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PROTECT EDUCATION IN INSECURITY AND CONFLICT
حماية التعليم في ظروف النزاع وانعدام الأمن

CONFLICT-SENSITIVE EDUCATION POLICY

A PRELIMINARY REVIEW

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Education Above All
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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
DR Congo	Democratic Republic of the Congo
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
EAA	Education Above All
EMIS	Education management information system
GCPEA	Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack
GDP	Gross domestic product
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IDP	Internally displaced person
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
INEE	Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies
MoE	Ministry of Education
NGO	Non-governmental organization
TVET	Technical and vocational education and training
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCARO	West and Central Africa Office
WFP	World Food Programme

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1. INTRODUCTION

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Who is this paper for?

This paper offers technical planning advice for high-level policy makers in ministries of education and donors in situations of conflict, recovering from conflict, or at risk of it. The aim is to share international experience on how education policies may contribute to continuing tensions and conflict, or help reduce these tensions. This paper suggests that all education programming should be adapted to help reduce tensions that may lead to conflict; and that special programmes should be envisaged to help build peace.

This paper can be used by:

- **Ministries of education** - as a tool to promote conflict-sensitive education strategies.
- **Other government actors** - to see how resources allocated to conflict-sensitive education can help meet national security, justice and development goals.
- **Donor agencies** - to support government officials in the same efforts (including through technical and financial assistance) as well as lobbying for conflict-sensitive strategies.

What does “conflict-sensitive” mean?

Education can sometimes contribute to conflict, when it increases social tensions or division. For example, if children from one ethnic group have less access to education than others, or if a history textbook favours the dominant group, then this can increase tensions that may contribute to conflict. **Conflict sensitivity requires diagnosing these problems and taking**

actions to remedy them. In this paper we use the term “conflict-sensitivity” to include policies to promote equitable access to educational opportunity and curricula that include skills and values supportive of peace.¹

- **Conflict sensitivity as “Do No Harm”.** A minimum requirement is “Do No Harm” – making all decisions with an awareness of how they will affect social tensions that may contribute to conflict. For example, making sure that new programmes do not favour one side of a conflict.
- **Conflict sensitivity as helping to build peace.** Within “conflict sensitivity”, many also include programmes where education actively transforms such tensions and supports peace, such as learning respect for diversity, and local, national and global citizenship.

Conflict sensitivity should be a cross-cutting issue

Over the last two decades, much progress has been made incorporating “gender” as a cross-cutting issue in education policy and promoting “gender-sensitivity”. Increasingly, education statistics are disaggregated by gender, and all education programmes are expected to help remedy deficiencies in the education progress of girls (or sometimes boys). Special programmes to improve girls’ education exist too. In a similar way, this paper suggests that **all education programmes should be designed to minimise tensions that may lead to conflict**; and that special initiatives should be taken for education to help build peace.

Diagnosis of conflict causes should be a cross-cutting “lens” through which all education policies are viewed. However, **conflict-sensitive education strategies can be controversial.** Strategies are more likely to be sustainable if they are based on a broad dialogue and buy-in from different groups in society. Furthermore, such strategies may require more political traction than the education ministry alone can generate.

More focus on prevention than on response

This paper aims to help protect education from violence, especially in countries where there is a risk of the outbreak or recurrence of violent conflict, including post-conflict reconstruction. Many of the measures proposed (for instance on equitable access and curriculum) are systemic actions which education ministries can take to help lessen social tensions and reduce the risk of conflict. The paper also emphasises the need for education ministries to develop a strategy and provide capacity building for response to actual violent attacks on education institutions. For practical measures applicable at this local level, the reader is referred to the work of the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (GCPEA), in particular the study on field-based response (Groneman 2011) and the forthcoming GCPEA good practice guides.

A focus on conflict, not on disaster risk reduction

This paper builds on insights of the 2011 draft *Guidance Notes on Integrating Conflict and Disaster Risk Reduction into Education Sector Planning* prepared by IIEP-UNESCO and UNICEF WCARO on behalf of the Global Education Cluster. However,

the present paper focuses more on reducing conflict risks; although some measures will also reduce disaster risks. Further, this paper **focuses on strategies** (i.e. analysis, policy formulation, priority programmes) **rather than the entire planning cycle** (which includes monitoring, evaluation and finance).

Section Two below examines the many good reasons why education policies should be conflict-sensitive, while **Section Three** considers how to reform education policy to achieve this.

What this paper is *not* about

Disclaimer: All aspects of post-conflict education reconstruction or education policy reform should have conflict-sensitivity as a cross-cutting issue. To cover all these topics is beyond the scope of this paper, which focuses on some core issues important in many situations.



2. WHY EDUCATION POLICY SHOULD BE CONFLICT-SENSITIVE

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Why is education important?

It is important that all regions, ethnic groups and other groups have equitable access to relevant quality education, so that children and youth from all groups can gain from it, and not fall behind other groups due to conflict:

- **Education is a human right**, as enshrined in a number of international agreements, including the almost universally ratified Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC). International law protects the various levels and types of education.² Moreover, Article 29 of the CRC provides for education directed to “the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin.”³
- **Saving lives** - Education can protect children and save lives, both physically and psychologically:
 - o Schools can convey messages on landmines, health and hygiene.
 - o Children who attend school can be less vulnerable to recruitment into armed groups, sexual abuse, trafficking and child labour.⁴
- **Income and Growth** - Education is key to unlocking a country’s potential for economic growth:
 - o Each additional year of schooling increases an individual’s potential income by as much as 10%,⁵ and increases annual GDP by 1%.⁶
 - o When student literacy and math test scores increase by one standard deviation, annual GDP per capita grows by 2%.⁷

- **Health** - Education contributes to improved health:
 - HIV and AIDS infection rates drop by 50% among children who complete their primary education.
 - Girls' education improves child health, reduces maternal mortality, the rate of risky teenage births, and the availability of female health workers.⁸
- **Gender equality** - Education is key to women's rights, self-expression and civic engagement:
 - Every additional year of schooling reduces maternal fertility by 5-10%.⁹
 - Girls' income potential increases by 15% with each additional year of primary education, and increasing the number of women with secondary education by 1% can increase annual per capita economic growth by 0.3%.¹⁰

What happens if education policies are not conflict-sensitive?

If education policies are not conflict sensitive, then education may actually create or exacerbate existing tensions between groups:

- **Unequal education opportunities and associated employment opportunities** (including as teachers) can deepen hostility between ethnic or other groups.
- **Grievances over identity** (assimilation into a different identity group; negative stereotyping and one-sided history in textbooks; unwanted language of instruction) can contribute to conflict.

- **Curricula** that promote militarism and praise war can create a mind-set of solving problems by violence.¹¹

The tensions created between groups may then contribute to violent conflict.

How does conflict harm education?

Education nearly always suffers during conflict, due to:

- **Reduced attendance** of students and teachers due to insecurity, family poverty, attacks on education institutions, damage to infrastructure; **psychosocial effects** on personal life and on capacity to teach/learn. This can result in cohorts or even entire generations losing their only opportunity to get an education.
- **Reduced government and donor education budgets** and inability to finance repairs/reconstruction; and
- **Reduced mobility** of education stakeholders including students, teachers, supervisors/trainers, and difficulty transporting salaries, stationery, textbooks.¹²

How can education contribute to peacebuilding?

There is some statistical evidence that education as such contributes to peace:

- **Education contributes to social cohesion:** The best predictor of high social capital is years of formal education.¹³
- **Secondary education can reduce the risk of conflict:** A 10% increase in secondary school enrolment reduces the

risk of conflict by 3 percentage points: when education levels among potential rebels increase, they stand to lose more income by joining a rebellion.¹⁴

- **Education investments can increase government legitimacy** (part of the “peace dividend”), build private sector confidence and accelerate growth.¹⁵

Conflict-sensitive education policies can enhance this contribution to peace, for example, through:

- ***Ending previous harmful policies*** that give rise to grievances and hostility; and
- ***Contributing skills, values and knowledge for responsible citizenship and peacebuilding.***¹⁶

Section Three below discusses **how** an education ministry can apply conflict-sensitive policy and strategies.



3. HOW A MINISTRY OF EDUCATION CAN MAKE ITS POLICY AND PLANNING CONFLICT-SENSITIVE

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The following sections describe a selection of conflict-sensitive policy and planning strategies that a ministry of education can undertake. The strategies are discussed here under the following headings:

- (A) Mobilizing political will and capacity to make education conflict-sensitive.** The aim here is to develop policy commitments to overcome justified grievances and make education a tool for peace – by jointly conducting a conflict analysis of the education sector, by disaggregating education data, and by initiating dialogue to build national consensus on education reform.
- (B) Promoting equitable access to all levels of education.** The conflict analysis and geographical mapping can show that some groups do not have equal access to the different levels of education. The aim here is to close that gap and ensure that those population groups have not only access but also quality education.
- (C) Making curriculum, teaching and language conflict-sensitive.** The aim here is to cleanse education content of bias and to actively support the building of a peaceful and harmonious society.
- (D) Strengthening emergency preparedness including protecting education from attack.** The aim here is to ensure that emergency and disaster preparedness takes conflict into account, including strengthening local capacity to protect education from attack, and including education and vocational training as a part of demobilisation and reintegration programmes.
- (E) Other key issues identified in the national conflict analysis process.**

These key issues for conflict-sensitive education policy are summarized below in figure 1.

-
- (A) MOBILIZE POLITICAL WILL AND CAPACITY TO MAKE EDUCATION CONFLICT-SENSITIVE
1. Analyse how education and conflict interact
 2. Disaggregate and map education data to show education discrepancies
 3. Initiate a national dialogue on conflict-sensitive education
- (B) PROMOTE EQUITABLE ACCESS TO ALL LEVELS OF EDUCATION
4. Plan education targets and future resource inputs to achieve equitable access
 5. Adjust teacher management to improve equitable access
- (C) MAKE CURRICULUM, TEACHING AND LANGUAGE CONFLICT-SENSITIVE
6. Ensure that curriculum, teaching and exams support peace, human rights and citizenship
 7. Adjust language policies that cause tension
- (D) STRENGTHEN EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS INCLUDING PROTECTING EDUCATION FROM ATTACK
8. Strengthen local capacity to reduce risks related to conflict and insecurity
 9. Provide education and training for ex-combatants, ex-child soldiers and their communities
 10. Preparedness for emergencies and disasters should also take conflict into account
- (E) OTHER KEY ISSUES IDENTIFIED IN THE NATIONAL CONFLICT ANALYSIS PROCESS
11. Context-specific issues

Figure 1: Key issues for conflict-sensitive education policy reform

NB: Contexts are different. The focus in this paper is on some of the core policy issues that are important in many contexts. *Please note that these policies suggested are for consideration only. Some will be useful after adaptation to the situation in a particular country, while others will not be relevant. There will be other specific issues of importance in making education conflict-sensitive in a given country, as per category (E) above.*

(A) MOBILIZE POLITICAL WILL AND CAPACITY TO MAKE EDUCATION CONFLICT-SENSITIVE

1. Analyse how education and conflict interact

In many countries, **conflict analysis workshops** are undertaken jointly by the education ministry, other government officials, and other national and international stakeholders concerned with education development.¹⁷ These analyses examine:

- ways in which existing education policies and practices may contribute to the tensions underlying conflict;
- the impact of conflict on education at all levels (national, sub-national and local);and
- how education strategies can contribute to reducing tensions and building a more peaceful future.

The results of the conflict analysis can be included in the national education sector plan, or other policy documents. Some donors require this, for example, the Global Partnership for Education. **The conflict analysis requires a dedicated effort, as it is the basis for developing and choosing among the strategies**

below. It should be revised periodically. Conflict-sensitive planning should always take the actual context and an analysis of it as its starting point. The conflict analysis may point to country-specific issues not discussed in detail below; any such issues should of course be addressed.

2. Disaggregate and map existing education data to show education discrepancies

Conflict-sensitive planning and decision-making requires reliable information, detailed analysis and planning. If education indicators are available at district level, then planners can map,¹⁸ identify and show to decision-makers weaknesses of education provision in parts of the country, often in conflict-affected or at-risk regions. This may highlight grievances which are contributing to the risk of conflict. Mapping of education indicators may require collecting additional data, including qualitative data, through sample surveys, focus groups etc.

It is important to strengthen the data base for decision-making. Education statistics are based on a process of **data collection and monitoring**. If the ministry's data collection procedures (inadvertently or otherwise) permit incorrect reporting – (as in “ghost” (non-existent) teachers, for example, or incorrect attendance data that benefits a dominant ethnic group) – then this can become a grievance and reduce the public's trust in the state. In conflict-affected countries, ministries may not always be capable of ensuring data accuracy for various reasons:

- The physical security of the ministry inspectorate; for discussion of protective measures, see section 8.

- Administrative shortcomings – donors and UN agencies can provide technical assistance to strengthen the ministry at different levels in this regard.
- Corruption or bias. If there are grievances concerning the accuracy of official education statistics, then donors, UN agencies or civil society can help by carrying out **independent sampling**. This can provide support to ministry actors challenging inaccurate data.¹⁹

If one group²⁰ has a grievance about unequal educational opportunity, what is the extent of this inequality? As mentioned above, **disaggregation of statistics** by district or sub-district may help to assess this, and this can then be visualised on a geographic map.

- **Geographic mapping** can highlight differences in educational opportunity between regions, districts, or sub-districts of a country. This is especially important if there is tension between ethnic or other groups that live **in distinctly different parts of the country**. Then geographical units can serve as proxy²¹ for a particular group.²² Indeed, using location as a proxy variable is the only option if geographic data on ethnicity or religion, for example, is unavailable. The maps can show input levels and school provision by location as well as enrolment and achievement levels and transition rates between levels. This hard data will show whether local grievances are genuine and can help plan ways to remedy bias towards favoured areas.
- In other cases, the groups with grievances live closely together – in urban contexts for instance. Then, data for **non-geographic education statistics** may be collected (on a sample

survey basis if necessary) showing how educational opportunity varies between different ethnic (or other) groups.

- Another approach which might be considered is calculating the **Gini coefficient** of inequality²³ for relevant education indicators e.g. by district, province or nationally. This ratio-based coefficient will reveal the level of inequality by education indicator within each district, province or at national level. This can then be mapped geographically for ease of viewing. Often, high degrees of inequality will lead to grievances. This Gini map will unfortunately not, however, reveal whether one *specific* group is better off than another.

Geographical maps can be visualized using the software Stat-Planet.²⁴ See the example in figure 2 below, which illustrates net enrolment rates in lower secondary by province in Afghanistan. Dark red provinces have high enrolment rates; whereas yellow provinces have low rates.

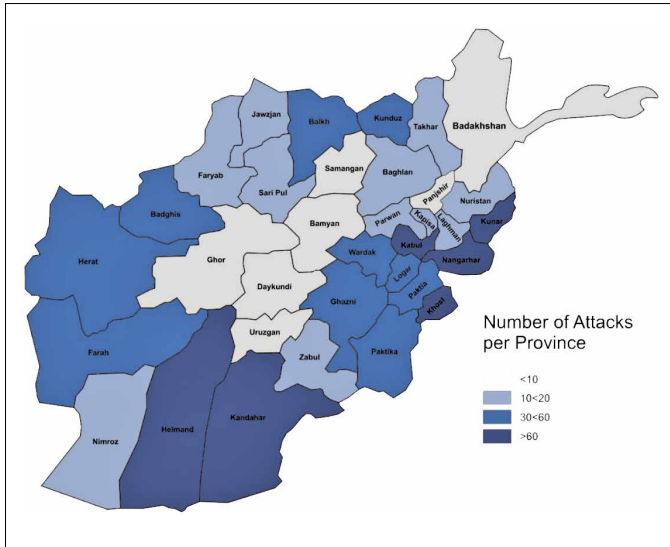


Figure 3: Number of attacks on education in Afghanistan, by province, 2006-8.

For 2006 and 2007, figures are based on the UNICEF database of reported incidents. For 2008, figures are the official number of attacks from the Ministry of Education. Source: Glad 2009: 22.

Another way of “mapping” or visualising disparity is through graphic diagrams, such as pie charts and histograms. In the diagram below, data is first disaggregated by location (a conflict-affected region vs. the capital vs. the national average), and then afterwards by gender and income.

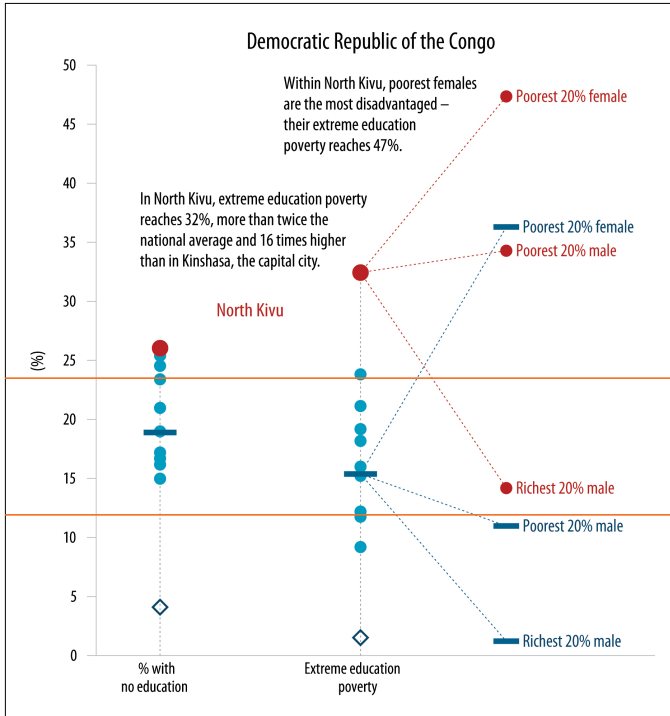


Figure 4: Violent conflicts increase inequalities in education.

Share of 7-16 year olds with no education and of 17-22-year olds with less than two years of education (labelled “Extreme education poverty”) in the North Kivu and other regions of the DR Congo. Source: UNESCO 2011: 135, based on UNESCO et al. 2010.

Figure 4 from the DR Congo above shows, for instance, the percentage of the population in the conflict affected region of North Kivu who have either no education (left hand column) or less than 2 years' education (right hand column). For the richest male quintile (one-fifth) of the 17-22 year old population, only about 15% has less than 2 years education, whereas as many as 35% of the poorest male quintile in the same region face such extreme education poverty. This difference in 20 percentage points between the rich and the poor young male groups in North Kivu could easily lead to grievances. The diagram helps visualize this disparity. It can be helpful for plan preparation and advocacy purposes.

Maps and diagrams such as these can refer to the **current situation** and to **future plans**. In case it is too politically sensitive to make the data on the current situation public, then education plans and policy documents can show maps regarding the intended future situation.

Not all policies lend themselves directly to mapping and diagrams, but monitoring and evaluation that provides feedback from different groups and settings will always be useful.

Practical feasibility is an important consideration. A complete overhaul of a national data collection process and of the education management and information system (EMIS) can be a very costly and slow process. In some countries, it may be better to **combine rather basic EMIS data with separate data for conflict prevention or response (for example a tracking system for attacks on education)**. This can help education planners get an initial idea of the situation.

Key data to map for conflict-sensitivity (using disaggregated or sample data) may include:

- Gross and net enrolment ratios by level and type of education (especially primary, secondary, post-secondary and higher; technical and vocational education (TVET));
- Transition rates to next levels of education (admissions as a percentage of students completing the previous level of education);
- Measures of learning (rates of success in national and in-school exams; independent literacy/numeracy assessments);
- Previous financial allocations (recurrent, capital);
- Teachers: student/teacher ratios, teacher training, para- and volunteer teachers, ethnicity, etc.; and
- Attacks on education.

Some examples of “mapping” include:

- In 2010, the Ministry of Education in **Chad** conducted diagnostic mapping of education data on areas vulnerable to conflict and disaster, including the education situation of IDPs, refugees, and host communities.
- Marc Sommers’ case study *“It Always Rains in the Same Place First: Geographic Favouritism in Rural **Burundi**”* (2005) showed how government and international support tended to reinforce historical inequalities, potentially fuelling future conflict. More secure zones with administrative offices tended to receive better resourcing than other zones, a problem that is likely to occur in other countries too.

- In the case of attacks on education, the CARE study *Knowledge on Fire* (Glad 2009) from **Afghanistan** proved the value of mixing quantitative data (on frequency, types of attacks etc.) with qualitative data (interviews, focus groups discussing the grievances behind the attacks). The resulting findings were more nuanced. For example, the respondents preferred to conduct their own local negotiations with attackers, rather than police involvement.
- In **Afghanistan**, the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA)'s Child Protection Unit continually monitors and verifies child's rights violations including attacks against schools and hospitals. For attacks on education, selection criteria include: any type of attack by parties to the conflict (collateral or intentional) against students, teachers, assets and buildings used for educational purposes. Incidents of forced entry and school occupations are also monitored and recorded.²⁵

3. Initiate a national dialogue on conflict-sensitive education

Conflict-sensitive education strategies can be controversial. Strategies are therefore more likely to be sustainable if they are based on a broad dialogue and buy-in from different groups in society. Furthermore, such strategies may require more political traction than an education ministry alone can generate. If appropriate, education concerns should be included in peace processes and dialogue around peace issues. Depending on the context, consensus-building may be addressed through a variety of forums including establishing a national commission on education reform including those on both sides of past or

potential conflict. Any such forum should include a broad range of national stakeholders (representing political groups, different sectors of the economy, religious groups, ethnic groups, gender groups, age groups, civil society etc. as well as educators, students and parents).²⁶

Education reform can be a unifying factor, since leaders and families on each side of a conflict want their children to gain qualifications that are recognised and respected nationally and internationally.²⁷ Thus well-organised dialogue on renewal of the education system can be a venue for cross-community dialogue and cooperation.

- In **Sierra Leone**, education was mentioned in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's 2004 report.²⁸ The National Commission for Social Action that implemented the report's recommendations featured educational support as a reparative measure.
- The inter-agency needs assessment exercise in **Iraq** in 2003 held discussion meetings with key stakeholders in different parts of the country before producing its report.
- Education reforms to make education more accessible or relevant to citizens have been part of 26 of 37 **peace agreements** signed between 1989 and 2005 (and absent from 11 of these).²⁹ If a peace agreement is about to be drafted and signed, or if a non-education-specific body is dealing with (the legacy of) conflict, then education specialists should inform its work.³⁰

(B) PROMOTE EQUITABLE ACCESS TO ALL LEVELS OF EDUCATION

4. Plan education targets and future resource inputs to achieve equitable access

Unequal access to meaningful educational opportunities can cause tensions which may trigger armed conflict. Conflict-sensitive planning requires disaggregation and mapping of **future** enrolment targets and resource inputs, showing how inequalities will be reduced, for example:

- Mapping (geographically or diagrammatically) **planned enrolments** by region, ethnic or religious groups, for each level of education, together with planned transition ratios from primary to secondary, and secondary to post-secondary/higher education/TVET;
- Mapping **future budget allocations** (recurrent, capital) between different regions, ethnic, religious groups based on objective criteria (e.g. ensuring at least one good secondary school per sub-district, one teacher college per district, or whatever may be appropriate);
- Mapping **future teacher deployments** based on objective criteria;
- Mapping planned targeting of scholarships or material assistance to under-represented groups, including for secondary and post-secondary education; and
- Establishing and mapping quotas that help underserved groups to access post-primary or post-secondary education.

Other strategies to promote equitable access can include:

- Withdrawing user fees³¹ that make education less accessible to poor families (sometimes a “peace dividend”);
- Providing remote area allowances and other ways to raise teacher numbers and quality in remote locations; and
- Strengthening accountability measures, such as the inspectorate, school management committees or independent monitoring by donors or research organisations, to check that resources are reaching the intended destinations and groups.

Examples of promoting more equitable access between groups:

- Mapping of disaster- and conflict-related risks will guide **Chad's Interim Strategy for Education and Literacy 2011-2013** and its forthcoming ten-year education development plan.
- **Nepal's** post-conflict education strategy included stipends for girls, children with disabilities, and for low-caste and indigenous children, creating incentives for their parents to send them to school and lessening the education and other gaps that fuelled the Maoist insurgency.
- **Cambodia** in 2002 introduced a scholarship programme for girls and ethnic minorities from the poorest households, increasing enrolment by at least 22%.³²
- Conditional cash transfers have been used in **Latin America** and elsewhere to encourage school attendance, including in some post-conflict countries. Edible oil was supplied to Afghan refugee girls in **Pakistan** as a reward for regular school attendance.³³

- **Sri Lanka** allocates 55% of places on professional courses (medicine etc.) to districts according to their population, and 5% as a special quota for underdeveloped districts. The 2009 *National Policy Framework on Higher Education and Technical and Vocational Education* recommends additionally providing scholarships or loans to needy students who qualify on merit.³⁴
- **Ethiopia** and **Mozambique** removed school fees some time after the formal end to conflicts, whereas **Burundi**, **Liberia** and **Sierra Leone** removed school fees “as part of efforts to build confidence in the post-conflict reconstruction process”.³⁵
- In **Afghanistan**, girls are widely recognized as a vulnerable group by humanitarian and development actors. The Ministry of Education has developed many strategies to increase girls’ participation in the education system including: the establishment of community-based classes, which have been particularly successful in increasing girls’ access to primary education; incentive initiatives to increase female participation in the teaching force; and scholarship programs for females to attend teacher training colleges.³⁶
- **Bolivia** after 2006 has seen several reform programs to increase literacy among the indigenous populations in rural areas and to increase teaching in their native languages. There has also been a focus on girls.

5. Adjust teacher management to improve equitable access

Equitable access requires that the teaching learning process is effective, which requires deployment of effective teachers as well as supply of education materials, textbooks etc. (Without this, many children will drop out and remain illiterate.) In order to have good teaching staff in neglected, remote and perhaps insecure areas, specific policies are likely to be required. Important teacher management issues include:

Recruitment and training: Avoiding bias towards one group (ethnic, caste, class or gender) in the composition of the teacher corps:³⁷

- Recruiting teachers or para-teachers from local communities, e.g. traditional teachers (religious, elders); women;³⁸
- Providing in-service teacher training, especially for unqualified teachers, directly or through distance education and technological solutions;
- Providing certification of the qualifications of teachers who have returned from (refugee camps) abroad;
- Promoting teacher mentor programs with groups of teachers working together to ensure re-professionalization of teaching and support in neglected areas; and
- Providing training in local languages.

Deployment and pay/compensation: Setting up *incentive schemes* for hardship positions for teachers:

- Accumulating “points” for service in hardship locations for later redeployment to more comfortable locations, with set timelines – e.g. two years in a hardship station leads to a guaranteed placement in a more favourable duty station;
- Bonus pay in hardship locations, or other incentives;
- Teacher accommodation in dormitories (may be essential especially for female teachers); and
- Quota systems for representation of minority groups in the teacher corps.

Examples include:

- In **Afghanistan**, several measures are in place, including recruitment of traditional teachers and women; in-service teacher training; bonus pay in hardship locations.
- **Liberia** recognised the qualifications of teachers who had been trained in refugee camps in Guinea. It offered the incentive of priority access to teacher training college for educated young people teaching in remote returnee areas.

(C) MAKE CURRICULUM, TEACHING AND LANGUAGE CONFLICT-SENSITIVE

6. Ensure that curriculum, teaching and exams support peace, human rights and citizenship

Strategies range from removal of negative bias (do no harm) to supporting to peacebuilding (addressing root causes of the conflict). Usually there is engagement between national and international expert groups within and outside the Ministry of Education. Strategies may include:

- *Curriculum and textbook analysis* showing whether school texts are biased (in ways that may contribute to conflict) and how much support they provide to peacebuilding;
- *Developing capacity on curriculum, textbook and pedagogy*: organising workshops for Ministry of Education staff and leading educators – on how curriculum, textbooks and pedagogy can either fuel conflict or help build peace and constructive citizenship;
- *Appointing a curriculum and textbooks revision committee with inclusion of key stakeholders*; creating a technical team; and forming a consultative group to ensure representation of civil society and marginalized groups;
- *Renewal of textbooks and other materials*: mobilising resources for and implementing a 5-7 year plan to renew textbooks and other education materials³⁹ and teacher training; conducting trials, revising and phasing in the new approach, based on a strong national team; establishing

a Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Education and external agencies;

- ***Introducing this new content as a core component of teacher training*** with intensive workshops, so that trainee teachers internalize the competencies (including the values underlying peace/reconciliation/responsible citizenship), and learn how to facilitate activities and discussion on these topics in the classroom;
- ***Modifying exams*** to reflect the above changes, as an incentive for teachers and students; and
- ***Making schools non-violent places:*** When teachers use corporal punishment, students learn that violence is a normal way of solving problems (the “experienced curriculum”). This a problem in itself. It is aggravated if teachers reserve punishment for specific groups (social, ethnic, gender etc.). It is difficult to change modalities of discipline in schools, but two approaches are teacher training in constructive classroom management, and prohibitive legislation combined with monitoring.⁴⁰

Examples include:

- ***Memorandum of Understanding*** (MoU) between the Ministry of Education, UNICEF, Save the Children and UNESCO in **Nepal**, to include Education for Peace, Human Rights and Citizenship in each year’s textbooks as they undergo regular revision over a period of several years. The Ministry’s teacher training department and the external agencies formed a coordination committee driving the process. To ensure a participatory process, a consultative group was formed, representing Dalits (lowest caste), marginalized communities,

institutions for human rights, women and disabilities, and NGOs working on peace and human rights, human trafficking, HIV and AIDS, and others.⁴¹

- Development of textbooks on Life Competencies, Citizenship and Governance in **Sri Lanka** (collaboration between the National Institute of Education, Save the Children and others). Teacher trainees from Tamil and Sinhalese groups engage in joint activities (supported by GIZ). Sri Lanka in 2003 established a “Respect for Diversity” textbook review panel, to lessen stereotyping of ethnic and religious groups, with support from the World Bank.⁴²
- Education for Responsible Citizenship introduced in secondary schools in returnee areas of **Burundi**, with expert support from Refugee Education Trust and other agencies such as Living Values.⁴³
- Peace or tolerance education programmes introduced in many locations for conflict-affected or post-conflict populations (often with support from UNICEF, UNHCR, UNESCO, NGOs).⁴⁴
- “Emerging issues” focused extensively on peace and citizenship issues introduced as a compulsory course in the teacher training colleges in **Sierra Leone**, accompanied by distance education and in-service versions of the same course (developed by the teacher training staff supported by UNICEF).⁴⁵
- Peace Education in **Afghanistan** through the NGO, Help the Afghan Children, which has developed a series of story books promoting peace. The program has been successfully piloted in some provinces, including Kandahar.⁴⁶
- **Brazil, Peru, Colombia** have adopted explicit policies, laws and initiatives intended to confront school based violence by

promoting peacebuilding values. In Colombia, this was done under a National Programme of Citizenship Competencies, with a “Classrooms in Peace” initiative that included curriculum plus targeted workshops and home visits for the most aggressive students. The programme is being extended to areas with high levels of violent political conflict.⁴⁷

For a fuller discussion of the issues and examples of education for citizenship and peace, human rights education, education in humanitarian action and law, education about the past, education in Muslim societies, and the use of textbooks and complementary education materials see *Education for Global Citizenship* (EAA, 2012a).

7. Adjust language policies that cause tension

One cannot generalize about language policy reform; the issue is highly political and solutions must be tailored to the context. In some settings, the language of one ethnic/linguistic group is imposed on minority ethnic/language groups. This can become a grievance for identity reasons and because it can reduce access, learning outcomes and future access to employment. However, in other contexts, the application of one national language is viewed as a unifying factor.

Solutions have to be based on the specific situations in the country but can include:

- ***Introducing multiple languages*** to meet political and students’ needs and interests, while not overloading the curriculum;
- ***Introducing teaching in mother tongue for early grades*** with progressive transition to the major language(s) of instruction; and

- *Teacher training and targeted recruitment of language-minority teachers* to implement the above strategies.

Examples include:

- **Ethiopia** in the 1990s allowed each province to work in its own language and relocated teachers to the provinces they originated from. After independence from Ethiopia, **Eritrea** gave all children the right to be taught in their mother-tongue in primary school.
- Education policy in **Sri Lanka** requires Sinhalese students to learn Tamil as a second language, and Tamils to learn Sinhalese. Specialist teacher training programmes have been established.
- In four provinces in **southern Thailand**, 83% of the population speak Patani-Malay at home, but the language of instruction in all schools is Thai. A mother-tongue bilingual pilot program in kindergarten and early grades helps develop basic literacy skills, using Thai script. Youth, village scholars, teachers and Islamic committee members were involved in the curriculum design and teachers received extra training as well.⁴⁸
- Some view one language as a unifying factor. **Senegal** has more than 15 linguistic groups. After Senegal's independence, the colonial language French remained in place instead of imposing the dominant language Wolof on the other language groups.⁴⁹ Furthermore, a good policy is not the same as good implementation: **Guatemala**, after the 1996 peace accords, introduced policies on the use of indigenous languages other than Spanish. Implementation, however, has been difficult and old inequalities hard to break down.⁵⁰

(D) STRENGTHEN EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS INCLUDING PROTECTING EDUCATION FROM ATTACK

8. Strengthen local capacity to reduce risks related to conflict and insecurity

Education suffers greatly in times of conflict and insecurity. Often families will not want their children to attend school or college if their travel will be insecure or if the institution is at risk of attack. Teachers likewise may be reluctant to put themselves at risk due to insecurity. Attacks on schools or colleges can have a deterrent effect on enrolment and attendance far beyond the numbers directly affected by attacks.

For a global overview of direct attacks on education, see the UNESCO report *Education under Attack 2010* (O'Malley, 2010) and subsequent reports being prepared by the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (GCPEA)⁵¹, as well as reports of the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Children and Armed Conflict. What can the education ministry do at policy level to respond to attacks on education?

First the problem has to be acknowledged at national level and appropriate policies considered and devised. For example, in **Afghanistan** there is a statistical reporting system in place; UNAMA's Child Protection Unit continually monitors and verifies child's rights violations including attacks against schools and hospitals (as detailed in sub-section 2 above). Moreover, in several countries (e.g. **Colombia**, **Côte d'Ivoire**), the Ministry of Education and/or UNICEF have developed policies such

as creating posts of Child Protection Officers. In general, the education ministry needs to sensitise and build capacity among regional and district level administrators, as well as head teachers, regarding response to the dangers of attack. Options to be considered may include:

- **Strengthening physical protection.** This can include building a boundary wall, the use of unarmed or armed guards or night watchmen, escorting children to school, early warning using mobile phones, re-locating schools, or other measures. In border areas of **Gaza**, a project was implemented with UN-ESCO support to strengthen protection and introduce early warning systems in schools at most risk of harm from intermittent attacks.
- **Strengthening the community role in protection.** This can include the community providing guards, or escorting students, or making their ownership of and concern to protect the school clear to potential attackers.
- **Promoting negotiations.** In **Nepal**, the ministry of education, UNICEF and NGOs worked together to develop selected schools as **Zones of Peace** (Smith 2010). Within this framework negotiations were held at local level initially but in recent years the ministry has developed this concept as a national policy. In **Afghanistan**, community members negotiated with insurgents to avoid attacking their schools. Negotiations in some instances included changing the title of the school (to “madrassa”, Islamic school), allowing a religious teacher to examine the school textbooks, and including a trusted religious teacher among the school staff.

- **Considering alternative delivery mechanisms.** In some instances it has been possible to distribute school materials to students when schools were closed, as a form of distance learning. Where facilities exist, the internet may be used in this situation. Use of radio or TV may also be an option.
- **Restricting military use of schools.** In some instances, military forces may use education premises as barracks, for storage, as look-out points and so on. The presence of military makes study difficult and many students, especially girls, may stay away to avoid harassment. The presence of military also makes the premises a target for military attack. National and local education authorities should negotiate for the military not to use or to vacate education premises.
- **Restricting or minimising political use of schools.** In some cases, the use of schools for political meetings or as voting centres in elections can lead to violent attack. Where this is likely, local education authorities should seek to have these activities located elsewhere.
- **Strengthening monitoring and reporting on attacks.** Where there are targeted attacks on education, and recruitment of school children under age, information⁵² should be gathered by all actors, collated, analysed and acted upon, including reporting to the UN-led country task force of the Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism (MRM) if there is one, or through another suitable reporting channel.⁵³

For a comprehensive presentation of these approaches, see Groneman 2011.

9. Provide education and training for ex-combatants, ex-child soldiers and their communities

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programming aims to discourage ex-combatants from returning to armed conflict. Education and vocational training should always be considered as part of DDR. Models include formal and alternative education. The latter often includes technical and vocational training (TVET) for over-age ex-combatants and former child soldiers. Recommendations for a ministry and supporting agencies include:⁵⁴

- The existing formal education system is the starting point. Ex-combatants can resume studying in formal schools. Community support structures can help provide psychosocial support.
- Education assistance should target entire communities, not just former child soldiers, to avoid creating the perception that those who participated in violence are rewarded for it.
- Older children may sometimes be better served by alternative education programs, including accelerated learning programmes and technical and vocational education (TVET), rather than attending classes with younger children. Vocational training options can help (especially older) former child soldiers and ex-combatants. Use of market analysis can make the training more relevant to finding a job. Support including work-experience arrangements after graduation can facilitate the entry into the job market.

- Coordination between non-government education providers and the relevant ministries (e.g. ministry of labour) is crucial. Alternative programs including teachers, materials, etc. may also later be transferred to the formal education system if government is involved from the beginning. Approaches to coordination can include: using government curriculum and exams; ensuring accreditation and certification of alternative programs; and agreeing on common “benefits packages” to ensure that former child soldiers choose an education programme for its relevance and just not for the food, money, shelter etc. it may offer.⁵⁵ In **northern Uganda**, some children pretended to be child soldiers in order to receive reintegration assistance, as well as help with school fees.⁵⁶

For more guidance on the education of former child soldiers, see Burde, Guven and Kapit-Spitalny 2011.

10. Preparedness for emergencies and disasters should also take conflict into account

Education ministries sometimes put in place measures for **education in emergencies** or **disaster risk reduction**. In such exercises **conflict risk reduction** should be included. At school level, there needs to be a **safety and security policy which covers all physical hazards** from natural disasters to armed attacks, banditry, sexual attacks and potential child recruitment by militias. Some measures – e.g. a school drill exercise, or backing up administrative school data – are equally useful in the event of a natural disaster such as a flood as in the event of an attack on a school. Such measures and how they overlap is described in further detail in IIEP-UNESCO and UNICEF WCARO (2011)

Integrating conflict and disaster risk reduction into education sector planning. Guidance notes for educational planners.

(E) OTHER KEY ISSUES IDENTIFIED IN THE NATIONAL CONFLICT ANALYSIS PROCESS

11. Context-specific issues

Different context-specific issues will arise in “education and conflict” analyses and must be included in conflict-sensitive education policy. This discussion paper cannot cover the entire range of possibilities but three brief examples are provided here.

One topic which may be important is the existence of unofficial **“shadow” management and corruption**, which means that some official education policies may not work in practice⁵⁷. If this impacts negatively on particular ethnic or other groups, then conflict-sensitive policy needs to address the problem.

An example of other key policy issues which may be relevant to conflict-sensitive approaches is **decentralisation** of education finance and management. This has often been advocated as good policy in recent years. In some cases, however, decentralisation may encourage localised approaches which are harmful to national unity. Moreover, decentralisation may – in situations of weak governance –worsen corruption.

In many contexts, **refugee education** requires conflict-sensitive approaches, since refugee populations, camps and rapidly fluctuating population movements pose specific challenges,

including certification, contingency planning and flexibility of resource allocation.⁵⁸ Grievances can arise if camps offer better education quality than in surrounding host communities. Measures to consider here include using donor resources to improve classroom space and textbook supply in surrounding national schools, as part of a refugee-affected area dimension to funding. In some cases, the problem is that refugee teachers are paid regularly through NGOs while teachers in surrounding schools are not paid regularly by government: this may require assistance to improve district education management, training of school management committees regarding governance and providing teachers with information about resources allocated by government to their schools, and other measures to improve relationships and promote collaboration.

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ENDNOTES

¹ See Woodrow and Chigas 2009 for a discussion of the concepts of “conflict sensitivity” vs. “peacebuilding”.

² 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights; 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Every child has a right to education regardless of the context in which he or she lives. International consensus was confirmed through adoption of the Millennium Development Goals 2 and 3 (2000), and the Education for All goals in the Dakar Framework for Action (2000), and more recently in the UN General Assembly resolution on The right to education in emergency situations (A/64L.58) (2010). For the protection afforded to education by international law see EAA (2012b).

³ OHCHR 1990

⁴ Education Cluster 2012: 2-3; Save the Children 2008: 4

⁵ Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2002

⁶ Hanushek and Woessmann 2009

⁷ Hanushek and Woessmann 2007

⁸ UNESCO 2011

⁹ UNICEF 1996

¹⁰ Chaaban and Cunningham 2011. For an overview of the case for investment in education see GPE 2011.

¹¹ Davies 2004

¹² O’Malley 2010

¹³ Putnam 2004: 6, cited in Barakat, Karpinska and Paulson 2008: 6

¹⁴ Collier and Hoeffler 2004: 581. This finding is supported by Barakat and Urdal who find that “secondary male enrollment is more relevant than primary enrollment and secondary male and female enrollment rates” (2009: 744). Both cited in INEE Working Group on Education and Fragility, 2011a

¹⁵ Collier et al 2003: 27

¹⁶ See, for example, Novelli and Smith 2011; Smith 2011

¹⁷ In partnership with national ministries and with development partners, the INEE Working Group on Education and Fragility has piloted education and conflict analyses in 2010-2011 in Addis Ababa (analyzing education and conflict in East Africa region); Juba (South Sudan); and Sarajevo (Western Balkans region) (INEE Working Group on Education and Fragility 2010; 2011b; 2011c).

¹⁸ Mapping (both when used as a noun and a verb) is here used to include diagrams.

¹⁹ Vaux 2011: 8, 34-35, 44-45, 49, 50

²⁰ Such a group could be an ethnic, religious, linguistic or other group. Conflict can also develop around regional, political, caste or class lines.

²¹ A proxy variable is an easily measurable variable that is used in place of a variable that cannot be measured or is difficult to measure.

²² For example, it may be known that ethnic group X tends to be concentrated in a country's southern provinces.

²³ Gini coefficients are mostly known from a global comparison of intra-country economic inequality. But they can also be used to compare other geographical units such as districts, and for other inequalities such as education indicators.

²⁴ StatPlanet is available for free download from www.statsilk.com.

²⁵ Personal communication with international agency staff, Kabul, May 2012

²⁶ A reference point for the dialogue can be an analysis of existing national laws, policies or plan documents related to education. To what extent is conflict sensitivity an integrated part of a Child Act, Child Protection Policy, or National Education Sector Plan? One outcome of the dialogue can be a revision of these policies.

²⁷ Of course, education reforms also have the potential to be a divisive factor.

²⁸ UNESCO 2011: 224

²⁹ Wedge 2009: 8; Dupuy 2008: 26-37

³⁰ Attention is required to ensure that education provisions in peace agreements are in fact conflict-sensitive, so that education provisions guaranteed under the peace agreement do not inadvertently reproduce grievances.

³¹ Withdrawal of user fees is not targeted at any specific group, but is likely to increase access for more poor and marginalised groups. Fee withdrawal should ideally cover the full range of costs incurred by the household, including costs for uniforms, textbooks and meals. It should be supported by a range of other reforms so that increased access does not compromise quality. Fee withdrawal should also be accompanied by governance and accountability reforms (e.g. improved payrolls systems, creation of bank accounts for schools and teachers, accountability measures at local level) to ensure that funds are distributed equitably. Otherwise this measure can fuel grievances.

³² UNESCO 2011: 230

³³ World Food Programme (WFP) in Afghanistan runs food-for-education programmes including school meals and take-home rations of vegetable oil aimed at closing the gender gap in areas where female enrolment is low (WFP 2012).

³⁴ National Education Commission, Sri Lanka, 2009

³⁵ UNESCO 2011: 224

³⁶ Personal communication with international agency staff, Kabul, May 2012. It may be argued that education for girls helps empower them as women to advocate for peaceful resolution of conflicts as well as helping their sons and daughters to succeed in school with assistance in acquiring literacy and numeracy.

³⁷ The assumption here is that in the country or region, one group (ethnic or otherwise) dominates the teacher profession (or the education administration), making alternative recruitment strategies

necessary, including recruitment and training of local people willing to stay in the region over the longer term.

³⁸ The use of community teachers with low formal qualification levels, reinforced by in-service teacher training, can be a necessity. It has been widely used for instance in rural **Afghanistan**. Planners should remember that if the Ministry of Education raises the teacher qualification requirements later on, then these teachers may risk disqualification. This happened in Afghanistan too. Insecurity prevented otherwise successful woman community teachers from leaving their villages to complete the additional training courses that the Ministry required them to take to stay sufficiently qualified. The woman teachers were then disqualified from the Ministry payroll and the programs had to close (personal correspondence with donor representative, April 2012).

³⁹ Technology might increasingly play a role here, e.g. Amazon Kindle readers could be useful. However it remains to be proven whether this is feasible in conflict-affected settings with limited access to electricity.

⁴⁰ Action is likewise needed to prevent sexual violence. Corrupt activities (e.g. teachers receiving bribes) are sometimes seen as a form of violence or exploitation.

⁴¹ Thapa *et al* 2010: 27; Smith 2012

⁴² Wickrema and Colenso 2003: 16-17; Davies 2012

⁴³ Servas 2012

⁴⁴ For examples, see http://www.ineesite.org/post/peace_education_programme/

⁴⁵ See http://www.ineesite.org/post/peace_education_programme/ for the materials, and Baxter 2012 for a brief description.

⁴⁶ Personal communication with international agency staff, Kabul, May 2012. For a project description see Sadeed (2012).

⁴⁷ UNESCO 2011: 248-249; Nieto 2012

⁴⁸ Premsrirat 2008, cited in Groneman 2011: 65

⁴⁹ UNESCO 2011: 242

⁵⁰ UNESCO 2011: 241-242

⁵¹ See the interactive map and other content at the GCPEA website www.protectingeducation.org.

⁵² Education providers give information, but are vulnerable physically to revenge attacks by perpetrators. That is why reporting and campaigning is typically done by human rights NGOs. Yet, data will in any case flow within the education system about the education needs of schools that have suffered disasters or attacks. What data are needed for reporting depend on the follow-up action. Regarding replenishment of education supplies, teacher relocation etc. after a school is attacked, the details of the crime are less important, as it can be presumed to be part of ongoing civil conflict, banditry, gang warfare etc. Advocacy, too, can be based on data that is illustrative of problems, even if comprehensive data is not available. Legal action, however, requires reports with legally valid evidence on specific identified and documented violations of law.

⁵³ Since the Resolution 1998 of the UN Security Council (2011), the UN's Special Representative of the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict is increasingly concerned with attacks on education.

⁵⁴ Burde, Guven and Kapit-Spitalny 2011: 18

⁵⁵ Burde, Guven and Kapit-Spitalny 2011: 18

⁵⁶ Personal communication with international agency staff, May 2012

⁵⁷ For a discussion of corruption (among other issues) related to education's role in conflict mitigation, see Miller-Grandvaux 2009; Burde, Kapit-Spitalny, Wahl, and Guven 2011: 22-23.

⁵⁸ For a review of current refugee education issues, see Dryden-Peterson 2011.

