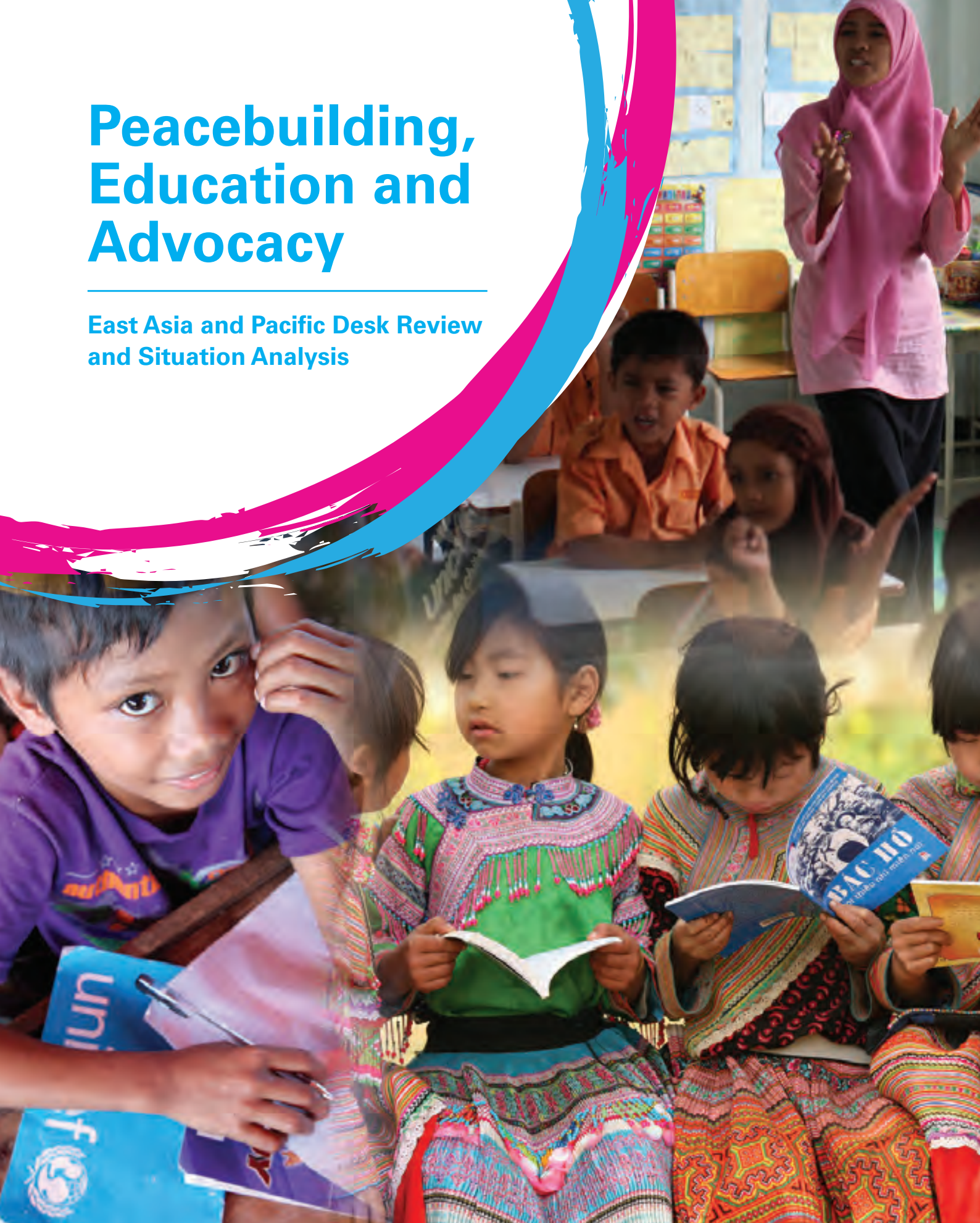


Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy

East Asia and Pacific Desk Review
and Situation Analysis



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**Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy:
East Asia and Pacific Desk Review and Situation Analysis**

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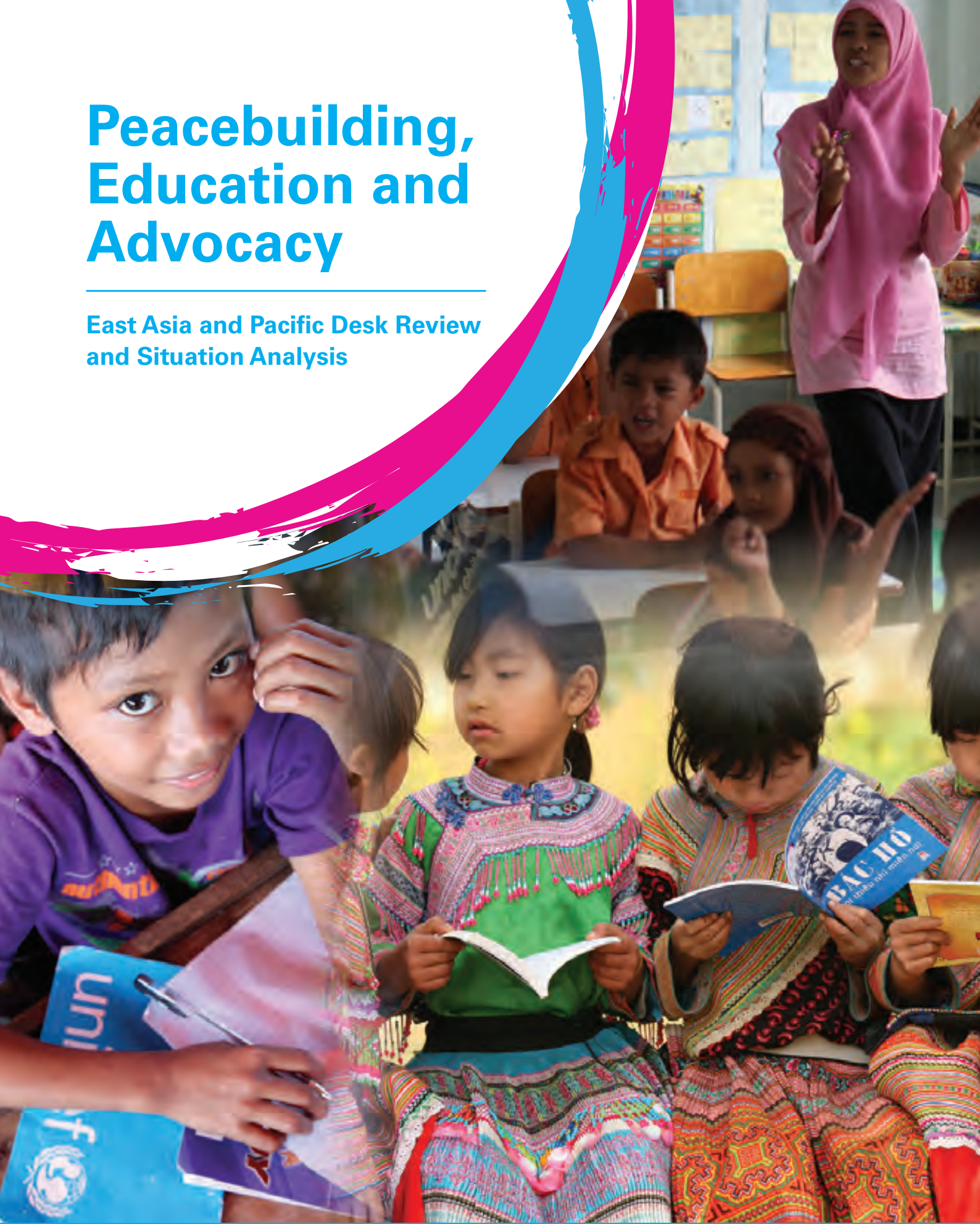
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Acronyms

ARMM	Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
EAPRO	East Asia and Pacific Regional Office
EFA	Education For All
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
ICE	International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
LEP	Language Enrichment Programme
LIZOP	Learning Institutions as Zones of Peace
LTLT	Learning to Live Together
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PBEA	Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy
PBF	United Nations Peacebuilding Fund
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
SEL	Social and Emotional Learning
SWAp	Sector-Wide Approach
SZOP	Schools as Zones of Peace
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development



A child smiles during a class, in Santo Niño Elementary School in the town of Tanauan, in Leyte provinces, the Philippines.



Grade-6 student Herlisa Nadiya Putri laughs with her teacher at the end of the school-day, in a classroom at SDN Peukan Bada Elementary School in Aceh Besar District in Aceh Province, Indonesia.

Introduction

Conflict and insecurity are primary development challenges of our time and pose significant barriers to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), including the right to universal primary education. The changing nature of conflict in over 30 countries in recent years further complicates education goals. Multi-level, intra-state conflicts of extended duration marked by recurring cycles of violence, active discrimination and open animosity undermine programmatic efforts to achieve equity and access to quality education.¹ Findings from The World Bank reveal that fragile states account for 36 per cent of all people living in extreme poverty and 33 per cent of children with no primary education. Current institutional approaches and arrangements have been inadequate to address these changing patterns (World Bank, 2011).

In 2009, the United Nations Secretary-General issued *the Report on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict*, representing the latest watershed in the UN's peacebuilding efforts. This report provided a new framework to guide the United Nation's engagement in peacebuilding. The report lays out five recurring peacebuilding priority areas, and states that through early peace dividends, political process confidence-building and early development of core national capacity, the risk of relapse into conflict can be reduced and the chances for sustainable peace substantially increased.²

Peacebuilding has emerged as a central strategy to address conflict and accelerate progress towards achieving the MDGs. While education has been identified as an important institution in building peace, it has also been recognized as a driver of conflict for many countries experiencing intra-state warfare (Bush and Salterelli, 2000). Education content, structure and delivery may actually be a catalyst for violent conflict (UNESCO IBE, 2003). Moreover, until recently education has not been viewed as an essential sector in post-conflict initiatives by governments or within the UN peacebuilding architecture.

Purpose of desk review

As part of the United Nations Children's Fund's global Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme, the East Asia and Pacific Regional Office (EAPRO) is developing a regional strategy on education for social cohesion and comprehensive school safety. In order to provide context for the strategy, this desk review will:

1. Examine the research and programme literature to identify themes in education's role in peacebuilding and social cohesion, and assess existing knowledge and gaps;
2. Review current literature specific to education, peacebuilding and social cohesion in the Asia Pacific region; and
3. Identify the implications for the UNICEF East Asia and Pacific Regional Office in the development of a regional strategy for education, peacebuilding and social cohesion.

¹ From the UNICEF Education Section, 2011, Proposal on Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy presented to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the Netherlands, p.7.

² Report of the Secretary-General on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict, para. 3, (A/63/881-S/2009/304).

Methodology

Documents were reviewed according to the following categories:

- Key academic and research literature related to education, conflict, peacebuilding and social cohesion theory, practice and evaluation, with a focus on documents from UNICEF, Save the Children, UNESCO and other major education researchers and agencies involved in recent efforts to address the role of education in conflict-affected and post-conflict contexts.
- Academic and programmatic literature focused on education and its relationship to conflict, peacebuilding and social cohesion in general and in Asia and the Pacific in particular.
- Priority areas identified by UNICEF EAPRO, including conflict/disaster risk reduction, social and emotional learning and mother tongue education.

Key documents reviewed in the field of education, peacebuilding and social cohesion include UNICEF case studies, literature reviews and synthesis documents commissioned as part of the knowledge management component of the Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition initiative funded by the Government of the Netherlands; UNICEF technical and training materials prepared for the new Education and Peacebuilding initiative; the Education For All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report of 2011 and documents commissioned in its preparation; Save the Children research and evaluation related to the Rewrite the Future Campaign; articles on conflict, peacebuilding and social cohesion theory; and other related academic and programme documents prepared by UNESCO, Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) and World Bank researchers and implementing agencies.

Documents reviewed specific to the East Asia and Pacific region include research on language policy, curriculum reform, education and conflict, education sector plans, UNICEF annual reports, and programme documents. This review provides a brief profile of some of the conflict-affected countries in the region, the extent to which education has played a role in fuelling conflict, and how they have responded to education programming for peacebuilding and social cohesion. Countries highlighted are Indonesia (Aceh), Myanmar, Cambodia, Timor-Leste and Thailand. An analysis of other country contexts and additional programmatic and research literature will be required for the eventual preparation of a comprehensive regional strategy on education for peacebuilding and social cohesion.

Summary of findings

Education has the potential to contribute to social transformation processes in post-conflict environments, and there is some programmatic evidence to support this impact. However, the evidence base in the literature for the linkage between education interventions, conflict, peacebuilding and social cohesion remains weak. Furthermore, neither peacebuilding nor social cohesion theory has had a strong influence on education programming in post-conflict contexts. In addition, there has not been sufficient use of conflict analysis tools to guide education programming. There are a number of well-documented conflict sensitive education interventions implemented during all stages of intra-state conflicts. However, peacebuilding requires establishing linkages between the causes of conflict and programmatic and structural measures to address those causal factors. Peacebuilding and social cohesion approaches also require more attention to education sector reform, and the integration of education into the UN peacebuilding architecture. In developing and implementing a strategy on education for social cohesion for the East Asia and Pacific region, UNICEF should collaborate with UN agencies, governments and regional actors and utilize conflict analysis methodology to begin a long-term process, sensitive to local contexts, that has the capacity to achieve short-term gains which are visible to stakeholders.

1. Concepts of peacebuilding and social cohesion

1.1 Theoretical concepts

The theoretical literature on peacebuilding draws on the important work of Johan Galtung (1969, 1976, 1990), who developed the concept of 'negative peace', defined as the cessation of violence, as distinguished from 'positive peace', referring to structural changes that address social injustices that may be a cause of violence (1969). Galtung also developed definitions for structural violence, root causes and sustainable peace, which are still used in current discourse and in the United Nations terminology. Structural violence, or indirect violence, is defined as "violence that is built into structures and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung, 1990, p. 171).

Peacebuilding theory underscores the need for both positive and negative peace, as well as the need for transformational processes in social development, political institutions and economic arrangements (Lederach, 1997). John Paul Lederach introduced the notion of conflict transformation and the need for adaptive processes that not only respond to presenting problems and conflicts, but that also address deeper, longer-term relational and systemic patterns that produce violent destructive expressions of conflict (Lederach and Maiese, 2009). Peacebuilding theory also frames education as an important institution to contribute to political, economic and social transformations in post-conflict societies (Smith, et al., 2011).

1.2 United Nations definition of peacebuilding

The concept of 'peacebuilding' became more prominent following the publication of the Agenda for Peace in 1992 by Boutros Boutros-Gali, former UN Secretary-General. The document created United Nations definitions that distinguished between 'peacemaking' (action to bring hostile parties to agreement) and 'peacekeeping' (a way to help countries torn by conflict create the conditions for lasting peace), and defined 'post-conflict peacebuilding' as "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Smith, A., 2010).

The concept of peacebuilding is further developed in the UN Secretary-General's 2009 Report on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict, which expresses peacebuilding as "a multi-dimensional range of interventions that aim to solidify peace and prevent the lapse or relapse of conflict. In this way, no one actor alone is responsible for peacebuilding; it is a system wide undertaking. Peacebuilding processes and interventions can take place prior to the outbreak of violence or conflict, during conflict, or long after hostilities have ended."³ This is the definition that UNICEF is using to frame its education and peacebuilding initiative (UNICEF Technical Note, 2012).

³ UN Secretary-General's Report on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict, 2009.

1.3 Education, conflict and peacebuilding

Two faces of education in conflict-affected countries

Much has been written about the duality of education as a force for peace or a trigger of conflict (Bush and Salterelli, 2000; Smith and Vaux, 2003; USAID, 2006; Barakat and Urdal, 2009). A quality educational system can make a positive and even transformative contribution to conflict-affected countries by providing children and families with hope in the midst of conflict, and by advancing peace and development in its broadest sense. Classrooms can demonstrate positive values, a supportive and tolerant environment, and provide students with the opportunity to build intellectual and social skills (International Save the Children Alliance, 2008). Education can play an important role in socialization and identity formation, which are central to economic growth, individual advancement and social cohesion (Smith, et al., 2011).

While education can play an important role in peacebuilding, it can also become a trigger of conflict or exacerbate existing tensions in a range of ways. Education can be used as a weapon in cultural repression of minorities through the suppression of language, traditions, art forms, religious practices and cultural values. Education can manipulate history and textbook content for political purposes or inculcate attitudes of superiority on behalf of elite groups. Equal access to education can be denied, either through unequal funding mechanisms, discrimination or as a weapon of war, which can fuel grievances and lead to conflict (Bush and Salterelli, 2000).

The governance structures in place for representation and participation in consultation and decision-making in education at national and local levels may be potential sources of conflict, or they may be opportunities for inclusion and the resolution of grievances. Arrangements for transparency and accountability also reflect the system's capacity to accept and address inequalities that might otherwise become sources of conflict (Smith, 2005).

Education interventions in conflict-affected countries

It is critical to draw a distinction between different education interventions in conflict-affected contexts at different stages of an emergency (Smith et al., 2011):

- Provision of short-term humanitarian responses to ensure safe access to education;
- Conflict sensitive programming designed to ensure that a project does not exacerbate existing tensions or create new ones; and
- Longer-term programmatic approaches that support peacebuilding.

Peacebuilding differs from humanitarian action in that its objective is to address the *causes* of conflict and violence. Humanitarian action, including the early recovery approach, can provide *indirect* contributions to peacebuilding through the provision of services that serve as peace dividends. While the aim of conflict sensitive programming is to work in the context to minimize the negative impacts of programming, the goal of peacebuilding programming is to reduce the key drivers of violent conflict and contribute to a society level peace (Woodrow and Chigas, 2009). Conflict transformation places an emphasis on longer-term changes to context, structures and relationships that shift conflicts away from the use of violence (Novelli and Smith, 2011; Zakharia, 2011).

Peacebuilding interventions can occur at various stages of a conflict, not just after the end of hostilities. For example, the schools as zones of peace programmes implemented in both Nepal and the Philippines⁴ provided processes at the local level that brought a

⁴ Results of the Philippine programme Learning Institutions as Zones of Peace (LIZOP) are included in a power point presentation delivered at an Education Cluster Workshop in Mindanao in July 2012.



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A teacher leads a class activity in SD Muhammadiyah 1 and 2 Elementary School in Banda Aceh, capital of Aceh Province on Sumatra Island.

range of stakeholders together to engage in negotiations to make schools violence-free zones. In some cases, these processes actually contributed to conflict transformation in that they improved relationships among stakeholders, introduced good governance into local education decision-making, and reduced violence at the local level (Smith, M., 2010).

Conflict sensitive policy and programming

As defined by Woodrow (2009), conflict sensitive programming is the ability to:

- Understand the context in which it is operating, particularly intergroup relations.
- Understand the interactions between its interventions and the context/group relations.
- Act upon the understanding of these interactions in order to avoid negative impacts and maximize positive impacts.

Conflict sensitive programming in education, while necessary, is not sufficient for peacebuilding (PBSO, 2010). First expressed as the principle of 'do no harm', conflict sensitivity analyses the potential impact of development or humanitarian interventions on the conflict dynamics in particular circumstances and provides and supports organizations in implementing aid activities in the least harmful way (OECD, 1997; Anderson, 1999). Conflict sensitivity has an important role in supporting humanitarian principles and ensuring that humanitarian assistance fulfils its objectives (UNICEF Technical Note, 2012, p.4).

Conflict sensitive policy and programming can be part of a larger peacebuilding strategy where education actively transforms tensions and supports peace. In practical terms a systemic conflict analysis of an education system may result in a set of inter-related initiatives through various entry points, including sector planning, education governance, curriculum reform, and funding for increased access to education (Smith et al., 2011).

1.4 Education for social cohesion

According to a number of researchers and practitioners, use of the term 'peacebuilding' has been problematic. Concerns have been expressed by a range of stakeholders in various countries and international groups that the term 'peacebuilding' is politically loaded because it can be associated with compromising rights, or as something imposed from the outside (Zakharia, 2011). Others have found the UN definition of peacebuilding too broad or too focused on security issues (Smith and Novelli, 2011).

Definition of education for social cohesion

In the past decade, a body of academic and programmatic literature has focused on the relationship between education and social cohesion, a possible alternative terminology to peacebuilding, which appears to seek similar results (Colletta, Lim, and Kelles-Viitanen, 2001; UNESCO, 2003; Green, A., Prestan and Sabates, 2003; UNDP, 2004; Shuayb, 2012). While it is acknowledged that there is no universally agreed definition of social cohesion, it has nevertheless been described in one World Bank publication "as the glue that bonds society together, promoting harmony, a sense of community, and a degree of commitment to promoting the common good" (Colletta et al., 2001, p. 2). The Council of Europe defines social cohesion as "the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimizing disparities and avoiding polarization. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means" (UNDP, 2004).

UNICEF, in its proposal to the Government of the Netherlands for the global Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy programme, uses the definition of 'social cohesion' put forward in another World Bank working paper as "the degree to which vertical (a responsive state to its citizenry) and horizontal (cross-cutting, networked relations among diverse communal groups) social capital intersect. The more social cohesion exists, the more likely a society will be cohesive and thus possess the inclusive mechanisms necessary for mediating/managing conflict" (World Bank, 2000, p. 4).

Education as a vehicle for promoting social cohesion has been a priority for UNESCO and other national and international actors for several decades. UNESCO, with the involvement of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), has implemented a range of curricular and programmatic initiatives collectively called 'learning to live together' (LTLT). LTLT has addressed the relationship between education and social cohesion, attempted to validate current approaches used by countries in implementing programme models, and set forth guidelines for designing and evaluating programmes (UNESCO, 2003). In 1996, the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (ICE) identified LTLT as one of four pillars of education, defining it as "the development of an understanding of other people in a spirit of pluralism, respect for differences and peace. Its principal focus is the development of an appreciation of the growing interdependence (ecological, economic and social) of individuals, communities and nations in a small, fragile and connected world" (UNESCO, 2003, p. 28).

ICE has posed the question of how education can contribute to strengthening or rebuilding social cohesion both in countries that have been affected and those that have not been affected by conflict, and identifies the main thrust of the educational agenda for social cohesion as reducing school failure and dropout. This agenda is based on the assumption that exclusion from school often involves exclusion from other areas of social life, and is responsible for generating violence (UNESCO, 2003). Tawil (2001) observes that in the aftermath of violent conflict, formal education has a critical role to play in rebuilding or strengthening social cohesion. The aims of inhibiting recourse to violent behaviour in schools involve the development of commitments to norms and values embedded in social networks. Strategies and approaches to education and social cohesion will be addressed in the next section.

2. Making education a force for peace and social cohesion

2.1 Summary of research findings

This section summarizes the research findings and issues presented in the following documents:

- *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011* (GMR), which addresses the failures of education in conflict-affected countries and identifies strategies for making education a force for peace;
- Save the Children's Rewrite the Future initiative,⁵ including its 2008 report, *Where Peace Begins: Education's role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding*; and its Final Report 2011 (with studies from Afghanistan, Angola, Nepal and southern Sudan), which identify critical elements needed to strengthen education's role in peacebuilding;
- Save the Children Norway's study of peacebuilding in three countries: Liberia, Guatemala, and Nepal (Dupuy, 2008), which analyses conflict-transforming concepts that link the relationship between education and peace;
- UNESCO's documents related to education for social cohesion and its 'learning to live together' initiative, including its 2004 report, *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*, which addresses the processes and issues related to curriculum reform in seven conflict-affected countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Guatemala, Lebanon, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, Rwanda and Sri Lanka).

These documents provide evidence for the contribution of education to peacebuilding and also identify areas of challenge, missed opportunities and recommendations for action by governments, communities and aid agencies.

The EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011 identifies four areas in which humanitarian organizations and governments have failed in the delivery of education in conflict-affected countries: failures of protection, provision of education, early recovery and reconstruction, and peacebuilding. The international aid architecture has not responded effectively to bridge humanitarian and development aid in education. Further, governments and the international community have missed opportunities to recognize education's role in peacebuilding and providing the highly visible peace dividends of inclusive education systems which foster understanding and tolerance. The GMR suggests that as governments start to reconstruct education systems, they have an opportunity to assess the post-conflict environment and the legacies of the past, and build systems conducive to a peaceful future.

The International Save the Children Alliance's Rewrite the Future initiative, which reviewed conditions in 28 conflict-affected states, identifies the following areas of concern in education programming in conflict-affected countries (International Save the Children Alliance, 2010):

- **Obstacle to EFA goals.** Conflict is a major obstacle to the achievement of Education for All. More than half of all out-of-school children were in conflict-affected states – 39 million out of 72 million at the time of the initial report (International Save the Children Alliance, 2006).

⁵ There are four reports in the Rewrite the Future initiative.

- **Lack of funding.** There is insufficient funding in conflict-affected and fragile states. Donors showed a preference for funding low-income countries rather than those in conflict. In conflict-affected states, education receives just over 1 per cent of all humanitarian aid.
- **Neglect in peace accords.** There is a lack of attention to education in post-conflict peace accords. Few peace agreements include education as part of the post-conflict peace process.

The Rewrite the Future initiative also conducted a controlled research study of its interventions in four countries, assessing education programming including teacher training; participation by children, parents, teachers and communities in school governance; protection of safe learning environments; and inclusion of vulnerable groups in education. The results in project schools showed an improvement in teaching, learning outcomes and learning time for students; and a reduction of violence in schools.

Save the Children Norway's study (Dupuy, 2008, p. 2) identifies six interconnected areas of key findings on how education can contribute to building peace:

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

UNESCO's *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* report examines how the different conflict-affected countries it studied are addressing curriculum reform policy in light of issues around redefinition of national identities, citizenship, language, culture and historical narrative. The study looked at several research questions, including the role of pilot programmes in curriculum policy reform, the results of evaluations undertaken and implications for policy and curriculum, and how youth and students perceive education in relation to conflict. The study found that pilot projects in curriculum reform, while small in scale, can play a crucial role in informing educational policy change to foster social cohesion. They can also begin to create an opening for future policy change.

The UNESCO analysis also found that in some of the conflict-affected countries studied, research in the diverse ways in which people experienced conflict and violence is essential before any significant initiatives are undertaken to promote national cohesiveness through education reform processes.

2.2 Recommendations from the research

In underscoring the failure to address the hidden crisis of armed conflict and education, the GMR calls upon donors and governments to: "prioritize the development of inclusive education systems, with policy on language, curriculum and decentralization informed by an assessment of the potential impact on long-standing grievances. Schools should be seen first and foremost as places for imparting the most vital of skills: tolerance, mutual respect and the ability to live peacefully with others" (UNESCO, 2011a).



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A woman walks through green foliage in the village of Layog in Maguindanao Province. This photograph was taken by Maymona Palti, 17. Maymona is one of 15 children who participated in a UNICEF-organized photography workshop for children affected by conflict on Mindanao Island.

There are four broad areas of recommendations that emerge from the findings of the research documents under review for interventions that can strengthen education's role in peacebuilding and social cohesion, including: 1) security and violence prevention, 2) education system reform, 3) curriculum reform, and 4) teacher training. A summary of the recommendations within each category follows.

1) Security and violence prevention

- **Safety and protection**

While the GMR documents the failure to protect education from attack, the approach taken by the schools as zones of peace (SZOP) programme in Nepal has had some success in making school environments safer. Vaux (2011) suggested that UNICEF consider adapting the approach to other conflict-affected countries, not only to protect education but also to contribute to peacebuilding processes in local communities. Save the Children found that successful school-level implementation was dependent on the existence of community support structures, including child clubs, parent-teacher associations (PTAs) and child protection committees (International Save the Children Alliance, 2011). The UNICEF field office in Mindanao, Philippines, also reports a reduction in violence in selected schools in which an adaptation of the schools as zones of peace approach has been implemented. UNICEF and its implementing partners actually framed the programme using concepts from Lederach of conflict transformation (UNICEF Mindanao field office power point presentation, 2012).

- **Reducing violence within schools**

Interventions aimed at reducing violence in schools should encompass violence perpetrated by students as well as adults. The GMR calls for making schools non-violent environments through the prohibition of corporal punishment. The evidence from the Save the Children evaluations (International Save the Children

Alliance, 2010, 2011) indicates that training on child rights was not sufficient to change the practice of corporal punishment. A more effective approach was participatory development of school codes of conduct, including anti-violence clauses agreed on by the whole school community.

2) Education system reform

- ***Disparities in access to education and quality education***

Expanding access to education in post-conflict contexts through the development of inclusive education systems is an essential part of the peace dividend. Including education in peace agreements with a commitment to universal access to education sends a signal to the population that the state is committed to addressing the root causes of armed conflict through broadening education opportunity (International Save the Children Alliance, 2008). The Save the Children Norway study found that equitable inclusion in the formal education system could redress grievances and eliminate motivation to engage in armed conflict, especially when the provision of secondary education is expanded (Dupuy, 2008). Conflict analysis and geographic mapping can reveal patterns of access to education and assist in reducing the gaps (Sigsgaard, 2012). According to the Save the Children Alliance (2011), expanded access to girls' education can be aided by assisting student and community groups to engage in advocacy at the local level.

- ***Education governance and sector reform***

Reform of education governance, including greater transparency in funding, employment, and the balance between centralized and local authority, is of critical importance during the post-conflict period. While devolution and decentralization of education governance has the potential to spur greater accountability, local participation, and peacebuilding, there are some negative consequences that need to be addressed (Smith et al., 2011). When the central government is weak or doesn't exert quality control, local education governance and quality can be compromised (GMR, 2011).

At the same time, devolution can result in positive outcomes for education quality. According to the Rewrite the Future final report, the most successful interventions were those that empowered the school community to take ownership and control of the school improvement process. Raising the level of participation of children, teachers and the community in school improvement is critical to enhancing other aspects of quality, including teaching, learning, safety and inclusion (Save the Children Alliance, 2011). Building up trust and cooperation (social capital) through school-based organizations can rectify grievances over lack of participation and improve relationships between individuals and groups. Participatory education systems can raise the social costs of, and constraints against, engaging in armed conflict (Dupuy, 2008).

During the post-conflict period, there is a window of opportunity to address education sector reform in areas related to the conflict, including root causes and post-conflict needs. The sector-wide approach (SWAp) could provide donors and governments with an opportunity to initiate a conflict sensitive planning process to address areas such as policy reforms, new legislation, information systems to monitor equity, educational budgeting and financing (Smith et al., 2011).

- ***Funding disparities***

There is wide agreement that increasing government investment in formal education systems is critical for building peace (Dupuy, 2008; International Save the Children Alliance, 2010; GMR, 2011). The GMR emphasizes that while

education receives only 2 per cent of humanitarian aid, conflict-affected countries receive even less aid than low-income countries. Further, 21 developing countries spend more on the military than on primary schools. Yet education investments increase government legitimacy. The GMR suggests expanding the United Nations Peacebuilding Fund (PBF)⁶ within the United Nations peacebuilding structure to fund education programming and calls for between US\$500 million and \$1 billion to be channelled to education through the PBF.

Save the Children (2010) points out that as countries emerge from conflict, aid may dip just when it is most needed. In 2008, US\$1 billion in education aid was pledged to countries affected by conflict – just one-tenth of what was needed. Only US\$113m actually reached them. This can be particularly tough on education needs; the onset of conflict often discourages development aid and emergency humanitarian aid usually provides little support for education (just 1.8 per cent of humanitarian aid on average in 2007–2009). When development aid accelerates after the conflict, it can take years to restore the education system. The Global Partnership for Education has promise for addressing the needs of conflict-affected countries and fragile states.

At the local level, Save the Children (2010) suggests that in funding issues, school management committees should ensure transparency and avoid discrimination or favouritism regarding access, scholarships, fee waivers and employment. At the national level, planning should involve using quantitative criteria to allocate resources fairly to different groups. Disaggregated statistics are needed that show current and planned resource allocations and enrolment ratios, as well as education achievements and transition rates to higher education levels according to geographic locations (districts, sub-districts) or for different ethnic, religious or other groups.

3) Curriculum reform for quality education

The UNESCO study on education and social cohesion (Tawil and Harley, 2004) suggests that in any curriculum development process, a country needs to:

- Strengthen its awareness of the role the government played in contributing to the underlying causes of the conflict by assessing language policies, history curriculum, and pedagogical and structural approaches adopted concerning identity formation;
- Incorporate reconciliation and peacebuilding philosophies and practices in dealing with the legacy of conflict; and
- Promote tolerance, critical thinking, and values in attempting to prevent further violence.

- **Language of instruction**

Determining which languages should be used as the medium of instruction at various levels of education is particularly problematic in divided, multi-ethnic and multilingual societies. When language policy has been a source of deep resentment, a commission of education reform can be created to promote dialogue, address grievances and establish policies for multilingual and intercultural education (GMR, 2011). Findings from the Save the Children 2008 report showed that children in Afghanistan who learned literacy in the dominant language, not their mother tongue, scored significantly worse in reading than other children. These findings are consistent with the Global Monitoring Report of 2008, which states that bilingual education has been found to improve schooling

⁶ The United Nations Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) was launched in 2006 to inject fast, relevant funding into key projects that help countries from relapsing into violent conflict (Smith, et al., 2011).

outcomes of children from indigenous communities in many countries. Mother tongue-based education especially benefits disadvantaged groups, including children from rural communities taught in their indigenous language (UNESCO, 2011b).

World Bank findings also support multilingual education in programmes in which children first learn to read and write in their own language and the second language is introduced gradually. There is significant evidence that this approach improves learning outcomes and decreases dropout and repetition rates, especially for marginalized groups. While the development of mother tongue learning materials is expensive, evidence suggests that efficiency savings made from reduced dropout and repetition outweigh the costs of material development (World Bank, 2011).

- ***Curriculum and textbook reform***

The GMR makes the connection between violence and the teaching of history and religion, which can become a source of cultural and ideological tension in multi-ethnic societies. Textbooks may contain narratives that are biased and incite hatred or omit key historical events and alternative points of view. Governments in post-conflict contexts should take advantage of opportunities and address the teaching of history with a concrete plan of action and timeframe, since avoidance of curriculum reform may refuel tensions and result in further polarization. Participatory approaches to textbook development have been suggested involving religious minorities and other excluded groups (Nicolai, 2009). Teacher training may be as important as curriculum reform to assist teachers in using pedagogy that addresses the controversies and sensitivities of the narratives of conflict and children's intellectual and emotional development (Cole and Barsalou, 2006). The GMR cautions that all post-conflict policy reform needs to include risk assessments to weigh the impact on affected groups.

- ***Life skills, peace, human rights, civic education and learning to live together***

Many countries have chosen to develop new courses in the areas of civics, peace education, human rights, conflict resolution, life skills and democracy with the focus on helping students develop new skills as active citizens (Cole and Barsalou, 2006). UNICEF has supported the development of peace education curricula over the past several decades in many post-conflict countries including Burundi, Croatia, Indonesia, Solomon Islands, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Rwanda and Liberia (Fountain, 1999). According to Sinclair, incorporating knowledge, skills and values that promote reconciliation in the national curriculum can contribute to new behaviour patterns and attitudes between different groups and a shared willingness to look to the future more than the past (Sinclair, et al., 2008).

Just as peacebuilding has not been well defined, there is a range of connotations attached to the term 'peace education'. UNICEF developed a definition of peace education based on its work in the field, describing it as "the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level" (Fountain, 1999, p. i).

Over the past decade the notion of 'critical peace education' has emerged that addresses concerns about peace education targeting marginalized groups and ethnic minorities, and that seeks to 'normalize' a sense of social cohesion. Proponents of this view suggest that peace education that focuses on individual transformation is done without looking at issues of structural inequality, or analysing the underlying structural roots of conflict, which can actually exacerbate



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Baingan (Bing) Ladiasan, 13, composes an image with her camera, at the University of Southern Mindanao in the town of Kabacan in North Cotabato Province. Bing is among 15 students who participated in a UNICEF-organized photography workshop for children affected by conflict on Mindanao Island.

conflict rather than address violence. Advocates of critical peace education argue for the development in learners of a sense of transformative agency to enable them to take an active role in their own efficacy and address the underlying causes of conflict (Bajaj, M., and E. J. Brantmeier, 2011).

Zakharia asserts that while the contribution of human rights education, citizenship programmes, intercultural and peace education are relevant, none of them offers a 'magic solution' for the prevention of conflict. Rather, they represent "a complex matrix of education initiatives that address key themes and values that could have a preventative effect in the long term. It is unrealistic to expect that such programmes will have immediate impacts within short periods of time" (2011, p. 53).

Tawil holds that peace education programmes tend to be centred on interpersonal behaviour, despite the fact that so much violent conflict is manifest at the group level. He poses an important research question that has not been adequately addressed either in conflict analyses or programme evaluation: "Does the development of interpersonal mediation and conflict resolution skills have any significant impact on communal strife, armed conflict, and other forms of inter-group violence?" (Tawil, 2001, p. 12)

Nevertheless, there is research that suggests that peace education and life skills approaches can change attitudes and behaviours. A study of Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian children revealed that despite the ongoing violence, participation in various programmes resulted in positive attitudinal, perceptual and relational changes manifested in more positive views of 'peace', better ability to see the other side's perspective, and greater willingness for contact (Salomon, 2004, p.2). A recent programme evaluation of a peace education initiative in Afghanistan,

which teaches non-violent conflict resolution and respect for gender, religious and ethnic differences to students, parents and community members, showed positive behaviour changes, especially in boys. Results included a reduction in aggressive behaviour and previous chronic fighting between children of different ethnic groups (Sadeed, 2012).

The LTLT approach developed by UNESCO, whose impact on reducing violence and promoting active citizenship efficacy is not fully supported by research, advocates for the development and monitoring of LTLT programmes to build an evidence base for their efficacy (UNESCO IBE and GTZ, 2008).

There is some evidence that social and emotional learning (SEL), which falls generally under the rubric of life skills, can have a positive impact on children who have experienced trauma. The core social and emotional aspects of learning centre on developing self-esteem, problem-solving, communication, teamwork, self management, empathy, responsibility and decision-making (Osher, D., et al., 2009). Sinclair suggests that social and emotional learning is appropriate for conflict-affected learners, especially those who need to reorient their prior experiences and learn to resolve conflicts peacefully. Their learning should include pro-social attitudes and values, dependent on active learning approaches, which allow students to develop their own values and perspectives (2009).

4) Teachers and teacher training

Teacher training in pedagogy that supports curriculum reform efforts is essential in post-conflict contexts. Teachers will likely need training in teaching methods that emphasize critical thinking, dialogue and participatory active learning approaches rather than rote learning. Children and adolescents should be encouraged to question, debate and discuss topics (Save the Children, 2011). Approaches that emphasize students' critical thinking skills and expose them to multiple historical narratives can reinforce democratic and peaceful tendencies in transitional societies emerging from violent conflict (Cole and Barsalou, 2006). One of the most important lessons learned from post-conflict peace education programmes is that inadequate training for teachers assigned to deliver curriculum reforms undermines their ability to use appropriate methodology, which must be learner-centred (Baxter, 2010).

Policies related to recruitment, training, remuneration, and incentives to work in remote areas should be developed. Governments need to be pressured to ensure that teacher training and accreditation systems are established quickly. Working with donors to ensure that support and disbursement systems are efficient is essential to ensure that funds are available to reconstruct education and teacher training systems early in the post-conflict recovery process (Save the Children, 2011).

Conclusions

Many of the interventions described in this section carry an implicit assumption that they can enhance equity and quality education, and therefore serve as a direct or indirect driver of peace and social cohesion. However, as the findings in the next section will show, many post-conflict education reforms and programmes are not based on systematic conflict analyses of the education system and the broader social, economic and political systems. While there have been significant results in many of the interventions described, many are not based on the link between peacebuilding or social cohesion and programming, but on post-hoc rationalizations of their impact on peacebuilding.

3. Findings from UNICEF research and programme literature

This section summarizes the findings and recommendations of key UNICEF studies: a literature review and synthesis report. Commissioned in 2011 by the UNICEF Evaluation Office under the Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition programme, the purposes of these reports were to: 1) build on the current evidence base about the role and potential of education in peacebuilding processes; 2) provide a basis for consultation with UNICEF on how to effectively contribute to peacebuilding through education; and 3) examine how to strengthen education's role in UN peacebuilding architecture. The literature review analysed over 500 relevant documents and the synthesis report generated findings and recommendations from three conflict-affected case study countries (Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone).

3.1 UNICEF literature review⁷

The literature review examined programme documentation from UNICEF and partner agencies to assess: 1) references to peacebuilding goals, 2) use of theories of change in relation to programming, 3) patterns of intervention sequencing, and 4) relevance to security, political, economic, and social transformation. The authors raise two issues of concern from the research and programme literature:

- **Definition of peacebuilding.** There is no precise definition of 'peacebuilding', and therefore the term has been used to describe a range of education programming and concerns, from immediate service delivery to longer-term development work related to the structure and function of education systems. The literature fails to define what aspects of programming are common to conflict-related service provision in general and what components are specific to peacebuilding.
- **Weak evidence.** The evidence base for linkages between education, conflict and peacebuilding is weak, with no focus on the impacts of programming on peacebuilding. Because aid agencies are under pressure to deliver education services for quick impact, it is very difficult to demonstrate either correlations or causality between programming and peacebuilding, when systematic research is difficult to obtain.

The review draws the following conclusions from the research and programme literature (2011, pp. 43–45):

- **Peacebuilding theory has not had a strong influence on education programming.** Few programmes have attempted to link education programmes to broader peacebuilding goals, but rather adopted single-issue approaches. Most programmes are not linked to sector-wide or inter-sectoral issues.
- **Education for peacebuilding goes beyond 'do no harm'.** A peacebuilding analysis may diagnose the need for structural and institutional changes that involve changes to existing power relations within a society.
- **Most education programming is not planned in advance from a peacebuilding perspective.** Education interventions are often framed in technical terms, but there is a significant gap in both academic and programming literature about the influence of political economy factors that operate on and within post-conflict societies, and how these affect the implementation of education programmes.

⁷ This report was led by Alan Smith of the University of Ulster with researchers Erin McCandless, Julia Paulson and Wendy Wheaton.

- **The sequencing of education programming is important.** It is critical that short-term approaches to humanitarian programming do not undermine longer-term strategies that are intended to restructure the education system to avoid reproducing the inequalities that existed during the conflict. Decisions about education's engagement in short and medium-term interventions need to be strategic and support peacebuilding.
- **The transition from humanitarian to development funding is an important concern.** It is important to be aware of the point at which humanitarian and development programmes and funding intersect. Development programming may need to be involved with post-conflict approaches to ensure that appropriate structural changes are not ignored.
- **Peacebuilding requires more attention to education sector reform.** There are gaps in the literature about education sector reform in post-conflict societies from a peacebuilding perspective.
- **Education needs to engage with the United Nations peacebuilding architecture.** While education does not feature prominently in United Nations planning processes, it is important to improve coordination between education and the Peacebuilding Commission and the Peacebuilding Fund.

3.2 UNICEF synthesis report and case studies⁸

This section summarizes the findings of the Synthesis Report and the case studies of Sierra Leone, Nepal and Lebanon (2011, pp. 24–28) on which it is based. The purposes of the case studies were to: 1) document where education interventions played an important role in peacebuilding and the weaknesses and gaps; 2) identify the extent to which post-conflict political environment affects education programmes for peacebuilding; and 3) provide guidance and recommendations on education interventions contributing to peacebuilding and the appropriate niche for UNICEF in the United Nations and broader context. Some of the key issues that emerged from the case studies are:

- **Conceptualization of peacebuilding.** The case studies reveal that among agencies and practitioners working in the education sector, the concept of peacebuilding is often not clear and the link between education and peacebuilding is not well developed. Further, the term can be viewed with suspicion for political reasons, as was the case in Lebanon, where peacebuilding implied compromise or 'settling for less'. In both Sierra Leone and Nepal, the term 'peacebuilding' was overly broad and not tied to concepts of structural and social change.
- **Role of education marginalized.** The role of education was marginalized in all three countries because the major international actors prioritized security issues, especially in the early and medium-term post-conflict periods. UNICEF should advocate for education to be one of the priorities of United Nations and international peacebuilding missions.
- **Weak education systems as drivers of conflict.** In all the countries, inequitable and segregated education systems were key drivers of conflict. This underscores the need to develop a clear, integrated education and peacebuilding strategy.
- **Community and education systems are victims.** To varying degrees in the three countries, education buildings, teachers and students were targeted, schools politicized, children recruited to join armed groups, and families displaced.
- **Education's role in peacebuilding in all phases of conflict.** Education can play a crucial role in peacebuilding in all phases of conflict. During a conflict, interventions such as the provision of safe environments, psychosocial support, temporary

⁸ This report was authored by Mario Novelli of the University of Sussex and Alan Smith of the University of Ulster, drawing on three separate case studies written by Mario Novelli (Sierra Leone), Tony Vaux (Nepal) and Zeena Zakharia (Lebanon).



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Girls from an indigenous community read outdoors at UNICEF-supported Ban Pho Primary School in Bac Han District in remote Lao Cai Province, Viet Nam.

classrooms, and the schools as zones of peace approach can play a role in laying the groundwork for future peacebuilding. These interventions protect education systems, provide continuity between conflict and peace, help children overcome the psychosocial and traumatic effects of conflicts, promote social cohesion and ensure a protective environment within which children can develop coping strategies. In the immediate post-conflict period, there is a systematic set of education programmes that deal with the reintegration of ex-combatants, accelerated learning programmes, school reconstruction and repair, psychosocial support, peace education initiatives and vocational training. These approaches can be viewed as part of a peace dividend, building state legitimacy, and have the potential of being transformative for those they serve. In the medium-term post-conflict period (5–15 years) the focus is on upstream work such as building capacity within ministries of education, curriculum reform, and system strengthening in line with a broader state-building agenda.

The study makes the following recommendations to UNICEF:

- Build key partnerships at the global level and with national governments, with the understanding that adopting transformation goals may create tensions with governments or partners.
- Ensure that a peacebuilding/conflict analysis perspective informs all policy; and that conflict analysis processes are sensitive to local conflict dynamics.
- Delineate a comprehensive capacity building strategy for peacebuilding at all levels.
- Develop monitoring and evaluation indicators that are unique to peacebuilding goals.
- Undertake a research agenda to analyse how education programming relates to longer-term peacebuilding.

Novelli and Smith (2011, p. 7) emphasize that it is critical that UNICEF and other education actors abandon the approach of making post-hoc rationalizations about how education contributes to peacebuilding and embrace strategic planning of transformation through

reform of the education sector. It is necessary to depart from generic programming to “educational interventions that are informed by high quality political economy and conflict analysis that is sensitive to the conflict dynamics of local contexts.” It is also important to recognize the need for these processes to evolve over several generations.

3.3 Guidance for designing peacebuilding and social cohesion interventions in education

This section provides a brief overview of the processes described in some of the technical guidance developed by UNICEF and other agencies to assist in the design of peacebuilding and social cohesion programming in education. The documents reviewed include:

- ***Conflict Sensitivity and Peacebuilding in UNICEF, Technical Note***, recently developed as part of a training package for UNICEF staff implementing education and peacebuilding programmes;
- ***Study: Conflict in Education Sector Plans and Policies: Methodology and Analytic Framework***, another tool created for use in UNICEF programmes;
- ***The USAID Checklist for Assessing Conflict Sensitivity in Education Programs***; and
- ***Learning to Live Together: Design, monitoring and evaluation of education for life skills, citizenship, peace and human rights***, developed by UNESCO International Bureau of Education and GTZ as part of a joint multiyear initiative undertaken in curriculum change and social cohesion in conflict-affected societies.

The Technical Note (2012, p. 15) states that designing education interventions for peacebuilding in countries will require a conflict analysis, defined as a systematic study of the profile, causes, actors and dynamics of conflict. This process will provide an enhanced understanding of the causes, dynamics and forces that promote violent conflict or peace, which will serve as the basis to inform programming. The guidance suggests that UNICEF should participate in inter-agency conflict analysis exercises. An education sector conflict analysis should also be done, informed by a broader, inter-agency conflict analysis if available.

The conflict analysis needs to incorporate the following dimensions of conflict, based on UNICEF’s priorities, as they relate to the education sector (2012, p. 15): social dimensions of conflict, children’s rights, gender, equitable access to services, protection and security, adolescents and youth, and restoring the citizen-state social compact.

The Technical Note (2012, p. 17) also addresses the need to incorporate a theory of change within a conflict analysis. A theory of change, used in the literature by Lederach (2007), is defined as “an explanation of why and how a set of activities will bring about the changes the conflict-sensitive program seeks to achieve. A theory of change describes the links between inputs, the implementation strategy and the intended outputs and outcomes. It describes the assumed or desired causal relationship between an intervention and its (intended) result or impact.”

As interest in education and peacebuilding has grown significantly in recent years, agencies are moving rapidly to develop conflict assessment tools. UNICEF has developed a draft Methodology and Analytical Framework,⁹ which provides a set of questions as a framework for inquiry and analysis. It suggests documents for review to assess the extent to which education sector plans fall into a category of conflict sensitivity or actually have the characteristics required to be considered peacebuilding interventions. The tool provides a set of indicators to use in an education sector analysis, which include:

⁹ This tool, under revision, was provided to the author by the Education Section in UNICEF New York in October 2012.

- References to peacebuilding objectives, including resilience and social cohesion strengthened; state accountability, legitimacy and capacity advanced; state-society relations improved; conflict drivers mediated and/or conditions set to address root causes of conflict through policies, structures and processes.
- Analysis of risks to the achievement of education goals.
- Impacts of conflict.
- Safety and security issues.
- Disparities and inequities.
- Governance issues including decentralization, management capacity and community involvement.
- Diversity and inclusion, language policy and curriculum.
- Coverage of post-primary and alternative learning opportunities.
- Accountability and transparency in system management, including resources.

The Working Group on Education and Fragility is also developing a tool for assessing conflict sensitive education. This will include guiding principles to be used at donor level and for policy dialogue; guiding questions or checklist to design and develop conflict sensitive education programmes; and a short checklist for field-level implementation to assess the conflict sensitivity of their education interventions.¹⁰

USAID has also developed a draft tool, called Checklist for Assessing Conflict Sensitivity in Education Programs (USAID, 2012). The checklist presents a user-friendly format for assessing the extent to which education sector policies and practices are conflict sensitive. The tool categories are: commitment, accountability, strategy, procurement, data, equitable access, curricula teaching and learning materials and methods, capacity building, education sector personnel, community engagement, information management systems, and monitoring and evaluation.

As the culmination of its LTLT initiative, UNESCO and GTZ developed a guide entitled *Learning to live together: Design, monitoring and evaluation of education for life skills, citizenship, peace and human rights* (UNESCO IBE and GTZ, 2008). The guide supports the design and evaluation of LTLT approaches, which incorporate life skills, citizenship, peace and human rights education. It is designed to assist policy makers, education officials, and civil society organizations in developing new pilot or system-wide initiatives in LTLT and life skills curricula, or monitor and evaluate traditional schooling systems to determine whether they meet the LTLT and life skills goals.

These tools provide a useful technical framework that UNICEF EAPRO can adapt and use as it develops a regional strategy. This will be addressed briefly in the next section.

¹⁰ INEE activities undertaken by the Working Group on Education and Fragility 2011–2013, October 2012.

4. Education, peacebuilding and social cohesion in the East Asia and Pacific region

From a development perspective, there are distinct challenges in developing a conflict sensitive approach to education depending on whether education is provided within relatively peaceful and stable environments; during times of violent conflict; as part of reconstruction following conflict or political transition; or as part of longer-term peace and reconciliation processes (Smith, 2005).

4.1 Overview of education and conflict in the region

A number of countries in Southeast Asia have experienced protracted intra-state conflicts. In some, education has played a role in exacerbating the conflict. A brief overview of several of the conflict-affected countries identifies causal factors as well as attempts to develop education programming to advance peacebuilding. This is in no way a comprehensive review of education and conflict in the region, and it is recommended that a more thorough review and mapping exercise be undertaken in the region to contribute to knowledge generation. It is also recommended that case studies of selected countries be undertaken to address to what extent education sector plans and processes have addressed conflict sensitive programming, and to what extent education is included in broader peacebuilding and social cohesion frameworks.

Thailand

In the current conflict in southern Thailand, education was labelled in a recent analysis as “a weapon of mass assimilation” on the part of the Thai elite in an attempt to assimilate the Malay Muslim population in the four predominantly Muslim southern provinces. History texts used in schools present “distorted history lessons, civics, and Buddhism” and provide an idealized view of Thai history from the point of view of the Bangkok elite” (Ajis, M., et al., 2010).

While the language of instruction in the south is Thai, Mahidol University initiated a multiyear K-6 pilot programme involving action research designed to help Patani-Malay speakers retain their Malay language and identity at the local level and achieve a Thai identity at the national level. Patani-Malay is used as the medium of instruction from K-1, so that children gain the necessary skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing in their mother tongue before learning Thai. Patani-Malay Studies, in which the Patani-Malay language is the main component, is also taught throughout primary school (Suwilai, 2008). The UNICEF Thailand Country Office has provided support for this programme, and has encouraged the Ministry of Education to make it part of national government policy.¹¹

Aceh, Indonesia

Perceptions that the education of local populations suffered because of unfair patterns of resource allocation were a factor in the Aceh conflict (UNESCO, 2011). During the post-conflict period, numerous peacebuilding processes were put in place, but education was not factored in. While efforts by UNDP and other agencies have addressed the need for conflict sensitive programming in all institutions, there has been no focus on education and the potential role it can play. At the height of the conflict over 10 years ago, UNICEF supported the development of a pilot peace education course for high-school students based on local cultural and religious values, aimed at promoting non-violence and peaceful conflict resolution among youths and creating awareness about children’s rights. Similar to many such programmes, it was not sustainable due to

¹¹ Information provided in an interview with UNICEF Thailand Deputy Representative, December 2012.

a lack of government funding and failure to integrate it into a holistic curriculum reform process (Cameron, N. and C. Thurbum, 2009).

Myanmar

For over 60 years the military government in Myanmar has resisted appeals by the country's diverse ethnic groups, including the Shan, Karenni, Mon and Kachin, for ethnically defined regional autonomy as described under the post-colonial federal union of Burma.¹² The government mandates Myanmar as the only language of instruction in government schools, with no curriculum support for ethnic national languages, and textbooks reinforce a Bamar-centred perspective (Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, 2009). Despite these restrictions, UNICEF has been able to support a language enrichment programme (LEP) for children who do not speak Myanmar as a first language. The programme now covers all primary school grades in selected townships, benefiting 50,250 children. The government has agreed to expand the LEP to other non-Myanmar speaking areas (UNICEF Myanmar, 2010).

Timor-Leste

After independence, governance in the education sector and curriculum reform processes have been plagued with unintended negative consequences that have fuelled tension. According to Shah (2011), the decision to make Tetum and Portuguese the official state languages has been fraught with implementation problems and continues to polarize and divide society. While the official policy was to focus on building Tetum literacy with gradual transition to Portuguese, there was a paucity of language materials in Tetum to teach literacy. The unofficial policy was to encourage the use of Tetum orally but focus on literacy in Portuguese. Another compounding problem has been that when the bilingual policy was introduced in 2004, less than 6 per cent of teachers reported fluency in Portuguese. Other divisive problems have occurred in the teaching of history and religion. The government was opposed to having Catholicism taught in schools despite civil society's interest in this, rooted in strong identification with the church, which supported the population against Indonesian occupation. In terms of history, the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation recommended the development of a history curriculum that addressed the complexities of the occupation. However, neither donors nor the government have been supportive or ready to engage in such an undertaking.

Cambodia

It has taken over 30 years since the Cambodian genocide and 18 years after a peace agreement was signed for the Khmer Rouge atrocities to be incorporated into the teaching of history. In 2007, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979)* was completed by Khamboly Dy of the Documentation Centre of Cambodia, an organization that gathers evidence about the Khmer Rouge period. In 2009 the book – the first such work by a Cambodian – was endorsed by the Ministry of Education as a core material and reference for teaching Khmer Rouge history in Cambodian classrooms at the secondary level. The book is being distributed to schools, teachers are being trained to use it and a student workbook is being developed (UNESCO, 2011).

Philippines

Two of Asia's longest-running insurgencies continue to disrupt education on the island of Mindanao, one involving the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the other the communist New People's Army. Both conflicts have resulted in violence against teachers and students, school closures, and military occupation of and damage to schools (UNICEF Philippines, 2012). In response to these threats, UNICEF contracted with two NGOs, Balay and the Mindanao People's Caucus, to implement a community-based stakeholder process modelled after SZOP in four pilot municipalities in Maguindanao. As reported elsewhere in this review, the programme has been successful at promoting children's right to education by protecting the schools, education personnel and learners.

¹² <http://www.insightsonconflict.org/conflicts/burma/>

In response to demands for autonomy after the 1996 peace accord, the Government of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) was established, including an autonomous Department of Education (Dupuy, 2008). Regarding language policy, which has been a source of conflict, recent policy reforms have included the introduction of some Moro languages in K-12 schools before the transition to English and Filipino, the national languages. According to Minority Rights Group International (2008), past restrictions in Mindanao on teaching in Moro languages in public schools created obstacles to the full participation of Moro Muslims in public and political life.

In summary, these examples of peacebuilding initiatives in the education sector in East Asia and the Pacific illustrate the challenges that post-conflict societies confront when attempting to introduce conflict sensitive education reform as part of their peacebuilding efforts. One issue that fragile states confront is the lack of capacity and resources to implement change and to engage with a diverse range of stakeholders to ensure broad consensus on the curriculum reform processes, especially in the immediate aftermath of a conflict. In addition, decisions about the sequencing of interventions, raised by Smith and Novelli in the UNICEF Synthesis Report (2011), are relevant to the examples from the region. These challenges will have important implications for a larger regional strategy in East Asia and the Pacific.

4.2 Implications for strategy in East Asia and the Pacific

Because UNICEF EAPRO has indicated a preference for using the term ‘social cohesion’ rather than ‘peacebuilding’ for some of the reasons described in section 1.4 of this review, it should adopt definitions of both ‘social cohesion’ and ‘education for social cohesion’ and present them to countries in the region in subsequent planning documents, activities, and capacity building activities it may undertake during the course of the initiative.

The major findings and recommendations of the key studies in education, peacebuilding and social cohesion, and UNICEF’s technical and training materials developed for the global initiative will inform the development of a regional strategy for East Asia and the Pacific. The most important recommendations emerging from the literature, especially those in the UNICEF Synthesis Report, should serve as guidelines in the development of the regional strategy (Novelli and Smith, 2011). These include:

- **Key partnerships:** Building key partnerships at the regional level and with national governments with the awareness that adopting transformation goals may create tensions with governments or partners. This is especially important because framing approaches using the term ‘peacebuilding’ may be resisted.
- **Conflict analysis and planning:** Ensuring that a peacebuilding and social cohesion conflict analysis perspective informs a causal analysis of determinants and focuses national efforts on key barriers and bottlenecks; and that conflict analysis processes are sensitive to local conflict dynamics. There is a need to develop a framework that seeks to capture education’s relationship to the drivers of conflict and peace, such as social cohesion, economic opportunity, social mobility, disabling social norms, and equity or social justice (Novelli, 2011b).
- **Capacity building:** Developing a comprehensive capacity building strategy for peacebuilding at all levels.
- **Monitoring and evaluation:** Developing monitoring and evaluation indicators that are linked to areas prioritized, with barriers and bottlenecks related to peacebuilding goals.
- **Research:** Creating a research agenda to analyse how education programming relates to longer-term peacebuilding.
- **Non-conflict countries:** Applying analysis and planning processes to non-conflict-affected countries where social cohesion needs to be addressed in education programming.

This is child friendly school



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Children sitting by a wall under a child-friendly school sign in the province of Masbate, Eastern Philippines. UNICEF assists Masbate by providing water, sanitation and hygiene facilities in schools and communities.

Since UNICEF EAPRO has identified its current Midterm Review process as a first entry point for an assessment of the relationship between education, social cohesion and other sectors, it is important to follow a set of principles identified by the UNICEF Education Division as essential in country and regional approaches:¹³

- **Transformative process.** Education needs to be a transformative process, informed by a comprehensive analysis and incorporating strategies that are conflict sensitive and are part of a systematic approach to peacebuilding.
- **Resilience.** There should be a focus on resilience, both in the education system as well as the children it serves.
- **Conflict analysis.** Conflict analysis should underpin sector plans, UNICEF's work in the Global Partnership for Education, and incorporate norms and standards in child-friendly education. Planning needs to include a sound analysis involving stakeholders in choices and decisions.
- **Country programming.** Social cohesion should be an integral part of country programming processes, using the Situation Analysis as an entry point. UNICEF can provide assistance to countries to integrate social cohesion indicators and priorities within the country programming cycle.
- **Factors affecting social cohesion.** It is important to recognize that UNICEF can plan programmes that address the drivers of conflict and minimize inequities using a collaborative approach with other sectors.
- **Short-term results.** Short-term gains which are visible to stakeholders need to be factored into programme planning.
- **Long-term planning.** Planning on the basis of a longer-term horizon is essential to achieving the kind of systemic and structural change that peacebuilding requires.
- **Evaluation.** Data and reporting of results are needed, and evaluation processes need to determine what to measure at key time intervals.
- **Equity.** The peacebuilding approach is critical to UNICEF's agenda in rights, equity and inclusion.

¹³ Recommendations made by the UNICEF Headquarters Education Division drawn from UNICEF commissioned documents.

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