



2011/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/42

Think piece prepared for the
Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011

The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education

Thinkpiece on Education and Conflict

Lynn Davies

2009

This paper was commissioned by the Education for All Global Monitoring Report as background information to assist in drafting the 2011 report. It has not been edited by the team. The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and should not be attributed to the EFA Global Monitoring Report or to UNESCO. The papers can be cited with the following reference: "Think piece commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011, The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education". For further information, please contact efareport@unesco.org.

Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011

THINKPIECE ON EDUCATION AND CONFLICT

Lynn Davies

1. INTRODUCTION

Much has been written on the ‘two faces’ of education in conflict – that education can contribute to conflict as well as contribute to peace. (Bush and Saltarelli, Davies, 2004, Smith and Vaux 2003). The GMR can take the opportunity to demonstrate the subtleties surrounding what appears to be a simple dualism. Bush and Saltarelli themselves revealed the complexities across different divisions and rejected ‘recipe book’ approaches. Not only can the two faces coexist, but there are ‘multiple fault lines’ in any conflict (Barakat 2008), with educational privilege cutting across other divides, with the continuation of class differentials after ethnic resolutions, with ethnicity not being an initial cause of conflict but being mobilised by political interests, and with policy divides among and within opposing groups.

Similarly, while the impact of violent conflict on education can be devastating, this is increasingly well known and evidenced. Tools to explore such impact should include analysis of how the *type* of conflict impacted on schools, and then how this type of conflict would equally impact on strategies for reconstruction or transformation. For example, there would be a clear difference between BiH and Angola in the impact of conflict on schooling, with the former conditioned by the ethnic divides which were the cause of the conflict (and remain part of the subsequent education policy) and the latter where the political conflict together with 30 years of communist rule had the effect of generating a passive survival mode in schools in the rural areas rather than hostility. Each would signal very different post-conflict education strategy. While grim statistics on numbers of schools destroyed, numbers of children and teachers displaced and so on can trigger international aid, for sustainability, there needs nuanced analysis. A distinctive contribution of the GMR would be to discuss openly the dilemmas and contradictions in education policy and strategy in and post-conflict. Immediate post-conflict aid and reconstruction is self-evidently about humanitarian assistance and about providing the ‘basics’ – learning spaces, teachers, materials. Yet for prevention and for longer-term sustainability, difficult decisions and debates emerge on priorities.

The GMR is an opportunity to present evidence so far of strategic impact, and avoid unevidenced prescription. There is no simple cause and effect, in the sense that tackling something that probably contributed to conflict (for example biased or racist textbooks) will not of itself solve the problem of prejudice or structural inequality. It is necessary but not sufficient. Similarly, there is no evidence that a focus on ‘inner peace’ (as in Sri Lanka) has had any impact on later attitudes to war or on government strategy. (Inner peace is often associated with Buddhism and is variously defined as a state of mind, calmness, serenity, being mentally and spiritually at equilibrium with oneself, with enough knowledge and understanding to keep oneself strong in the face of stress). This is not to say that such inward-looking initiatives should not be engaged in; but that much more research is needed to see what does impact on people

in terms of their attitudes to ‘others’, their resilience and their willingness to hold governments to account.

In identifying themes for consideration, this paper looks first at the learning sites generally (violent schools, schools as a weapon of war, curriculum and textbooks). It then focuses on specific groups in conflict – gender, language, refugees, child soldiers. Thirdly it discusses education policy and donor intervention; and finally talks of the role of research. All these overlap hugely. This is not a prescription for how the GMR should be structured, but identification of themes and lessons learned that seem the most significant. Illustrations are given in Appendices.

2. LEARNING SITES

2.1 Violent schools

There is increasing evidence and recognition that schools can be violent places, both physically and symbolically (with Harber’s book *Schooling as Violence* (2004) providing an extensive discussion). Violence in school is a problem in itself for student learning, but also reinforces societal aggression and the acceptance of violence as a solution to a problem. This can be through use and acceptance of corporal punishment, peer bullying and sexual violence (Leach and Mitchell 2006). Salmi’s typology of violence (1999) is useful in relation to education: that there can be direct violence, indirect violence (violence by omission, lack of protection against poverty or disease), repressive violence (human rights violations) and alienating violence (racism, living in fear). Examinations and extreme competition which induce fear can be seen as a form of symbolic violence, as can psychological humiliation by teachers. Davies (2005b) produced a typology of ten different types of activity in ‘the education-war interface’ (*Illustration 1*), a typology which has been used in various analyses. It distinguished active and passive approaches as well as negative and positive.

How Nef’s ‘pedagogy of violence’ (2003) persists, which had characterised schools such as in Afghanistan (Matsumoto 2008), needs to be documented. After the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan for example, education became an explicit ideological battlefield in which the teaching of violence became acceptable. Then the mujahidin sought to reflect their own militant and jihadist ideology. Ironically their curriculum and textbooks were funded by USA, and remained in use. Under the Taliban schools were also structurally violent, with girls denied education and their voices silenced. Examples of the ‘defence curriculum’ remain in a range of countries, from the Balkans to South Korea, with children being taught to use weapons. Cadet forces would be another example for discussion around the militarization of learning.

Issues with textbooks are not just about overt militancy. The GMR could usefully cite the various initiatives to work on those textbooks which will at worst have contributed to conflict and at best made no difference. Examples would be in the portrayal of history and responsibility (as in BiH); portrayal of ‘the other’ (Rwanda, Sri Lanka); and invisibility of certain groups (Roma). Lessons learned would be such as the story in BiH where, when it was not possible to provide new textbooks, offending passages were to be ‘blacked out’. One group claimed they had no black pens, and therefore had to use yellow highlighters instead. This may be apocryphal, but a valuable task of the GMR would be to reveal the power of subversion, and the responses of people to

attempts to rewrite history or ‘sanitise’ the past. How outsiders or the international community are involved in curriculum and textbook rewriting post-conflict is an issue, and an instructive account is provided by Freedman et al (2008) for Rwanda (see *Illustration 2*), which also links into the need to rethink pedagogy to make this critical and make it consistent with curriculum messages.

Equally, we need to know more on the impact of textbooks: do children see them anyway as an unrealistic portrayal of the world, and are little influenced? Are there examples of young people being involved in textbook rewriting, and doing their own analysis of bias or militarisation? Are there any examples of *lack* of progress, or even of backwards movements as different groups come into power? GMR could instigate a ‘Textbook Watch’ similar to the Human Rights Watch, to monitor such shifts. Barakat (2008) made an interesting point about curriculum in apartheid South Africa, that the ‘barefaced indoctrination and inequality’ in the school curriculum fostered the common opposition among non-Whites in a way that more subtle or ambiguous discrimination would probably not have.

Examining *absence* of any curriculum or textbook change is also salutary. In Nepal, the end of the conflict and the (precarious) power-sharing has changed little in the schools, except perhaps the removal of the pervasive fear of violence (Shields and Rappleye 2008). There have been no significant changes in either the curriculum or the organisation of schooling, perhaps a missed opportunity to make a symbolic gesture to strengthen confidence in the reconstruction process, as Buckland has argued (2005).

2.2 Learning to live together

Peace education

It would be important to bring together what is known about attempts to introduce education for peace. This includes the directly labelled peace education and the more indirect tools of citizenship education, human rights education and life skills education. Very little research and evaluation has accompanied peace education initiatives (Salamon 2002; Buckland 2006; Davies 2005a). This was the thinking behind the generation of the guidebook *Learning to Live Together: Design, Monitoring and Evaluation of programmes in Citizenship, Peace, Human Rights and Life Skills Education* (Sinclair et al 2008). The guidebook provided tools to evaluate the impact of such programmes, through a range of qualitative and quantitative methods. It has to be admitted however, that there remains the problem of the large ‘attribution gap’ – that the long term impact of peace education programmes is problematic, given intervening variables on individuals, let alone on societies; conversely, if a society were to become more peaceful, it is difficult to attribute this to a previous peace education programme, as a range of complex factors would have contributed. There are always problems of targets, in that aid agencies and NGOs want to see measurable outputs for expenditure, and may be content to cite number of successful programmes instigated and running, or teachers trained in peace education, rather than run the risk of admitting caution about long-term impact. Lopez Cardozo (2008) does engage in a very critical review of peace education programmes in Sri Lanka, finding, as elsewhere, that initiatives have to be seen within a wider context of fear and competition within the school, with the emphasis on examinations crowding out such activities. Evaluation of peace education has to be done very contextually, seeing how it sits within the total ethos of the school and educational goals. There is

also the question of whether peace education deals directly with the local conflict (which again in Sri Lanka is not the case) – a form of violence by omission (Salmi, 2006). The same lack of emphasis on conflict resolution, trauma and reconciliation in relation to local historical divisions was found in Northern Ireland and Quebec (Niens and Chastaney 2008; see *Illustration 3*). Children are not given tools to analyse the situation, rather learning about conflict resolution only in the abstract, or interpersonally, or in other countries. Lopes Cardozo therefore, building on Bush and Saltarelli's 'peacebuilding education', proposes a multi-level approach to implementing and researching peace education. This would enable cross-cutting themes (such as the impact of religion) to be traced across all levels, from intra-personal to international, including the role of donors and religious leadership.

There is much evidence that teachers tend to avoid controversial issues (Donnolly 2004, Davies, Harber and Yamashita 2006,) and that citizenship programmes in divided societies run the risk of silencing children's views of conflict and reconciliation (Leonard 2007). Yet as Niens and Chastaney point out, while a superordinate identity that allows for belongingness of all cultural groups may be impossible to achieve in a divided society (in which a common identity is seen as an attempt at assimilation and at threat to cultural identity), discussing this impossibility and the ambiguities of nationality and government might be crucial for students to be able to negotiate their identities within an increasingly diverse social and political environment (also see Identity section).

Human Rights education

While there may be broad agreement that human rights education should be part of any education for peace or citizenship, there are debates as to whether this is the overarching theme for all the other aspects, or is but one part. There are also debates as to the treatment of human rights education, whether to focus on the national rather than the international nature in order to avoid accusations of Western bias, or to focus on the social/political rather than the legal aspects of rights (Osler and Starkey 2004). UNICEF UK's programme of Rights Respecting Schools would form a useful case study in how a rights-based approach can infuse all school ethos, including teacher-student relationships and peer relationships as well as understanding of rights in a local, national and international framework so that young people are inspired to become active agents of change. Evaluations are demonstrating a positive impact on behaviour, achievement and community cohesion (Covell and Howe, 2005, Sebba and Robinson, 2008). An argument for the use of human and children's rights as a value framework for schools is that these are secular and cut across all religions. They can therefore form a common basis of values, and enable critical reflection on culture, on what is acceptable and what *not* to tolerate in the name of cultural traditions (Davies 2008). Rights themselves can be critiqued and updated in ways that are more problematic in discussion of religious tenets for behaviour. Discussing competing rights is seen to foster critical thinking and resolution of dilemmas.

Encounters and the contact hypothesis

Much is made in trying to address causes of inter-group hostility of the importance of 'encounters'. This derives from the 'contact hypothesis' in prejudice reduction (Allport 1954), from Fanon's theory of the 'decolonization of the mind' and Bush and Saltarelli's 'desegregation of the minds of formerly segregated peoples' (2000:16). Encounters were a key plank in Sri Lanka's social cohesion policy, bringing young

people together in language camps, art competitions, extra-curricular sports etc. Teacher trainees (normally trained in separate ethnic colleges) also came together for structured activities. However, these are often high cost, and there is reported resistance of parents to intercultural exchanges and possible friendships (Lopes Cardozo 2008). The current international move towards school twinning and exchanges are part of the aim of cultural awareness, with UNESCO's 7,500 Associated schools in 175 countries being perhaps the longest standing exemplar of attempts to bring mutual understanding through networking. Critiques of encounters revolve around their sustainability, whether they actually *increase* stereotyping concerning dependency (e.g. Zemach-Bersin, 2007), and whether people encountering isolated 'others' may see them *not* as exemplars of the 'outgroup'. There seems evidence that simply bringing groups together for activities and for 'learning about each other' is less effective than if they are mutually engaged in some effort to create change which is nothing to do with their identity. There are now evaluations of the impact of various international global links programmes, and these could usefully be synthesised in the GMR (see DEA 2009; Edge, Frayman and Ben Jafaar, 2008, Holden and Hicks, 2007, Leonard, 2008; and Martin, 2007). There are questions of how schools respond to the differences encountered, and of issues of power and the effects of colonialism.

Schools as a weapon of war

Valuable case studies could be provided of how educational institutions are used as an overt or covert 'weapon of war'. *Illustration 4* discusses the Maoist intervention in schools in Nepal, and the issue of past grievances about unequal education, comparing to different Israeli responses to educational institutions in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. The policy attempt in Nepal was to declare schools as 'Zones of Peace', free from political interference and not subject to school strikes (Davies et al 2009). Why educational institutions are attacked or repressed show complex dynamics of politics and ideology. As with Israeli destruction of Palestinian research centres, it was significant similarly in the siege of Sarajevo that libraries and museums were targeted: the attempted destruction of cultural heritage is an important symbolic act in conflict. Such 'intellectual starvation', the attacks on the opportunity for cultural, scientific or political expression has been termed 'ethnocide' (McBride 1983) and 'politicide' (Kimmerling 2003) Hence rebuilding culture can be an important part of restoring identity – although this also related to the dilemmas of 'national identity' below.

The strategy to prevent attacks on schools is not simple. Save The Children in their Policy Brief (2009) *Preventing attacks on schools* state that attacks on schools constitute a war crime and they call on governments to work with the International Community to bring to an end the impunity with which these attacks are carried out, and to prevent further violations against children and their teachers, in or en route to school. Their calls are for giving a higher priority to bringing those responsible to justice in international human rights monitoring bodies such as the UN Security Council and the Human Rights Council. A new Security Council Resolution is required to expand the trigger for the application of the UN Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism to all six grave violations (killing or maiming of children, recruiting or using child soldiers, attacks against schools or hospitals, rape or other grave sexual violence against children; abduction of children and denial of humanitarian access for children - not just child soldiering as is currently the case). The MRM has helped

reduce recruitment and use of child soldiers, but does not effectively address other violations. Using trade and aid deals as leverage is also suggested (O'Malley 2008) – although much depends on who one is negotiating with and when rebel groups might come to the table. Some evaluation of the impact of the International Criminal Court, the application of human rights instruments and the monitoring of offences may be more available by the time of the GMR in 2011.

In his study for UNESCO *Education Under Attack* O'Malley mentions such legal instruments but also the traditional military response (for example in Thailand) of providing armed escorts for teachers and weapons training so teachers can fight back (although these responses did not stop the attacks). Similar security measures, with armed guards assigned to schools, are used in Israel and Iraq, but O'Malley concludes that research is needed to establish to what degree attacks are deterred by such measures – as well as into the degree to which learning can be negatively affected by the transformation of school into an armed encampment. An alternative is to find ways to encourage local communities to defend schools, as in Afghanistan: UNICEF's 'schools incident database' was showing a sharp drop in school attacks by insurgents. A third approach, promoting resilience, is to reduce the time learners spend in prominent official education buildings, and build up distance learning, or smaller units in homes (a traditional tactic for girls' education anyway, or in the shadow system in Kosovo, or in the siege of Sarajevo). UNICEF has a rapid response target in Afghanistan or being ready to visit the location of any attacks within 72 hours and being ready to provide classroom tents, teaching and learning materials and floor mats within 5 days to speed up the return to learning.

3. SPECIFIC GROUPS AND GROUP ISSUES

A recent study for UNICEF South Asia (Davies, Harber, Schweisfurth, Williams and Yamashita 2009) was asked to identify groups specially vulnerable to education loss in emergencies. The report concluded that child-seeking, child-friendly and child-enabling schools would benefit all children, but it also analysed when strategies did or should target specific groups (for example scholarships for girls or dalits). Strategy on education in conflict-affected areas means similar attention to identifiable groupings.

3.1 Gender

A specific emphasis on gender would be called for. While there are the essentialist questions over whether 'women' as a category can be seen to have a special relationship to conflict (for example, whether they are 'naturally' more peace loving), there is clear evidence that women do have a particular relation to some elements linked to human security, such as environmental degradation and human rights violations. Women, with very few exceptions, have not taken part in the management of international security.

In terms of causes of conflict, the questions are whether males, through combinations of social learning or social positioning are more likely to take aggressive, conflictual or extremist stances, and to look for or accept violent solutions to conflict. In terms of effects, the question is how conflict or extremism may affect women and men differently – in joining the military or radicalised movements, in displacement and loss of families, spouses and livelihoods and in the possibility of gender being used as

a weapon of war in rape and abduction. How gender roles are learned and reproduced in school would have a bearing on this.

There are many analyses of the links between aggressive masculinity and conflict (Fisher et al 2000), between masculinity and militarization (Jacobs et al, 2000), as well as between masculinity, hardness, religious idealism and martyrdom (Archer 2003). These ideals of manliness, the hero and the use of weapons acts to support state violence (Cohen 1998; Enloe 1987; Klein 2000). The implications for education are the reproduction of dominant masculinities in schools and the collusion in male violence as 'normal'. This is well explored in Leach and Mitchell's (2006) collection *Combating Gender Violence in and around Schools*, which reveals gendered violence in a range of countries – including corporal punishment, homophobia, abuse and harassment as well as new forms of cyber-bullying.

On the other hand, that women do participate in violence should not be ignored. There are disturbing analyses of women's participation and agency in violence and in the oppression of other women, as well as their challenge to it (Jacobs et al 2000; Skjelsbaek and Smith 2001). These include involvement in the Klu Klux Klan, and in fascist and Nazi movements, in Northern Ireland and in Chile. Nuns in Rwanda assisted the police, retired soldiers and other killers to burn alive and massacre in excess of 6,000 refugees. In India, numbers of women were mobilised to support the destruction of the Ayodhya mosque, sparking massive outbreaks of communal violence. Women are not just 'used' by men in political movements. As Pape analysed in his book *Dying To Win*, (2005), women are increasingly involved as suicide terrorists. Salla (2001) similarly challenges the arguments that women have a special role in securing international peace as a result of their socialisation and 'relational thinking'. He contends that women policymakers are just as capable as their male peers of making decisions concerning the use of force, and resort to a variety of ethical and political justifications for doing so. And increasingly, women are part of the 'security' arm of their states, whether in the police or surveillance agencies, and are actively seeking a role in front line combat, as in Iraq at present.

Again, if we look at the educational implications of this there would be dilemmas. Do we want to counter stereotypes and female victimology by building on any female propensities for aggression? To have everyone equally violent? Collections on gender and violence (e.g. Breines et al, Leach and Mitchell) often and understandably focus on strategies for countering violent masculinity rather than promoting alternative femininities. There are now relevant accounts from different countries of practical projects with boys to find alternatives to violence and to expand the range of masculinities, which would be useful to mention. (see chapters by Rob Morrell, by Michael Kaufman and by Malvern Lumsden in the collection *Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence* (Breines, Connell and Eide (eds), 2000); and the section 'Challenging Masculinities' in Leach and Mitchell (2006) which has 5 chapters detailing different techniques in India, Latin America, South Africa and Australia, by Seshadri and Chanran; Barker et al; Morrell and Makhaye; Mills; and Bhana.. See also Edith King \ *Teaching in an era of terrorism* (2006), for work on homophobia.

3.2 Language and language rights

Language can be part of the causes of conflict and continuing post-conflict strategy. There needs to be care about language rights. The Convention on the Rights of the

Child specifies the right to respect for one's language, but not the right to be taught in mother tongue. One could interpret the right to education as *implying* the need for mother tongue teaching in order to benefit from this education, but it is a legislative grey area. There is the question of whether language difference is real or symbolic - as in BiH, where the different 'languages' are in fact mutually intelligible, and where education in a 'different' language would do cultural rather than cognitive harm. A Framework Law produced through the intervention of OSCE and an Education Group of International Organisations recommended the right of pupils to use any of the three languages in school, that schools teach both scripts and that religious symbols should not be displayed. Political elections subsequently caused all these documents to be shelved. Division and separation of language remains politically justified within the Dayton agreement (Owen-Jackson 2008).

Language rights have been a big issue in the education of Roma children across Europe, but is complicated by the fact that not all Roma children have Roma as their first language. There are similarly a range of different Roma 'cultures' and it is difficult to simply incorporate Roma culture into the curriculum (Davies 2009b). In Sri Lanka, language has been a divisive issue, and there are efforts to teach Sinhala to Tamil speaking children and vice versa. Evaluation of this programme shows mixed results, and a lack of training for teachers (Perera 2007). In Nepal there is still disagreement between Maoists and the donors over issues of decentralisation and privatisation, there is nonetheless broad agreement between all parties on mother tongue education, and the development of primers, textbooks and teachers' materials in a range of Nepalese languages. Language choices are clearly a difficult issue in refugee situations (see below). Elsewhere there is the attempt to find a common, unifying language. 'It would however be a grave mistake to see every effort to impose a common language on a linguistically diverse population as an aggressive cultural act. In Senegal, it has had a unifying impact' (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000: 11). The critical factor appears to be how other languages are treated. To the extent that they are acknowledged formally and informally to be an important part of the collective national identity, potential tensions may be diffused.

3.3 Refugee education/exclusion

It is well documented that during times of crisis, marginalised children are more likely to be excluded (Nicolai 2007, Davies et al 2009). Oh and van der Stouwe's study of Burmese refugees in Thailand points up the complexity of the issues – language, community values, curriculum emphases, pregnant adolescents, management (see *Illustration 5*). One way to address the difficult choices is by focussing on learner's own perceptions (see also Section 7). Winthrop and Kirk's (2008) study of refugee and IDP students in Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Ethiopia revealed how student's well-being and their learning experiences should not be treated as separate issues. The combination of academic and social learning was what gave the children hope for the future, with the quality and relevance of learning being central. The authors cite studies showing that it is not the number of years girls spend in school but the level of skill acquisition that is a measure of long term schooling outcomes. Students were keenly aware of when they were learning and when they were not learning. An important message for all EFA efforts can be learned from refugee situations: 'Attending school was not enough'.

3.4 Reintegration of Child Soldiers

There are increasing – and sometimes conflicting – studies of education for ex-combatants. Matsumoto (2008) outlines the different types of intervention, based on perspectives of child soldiers as threat or victim. The Afghanistan New Beginnings Programme (ANBP) for example was driven by security objectives, removing the means of violence through demobilisation. UNICEF's programme was based on the premise that war affected youth need different interventions and support than adults, and their programming was more influenced by understandings of these children as vulnerable victims. Chrobok (2005) however points out that UNICEF's humanitarian approach might not be relevant in the Afghan context in which boys are traditionally given the adult role of protector of the family and community at a very early age, and may see themselves as agents in control of their actions. Humphreys and Weinstein (2005) similarly did a nuanced study of ex-combatants in Sierra Leone, showing the somewhat discouraging realities of the DDR programme in terms of whether participants gained community acceptance. Matsumoto (2008) cites studies suggesting more attention should be paid to the resilience and strength found amongst youth, as does Boyden (2003). Betancourt et al (2008) found former child soldiers strongly desiring to pursue education, but significant structural barriers persisting – school fees, materials, poor physical conditions of schools and lack of quality teachers and being overage. They experienced severe stress but also displayed coping strategies, particularly through peer support. Action Aid use Freirian techniques such as REFLECT, which use a more dialectic approach to facilitate sustainable reintegration: the aim is a strengthening of horizontal community and interpersonal cohesion. While it is argued that 'education alone cannot solve the problems of former child soldiers' (Betancourt 2008:581), education is crucial, perhaps in the form of condensed or accelerated learning programmes. These are documented in the Save The Children programmes, e.g Fenton (2007) for Southern Sudan.

4. CROSS-CUTTING OR CONTENTIOUS THEMES

4.1 Identity and nation-building

The debates on identity formation in and post-conflict continue. On the one hand, it would seem that building a secure cultural identity where others are not seen as a threat is a way to peaceful relations – as has been argued in Northern Ireland (Gallagher 2004). On the other hand, as has been seen in BiH, continued attempts to promote the 'national identity' of being Serb, Croatian and Bosniak continue to be a source of division. Teachers in Brcko were insistent that national poetry and music not only be maintained, but taught in separate groups (Davies 2004). Case studies of the reconciliation of identity struggles with a wider identification or set of allegiances would be useful.

Other debates around nation-building relate to the economic arguments, for example whether unequal access to employment and economic opportunities is central to conflict and/or to radicalisation. There is for example, the 'youth bulge' hypothesis, that if volatile youth are provided with vocational opportunities, the immediate threats will diminish (Collier 2007). This could of course be interpreted as 'false consciousness', particularly if prestige jobs are not available. It was interesting that one analysis said that the drive for professional qualifications among the Palestinians did more to serve individuals' personal liberation from poverty than the collective

liberation of Palestinians from their state of refugeehood (quoted in Barakat 2008). The assumed consensus that pursuing education was an important part of being Palestinian would have made it difficult for traditionalists to argue against schooling for girls' (Barakat 2008:12).

Traditional economic analysis would not see a divide between individual, vocational education and nation-building, in that an educated workforce leads to economic growth and hence stability. Yet the frantic search for qualifications and accreditation is known to be a dividing factor, both individually and in terms of which groups are better able to access such qualifications. The GMR might want to acknowledge this debate, and the evidence base on expenditure on various types of education and the link to social stability. Work on capacity development in fragile states (Davies 2009a) looked at the various studies of vocational education and the need for capacity development in market analysis as well as in the actual teaching of skills.

4.2 Extremism and radicalisation

It would be important to tackle the very current question of extremism and radicalisation as a distinct part of conflict. Education's role is either promoting or challenging violent extremism is highly complex (see Davies 2008). Biographies of extremists and suicide bombers will show that some are highly educated, even with medical degrees dedicated to saving lives. Education seems at best to fail to protect against extremism, or at worst, in some religious schools and madrassas, to promote ideologies of global dominance or violence as a means to an end. Where possible, Davies argues for a focus on the promotion of alternatives, free expression and critical thinking, to counter the ideas of a single truth and to foster provisionality and comfort with ambiguity. There is also the support for a value base in human rights and restorative justice, to enable critique of those interpretations of religious doctrine which call for revenge. A rights approach enables recognition that (according to rights conventions) there is no right not to be offended. Media education, including that of satire, is helpful in enabling young people to deconstruct messages and understand the means by which political and religious leaders can be critiqued. While (as with all controversial issues) there can be reluctance to bring up issues of fundamentalism, there are various initiatives which are starting to raise these issues in schools, using drama, debate or computer simulations, and some evaluations will be available by 2011.

The thorny issue of schools segregated by faith will need to be tackled at some point, in terms not just of exclusivity but how they portray 'the other', and whether they allow and value a range of perspectives on society, including secular and humanist versions of the world. The influence of Roman Catholic schools has shown a mixed picture, in Rwanda openly favouring the Tutsi and discriminating against the Hutu,, but in South Africa admitting black pupils and openly defying the government's prohibition on integrated education. How open Muslim schools are to children of other faiths or none, and what messages all faith schools convey can be part of conflict analysis. Research has shown that extremists undergo a progressive funnelling of their vision and ideas, ending up with an uncritical focus on their singular mission. It is crucial that schools and colleges of all denominations retain a broad critical vision across different worldviews.

4.3 Corruption

One of the features of fragile and conflict-affected states is high levels of corruption, which affect all rebuilding efforts. Sigsgaard (2009) concludes for Afghanistan that while the gains made in the education sector were impressive (in terms of enrolment), the international efforts in state building had not really affected the main drivers of fragility 'namely the permanent security threat of the Taliban's low-intensity guerilla warfare, the opium economy that funds it, and the widespread corruption in the state apparatus that allows it to happen' (p19). Corruption can be endemic through the system, so that attempts at regulation at lower levels are countermanded by larger scale corruption at senior levels. Ghost teachers and ghost schools are a well known phenomenon, or teachers having to pay a bribe to get their salary. Corruption may be linked to human rights abuses such as sexual harassment in schools, which can be covered up. All this results in a lack of faith by young people and parents in the system, supposed to teach values of integrity. Many children leave school with profound distrust of the institutions of the State in which they live, are particularly susceptible to the machinations of ethnic mobilisers. GTZ (2004) state that for corruption in education, unlike other sectors, the largest group affected is children and young people. Hallak and Poisson (2005) in an interesting and significant review report that leakage of funds from ministries of education to schools represent more than 80% of the total sums allocated (non-salary expenditures). The IIEP project on *Ethics and Corruption in Education* looks at the lack of accountability mechanisms, the behaviour of actors and promoting a 'citizens' voice'.

There are many guides on corruption generally and on corruption in education. The GTZ Practical Guide in 2004 outlined a whole raft of measures to tackle corruption in the education system. There are useful lists of indicators by which changes in corruption can be measured. Attempts have been made at meta-analyses which while acknowledging cultural difference in corruption, try to find common patterns and strategies. Hallak and Poisson have a model with three axes: regulation, management capacity and ownership; Davies (2009) has a model of 3 Rs: regulation, revelation and reward. Regulation includes four aspects: formal laws; codes of conduct; supervision or inspection of teachers; and the use of outside bodies, such as Independent Service Authorities or Ombudsmen. Declarations of professional ethics (Education International 2004) and evaluations of the different strategies which would be useful to consider. A particular concern is whether codes of conduct include prohibitions of violence towards children. Revelation, that is transparency, is equally important, promoting freedom of expression and 'whistle-blowing'. Parents usually have a vested interest in corruption-free education, and can be part of accountability processes. The work of Transparency International should be cited here, not just for their 'Bribe Payers Index' (2008), but their *Corruption Fighters Toolkit* (TI 2004), which documents a collection of youth education experiences, mainly from civil society organisations. These include fiscal education, drama, essay writing, visiting speakers – all to strengthen young people's demands for accountability and build trust in the system. The Network of African Youth against corruption has recently produced a *Guide to Youth Action Against Corruption* (Africa Youth Trust, 2009). Education Management Information Systems (EMIS) can be important, as long as data is reasonably accurate, and linked to teacher registration systems to avoid ghost schools and teachers. Public Expenditure tracking surveys (PETS), to reduce leakages of funds, have been used in various parts of Africa and Latin America. There have been evaluations of their usefulness (GTZ 2004) and problems of

government manipulation of data and lack of ownership by communities. The other way round is to provide incentives for transparent behaviour. Rebuilding a state is linked to rebuilding teacher professionalism. Interestingly, it has been found that just giving teachers a reasonable salary does not necessarily increase professionalism; effective school management and ownership are more effective.

5. POLICY AND LESSONS LEARNED

5.1 Reconstruction, building back better

The various agencies involved in education in emergencies have vast experience in providing education during a conflict and in reconstruction. The GMR could share some of the lessons learned from this experience. A key one is the need to 'build back better'. This has two aspects: not reproducing the conditions which may have contributed to conflict (hence replacing authoritarian, violent or segregated schools with child-friendly, inclusive ones) and providing better physical reconstruction and siting of schools which enables greater access and less likelihood of damage in the future. One concrete lesson learned for example from UNICEF was not building a school where dalits would have to cross land that was prohibited to them (Davies et al 2009).

5.2 Continuing policy mistakes

The classic example is the Dayton agreement which divided BiH, and then its school systems. As Owen-Jackson (2008) points out, the international organisations which negotiated the Dayton Agreement now appear to be powerless to change the educational situation that the agreement has fostered. She cites the example of a head of a Croatian majority school who claimed there was no room for a minority ethnic group of Bosniak returnee pupils (when data showed otherwise). The international organisation had no power or authority to take any further action. Politicians were still using schools to promote their nationalist/ethnic agenda, through the use of mono-ethnic, nationalist curricula and their refusal to engage in discussions on change. A continuing important lesson is that integration is not easily imposed or achieved (see *Illustration 6* of the attempted integration of Mostar Gymnasium, Hromadžić 2008)

Such examples show the importance of donors and the international community understanding the real politics of a conflict-affected state – past, present and future. The notion of a lack of 'political will' in explaining failed states has been critiqued within the literature on fragile contexts, as firstly being a state-centric approach which ignores non-state actors, and secondly being impossible to measure (Davies 2009a). The first question for EFA generally and EFA in conflict contexts is nonetheless whether there is a political desire for equality and equal access, or whether rhetoric masks a continuing support for reproduction of class, gender, ethnic or religious inequality in favour of dominant groups. The second question is how to influence political will. Work on capacity development in education has shown how it is possible to develop skills at individual and organisational levels, but that there is much less evidence of the potential of capacity development programmes in education to influence the ideologies and allegiances of the political elite.

Other lessons in terms of policy and donor involvement relate more to indirect shifts, such as decentralisation and privatisation. Decentralisation is supposed to give more power to communities and hence help social cohesion and ownership; privatisation aims to increase overall enrolments by encouraging private sector involvement. In Nepal, both were fiercely resisted by the Maoists, who ‘smelled a capitalist rat’, allowing the State to withdraw from public education, and *increasing* inequality (Shields and Rappleye 2008). It is not clear whether such moves will address the root causes of the conflict. Some accounts of *failures* of policy to address conflict would be useful, rather than just ‘good practices’.

6. DONOR INTERVENTION

6.1 Types of fragility

Accounts of different types of donor intervention will draw attention to the diverse types or stages of fragility which need to be taken into account (Brannelly et al 2009, Davies 2009a). The usual distinction is between the four types: deteriorating environments, arrested development, post-conflict transition and early recovery, with sometimes different strategies proposed in each context. However, these are not static, and states may move in and out of different stages. It is argued that a key aspect of capacity development is to help (re)build the state, yet that this is problematic with failing governments. Various sorts of alignments are called for, with shadow alignment necessary when the government is not functioning or there is no political will for peace or equity. Supporting the state is not the same as supporting the government, and the aim is to strengthen civil society and the rule of law, and to restore trust and legitimacy in institutions.

The question for the GMR would be whether to try to distinguish donor interventions in conflict-affected states from fragile states more generally (which may be fragile more because of poverty or emergency). However, fragile states are often more at risk of conflict, and the state-building aim cuts across all contexts. While the international agencies may have broad motives of either security or development, INGOs may have very specific targets linked to their missions, with Save the Children and UNICEF for example being concerned about children’s rights and the provision of child-friendly learning spaces.

The question is of what works and what does not: Rose and Greeley (2006) had suggested that there was very little concrete documented information available on NGO interventions that support service delivery and build accountability in education in either arrested development or deteriorating environments (compared to post-conflict or transition contexts). Similarly, as of 2008, there had been no evaluation of the effectiveness of EC education programmes in fragile situations (Brannelly et al 2009).

6.2 Timing

A classic dilemma is faced by agencies in education in emergencies – that there is urgency in providing safe schools as a means of psycho-social support and protection, but that hastily implemented peace education programmes may not have time to take context into account and may have negative outcomes (Novelli and Lopes Cardoso 2008). Case studies of programmes that have been able to introduce critical, problem-

solving approaches soon after an emergency or end to a conflict would be helpful (or have not – see Freedman et al (2008) *illustration 2* of Rwanda).

6.3 Funding channels

Linked to the analysis of fragility are decisions on how to channel funds, and whether as immediate humanitarian assistance or longer term development. Funding education under humanitarian assistance is relatively new, and had to be argued for as a priority. The ‘short-route accountability’, with funds going directly to NGOs, bypassing the state, and the NGOs being accountable to the community means that NGOs can try out innovative approaches. However, it may lead to a fragmented approach which while resulting in service delivery and enabling children to attend school, does not always have a longer term strategy for working with government and transferring power to them. The *DAC Principles* state that it is preferable for donors to support NGOs through government systems. This means multi-donor trust funds or budget support. However, Brannelly et al (2009) state that the approach of governments contracting to NGOs for service delivery under MDTFs has not worked well in some cases. Pooled funding does reduce transaction costs and means better coordination and harmonisation. In contrast, projects do not really match the *Paris Declaration*, yet they can of course be effective. The key trade off is between short term and long term impact. The Dutch-UNICEF partnership is a good exemplar as it enables a good bridge between humanitarian and development phases, and ‘quick impact’ in an area that is highly visible and prioritised by parents, local communities and governments. Yet there is no earmarking from the Netherlands and a high degree of trust with the implementing agency. Working with non-state actors may help build civil society, but this may undermine the legitimacy of the state (Davies 2009a). The GMR may want to provide examples of different types of funding modalities in different types of conflict-affected contexts. Brannelly et al’s (2009) study of policies and motivations of three main donors and two leading INGOs provide some useful lessons. They also provide a chart showing the reasons for donor engagement – concerns about security, humanitarian concerns, capacity development to minimise the risk of deterioration, EFA and MDG agendas, child protection and psychosocial care – and also the reasons inhibiting engagement – concerns about governance, security difficulties, lack of confidence in absorptive capacity, lack of coherence between humanitarian and development responses, incoherence between donor and national priorities, bias towards supporting ‘good performers’.

6.4 Who to fund? Alliances and trade-offs.

As Barakat points out in his study of education and intra-alliance conflict in South Africa and Palestine (2008), even if one central antagonism can be identified, numerous and divergent interests may exist *within* each of these groupings – ‘conflicts within a conflict’. Education can be a unifying force, or a cause of violent disagreement. ‘Negotiating internal disagreements over education might be considered a special case of educational policy making, albeit under pressure’ (p5). When there is absence of control over schools, there can be ‘constructive ambiguity’ over educational goals, since trade-offs do not have to be faced pragmatically. Yet how to engage with a school system controlled by ‘the enemy’ is potentially divisive. And when control is finally achieved, tenuous alliances that previously constituted ‘one side’ to the conflict are tested. This analysis would link to what happens when ‘shadow systems’ that operated during occupation or oppression (as in Kosovo) then come to scale post-conflict.

Nepal for example, involved a complex intersection of class, ethnicity and geographic location, with the Maoists envisaging it as a class struggle against a ‘feudal autocracy’ (Shields and Rappleye 2008). They received support from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), a global association of communist parties that includes Peru’s Shining Path, all united by a powerful Marxist-Leninist ideology. Yet it was not just a class war, but included longstanding issues of ethnicity based on caste – with the Maoists seeming attractive to those low caste groups ignored by the ruling elite.

The GMR could examine various ‘trade-offs’ in policy post-conflict. In South Africa post-apartheid, for example, redistribution had to be achieved within the existing budget, and in practice this problem was framed by policy makers as one of efficiency rather than justice or redress (Chisholm et al, 2003, quoted in Barakat 2008). Well off black families had access to formerly white schools and universities, but the material context of black schooling changed very little. EFA may not be just about ‘increasing access’ generally but about redistribution of what is already there in terms of unequal opportunities and access to *quality*.

7. RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS: WHO RESEARCHES AND WHOSE VIEWS?

All DAC type principles will stress ‘taking context into account’ and ‘working with stakeholders’ in deciding strategy. The question is then whose interpretations of context count and who constitute stakeholders. The importance of gaining the views of those engaging in and experiencing conflict is increasingly acknowledged, whether as child soldiers (Matsumoto 2008) or refugees (Evans 2008). Evans problematises Bush and Saltarelli’s peace-building education which aims to empower children through the demonstration that alternatives exist. She found among young Bhutanese refugees that they engaged in humanitarian agency projects which promoted human rights and peaceful values and simultaneously engaged with political groups advocating violence. In raising awareness of domestic violence or child trafficking, they learned about the power of poetry, singing and street theatre from the agencies, but then employed these in their work with political groups and violent political activities intended to enable the return of refugees to Bhutan. Encouraging ‘participation’ of young people is not without its dangers. In Nepal, similarly, Maoist members sought to recruit women and children who had had training on rights and empowerment and who may therefore be more confident and have better leadership skills than their peers. They have also apparently convinced such woman and children to join the movement by arguing that their rights can be achieved through dramatic political change alone: ‘the promotion of ‘rural women’s critical thinking skills’ through empowerment projects may have paved the way for them to engage with Marxist ideology as fully conscious political subjects’ (Evans 2008:57). As with conflict and education, there are also then two faces to ‘empowerment’. Facilitators cannot control the confidence and skills learned, and participants may use these in ways unanticipated by humanitarian agencies. The sense of empowerment experienced through the political violence of extremism and is of course equally powerful (Davies 2008). This is not ‘mindless’ violence, but linked to a sense of mission and also to one’s special place within such a mission. When schooling does not offer such a sense of mission and self-importance, then radicalisation is attractive.

Another area of different perspectives relates to rights. Western understandings of childhood have impacted on much policy, yet can be seen as biased (Boyden 1997). The right to education may be privileged over the children's right to work with dignity, yet the socio-economic situation of the global South may necessitate work, which can be valued by the children and their families. This is not to romanticise child labour, but to reaffirm that policies and choices around children's rights can never be politically neutral. Humanitarian agencies do promote Article 12 of the CRC regarding the right of the child to participate in 'decisions that affect them', and recognise children's social competence, but decisions that affect them are not always seen in political terms, rather school or family. As has been found from work on global citizenship education (Davies et al 2006) children want to know about war in their current context, and feel schools do not tackle this sufficiently. All over the world children may engage in Youth Parliaments, debate the Arms Trade and join Amnesty International. The problem is that their influence in these large areas is small (as it is for adults). Engaging in political violence however has an immediate impact. As with peace education, we need research on the long term impact of citizenship education and human rights education on the exercise of agency. Schools are supposed to promote active citizenship, yet may be wary of the really active forms (such as demonstrations against war). Demonstrations seem a valuable activity, in the sense of being non-violent, but the Bhutan example of children's involvement found them not just engaging in public demonstrations, but effigy burning and threatening and attacking political opponents. How do educational settings tackle political violence as a means to an end?. The problem is that the governments that the children know will use violence constantly, arguing for example that democracy and freedom can be bought by war and invasion. The role models are not that good. Children's voices will at least show us how they see such hypocrisy. Examples would be useful of how a critical education system can be nurtured within a non-democratic, pseudo-democratic or transitionally democratic political system.

Pedagogical agency is another important area. Winthrop and Kirk's (2008) study of children in emergency or refugee contexts showed the importance of learner perspectives, and of learner agency – not the humanitarian notions that portray children as innocent, vulnerable, helpless and 'in formation'. Instead the students understood themselves not as helpless subjects that are acted upon but as subjects who actively constructed their school experience. Students would seek additional explanations for what they did not understand, using people around them as resources and by default using their own creativity, resourcefulness and imagination. Engaging children in monitoring and evaluating teacher development, school improvement projects and community education activities, for example, is a possible way to instil in children their own sense of agency. Eritrean students in camps appreciated the health and hygiene lessons as new patterns for these had to be found in the camps. But they also spent time talking about specific pedagogical techniques – teaching aids, illustrative stories and field trips.

Different pupil perceptions of what sort of school they want are significant. After emergencies, Chechen youth were upset because of the nonformal nature of the programme, which did not include subject learning. The informality, the students said, reinforced the feelings of estrangement and alienation that had arisen from the displacement. They wanted a formal, a proper school which they argued they needed for their future (Betancourt et al 2002). This could relate to another dilemma – as

argued earlier, post-emergency is supposed to ‘build back better’, moving on from traditional authoritarian schooling to more child-friendly modes – yet it is essential that students still see these as ‘proper’ schools. For students in Winthrop and Kirk’s study in Afghanistan it was important that community members recognised them as school students – being ‘school girls and boys’ and not on the street, wearing school type clothes.

CONCLUSION: CONTEXT OR GLOBAL PATTERNS?

All these revelations of increasing complexity and context do not preclude work that cuts across context and uses regional and international analysis and leverage. The INEE Minimum Standards are a classic example. Instances for comparative or synthesised work emerging from this paper would include:

- ❖ Indicators of violence in schools (means by which schools and systems can be compared in terms of physical and symbolic violence)
- ❖ Textbook watch (similar to human rights watch, which monitors bias and militarism)
- ❖ International standards for civics education (curriculum content, different views of history, different opinions, different levels of critical thinking, standards for participation, being able to manage a conflict, build a consensus etc)

There would also of course need to be acknowledgement of power relationships in who draws these up, and potential conflict in their application. However, this could hopefully be seen as positive conflict.

REFERENCES

- Barakat, B (2008) 'Education and Intra-alliance Conflict: contrasting and comparing popular struggles in apartheid South Africa and Palestine' *Research in Comparative and International Education* 3,1 pp5-18
- Betancourt, T, Winthrop, R, Smith, W and Dunn, G (2002) 'Emergency Education and Psychosocial adjustment: displaced youth in Ingushetia' *Forced Migration Review* 15, (October) 28-30
- Betancourt, T, Simmons, S, Borisova, I, Brewer, S, Iweala, U and Soudière, M (2008) 'High Hopes, Grim Reality and the Education of former Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone' *Comparative Education Review* 52,4, 565-587
- Boyden, J (2003) 'Children Under Fire: challenging assumptions about children's resilience' *Children, Youth and Environments* 13, 1, Spring
- Brannelly, L, Ndurahutse, S and Rigaud, C (2009) *Donors' engagement: Supporting education in fragile and conflict-affected states* UNESCO IIEP/CfBT
- Breines, I, Connell, R and Eide, I (2000) (eds) *Male Roles, masculinities and violence: a culture of peace perspective* Paris: UNESCO
- Buckland, P (2006) 'Post-conflict Education: time for a reality check?' *Forced Migration Review Supplement: Education and Conflict: research, policy and Practice*. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, UNICEF
- Bush, K and Saltarelli, D (2000) *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict. Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* Florence: Innocenti Research Centre, United Nations Children's Fund
- Collier, P (2007) *Post-conflict Recovery: How Should Policies Be distinctive?* Oxford: Centre for the Study of African Economies
- Lopes Cardozo, M (2008) 'Sri Lanka: in piece or in pieces? A critical approach to peace education in Sri Lanka' *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 3,1, pp 19-35
- Covell, K and Howe, B (2005) *Rights, Respect and Responsibility* Report on the RRR Initiative to Hampshire Education Authority. Cape Breton: Children's Rights Centre.
- Collier, P (2007) *Post-conflict Recovery: How Should Policies Be distinctive?* Oxford: Centre for the Study of African Economies
- Davies, L (2004) *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos* London: Routledge.
- Davies, L (2005a) 'Evaluating the Link between Conflict and Education' *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 2,2, pp42-58

- Davies, L (2005b) 'Teaching About Conflict Through Citizenship Education' *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, Vol 1, No. 2, 17-34
- Davies, L (2007) *Action Research for Educational Change in post-conflict Angola*. Research Report for Education Action International, Birmingham: Centre for International Education and Research
- Davies, L (2008) *Educating Against Extremism* Stoke on Trent: Trentham
- Davies, L (2009a) *Capacity Development in Education in Fragile Contexts* GTZ/ETF On-line on INEE website
- Davies, L (2009b) *A Human Rights Based approach to Roma Education* Paper for UNICEF, Decade of the Roma conference, Belgrade
- Davies, L (2010 forthcoming) 'Learning to Trust: legitimacy, transparency and professionalism in education in fragile contexts' in K. Prewitzer and H. Weiland (eds) *Education in Fragile Contexts: Governance Practices and Challenges*. Nomos
- Davies, L, Harber, C and Yamashita, H (2006) *Global Citizenship Education: The Needs of Teachers and Learners* Birmingham: CIER
- Davies, L, C.Harber, M.Schweisfurth, H.Yamashita, C.Williams (2009) *Educating in Emergencies in South Asia: Reducing the Risks facing Vulnerable Children* CIER/ UNICEF
- DEA (2009) *Teachers' Attitudes to Global Learning: an Ipsos MORI Research Study on behalf of the DEA*. www.dea.org.uk
- Donnelly, C (2004) 'What Price Harmony? Teachers' methods of delivering an ethos of peace and tolerance and respect for diversity in an integrated schools in Northern Ireland' *Educational Research* 46, 1 3-16
- Edge, K, Frayman, K and Ben Jafaar, S (2008) *North-South Partnerships: Learning from schools in the UK, Africa and Asia, Year 1*. Unpublished research report, London Institute of Education
- Education International (2004) (<http://www.ei-ie.org/library/en/display.php?id=37/>) There is also a Resolution on Combating Mismanagement and Corruption in education (2004) (<http://www.ei-ie.org/library/en/display.php?id=41>).
- Enloe, C (1987) 'Feminist Thinking about War, Militarism and Peace' in B.Hess (ed) *Analysing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research* Newbury Park: Sage
- Evans, R (2008) 'The Two Faces of Empowerment in Conflict' *Research in Comparative and International Education* 3,1, pp 50-64
- Fenton, W (2007) *Treading a Delicate Path: NGOs in Fragile States. Case Study Soithern Sudan*. London; Save The Children UK

Fisher, S, Abdi, D, Ludin, J, Smith, R, Williams, S and Williams, S (2000) *Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action* London: Zed Books.

Freedman, S, Weinstein, H, Murphy, K and Longman, T (2008) 'Teaching History after Identity-based Conflict: The Rwanda Experience' *Comparative Education Review* 52,4 pp663-690

Gallagher, T (2004) *Education in Divided Societies* Palgrave Macmillan

GTZ (2004) *Preventing Corruption in the Education System: A Practical Guide* Eschborn: GTZ

GTZ (undated) 'Fighting Corruption in and through education: Experiences of German Technical Cooperation' Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit

Hallak, Jacques and Muriel Poisson (2005) 'Ethics and Corruption in Education: an overview'. *Journal of Education for International Development* 1(1) Retrieved 18th February 2009, from <http://equip123/net/JEID/articles/1/1-3.pdf>

Holden, C and Hicks, D (2007) 'Making global connections: The knowledge, understanding and motivation of trainee teachers' *Teaching and Teacher Education* 23, 1, 13-23

Hromadžić, A (2008) 'Discourses of Integration and Practices and Reunification at the Most Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina' *Comparative Education Review* 52, 4, 341-364

Humphreys, M and Weinstein, J (2005) 'Disentangling the Determinants of Successful Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration' (quoted in Matsumoto)

Jacobs, S, Jabcobsen, R and Marchbank, J (eds) (2000) *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* London: Zed Books

Kimmerling, B (2003) *Politicide: Ariel Sharon's wars against the Palestinians* London: Verso

King, E (2006) *Meeting the Challenges of Teaching in an era of terrorism* US: Thomson

Klein, U (2000) 'Our best boys: the making of masculinity in Israeli society' in I. Breines, R. Connell and I. Eide (eds) *Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence: A Culture of Peace Perspective* Paris: UNESCO

Leach, F and Mitchell, C (eds) (2006) *Combating Gender Violence in and around schools* Stoke on Trent: Trentham

Leonard, A (2008) 'Global school relationships: school linking and modern challenges' in D.Bourn (ed) *Development Education: Debates and Challenges* London: Institute of Education

- Leonard, M (2007) 'Children's Citizenship Education in Politically Sensitive Societies' *Childhood* 14,4 487-508
- Martin, F (2007) 'School linking: a controversial issue' in Holden, C and Claire, H (eds) *The Challenge of teaching controversial issues* Stoke on Trent: Trentham
- Matsumoto, Y (2008) 'Education for Demilitarising Youth in Post Conflict Afghanistan' *Research in Comparative and International Education* 3,1, 65-78
- McBride, S (1983) *Israel in Lebanon: report of the International Commission to Enquire into Reported Violations of International Law by Israel during the Invasion of the Lebanon* London: Ithaca Press
- Nef, J 'Terrorism and the Pedagogy of Violence: a critical analysis' in W,Nelles (ed) *Comparative Education, Terrorism and Human Security: from critical pedagogy to peacebuilding?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Nicolai, Susan (2007) *Fragmented Foundations: education and chronic crisis in the Occupied Palestinian Territory* UNESCO IIEP/Save The Children
- Niens, U and Chasteney, M (2008) 'Educating for Peace? Citizenship Education in Quebec and Northern Ireland' *Comparative Education Review* 52, 4 pp519-540
- Novelli, M and Lopes Cardoso, M (2008) 'Conflict, Education and the Global South: new critical directions' *International Journal of Educational Development*
- OECD /DAC (2007) *Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations* DCD/DAC (2007)29. OECD, Paris
- Oh, S and Van der Stouwe. M (2008) 'Education, Diversity and Inclusion in Burmese Refugee Camps in Thailand' *Comparative Education Review*, 52,4 589-617
- O'Malley, B (2007) *Education under Attack* Paris UNESCO Education Sector
- Owen-Jackson, G (2008) 'Political Peace – Educational War: the role played by international organisations in negotiating peace in the Balkans and its consequences for education' *Research in Comparative and International Education* 3,1, pp79-90
- Pape, R (2005) *Dying To Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* New York: Random House
- Perera, M *Survey of Status of Second Language Teaching and Learning in National Colleges of Education* Research Report, Sri Lanka: National Education Research and Evaluation Centre (NEREC)
- Salamon, G (2002) 'The Nature of Peace Education: not all programmes are created equal'. In G.Salamon and B. Nevo (eds) *Peace Education around the World: the concept, the practise, the research.* Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

- Salla, M (2001) 'Women and War, Men and Pacifism' in I. Skjelsbæk and D. Smith (eds) *Gender, Peace and Conflict* London: Sage
- Salmi, J (2006) 'Violence, democracy and education: an analytical framework' in E. Roberts-Schweitzer, V. Greaney and K. Duer (eds) *Promoting Social Cohesion through Education*, Washington, World Bank
- Save The Children (2009) *Rewrite the Future: Preventing attacks on Schools*. Policy Brief 2009
- Sebba, J and Robinson, C (2008) *Evaluation of UNICEF's Rights Respecting School Award* University of Sussex
- Shields, R and Rappleye, J (2008) Differentiation, Development, (Dis) integration: education in Nepal's 'People's War' *Research in Comparative and International Education* 3,1, pp91-102
- Sigsgaard, Morten (2009) *Education and Fragility in Afghanistan: a critical situational analysis* Paris@ UNESCO-IIEP
- Sinclair, M et al (2009) *Learning to Live Together: Design, Monitoring and Evaluation of Programmes in citizenship, human rights, peace and life skills education*. GTZ
- Skjelsbæk, I and Smith, D (eds) (2001) *Gender, Peace and Conflict* London: Sage
- Smith, A and Vaux, T (2003) *Education, Conflict and International Development* London: Department for International Development
- Weinstein, H, Freedman, S and Hughson, H (2007) 'School Voices: Challenges facing education systems after identity-based conflicts' *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 2, 1, 41-71
- Winthrop, R and Kirk, J (2008) 'Learning for a Bright Future: Schooling, Armed Conflict and Children's Well-being' *Comparative Education Review* 52,4, 639-661
- Tanaka, S (2001) 'Corruption in education sector development: a suggestion for anticipatory strategy' *International Journal of Educational Management* 14,4, pp158-166
- Transparency International (2004) *Corruption Fighters Toolkit*
http://www.transparency.org/tools/e_toolkit/corruption_fighters_tool_kit_special_edit ion_2004/english
- Transparency International (2005) *Stealing the Future: Corruption in the Classroom*
http://www.transparency.org/publications/publications/stealing_future
- Transparency International (2008) *Bribe Payers Index* Berlin: TI

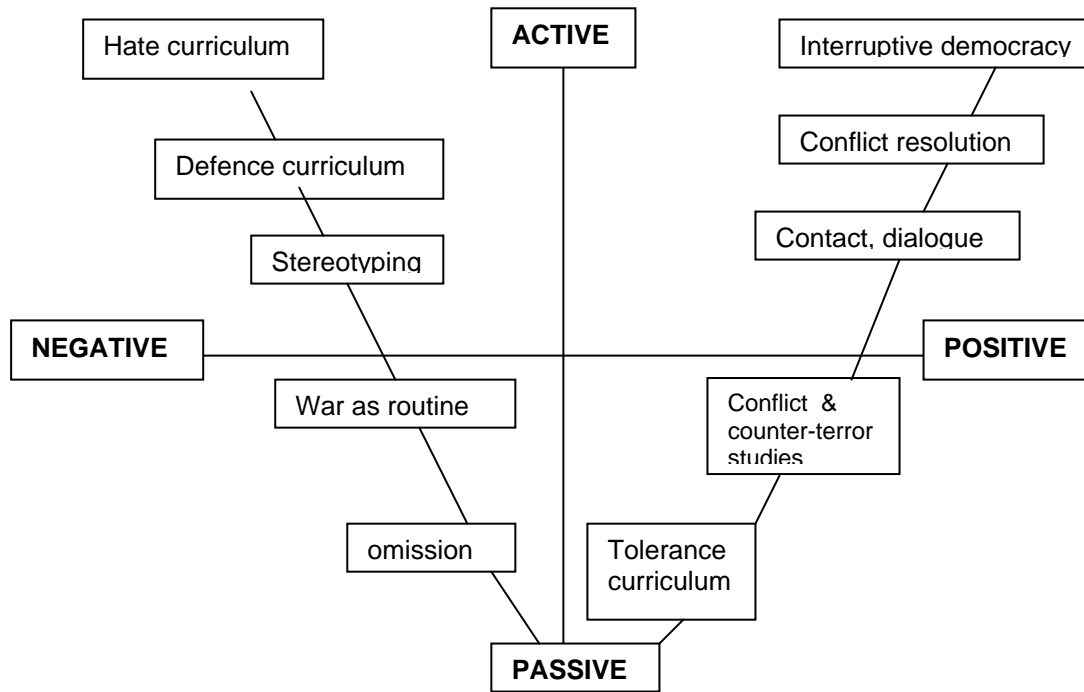
U4-CMI (2006) *Corruption in the Education Sector* Bergen: Anti Corruption Resource Centre

University of Sussex (2009) *Review of Rights Respecting Schools Award*

Zemach-Bersin, T (2007) 'Global Citizenship and Study Abroad: It's all about US. *Critical Literacy: Theories and practices* Vol 1, 2 16-28

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Typology of teaching about conflict



Source: Davies, 2005b. Note: ‘Interruptive democracy’ is a term coined by Davies in *Education and Conflict* (2004) to refer to ‘the process by which people are enabled to intervene in practices which continue injustice’ (p212). It contains deliberation and dialogue, as well as creativity, play and humour; yet interruptive democracy it is not just taking part, but the disposition to challenge, to find spaces for dissent, resilience and action.

2. External intervention in curriculum

A salutary account by Freedman et al (2008) of the teaching of history after identity-based conflict in Rwanda confirmed how schools reflect and have the power to influence, the processes of collective memory transmission and transformation. The development of a history curriculum in a post-conflict country reflects in microcosm the forces that drove the country’s conflict – political manipulation, ethnic stereotyping and rivalries, economic competition for scarce resources and the power of collective memory influence how a history curriculum develops in the aftermath of conflict. The victory of one side created a set of tensions that inhibited curriculum reform. There was fear of teaching students to be critical thinkers and fear of productive conflict ‘Our research suggests that teaching a critical approach to history may be fundamentally at odds with the political effort to create the nation as a new, imagined community’ (684). Furthermore, external intervention no matter how well meaning and thoughtful, is always subject to the political context. Again, this is a timing issue. ‘Progressive curricular development is more likely in political contexts that support openness and transparency, for example, where conflict has ended and a consensus exists that a healthy state is more important than the parochial vision of any

one group. This kind of change is only possible where there is rule of law and citizens do not live in fear' (p684). Freedman et al found that the policy of denying ethnicity and the inability to discuss ethnicity comfortably make it hard for everyday citizens to process what happened during the genocide and to talk about lingering fears and dangers. Unless that policy is addressed and remedied, the teaching of Rwanda's history will be flawed, and the potential for further destructive conflict will remain a concern. There was an increasing *narrowness* of perspectives, greater caution, the government distancing itself from the project – which had an emphasis on openness, individual choice, democratic classrooms and primary source review. 'The fundamental questions become these: when is the best time to make the educational intervention? What openings for change can be found?' (p686). They argue that it is not all or nothing success or failure, which is the trap of much international aid. The tasks are to institute a process, to introduce possibility and to create opportunity. Capacity had been built in Rwandan history educators, and the government had embraced the importance of teaching history, and new methodologies. The process of creating democratic institutions, the rule of law, the support for human rights and constructive engagement across formerly warring groups is necessary for meaningful curriculum change, but this type of transition takes longer and requires more internal and external attention and resources than conventional wisdom supports.

3. Citizenship and politics

Niens and Chastaney in their study of citizenship education in the divided societies of Quebec and Northern Ireland found the opportunity for citizenship education to influence pupils' political participation limited. Schools are hierarchical organisations in which involvement in decision-making processes remains limited, democratic processes tokenistic. They confirm the important point that political leaders who try to evoke national/cultural membership are often more effective in mobilizing political participation than are their counterparts who call for a common future, and that lack of focus on the positive use of traditional (P) politics may have negative implications for social cohesion in the long term (2008:531).

4. Schools as a weapon of war

In Nepal, schools were taken over by the Maoists, and the role of the teacher became deeply politicised as both Maoists and the Royal Army sought support for their respective ideological positions in the classroom. Students were abducted from classrooms to attend indoctrination camps (People's Education), leading many parents to withdraw their children from school. Schools and the education system were not innocent in the conflict, in that they had reproduced the social inequalities that were among the conflict's main causes. (The perception that education is not neutral, that it has provided unequal opportunities or that it represents the imposition of an alien culture of language is underneath many of the singling out of schools for targets). However, they also acted as mitigator, diffusing political tensions and mediating the interests of all sides –again, this being more than just 'two faces' (Shields and Rappleye 2008). In the Occupied Palestinian Territories on the other hand, the emergence of Palestinian universities was initially tolerated by the military administration, as these universities were seen as places where informers could monitor youth activism. In addition, opportunities for university study were thought to provide an alternative to membership of the PLO (Barakat 2008). Since then, it is argued that Israel has repeatedly displayed a pattern of symbolic violence against

Palestinians, including the destruction of research centres, and prohibitions on fine arts degrees.

5. Refugee education

Oh and van der Stouwe's (2008) study of Burmese refugees in Thailand showed how the refugees had suffered extreme exclusion in Burma, but were also a marginalised community in Thailand, excluded from educational opportunities of Thai children. As a signatory to the EFA framework, the Royal Thai government is putting more effort into ensuring the inclusion of migrant and refugee populations in their educational policies. Also, in some of the camps schools were trying to circumvent unwritten community rules prohibiting pregnant adolescent girls from continuing their studies by providing alternatives to study or take exams. Yet in the camps, various sorts of exclusion persisted. Authoritarian and traditional teaching methods meant little critical thinking, lack of exposure to different ideas, people and situations and less appreciation of diversity and the need for different groups on committees. The choice of language of instruction created educational disadvantages for significant numbers. NGOs were very important, negotiating for inclusion of reproductive health in the curriculum as well as topics related to human rights, citizenship and peacebuilding. But there is a dilemma: how far can the NGOs go in challenging community values and the status quo without being accused of imposing their own cultural and political views on refugee education, and losing support of the local leadership?

6. Integrated schools

A study of the 'integration' of the Mostar Gymnasium (Hromadžić 2008) found it embodying the paradoxical spirit of Dayton (simultaneous segregation and unification in the name of democratisation and common national identity). The experiment was precarious because the international community (IC) did not understand the social implications of integration for the local communities, especially Croats, and the sense of belonging and the right to cultural and linguistic protection. The OSCE has been trying to promote 'politics out of school' programmes, but schooling is at the heart of the political in BiH. The IC had to shift the discourse of integration to that of unification of two schools, or even 'administrative unification'. Yet is it possible to keep politics out of school? Should histories be surfaced? 'Only when young people realise that histories are constructed rather than given, can they even begin to contemplate challenging and changing the behaviour that poisons inter-group relations' (UN 1996a). The same could be argued for constructions of religion.