it takes a very long time for individuals to even reach the possibility of trying to find formal employment with their education, because of the long-term nature of formal schooling. Even very high levels of education cannot guarantee a living wage in the three countries studied for this report. Thus, in many people’s eyes, the benefits of attending school are too few, since there is very little economic return on schooling, and any possible return is reaped far in the future. As one school principal in Liberia stated, “people say that education can delay you. You have to go to school from first to twelfth grade before you get something” (#L-33). Thus, “people look for immediate gain such as rubber tapping, rather than to education, which is long-term” (#L-8), as a local education governance employee in Liberia stated. While education may hold out the possibility of formal employment and socio-economic advancement, for many the decision of

whether to invest in education involves a cost–benefit analysis. Education is a long-term and very expensive investment for individuals, and if there is no return on the investment (for instance, through employment), or if it is thought that there will be little or no return on the investment, then the motivation and demand for education may be lowered. Until it is clear that education can provide the economic returns so needed by the majority of the populations living in Nepal, Guatemala, and Liberia, the value that some individuals place on education will likely continue to remain low. A situation of armed conflict could perhaps make this worse, where young people are able to reap immediate economic benefits through stealing and looting. For example, a Liberian principal emphasized that as a result of the war, “young people have become interested only in earning money rather than looking at education. People want material things. They are interested in what they can get right now instead of learning to improve their future” (#L-22). Convincing people to invest in education in such a context is a challenge, and thus greater attention must be given to linking education with the labor market (Seitz, 2004).

While unemployment may be a root cause of an armed conflict, it is also made worse by conflict. Armed conflict has detrimental economic effects on the countries it affects, severely weakening economies by slowing economic growth and diverting government and private spending away from social sectors such as education, to fund the fighting. Incomes decline and are lost as businesses close owing to the poor security situation and a climate of uncertainty. Farms and infrastructure are damaged and destroyed, and individuals are killed or flee, causing substantial brain drain (Collier et al., 2003; Justino, 2006). Conflict thus reverses economic development and creates what Collier et al. refer to as a *conflict trap*, wherein countries that have experienced armed conflict are at much higher risk of renewed conflict. This is because “conflict weakens the economy and leaves a legacy of atrocities. It also creates leaders and organizations that have invested in skills and equipment that are useful only for violence” (Collier et al., 2003, p. 4), and that may financially, socially, and politically gain from a conflict and thus be interested in maintaining their sources of gain. As a result, incentives to build peace may be far lower than incentives to re-engage in conflict, and a vicious cycle of revenge and war-profiteering may have been established. In such a context, educational provision might provide an important peace dividend, if schools are equipped to serve as sites of reconciliation and recovery for students, but also because education can give individuals an opportunity to engage in alternative activities, such as the acquisition of skills that may have higher positive benefits in the future, including personal income generation.

Raising the Costs of Engaging in Armed Conflict

As outlined in Chapter Two, the economic agendas theory of armed conflict is one of the dominant schools of thought on the causes of armed conflict. According to this theory, rebel groups *want* to fight because rebellion is economically profitable, and they are *able* to fight because rebel labor is cheap. The opportunity cost of joining a rebellion may be very low where there are few income-earning opportunities that are better than the income earned through rebellion. Income-earning opportunities are proxied in this theory by the level of education in the population (particularly the levels of education for young men, as it is mostly young men who join and are recruited into rebellions), as education theoretically raises income (Collier & Hoeffler, 1999). Collier (2000a, p. 94) writes that

The willingness of young men to join a rebellion might be influenced by their other income-earning opportunities. If young men face only the option of poverty, they might be more inclined to join a rebellion than if they have better

opportunities. I proxy these income-earning opportunities by the amount of education in the society – the average number of years of education a population has received.

Thus, improved educational coverage at all levels should increase the opportunity costs of going to war for individuals, since they would have more and higher-paying options than those offered by joining a rebellion. Consequently, the income forgone by joining a rebellion will be higher, providing a disincentive to participate in an armed conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Urdal, 2006). More simply, educated persons have more to lose economically, and are thus less likely to risk death or imprisonment by participating in an armed conflict (Thyne, 2006; Vila, 2000; Degu, 2005).

Access to education is critical for building peace. Lack of educational access lowers the opportunity costs of participating in conflict, among other things. But, educational access that results in unfulfilled expectations and aspirations – for instance, because of unemployment – is just as dangerous, as it can motivate and mobilize individuals to participate in armed conflict.

However, if educated individuals are not able to find better-paying opportunities, such as formal employment (which may also largely dry up during the course of an armed conflict owing to insecurity), then the opportunity costs of joining a conflict may be lowered, and unemployment may become the basis of grievances that motivate people to join a rebellion. As Sambanis (2004) points out, levels of educational coverage do not explain why countries with higher education levels such as former Yugoslavia, Georgia, Russia, Lebanon, and Cyprus have engaged in conflict. To explain the role of education in the outbreak of conflict in such countries, Sambanis (2004) and Collier & Hoeffler (2004) point to the curriculum and what is being taught in schools. While issues of quantity should not be conflated with issues of quality, what is being taught is of course important in countries with low educational coverage, as discussed earlier in this report. But, the frustration and anger associated with a perceived failure to reap the benefits of an investment in education – in particular, failure to secure

employment despite acquiring formal education – should not be overlooked in understanding motivations to mobilize for armed conflict.

In each of the three countries visited for field work, interview responses supported the above argument about opportunity costs. People pointed to the effects of education on uneducated persons, reasoning that, if children received an education (particularly employment-oriented education), this would give them the possibility of socio-economic advancement through a career, and provide them with more and better opportunities and alternatives in life than those offered by joining a rebellion and/or criminal activities, such as gangs. In the first place, education and employment can occupy children's time and keep them under supervision, thus eradicating actual opportunities to engage in conflict (though it must be recognized that there is a fine line here between education as a productive activity and education as a means of controlling young people) (McMahon, 1999). One parent in Liberia emphasized this point: "if children learn a trade, that will keep them busy and it won't give them the opportunity to go and get involved in conflict" (#L-18).

If education can lead to improved incomes – and thus offer a way out of poverty – then individuals may be less tempted to join rebel groups simply because they need money, as a group of vocational training students in Liberia pointed out. "An idle mind is the devil's

workshop. Uneducated people were carried away by people with money during the war, because they had no money” (#L-5). Two children’s club members at a Save the Children Resource Center in a rural area of Liberia echoed this, saying that “once people are educated, they can work to earn money, and educated people can’t be carried away by warlords and exploited because they don’t have financial support. Educated people can support themselves and their families” (#L-31). A group of teachers and school committee members in Nepal agreed: “If people are educated, they can engage to do productive work and not make conflict. But there is too much non-practical education now. Students can’t get a job, can’t get employment and can’t do anything, and as a result they are ready to create conflict and crime” (#N-40). School committee members in Nepal stated that once the Maoists promised jobs to people, there was no incentive to keep studying:

Education can keep the peace because education creates awareness in people. But the problem is that the present education system is not employment-oriented, and this is why there has been conflict. There is no employment, only poverty. People cannot earn money, so the conflict was created. Children joined the Maoists because the Maoists promised the children they would get jobs as police or in the army. It is difficult to get a job, but it is easy to join the Maoists because of poverty (#N-5).

Interviewees in Liberia pointed out that education had a twofold benefit, not only raising the opportunity costs of engaging in armed conflict (by raising the level of income forgone as a result of joining a rebellion), but also raising awareness of the direct and social costs of conflict – that is, the costs of destroying not only physical, material items, such as infrastructure and industries that supply jobs for educated people, but also opportunities for future generations. Interviewees in Liberia stated that only education can prevent the return of war in the country, because people will know the value of lives and material things, and the financial difficulty of rebuilding. Thus, “they will not like the idea of having to build the buildings they are reconstructing now to be destroyed again” (#L-33), as a principal in Liberia stated. A Liberian local education governance employee summed up the link between education, employment, and the valuation of lives, property, and incomes in the following manner:

Education can maintain peace if there is technical and vocational education available for those who can’t go to high school, because then these people can get a job and an income. Otherwise they will be vulnerable to armed conflict, because someone can come along to contract them to fight. But if they have education and a job that they are invested into, they can say no, I have a contract to build two houses and my children are in school, and they will refuse to engage in conflict (#L-26).

Importantly, in the economic agendas literature, it is low levels of *secondary* school enrollment, not primary school enrollment, that lower the opportunity costs of participating in an armed conflict (Thyne, 2006; Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). While universal primary enrollment is the focus of the EFA campaign and may signal that educational investment is equitable, reaching everyone who needs it (Thyne, 2006), the issue of whether primary education alone can raise the opportunity costs of participating in conflict through better opportunities and alternatives is unclear, particularly for adolescents and those of secondary school level age (Lowicki, 1999). Secondary education levels matter because it is individuals in this age bracket that are most likely to join a rebellion, and parents may choose not to

invest in primary education for their children if secondary education is unavailable, keeping children out of school altogether (Birdsall, Levine & Ibrahim, 2005). Interviewees in Nepal stated that children should be taught skills in primary school so that they can use their education even after grades 5 or 6, but this is currently not the case. Thus, the risk of restricted access to secondary education may be that it will not be enough to prevent recruitment into a rebellion and, worse, that it will formulate grievances over educational exclusion and stunted socio-economic mobility that may feed into mobilization for armed conflict.

In the end, it is unclear what threshold (if any) of educational coverage would prevent individuals from engaging in conflict, since conflict has occurred in both poorly and highly educated societies; nor is it clear how one might address the question of how long it takes to raise the education levels of an entire population (perhaps as much as a generation) in countries with low levels of educational coverage. Moreover, education cannot completely solve the problems of unemployment, and employment-oriented education, such as vocational education, is expensive to deliver. Furthermore, the question of access to vocational education can be as problematic as that for academic education, in that only the privileged may be able to access vocational training (given its cost and/or limited supply), or because certain children are tracked into a vocational education and are as a result unable to pursue other forms of education.

However, this is not to say that primary education is not a critical element in maintaining stability. As Appiah & McMahon comment in relation to sub-Saharan Africa, “all countries where most are illiterate and where *both* primary and secondary enrolment rates are low have very low political stability” (Appiah & McMahon, 2002, p. 44; italics added). Collier’s statistical model demonstrates that higher levels of education in a society can reduce conflict, and each additional year of education reduces the risk of conflict by around 20% (Collier, 2000a). But, increased levels of education do not solve the problem of unemployment, particularly in countries where education levels are high. Nonetheless, providing universal primary education may be an important signal to a war-affected population that the government is investing in its citizens rather than in fighting, and that all citizens have an opportunity to access education and have the possibility and hope of employment and socio-economic mobility. In this regard, getting all children into school is very important, though attention should also be paid to young people who may be over-aged by providing them with vocational training and ALP courses,²² and adults should be given opportunities for literacy courses. It is the sense of hope (and other non-monetary benefits of education) entailed by such measures that will be explored in the next section.

Social Values for and Costs of Education

Social Values for Education

In addition to the private and monetary benefits of education, education also endows benefits on societies as a whole, which factors into how and why individuals and society generally value education. These social benefits are as critical as income-generation for individuals and economic development for societies in building and maintaining peace, because they are related to the well-being of people and to positive intergroup interactions. Included among the social benefits of education is the fact that education may reinforce political stability through improved civic participation and the teaching of values that reinforce participation (as discussed in Chapter Five).

In the three countries studied for this report, people discussed the different non-monetary, social benefits that they perceived formal education delivered and that were important for building peace. In Guatemala, schools were viewed as critical sites for teaching values such as friendship, respect, tolerance, and honesty – reflecting the discussion in Chapter Four. The ability to access information through schools was highly valued by a Nepalese local education governance employee: “Information flows through education. Education makes people aware. The network of the nation goes through the lower tier. Every corner of Nepalese society has a school and there is education” (#N-15). A Nepalese government employee pointed out that education can help the farmer to improve his farming knowledge and skills (#N-33), but also because the farmer cannot farm his whole life, as a Liberian principal stated. “Education is important, even for farming. When you grow old, you will be in decline in ability. So the farming alone cannot help you your whole life” (#L-32).

Awareness, as a form of personal empowerment, was viewed as a critical part of maintaining peace – particularly awareness of one’s rights and about the causes of an armed conflict. A principal in Guatemala stated that “education can help to keep the peace by helping to give voice, and enabling people to fight for their rights” (#G-1). Learning about, and thus being able to fight for, one’s rights was perceived as a way of preventing conflict and ensuring that one was treated well by others, as was knowing about and being able to critically analyze and reflect upon other ways of resolving conflict – for example, through dialogue rather than through physical confrontation. As the members of a local organization in Nepal stated,

When there is no education, people cannot understand the root causes of the conflict and if the conflict is right or wrong, and then people are easily convinced. With education, people can question whether people are talking rightly or wrongly and they can make good judgments. Education can help people to understand why the conflict is not good, and that peace is necessary for life and development. Education gives people the ability to analyze (#N-16).

Acquiring the ability to make better decisions, learning the difference between right and wrong, and attaining basic literacy and numeracy skills through formal education were viewed by interviewees as important ways to raise confidence levels and gain a degree of mental independence through the ability to make informed decisions. A group of school committee members in Nepal felt that lack of education was to blame for the war, because “uneducated people are easily convinced, and other persons can change their minds easily to conflict” (#N-20). A group of over-aged students in Nepal who had just been granted access to primary school pointed this out, saying that “no one can cheat us when we have education. Before we went to school, we were cheated because we couldn’t calculate, read or write. We were scolded by other educated people and children. But now that we are getting education, we feel more confident to talk with strangers” (#N-8). A group of over-aged Liberian students felt similarly: “With education, no one can fool you or take advantage of you. Many of the people who fought in the war did so because they were easily convinced. Without education, people are quick to be carried away. Education can help people to make better decisions and to decide between right and wrong” (#L-5).

Large discrepancies in educational levels between political leaders and citizens may play a role in the outbreak and continuation of conflict. In countries where very few people are educated, and those that are thus command disproportionate rank and power within society, people may be more inclined to follow educated war-makers than would be the case if

educational levels were more equal. Educated individuals are more likely to have better access to information and to social and economic resources, and to have the requisite knowledge and skills to use those resources. They are literate and can use various media outlets, can acquire money, are more likely to be able to travel outside of their community of origin and have a large social network, and have access to and control over information that they can use to convince people to mobilize for armed conflict. Uneducated people may lack the skills, knowledge, resources, and confidence to pressure leaders and their fellow citizens to resolve problems peacefully and democratically – though this can be a problem for educated persons, too, depending on the circumstances.

Education was viewed as a form of portable wealth that was more valuable than any material object, because education cannot be destroyed by or looted during an armed conflict in the same way as infrastructure. Education can be taken with individuals if they leave, and can be used to rebuild in the aftermath of a conflict. A member of a teacher’s union in Nepal pointed out that “in Europe, after World War II, these countries allocated a lot of money to education in terms of their national budget. If everything was destroyed, there are still people with education, knowledge and skills to build the nation back up in a short time. It is people who have developed their nations, not natural resources” (#N- 34). Guatemalan refugees returned back to Guatemala from Mexico in particular with great enthusiasm for education and the skills needed to acquire jobs and to rebuild their lives, the education system, and the country because they had received education while in exile in Mexico. A parent in Liberia stated that “my education is a treasure for me. It is portable wealth that doesn’t expire and can’t be stolen” (#L-18), while a Liberian primary school teacher emphasized that “education is your sole property, anywhere you go you take it with you. Material gains will only remain for those who are left behind. The education you get, you will have it until you die. And you can pass it to your children” (#L-22).

One of the strongest sentiments expressed about education’s role in building and maintaining peace relates to the sense of hope that education grants and the fact that, through schooling, individuals can plan and have goals for the future and feel that their opportunities are

increasing. In all three countries studied, greater access to education was giving people more hope and was perceived as a way of preventing the recurrence of conflict. In Liberia, educated persons – such as the country’s president, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf – are role models for many children because of their relative success and well-being in society. Some of those who fought in the country’s civil war are now nowhere (though others have been successful in setting up businesses or serving in government), whereas some educated persons have been able to find employment and rebuild their lives. This has provoked resentment among many young ex-combatants, who feel that they have been abandoned by educated people. A group of primary school students in Guatemala felt that “education is needed to become somebody important in society in the future” (#G-31). This is because education encourages people to think and plan for the future, and offers the hope of socio-economic advancement. After an armed conflict, hope for the future may be critical in detraumatizing both children and teachers, and in giving them a sense that the situation has returned to normal – though normalcy may be what children and young people rebel against in joining fighting forces, if normalcy implies exploitation of children and young people by teachers and/or elders.

*“There is no peace without hope.” Albert Camus, *The Plague* (1947)*

Social Costs of Education

Despite the many social benefits of education, interviewees also discussed the social costs of formal education and the potential continued contribution of education to social instability. In Guatemala, individuals from indigenous communities and backgrounds discussed how little space had been allowed for the teaching of indigenous cultures, histories, and values in the aftermath of the conflict, despite the provisions in the Guatemalan peace accords for multicultural, bilingual education. This has provoked tension between the government and indigenous communities. One aspect of formal schooling discussed in Nepal and Liberia is a perception that formal education creates socially dysfunctional individuals – a view that co-exists alongside the positive views expressed about formal education (discussed earlier in this chapter). This is because many educated persons are not able to find employment, and individuals thus look at schooling as a useless and worthless investment. But, the social dysfunctionality of formally educated individuals was also viewed as the result of a very large cultural divide between the school and the community from which student originate, particularly so in rural communities. A local education governance employee in Nepal emphasized this, saying that “education needs to support lives and connect to employment. However, students don’t want to go and work in the field, because education is only sitting on the chair and not working. Education has produced people who don’t want to work in the occupation of their parents” (#N-29). This comment reflected widespread feelings in the three countries that schools are alien institutions within their local communities because schooling does not connect to the realities of community life, since educated individuals do not feel that they should do manual labor, domestic work, or farming. Members of a local organization in Guatemala felt that “there is discordance between the real world and the lesson plan, as the lesson plan doesn’t respond to the needs, interests, and problems of the community. Children then have no motivation to continue with schooling” (#G-10).

A widely expressed view in Liberia was that formal (Western) schooling was responsible for the war, as it was formally schooled individuals who by and large started and continued the war and organized the mostly uneducated populace to participate in it. Western-educated people were in government in Monrovia and perpetuated the corrupt practices that in large part led to the civil war. As one school principal stated, “people claim that educated people are responsible for the war. Educated people didn’t talk to people in the rural areas, and they were the ones making policy. Many elites invested their finances outside the country and sent their own children to school abroad, which contributed to the failure of the education system” (#L-3). This sentiment was echoed in Nepal, where interviewees stated that it is educated people who have been involved in government corruption, who hold inordinate amounts of power over uneducated people, and who as a result have been able to get away with wrongful actions.

In Liberia, one consequence of widespread views about the role of formal education in the creation of the country’s conflict is that some parents (primarily in rural areas) prefer to send their children to the “bush school” to be initiated into one of Liberia’s many secret societies, where they will acquire knowledge more relevant to their daily lives, rather than to formal schools. This view is complicated by the fact that, after the war, highly educated people have been able to benefit from jobs in urban areas, unlike many uneducated and rural peoples, who feel shut out from the economic opportunities created after the war. This was discussed in an interview with four teachers in a rural area of Liberia (#L-22):

Sometimes parents are more willing to pay for the bush school than academic school. Some of the reasons are that people believe that Western education is

destructive, because those who brought the war in this country and have caused havoc and trouble, they are all educated and have been to the Western countries. They came back here, they organized the illiterate people and they carried out maximum destruction. So the rest of the population, especially the illiterates, have the opinion that Western education is destructive. So people are now skeptical and they don't have confidence because of what has happened. That is one reason people are supporting the culture and not Western education, because of the destruction done by the educated people. They don't have full confidence any more because of the misbehavior of the educated, the abuses done by them in this country (#L-22).

Compounding this problem is the fact that education lost much of its value in Liberia during the years prior to the war. During Samuel Doe's ten-year reign, it was ethnicity and family connections, rather than education, that counted for acquiring jobs and government positions. During the war, the number of people killed and the number of heinous acts committed, as well as the amounts of money and weapons one commanded, were important for acquiring jobs and positions in society. As one schoolteacher in Liberia pointed out, "the war brought a kind of saying in our country that education meant nothing. The war made it such that education lost its value, because the man who did not know anything had lots of properties, a lot of money, he could control the destiny of other people who had education" (#L-11). Combined with the view that Western education is destructive, this decline in the value of education during the pre-war years has made it challenging to change perceptions about and the value for education after the war. However, improved access to primary education, the building and rebuilding of schools, and the availability of uniforms and supplies to children in the post-war environment have begun to change these perspectives of formal schooling as being irrelevant and of low value.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the social benefits of, demand for, and costs of education in relation to building peace during and after an armed conflict. The value that education has for people is a function of access, rights, and returns, and depends to a large degree on what the perceived and actual outcomes of education are. Understanding the benefits that education endows on both individuals and societies, as well as how people value it, is critical to addressing the problem of how to secure educational access for all children, and for understanding the ways in which education can build peace. Education can provide positive benefits that can build peace – through, for instance, assisting economic development, instilling feelings of hope for the future, building skills for participation, and teaching attitudes and behaviors that promote positive interpersonal and intergroup interactions. But, the way in which education is managed within a society can also entail significant costs that may threaten social stability – for example, as a result of lack of access, irrelevant content, or failure to lead to formal employment. Critical questions must be addressed not only about the relationship between armed conflict and the function and philosophy of education within society (i.e. social control or social transformation), but also about the relationship between armed conflict and the outcomes of education, such as formal employment, the creation of trusting and cooperative relationships, and the inculcation of particular attitudes, values, and behaviors. Unfilled aspirations regarding the outcome of formal education can play just as important a role as inclusiveness, attitudes, and relationships in the outbreak of armed conflict and in building peace.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

Summary of Findings

This study has shown that formal education systems have a vital role to play in building peace in countries affected by armed conflict. Fieldwork conducted in three countries – Guatemala, Nepal, and Liberia – highlighted some of the ways in which education can build the conditions for long-term, positive peace. In particular, this report has outlined four conflict-transforming concepts that mediate the relationship between education and peace: Equitable educational *inclusion* within the formal education system can redress motivations to engage in armed conflict in order to seek justice for perceived or actual grievances, and can eliminate opportunities to participate in armed conflict. School *socialization* processes can impact social acceptance of and social constraints regarding the use of violence and mobilization for participation in armed conflict. As a result of improved quality and safer, protective learning environments, individuals may have fewer grievances, and thus less motivation – as well as fewer opportunities – to engage in armed conflict. Building up trust and cooperation (*social capital*) through school-based organizations can rectify grievances over lack of participation, in addition to improving relationships between individuals and groups. The various *social benefits* of education (including hope and possibilities for the future as well as improved levels of socio-economic development) can raise the social, direct, and opportunity costs of engaging in armed conflict.

While armed conflict is an incredibly destructive social phenomenon, positive change has occurred in the education sectors in each of the three countries studied in this report, thus promoting the larger transformation of each of the conflicts. Educational access, school socialization processes, and the involvement of parents and communities in school decision-making processes have vastly improved in the aftermath of the conflicts in each country. This has helped to facilitate wider social inclusion and gives people the opportunity, and the hope, of the socio-economic mobility that has long been denied to a large majority in each country. The challenge for the education system and societies in each country now is to sustain these improvements in the long-term, to learn to achieve social change in nonviolent ways, and not to allow the situation to revert to past practices simply because the post-conflict phase is over and the peace dividend has expired. The danger of renewed conflict is high: the risk that a country will see the re-emergence of armed conflict within five years of the end of a previous conflict has been estimated at around 44% (Collier et al., 2003). Conflict often resumes because factors that initially caused a war are still present in its aftermath; thus, conflict transformation is critical for avoiding the resumption of war. In this respect, education has an important role to play – perhaps particularly through its relationship to socio-economic development, since armed conflict is largely concentrated in very poor nations.

In addressing how education can build peace or, conversely, foster the outbreak or re-emergence of armed conflict, the contextual nature of the conflict and the education system of the country in question must be taken into consideration. The conflicts, societies, and education systems of the three countries selected for the present study vary greatly. Thus, attention to the context of any country affected by armed conflict is vital. Each armed conflict is unique, and none follows a neat, linear path. Countries may go in and out of conflict in a continuum. Therefore, as we examine how education can create, build, and maintain peace in

a country affected by armed conflict, we must ask how the education system can be strengthened to mitigate the effects of armed conflict. For instance, if a conflict is an identity conflict, examination of how issues of identity are addressed in the education system – for instance, through the curriculum or through access to the system – is prudent (see, for example, Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

Consideration must also be given to the role that education plays in each of the stages of a conflict in building the conditions for peace. In prewar cases, questions must be asked about how the education system might contribute to triggering future conflict, and actions taken to prevent this. During the conflict stage, part of the solution might be to restore access to education as quickly as possible – to encourage people to lay down their arms, to provide a safe space for children and young people, and to promote peaceful values that offer alternatives to the use of violence. During the post-conflict stage, actions may include reconstructing the physical infrastructure of the formal education system and revising the curriculum and education policies. Given the extreme destruction to an education system that can result from armed conflict, it is essential at this stage to restore what has been damaged and to address the needs of war-affected groups, such as refugees or ex-combatants; however, it is also vital to address how education might have contributed to the outbreak and continuation of an armed conflict in the first place.

Figure 7 provides a simplified visual representation of the relationship between education and peace within a peacebuilding framework. As outlined in Chapter 2, the United Nations considers three elements to be critical for building peace in the aftermath of armed conflict (United Nations, 2001). These three elements are as follows. Within the *security* domain, peacebuilding activities may include the deployment of peacekeepers and/or military observers; reform of the judicial and security sectors (to include the military and police forces); implementation of a DDR (disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration) program; and landmine clearance. *Strengthening political institutions and good governance* require strengthening democratic institutions and participatory mechanisms; capacity-building for government and civil society; human rights training; electoral assistance; and fighting corruption. *Social and economic rehabilitation and transformation* consists of fostering the conditions for development; national reconciliation; the return of refugees and internally displaced persons; civil society involvement; attention to youth issues; job and livelihood creation; reconstruction of infrastructure; psychosocial trauma counseling; and – central to the theme of this report – the provision of social services such as education and health. While education cannot by itself build the conditions for peace, and while it may take a long time to build peace through education, education does play a role in building peace within each of the three elements outlined above. For instance, within the security domain, education is an important component of DDR processes, while school-based organizations have a vital role to play in strengthening participatory mechanisms, and thus political institutions and good governance.

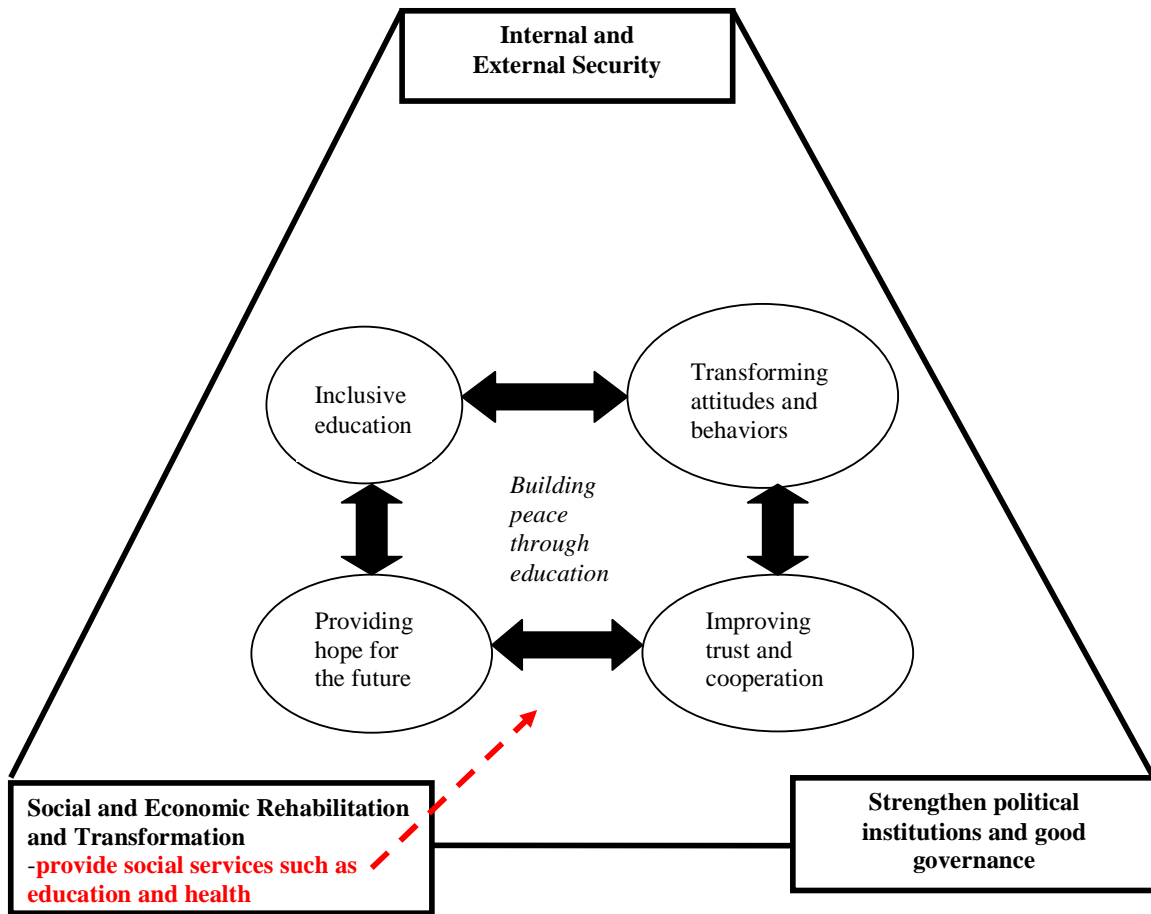


Figure 7: Elements of peacebuilding and the four conflict-transforming elements of education

This report has identified six interconnected areas of key findings that are important for promoting and building peace through education. The findings evolve around inclusion; government investment; quality education and protected learning environments; the curriculum; participation; and socio-economic development.

1. Equitable educational inclusion lowers motivation and raises opportunity costs for participating in armed conflict.

- Exclusion from educational opportunities can create grievances that serve as motivation to engage in conflict. Educational exclusion (particularly exclusion from secondary education) can also lower the opportunity costs of participating in armed conflict, providing a pool of individuals at higher risk of being recruited to take up arms.
- Educational inequalities (such as gender and/or ethnic inequalities) reflect patterns and norms of exclusion within the wider society. Where formal education transforms the institutions that reproduce violence and social inequality, and where formal education systems protect human rights, educational inclusion can build peace through the promotion of social justice.
- Access to formal education can be an equalizer between individuals and groups in society, changing the nature of relationships between individuals

from vertical to horizontal and eradicating horizontal inequalities between groups. Equality of access and the nature of the distribution of resources within a formal education system are critical, but consideration may need to be given to the needs of disadvantaged groups for equity if equality is to be achieved.

In Guatemala, Nepal, and Liberia, inclusive education is helping to improve relationships between groups of people by addressing the group inequalities that led to the outbreak of the conflicts in each country – such as the exclusion of indigenous peoples in Guatemala, caste and gender discrimination in Nepal, and inequalities between urban, rural, indigenous, and settler peoples in Liberia.

2. Government investment in formal education systems is critical for building peace.

- The political will of a government to invest in education signals that the state cares about and can provide for all its citizens, redressing grievances that can serve as motivation to engage in armed rebellion against the state. Thus, investment in and provision of quality formal education can strengthen the state and provide an effective defense mechanism against rebellion.
- Where the state fails to provide education, this can provide an opportunity for rebel groups to build legitimacy and to garner support for their cause, either through the delivery of education and other social services, which can foster dependency on these groups in relation to such services, or through the destruction of education opportunities.
- When government spending is redirected to the education sector and formal education is delivered in a violence-free environment, inclusive, quality formal education can play a part in demilitarizing society.

Liberia's historically elitist, urban formal education system has been made more inclusive in the aftermath of the civil war. This has been an important peace dividend to help rectify grievances over social exclusion and was an incentive to lay down arms. The current government has been active in promoting the country's free and compulsory education policy, resulting in improved enrollment figures and sector financing. Education spending has increased from US \$8.2 million in 2005–06 to US \$13 million in 2007–08. Enrollment has also increased, especially among girls. In public primary schools, female enrollment increased by 24% between 2006 and 2007, and male enrollment by 18% (Republic of Liberia Ministry of Education, 2007).

3. Quality education delivered in violence-free, cooperative learning environments teaches children critical lessons about nonviolent conflict resolution.

- Quality education delivered in child-friendly, violence- and fear-free environments can encourage individuals to use peaceful rather than violent behavior to resolve conflicts, solve problems, and affect social change.

- Codes of conduct are effective mechanisms for reducing violence and harassment at school, and for ensuring equal, tolerant, and nonviolent treatment in their place.
- The variety of individuals with whom children come into contact at school (including students and teachers) is critical for teaching children how to positively and peacefully interact with individuals from different religious, ethnic, or other types of groups. Contact can break down negative stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes that might otherwise be used to mobilize people to participate in conflict. Extra-curricular activities, such as sports and clubs, can increase contact time and positive interactions between children, as well as providing children with opportunities to use their time constructively.

In Nepal, codes of conduct and the Schools as Zones of Peace campaign have improved child protection, reduced child participation in the conflict and violence in schools, and improved relations between children, teachers, and local communities.

4. The curriculum is a critical element of both heightening constraints against the use of violence and promoting human rights.

- Education that develops critical, independent thinking through child-centered teaching methods can encourage individuals to resolve conflicts nonviolently, question participation in a conflict, understand the costs and consequences of conflict, make better decisions, and understand their rights. Without such quality education, people can be easily convinced to participate in an armed conflict.
- Human rights, peace, and/or civics and citizenship education can be essential elements of a conflict-prevention curriculum.
- History can be a difficult topic to teach in the aftermath of a conflict. It is important for curriculum planners to be aware of this and to think carefully through the incorporation of history into the curriculum.

In Guatemala, bilingual and intercultural education has been included in the official curriculum to rectify the inequalities reproduced through the education system that contributed to the outbreak of the country's conflict. Child-centered teaching methods have also been instituted in some schools, improving children's participation and learning, as well as reducing violence in schools.

5. Participatory education systems can raise the social costs of and constraints against engaging in armed conflict.

- A formal education system that builds trust and cooperation among individuals outside the school walls through their inclusive and transparent participation in school-based organizations can heighten the social costs of and constraints

against the use of violence, and encourage the peaceful, cooperative resolution of problems.

- Children's clubs are an effective mechanism for encouraging children's participation, protection, and empowerment to broker peace and social change in schools and communities.
- Because conflict is a multilayered phenomenon, the management of local-level relationships and conflicts is critical to the wider peace. In this respect, the membership and efficacy of school-based organizations such as PTAs, SMCs, and children's groups must be taken into consideration, as these groups can promote discrimination (such as gender, ethnic, or caste discrimination) and participation can become tokenism.

In Nepal, children's clubs have been particularly successful in mitigating the impact of the country's civil war. Children's clubs have improved both children's participation and child-protection mechanisms in Nepal, and they have successfully empowered many children to create positive, nonviolent social change in their communities.

6. Education that fosters positive socio-economic development can help to prevent armed conflict.

- Education facilitates socio-economic development, which can both reduce group inequalities in society and motivations to participate in armed conflict and raise the opportunity costs for individuals to engage in armed conflict when employment and equal opportunities for socio-economic advancement exist.
- A curriculum that is irrelevant for daily life and needs and/or that fails to connect to employment in the formal labor market can create grievances that may mobilize individuals for participation in armed conflict.
- Education is portable wealth. It does not expire; it cannot be taken away; and it can be passed on to future generations, creating long-term benefits for both individuals and nations.

During the civil wars in Guatemala and Liberia, educated individuals were able to do better than individuals with no formal education, and they have been able to prosper and more quickly rebuild their lives in the aftermath of the conflicts. As individuals in Liberia stated, "education is a treasure. It is portable wealth that doesn't expire and can't be stolen, and anywhere you go you take it with you."

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this report, a number of key recommendations have been formulated, targeted to a range of different actors. These actors include national governments of states affected by armed conflict; donor countries; participants in peace processes, such as peace mediators; international agencies, including international NGOs and IOs (e.g. the United

Nations and the World Bank); international and national civil society groups; the local communities that schools serve; and school-based actors, such as teachers and principals.

National governments, donor countries, and participants in peace processes (such as peace mediators) must:

1. Incorporate education as an integral and integrated element of peacebuilding and conflict transformation processes.

- Education must be recognized as an essential element of building peace and transforming conflict. Education should be incorporated into peace agreements, as and where appropriate, and the implementation of educational components of peace agreements should be ensured.
- The reconstruction and reform of education systems must be integrated into post-conflict planning and activities to address inequalities and injustices that are often root causes of conflict.

National governments, donor countries, international agencies, and civil society must:

2. Promote social justice and conflict transformation through the formal education system.

- In designing education programs, policies, and curricula in the context and/or aftermath of armed conflict, the root causes and context-specific catalysts of armed conflict (e.g. ethnicity, religion, poverty, and other group inequalities) must be taken into account and redressed to prevent the recurrence of violence and to build sustainable peace.
- The role that education should play in society – whether for social transformation or for the maintenance of the status quo – must be actively addressed.
- Resources in the education system should be distributed fairly and evenly in both rural and urban areas, and between rich and poor social groups, in order to address the root causes of conflict. Attention must be paid to urban biases that may be present in the design of education programs, policies, and curricula. Consideration may need to be given to both equality and equity in relation to both educational access and the distribution of resources.
- While private schooling is an important element of the formal education systems of many countries, it can also help to fuel conflict when it contributes to creating large social horizontal inequalities that can mobilize groups to participate in armed conflict (as in Nepal). A balance must be struck between public and private educational provision where there are significant capacity gaps in government service in order to minimize the creation of large social inequalities through the formal education system.
- Merit must be the basis of selection and promotion for both students and employees within the formal education system. Selection for jobs and student promotion should be based neither on nepotistic or corrupt practices nor on favoritism.

3. Provide sufficient financial support to and build capacity in education systems.

- Governments and donors should take advantage of the window of opportunity after a conflict has ended to promote peace through education by investing

financially in and working on capacity-building within the formal education sector.

- Governments should recognize the important and positive signals that educational provision sends to citizens, and should ensure that good-quality, inclusive education is both accessible for all and available locally. National laws and policies must be enacted to recognize, fulfill, and protect the right to education.
- The direct and indirect costs of primary education should be reduced. Where possible, primary education should be free, and direct and indirect costs – such as for tuition, uniforms, and other materials – eradicated.
- Teachers should be paid living wages, delivered on time and in their local area.

4. Design and promote relevant, peace-promoting curricula in a participatory manner.

- Curriculum designers need to develop curricula that include knowledge that is appropriate for all, not just the urban elite or the already privileged.
- The curriculum should transmit skills and knowledge about peaceful and tolerant interaction with other individuals, and about nonviolent change and resolution of problems. This may take place through both formal and informal teaching, as well as through peace education, human rights education, and/or civics and citizenship education, though careful thought must be put into the teaching and planning of such courses.
- Use of the local language(s) as mediums of instruction in schools should be encouraged, particularly at the primary level, but with a degree of flexibility to ensure that students also learn the dominant language of the society within a bilingual teaching model. Resources must be made available by governments and donors to adequately develop bilingual and local language instruction, including the training of teachers and the development of teaching materials.

5. Better connect the formal education system with the labor market.

- Inter-sectoral planning and coordination is needed to better connect the formal education system with the labor market. Sufficient financial investment must be made to facilitate such coordination.
- In addition to formal academic schooling, vocational and technical education and training in skills relevant for the labor market should be made more widely available and affordable.

National governments, civil society, individual schools, staff members at schools, and local communities must:

6. Actively use participatory planning and decision-making methods within the formal education system.

- As far as is logistically and financially possible, educational planning and decision-making should be based on a participatory model that involves local communities, schools, and children. Local communities should have the opportunity to participate in planning curricula and to incorporate local issues into the curriculum.

- A balance must be struck between central planning and control over the planning and financing of education and over the design of education programs, on the one hand, and local participation in decision-making within the education sector, on the other, that does not result in an increased financial burden on local communities to deliver schooling. Capacity-building and skills development in local communities must also be implemented in order for community participation to be effective and meaningful.

7. Ensure that policies and school practices promote violence-free learning environments.

- Schools must be declared zones of peace and have child-friendly learning environments and policies.
- The use of corporal punishment and violent disciplinary methods must be eradicated, as well as verbal and sexual harassment, discrimination and exploitation by teachers and school staff, and forced political recruitment.
- Schools should have codes of conduct that children and teachers have participated equally in creating. These codes should be visible to and fairly enforced by all students, teachers, and school staff.

8. Promote children’s participation and the use of active teaching methods.

- Schools should promote the use of active, child-centered teaching methods to instill critical thinking skills and to teach children to effectively express themselves. Rote learning, banking, and militaristic models of teaching based on copying and memorizing should be eradicated.
- Child participation (for instance, through children’s clubs) is an effective way of teaching peaceful participation and interaction more generally, and it can promote the perception of children as community members able to actively participate in decision-making and discussion. Children’s participation, within both the classroom and the community, empowers them to ask for their rights and to ensure their own protection. Such participation must be encouraged through the use of children’s clubs, through the addition of child members to SMCs and PTAs, and through advocacy efforts.

Future Directions for Research and Concluding Remarks

This report has examined the relationship between education, peace, and armed conflict, demonstrating that education has a vital role to play in building peace in countries affected by armed conflict. This latter point is increasingly accepted within the international community, but work remains to be done to bring education to the forefront of peacebuilding efforts. The present report represents a step in that direction, but opens the way for continued research into the relationships between education and peace. A number of possible ways forward are outlined below:

First, the report has analyzed the relationship between formal education systems, peace, and armed conflict. However, informal and non-formal education can also play an important role in building peace, and future research should address the link between these forms of education and peace and armed conflict to give a more holistic picture of how the various

dimensions and forms of education can build peace under different conditions and in different contexts.

Second, the concern of this report has been with armed conflict, not necessarily with other forms of violence – such as terrorism, crime, riots, repression, or genocide. While the incidence of armed conflict is declining, this does not mean that violence is necessarily decreasing. Future research should address the relationship between education and other forms of violence.

Third, as outlined in Chapter Two, theories of armed conflict point to the role of motive and opportunity in the outbreak of armed conflict. However, though individuals may have motive and/or opportunity to participate in armed conflict, this does not actually mean that they will actually mobilize to participate in an organized group conflict – which is what armed conflict is (as opposed to random acts of violence; see Østby, 2004). Future research should examine, in greater detail, and at the micro level, the conditions under which horizontal inequalities (including inequalities in access to education) in particular lead to the outbreak of organized group violence, such as armed conflict. In this respect, it will be necessary to investigate how individual and group dynamics and contextual factors intersect with education in a situation of armed conflict.

Fourth, future research should improve understanding of how education is taken into consideration during peace processes, including during the construction of peace agreements. Specific measures regarding education have been included in some peace agreements – such as the 2000 Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for the Burundian civil war – while other agreements have not addressed the subject of education. Investigation into whether and how educational provisions in peace agreements might contribute to building long-term peace should be carried out.

In conclusion, national governments, donor countries, international organizations, civil society groups, schools, communities, and individuals must work to ensure not only that education does not contribute to the outbreak of armed conflict, but also that the peacebuilding element of education is actively employed to resolve armed conflicts, to prevent their recurrence, and to avoid the outbreak of armed conflict in the future. All children have a right to education, and to an education that delivers a peaceful future – a future that entails not just the absence of violence but also the presence and promotion of social justice.

References

- Aguilar, P., & Richmond, M. (1998). Emergency educational response in the Rwandan crisis. In G. Retamal & R. Aedo-Richmond (Eds.), *Education as a humanitarian response* (pp. 119-141). London: Cassell.
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Anderson, J.D. (1992). *West Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.
- Anderson, M.B. (1996). Humanitarian NGOs in conflict intervention. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds.), *Managing global chaos: Sources of and responses to international conflict* (pp. 343-354). Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Appiah, E.N., & McMahan, W.W. (2002). The social outcomes of education and feedbacks on growth in Africa. *Journal of Development Studies*, 38(4), 27-68.
- Ballentine, K. (2003). Beyond greed and grievance: Reconsidering the economic dynamics of armed conflict. In K. Ballentine & J. Sherman (Eds.), *The political economy of armed conflict: Beyond greed and grievance* (pp. 259-283). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Berns, R.M. (2001). *Child, family, school, community: Socialization and support*. Orlando: Harcourt Brace & Company.
- Bhalla, A.S., & Lapeyre, F. (2004). *Poverty and exclusion in a global world* (2nd ed). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bils, M., & Klenow, P.J. (2000). Does schooling cause growth? *The American Economic Review*, 90(5), 1160-1183.
- Birdsall, N., Levine, R., & Ibrahim, A. (2005). *Toward universal primary education: Investments, incentives, and institutions*. United Nations Millennium Project: Task Force on Education and Gender Equality. London: Earthscan.
- Bohara, A.K., et al. (2006). Opportunity, democracy, and the exchange of political violence. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(1), 108-128.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- Boyden, J., & Ryder, P. (1996). *Implementing the right to education in areas of armed conflict*. Retrieved 15 April 2005 from <http://meltingpot.fortunecity.com/lebanon/254/boyden.htm>
- Boyden, J. (2006). *Children, war and world disorder in the 21st century: A Review of the theories and the literature on children's contributions to armed violence*. University of Oxford, Queen Elizabeth House, Working Paper Number 138.
- Brahm, E. (2003). *Conflict stages*. Retrieved 21 October 2007 from http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/conflict_stages/
- Brehm, J., & Rahn, W. (1997). Individual-level evidence for the causes and consequences of social capital. *American Journal of Political Science*, 41(3), 999-1023.
- Brett, R., & Specht, I. (2004). *Young soldiers: Why they choose to fight*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Brock-Utne, B. (1989). *Feminist perspectives on peace and peace education*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Bush, K.D., & Saltarelli, D. (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Toward a peacebuilding education for children*. Florence: United Nations Children's Fund Innocenti Research Centre.
- Bøås, M. (2005). The Liberian civil war: new war/old war? *Global Society*, 19(1), 73-88.

- Bøås, M., & Dunn, K.C. (2007). African guerilla politics: raging against the machine? In M. Bøås & K.C. Dunn (Eds.), *African guerillas: Raging against the machine* (pp. 9-37). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Bøås, M., & Jennings, K. (2005). Insecurity and development: the rhetoric of the 'failed state'. *The European Journal of Development Research*, 17(3), 385-395.
- Cairns, E. (1996). *Children and political violence*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Inc.
- Carm, E., et al. (2003). *Education and its impact on poverty: an initial exploration of the evidence*. Special study commissioned by NORAD. Oslo University College: Unpublished manuscript.
- Carnoy, M., & Levin, H.M. (1985). *Schooling and work in the democratic state*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Carnoy, M. (1990). Education and the transition state. In M. Carnoy & J. Samoff, *Education and social transition in the third world* (pp. 63-96). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Claffey, J.M. (1999). The donor role in instructional improvement. In D.W. Chapman & C.A. Carrier (Eds.), *Improving educational quality: A global perspective* (pp. 87-107). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Cogneau, D. (2005). *Equality of opportunity and other equity principles in the context of developing countries*. Développement Institutions & Analyses de Long Terme Document de Travail DT/2005/01. Retrieved 26 November 2007 from http://www.dial.prd.fr/dial_publications/PDF/Doc_travail/2005-01.pdf
- Coleman, J.D. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 95-120.
- Colletta, N.J., & Cullen, M.L. (2000). *Violent conflict and the transformation of social capital: Lessons from Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala, and Somalia*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Collier, P. (2000a). Doing well out of war: An economic perspective. In M. Berdal & D.M. Malone (Eds.), *Greed and grievance: Economic agendas in civil wars* (pp. 91-111). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Collier, P. (2000b). Rebellion as a quasi-criminal activity. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(6), 839-853.
- Collier, P., et al. (2003). *Breaking the conflict trap: Civil war and development policy*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (1999). *Justice-seeking and loot-seeking in civil war*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Development Research Group. Retrieved 17 April 2007 from <http://www.isnie.org/ISNIE99/Papers/collier.pdf>
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2002). On the incidence of civil war in Africa. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46(1), 13-28.
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and grievance in civil war. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56, 563-595.
- Davies, L. (2004). *Education and conflict: Complexity and chaos*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Davies, L. (2005). Schools and war: Urgent agendas for comparative and international education. *Compare*, 35(4), 357-371.
- Davis, C. (2002). 'A' is for Allah, 'J' is for jihad. *World Policy Journal*, 19(1), 90-94.
- Degu, W.A. (2005). Reforming education. In G. Junne & W. Verkoren (Eds.), *Postconflict development* (pp. 129-145). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Department for International Development (DFID). (2005). *Why we need to work more effectively in fragile states*. London: DFID.
- de Soysa, I. (2002). Paradise is a bazaar? Greed, creed, and governance in civil war, 1989-99. *Journal of Peace Research*, 39(4), 395-416.

- de Soysa, I., & Wagner, A. (2003). *Global market, local mayhem? Foreign investment, trade openness, state capacity, and civil war, 1989–2000*. Paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research Sessions, Edinburgh, 28 March–2 April. Retrieved on 25 August 2007 from <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR/events/jointsessions/paperarchive/edinburgh/ws9/DeSoysaWagner.pdf>
- Deraniyagala, S. (2005). The political economy of civil conflict in Nepal. *Oxford Development Studies*, 33(1), 47-62.
- Doyle, M.W. (2007). The John W. Holmes lecture: Building peace. *Global Governance*, 13, 1-15.
- Duberg, R. (1994). Liberia: System of education. In T. Husén and T.N. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Education* (2nd ed, pp. 3389-3394). Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Dunn, E.D. (2005). *Liberia*. Oxford: Clio Press.
- The Economist. (2006, 7 October). Judged by the people. *The Economist*, 7 October 2006, 64.
- The Economist. (2007, 10 March). Nepal's ethnic politics: The new battlefront. *The Economist*, 10 March 2007, 39-40.
- Elias, R., & Turpin, J. (1994). Introduction: Thinking about peace. In R. Elias & J. Turpin (Eds.), *Rethinking peace* (pp. 1-12). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Ellis, S. (1998). Liberia's warlord insurgency. In C. Clapham (Ed.), *African guerillas* (pp. 155-171). Oxford: James Currey, Ltd.
- Fahnbulleh, H.B. (2005). *Voices of protest: Liberia on the edge, 1974-1980*. Boca Raton, Florida: Universal Publishers.
- Farrell, J.P. (2003). Equality of education: A half-century of comparative evidence seen from a new millennium. In R.F. Arnove & C.A. Torres (Eds.), *Comparative education: The dialectic of the local and the global* (pp. 146-175). London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Fearon, J.D., & Laitin, D.D. (2003). Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war. *The American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 75-90.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: The Seabury Press.
- Fägerlind, I., & Saha, L.J. (1989). *Education and national development: A comparative perspective* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Galbraith, J.K. (1983). *The anatomy of power*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Galtung, J. (1973). Education for and with peace: Is it possible? From *Proceedings of the International Peace Research Association Fourth General Conference*, printed in *Johan Galtung: Essays in Peace Research* (Volume 1). Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen.
- Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), 291-305.
- Gardner, A.M. (2002). Diagnosing conflict: What do we know? In F.O. Hampson & D.M. Malone (Eds.), *From reaction to conflict prevention: Opportunities for the UN system* (pp. 15-40). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Gates, S. (2002). *Empirically assessing the causes of war*. Paper presented to the 43rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, 24-27 March 2002.
- Giddens, A. (2001). *Sociology* (4th ed). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ginifer, J. (with M. Bourne & O. Greene). (2004). *Considering armed violence in the post-conflict transition: DDR and small arms and light weapons reduction initiatives*. University of Bradford Centre for International Cooperation and Security Briefing Paper. Retrieved on 6 August 2007 from http://www.undp.org/bcpr/documents/armed_violence/AVPI_DDR_Briefing_Paper.pdf

- Gleditsch, N.P., et al. (2002). Armed conflict 1946-2001: A new dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 39(5), 615-637.
- Goodhand, J. (2006). *Aiding peace? The role of NGOs in armed conflict*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Goslin, D.A. (1969). *Handbook of socialization theory and research*. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company.
- Gray Cowan, L., O'Connell, J., & Scanlon, D.G. (1965). *Education and nation building in Africa*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.
- Gulbenkian Foundation. (1995). *Report of the Commission on Children and Violence convened by the Gulbenkian Foundation*. London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
- Gurr, T.R. (1970). *Why men rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hallak, J. (1991). *Education for all: High expectations or false hopes?* Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning. Retrieved on 29 November 2007 from http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/11_126.pdf
- Harber, C. (1996). Educational violence and education for peace in Africa. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 71(3), 151-169.
- Harber, C. (2002). Schooling as violence: An explanatory overview. *Educational Review*, 54(1), 7-16.
- Harbom, L., & Wallensteen, P. (2007). Armed conflict, 1989-2006. *Journal of Peace Research*, 44(5): 623-634.
- Harris, I.M., & Morrison, M.L. (2003). *Peace education* (2nd ed). Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc.
- Hartog, J. (2000). Human capital as an instrument of analysis for the economics of education. *European Journal of Education*, 35(1), 7-20.
- Haviland, C. (2007, 2 December). Nepal's minorities raise the stakes. BBC News.
- Hegre, H., et al. (2001). Toward a democratic civil peace? Democracy, political change, and civil war, 1816-1992. *American Political Science Review*, 95(1), 33-48.
- Holsti, K.J. (2000). Political causes of humanitarian emergencies. In E.W. Nafziger, F. Stewart, & R. Väyrynen (Eds.), *War, hunger, and displacement: The origins of humanitarian emergencies* (Volume 1, pp. 239-281). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Human Security Brief 2006*. (2006). Vancouver: University of British Columbia Human Security Centre.
- International Crisis Group. (2006, 15 December). *Nepal's peace agreement: Making it work*. Asia Report No. 126.
- International Crisis Group. (2007, 18 May). *Nepal's Maoists: Purists or pragmatists?* Asia Report No. 132.
- International Save the Children Alliance. (2006). *Rewrite the Future: Education for children in conflict-affected countries*. London: International Save the Children Alliance.
- International Save the Children Alliance. (2007a). *Last in line, last in school: How donors are failing children in conflict-affected fragile states*. London: International Save the Children Alliance.
- International Save the Children Alliance. (2007b). *Rewrite the Future: One year on*. London: International Save the Children Alliance.
- Jenson, J. (1998). *Mapping social cohesion: The state of Canadian research*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc., Study Number F-03. Retrieved 31 July 2007 from <http://www.cprn.com/doc.cfm?doc=180&l=en>
- Jonas, S. (2000a). Democratization through peace: The difficult case of Guatemala. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 42(4), 9-38.

- Jonas, S. (2000b). *Of centaurs and doves: Guatemala's peace process*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Joseph, L.B. (1980). Some ways of thinking about equality of opportunity. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 33(3), 393-400.
- Justino, P. (2006). *On the links between violent conflict and chronic poverty: How much do we really know?* Brighton: University of Sussex Institute of Development Studies Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Working Paper 61. Retrieved 1 June 2007 from <http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/61Justino.pdf>
- Kalyvas, S.N. (2003). The ontology of 'political violence': Action and identity in civil wars. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1(3), 475-494.
- Kalyvas, S.N. (2006). *The logic of violence in civil war*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaplan, R. (1994). The coming anarchy. *Atlantic Monthly*, 273(February), 44-76.
- Keen, D. (2000). Incentives and disincentives for violence. In M. Berdal & D.M. Malone (Eds.), *Greed and grievance: Economic agendas in civil wars* (pp. 19-41). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Keen, D. (2005). *Conflict and collusion in Sierra Leone*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Khaniya, T.R., & Kiernan, M.A. (1994). Nepal: System of education. In T. Husén and T.N. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Education* (2nd ed, pp. 4060-4067). Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Kline, R. (2000). A model for improving rural schools: Escuela Nueva in Colombia and Guatemala. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 2(2).
- King, E. (2005). Educating for conflict or peace: Challenges and dilemmas in post-conflict Rwanda. *International Journal*, LX(4), 904-918.
- Lacey, M. (2007, 4 August). Drug gangs use violence to sway Guatemala vote. *The New York Times* (online).
- Lai, B., & Thyne, C. (2007). The effect of civil war on education, 1980-1997. *Journal of Peace Research*, 44(3), 277-292.
- Lawoti, M. (2005). *Towards a democratic Nepal: Inclusive political institutions for a multicultural society*. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.
- Lowicki, J. (1999). Missing out: Adolescents affected by armed conflict face few educational opportunities and increased protection risks. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 2(1).
- Mack, A. (2002). Civil war: Academic research and the policy community. *Journal of Peace Research*, 39(5), 515-525.
- Mamdani, M. (2001). *When victims become killers: Colonialism, nativism, and the genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Marques, J., & Bannon, I. (2003). *Central America: Education reform in a post-conflict setting, opportunities and challenges*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network, Paper No. 4.
- Marshall, G. (1998). *A dictionary of sociology* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maxwell, J. (1996). *Social dimensions of economic growth*. Eric John Hanson Memorial Lecture Series, Volume VIII, University of Alberta.
- McEwan, P.J., & Trowbridge, M. (2007). The achievement of indigenous students in Guatemalan primary schools. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27(1), 61-76.
- McMahon, W.W. (1999). *Education and development: measuring the social benefits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Meek, V.L. (1994). Education and the state. In T. Husén & T.N. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of education* (2nd ed., pp. 1713-1720). Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Meighan, R., & Siraj-Blatchford, I. (2003). *A sociology of educating* (4th ed). London: Continuum.
- Miguel, E. (2004). Tribe or nation? Nation building and public goods in Kenya versus Tanzania. *World Politics*, 56(3), 327-362.
- Mitchell, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Contextualizing inclusive education: Evaluating old and new international perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Mittler, P. (2000). *Working towards inclusive education: Social contexts*. London: David Fulton Publishers.
- Munn, P. (2000). Social capital, schools, and exclusions. In S. Barron, J. Field, & Tom Schuller (Eds.), *Social capital: Critical perspectives* (pp. 168-181). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Murshed, S. M. (2002). Conflict, civil war and underdevelopment: An introduction. *Journal of Peace Research*, 39(4), 387-393.
- Murshed, S.M., & Gates, S. (2005). Spatial-horizontal inequality and the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. *Review of Development Economics*, 9(1), 121-134.
- Ndikumana, L. (2005). Distributional conflict, the state and peacebuilding in Burundi. *The Round Table*, 94(381), 413-427.
- Nilsson, D., & Kovacs, M.S. (2005). Breaking the cycle of violence? Promises and pitfalls of the Liberian peace process. *Civil Wars*, 7(4), 396-414.
- Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2004). *Peacebuilding—A Development Perspective*. Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- O'Brien, D.B.C. (1996). A lost generation? Youth identity and state decay in West Africa. In R. Werbner & T. Ranger (Eds.), *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- O'Kane, T. (2000). *Guatemala: A guide to the people, politics, and culture*. New York: Interlink Books.
- O'Malley, B. (2007). *Education under attack: A global study on targeted political and military violence against education staff, students, teachers, union and government officials, and institutions*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Paris, R. (2004). *At war's end: Building peace after civil conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Peters, K., & Richards, P. (1998). 'Why we fight': Voices of youth combatants in Sierra Leone. *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute*, 68(2), 183-210.
- Ponzio, R. (2007). The United Nations Peacebuilding Commission: Origins and initial practice. *Disarmament Forum*, 2, 5-15. Retrieved 24 October 2007 from <http://unidir.org/pdf/articles/pdf-art2627.pdf>
- Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 1-24.
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Ramirez, F.O., & Boli, J. (1987). The political construction of mass schooling: European origins and worldwide institutionalization. *Sociology of Education*, 60(1), 2-17.
- Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T., & Miall, H. (2005). *Contemporary conflict resolution: The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts* (2nd ed). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Regan, P.M., & Norton, D. (2005). Greed, grievance, and mobilization in civil wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(3), 319-336.

- Reno, W. (1998). *Warlord politics and African states*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Reno, W. (2004). Reconstructing peace in Liberia. In T.M. Ali & R.O. Matthews (Eds.), *Durable peace: Challenges for peacebuilding in Africa* (pp. 115-141). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Republic of Liberia Ministry of Education. (2007, 30 March). *Liberian Primary Education Recovery Program: Prepared for Fast Track Initiative*. Retrieved 7 December 2007 from http://www.poledakar.org/IMG/Liberia_EFA-FTI.pdf
- Rodehaver, M.W., Axtell, W.B., & Gross, R.E. (1957). *The Sociology of the School*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.
- Rose, P., & Greeley, M. (2006). *Education in fragile states: Capturing lessons and identifying good practice*. Paper prepared for the DAC Fragile States Group Service Delivery Workstream Sub-Team for Education Services.
- Rupesinghe, K. (with S.N. Anderlini). (1998). *Civil wars, civil peace*. London: Pluto Press.
- Saha, L.J., & Fägarlind, I. (1994). Education and development. In T. Husén & T.N. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of Education* (2nd ed., pp. 1648-1655). Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Sakyi-Addo, K. (2007). Ghana united. *BBC Focus on Africa* (online).
- Salmi, J. (2000). *Violence, democracy and education: An analytical framework*. The World Bank Human Development Department LCSHD Paper Series No. 56. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Sambanis, N. (2002). A review of recent advances and future directions in the quantitative literature on civil war. *Defense and Peace Economics*, 2(2), 259-279.
- Sambanis, N. (2004). Using case studies to expand economic models of civil war. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(2), 259-279.
- Samoff, J. (2003). No teacher guide, no textbooks, no chairs: Contending with crisis in African education. In R.F. Arnove & C.A. Torres (Eds.), *Comparative education: The dialectic of the local and the global* (pp. 409-445). London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Save the Children. (2005). *Education assessment in post-conflict Liberia*. Monrovia: Save the Children.
- Schwab, P. (2004). *Designing West Africa: Prelude to 21st-century calamity*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Schuller, T., Baron, S., & Field, J. (2000). Social capital: A review and critique. In S. Baron, J. Field, & T. Schuller (Eds.), *Social capital: Critical perspectives* (pp.1-38). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seitz, K. (2004). *Education and conflict: The role of education in the creation, prevention, and resolution of societal crises—Consequences for development cooperation*. Eschborn, Germany: German Technical Cooperation. Retrieved 27 April 2005 from <http://www.ineesite.org/core/EDandConflict-GTZ.pdf>
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sengupta, S. (2007, 29 April). New conflicts accompany Nepal's efforts at democracy. *The New York Times* (online).
- Singer, P. (2006). *Children at war*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Smith, A., & Vaux, T. (2003). *Education, conflict, and international development*. London: Department for International Development (DfID).
- Smith, A. (2005). Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation. *Compare*, 35(4), 373-391.
- Smith, D. (2003). Trends and causes of armed conflict. In *The Berghof handbook for conflict transformation*. Retrieved 4 July 2007 from http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/smith_handbook.pdf

- Smoljan, J. (2003). The relationship between peacebuilding and development. *Conflict, Security and Development*, 3(2), 233-250.
- Solmon, L.C., & Fagnano, C.L. (1997). Benefits of education. In L.J. Saha (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of the sociology of education* (pp. 819-833). London: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Sommers, M. (2002a). *Children, education, and war: Reaching Education for All (EFA) objectives in countries affected by conflict*. The World Bank: Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, Social Development Department of the Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network. Retrieved 11 March 2005 from [http://inweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/ChildrenEducationandWarReachingEducationForAllEFAObjectivesinCountriesAffectedbyConflict/\\$FILE/Children+Education+and+War.pdf](http://inweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/ChildrenEducationandWarReachingEducationForAllEFAObjectivesinCountriesAffectedbyConflict/$FILE/Children+Education+and+War.pdf)
- Sommers, M. (2002b). Peace education and refugee youth. In J. Crisp, C. Talbot, & D.B. Cipollone (Eds.), *Learning for a Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries* (pp.163-216). Geneva: UNHCR.
- Soto, M.L. (1994). Guatemala: System of Education. In T. Husén and T.N. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Education* (2nd ed, pp. 2544-2551). Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Stabback, Philip. (2004). Curriculum development, diversity, and division in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In S. Tawil & A. Harley (Eds.), *Education, conflict, and social cohesion* (pp. 37-84). Geneva: International Bureau of Education.
- Stash, S., & Hannum, E. (2001). Who goes to school? Educational stratification by gender, caste, and ethnicity in Nepal. *Comparative Education Review*, 45(3), 354-378.
- Stewart, F. (2000). Crisis prevention: Tackling horizontal inequalities. *Oxford Development Studies*, 28(3), 246-262.
- Stewart, F. (2002). Horizontal inequalities as a source of conflict. In F.O. Hampson & D.M. Malone (Eds.), *From reaction to conflict prevention: Opportunities for the UN system* (pp. 105-136). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Sturman, A. (1997). Socialization. In L.J. Saha (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of the sociology of education* (pp. 528-533). London: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Sugnami, H. (1996). *On the causes of war*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Taylor, W.A. (2005, 30 August). *The need for special attention to education in emergencies: Current challenges*. Paper presented at the Education For All Forum: Education for All in Emergencies, Current Developments and Challenges, in Oslo, Norway.
- Tetzagüic, M.J.S., & Grigsby, K. (2004). Curriculum change and social cohesion in multicultural Guatemala. In S. Tawil & A. Harley (Eds.), *Education, conflict, and social cohesion*. Geneva: UNESCO International Bureau of Education.
- Thapa, D. (with B. Sijapati). (2003). *A kingdom under siege: Nepal's Maoist insurgency, 1996-2003*. Kathmandu: The Printhouse.
- Thyne, C. (2006). ABC's, 123's, and the golden rule: The pacifying effect of education on civil war, 1980-1999. *International Studies Quarterly*, 50(4), 733-754.
- Tilly, Charles. (1978). *From mobilization to revolution*. New York: Random House.
- Tomaševski, K. (2001). Free and compulsory education for all children: The gap between promise and performance. *Right to education primer no. 2*. Retrieved 24 August 2007 from http://www.right-to-education.org/content/primers/rte_02.pdf
- Tomaševski, K. (2006). The state of the right to education worldwide: Free or fee: 2006 global report. Retrieved 18 December 2007 from http://www.katarinatomaševski.com/images/Global_Report.pdf
- Tomlinson, K., & Benefield, P. (2005). *Education and Conflict: Research and Research Possibilities*. Berkshire, U.K.: National Foundation for Educational Research.

- Retrieved 24 August 2007 from
<http://www.nfer.ac.uk/publications/pdfs/downloadable/ECOreport.pdf>
- Torres, C.A. (2003). Comparative education: The dialectics of globalization and its discontents. In R.F. Arnove & C.A. Torres (Eds.), *Comparative education: The dialectic of the local and the global* (pp. 446-461). London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Turner, J.H., & Mitchell, D.E. (1997). Contemporary sociological theories of education. In L.J. Saha (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of the sociology of education* (pp. 21-31). London: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (1945). *Constitution*. Retrieved 29 July 2007 from http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
- UNESCO. (2007). Education for all by 2015: Will we make it? EFA Global Monitoring Report. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- United Nations Security Council. (2001, April 20). *No exit without strategy: Security Council decision-making and the closure or transition of United Nations peacekeeping operations*. Report of the Secretary General. Retrieved 24 October 2007 from <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/343/62/PDF/N0134362.pdf?OpenElement>
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID). (2006). Education and fragility: An assessment tool. Washington, D.C.: USAID.
- Urdal, H. (2006). A clash of generations? Youth bulges and political violence. *International Studies Quarterly*, 50(3), 607-629.
- Vila, L.E. (2000). The non-monetary benefits of education. *European Journal of Education*, 35(1), 21-32.
- Wallensteen, P. (2007). *Understanding conflict resolution: War, peace and the global system* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Wentzel, K., & Looney, L. (2007). Socialization in school settings. In J.E. Grusec & P.D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 382-403). London: The Guilford Press.
- Whelpton, J. (1990). *Nepal*. Oxford: Clio Press.
- Wise, A.E. (1968). *Rich schools, poor schools: The promise of equal educational opportunity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. (2005). *Help us help ourselves: Education in the conflict to post-conflict transition in Liberia*. New York: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.
- Woodward, R.L., Jr. (1992). *Guatemala*. Oxford: Clio Press.
- Woodward, R.L., Jr. (2005). *A short history of Guatemala*. Antigua, Guatemala: Editorial Laura Lee.
- Woodward, S. (2002). Economic priorities for successful peace implementation. In S. John Stedman, D. Rothchild, & E.M. Cousens (Eds.), *Ending civil wars: The implementation of peace agreements* (pp. 183-214). Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Østby, G. (2004). *Do horizontal inequalities matter for civil conflict?* Paper presented at the Polarization & Conflict Conference in Barcelona, winter meeting. Retrieved 24 August 2007 from
http://www.polarizationandconflict.org/bcn04/7%D8stby_Horiz.pdf
- Åkerlund, A. (2005). *Transforming conflicts and building peace: Experience and ideas of Swedish civil society organizations*. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Agency.

Appendix One

Methodology of the Study

This research project is based on a multiple case study. Three countries in which Save the Children operates educational programs were chosen as single, qualitative case studies: Guatemala, Nepal, and Liberia. The cases each vary in terms of both independent and dependent variables. In terms of the independent variable (*education*), the three cases vary in terms of the four concepts analyzed in this study. In terms of the dependent variable (*peace*), the three cases vary considerably in terms of the country context (history, geography, social and cultural composition of each country); the nature, type, and root causes of the conflict that affected each country; and the (post-)conflict stage at which each country currently finds itself. Variation in the dependent variable is demonstrated in the table below:

Country and Region	Conflict Years	Stage of the Conflict	Nature/Type of Conflict
<i>Guatemala (Central America)</i>	1960–1996	Long-term post-armed conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identity conflict • Revolution/ideological conflict
<i>Nepal (South Asia)</i>	1996–2006	Emerging from armed conflict, but still experiencing armed conflict in the Terai region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revolution/ideological conflict • Currently secessionist/identity conflict in Terai
<i>Liberia (West Africa)</i>	1989–2003	Short-term post-armed conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identity conflict • Factional conflict

Qualitative research methods were used in the study in order to bring to the forefront the perspectives of individuals and communities living in each of the countries studied, and to provide an in-depth look at the contextual nature of each conflict and the role that education played in its outbreak and resolution. An exploratory research design and methodology was thus needed to investigate individual and group perceptions of, understandings about, and experiences regarding the relationships between education systems, armed conflict, and peace – elements that are not always captured in quantitative studies.

Data were collected during short-term visits to each country through 125 qualitative, in-depth, semi-structured individual and group interviews as well as through participant observation. Interviews were conducted until the point of data saturation was reached. Secondary sources were also relied upon to inform the theoretical foundations of the study, to gather information about the historical background of each country, and to supplement and check the reliability of information obtained through interviews and observation.

The total sample of interview respondents was composed of the following:

- students in primary and secondary schools, as well as students in non-formal and community schools and students participating in accelerated learning programs;
- children/young people out of school;
- children's club members;
- parents of students;
- parents of children and young people out of school;
- community representatives, such as elders;
- members of school-based organizations, such as parent-teacher associations or school management committees;
- teachers and other school personnel, such as headmasters and principals;
- representatives from education ministries and local government offices;
- representatives of local and international nongovernmental organizations, including Save the Children staff;
- representatives of international organizations, such as the United Nations entities and the World Bank;
- researchers working on issues pertaining to education, peace, and/or armed conflict.

A wide range of individuals and communities were selected for participation in individual and group interviews to solicit a variety of perspectives, though the number and range of participants was limited by the short amount of time spent in each country. The short nature of the visits to each country also limited the depth of knowledge gained through interviews and observation. Areas visited for interviews and school visits in each country included the country's capital, urban areas in other regions of each country, and rural areas. The project did not rely on random sampling methods, and the findings are thus not representative of the total population affected by armed conflict in each country. Therefore, the findings of this research project can be analytically, but not statistically, generalized to other populations and contexts.

To offset bias in the selection and characteristics of individuals and communities selected for participation in the study, efforts were made to ensure that the sample was balanced and varied in terms of the gender, age, geographical location, cultural and religious characteristics, and socio-economic status of respondents. Individuals who were affected by armed conflict in particular ways and individuals involved in relevant educational initiatives were also selected for participation in the study. Save the Children staff members in each of the countries visited assisted in identifying and selecting most of the interviewees. This, of course, represents a limitation of the study, in that the interviewees chosen may have had special characteristics because of their association with Save the Children, and their responses may have thus been biased in favor of Save the Children. However, a small number of interviewees not associated with Save the Children projects were selected through snowball sampling in each country, and interviews with these confirmed that the responses and characteristics of those interviewees associated with and/or benefiting from Save the Children projects were not biased. Furthermore, bias can be introduced during the collection and interpretation of data, either through a reactive effect or through a social-desirability effect. In order to offset these forms of bias and enhance the validity and reliability of the responses, some of the interview questions were asked in different ways, and care was taken to reflect on how the researcher would be viewed by the participants.

Most of the interviews were recorded, but only with the consent of the interviewee(s). Detailed notes were taken during all interviews and observations, and these were written up fully after each interview. When it was not possible to record the interviews (owing to noise

levels or to the wishes of particular interviewees), detailed notes were taken during the interview (again, with the consent of the interviewees). A translator was present during most of the interviews in Guatemala and Nepal, as well as during some of the interviews in Liberia. Interview transcriptions and write-ups were then coded and analyzed, both while in the field and upon returning to Oslo.

Observations were conducted in schools to determine the classroom- and school-based factors and practices that influence the relationships between education, peace, and armed conflict. These school-based factors include such things as the hidden curriculum and the relationships both between pupils and between pupils and teachers. Detailed field and observation notes were kept, and several classrooms were observed for several hours at a time in each country. All field and observation notes were coded and analyzed.

As noted in Appendix Two, all identifying characteristics of the interviewees have been minimized in this study to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of responses and identities. This limits the ecological validity of the study, but many participants did not want their identities to be revealed given the sensitive nature of some subjects discussed. Additionally, because children were interviewed and observed, extra caution was taken regarding the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses and identities, as children constitute a vulnerable population. While context is of utmost importance regarding the uniqueness of each armed conflict, the aim of this study is to build theory regarding the relationships between education, peace, and armed conflict, which does not rely on the full disclosure of details regarding people and places. Concern that participants were not harmed in any way as a result of the research therefore overrode concerns regarding ecological validity. Furthermore, care was taken to ensure that all participants were given the opportunity to give full, informed consent before being interviewed, observed, and/or photographed. Participants were made aware of their right to anonymity, the confidentiality of their responses, their right to withdraw at any time from the study, the voluntary nature of their participation, and the full details of the study (including the intended use of their responses).

A listing of interviews that were conducted for this study can be found in Appendix Two.

Appendix Two

List of Interviews Conducted

The following is a list of all interviews (125 in total) conducted in each of the three countries selected for study. Identifying details and characteristics of the individuals who participated in the interviews – such as names of the locations where interviews took place – have been removed to retain the full confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents. Interview excerpts used in the text of this study are cited by the country in which they took place and the number of the interview in each country. Locations where respondents were interviewed are indicated by whether they are in rural or urban locations.

Guatemala

- G-1 public school staff (females), urban
- G-2 primary school students (females), urban
- G-3 members of local organization (female and male), rural
- G-4 local government representative (female), rural
- G-5 out-of-school children (female), rural
- G-6 teachers (males), rural
- G-7 secondary school students (female and male), urban
- G-8 primary school teachers (female and male), urban
- G-9 Save the Children employee (male), urban
- G-10 members of local organization (female and male), urban
- G-11 Save the Children employee (male), urban
- G-12 members of local organization (female and male) and teacher (female), urban
- G-13 primary school students (female and male), urban
- G-14 members of local organization (male), urban
- G-15 primary school classroom: puppet show/drama (mix female and male), urban
- G-16 parent (female), urban
- G-17 primary school student interviews and drama presentation (female and male),
urban
- G-18 parent (female), urban
- G-19 Save the Children employee (female), urban
- G-20 United Nations employee (female), urban
- G-21 Save the Children employee (male), urban
- G-22 Ministry of Education employee (female), urban
- G-23 Save the Children employee (male), urban
- G-24 Save the Children employees (female and male), rural
- G-25 primary school students (female and male), rural
- G-26 community members (female and male) and teachers (male), rural
- G-27 primary school students (female and male), rural
- G-28 parents (male and female) and primary teachers (male and female), rural
- G-29 local education governance personnel (male), rural
- G-30 parents (female), urban
- G-31 primary school students (female and male), urban
- G-32 primary school teacher (male), urban

Nepal

- N-1 Save the Children employees (female and male), urban
- N-2 local organization employee (male), secondary school teacher (male), principal (male), students, (mix female and male) in classrooms at private primary/secondary school, urban
- N-3 local organization employee (male), principal (male), urban
- N-4 children's club members (female and male), rural
- N-5 teachers and school committee members (female and male), rural
- N-6 principal (male), rural
- N-7 teachers, school committee members (female and male), rural
- N-8 students and teachers (female and male, mixed level), rural
- N-9 children's club members (female and male), rural
- N-10 secondary school teachers (female and male), rural
- N-11 school committee members and teachers (female and male), rural
- N-12 parents and students (private household, female and male), rural
- N-13 teachers, children's club members, school committee members (male and female), rural
- N-14 local organization and employees of government child protection committee (female), urban
- N-15 local education governance personnel (male), urban
- N-16 members of local organization (female and male), urban
- N-17 United Nations employee (male), urban
- N-18 community members (female and male), rural
- N-19 children's club members (female and male), rural
- N-20 school committee members and teachers (female and male), rural
- N-21 school committee members and teachers (female and male), rural
- N-22 drop-out students (male), rural
- N-23 peace education students and teacher (female and male), rural
- N-24 parents, teacher, school committee members (female and male), rural
- N-25 teachers, students, and school committee members (female and male), rural
- N-26 school committee members, local organization members, head teacher (female and male), rural
- N-27 teacher, peace education students and teacher (female and male), urban
- N-28 teachers (female and male), urban
- N-29 local education governance personnel (male), urban
- N-30 Save the Children employee (male), urban
- N-31 members of local organization (female and male), urban
- N-32 Save the Children employees (male), urban
- N-33 government employees (female and male), urban
- N-34 members of teachers union (female and male), urban
- N-35 United Nations employee (male), urban
- N-36 members of Children as Zones of Peace Network (female and male), urban
- N-37 members of local organization (male), members of rural children's club, urban
- N-38 school committee members, teachers, children's club (female and male), rural
- N-39 teachers, school committee members, students, parents (female and male), rural
- N-40 teachers, school committee members, social workers, members of local organization (female and male), rural
- N-41 local education governance personnel (male), urban
- N-42 teachers, students, teacher trainers (female and male), urban

N-43 employee of Ministry of Education (male), urban
 N-44 student union president (male), urban
 N-45 government employee at child welfare entity (male), urban
 N-46 university education research institute professor (male), urban
 N-47 student union president (male), urban
 N-48 international NGO employee (male), urban
 N-49 international aid agency employee (male), urban
 N-50 Ministry of Education representative (male), urban
 N-51 World Bank employees (male), urban
 N-52 member of teachers union (male), urban
 N-53 Ministry of Education representative (male), urban

Liberia

L-1 Save the Children employees (male), urban
 L-2 parents and teachers (female and male), urban
 L-3 school principal (male), urban
 L-4 students (female and male), urban
 L-5 vocational training students (female and male), urban
 L-6 parents (female and male), urban
 L-7 Ministry of Education representative (male), urban
 L-8 local education governance personnel (female and male), urban
 L-9 Ministry of Education representative (female), urban
 L-10 member of local organization (female), urban
 L-11 2 teachers (male), urban
 L-12 employee at Ministry of Education (male), urban
 L-13 employees of local organization (female), urban
 L-14 local education governance personnel (male), rural
 L-15 principal (male), rural
 L-16 vocational training students (female), rural
 L-17 vocational training students (female), rural
 L-18 parents (female and male), rural
 L-19 principal (male), rural
 L-20 parents and school committee member (female and male), rural
 L-21 meeting between local education governance personnel, UNMIL
 representatives, local organization members, staff members of international
 NGOs (female and male), rural
 L-22 teachers and principal (male), rural
 L-23 principal (male), rural
 L-24 Accelerated Learning Program students (females and males), rural
 L-25 Child Welfare Committee chairperson (male), rural
 L-26 local education governance personnel (male), rural
 L-27 United Nations employee (male), rural
 L-28 principal (male), rural
 L-29 member of local organization (male), rural
 L-30 United Nations employee (male), rural
 L-31 Save the Children employee, teacher, children's club members (female and
 male), rural
 L-32 principal (male), rural

L-33 principals (male), rural
L-34 staff members (male), rural
L-35 community members (female and male), rural
L-36 community members (female and male), rural
L-37 Save the Children employee (male), urban
L-38 United Nations employee (male), urban
L-39 member of local organization (male), urban
L-40 Save the Children employee (male), via email

Endnotes

- ¹ Source for maps: http://www.appliedlanguage.com/maps_of_the_world/ (accessed 17 October 2007).
- ² All photos were taken by the author during fieldwork, with the explicit permission of the individuals photographed.
- ³ Excerpts from interviews conducted in the three countries are used in this study, and are referred to by the country in which they took place and the number of the interview in each country. See Appendix Two for a listing of all interviews.
- ⁴ This agreement can be viewed at http://www.usip.org/library/pa/guatemala/guat_950331.html (accessed 5 July 2007).
- ⁵ This agreement can be viewed at <http://www.gorkhapatra.org.np/content.php?nid=6736> (accessed 5 July 2007).
- ⁶ This agreement can be viewed at http://www.usip.org/library/pa/liberia/liberia_08182003_cpa.html (accessed 5 July 2007).
- ⁷ This document can be accessed at <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html> (accessed 5 July 2007).
- ⁸ The Uppsala University Conflict Data Program (UUCDP) defines armed conflict as “a contested incompatibility which concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths”. At the heart of the UUCDP definition is the view that armed conflicts are defined by issues and incompatibilities (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005). In the UUCDP dataset, 25 battle deaths per year and less than 1,000 deaths total during the whole conflict constitutes *minor armed conflict*, while 25 battle deaths and a total of at least 1,000 battle deaths during the whole conflict constitutes *intermediate armed conflict*. War is defined by the UUCDP as occurring when there are at least 1,000 battle deaths per year during the course of the conflict. Other conflict datasets, such as the Correlates of War (COW) dataset, define armed conflict differently. COW sets the battle-death threshold for armed conflict at 100 military (not civilian) deaths per year, while the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) sets the threshold for major armed conflicts at 1,000 battle deaths per year. Though battle-death thresholds are of more concern for statistical analyses regarding armed conflict, this study will adhere to the lower battle-death threshold encompassed by the Uppsala definition when looking at trends of civil war, because this better captures the variation in armed conflict. For instance, the ongoing conflict between the Lord’s Resistance Army and the government of Uganda would not be counted as an internal armed conflict according to the COW or SIPRI definitions of armed conflict. Though the battle-death threshold is not unproblematic itself (particularly because the UUCDP data collection and coding methodology undercounts death tolls, and it is hard to distinguish between direct and indirect deaths as a result of conflict; see Human Security Brief, 2006), a lower battle-death threshold better captures the variation in the levels of intensity of armed conflicts, that is, variations in the degree and amount of violence across different conflicts. One final thing to note is that this study does not subscribe to the view that one of the clashing parties in an armed conflict must be a state government, as evidenced by the Liberian civil war.
- ⁹ According to Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall (2005), the term *violent conflict* is similar to *armed conflict*, but *violent conflict* encompasses one-sided violence against unarmed civilians such as genocides and other forms of direct, physical violence. *Armed conflict* is two-sided violence.
- ¹⁰ Oxfam released a report in October 2007 that estimated the economic cost of armed conflict in Africa since 1990 as \$330 billion, the equivalent sum of international aid given to African countries by major donors during the same period. The report can be found at http://www.oxfam.org/en/files/bp107_africas_missing_billions_0710.pdf/download.
- ¹¹ In July 2006, conflict erupted between Lebanon and Israel after Hezbollah in Lebanon launched a rocket attack against the Israeli military and abducted two Israeli soldiers. Israel responded with a barrage of airstrikes and artillery fire against targets in Lebanon, destroying Lebanese infrastructure (to include the international airport) and leaving unexploded cluster bombs in southern Lebanon.
- ¹² So-called fragile states have in the past been termed *failed states*, *failing states*, *weak states*, *transition states*, and *low income countries under stress* (the term used by the World Bank), and each of these terms can be broken down into different types of states, such as *collapsed states* and *anarchic states* (Bøås & Jennings, 2005; see Holsti, 2000 on the category of *weak states*).
- ¹³ Salmi (2000) outlines a typology of violence in the context of education, based on four categories. The first category is *direct violence*, which includes the effects of violent conflicts and corporal punishment. The second category is *indirect violence*, which includes inequality of access to education, inequality of educational opportunities, and lack of educational infrastructure. The third category is *repressive violence*, which includes the absence of democracy in schools and the lack of education for democracy. The fourth category is *alienating violence*.

-
- ¹⁴ See the Save the Children September 2007 briefing entitled “The Use of Language in Children’s Education: A Policy Statement”. Retrieved 12 November 2007 from http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/en/docs/briefing-policy_statement-scuk_language_edu.pdf
- ¹⁵ It should be recognized that violent school socialization processes are found in poor countries that have not experienced or are not experiencing armed conflict, such as Ghana or Zambia. Bullying at schools is found in even the richest countries in the world, including Norway.
- ¹⁶ While codes of conduct are important in reducing exploitation and harm at school, effective police and judiciary systems are key to stopping the wider instance of such practices.
- ¹⁷ For an overview and critique of peace education, see Cairns (1996) and Sommers (2002b).
- ¹⁸ Putnam (2000) defines social transaction costs as the costs of everyday life as well as the costs of business transactions. Reciprocity and trust are essential components of social transaction costs: individuals trade off short-term altruism for their long-term interest. In other words, one individual helps another individual with the expectation that at some point in the future the second individual will return the favor. Thus, a society with more reciprocity and higher levels of trust is more efficient, because it is easier to get things done (see Putnam, 2000, pp. 134–147).
- ¹⁹ A community is defined in this study very broadly as “an open-ended concept that ... embraces neighborhoods, villages, ethnic groups, business, academia and so on” (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 2004, p. 37). Moreover, a community “concerns a particularly constituted set of social relationships based on something which the participants have in common – usually a common sense of identity” (Marshall, 1998, p. 97) or a common goal (Rodehaver, Axtell & Gross, 1957). This study is more concerned with the concept of community as a geographical grouping, since schools are located in specific spatial locations and serve populations located in the vicinity of the school building. Schools may also serve certain religious or ethnic communities, but this study is not particularly concerned with such definitions of community, apart from the role that identity may play in group cohesion and mobilization for armed conflict.
- ²⁰ See http://www.cwin.org.np/press_room/pressreleases/joint_statement_cic.htm for more information on the CZOP campaign.
- ²¹ The relationship between education and economic growth is contentious and much debated. While education may improve economic growth, it is also the case that the relationship works in the opposition direction, in that increased economic growth entails increased spending on and expansion of education, as well as higher wage gains from schooling (Bils & Klenow, 2000). The effects of education on economic growth are also likely to be long-term and somewhat difficult to isolate (Collier et al., 2003). In Britain, mass educational access followed economic growth, but the newly industrialized countries of Asia (such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Korea) achieved an almost totally literate labor force *before* industrial growth began (Carm et al., 2003; Sen, 1999). China does not currently enjoy universal primary education but has experienced increased access to primary education since the institution of economic reforms in 1979 – the year in which China last actively fought in a war (the Sino-Vietnamese War). Since 1979, China has focused on economic growth and modernization (see http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1996/papers/amei_zhang.pdf). In India (where there are several ongoing armed conflicts), areas with a highly educated population have attracted foreign investment (e.g. the opening of call centers in Kolkata), but both educational access and economic growth remain unequal in India, and the creation of social opportunities has been much slower, thus acting as a barrier to economic development (Sen, 1999; see also http://www.ibef.org/artdisplay.aspx?cat_id=391&art_id=5898).
- ²² ALP stands for accelerated learning program. These are designed for over-aged children who have been out of school owing to a conflict or crisis situation. The programs condense six years of primary schooling into three, and have been used in countries such as Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Liberia.