



where peace Begins

Education's role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding



Save the Children Rewrite the Future

The International Save the Children Alliance is the world's leading independent children's rights organisation, with members in 28 countries and operational programmes in more than 100. We fight for children's rights and deliver lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.

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Cover picture: A young girl raises her hand during class in Bazarak School, Panjshir Valley, Afghanistan. Reconstruction of the school, which is one of the oldest in the area, began in 2002.

Photographer: Jean Chung

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Foreword



I know only too well how the poisons of poverty, injustice and inequality can lead to war. Many have died – and many of them children – in the conflicts of recent years. Even when a peace accord is signed, as in the case of Liberia, survivors often continue to live with the terror of their memories and the legacy of long-held grievances.

It is easy at times to feel despondent, to think that my country and others who have suffered wars cannot find a lasting peace. It is understandable to lose belief in the possibilities of a better society. It is much more difficult to face up to the great challenges ahead of us, and to have the courage to take them on.

If anything can open our eyes to a better, more peaceful future, it is education. I have seen firsthand in Liberia how a good teacher can show a child not just how words are spelt and numbers add up, but also the possibilities they have in life. All our children have the right to education – but not just any education. We have a stark choice: to teach children in ways that will continue the conflicts and violence we see around the world, or to give our children a safe, positive environment where they can learn a better way.

Education – the right kind of quality education – can give children hope and opportunities, and heal divisions and the traumas of war. A school can and should be a place of peace. How can we make this so and how difficult is it? I urge you to read on. Quality education is central to peace, and peace should be at the heart of education. We owe it to all our children to make both a reality.

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read "Ellen Johnson Sirleaf". The signature is fluid and cursive.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf
President of Liberia

Table of contents

1. Introduction	5
Peace begins in the minds of children	5
Education for peace: beginning a global debate	5
2. Children in armed conflict	6
3. Education as the peace dividend: Opportunities for change	8
Addressing education in peace agreements	8
The challenges	9
4. The power to heal: Quality education for all	12
A positive impact for children	12
A positive impact for states	13
5. The potential to divide: Education as a weapon	14
Education can be manipulated	14
Education can be used to exclude people from opportunities	14
Education can become a focus for attack	15
6. Time for change: Education for peace	17
Schools must be inclusive and accessible	17
Education must be safe and protective	18
Education must be relevant and appropriate	20
Education systems must be accountable	20
7. Conclusion and questions	22
Education for peace: How to join the global debate	23
Endnotes	24
Appendix: Education in Peace Agreements, 1989 to 2005:	26



“Since wars begin in the minds of men,
it is in the minds of men that the
defence of peace must be constructed”

Preamble of UNESCO's Constitution

1. Introduction

PEACE BEGINS IN THE MINDS OF CHILDREN

■ Most people recognise instinctively the role of education in preventing conflict and in building peace. Most people also understand the dangers inherent in the abuse of education systems. Against this background, part of the purpose of this report is to set out – on the basis of Save the Children's experience – what we believe to be the impact of conflict on children and on their education. The report also sets out our understanding of how education can make conflicts worse and how education – the right sort of education – can support peace.

However, describing how the right sort of quality education can lead to peace and how the wrong sort can make conflict worse will only get us so far. We need to find ways of making quality education a reality in conflict-affected fragile states around the world. This is a challenge to us and many others in the international community to ensure good education before, during and after conflicts, and when peace settlements are negotiated.

Peace begins in the minds of children. But how do we make sure children receive the quality education that will help them build peace?

EDUCATION FOR PEACE: BEGINNING A GLOBAL DEBATE

To try to answer this question, Save the Children is launching a global debate on education for peace. This report is to spark

the debate: a discussion document based on our programme experience in many countries and some specific research in three countries (Guatemala, Liberia and Nepal). We want to engage with others concerned with education and peace to explore the issues this report raises and to find real solutions in conflict-affected fragile states to building peace and improving education for children.

At the end of this report there are a number of questions designed to prompt you to respond to some of the core issues raised by this report. We hope that many people – those concerned with peace and with education, children, teachers, parents, policy makers – will respond and help to improve our collective understanding of the role of education in the development of peace. This is to ensure that children's access to and completion of a quality education becomes the criteria by which sustainable peace is measured.

In addition to receiving comments in this way, Save the Children will be actively seeking views from people around the world. This will contribute to a body of evidence that supports the case to ensure quality education becomes part of all peace agreements. This type of education, that heals and transforms, needs to be adequately funded and resourced in all contexts.

Full details of how to respond to the questions follow in chapter 7.

“Education is seen as one of the cornerstones of this peacebuilding process. It is not an isolated role for as UNESCO (1998) puts it: “to be successful, it must be associated with social justice and sustainable human development”. ...The education sector, with all its capacities for delivering knowledge and training, has an important role to play in the rebuilding process. Finally, because education intersects with almost every sector and theme in peacebuilding, it warrants its own examination of the competencies, skills and resources needed to make the kinds of contributions demanded of it.”
Annette Isaac Consulting / CIDA (April 1999), *Education and Peacebuilding – A Preliminary Operational Framework*, Ottawa



2. Children in armed conflict

■ Children are particularly affected by conflict. Millions of girls and boys grow up surrounded by actual or threatened violence in conflict-affected fragile states (CAFS).¹ They grow up without access to basic services, including education. These countries are more often than not the furthest away from reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). For example, over half the world's 72 million out-of-school children – 37 million – live in CAFS, even though these countries make up just 13 % of the world's population.² Education is a human right that demands fulfilment even in situations of danger and deprivation.³ It is also what children clearly want.

Right from the start of any debate we must understand how armed conflict can have a significant and damaging impact on education. Students, teachers and administrative staff may be targeted for intimidation, recruitment and indoctrination, and school premises are often damaged, destroyed or occupied by fighters. In conflict areas, government spending on education can sometimes be diverted to security, further lowering the quality of provision.⁴

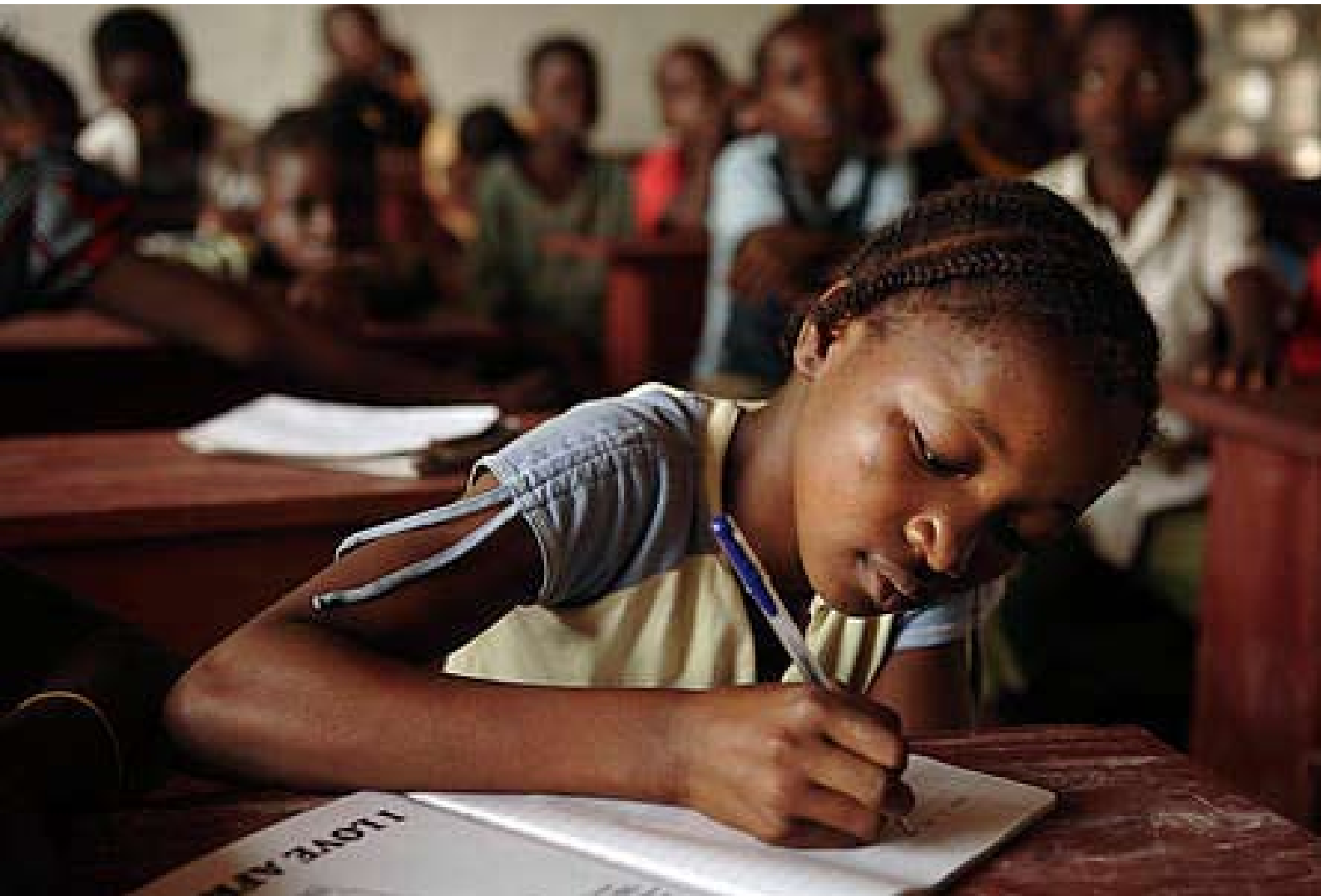
Teachers may become subject to manipulation where repressive regimes view education either as a threat or as a potential tool for indoctrination. There is evidence that, if misused, education may contribute to conflict.⁵ Children in conflict zones are denied the transformative effects that quality education⁶ brings.

However, quality education of the type we describe later in this report provides children with the time, space and guidance they need to realise their personal potential. It offers the reassuring safety of daily routine, the confidence that comes with acquiring knowledge, and the physical and social adventures of the playground and the classroom. Like the best of societies, schools invite children to enjoy freedom, within rules; to choose their own interests and friends, while accepting that they belong to a larger community; and to learn possibly the most important rule of all: the equality of all children. In times of conflict, quality education also increases children's resistance to forced recruitment into armed militia, and improves their survival skills and coping mechanism, as seen in case study below.

Case Study: Southern Sudan

An educational programme for children formerly associated with the armed forces, the Miith Akolda Curriculum, developed by CARE during the war in Southern Sudan, was developed within a fortnight to cater for thousands of children evacuated from the front line to safer locations. It aimed to disarm and rehabilitate children associated with the armed forces and provide structure for daily activities in the camp. It incorporated teaching with many other activities, such as problem solving, health and hygiene, singing and dancing, using numbers, children's rights, story telling, sports and physical education, quiet play. The time spent in schooling was gradually increased as children became accustomed to life in the camps and learnt routine tasks necessary for the running of the camp... As a result the children took responsibility for the camps, and the security of the routine, helped to stabilise their lives, and allow the slow process of reintegration to take place.

IIEP (2006). *Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction*. IIEP UNESCO, Paris.



Education is also part of the social and political landscape, and contributes directly to growth, peace and stability. The benefits of education are lasting because the children who acquire them will transfer them to the next generation. For example, one year of education can raise the living wage of men and women by an average of 10%.⁷ Yet, on the other hand, poverty increases the likelihood of civil war that in turn increases the rates of poverty. Paul Collier describes this as a ‘conflict trap’.⁸ The neglect of education denies the potential of tens of millions of children. “Lack of jobs and educational opportunities opposes the younger generation’s expectations for social advancement.”⁹

“My education is a treasure for me. It is portable wealth that doesn’t expire and can’t be stolen.”

– Liberian parent

Rebuilding education in post-conflict environments restores civic confidence and contributes to the peace dividend. Inclusive schools that offer lessons attuned to a community’s aspirations for their children help to eradicate the tensions in society that, if allowed to fester, could

re-ignite conflict. In populations emerging from conflict, quality education builds social capital by strengthening connections between schools and communities, and bridging ethnic or social divisions. Understanding of education’s role in mitigating state fragility has evolved significantly in recent years, and will shortly be enhanced by interagency collaboration on the issue.¹⁰

Against this background it remains surprising that international donors frequently neglect quality education in CAFS,¹¹ particularly when the peace dividend is so high.

“Education has been identified as one of the most immediate ways of helping children affected by conflict to regain parts of a lost childhood and to facilitate the experiences that support healthy social, emotional and intellectual growth and development (Landers, 1998). Education in this context can also be seen as a long-term strategy for conflict prevention, especially if concepts and practices of education for peace form the bases of new curricula, textbooks and teacher development.”¹²



Opportunities for change

3. Education as the peace dividend

■ Education is a critical element in ensuring lasting and sustainable peace; no more so than through the inclusion of education as part of peace agreements. These agreements are critical elements in mapping how peace will be built and the country will be run after an armed conflict. Armed conflicts also increasingly end with negotiated peace agreements,¹³ many of which address and incorporate education issues.¹⁴

In addition, the inclusion of education in negotiated settlements is itself a signal. It shows that parties to the conflict recognise a responsibility to provide children with an education.¹⁵ It also indicates the government's willingness to be held accountable for its promises.

For this combination of reasons, peace processes provide an important opportunity to improve education systems and help foster peace. Of course, at any time before, during and after a conflict governments and others responsible for providing education also have a responsibility to provide quality education that promotes peace. However, when parties to a conflict are engaged in a peace process there is a rare focus and opportunity to secure agreement on a shared new education blueprint for the country. The negotiation process provides education actors with a critical space in which to discuss sector-specific issues, funding, and how they can support the peace and reconciliation process.

ADDRESSING EDUCATION IN PEACE AGREEMENTS

Education has been on the minds of peace makers since the end of the Cold War, but there is significant variation in how education is addressed and incorporated in peace agreements. This is the case particularly in terms of what is mandated to occur in the education sector after the signing of the peace agreement, including what kind of education will be provided, to whom, and why.

Of the 37 full peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2005 that are publicly available, 26 mention reforms that aim to make education more relevant or accessible to citizens while 11 make no mention of education at all. A full analysis of these peace agreements is included in the appendix *Education in Peace Agreements, 1989 to 2005*.

Peace agreements recognise the importance of education in several ways.¹⁶

Security: This entails that provisions in the agreement guarantee a pivotal role for education in the reintegration into society of ex-combatants, particularly from non-state groups. The agreements often call for job training, vocational education and literacy training for ex-combatants, in addition to primary and secondary education.

Protection: The 'protective' role of schools is addressed in several agreements. For example, the 2003 Inter-Congolese agreement states that the participants "are aware that the Congolese youth must be protected and supervised through education, sport and recreation". The 1999 Peace Plan for Colombia views education as 'protective' in that it prevents young people from being recruited by armed groups. The 1991 Cambodia agreement mentions education in relation to land mine and explosives awareness.

Economic: Economic development is an important stage in peace reconstruction and investment in education is a component of that recovery. In the 1996 agreement for Sierra Leone, education is viewed as a way of tackling poverty, which had been identified as a root cause of the conflict. To improve the quality of life and redress the socio-economic causes of conflict, the agreement calls for "improved



educational services to enable all children of primary and junior-secondary school age to receive free and compulsory schooling, as well as provide the opportunity for youth and all other Sierra Leoneans to receive affordable quality education”.

Socio-political: Education is perceived as a political issue because it is influential in consolidating a society’s structures of power. This connects education to some of the root causes of conflict, such as distribution of resources, access to political power or recognition of identity.¹⁷ The mandates for educational reforms in peace agreements, therefore, fall within the context of other mandates for social and political transformation. Depending on the country, the following areas need to be addressed: equitable and adequate distribution of resources, inclusive access, deployment of teachers, governance, funding and curriculum. For example, in Burundi, inequity was recognised as a key issue in the conflict. “One of the causes of violence and insecurity in Burundi ... is a discriminatory system which did not offer equal educational access to all Burundian youths from all

ethnic groups.”¹⁸ In some agreements, instruction in the local language is considered an issue of access and identity, as is knowledge that connects with local needs and realities.

THE CHALLENGES

As well as opportunities, there are of course challenges to overcome in order to address education in peace processes, and to address it sufficiently well. As part of the global debate on education, Save the Children wants to raise these issues, in order to ensure that quality education will be included as part of all peace processes. It is a fundamental component of political and social reform. Peace may not be sustained unless agreements clearly address the inequalities – including those in education – that contributed to the initial sparks of conflict.

It is not enough, of course, simply to include education in a peace agreement. Support for education is critical after any agreement is signed. Mutually agreed targets for the

post-conflict educational system provide a point of departure, but they may prove unreachable as political support begins to wane. Therefore, it is important for the international community to provide funding and technical support to education authorities and that this support is provided in a way that allows schools to open or reopen as fast as possible.

“The nature of the cessation of hostilities and of the peace achieved is crucial to defining the possibilities for social and civic reconstruction through education policy. The nature of the political settlement, whether internally developed or externally imposed, has implications for the nature of political will to reform education, as well as for the construction or consolidation of legitimating mechanisms which gave education policymakers a mandate for change.”

Tawil, S. and Harley, A. (eds.) Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion.

This is partly because in the period immediately after an agreement is reached expectations are high. Former combatants have hopes of success through vocational training and access to education may well have been a condition for laying down their arms. Some families delay their return until the education system is up and running in their areas

of origin. Children linger in refugee and displaced camps, or halfway houses in marginalised neighbourhoods in the cities.

The post-conflict stage is often frequently a period of administrative fragility. This is despite the fact that there is a tremendous pressure to deliver visible results. Confronted by new political leadership, revised budgets, recently returned staff, curricula revision and a desperate lack of teaching materials, schools can fail to provide quality services in time to meet the aspirations of students and their parents.

While the evidence clearly indicates that education to an extent is addressed in many peace agreements, the issues are twofold: firstly that quality education, and necessary reform of the educational system is not included in all peace agreements, and secondly that the type of education included in many peace agreements does not always address the root causes of tensions and inequities within the education system. This requires both the international community and national governments to ensure that peace agreements include aspects of quality education at system and school level that mitigate conflict.

Case Study: Reconstruction and divisions in Bosnia

“Despite the intentions of the international community, Bosnia’s schools are now segregated and nationalist agendas are pursued through them. The decision of the international community to push forward rapidly with reconstruction, hoping that this would create stability, meant that there was not enough time (or leverage) to negotiate access to schools by minorities, issues of curriculum, teacher selection and language of instruction.

As a result, control of education was decentralised from the central authority – where the pledge of multi-ethnicity could be enforced by the international community – to the three entities created under the Dayton Peace Agreement.

The original intention that the three entities would evolve common policies has been overtaken by the fact that they have reconstructed without having to make concessions beforehand.

Now there is little chance of harmonising the educational systems. On the contrary they are moving further apart with the development of separate national histories, language and religious instruction.”

Smith, A. and Vaux, T. 2003: 47, Education, Conflict and International Development, DFID, UK





Quality education for all

4. The power to heal

■ A quality educational system makes a positive, transformative contribution to conflict-affected societies, and operates as a counterweight to conflict and those who seek to promote conflict. Quality education provides a platform from which other Millennium Development Goals can be achieved, and can promote peace and development more broadly.

A POSITIVE IMPACT FOR CHILDREN

Quality education is a key measure of a government's commitment to meet the needs of its citizens. Both parents and children understand the advantage of supporting a government when it provides them with essential services on a reliable basis. Children and their families repeatedly ask for education in times of crisis. There are examples of this from situations as diverse as Kenya, Lebanon, Burundi and East Timor.¹⁹

Education provides children and their families with hope, and it is especially prized in the midst of crisis when schools can offer children protection and dependable routines. Committed teachers and a balanced curriculum give children an alternative to confusion and conflict. Dedicated teachers also demonstrate positive values, such as acceptance of diversity, kindness and consideration for others' feelings. The simple habit of going to school and working with caring adults in a supportive and tolerant environment can help war-affected children recover from trauma.

Teachers – often traumatised themselves – of course also need support. For teachers are often on the frontline between the conflicting forces, and are often the only people able to offer children an alternative vision of the troubles that they see.

Attending school or receiving vocational education services provides children and adolescents with a much-needed daily activity. With less time on their hands, they are too busy to engage in anti-social behaviour; as one Liberian parent noted: “When children learn a trade, that will keep them busy; it won't give them the opportunity to go and get involved in conflict.”²⁰

“Education is a force for reducing intergroup conflict by enlarging our social identifications beyond parochial ones in the light of common human characteristics and superordinate goals.”²¹

Besides family and the community in which children live, school may be the only safe environment where children have social contact with others on a daily basis. It therefore provides an opportunity for children to grapple with ‘difference’ in a non-confrontational setting. Villagers in Guatemala stressed this: “Children should learn about other ways of life so they can use another way to resolve conflict.”²² Schools can teach – and practice – human rights on a daily basis, and among refugee or internally displaced populations, schools provide a rare space for children to experience the ‘normality’ of learning – both from teachers and fellow pupils.

After a peace agreement has been signed, schools should serve as models for reconciliation, paving the way for the reintegration of ex-combatants and the displaced, and for wider conflict transformation through personal relationships.

“Wherever countries and societies are or have been plagued by conflict... it is important to – as far as possible – keep education going and teach children that war and violence are not the norm or the solution, and that there are alternatives.”

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands



A POSITIVE IMPACT FOR STATES

Education must remain a priority during times of crisis as much as during times of stability. Without education, there will be fewer citizens able to contribute to rebuilding their country. This could fuel a downward spiral that increases the likelihood of future outbursts of violence.

Studies show that increased levels of primary and secondary quality education in a country reduce conflict.²⁶ Across society, every additional year of formal schooling for males reduces the risk of their becoming involved in conflict by 20%, and an annual growth rate of 5% has the same stabilising effect as one year of schooling²³. While economic growth is intimately linked with social stability – and a strong economy also allows for more investment in education, education equally contributes towards economic growth and stability. Several studies demonstrate that universal primary and secondary education support economic development, employment and financial prosperity and do so even in conflict-affected fragile states.²⁴

Inequitable access to social and economic opportunity, including education, is often a cause of conflict. If not resolved under the terms of peace accords, there is a significant risk of a return to conflict. In 2003, Collier estimated the risk of this happening at 44% within five years.²⁵ Therefore, if an inequitable system of schooling was a contributory factor in the conflict in the first place; its reform is an imperative for sustainable peace.

Conversely an open education system can help to eradicate the perception of social inequality that can be one cause of conflict. A genuine belief that any individual is able to

advance politically, socially and economically can help to reduce tension. As one local administrator 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.”²⁶

“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 right and wrong, about what their duty was, and about what they wanted. They could express their views.”

Local NGO activist, Nepal.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, quality education encourages critical thinking and the analysis of choice, which ultimately makes people less likely to follow the lure of charismatic leaders into armed conflict. Save the Children’s experience shows that access to information, the ability to think through the consequences of choices, and basic literacy and numeracy skills are all ways to raise confidence and acquire a degree of intellectual independence. As one group of Liberian students pointed out: “Many of the people who fought in the war did so because they were easily convinced. Education helps people to make better decisions and to decide between right and wrong.”²⁷



Education as a weapon

5. The potential to divide

EDUCATION CAN BE MANIPULATED

■ Educational systems can be a force for good, but they can also be used to fuel social tensions. Governments may intentionally manipulate teachers to shore up their power base, as happened in Burundi in the 1990s and Germany in the 1930s. “The Hitler regime articulated anti-semitism across the curriculum as a central element to the understanding of an educated person.”²⁸

Education systems that demonise the ‘enemy’ or support violent school environments often serve as triggers for social violence. Marginalised and grudging, the victims or perpetrators of such behaviour can both become targets for leaders seeking to build a power base on the foundation of existing social divisions.

“If there is an aura of mutual suspicion, if the parties are highly competitive, if they are not supported by relevant authorities, or if contact occurs on the basis of very unequal status, then it is not likely to be helpful, whatever the amount of exposure. Contact under unfavourable conditions can stir up old tensions and reinforce stereotypes.”²⁹

Curricula, textbooks and educational policies can all be turned into platforms for propaganda. Given education’s role in shaping identity, teaching content can be co-opted to serve an overtly political function with biases towards language, ethnicity, religion or history. The stereotyping or ‘scapegoating’ of different groups in textbooks will contribute to social tension by justifying inequalities. Teachers may maliciously or inadvertently inculcate prejudice by discriminating against certain pupils in their words or deeds. Terminology, for example, was critical in fuelling the ethnic divide before the Rwandan genocide.³⁰

“I remember in school we were afraid. They said, ‘Tutsis, raise your hands.’ But we were afraid to raise our hands, because the Tutsi was always described as a snake. A snake is dangerous and it should be destroyed. I can never forget this, because this story was repeated year after year in school, from the first to the sixth grade.”
Quoted in Bird, L. (2006) *Learning about War and Peace in the Great Lakes Region of Africa*

EDUCATION CAN BE USED TO EXCLUDE PEOPLE FROM OPPORTUNITIES

Exclusion from education plays a crucial role in fuelling conflict. When social groups are habitually excluded, they are more vulnerable to indoctrination by charismatic leaders or armed groups.

Unequal access to education was a contributory cause of the bloodshed in Rwanda, Burundi and Kosovo, and an intentionally divisive issue in South Africa’s apartheid regime. As Table 1 illustrates, there is a clear link between the outbreak of conflict and a previous denial of educational opportunity.

TABLE I: EDUCATIONAL EXCLUSION AS A MOTIVATION FOR CONFLICT

Country	Pre-war access to education	Conflict dynamics
Guatemala	Exclusion was concentrated among the indigenous population, many of whom live in the nation's western region. Historically, education primarily benefited the urban, non-indigenous elite. In 1967, only 33% of primary schools were located in rural areas. In the 1970s, net primary enrolment was 58%, while completion rates were 49%.	Conflict broke out in the western region in 1972 and was largely concentrated there, negatively impacting the provision of education. Indigenous peoples formed the main support base of guerrilla groups fighting the government.
Liberia	Access to formal education had been reserved for the urban-based, Americo-Liberian elite. Levels of enrolment increased in the 1970s and 1980s, but resource allocation did not keep pace, leading to declining numbers of children in school. In the 1970s, one-third of education spending and 60% of trained teachers were focused in the capital. In 1990, net enrolment was 12.3% and gross enrolment 28%.	In 1989, a rebellion broke out in Nimba County, a northern rural area whose inhabitants faced discrimination and persecution by President Samuel Doe. Fighting was initially confined to the rural areas, though it later spread. Combatants in the non-Americo-Liberian factions had been excluded from education. The war was a massive setback to what little educational provision already existed.
Nepal	Formal education was historically reserved for boys of upper caste, and was mostly in urban settings. Its expansion began in the 1950s and increased dramatically through the 1990s. However, in 1993, only 40% of rural 15-year-olds had completed primary schooling, and there was wide stratification in access and achievement along caste, ethnic, religious, geographical, and gender lines. In 1995, net primary enrolment was 69%, with a completion rate of 40%.	In 1996, fighting broke out in the rural west. Maoist rebels drew much of their support from lower caste Nepalis of various ethnic groups in the region. Fighting was concentrated in rural districts and negatively impacted educational provision.

Source: adapted from Dupuy, K. 'Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems', Save the Children Norway and PRIO.

EDUCATION CAN BECOME A FOCUS FOR ATTACK

*"In countries which have experienced conflict or war, the educational establishment is often one of the first targets of destruction. Rwanda is a well known case in point. UN agencies, and aid and development workers who witnessed the genocide described how the physical infrastructure of schools, colleges and universities were among the first targets of destruction and were either completely destroyed or severely vandalised. Furthermore, many of the teaching and administrative educational staff who survived the conflict fled to neighbouring countries, escaped abroad or found themselves caught up in the exodus of refugees. Such occurrences are often repeated in countries experiencing similar forms of conflict."*³¹

Direct attacks on the education sector are a characteristic of confrontations around the world. The 'number of reported assassinations, bombings and burnings of school and academic staff and buildings has risen dramatically in the past three years... in all [of the most severe] cases, except Nepal.'³² Human rights agencies and other NGOs have evidence that the education system is specifically targeted by rebel and government forces alike.³³

Some rebels target schools and teachers because they represent the authority of central government at provincial or community level. In an effort to destroy the fragile social contract between government and citizens, they target classrooms, threaten teachers, attack the educated and abduct pupils, as witnessed in Nepal, Afghanistan and Uganda in recent years.

In its 2007 report 'Education under Attack' UNESCO maintains that attacks on education will continue unless the international community supports the "development of an independent system of monitoring attacks across countries so that trends in the scale and types of attacks, the perpetrators and targets, and where possible, the motives, can be analysed and made public".³⁴ Schools are supposed to be protected under a range of international conventions and under International Humanitarian Law³⁵, but unfortunately the sanctions are currently not sufficient to ensure that all schools, children and teachers are safe from attack.



Case Study: Afghanistan – The paradox of education

“Human Rights Watch (HRW) provides clear evidence of how the attacks on schools, teachers and students have different origins but the same outcomes – children or teachers murdered and schools closed. When 100,000 Afghan children who had gone to school in 2003 and 2004 no longer attended, it was largely owing to the destruction of 200 newly-built schools. While some attacks appear to be the result of tribal or private disputes surrounding the local disbursement of resources, others are targeted because they provide modern (that is, not solely religious) education, especially for girls and women, e.g. in a statement issued by the self-styled spokesperson of the Taliban Leadership Council, Mohammed Hanif in 2006, the Taliban explicitly threatened to attack schools because of their curriculum.” Human Rights Watch, 2007.

“Despite the increase in the number of attacks, there is cause for optimism in the face of such adversity: in the resilience of the government and population to counter these attacks by supporting their children to go to school, [and] to start providing safer places, escorts and guards. In this way, the number of enrolments of children, including that of girls, has more than doubled in the past five years to over 6 million children in 2007.” IRIN, 2007

The Afghanistan example highlights how, even when targeted, children and parents persist in recognising the opportunities that education affords and continue to pursue it, and are able to support initiatives to reduce the likelihood or impact of attacks on schools (see more on this in the section on safe and protective schools). One of the

critical ways that such attacks can be reduced is through the preservation of or initiation of a transformative, quality education.



Education for peace

6. Time for Change

“The ‘highly educated’ are just as capable of turning to violence as the ‘uneducated’, and this emphasises the need to look more closely at the type of education that is on offer and the values and attitudes it is promoting. Simply providing education does not ensure peace.

Smith, A., and Vaux, T. (2003). Education, Conflict, and International Development, DfID, London

■ Four critical elements are needed to shore up education’s role in peacebuilding and conflict prevention:

Inclusion/access: Primary schools must be free and close to home, and must do all they can to attract all children in a community.

Safety/protection: Schools must be safe from attack and must be perceived as places where intellectual curiosity and respect for universal human rights is fostered.

Relevance: Schools must use a non-biased curriculum, and educational materials that are relevant to the children and their context.

Accountability: School management must be authorised to make necessary decisions for the pupils’ welfare. To achieve this, the opinions of children, parents and community members must be taken into consideration.

These are principles and standards, which may be aspirational, but they are important in ensuring sustainable peace.

“The best way of dealing with ex-combatants is to accept them as they are, be prepared to live with them, make them feel a part of you, and let them know that they can make mistakes and also learn from them.”

Liberian teacher

SCHOOLS MUST BE INCLUSIVE AND ACCESSIBLE

If education is to realise its full potential for peacebuilding, it must reach out to the unreached children – the girl too scared to walk to school, the displaced child refused registration, the ‘bush wife’³⁶ of a local commander and the former child soldier returned home. This is one of a number of particular issues for girls in conflict situations, many of which can be addressed by inclusive, quality education, that provides protection and safety. Educational systems must create an inclusive environment where all children can take part and are empowered to explore their talents. This must include those with disabilities, from ethnic minorities, differing religions, and any other marginalised groups typically discriminated against.

“Inclusive education in a developing country implies the equal right of all children to the ‘educational package’, however basic that package may be.”³⁷ (DFID, 2001)

A critical aspect of ensuring inclusive education includes decision-making over the chosen language of instruction. This is particularly true in areas where the use of one language is seen as a form of cultural repression over people whose first language is different.³⁸ Diversifying the language of instruction improves access to education by equalising enrolment, retention and completion rates.³⁹ It can also instil a sense that the government values the diversity of all citizens, lessening the potential for dissent and promoting tolerance.

Resource limitations are another aspect that can make it difficult to provide equitable access to schooling for all children. While pupils in many Southern countries routinely walk great lengths to school, it becomes a safety issue in times of armed conflict and social unrest.⁴⁰ One response is the Home-Based Schools (HBS) initiative in Afghanistan. During and after the Taliban era, Save the Children and

Case Study: Nepal

In the late 1990s Save the Children UK developed a simple system of education support mechanisms with children at the core. Save the Children staff became aware that in each village, no matter how remote, there is always someone – whether farmer, parent, teenager or teacher – who wants to be involved. In each case enthusiastic community members were identified, particularly parents and teachers, to discuss the obstacles and potential solutions for the disabled children in their communities, and Save the Children provided small incentives to encourage the children to go to school.

Save the Children supported a number of local NGOs to develop ways of linking these committed people - both children and adults, women and girls, disabled people and low-caste Dalits - to the government administration... Communities came together with local NGOs and government agencies to promote the access to school of disabled children, girls and Dalits – initially, one excluded group at a time in each location. As more excluded children entered school, they were seen as role models to show that it is possible to include all children.

Save the Children, Draft publication, Making schools inclusive: how change can happen: Save the Children's experience in working for inclusive education

other local and international NGOs supported home-based schools run by female teachers and targeting girls. These classes are now being incorporated into the national system.⁴¹ This not only opens up the possibility for greater numbers of girls to attend but also reduces safety risks for all children attending the HBS.

“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.” Liberian parent

It is not only at the community level that resource constraints restrict access and attendance at school, but at a state level, adequate funding for quality education is a struggle for most conflict-affected countries. Education provision is often seen as a ‘peace dividend’ that should be delivered rapidly in order to create the sense of hope needed in post-conflict societies, yet the education budget is often dramatically reduced as governments lose their tax base and increase funding for defence and security.

In Guatemala, ‘state spending is diverted into militarily combating the gangs, creating a situation where education continues to receive very little funding and conditions within the education sector deteriorate, further propelling people into the gangs as they lose motivation, value and opportunities for education.’⁴² Therefore funding of equitable education systems must be a long-term process starting from the outset of an emergency or conflict, and continuing throughout post-conflict and recovery phases⁴³. This is true of secondary and vocational education, as well as primary education.

Secondary and vocational opportunities are important for social development, individual and familial aspirations, and as release valves for unemployment, frustration and disaffection. “Secondary education may be of special importance during war because it can keep older children out of military service, as well as preparing them to take an active part in important civil processes on the return of peace. Emphasis may need to be given to vocational skills so as to make education attractive and relevant for young ex-combatants.”⁴⁴ In post-conflict or recovery situations, education up to tertiary level is essential in providing the middle-level skills that enable a nation to develop over the long term.

EDUCATION MUST BE SAFE AND PROTECTIVE

As described earlier, attacks on students, teachers and school administrative staff personnel⁴⁵ leave long-lasting fear and distrust. To build sustainable peace and overcome these fears it is essential that schools, children and teachers are fully protected in a variety of ways.

The UNESCO report ‘Education under Attack’ outlines the scale of this problem and what needs to change in terms of respect for International Humanitarian Law and other international legal instruments. Save the Children endorses these principles and supports advocacy at a national and international level on protection of children, schools and teachers. Save the Children is particularly involved in encouraging communities, including children, to advocate for the protection of the people and resources involved in education, and assists children’s groups to speak and act on these issues. Where necessary, Save the Children facilitates alternatives to the formal education system, as with home-based schools in Afghanistan, to ensure the safety and protection of the children it is supporting. Other actors facilitate more direct interventions, such as armed escorts,



military patrols near schools, and the creation of school protection committees.⁴⁶

As another mechanism for protecting children from attack, the Children as Zones of Peace (CZOP) campaign – and the related Schools as Zones of Peace (SZOP) initiative⁴⁷ – is a carefully crafted, innovative, inter-agency approach in Nepal. Deploying a variety of media (murals, speeches, meetings with commanders) across the country, it advocates for the protection of schools, students and staff.

“Teaching children the values of cooperation and toleration of cultural differences helps to overcome prejudicial stereotypes that opportunistic leaders routinely use for their own destructive ends. Tapping education’s potential for toleration is an important and long-term task.”⁴⁸

In armed conflicts, violence outside the school often reinforces the use of violence in the school, but this linkage can also work in reverse, with school violence reinforcing and legitimising the use of violence to assert authority and obedience in the outside world.⁴⁹

Another mechanism for resolving conflicts within and outside the school is through peace education, or Human Rights Education, and conflict transformation skills. These kinds

of initiatives reflect activities that promote the knowledge, skills and attitudes that allow people of all ages and skills levels to develop the behavioural changes that prevent the occurrence of conflict, resolve conflict peacefully or create conditions conducive to peace. Peace education commonly embraces different strands, from advocacy to law reform, human rights education and concepts of social justice, supplementing the process of peacebuilding.

Examples of such initiatives include those being introduced in Sri Lanka, where attempts are being made to develop a national policy of social cohesion in collaboration with the University of Birmingham. Liberia uses the Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) peace education materials and an interagency consortium in Nepal has developed an MOU for the development of peace education.

Another common feature of peace education or Human Rights Education⁵⁰ is the promotion of critical thinking skills.⁵¹ Rote learning and an ‘authoritarian’ approach to teaching reinforces social hierarchies and fails to instil essential critical thinking and interactive skills. Schools need to be places where children can express their thoughts without fear of intimidation or punishment; a place where they are encouraged to question, while balancing that curiosity

Case Study: Nepal

“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 hesitate to use children in front of the gatherings. They deny using children and claim 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... They are aware of the future consequences. 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.” Member of the CZOP network.

with respect for others and their beliefs. This intellectual model depends on children having opportunities to learn from one other through interaction in the playground, through group work during class and school-based, extra-curricular activities, as well as through access to external sources of information. While it may appear a ‘hands-off’ approach to teaching, it actually requires highly-skilled and confident teachers to facilitate the learning.

The freedom to take intellectual risks can be contentious however. If well-directed by an adult role model/teacher, such risk-taking can play an important role in building self-confidence, learning to think critically and accepting diversity, all of which are important traits in the avoidance of conflict⁵². As members of a Nepalese NGO have said: “Without education, people can be easily convinced. With quality, participatory education, people can question whether people are talking rightly or wrongly and make good judgments. Education gives people the ability to analyse and understand why conflict is not good.”⁵³ This is the type of education promoted through Human Rights education already mentioned. Indeed, it can be argued that CAFS need a ‘pedagogy of difference’ [that] enables young people to analyse class, ‘race’ gender, ‘ability’ or ‘special needs’ in order to understand the sources of inequality and conflict.”⁵⁴

“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.”

Liberian primary student

EDUCATION MUST BE RELEVANT AND APPROPRIATE

Curriculum reform after a conflict winds down is an opportunity to improve the overall quality of education. Attention to curricula is important “to avoid reproducing contents that at worst have contributed to conflict and, at best, have done nothing to prevent it.”⁵⁵

Where tension remains, reform is difficult to achieve. Ministry officials work with tight deadlines and to high expectations. Revision of some topics – such as history and sciences – can often be contentious and need careful handling. In Rwanda history has been left out of the curriculum altogether for more than a decade since the genocide.⁵⁶

Teachers, administrators and wider society may require improved skills in analysis and explanation before they gain sufficient confidence to address children and students about recent conflicts.⁵⁷

Often a post-conflict priority is the development of new teaching materials when previous textbooks have proven divisive, out-of-date (given the length of the conflict), or simply no longer exist. The relevance of the curriculum is particularly important for children affected by conflict, and should address issues of security, health, psycho-social support, conflict resolution and other life skills.⁵⁸ This again needs to be taken in the context of the relevance for the child as well as for the country. For example, when designing programmes for former child soldiers, educators often fail to recognise that many have learned “survival skills, leadership, negotiation, organisation, information sharing and communications”⁵⁹ during their time in the bush, which are positive skills that can be utilised and built upon.

Particularly in times of conflict where established systems have been disrupted, teachers are a critical factor in maintaining the possibility of relevant and appropriate schooling. Given the critical role that teachers play in mitigating (or on the flip side promoting) conflict, it is essential that during times of unrest teachers receive the recognition and motivation to engender positive values. To do this they need to receive sufficient training and to be motivated to stay in their own localities. This will also require payment of an adequate salary.⁶⁰ In some settings, donors should consider the direct payment of education staff for specific periods of time.

EDUCATION SYSTEMS MUST BE ACCOUNTABLE

Education systems need to be transparent and accountable first and foremost for children, parents and communities. This is particularly the case during conflict situations when education systems are undermined or in some cases totally destroyed. One of Save the Children’s roles in times of unrest is to act as an unbiased channel of communication and trust between all actors in the education sector, as has been demonstrated in Nepal and Sri Lanka.

The experience of Save the Children is that parents and children overwhelmingly value the notion of nationwide, free, quality education. In order to make that a reality, the education authorities must welcome them into the gov-

Case Study: Liberia

Save the Children is working with the Ministry of Education, PTAs and children to develop codes of conduct and reporting systems in schools to respond to sexual exploitation and abuse, as well as other violations of children’s rights. This initiative includes identifying and rolling out positive discipline to stop physical punishment in schools. Participants feel that this approach is key to rebuilding the social fabric in countries where violence has become deeply rooted and physical punishment is widely accepted. Save the Children supports students and school management committees which collaborate on codes of conduct on the rights of individuals and the rules they should abide by. These codes are then posted and discussed in class.

ernance model through the establishment of school management councils (SMCs) or parent-teacher associations (PTAs). Participation in educational processes is a way of building up relationships inside and outside of school, and with them levels of trust, cooperation and reciprocity. Such relationships immunise individuals against the temptations of armed conflict by showing them how to resolve shared problems peacefully. This is the reason why the involvement of children in the education process is particularly critical, in order to foster long-term attitudes and values that promote peace.

“When there is democracy inside the school, inside the classroom, when children are grown up, the democratic values and culture they have learned in school will be reflected in the society and community, and that in the long run will help peace and democracy.”

Nepalese teachers’ group

As the actors at the very centre of the educational stage, children have a role to play in strengthening schools. Empowering children unsettles many adults, who believe that boys and girls have no role in running a school. This is particularly true in autocratic systems where decision-making is centralised and information closely guarded. However, children have the right not only to attend school, but also to participate in how education is delivered. This means that information should be shared with pupils in an age-appropriate fashion, and that their opinions are elicited. Save the Children has promoted pupils’ participation in their education through the development of children’s clubs that educate them about their rights. Periods of crisis provide new opportunities for dialogue and social change, and children’s clubs are an opportunity that have provided new avenues for peacebuilding.

With the support of adults, children’s clubs have advocated for respect for minority groups, negotiated with parents about allowing children to attend school, and even negotiated with commanders about their use of child soldiers.

Children and communities are increasingly being recognised as important contributors to wider forms of account-



ability in conflict-affected fragile states that can enable donors to overcome some of the typical concerns or ‘trust gaps’ when making decisions over which countries to provide education aid ⁶¹.

Rose and Greeley for example suggest that evidence of ‘good performance’ benchmarks, such as the INEE Minimum Standards for Emergency Education, could overcome donor concerns – or ‘trust gaps’ – if strengthened by increased donor support and collaboration.⁶² The Minimum Standards, perhaps used with other standards such as the Fast Track Initiative Progressive Framework,⁶³ could support greater rigour in developing sector policy and financing strategies.

Perhaps closing these ‘trust gaps’ would be easier if there was greater recognition of the dangers of not overcoming them. It is more expensive in the long-term to aid a conflict-ridden system, than to prevent the conflict in the first place. More attention needs to be paid by the international community and national governments to ensuring that quality education is recognized as part of a conflict mitigation process. This implies resourcing quality education systems that are inclusive, promote tolerance, diversity and intellectual freedom. Quality counts, but it also costs.

Case Study: Nepal

“Three children were abducted from the area in which we work, and the child club from the school where these children were students took the initiative through dialogue to get them released from the Maoists.”

Member of Nepalese NGO.



7. Conclusion and questions

■ Save the Children is confident that education has a critical role to play in building social cohesion and stability. Education reaches across political divides and encourages alternative visions of the future based around children's needs. Schools are a critical site for this transformation because today's students are the future's leaders and opinion-makers, and because schools are institutions with the potential to model new ways of working in the communities they serve.

But it is also clear that despite this confidence many children in conflict-affected fragile states are not going to school. This report has sought to identify some of the reasons as to why this might be, but it has also sought to ask questions as well. Responses to these questions and the evidence they provide will form the springboard from which we must act in global collaboration: ensuring that quality education is included in all peace agreements, that it is recognised as essential in building long-term stability and economic growth in all contexts (humanitarian or other-wise), and that quality education is adequately and equitably financed through long-term, flexible mechanisms.

For the millions of children who day after day are unable to go to school, it is essential that we find answers to these questions and that we act on these answers. If we do not, many more children will be denied their right to education and the opportunities to build peace in the minds of younger generations will again be lost.

Education for peace

HOW TO JOIN THE GLOBAL DEBATE

■ This report is a discussion document. Save the Children welcomes responses to the questions below in this report, based on your expertise or experience. The responses will contribute to the global push to ensure that quality education becomes an achievable Millennium Development Goal for all.

We have prepared a number of questions relating to some of the key issues in this report and invite your responses to contribute to the global debate:

- 1 If the right sort of education is important to sustain a peaceful society, why is it not included in all peace agreements?
- 2 Who are the key actors (education and others) who peace negotiators engage with when deciding how education is to be included (or not) in a peace agreement, and how do education authorities play a role in this?
- 3 How does the role of education in promoting peace and stability differ between various contexts, for example in fragile states before a conflict, countries in the midst of conflict, and post-conflict situations?
- 4 Do you have evidence that you are willing to share (in the form of case studies or concrete examples) of where quality education has been implemented successfully in conflict situations and has made a difference to mitigating conflict?
- 5 What evidence do you have (perhaps from research or programme experience) that demonstrate which aspects of quality education promote peace?
- 6 Have you observed education systems that have undergone a positive transformation as a consequence of conflict? Please can you describe these and the key factors that transformed a negative situation into a positive situation.

When you submit a contribution to the global debate, you must own all rights to the content of your contribution or provide references to any citations. Your contribution needs to be publicly distributable on our website, and through other media. All contributions used in this way will be fully referenced to you.

Please send your contribution to:

rewritethefuture@save-children-alliance.org

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United Kingdom

To keep up with the global debate please visit
www.savethechildren.net/rewritethefuture

Endnotes

- ¹ There is no authoritative list of conflict-affected countries that may also be considered 'fragile'. To analyse issues relating to education in countries with these characteristics, Save the Children drew up a list of nations affected by armed conflict and characterised by income disparity, weak governance and inequality. See International Save the Children Alliance (2007) *Last in Line, Last in School*.
- ² This is for a variety of reasons. Most are low-income countries; some lack the political will to provide education or deny education to dissident regions as a weapon of war; or conflict has left institutions – including education – in disarray.
- ³ Education in emergencies is referenced in the Millennium Development Goals and the 2000 Dakar Framework for Action.
- ⁴ O'Malley, B. (2007) *Education under Attack* UNESCO; Lai, B and Thyne, C (2007) 'The Effect of Civil War on Education, 1980-1997', *Journal of Peace Research*, 44 (3), pp. 277-292.
- ⁵ Bush, K.D. and Saltarelli, D. (2000) 'The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Toward a Peacebuilding Education for Children', UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence.
- ⁶ The definition of 'quality education' varies greatly. Some define it in terms of the quantity of material resources present in schools, where these have been missing for a long time. Others define it in terms of pass rates and similar outcomes in the educational process. Save the Children uses the term to mean children's right to fulfill their potential through an on-going learning process. Common elements are relevance and children's active engagement or participation.
- ⁷ Save the Children, 2006
- ⁸ Collier, P., et al. (2003). *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil war and Development Policy*, World Bank, Washington DC.
- ⁹ Lund, M. and Mehler, A. (1999) *Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention in Developing Countries – A Practical Guide*, Conflict Prevention Network, Brussels/Strasbourg.
- ¹⁰ The goal of the INEE Working Group on Education and Fragility is to strengthen consensus on what helps to mitigate state fragility through education, while ensuring equitable access for all; and to support the development of effective education programmes in fragile states. The group will have its first meeting in April 2008.
- ¹¹ *Last in Line, Last in School*. op. cit.
- ¹² Annette Isaac Consulting/CIDA (April 1999), 'Education and Peacebuilding – A Preliminary Operational Framework', Ottawa.
- ¹³ Human Security Brief, 2006 www.humansecuritybrief.org/2006
- ¹⁴ The percentage of agreements that include educational issues appears to be increasing, which may be due to two factors: that a greater proportion of conflicts are civil wars where domestic policies – such as education or health – are contentious; and the international community's increased commitment to children's rights.
- ¹⁵ 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), pp. 733-754.
- ¹⁶ K. Dupuy (2008) 'Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems', Save the Children Norway and PRIO.
- ¹⁷ Degu, W.A. (2005) 'Reforming Education', in Junne, G. and Verkoren, W. (eds.) *Postconflict Development* Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, pp. 129-145.
- ¹⁸ The 2000 Burundi agreement identified unequal educational access as a specific cause of the conflict. Article 3 of Protocol III.
- ¹⁹ *Last in Line, Last in School*, op. cit.
- ²⁰ Dupuy (2008) op. cit.
- ²¹ 'Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report' (1997) op. cit.
- ²² Dupuy (2008) op. cit.
- ²⁶ Collier et al (2003) op. cit.
- ²³ Collier, P. (2000) 'Doing well out of War: An economic perspective', in Berdal, M. and Malone, D. M. (eds.) *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder.
- ²⁴ Carm, E. et al. (2003) 'Education and its Impact on Poverty: An Initial Exploration of the Evidence', Oslo University College, unpublished manuscript; Collier et al (2003) op. cit; Hanushek, E. and Wößmann, L. (2007) 'Education Quality and Economic Growth', World Bank, Washington DC.
- ²⁵ Collier, P. et al (2003) op. cit.
- ²⁶ Dupuy (2008) op. cit.
- ²⁷ Dupuy (2008) op. cit.
- ²⁸ Bird, L. (2006) 'Learning about War and Peace in the Great Lakes Region of Africa', unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Education, University of London.
- ²⁹ *Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report* (1997) op. cit.
- ³⁰ Mamdani, M. (2001). *When Victims become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Princeton University Press, Princeton; Obura, A. (2003) *Never Again: Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, IIEP, UNESCO.
- ³¹ Annette Isaac Consulting/CIDA (1999), op. cit.
- ³² O'Malley (2007) op. cit.
- ³³ Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict (2007) 'Sudan: Children at a Crossroads: An Urgent Need for Protection'.
- ³⁴ O'Malley (2007) op. cit.
- ³⁵ Article 24 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) 1989, Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict 12 February 2002, Since 1999, the UN Security Council has adopted five resolutions attempting to protect children in armed conflict – 1261 (1999), 1314 (2000), 1379 (2001) and 1460 (2003)
- ³⁶ Girls who are forcibly taken by rebel leaders as 'wives' to cook, clean and perform sexual favours. These can be as young as eleven or twelve.
- ³⁷ DFID, 2001. *Disability, Poverty and Development* London: DFID See: <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/disability.pdf>
- ³⁸ Degu, W.A. (2005) 'Reforming education', in Junne, G. and Verkoren, W. (eds.) *Postconflict development* Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, pp. 129-145.
- ³⁹ Save the Children (2007) '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
- ⁴⁰ See sub-section on safety.
- ⁴¹ American Institutes for Research and Mohammed, H. (2006) 'Education and the Role of NGOs in Emergencies: Afghanistan 1978-2002', USAID and EQUIP. Available at <http://www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0708/DOC22953.pdf>
- ⁴² Dupuy (2008) op. cit.
- ⁴³ Save the Children will be producing an update on donor financing to education in CAFS in April 2008
- ⁴⁴ Boyden, J. and Ryder, P. (1996) *Implementing the Right to Education in Areas of Armed Conflict*, University of Oxford, Queen Elizabeth House.
- ⁴⁵ O'Malley (2007) op. cit.
- ⁴⁶ Nicolai, S. (2008) 'Opportunities for Education Sector Change in Conflict and Post-conflict Situations'. Background paper for International seminar, IIEP Paris, 28-30 January 2008.
- ⁴⁷ See http://www.cwin.org.np/press_room/pressreleases/joint_statement_cic.htm for more information on the CZOP campaign.

- ⁴⁸ Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report (1997) op. cit.
- ⁴⁹ Dupuy (2008) op. cit..
- ⁵⁰ See more on this via UN World Programme for Human Rights Education <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/education/training/programme.htm>
- ⁵¹ Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Seabury Press, New York.
- ⁵² Davies, L. (2004) *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos*. Routledge, London
- ⁵³ Dupuy, (2008) op cit.
- ⁵⁴ Davies (2004), op cit
- ⁵⁵ Tawil, S. and Harley, A. (eds.) (2004) 'Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion', UNESCO International Bureau of Education, Geneva, p. 25.
- ⁵⁶ Obura (2003) op. cit.
- ⁵⁷ See Davies (2004) op. cit. for a typology of how war and peace are taught.
- ⁵⁸ Sinclair, M. 2004 *Learning to live together: building skills, values and attitudes for the twenty-first century*, IBE UNESCO, www.ineesite.org/core/Learning_to_Live_Together.pdf
- ⁵⁹ *Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction* (2006) op. cit, chapter 9.
- ⁶⁰ Rose and Greeley (2006) op. cit.
- ⁶¹ More detail on this and the 'long' and 'short' accountability routes of funding in fragile states can be found in the Save the Children update on donor financing to education in CAFS in April 2008
- ⁶² Ibid
- ⁶³ The FTI Progressive Framework looks more at the development targets for education and where fragile states are situated along the trajectory towards the 'ideal' target. This framework therefore helps CAFS assess where they are and where they realistically might get to over a period of time, while recognising that their situation may fluctuate and that conflict or fragility is not static. FTI-Fragile States Task Team (2006) *Draft Document: Progressive Framework for Education in Fragile States*. Prepared for the FTI Fragile States Task Group October 2006.

Appendix

EDUCATION IN PEACE AGREEMENTS, 1989 TO 2005

By: Kendra Dupuy

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INTRODUCTION

Between 1989 and 2005, 144 peace accords (including 43 full peace agreements) were signed between warring parties for 46 armed conflicts around the world, the majority of which were civil wars (Harbom, Högbladh, and Wallensteen, 2006; Gleditsch et al., 2002; Harbom and Wallensteen, 2007). These 144 accords solved, regulated, or decided on a process for resolving an armed conflict. In this appendix we look at how education is addressed and incorporated in full peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2005.

Armed conflict is 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 the view that armed conflicts are about an incompatibility of some kind between groups of people where the conflicting parties resort to the organized use of force (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall, 2005; Wallensteen, 2007). Contrary to historical patterns, interstate war now occurs far less frequently than intrastate war.

TRENDS IN ADDRESSING EDUCATION IN PEACE AGREEMENTS

The list of full agreements included in the table is taken from Harbom, Högbladh, and Wallensteen (2006). Various publicly accessible sources were used to access the peace agreements for intrastate, interstate, and internationalized intrastate conflicts, to include the websites of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), UN Peacemaker, and other publicly available written and electronic sources. The post-Cold War period is chosen to limit the number of peace agreements examined.

Of the 43 full peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2005, 37 (86%) are publicly available via the sources listed above. Of these 37, 11 (30%) make no mention of education at all while 26 (70%) do in some way. Thus, education has been on the minds of peace makers since the end of the Cold War, but there is significant variation in how education is addressed and incorporated in peace agreements in terms of what is mandated to occur in the education sector after the signing of the peace agreement, including what kind of education will be provided, to whom, and why.

WHY ADDRESS EDUCATION IN PEACE AGREEMENTS?

As blueprints for post-conflict state building, social reformulation, and conflict transformation, peace agreements are critical elements in mapping how peace will be built and the social contract renegotiated in the aftermath of an armed conflict. Addressing education in a peace agreement is a step towards addressing how to mitigate the impact of armed conflict on society in general and on education in particular, as well as how to transform the roots of conflict through the education sector. Incorporating education in peace agreements can be critical to bringing the physical, direct violence of an armed conflict to an end, as well as in creating a window of opportunity to build positive, sustainable peace through education. As Tawil and Harley (2004) write, “the nature of the cessation of hostilities and of the peace achieved is crucial to defining the possibilities for social and civic reconstruction through education policy. The nature of the political settlement, whether internally developed or externally imposed, has implications for the nature of political will to reform education, as well as for the construction or consolidation of legitimating mechanisms which gave education policymakers a mandate for change” (p. 14).

Including education in peace agreements by, for instance, committing the state to providing wider access to education can signal that the state cares about the population and is committed to keeping and building peace by transforming the roots of an armed conflict, thus restoring faith in the government (Thyne, 2006; Collier et al., 2003). Explicitly addressing education in peace agreements can thus provide an important incentive to lay down arms, particularly where educational exclusion is at the root of young people’s motivations to fight. But more than just bringing the fighting to an end, education has a vital role to play in building long-term, positive peace that transforms the roots of conflict. Education “is an essential long-term building block of a functional civil society” (Torsti, 2005, p. 64), and incorporating educational issues into peace agreements can help to ensure and acknowledge that education can play a central and active role in building peace in the aftermath of an armed conflict by providing a catalyst for post-conflict changes and mapping the way forward. Detailing how the education system will be reconstructed to overcome the generally negative impact that armed conflict has on the education sector is one element of this, but so too are provisions for how an education system will be reformed, given the contributory role that education can play in the outbreak of armed conflict.

CONCLUSION

Several things must be stressed regarding peace agreements. First, the signing of a peace agreement does not mean the end of war. Many more peace agreements have failed than have succeeded, and peace agreement provisions such as equal access to education may fail to be implemented even if violence or war does not resume. Negotiated settlements are three times more likely to fail

than military victories, and conflicts that end in negotiated settlements last nearly three times longer on average than those that end in military victory (Human Security Report, 2006). Peacemaking through the signing of peace agreements is thus not the same as actually building peace, though a peace agreement can be and often is an important step in the direction of peace building.

FULL PEACE AGREEMENTS

Full peace agreements 1989-2005, according to Harbom, Högbladh, and Wallensteen (2006)

Parties to Peace Agreement and Conflict Location	Year of Peace Agreement	Title of Peace Agreement	Educational Provisions in the Agreement
Angola	1994	Lusaka Protocol	Excess combatants (both Army and rebel) to be given professional training in order to reintegrate into society. Established a working group to identify and rehabilitate vocational training centers to demobilize ex-combatants (Annex 4). Civic education campaign to be provided to citizens for participation in elections (Annex 7). (USIP)
Angola	2002	Memorandum of Understanding (Luena Agreement)	Annex I regarding the quartering of UNITA military forces states that a Civic Education Officer will be present in the leadership structure of the quartering area. (USIP)
Burundi	2000	Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement	<p>In Protocol I, Chapter II, Article 6 calls for the "implementation of a vast awareness and educational programme for national peace, unity, and reconciliation" as a measure relating to genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Article 7 specifically addresses education and calls for the following as a measure related to exclusion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equitable regional distribution of school buildings, equipment and textbooks throughout the national territory, in such a way as to benefit girls and boys equally • Deliberate promotion of compulsory primary education that ensures gender parity through joint financial support from the State and the communes • Transparency and fairness in non-competitive and competitive examinations. • Restoration of the rights of girls and boys whose education has been interrupted as a result of the Burundi conflict or of exclusion, by effectively reintegrating them into the school system and late into working life. • Education of the population, particularly of youth, in positive traditional cultural values such as solidarity, social cooperation, forgiveness and mutual tolerance, Ibanga (discretion and sense of responsibility), Ubupfasoni (respect for others and for oneself) and Ubuntu (humanism and character). <p>Protocol II, Chapter I, Article 3, outlines education as a fundamental right: "No one may be denied access to basic education. The State shall organize public education, and shall develop and promote access to secondary and post-secondary education".</p> <p>Protocol III, Chapter I, Article 2 states that one of the causes of the violence and insecurity in Burundi is "A discriminatory system which did not offer equal educational access to all Burundian youths from all ethnic groups". Article 8 calls on the Burundian state to protect inalienable rights of its citizens, to include the right to education, and to institute a proactive policy of promoting human rights through education and training.</p> <p>Protocol IV, Chapter I, Article 4 requires the Government of Burundi to assist and support returning refugees and IDPs with education, to include giving equivalency for diplomas awarded outside of Burundi. (USIP)</p>

Parties to Peace Agreement and Conflict Location	Year of Peace Agreement	Title of Peace Agreement	Educational Provisions in the Agreement
Burundi	2003	The Global Ceasefire Agreement	No direct mention of education (UN Peacemaker)
Cambodia	1991	Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict)	Section D of Annex 1 calls for voter education to be implemented before the elections to support the election process. Article IX of Annex 2 calls for a mass public education program on the recognition and avoidance of explosive devices. Point 10 of the supplementary "Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia" states that "In this rehabilitation phase, particular attention will need be given to food security, health, housing, training, education, the transport network and the restoration of Cambodia's existing basic infrastructure and public utilities". (USIP)
Chad	1993	Tripoli 1 Agreement	Not accessible
Chad	1995	Tripoli 1 Agreement	Not accessible
Chad	1999	Reconciliation Agreement	Not accessible
Chad	2002	Tripoli 2 Agreement	No direct mention of education http://www.sangonet.com/Fich3ActualInterAfric/TchadMDJTdegeIRCA.html
Chad	2005	Yébibou Agreement	Not accessible
Colombia	1991	Acuerdo final Gobierno Nacional-Ejército Popular De Liberación	Under section on reintegration plan, section on transition calls for ex-combatants to be given nonformal education consisting of literacy and primary and secondary education in practical and theoretical areas, and for the Ministry of Education to give formal recognition of this primary and secondary education. "Educación no formal: el programa de educación no formal consiste en la enseñanza a los excombatientes en los niveles de alfabetización, primaria y secundaria, según su grado actual de capacitación, para que puedan incursionar en otras áreas del conocimiento, tanto teóricas como prácticas. Para la labor de alfabetización, el Gobierno editará las cartillas necesarias, y financiará los medios audiovisuales complementarios y los alfabetizadores que participarán en esta tarea. Así mismo, se proveerán los recursos para un programa especial de validación de primaria y secundaria concertado con el Ministerio de Educación." (UN Peacemaker)
Democratic Republic of Congo	2002	Inter-Congolese National Dialogue Agreement: Global and Inclusive Agreement on Transition in the Democratic Republic of Congo (The Pretoria Agreement)	Education is discussed only in terms of ministerial posts. Chapter 6 of the 1999 Lusaka ceasefire calls for the re-establishment of state administration over the territory of the DRC by making it possible to carry out educational services throughout the country. (USIP)

Parties to Peace Agreement and Conflict Location	Year of Peace Agreement	Title of Peace Agreement	Educational Provisions in the Agreement
Democratic Republic of Congo	2003	Inter-Congolese Negotiations: The Final Act (The Sun City Agreement)	<p>Section 21 of the agreement states concern over "the alarming situation in the national education sector characterised by ever-decreasing school attendance rates, the non-attendance of between three to five million children, the recruitment of thousands of children of school-going age by belligerents and armed groups, the destruction of many school buildings and equipment and the plundering of teaching material, the increased wastage at all levels, the marked depreciation of teaching outcomes, the pronounced degradation of living and working conditions of teachers and learners as well as moral values which have also have resulted in the brain drain". This section outlines education as part of an emergency program and calls for the following:</p> <p>Urgent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Rehabilitate and re-equip at least 60% of the destroyed or damaged school or university infrastructures; ii. Build new schools, according to a balanced plan which takes account of zoning; iii. Allocate at least 10% to 15% of the national budget to education; iv. Adopt policies and measures to achieve the so-called "millennium" objective according to which every girl and boy from now until the year 2015 will have equal access to primary education as well as to all the other levels of teaching; v. Significantly increase the salaries of teachers at all levels of the system, offer them decent working conditions and rigorously manage the teaching career in order to improve the profile of the profession; vi. Supply school and university establishments with books, resources and audio-visual equipment etc; vii. Introduce training in new technologies (eg information technology) into the teaching programme; viii. Re-launch the policy relating to special teaching as well as to the reintegration of children and young people including child mothers who fail and drop out of the education system; ix. Reactivate and implement resolutions taken by the Etats-Généraux of Education held in Kinshasa from 20 to 29 January 1996 and revise the National Education framework law. <p>Short and medium term</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Rationally manage the financial resources of the education sector in order to ensure free primary education as an objective to be achieved urgently, by progressively raising the percentage of children in full-time schooling, particularly in the case of vulnerable populations, girls and underprivileged groups; ii. Create an Educational Promotion Fund; iii. Put in place regulations and provisions for the effective management of education structures and facilities at all levels and in all the provinces; iv. Step up professionalism at the secondary school level; v. Redefine the role and raise the status of the teacher at the Primary, Secondary, Higher and University levels; and of Scientific Research; vi. Draw up a policy to speed up the training of University teachers and researchers, and create a special fund to support doctoral studies and research within the country; vii. Reinforce programmes and courses focused on civics and human values; viii. Apply the texts regulating the transposition of ranks at the primary and secondary levels; ix. Define and establish collaboration based on the principle of partnership in national education <p>Section 26 of the agreement states that the peace agreement participants are "aware that the Congolese youth must be protected and supervised through education, sport and recreation".</p> <p>Section 27 (on corruption) states that "at the heart of this crisis corruption in many forms appears as the manifestation of the anti-values and non-transparent practices on the part of men and women seeking to advance their careers in executive spheres, e.g. the army, the police, information services, public administration, health, education..." and so on.</p> <p>Section 28 calls for the promotion of "promote developmental and civic education for improved civil awareness".</p> <p>Section 35 calls for "promotion, through the national educational system, of values of good citizenship, as well as a culture of dialogue and peaceful resolution of conflicts".</p> <p>(UN Peacemaker)</p>

Parties to Peace Agreement and Conflict Location	Year of Peace Agreement	Title of Peace Agreement	Educational Provisions in the Agreement
Djibouti	1994	Accord de paix et de la reconciliation nationale	Education addressed in Article 5: Catch-up Education ("Rattrapage Scolaire") "Within the framework of catch-up education, the measures already instituted for children in a situation of delayed schooling because of the war should be maintained throughout their schooling". http://www.presidence.dj/LES%20TEXTES/accpaix.htm
Djibouti	2000	Accord Cadre de Reforme et de Concorde Civile	Article 17 addresses the right to education: Article 17 : Droit à l'Education a. Les deux parties souscrivent à la volonté, telle qu'affirmée au Titre V de l'Accord de paix de Décembre 1994, d'un soutien scolaire renforcé aux enfants des zones affectées par le conflit armé. b. Elles reconnaissent la nécessité de poursuivre ces efforts en direction des zones affectées par la guerre en matière éducative, par la réouverture des écoles fermées. http://www.lesnouvelles.org/P10_magazine/12_depeche/12020_LNAtxtaccordjib.html
Djibouti	2001	Accord de reforme et concorde civile	Education addressed in Article 17: Right to Education "The two signatory parties affirm Article 5 of the 1994 Peace Accord, support strengthened education for children in areas affected by armed conflict. The two parties acknowledge the necessity of pursuing efforts in areas affected by war in the direction of education matters, to include the reopening of closed schools." http://www.lesnouvelles.org/P10_magazine/12_depeche/12020_LNAtxtaccordjib.html
El Salvador	1992	The Chapultepec Peace Agreement	The educational system of the armed forces is addressed in chapter I, and new education is required for the police. (USIP)
Guatemala	1996	The Agreement for a Firm and Lasting Peace	Section I In the search for growth, economic policy must be directed towards preventing processes of economic exclusion, such as unemployment and impoverishment, and towards optimizing the benefits of economic growth for all Guatemalans. Raising the standard of living and ensuring health care, education, social security and training for Guatemalans are preconditions for achieving sustainable development in Guatemala. (UN Peacemaker)
Guinea Bissau	1998	Agreement Between the Government of Guinea-Bissau and the Self-Proclaimed Military Junta	No direct mention of education. (UN Peacemaker)
Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire)	2004	Accra III Agreement on Côte d'Ivoire	No direct mention of education. (UN Peacemaker)
Liberia	2003	Accra Peace Agreement (Comprehensive Peace Agreement Between the Government of Liberia and LURD and MODEL and Political Parties)	Part Six, Article XII calls for the promotion of human rights education throughout Liberian society, to include in schools. Part Eight, Article IX calls for voters education to be given. (USIP)
Macedonia	2001	Framework Agreement (The Ohrid Agreement)	Section 3.1: "A revised Law on Local Self-Government will be adopted that reinforces the powers of elected local officials and enlarges substantially their competencies in conformity with the Constitution (as amended in accordance with Annex A) and the European Charter on Local Self-Government, and reflecting the principle of subsidiarity in effect in the European Union. Enhanced competencies will relate principally to the areas of public services, urban and rural planning, environmental protection, local economic development, culture, local finances, education, social welfare, and health care.

Parties to Peace Agreement and Conflict Location	Year of Peace Agreement	Title of Peace Agreement	Educational Provisions in the Agreement
			<p>A law on financing of local self-government will be adopted to ensure an adequate system of financing to enable local governments to fulfil all of their responsibilities.”</p> <p>In section 5 on special parliamentary procedures, section 5.2 states that “Laws that directly affect culture, use of language, education, personal documentation, and use of symbols, as well as laws on local finances, local elections, the city of Skopje, and boundaries of municipalities must receive a majority of votes, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the Representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia.”</p> <p>Section 6: Education and Use of Languages</p> <p>6.1. With respect to primary and secondary education, instruction will be provided in the students’ native languages, while at the same time uniform standards for academic programs will be applied throughout Macedonia.</p> <p>6.2. State funding will be provided for university level education in languages spoken by at least 20 percent of the population of Macedonia, on the basis of specific agreements.</p> <p>6.3. The principle of positive discrimination will be applied in the enrolment in State universities of candidates belonging to communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia until the enrolment reflects equitably the composition of the population of Macedonia.</p> <p>Annex A (Constitutional Amendments) Article 48 states that “Members of communities have the right to establish institutions for culture, art, science and education, as well as scholarly and other associations for the expression, fostering and development of their identity.”</p> <p>“Members of communities have the right to instruction in their language in primary and secondary education, as determined by law. In schools where education is carried out in another language, the Macedonian language is also studied.</p> <p>Article 69 states that “For laws that directly affect culture, use of language, education, personal documentation, and use of symbols, the Assembly makes decisions by a majority vote of the Representatives attending, within which there must be a majority of the votes of the Representatives attending who claim to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia. In the event of a dispute within the Assembly regarding the application of this provision, the Committee on Inter-Community Relations shall resolve the dispute.</p> <p>Article 115: “In units of local self-government, citizens directly and through representatives participate in decision-making on issues of local relevance particularly in the fields of public services, urban and rural planning, environmental protection, local economic development, local finances, communal activities, culture, sport, social security and child care, education, health care and other fields determined by law.</p> <p>Annex C Section 6.2 states that “The parties invite the international community to provide assistance for the implementation of the Framework Agreement in the area of higher education.” (USIP)</p>
Mozambique	1992	General Peace Agreement for Mozambique	No direct mention of education (USIP)
Rwanda	1993	Arusha Accords (Arusha Accord Between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front)	<p>Article 23, Section D calls for the rehabilitation and rebuilding of socio-educational facilities in areas devastated by war and social strife.</p> <p>Article 15 of the Protocol on the Repatriation of Rwandese Refugees and the Resettlement of Displaced Persons states that the Rwandese Government and the International Community shall assist returnees with education.</p> <p>Article 20 of the Protocol calls for the establishment of a “programme of assistance for [returnee] children admitted in the educational system shall be established and tailored in such a way as to cater for school fees, funds for the purchase of uniforms and school equipment for two academic years.”</p> <p>Article 26 of the Protocol states that “Diplomas and certificates internationally recognized shall be considered for purposes of employment in the educational institutions or appointment to professional posts, in accordance with the UNESCO grading regulations and systems”.</p>

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Parties to Peace Agreement and Conflict Location	Year of Peace Agreement	Title of Peace Agreement	Educational Provisions in the Agreement
			<p>Article 30 of the Protocol states that "For purposes of ensuring a smooth integration into the educational system in the country, and avoiding that students interrupt their studies and suffer adverse effects, a number of measures shall be taken:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the first year, education should be provided in the language used in the country of asylum. • Within the first three months, intensive French courses should be organised for teachers and students, especially for students in the senior level of primary school and for students in • Secondary schools and institutions of higher learning, from the Anglophone countries. • Some of the aspects of adaptation may be catered for in the private educational system. • The Plan of Action for Rwandese refugees shall take in charge students in their last two years of the primary, secondary schools and institutions of higher learning who may wish to stay behind and complete their studies in the host countries, if the educational systems in which they were studying are not available in Rwanda. Their certificates shall be recognized in accordance with the UNESCO system of equivalence of diplomas, certificates, etc. However, special attention shall be given to the writing and reading of Kinyarwanda through additional remedial lessons, to enable new pupils and any other who might experience similar difficulties to catch up with those who are more conversant with the language." <p>Article 38 of the Protocol calls for the re-establishment of educational services. Article 43 of the Protocol states that humanitarian assistance to returnees shall consist of education, to include school equipment, uniforms, and school fees for two years. (USIP)</p>
Sierra Leone	1996	Abidjan Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone	<p>Article 15 calls for a campaign of civic education to enhance national unity and reconciliation.</p> <p>Article 20 calls for the promotion of human rights education throughout the country.</p> <p>To improve the quality of life of Sierra Leoneans and address the socio-economic roots of the conflict,</p> <p>Article 26 calls for "improved educational services to enable all children of primary and junior secondary school age to receive free and compulsory schooling as well as provide the opportunity for the youth and all other Sierra Leoneans to receive affordable quality education". (USIP)</p>
Sierra Leone	1999	Lomé Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone	<p>Part Two, Article VII states that proceeds from the sale of the country's gold and diamonds shall be used for the development of the people of Sierra Leone, to include funding of the public education system.</p> <p>Part Five, Article XXXV calls for the promotion of human rights education throughout the country, to include in schools. Part Five, Article XXXX specifically addresses the issue of child soldiers and states that the Government shall address the needs of these children in the existing DDR process.</p> <p>Part Five, Article XXXI states that "The Government shall provide free compulsory education for the first nine years of schooling (Basic Education) and shall endeavour to provide free schooling for a further three years". (USIP)</p>
Sierra Leone	2000	Abuja Ceasefire Agreement Between the Sierra Leone Government and the RUF	<p>No direct mention of education. (UN Peacemaker)</p>
Tajikistan	1997	The Moscow Declaration: General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan	<p>No direct mention of education. (UN Peacemaker)</p>

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Bangladesh	1997	Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord	<p>The accord makes provisions for changes to the 1989 Hill District Local Government Council Acts.</p> <p>Point 33, Section B of the accord states that: "The following subjects shall be added in the No. 3 of the functions of the Council: Vocational training; Primary education in mother tongue; Secondary education."</p> <p>Point 10, section D of the agreement states that:</p> <p>"Quota reservation and scholarships: Until development equals that of other regions of the country the government shall continue reservation of quota system in government services and educational institutions for the tribals. For this purpose, the government shall grant more scholarships for the tribal students in the educational institutions. The government shall provide necessary scholarships for research works and higher education abroad."</p> <p>Point 17, section D states that "Educational facilities shall be provided for the children of the Jana Sanghati Samity members and the certificates obtained from foreign board and educational institutions shall be considered as valid!"</p> <p>http://www.lcgbangladesh.org/CHT/reports/The%20Chittagong%20Hill%20Tracts%20Peace%20Accord%20of%201997.doc</p>
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995	The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton Accords)	<p>Annex 4, article 2 (the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina) states that "Enumeration of Rights. All persons within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall enjoy the human rights and fundamental freedoms referred to in paragraph 2 above; these include: ... The right to education."</p> <p>Annex 6 of the agreement states that "The Parties shall secure to all persons within their jurisdiction the highest level of internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the rights and freedoms provided in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols and the other international agreements listed in the Appendix to this Annex. These include: ... the right to education." (UN Peacemaker)</p>
Comoros	2003	Agreement on the transitional arrangements in the Comoros	<p>No direct mention of education.</p> <p>http://www.issafrika.org/AF/current/comorosagmt.pdf</p>
Croatia	1995	The Erdut Agreement	<p>No direct mention of education.</p> <p>(UN Peacemaker)</p>
India (Bodoland)	1993	Autonomous Council Act	Not accessible.
India (Tripura)	1993	Memorandum on Settlement	Not accessible.
Indonesia (Aceh)	2005	Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh	<p>No direct mention of education.</p> <p>(UN Peacemaker)</p>
Mali	1992	Bamako Peace Pact	<p>Titre 3 Number 15 states the following:</p> <p>"Ce statut définit et consacre les compétences des Assemblées locales, régionales et inter-régionale.</p> <p>Ces Assemblées élues sont compétentes pour :</p> <p>A - organiser leur vie communautaire urbaine et rurale,</p> <p>B - Définir et promouvoir le programme de développement économique, social, culturel qu'elles désirent. De tels programmes globaux ou spécifiques, locaux ou régionaux, couvriront des secteurs et des activités telles que l'agriculture, l'élevage, l'hydraulique, l'urbanisme, l'habitat, la préservation de l'écosystème, l'industrie, le transport, la communication, la santé, l'éducation, la culture, le tourisme, la recherche et la promotion des langues locales, l'artisanat, l'aménagement et la protection des sites historiques, la gestion du patrimoine foncier et l'incitation à l'exploration des ressources naturelles.</p>

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Parties to Peace Agreement and Conflict Location	Year of Peace Agreement	Title of Peace Agreement	Educational Provisions in the Agreement
			<p>Sous-titre 3, number 57 states: "L'unité nationale exigeant l'égalité de droits et devoirs entre tous les citoyens maliens, celle-ci trouvera sa meilleure garantie dans un programme d'enseignement et de formation équitablement appliqué à travers le territoire national. A cet égard, un programme spécial de formation civile et militaire et d'enseignement sera engagé au profit des populations du Nord du Mali, programme qui sera prolongé par une carte nationale d'organisation égalitaire de l'éducation, dans le respect des compétences respectives de chacun des niveaux local, régional et national. En outre, les populations du Nord Mali auront accès aux bourses de formation octroyées dans le cadre de la coopération internationale que ce soit au titre des offres faites à l'État malien ou dans le cadre de programmes de coopération transfrontalières entre collectivités similaires." http://www.kidal.info/docs/pacte_national.pdf</p>
Niger	1995	Ouagadougou Agreement Between Government of Niger and Tuareg rebels	<p>Education is addressed in Article 22, Section C, where the government is required to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adapt pedagogical programs to the socio-cultural realities of regions. • Promote the national languages and literatures, notably Tamachègue and Tifinar • Consider the creation of higher education institutions in the northern regions • Rehabilitate, construct, and make more schools and school cafeterias • Train teaching personnel • Assign, in possible measures, in the regions, national teaching personnel in the regions to insure the best sensitization of the population regarding the problems of education so as to • resolve the inherent problems of pedagogical recruitment. • Increase the rate of education. <p>http://democratie.francophonie.org/IMG/pdf/Niger_-_Accord_de_paix_definitive_entre_le_Gouvernement_de_la_Repu</p>
Papau New Guinea	2001	Bougainville Peace Agreement	No direct mention of education. (UN Peacemaker)
Philippines	1996	Peace Agreement	<p>Education is stipulated to be part of the DDR process in section one, point 19: Five thousand seven hundred fifty (5,750) MNLF members shall be integrated into the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), 250 of whom shall be absorbed into the auxiliary services. The government shall exert utmost efforts to establish the necessary conditions that would ensure the eventual integration of the maximum number of the remaining MNLF forces into the Special Regional Security Force (SRSF) and other agencies and instrumentalities of the government. There shall be a special socioeconomic, cultural and educational program to cater to MNLF forces not absorbed into the AFP, PNP and the SRSF to prepare them and their families for productive endeavors, provide for educational, technical skills and livelihood training and give them priority for hiring in development projects.</p> <p>In setting up and implementing a new regional autonomous government, section C addresses education: "C. Education The Integrated System of Education 21. The Regional Autonomous Government shall have an educational component comprising of existing schools, colleges and universities in the present area of autonomy and such other schools and institutions in the future expanded area of autonomy, with the possible inclusion of state universities and colleges (SUCs) to be decided later on. The relationship of the Regional Autonomous Government educational body with the national educational system shall be that of a system and sub-system with emphasis on the autonomy of the sub-system. In the event that SUCs should be included as part of the educational component of the Regional Autonomous Government, the autonomous government recognizes the fiscal autonomy and academic freedom of the SUCs as mandated by their respective charters. 22. The Regional Autonomous Government educational system shall, among others, perpetuate Filipino and Islamic ideals and aspirations, Islamic values and orientations of the Bangsamoro people. It shall develop the total spiritual, intellectual, social, cultural, scientific and physical aspects of the Bangsamoro people to make them Godfearing, productive, patriotic citizens, conscious of their Filipino and Islamic values and Islamic cultural heritage under the aegis of a just and equitable society. The Structure of Education System</p>

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Parties to Peace Agreement and Conflict Location	Year of Peace Agreement	Title of Peace Agreement	Educational Provisions in the Agreement
			<p>22. The Regional Autonomous Government educational system shall, among others, perpetuate Filipino and Islamic ideals and aspirations, Islamic values and orientations of the Bangsamoro people. It shall develop the total spiritual, intellectual, social, cultural, scientific and physical aspects of the Bangsamoro people to make them Godfearing, productive, patriotic citizens, conscious of their Filipino and Islamic values and Islamic cultural heritage under the aegis of a just and equitable society. The Structure of Education System</p> <p>23. The elementary level shall follow the basic national structure and shall primarily be concerned with providing basic education; the secondary level will correspond to four (4) years of high school, and the tertiary level shall be one year to three (3) years for non-degree courses and four (4) to eight (8) years for degree courses, as the case may be in accordance with existing laws. Curriculum</p> <p>24. The Regional Autonomous Government educational system will adopt the basic core courses for all Filipino children as well as the minimum required learnings and orientations provided by the national government, including the subject areas and their daily time allotment. Teaching materials and curriculum contents shall promote solidarity, unity in diversity, Filipino and Islamic values.</p> <p>25. The addition of more required learnings and instructional materials shall be the prerogative and responsibility of the Autonomous Government.</p> <p>26. The minimum requirements and standards prescribed by Department of Education Culture and Sports (DECS), Commission on Higher Education (CHED) and Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) will be followed by the Autonomous Region.</p> <p>27. The same textbooks of the National Government will be used by schools in the Autonomous Region. The formulation, shaping and revision of textbooks are the responsibilities of the Regional Autonomous Government and the National Government and within agreed norms, academic freedom and relevant legal limits, the formulation and revisions shall emphasize Islamic values or orientation, in addition to Filipino values which include Christian values and values of indigenous people, modern sciences and technology as well as the latest educational thrusts. Having adopted the core curriculum of the national government in consideration of achieving the highest quality of education, students and graduates of the education system of the Autonomous Region shall be fully accredited when they transfer to non autonomous regions.</p> <p>28. The integration of Islamic Values in the curriculum should be done gradually after researches and studies are conducted.</p> <p>29. The teachings of Islamic Values, as well as Filipino values, shall be incorporated in Good Manners and Right Conduct in appropriate grade levels including the tertiary level subject to agreed norms, academic freedom, and legal limitations.</p> <p>30. Muslim culture, mores, customs and traditions which are mainly based on Islam, as well as the cultures, mores, customs, and traditions of Christians and indigenous people, shall be preserved through the regular public and special schools in the Autonomous Region, considering that schools are perpetuating vehicles of the values of the people. Administration of Educational System.</p> <p>31. The management and control, and supervision of the entire educational system in the area of autonomy shall be the primary concern of the Regional Autonomous Government, consistent with the declared policies of national educational bodies. The national education bodies shall monitor compliance by the regional educational system with national educational policies, standards and regulations in collaboration with the educational authorities of the autonomous region. The head of the educational system of the Regional Autonomous Government shall have the right to participate in policy and decision making activities of the national educational bodies.</p> <p>32. The Regional Autonomous Government shall be represented in the Board of SUCs in the region as co-chairman or at least, co-vice-chairman, as may be provided by law. Appointment to SUC Boards shall be made by the President of the Philippines.</p>

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			<p>33. The Regional Autonomous Government will be responsible for specific administrative, management functions and powers, educational supervision and school administration, and regulation over private schools.</p> <p>34. The organizational structure of the educational system in the autonomous region shall follow the basic structure of the national educational system. The Regional Legislative Assembly may add special structures, if necessary. It shall follow whatever organizations of the curricular years as found in the national set-up.</p> <p>35. Locally funded programs will be the responsibility of the Regional Autonomous Government.</p> <p>36. The selection, recruitment, appointment and promotion of teachers and employees shall be the responsibility of the Regional Autonomous Government in accordance with general qualification standard prescribed by the Civil Service Commission (CSC) provided that the Regional Autonomous Government can initiate regionally-defined standards which are not below national standards.</p> <p>37. The selection, recruitment, appointment and promotion of elementary, secondary and tertiary education employees shall be the responsibility of the Regional Autonomous Government in accordance with general standards of the Civil Service Commission (CSC) and other recognized bodies.</p> <p>38. Primary disciplinary authority over officials and employees of the Regional Autonomous Government will be the area of concern of the Regional Autonomous Government in accordance with Civil Service Commission (CSC) rules and regulations. Administrative sanctions deemed appropriate and reasonable as determined by the Civil Service Commission will be the area of concern of the Regional Autonomous Government.</p> <p>Religious Instruction</p> <p>39. Religious instruction in public schools should be optional, with the written consent of the parent/guardian, taught by the authorities of the religion to which the student belongs, and should not involve additional costs to the government in accordance with national policies.</p> <p>Medium of Instruction</p> <p>40. Filipino and English shall be the medium of instruction in the areas of the Autonomy; provided that Arabic shall be an auxiliary medium of instruction.</p> <p>41. Regional languages may be used as auxiliary official languages in the region as well as auxiliary medium of instruction and communication.</p> <p>42. Arabic shall be recognized as a medium of instruction in Madaris (schools) and other Islamic institutions.</p> <p>43. Arabic shall be taught as a subject in all appropriate grade levels as presently required in the existing laws for Muslims, and optional, for non-Muslims. Madrasa Education</p> <p>44. Existing Madaris, including Madaris Ulya shall be under the Regional Autonomous Government educational system as presently organized in the area of autonomy.</p> <p>45. Madaris teachers shall receive compensation out of the funds of the Regional Autonomous Government provided they are employed in the public schools. Non-formal Education and Specialized Education</p> <p>46. The Regional Autonomous Government educational system shall develop the full potentials of its human resources, respond positively to changing needs and conditions and needs of the environment, and institutionalize non-formal education.</p> <p>47. The educational system shall respond positively and effectively to the changing needs and conditions of the times as well as regional and national needs of the environment through the proper use of the latest educational technology, development, planning, monitoring, evaluation, and appropriate and timely educational intervention as well as linkages with national and international institutions.</p> <p>48. The Regional Autonomous Government educational system shall institutionalize non-formal education in scope and methodology, to include literacy, numeracy and intensive skills training of the youth and adult, to allow them to participate actively and productively in the mainstream of regional and national life.</p> <p>Scholarship Grants and Assistance</p> <p>49. Universities and colleges in the areas of autonomy may seek and receive overseas donations for educational purposes.</p>

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			<p>50. The Regional Autonomous Government educational system will handle, by administrative arrangement with the national DECS, CHED, and TESDA scholarship programs, both local and foreign, including those provided by the autonomous region pursuant to the provision of existing laws.</p> <p>51. Disadvantaged but deserving students will be given financial assistance by the Regional Autonomous Government out of funds given by the national government for the purpose and from other sources of funds.</p> <p>Funds for Education</p> <p>52. Funds for education constituting the share of the Regional Autonomous Government as contained in the General Appropriations Act should be given directly to the Autonomous Government.” (USIP)</p>
Sudan	1997	Khartoum Agreement	<p>In addressing power sharing, education is stipulated to be a state responsibility in chapter three (“political issues”): “Education Management, Planning and Training up to the University level within the framework of the National planning”. In chapter 3 in the section on wealth sharing: “The Federal Government shall lay down a comprehensive economic and social plan to develop the country in general and to bridge the gap between the various States in particular; so that within a definite period, a parity in provision of basic needs such as security, employment, water, food, education, health and housing could be reached.”</p> <p>In chapter 4, the interim government is charged with the responsibility to “To strengthen the capacity building of the people in the Southern States to become self-reliant. In this regard plans shall be drawn to receive support for educational, health, food security and social services institutions” and is given the power of “Education Planning up to University in accordance with National policies. (UN Peacemaker)</p>
Sudan	2005	Comprehensive Peace Agreement	<p>Section 2.5.6 of Part II of the 2004 Protocol on Power Sharing between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) states that “the Government of National Unity shall be responsible for establishing recruitment systems and admission policies to national universities, national institutes, and other institutions of higher education based on fair competition, giving equal opportunity to all citizens.” Section 2.6.1.6 states that “additional educational opportunities shall be provided for war-affected people”. Section 2.8.3 calls for the use of both Arabic and English as languages of instruction for higher education, and section 2.8.5 provides for the use of those languages in education without discrimination. Section C of the protocol calls for states to administer education. (USIP)</p>
UK (Northern Ireland)	1998	The Northern Ireland Peace Agreement (Good Friday Agreement)	<p>Strand Three states that the British-Irish Council will “exchange information, discuss, consult and use best endeavours to reach agreement on co-operation on matters of mutual interest within the competence of the relevant Administrations. Suitable issues for early discussion in the BIC could include transport links, agricultural issues, environmental issues, cultural issues, health issues, education issues and approaches to EU issues. Suitable arrangements to be made for practical cooperation on agreed policies.” Also states that “an essential aspect of the reconciliation process is the promotion of a culture of tolerance at every level of society, including initiatives to facilitate and encourage integrated education and mixed housing.”</p> <p>The section on economic, social and cultural issues in the rights, safeguards, and equality of opportunities portion of the agreement states that the British Government will “place a statutory duty on the Department of Education to encourage and facilitate Irish medium education in line with current provision for integrated education”.</p> <p>The Annex states that: “Areas for North-South co-operation and implementation may include the following: 2. Education - teacher qualifications and exchanges.” (UN Peacemaker)</p>
Ecuador-Peru	1998	Presidential Act of Brasilia	<p>Point three calls for the establishment of a Complementary Convention on Educational Cooperation. (UN Peacemaker)</p>

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