The Role of Education in Peacebuilding

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A synthesis report of findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone

December 2011

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The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: A synthesis report of findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone

United Nations Children's Fund
Three United Nations Plaza
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This report was authored by Mario Novelli of the University of Sussex and Alan Smith of the University of Ulster.

This report is part of the knowledge generation component of the Education and Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) programme – a partnership between UNICEF, the Government of the Netherlands and the European Commission.

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For further information, please contact:

UNICEF Evaluation Office, 3 UN Plaza (14th Floor)
Tel: +1 917 265 4631
Fax: +1 212 735 4427

FOREWARD

This report presents findings from a review undertaken as part of the knowledge generation component of the Education and Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) programme, a major initiative intended to "put education in emergency and post-crisis transition countries on a viable path of sustainable progress towards quality basic education for all". Established as a major partnership between UNICEF, the Government of the Netherlands and the European Commission, EEPCT ran from 2006 to 2011.

The present study was commissioned by UNICEF's Evaluation Office, in association with the Education Section in UNICEF. The Evaluation Office commissioned Mario Novelli (University of Sussex) and Alan Smith (University of Ulster) to conduct the study.

The purpose of the study was to examine the role of education in peacebuilding in post-conflict settings and to consider how education interventions and programming could have a stronger role in the peacebuilding architecture of the UN system. Given concerns about the frequency of relapses into conflict, highlighted as a priority to be addressed by United Nations (UN) peacebuilding efforts, the subject of the study is important and highly relevant to strengthen peacebuilding efforts. The findings and insights presented in the report are intended to provide a basis for consultation and discussion within UNICEF on how the organization can most effectively contribute to peacebuilding through education.

The study comprised (i) a review of research and programme literature intended to assess existing knowledge about education's role in peacebuilding, to identify critical knowledge gaps and to analyse initiatives by UNICEF and its partners in post-conflict contexts; and (ii) three country case studies (Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone) with a particular emphasis on the work of UNICEF.

I would like to record our appreciation of the commitment and professionalism demonstrated by those involved in this work, in particular the lead researchers, Mario Novelli and Professor Alan Smith; also Erin McCandless, Julia Paulson and Wendy Wheaton who worked on the Literature Review; and likewise Zeena Zakharia and Tony Vaux, who, respectively, produced the Lebanon and Nepal reports. I also wish to thank the three researchers who provided initial background reports for the case studies: Bassel Akar, Tejendra Pherali, and Julia Paulson. Each of the papers they wrote helped to shape the fieldwork in important ways.

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Finally, I would like to express appreciation of the Government of the Netherlands and of the European Commission for their support of the EEPTC programme, and their commitment to generating evidence to guide policy and programming.

I hope that the report will prove useful to decision makers and practitioners in UNICEF and beyond. The preparation of the report has only been possible thanks to the efforts made by all those mentioned above, and the work of teachers, learners and peacebuilders around the globe.

Colin Kirk
Director
Evaluation Office
UNICEF New York Headquarters

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The role and practice of peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries has risen up the agenda of United Nations (UN) agencies, donor agencies and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) throughout the past two decades. While peacekeeping and peacemaking have played an important role in UN activities since its foundation, it was not until 1992 that the language of peacebuilding entered the institution's lexicon, when UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali published *An Agenda for Peace*. In this post-Cold War environment, peacebuilding was defined as "an action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict," and was demarcated chronologically from preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping.

Running in parallel to the rise of the peacebuilding agenda has been the surge of interest in the role of education in conflict-affected countries. Initially this was spurred by a realization that many of the world's out-of-school children were located in conflict zones and therefore achieving the Education for All objectives, and the educational Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were dependent on addressing educational access and quality in conflict-affected countries. The focus, since 2000, has led to both increased coordination between agencies, assisted by the emergence of the Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE), and to increased international advocacy supporting education in conflict-affected countries. In 2008, education was incorporated within the UN cluster approach to humanitarian response, co-led by UNICEF and Save the Children.

More recently, this interest in education in conflict-affected countries has dovetailed with debates on the role, strategy and effectiveness of UN peacebuilding, with increased discussion on the particular role of education and other social sectors, within the broader UN peacebuilding architecture. UN leadership on peacebuilding has three main components: the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), which is an intergovernmental advisory committee; the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), which is a Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF); and the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO), which provides direction and guidance on the programme management of the PBF and monitors its operations. The PBF was set up to support interventions of direct and immediate relevance to the peacebuilding process and contribute towards addressing critical gaps in that process, in particular in areas for which no other funding mechanism is available. Use of fund resources is meant to have a catalytic effect in helping to bring about other, more sustained support, such as longer-term engagements by development agencies and bilateral donors.

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, in his 2009 report on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict, places social services, including education, among the five recurrent priorities for peacebuilding in post-conflict transition. Similarly, a recent review commissioned by the PBSO acknowledges that inequitable provision and lack of social services is a common driver of conflict (McCandless 2011). Nevertheless, social services, and in particular education, do not receive priority as compared with interventions in the security sector and political processes. The PBF has provided only limited funds and out of 192 projects, only 25 were in the area of social services, and few of these involved education.

The recent Global Monitoring Report (2011) from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) called for an increased role for education in the PBF.

Similarly, the World Bank's World Development Report (WDR) (2011) recognized the important contribution to peacebuilding that the education sector could make. However, the two reports differ in opinions on when educational interventions should be prioritised, with the GMR arguing for early engagement and prioritization of education throughout all conflict phases, while the WDR suggested that security and elections be prioritized in the immediate post-conflict period with education receiving less priority until the medium term post-conflict phase. These debates feed into broader discussions within the international community on the role of social services (including education) in peacebuilding, and provide part of the background rationale for this research.

This research therefore sought to understand the role of education in peacebuilding in post-conflict states. The research was commissioned by UNICEF as part of the Education and Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) programme – a partnership between UNICEF, the Government of the Netherlands and the European Commission. The study consisted of two phases: Firstly, a literature review of education's role in peacebuilding. Secondly, the completion of three country case studies (Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone), with a particular emphasis on the work of UNICEF. Rather than selecting cases for similarities, we sought to select for variety, drawing out the wide disparities between cases to enable a sense of the types of education programming taking place in very different conflict environments. During the fieldwork, interviews and consultation meetings were held with a wide range of national and international stakeholders in each country, including UN representatives, government officials, INGO and NGO representatives, UNICEF staff members and teachers. This report is a synthesis derived from both phases.

Access to a quality education is regarded as a right that should be maintained even in the most difficult circumstances. In the midst of conflict it can provide knowledge and skills that provide protection, while in the longer term, it can provide values and attitudes that offer a basis for transforming conflict itself. Education is deeply implicated in processes of socialization and identity formation, which are vital for economic growth and individual and national advancement and can act as an important vehicle for social cohesion. On the other hand, education can also undermine all these processes and, therefore, we need to ensure that it is delivered effectively and equitably and is a driver of peace rather than war. Crucially, education is not a marginal player in peacebuilding, but a core component of building sustainable peace. Peacebuilding is essentially about supporting the transformative processes any post-conflict society needs to go through, and these changes unfold over generations. Developments through the education sector represent a very important part of this transformative process, with huge potential to impact positively or negatively.

The education sector is potentially a very important sector for supporting the transformative process in post-conflict societies. The study suggests that education programming should be based on high quality political economy and conflict analysis that is sensitive to the conflict dynamics of local contexts. Attention should be paid to supporting transformation through reform of the education sector and paying attention to the values and content communicated through the education system. Such interventions need to be mindful of the dynamics of social transformation, especially the need for these processes to evolve over several generations, in order for them to become part of a self-organized and sustainable future. The more intrusive and externally driven, the less self-organized and sustainable the outcome, and we need to recognize the potential for us to do harm, despite our best intentions. The support offered thus has to be informed, sensitive and patient, and must recognize that the

primary agency for managing the transformative process rests with the conflict-affected society itself.

Key Findings:

- The concept of peacebuilding is not well defined. UNICEF must decide its own interpretation, which would need to go beyond humanitarian assistance and to emphasize social transformation within conflict-affected societies.
- Neither UNICEF nor the education sector has been strongly integrated into the UN peacebuilding agenda within countries.
- Consistent with its mandate, UNICEF has comparative advantages to take a lead on peacebuilding, however it must consider the implications of how this may affect perceptions and how peacebuilding relates to other priority areas.
- For UNICEF education programming to support peacebuilding there is a strong need to: build key partnerships at the global level; work with national governments; identify partners that share transformation goals (with the understanding this may create tensions with other partners or governments); make education programming more relevant to post-conflict transformations; take a gender-sensitive approach to peacebuilding programming; ensure a peacebuilding/conflict analysis lens informs all policy; and move from generic 'global' solutions to localized adaptations.
- There is a need for a comprehensive capacity-building strategy for peacebuilding across all agencies from headquarters level to field offices.
- There are important distinctions between humanitarian response programming, providing conflict-sensitive education, and programmes aimed at peacebuilding. Thus, it is important to develop monitoring and evaluation indicators that are particular to peacebuilding outcomes.
- There is a distinctive role for research that generates new knowledge and insight into education programming and how it relates to longer-term peacebuilding.

Recommendations for UNICEF:

- Develop a comprehensive policy paper (in consultation with field offices) on UNICEF's commitment to peacebuilding.
- Identify areas of common agreement with global partners about the contribution of education to peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries.
- Carry out short (3 month) study to gather information about the extent to which UNICEF is currently integrated within the UN peacebuilding presence in conflict-affected countries; and how this operates in practice, obstacles and improvements.
- Conduct assessment of capacity for conflict analysis and support for peacebuilding within HQ and field offices.
- Run pilot studies in three countries to test the feasibility and direction of a shift towards education programming that has a more explicit peacebuilding rationale.
- Introduce an education and peacebuilding programme in a limited number of countries (based on pilot studies' findings).
- Place greater emphasis on knowledge management and institutional learning.

INTRODUCTION

This report is part of a knowledge generation study within the Education and Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) programme – a partnership between UNICEF, the Government of the Netherlands and the European Commission. The study was commissioned by UNICEF to examine the role of education in peacebuilding in post-conflict contexts. The focus is especially relevant because of concerns about the frequency of relapses into conflict that have been highlighted as a priority to be addressed by United Nations (UN) peacebuilding. The 2009 Secretary-General's report on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict places the provision of social services, including education, among five recurring priorities for peacebuilding. These priorities are: 1) Support to basic safety and security, including mine action, protection of civilians, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, strengthening the rule of law and initiation of security sector reform; 2) Support to political processes, including electoral processes, promoting inclusive dialogue and reconciliation, and developing conflict-management capacity at national and sub-national levels; 3) Support to the provision of basic services, such as water and sanitation, health and primary education, and support to the safe and sustainable return and reintegration of internally displaced persons and refugees; 4) Support to restoring core government functions, in particular basic public administration and public finance, at the national and sub-national levels; and 5) Support to economic revitalization, including employment generation and livelihoods (in agriculture and public works) particularly for youth and demobilized former combatants, as well as the rehabilitation of basic infrastructure.[1]

The new UN peacebuilding architecture therefore provides the opportunity to initiate social sector programming, such as education, in areas that support peacebuilding, and a main reason for this study is to investigate how education can play a more effective role in peacebuilding in post-conflict contexts.

Aims and objectives

The main aims of the study are to:

- Provide evidence on the role of education in peacebuilding, based on academic, programming and evaluation literature;
- Provide a basis for consultation and discussion within UNICEF on how it can most effectively contribute to peacebuilding through education; and
- Examine how education interventions and programming could have a stronger role in the UN peacebuilding architecture.

The study comprised two phases: i) a review of research and programme literature to assess existing knowledge about education's role in peacebuilding, identify critical gaps and analyse initiatives by UNICEF and its partners in post-conflict contexts; and ii) completion of three country case studies (Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone) with a particular emphasis on the work of UNICEF.

This synthesis paper draws together the evidence from the different parts of the study relating to the role and potential of education to contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries. It draws on insights from three case studies: Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra

[1] Secretary-General's Report on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict, June 2009.

Leone, with a particular focus on the work and role of UNICEF. Each case study was based on an initial desk review prepared in the early part of 2011, followed by in-country fieldwork.

The case studies were preceded by a literature review on the relationship between education and peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries, which shaped the analytical framework for the research, a synopsis of which will be presented below. During the fieldwork, interviews were held with a wide range of national and international stakeholders in each country, including UN representatives, government officials, INGO and NGO representatives and UNICEF staff members. Interviews were complemented by stakeholder consultation meetings on the role of education in peacebuilding with UN, national government, INGO representatives and national civil-society organizations working in education and/or peacebuilding in each of the countries.

The objectives of the case studies were to:

- Locate peacebuilding initiatives supported through education programming within broader approaches being undertaken in the case study countries;
- Document country-specific education interventions where education has played an important role in contributing to peace or where it has missed the opportunity to do so;
- Provide guidance on education interventions contributing to peacebuilding based on models and approaches used by UNICEF and its partners to initiate, promote and implement education initiatives in support of peacebuilding; and
- Identify strengths, weaknesses and recommendations for UNICEF-supported education programming as it relates to peacebuilding.

In order to meet these objectives, the intention of the country case studies was to develop a ‘thick description’ to understand the nature, extent, efficacy and potential of education and peacebuilding initiatives, with a particular focus on UNICEF’s role therein. While the individual case studies demonstrate the particularities of the conflicts covered, in this report, we seek to synthesize the insights gained from the three studies in terms of the broader issues faced by development partners, UN agencies and particularly UNICEF when seeking either to incorporate a more systematic ‘peacebuilding’ approach into their educational operations and/or incorporating education more systematically into ongoing ‘peacebuilding’ approaches where it has largely been marginalized. Both, as we shall see, remain underdeveloped and require serious commitment, resources and institutional changes if they are to be successfully addressed.

The report is structured as follows: First, we provide some contextual background to debates and discourses that have emerged concerning education, conflict and peacebuilding. Second, we proceed with a brief synopsis of the main findings of the literature review, its limitations and implications. Third, we discuss briefly the choice of case studies and the nature of the conflicts under analysis. Fourth, we move on to present some of the key issues that emerged from the case studies, initially through a brief synopsis of the core issues in each case study, and then through a series of problem statements that synthesise findings. Fifth, we present the main findings of the research and their implications for UNICEF. Sixth, we then proceed to make some specific recommendations for UNICEF. Finally, we make some concluding comments on the role of education in peacebuilding and the challenges ahead.

BACKGROUND

The role and practice of peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries has risen up the agenda of UN agencies, donor agencies and INGOs throughout the past two decades. While peacekeeping and peacemaking have played an important role in UN activities since its foundation, it was not until 1992 that the language of peacebuilding entered the institution's lexicon, when the UN Secretary-General published An Agenda for Peace. In this post-Cold War environment, peacebuilding was defined as "an action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict," and was demarcated chronologically from preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping.

Since then, and in parallel with its rise in importance, peacebuilding conceptualizations, strategies and policies have evolved in different ways, and from a range of different perspectives and institutions. Peacebuilding, while initially conceptualized as a purely post-conflict practice, is increasingly recognized as a process that is necessary during all conflict phases. Similarly, different emphases are placed by a range of institutions on how much focus is placed on prioritizing security and stabilization measures as a prerequisite to broader and more transformational measures aimed at addressing conflict drivers and root causes. Debates continue within different UN agencies and development partners on both this issue and also the sequencing and prioritization of certain interventions and the primacy of certain sectors and domains over others (security, governance, political, economic, social services, etc.).

Recognition of the need for more strategic and coordinated efforts within the UN family's peacebuilding activities has led to the creation of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture, which seeks to integrate UN and international community interventions in conflict-affected countries. In 2006, the peacebuilding agenda received renewed impetus following the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) and the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF).

In May 2007, the UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee developed the following definition for peacebuilding:

> Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.

This latest definition reflects a broader and perhaps more transformative agenda in peacebuilding for UN institutions, although it remains unclear whether all sections of the UN have embraced this new definition and the associated transformative agenda.
Running in parallel to the rise of the peacebuilding agenda has been the surge of interest in the role of education in conflict-affected countries. Initially, this was spurred by a realization that many of the world's out-of-school children were located in conflict zones and therefore

achieving the Education for All objectives, and the educational Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were dependent on addressing educational access and quality in conflict-affected countries (Smith and Vaux 2003; Novelli and Lopes-Cardozo 2008). The focus, since 2000, has led to both increased coordination between agencies, assisted by the emergence of the Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE), and to the development of a range of toolkits and Minimum Standards for the delivery of education in conflict-affected countries. It has also led to increased international advocacy on the importance of education in conflict-affected countries and to the incorporation, since 2008, of education within the UN cluster approach to humanitarian response, which is co-lead by UNICEF and Save the Children.

This burgeoning field of practice has been accompanied by a wide range of research and reflection on the different roles that education can play in conflict zones. The first area concerns 'education in emergencies' and prioritizes a concern for the protection of children and acts in response to the negative impacts of conflict on their education, both in terms of addressing access but also in terms of psychosocial support in the face of trauma. Such programmes are mostly framed in terms of humanitarian response. A second area of literature emphasizes the need for 'conflict-sensitive' education that 'does no harm', for example, by making sure that education does not reinforce inequalities or fuel divisions, for example through inappropriate language of instruction or curriculum content. This might also include peace education, both formally through the curriculum and through non-formal delivery mechanisms. This area of literature also includes service delivery in fragile contexts. A third literature relates to 'education and peacebuilding'. The latter acknowledges that education can play a negative role in post-conflict stabilization and peacebuilding processes if it is not addressed at the right time and informed by accurate conflict analysis. This literature argues that education can contribute to peacebuilding more effectively if interventions and reforms are conducted at the sector level and by contributing to political, economic and social transformations in post-conflict societies.

More recently, this interest in the role of education in conflict-affected countries has emerged alongside debates on the role of peacebuilding highlighted above, with increased discussion on the particular role of education within the broader UN peacebuilding architecture, which has three main components: the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), which is an intergovernmental advisory committee; the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), which is a Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) administered by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); and the PBSO, which provides direction and guidance on the programme management of the PBF and monitors its operations. The PBF was set up to support interventions of direct and immediate relevance to the peacebuilding process and contribute towards addressing critical gaps in that process, in particular in areas for which no other funding mechanism is available. Use of fund resources is meant to have a catalytic effect in helping to bring about other, more sustained support, such as longer-term engagements by development agencies and bilateral donors. The UN Secretary-General, in his 2009 report on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict, places social services, including education, among the five recurrent priorities for peacebuilding in post-conflict transition. Nevertheless, social services, in particular education, do not receive priority as compared with interventions in the security sector and political processes. The PBF has provided only limited funds to this area. Out of 192 projects, only 25 were in the area of social services, and few of these involved education.

A recent review commissioned by the PBSO acknowledges that inequitable provision and lack of social services is a common driver of conflict (McCandless 2011). The review states that "public administration and social services can address grievances that underlie or trigger violent conflict and offer a means for the state to reach out to society to (re)build its legitimacy." McCandless identifies three broad theories of change underlying the contribution of social services such as education to peacebuilding. These are identified as:

- **Delivery of peace dividends** – social tensions can be reduced through the provision of tangible, needed services, and by incentivizing non-violent behaviour and supporting statebuilding efforts.
- **Strengthening sector governance** – supporting conflict-sensitive sector governance and policy reform and the development of responsive, inclusive and accountable institutions at national and sub-national levels can improve state-society relations and lay foundations for a self-sustaining peace.
- **Providing entry points to deliver peacebuilding results** – administrative and social services can lead to joint action around programming that can help to build relationships and meet immediate needs in ways that address conflict drivers.

The review concludes that "peacebuilding outcomes manifest differently in different contexts, yet tend to fall into one or more of three areas:

- 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/processes."

Despite the growing recognition of an important role for education in peacebuilding, it still does not feature as strongly as it should. The recent UNESCO GMR report (2011) called for an increased role for education in the PBF. Similarly, the World Bank's World Development Report (WDR) (2011) also recognized the important contribution to peacebuilding that the education sector could make. However, the two reports differ in opinions on when educational interventions should be prioritized, with the GMR arguing for early engagement and prioritization of education throughout all conflict phases, while the WDR suggests that security and elections should be prioritized in the immediate post-conflict period, with education receiving less priority until the medium term post-conflict phase. These debates have fed into broader discussions within the international community and UN peacebuilding architecture on the role of social services (including education) in peacebuilding and provide part of the background for this UNICEF-funded research.

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of 520 academic, research and programming documents related to education, conflict and peacebuilding was completed as part of the study, and included access to the EFA GMR (2011) bibliography as well as a database of UNICEF programme documents. The literature review found that most education programming in post-conflict contexts is not being planned from an explicitly peacebuilding perspective. It recommends that peacebuilding necessitate more attention to education sector reform and more focus on the contribution of education to 'social transformation' in post-conflict societies. The prevalence

of relapses into conflict suggests that sustainable peacebuilding requires early engagement with social reforms as well the current priority given to macro reforms related to disarmament, multiparty elections and establishing a market economy (Paris 2004).

Education is an important driver of social development and can also contribute to transformations through other sectors within post-conflict societies in terms of changing behaviours and attitudes to violence, policing and the legal system; to a better understanding of the political system, how it operates and its implications for local communities; to the development of skills that support economic regeneration and sustainable livelihoods; and to changing social relations between groups or dealing with the legacies of conflict. These are all important peacebuilding challenges that need to be initiated early and sustained over time.

The main conclusions from the review were:

1. Peacebuilding theory has not had a strong influence on education programming. The review found that theoretical literature on peacebuilding (Galtung 1976) draws an important distinction between 'negative peace' (the cessation of violence) and 'positive peace' (structural changes that address social injustices that may be a cause of violence). Peacebuilding theory (Lederach 1995) also suggests the need for education to support transformation processes related to changes in security, political institutions, economic regeneration and social development within post-conflict societies. Few programmes reviewed identified an explicit theory of change that linked education interventions to these broader peacebuilding goals. However, recent research reviews identify common rationales for education programming in conflict-affected countries. In broad terms, such rationales refer to the role of education in providing protection and psychosocial support; re-establishing confidence in government by providing services and restoring normality; redressing inequalities in access to education and contributing to peacebuilding through conflict-sensitive education policies, curriculum content and pedagogies (Dupuy 2008; Save the Children 2009; James 2010; GMR 2011).[2]

2. Education for peacebuilding goes beyond 'do no harm'. The literature reveals a subtle distinction between education programmes in post-conflict contexts that attempt to 'do no harm' by taking conflict analysis into account, and approaches that are more explicit about contributing to peacebuilding through post-conflict transformation. For example, a 'conflict-sensitive' approach to the reconstruction of schools might simply rebuild schools in their former locations even if this means that divisions between schools remain. However, a peacebuilding analysis may diagnose the need for structural and institutional changes that involve changes to existing power relations within a society (Smith 2005, 2011).

3. Most education programming is not planned from a peacebuilding perspective. Post-conflict education programming could generally be described as service provision, with the primary concerns to provide protection and to improve education access and quality. This means that peacebuilding rationales tend to be justified retrospectively, rather than planned in advance. 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.

[2] Education and Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Contexts: literature review, pp. 28–40.

4. The sequencing of education programming is important. The programming literature provided examples of education programming in post-conflict contexts. Opinions on timing and sequencing vary; some suggest that addressing these areas too early can reopen animosities, while others claim that failing to engage with reform processes as soon as possible misses a window of opportunity during the immediate post-conflict period. It is also argued that while security, political and economic reforms may receive priority during early peacebuilding efforts, the prevalence of relapses into conflict suggests that macro reforms are not sufficient to sustain peace. These debates are reflected in the GMR (2011) and WDR (2011) reports, the former taking the view that education should engage early and the latter that education programming is a less urgent, 'medium-term' priority.

5. The transition from humanitarian to development funding is an important concern. From a peacebuilding perspective, there are concerns about the transition from humanitarian to development programming. Humanitarian responses for refugees, for example, need to take account of longer-term issues such as the skills that refugees will need when returning to their homes. Similarly, development programmes may need to engage with post-conflict reconstruction at a much earlier stage to influence how the education system is rebuilt in a way that supports peacebuilding.

6. Peacebuilding requires more attention to education sector reform. The literature reviewed provided examples of education sector reform during post-conflict reconstruction. In some cases, the immediate post-conflict period has provided an opportunity for greater inclusion of girls or minorities, or to introduce policy changes that might support peacebuilding, such as changes to the language of instruction or revisions to history curricula. However, there is a gap in the literature about education sector reform in post-conflict societies from a peacebuilding perspective.

7. Education needs to engage with the United Nations peacebuilding architecture. The study also reviewed the UN peacebuilding architecture and identifies the priority for the PBC to respond quickly to immediate needs and typically provide support for security, political and economic responses from the PBF. There is a commitment to develop a more integrated strategic framework for the UN presence within post-conflict contexts and a variety of assessment and planning tools such as the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF). However, there is little agreement on, or firm guidance to practitioners about which to use, as well as a lack of coordination on the ground in developing shared analysis. Education does not appear to feature strongly in these UN planning and assessment processes.

8. UNICEF needs to review the implications of a more explicit commitment to peacebuilding. UNICEF has a history of involvement in providing protection and provision of education for children in conflict-affected countries. UNICEF is currently co-leader (with Save the Children) of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Education Cluster and, within the UN structures, is represented on the Assistant Secretary General-level Senior Peacebuilding Group and the senior working-level Peacebuilding Contact Group. This renewed emphasis on peacebuilding suggests the need to review what a commitment to the UN peacebuilding agenda means for the organization. It raises a number of questions about how the concept of peacebuilding is currently interpreted by UNICEF, the level of shared

understanding between HQ and field offices, implications for programming, the institutional capacities required, and how impact in terms of peacebuilding can be measured.

Limitations of the Literature Review

The literature review is limited in a number of ways. Firstly, it was very difficult to distinguish between what is common to education provision in any context and what specific components have been developed in response to conflict or because they make a particular contribution to peacebuilding.

Secondly, virtually all of the literature refers to a weak evidence base for linkages between education, conflict and peacebuilding. There are many reasons for this. This is a complex area with imprecise definitions of terms and many variables that change as conflicts evolve, so demonstrating correlations is extremely difficult, and causality even more problematic; implementation in the field is mainly undertaken by development agencies whose main priority is quick impact rather than reflective research; the volatile environments in conflict-affected societies mean that operational conditions and data gathering are difficult; short programme cycles, high levels of staff mobility and poor institutional memory make systematic research uncommon; and even where there is a commitment to evaluation this is most commonly defined in terms of indicators of achieving programme goals (such as higher enrolment levels), rather than focusing on impact in terms of the concept of peacebuilding.

Implications for Field Studies

Despite these challenges, the literature review served to highlight a number of issues that would benefit from greater attention through the field based studies. These include:

- The need to take account of the historical and political economy environment in which education programmes have been introduced in post-conflict societies and how these have affected implementation and/or outcomes.
- Include a focus on how aid agencies are also part of the political economy; how they are perceived by local actors; intended and unintended outcomes from their actions; the extent to which they intervene as an external agency and/or develop local ownership.
- How consistent is the country office understanding of peacebuilding with the expectations from HQ? What capacity is there to do conflict/peacebuilding analysis at country level?
- More detailed insight into the extent to which UNICEF is integrated into the other UN peacebuilding architecture in the country case studies. How does it happen in practice? What enables involvement, what are the concerns and impediments?
- Can any more be learned about timing and sequencing of programming? Can we learn any more about the type of programming that took place in each country in the post-conflict period – is there any pattern to the sequencing?
- What do country staff think they would do differently in the early post-conflict phase if they took an explicitly peacebuilding approach? What would be distinctive about a peacebuilding approach – is it about different programming or about earlier engagement of education?

THE CASE STUDIES: LEBANON, NEPAL AND SIERRA LEONE

Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone were selected for this study. Rather than selecting cases for similarities, and therefore comparison, we sought to select for variety, which could draw out the wide disparities between cases and get a sense of the types of education programming taking place in very different conflict environments. We drew on three cases from different continents, with very different geographical features, cultures, timelines of conflict, underpinning drivers of the conflict, politics and dynamics.

In Lebanon, a middle-income country, the beginning and ending of conflict is blurred. Socio-political features preceding Lebanon's independence have shaped a culture of sectarianism that has pervaded Lebanon's societal institutions, underpinning the mobilization for major episodes of armed conflict since independence in 1943. Furthermore, its central political and geographical location within the complexity of the Arab-Israeli conflict has meant that external regional tensions have combined with those internal tensions to produce a series of conflicts throughout the past six decades. For this research, particular focus was placed on Lebanon's civil war (1975–1990) and its aftermath, and ongoing tensions between Lebanon and Israel, particularly the 2006 conflict between Israel and Hezbollah. UN peacekeeping missions have played an important role throughout the different periods of conflict, and UN missions and agencies remain important actors, not least in assisting the many Palestinian refugees based in Lebanon. The case of Lebanon illustrates the precarious and indeterminate nature of 'post-conflict' situations, the constant danger of a return to conflict, and the limits within which national solutions and interventions aimed at peacebuilding can work effectively, when the conflict(s) operate across multiple borders.

In Nepal, the armed conflict began in 1996, when the Maoist Party,[3] dissatisfied with the slow progress of reforms towards democracy within Nepal, and an increasingly intransigent monarchy, left the political process and began a 'People's War'. For 10 years, an armed uprising was led by the Maoists. Eventually, a military stalemate led to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2006. At the end of the war in 2006, the UN Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) was deployed as a peacekeeping force and took overall charge of UN operations. An interim constitution was agreed and elections were held to appoint members of a Constituent Assembly tasked with putting forward a new constitution by May 2010. The Maoists won nearly 60 per cent of the seats in this election, making them the largest political party in the post-war period. It was envisaged that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) would take place rapidly but there were intense political complications relating mainly to the Maoist army's demobilization. The Maoist-dominated government obliged UNMIN to withdraw in 2010 and the situation remains tense. The Nepal case illustrates clearly the high stakes involved in the immediate aftermath of armed conflict and the precarious nature of peace agreements.

The armed conflict in Sierra Leone began in 1991 when members of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) attacked towns near the Liberian border. The RUF claimed its mission was to overthrow the one-party regime of the All People's Congress (in power since 1968) and bring democracy. After several failed peace negotiations, the Lomé Peace Accord was signed on 7 July 1999, which led to the partial cessation of hostilities; the demobilization of armed actors; the transformation of the RUF into a political party; the creation of a Truth and

[3] United Communist Party of Nepal (UCPN-M), formerly the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), or CPN-M. For simplicity, this is referred to in this report as 'the Maoists' or 'the Maoist party'.

Reconciliation Commission; the establishment of a commission to manage the country's national resources; and a pardon for all ex-combatants. Finally, with the assistance of both UN peacekeepers and British military troops, a fragile peace was established, and on 18 January 2002, the war was officially declared over. A series of UN missions have continued to play a key role in the post-conflict period. Sierra Leone is seen as a successful case of UN interventions and finds itself in the medium term post-conflict period, having successfully navigated two elections without a return to large-scale violence more than a decade since the cessation of hostilities. Despite these apparent successes, many of the structural underpinnings of the conflict – regional disparities, urban-rural inequalities and widespread poverty – remain rampant and threaten the long-term sustainability of peace.

In all three cases, and throughout the different pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict phases, the research found evidence of the important, yet widely varied, contributing role of education to both peace and conflict. In the next sections, we will present an overview of the cases in tabular form, before presenting some insights from a synthesis of the three case studies.

Summary of case studies

	Lebanon	Nepal	Sierra Leone
Historical context Geopolitical factors Key events in the conflict	▪ Located in the Middle East in a region of intense and multiple conflicts ▪ Middle-income country ▪ With 18 officially recognized religious communities, Lebanon is a diverse nation, of both citizens and non-citizens, who have survived violent conflict, dispossession and exile throughout generations. ▪ Involved in a range of armed conflicts, internally and regionally, since before independence in 1943, notably the civil war (1975–1990), Arab-Israeli conflict (since 1948), Israeli occupation (1982–2000), Syrian occupation (1976–2005), war between Hizbullah and Israel (2006), deepening polarization between political factions (since 2005), and related proxy wars ▪ Refuge for Palestinians since 1948 ▪ Between 150,000 and 250,000 deaths during Civil War (1975–1990) and more than 1 million displaced ▪ At least 1,200, mainly Lebanese, deaths during the 2006 conflict with Israel ▪ Ongoing tension both with Israel and Syria and the broader tensions in the Middle East make peace very fragile	▪ Located in Asia, Nepal provides a buffer between China and India; India has high level of influence along southern border; weak governance in Nepal provides less threat to both China and India ▪ Low-income country ▪ Direct rule by monarchy throughout many centuries characterized by hegemony of caste-based elites and high levels of inequality ▪ Maoist insurgency from 1996 led to loss of effective government control of significant parts of country ▪ Comprehensive Peace Agreement 2006 led to abolition of the monarchy, coalition interim government, and the establishment of Interim Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal (January 2007) ▪ Constituent Assembly elected April 2008 with Maoists as largest party ▪ Maoists led government until May 2009, now in opposition ▪ More than 15,000 people killed during the conflict, and up to 150,000 internally displaced ▪ A fragile peace has continued, but with many challenges	▪ Located in West Africa, in a region facing multiple armed conflicts in its recent history ▪ One of the lowest ranked countries in the world on the Human Development Index ▪ Ex-British colony and protectorate that gained independence in 1961 ▪ Economic and social development is highly uneven, with wide divergence between the capital Freetown and western area and the rest of the country and between urban/rural communities ▪ Sierra Leone conflict between 1991–2002 was one of the first post-Cold War conflicts ▪ RUF insurgency began in the east of the country in 1991 aimed at removing the one-party regime of the All People's Congress (in power since 1968) ▪ War fought between RUF and a combination of state, civil defence forces and, later, UN troops ▪ Infamous for the use of child soldiers, amputations and rape as a weapon of war ▪ Between 50,000–75,000 people were killed as a result of the conflict and more than half the population of the country were displaced, either internally or externally ▪ Still peaceful after 11 years and 2 elections
Main drivers of conflict	▪ Sectarianism as expressed in the consociational power-sharing formula, as well as in public and private social institutions	▪ High levels of socio-economic inequality related to caste and ethnic inequalities with hill-based high caste Hindus monopolized political,	▪ Highly unequal distribution of resources between urban and rural areas, geographical regions and social classes

	▪ Unequal distribution of power and resources, both between religious/ethnic groups and geographically, disputes regarding distribution of power ▪ Arab/Israeli conflict ▪ Unstable regional environment (Iraq, Syria, Palestine)	economic, social and cultural power at the expense of Dalit, Muslims, indigenous nationalities and mid-level Madhesi ▪ Feudal, intransigent and anti-democratic monarchy that refused to reform ▪ Sharp increase in inequality linked to economic liberalization in the early 1990s	▪ Legacy of colonial underdevelopment and post-colonial mismanagement and corruption ▪ RUF rebellion began in the east of the country, the most under-developed part ▪ Austerity cuts in the late 1980s under structural adjustment policies was a key driver ▪ High youth unemployment a contributory factor
UN presence	▪ UN humanitarian presence since independence in 1943 ▪ UNRWA has worked with Palestinian refugees since 1948 ▪ UN peacekeeping missions in 1958, 1973, 1978 and ongoing ▪ Among first middle-income countries to receive support from PBF	▪ UN invited to play a post-conflict role by Nepal government in 2006 ▪ UN and UNICEF run parallel with the normal processes of national strategy represented by the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) ▪ UNMIN plays key role in monitoring 19,000 Maoists soldiers located in 7 cantonments ▪ UNMIL played a central role in facilitating elections in April 2008	▪ Strong UN involvement in both peacekeeping and peacebuilding since 1998 ▪ UNAMSIL involved in disaster and Special Court and Truth and Reconciliation Commission ▪ Peacebuilding Commission and PBF since 2007 ▪ In 2009, UNIPSIL published the Joint Vision for Sierra Leone of the United Nations Family; fully integrated peacebuilding mission ▪ Security first strategy, prioritizing security in the early stages, elections and development of markets
Education system demography and key challenges	▪ Private sector dominates – organized largely by confessional umbrella organizations ▪ Figures for 2007–2008 academic year suggest that 70 per cent of elementary students, 60 per cent of intermediate students and 50 per cent of secondary students were enrolled in private education (MEHE). ▪ Highly unequal education system, based along sectarian lines (the inequalities in education may also be based on geographical distance from Beirut and low government investment in education sector). ▪ Large urban/rural divide in educational quality ▪ Despite being a middle-income country, Lebanon	▪ Almost no education system in 1950s, but by 2010 approximately 33,000 primary schools (5 million pupils) and 8,000 secondary schools (1.2 million pupils). ▪ Many schools are very small and in very remote locations, making teacher deployment difficult and sensitive ▪ Government control over teachers is minimal; the affiliation of teachers to political unions protects them from control by schools and the ministry. ▪ This results in lack of discipline, irregular attendance, absenteeism ▪ School Sector Reform Plan (SSRP) developed	▪ An elitist and geographically uneven education system was an important driver of conflict ▪ High levels of out-of-school children, particularly in the eastern area; 30 per cent of school population ▪ Many schools are very small and in very remote locations, making teacher deployment difficult and sensitive ▪ 50 per cent of education budget externally funded ▪ Widespread difficulties in state system, ‘ghost teachers’, weak capacity in ministry, low morale and salaries of teachers ▪ Well-developed Education Sector Plan (2007–2015), shortfall of US$254 million for the nine-

	depends on external funding for public education ▪ Palestinian education entirely dependent on aid through UNRWA National Education Strategy Framework (2010–2015): ▪ Education available on the basis of equal opportunity ▪ Quality education that contributes to building a knowledge society ▪ Education that contributes to social integration ▪ Education that contributes to economic development ▪ Governance of education	by the Ministry of Education as a long-term plan to improve the quality of basic and secondary education ▪ The cost of the SSRP throughout the first five years was estimated to be US$2.6 billion; the Government of Nepal has committed US$2 billion and development partners have pledged US$0.5 billion SSRP (2009–2015) includes: ▪ Reforms to the structure of schooling ▪ Movement towards decentralized management of schools ▪ Changes to the training ▪ Recruitment and professional development of teachers ▪ Range of measures to increase equitable access	year plan ▪ Education budget skewed towards higher education (about 40 per cent of budget). Main priorities of education system in 2010: ▪ Ensuring qualified teachers ▪ Reviewing the curriculum ▪ Developing a policy to address gender issues ▪ Tackling the problem of out-of-school children ▪ Supporting post-primary education ▪ Increased provisions for literacy and skills training ▪ Increasing capacity of education actors at all levels ▪ Improving data collection and analysis for monitoring, planning and accountability ▪ Improving on quality, mobilizing and making effective use of resources
Role of UNICEF and post-conflict education programmes examined	UNICEF contribution to peacebuilding: ▪ Active in Lebanon since 1948 ▪ Long-standing involvement in all phases of the conflict: present before, during and after Educational interventions during two conflict and reconstruction periods: 1990–2006 and 2006–2009 1990–2006 (after civil war) ▪ During the latter stages of war and in the early post-conflict period, UNICEF initiated the Education for Peace programme ▪ The immediate aftermath of the civil war saw an increase in non-formal education, conflict	UNICEF contribution to peacebuilding: ▪ Lead agency on education ▪ Present in Nepal since 1968 Educational interventions during and after the conflict 2006–2010 ▪ Promotion of Schools as Zones of Peace (SZOP) ▪ Assistance for the reintegration of child soldiers ▪ UNICEF an active member of the Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) ▪ The UNICEF EEPCT programme provided	UNICEF contribution to peacebuilding: ▪ Lead agency on education ▪ Long-standing involvement in all phases of the conflict: present before, during and after Educational interventions during and after the conflict 1992–2010 During conflict ▪ ‘School in a Box’ initiatives, RAPID-ED programmes sought both to provide children with temporary respite during war and to address aspects of the trauma that they were experiencing; refugee education along Sierra

	resolution training ▪ At the education system level: ▪ Restoring primary and secondary schools, ▪ Restoring the teaching service ▪ Reorganizing the Ministry of Education ▪ By 2000, institutional and management reforms led by the World Bank 2006–date (after conflict with Israel) ▪ Series of projects aimed at psychosocial support ▪ School construction projects and refurbishment taking place throughout the country ▪ Sectarian violence and political polarization after 2006 war led to donor-driven peacebuilding activities, mainly non-formal education initiatives around issues of social cohesion ▪ Citizenship education programmes are currently underway, including a Peacebuilding Toolbox ▪ Wide variety of school-university partnerships to promote tolerance and understanding	support through four main activities: ▪ Focusing on 'hotspots' in nine districts to support development of Codes of Conduct that prohibit interference with children's access to school as part of Zones of Peace ▪ Child-friendly schools – support to Ministry of Education Learning without Fear campaign to eliminate corporal punishment in schools; training for school management committees and teachers in low-performing schools and madrasas, school sanitation and life-skills education ▪ National curriculum development with Ministry of Education to support revision of the national curriculum; social studies to include lessons on themes of peace, human rights and civic education ▪ Disaster risk reduction – UNICEF led the development of the Education in Emergency National Contingency Plan, which focuses on supporting the continued education of displaced children and those affected by natural disasters (Barakat, et al. 2010)	Leone's borders Immediate post-conflict period ▪ Reconstruction of the country's education infrastructure – both schools and teachers; ▪ The reintegration into society of both ex-combatant youth and returnees through educational access ▪ Formal schooling, TVET and accelerated learning programmes (CREPS) to assist in allowing students to catch up on lost education Medium term post-conflict period ▪ Upstream work on capacity building ▪ Involved in introducing curricula reform: promoting child-centred pedagogy and 'emerging issues', including human rights education ▪ Close collaboration with Ministry of Education ▪ Involved in several projects aimed at improving the quality of teachers through teacher training colleges and Distance Learning Teacher Training Programmes
Main findings from each case study	▪ There is a need for the UN in Lebanon to invest in further conceptualization of peacebuilding in relation to the particularities of the Lebanese context and to development ▪ The study revealed that education programmes developed for the purposes of peacebuilding rarely engaged formal conflict assessment due to various impediments in the conflict environment;	▪ UN definition of peacebuilding problematic and too broad; some respondents question increasing focus among development partners on security issues ▪ Donors should focus on state building of core government systems (especially accountability) rather than supporting particular education policies	▪ Education largely marginalized in UN peacebuilding strategy ▪ Education programming not based on 'peacebuilding' analysis, although interventions often have peacebuilding outputs ▪ Need for a medium-term peacebuilding strategy that links conflict analysis to long-term development

	however, informal assessments based on local understandings were engaged ▪ The shift towards upstream work for UNICEF in Lebanon is contested; it is important to consider the implications of such a shift and develop a strategy ▪ Develop high-quality evaluation programmes for the purposes of learning; UNICEF is engaged in a number of pilot projects with a view to up scaling those that are 'successful', but these programmes lack baseline data and assessment tools in order to determine which programmes are a 'success'; there is a need to clarify and develop the relationship between UNICEF's equity approach and peacebuilding in post-conflict situations, particularly as they pertain to education; and there is a need to advocate for a more central role for education in UN peacebuilding at highest level	▪ If concept of 'peacebuilding' used it may be better to divide it into 'structural' and 'specific' aspects; the structural aspects likely correspond to state building. ▪ Donors have important role in acting as counterweight to corruption and political pressures 'informal governance' (e.g., enforcement of rules on posting and transfers, procurement systems) ▪ Potential role in increasing voice of civil society; engagement of the local community, parents and NGOs useful counterweights to politicization ▪ Introduction of peace education material into the curriculum is less important that the overhaul of the curriculum for inclusiveness and non-discrimination ▪ UNICEF is well placed to play a key role because of its access to independent sources of information; UNICEF should take more challenging role ▪ The process of rehabilitating child soldiers is likely to reflect ongoing political processes; UNICEF should be careful not to depoliticize child soldiers ▪ UNICEF should consider SZOP as a response in all conflict situations, but it is likely to be effective only where the parties in conflict have control over their forces and seek a degree of recognition	▪ UNICEF needs a language to articulate the different contributions of education to peacebuilding. ▪ UNICEF's central role with Ministry of Education raises issue of scope of mandate – basic education and balance support with critique to ensure equity-based and peacebuilding agenda ▪ Need for more assertive engagement with UN Joint Vision for Sierra Leone ▪ Research on Distance Teacher Training Initiatives would be of value to other country offices and partners

Key Issues Arising from a Synthesis of the Case Studies

Conceptualization of peacebuilding remains underdeveloped and contested

The case studies demonstrate that among agencies and practitioners working in the education sector, the concept of peacebuilding is often unclear, its relationship to education under-developed, and the concept often greeted (particularly in Lebanon) with a degree of suspicion and scepticism. In Lebanon, among many informants, a reductionist conception conflated education's role in peacebuilding with peace education operating at the level of addressing interpersonal relationships between the various communities of faith.

Furthermore, in Lebanon, the notion of 'peace' is tightly bound up with the Arab-Israeli conflict and perceived as an unwelcome mode of externally imposing reconciliation with Israel. As Zakharia notes (2011):

> From one perspective, peace implies compromise, or "settling for less," or "giving something up" to those perceived to have greater power. From another, it implies an imposed peace. Commonly, this was framed in terms of making peace with Israel.

For many Lebanese civil-society activists, the concept of 'civil peace' was preferred over peacebuilding, which circumvented the above connotations and made clear a focus on intra-Lebanese relations.

In Sierra Leone, the opposite of a reductionist approach appeared prevalent, with a kind of generic understanding of the positive role of education in all its manifestations. For several informants, education was by its very nature peacebuilding. This broad understanding of the relationship between education and peacebuilding challenged the analytical utility of the concept, by making it too vague and imprecise. Similarly in Nepal, the concept of peacebuilding was utilized for a wide range of activities, suggesting the need for greater definition and clarity. Across the cases, interviewees lacked a coherent vocabulary to differentiate between long-term and more structural education-related interventions that contributed to peacebuilding; short-term educational interventions seeking to target particular conflict and security-related phenomena; and, finally, more specific thematic-related education interventions where education supported reintegration, economic growth, social cohesion, etc., as part of broader peacebuilding interventions. This perhaps reflects the fact that there is a lack of a knowledge base, at least among education practitioners, regarding the relationship between education and peacebuilding, which leads people to draw on either a generic and well developed 'rights-based' discourse and/or an equally well developed discourse around 'peace education'. Clearly then, there is a need for greater clarity on the understanding and implications of peacebuilding of different agencies involved in conflict-affected countries and the development of a common language to discuss its components and parameters.

However, while recognizing the above, the conceptual tensions also relate to the problematic nature of the term itself – which often appears to be used for a wide variety of purposes and activities: maintaining security, ensuring stabilization, and more transformational processes. This reflects the contested nature of the concept, and the historical evolution of debates regarding peacebuilding, particularly related to Galtung's notions of negative and positive peace, and the very different agendas of actors involved in 'peacebuilding' across the world. For some actors, peacebuilding denotes a very narrow set of activities aimed at ensuring

post-conflict stability in the immediate aftermath of conflict. For others, peacebuilding represents a much more transformational agenda that takes place over a much longer time span. Clearly, dependent on one's conceptualization, education's role therein might look very different. These different discursive understandings of peacebuilding are important to explore, as the different actors pursuing disparate interpretations are unequal in power and influence. As we shall see in the next section, a 'security first' interpretation of peacebuilding appears to have become dominant in all of the country case studies, with important implications for the role of education.

The dominant approach to peacebuilding marginalizes role of education

In all of the cases under analysis in this research, there is a strong sense that the major international actors involved in peacebuilding prioritise addressing 'security' issues, particularly in the early to medium post-conflict phase. One senior representative of a major bilateral donor noted that:

> The security sector starts off early and gets more profile partly because it's more high risk, partly because there are gunmen … the emphasis is different. I think in Sierra Leone in particular we were talking about getting the social sector, the ministries sorted out later that's for sure (interview with bilateral donor representative)

While this emphasis on security does not necessarily preclude a focus on redressing geographical, social, ethnic inequalities, poverty reduction and improving social services, it does, however, emphasize the chronological order of importance of security versus social reforms: moving from conflict to security to development. Security, then, is perceived as the foundation upon which development can occur. For the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID), a major donor in both Sierra Leone and Nepal, its conceptualization is clearly predicated on a security first view, and represents a negative peace approach, i.e., focusing primarily on the cessation of violence, rather than any transformative process, at least in the early post-war period. Thus DFID in Sierra Leone has concentrated on training the Sierra Leone army and the Sierra Leone police, and on reforming the prison system. This 'security first' approach then envisages a second phase where security leads to broader development goals:

> 'Security first' denotes the idea that before one can sustainably engage in development, a basic level of security must be established. A secure environment will ensure that development efforts are less likely to be disrupted or diverted by conflict, and that stability will attract investors who would otherwise be dissuaded by volatility. In this way, security is a precondition of development. (Denney 2011: 279)

In line with other post-Cold War international interventions, the security first agenda is linked to the implementation of what Paris (2004) calls the 'liberal peace thesis'. The liberal peace thesis prioritizes the introduction of liberal democracy and market forces as key drivers of stability once security has been achieved. According to Castaneda (2009) this can be conceptualized as a 'trickle-down peace' approach, whereby you first aim to obtain a 'negative peace', then democracy, and these two factors will then encourage foreign direct investment, which will then lead to economic growth. However, just as trickle-down economics failed to reach many of the most vulnerable sections of populations in the 1980s during International Monetary Fund/World Bank-promoted structural adjustment policies, and acted as a catalyst to many conflicts, including Sierra Leone, so it is not clear that 'trickle-

down peace' will be a sufficiently robust development model to address the marginalized majority, and may itself "contain the seeds of continuing insecurity" (Duffield 1998: 10). Denney (2011) suggests that rather than security and development occurring symbiotically in Sierra Leone, it increasingly appears that security has not been followed by development, but rather there is an uneasy co-existence of security and misery.

This minimalist security agenda, followed by the liberal peace thesis, frames much of the international discourse on peacebuilding and can help us to understand why investment in social services – health, education and welfare – in UN peacebuilding programmes lags behind investment in security and democracy promotion. For example, DFID, the lead donor in Sierra Leone, has only in 2011 – 10 years after the cessation of hostilities – begun focusing on the importance of education and will now commit £30 million throughout the next three years. In Lebanon, most UN resources have been devoted to peacekeeping, and even within UNICEF, education has not been prioritized. In Nepal, perhaps unsurprisingly in the immediate post-conflict period where resolution of the conflict remains unclear, the main focus of UN interventions continues to be security issues. Importantly, the small amounts spent on social services (including education) in the PBF reflect the institutionalization of the 'security first' focus. Our analysis suggests that while security in post-conflict situations is clearly important, it is not a sufficient condition to reach positive peace, nor is a real social transformation necessary to ensure that peace is sustained.

The task then for UNICEF and other development partners seeking to promote the role of education in post-conflict environments is to exert more influenceon the debate inside the UN and the international community on the core priorities of peacebuilding missions. They should also exert more influence on the sustainability of the current dominant model (security first), the chronology of interventions and priorities, and the potentially more sustainable peacebuilding processes that might emerge if there was a better balance, both in resources and effort, placed into the social sectors to seek to transform the inequities of access and opportunity that often provide the underlying drivers of conflict. In all of the country case studies it seems that UNICEF was not at the heart of these 'peacebuilding' policy discussions, and while, as we shall see, UNICEF and education have played an important role in the conflict humanitarian intervention period and the post-conflict reconstruction period, those interventions often appear to run parallel, rather than being fully integrated into the UN 'peacebuilding' mission. On UNICEF's part, this shift would also necessitate more investment in developing institutional capacity for political economy and conflict-analysis approaches to informing their education interventions in conflict-affected states, so as to better align programming and influence processes within the broader UN family's peacebuilding concerns.

Weak, inequitable and segregated schooling systems are often key conflict drivers

In all of the cases, but in very distinct ways, education could be seen as an important driver of the conflict. In Sierra Leone, core foundational demands of the rebel RUF army were related to addressing the elitist, geographically unequal, public education system. Furthermore, sharp cuts in social spending – including education – linked to structural adjustment policies, provided the background catalyst for the eruption of conflict in the early 1990s. In Lebanon, a highly segregated education system based on sectarian divides provides the ongoing backdrop for communal tensions, exclusion and discrimination. Similarly, the overwhelmingly private education system reinforces socio-economic inequality and contributes to ongoing social segregation and inequality of opportunity. Public education

remains underfunded and incorporates students from the poorest socio-economic backgrounds, while those who can afford it opt in to the private sector. While clearly a product of broader societal divisions, schooling in Lebanon also appears be a contributor to those ongoing tensions. Similarly, Palestinians, who retain refugee status, are excluded from the state system and educated in camps by UNRWA, thereby ensuring their segregation from the broader Lebanese society.

In Nepal, the history of education is highly elitist, with a public system only emerging in 1971. The public education system appears to have been utilized for nationalizing the diverse Nepali society and ensuring loyalty to the monarchy and the highly unequal status quo. In 2001, the literacy rate was 70 per cent among Brahmins, compared with 10 per cent among the so-called lower and excluded castes. Educational reform and the development of a more equitable education system became a major platform for the Maoist movement, with strong support from teachers.

All of the above point towards the fact that the nature of the education system is at the heart of societal debates on social justice and well-being. The increased inclusion of education in peace agreements reflects the importance that is often placed on education in post-war settlements (Dupuy 2008) by warring factions. This also demonstrates the necessity to have a clear and integrated education and peacebuilding strategy, as a central part of a broader post-conflict peacebuilding strategy. This needs to go beyond ‘civic’ or ‘voter’ education to recognition that a just, equitable and accessible public education system is a central requisite for the construction of a peaceful society.

The education system and its community is often a key casualty of armed conflict

In Sierra Leone, the education system was devastated during the civil war. It is estimated that up to 70 per cent of the school-age population had limited or no access to education during the war, leaving a legacy of a lost generation of non-school-goers. During the conflict, hundreds of schools were severely damaged or destroyed. Initially, the destruction of educational institutions was concentrated outside of the capital Freetown, but as the conflict entered Freetown, its urban schools were also targeted. The World Bank estimated that by 2001, only 13 per cent of Sierra Leone’s schools were usable, 35 per cent required total reconstruction and more than half required refurbishment. Thousands of teachers and children were killed, maimed or displaced and many more were either forcibly or voluntarily recruited into the ranks of the different warring parties.

In Nepal, although schools were not a primary target for the combatants and generally continued to operate, they were subjected to violent interventions, such as attacks on teachers suspected of links with the opposing side, recruitment of students by the Maoists and large-scale assaults by the government forces when they suspected that Maoist activity was taking place in a school.

In Lebanon, during the civil war, insecurity, daily disruptions to schooling and immobility impacted heavily on access to education. Teachers were subjected to threats, harassment and, on occasion, assassinations. Schools were often recruiting grounds for militias, and school authority and power was undermined. These disruptions led to large gaps in curricula and to exam cancellations, particularly in public high schools (Assal and Farrel 1992; BouJaoude and Ghaith 2006). The collapse of the public education system lead to a further exodus towards private confessional schools and increased educational segregation. The

2006 July War destroyed schools and internally displaced teachers and students, mainly in the South of Lebanon and southern suburbs of Beirut. Nearly 50 schools were completely destroyed and about 300 were seriously damaged.

Education can play a crucial role in peacebuilding in all phases of conflict

As we shall demonstrate below, the three cases studies highlight the important role that education can play in contributing to peacebuilding in all of the different phases of conflict.[4]

During conflict

During war, organizations such as UNICEF are engaged in important attempts at providing schooling for those displaced by the conflicts and ensuring that emergency education provision is available that addresses both psychosocial and educational needs. Within this humanitarian intervention period, educational provision in all of the cases was not prioritized by the majority of international actors; nevertheless, there is evidence of important innovations and attempts to provide temporary respite for children, deal with the psychosocial and traumatic effects of conflicts, and ensure a protective environment within which children can develop coping strategies. Inside the countries, 'School in a Box' initiatives were prevalent in Sierra Leone, whereby temporary schools were set up, and were also used in Nepal and Lebanon. Outside the countries, UNHCR is providing schooling in the refugee camps that emerge along the borders of conflict, and UNRWA for Palestinian refugees inside Lebanon. RAPID-ED programmes in Sierra Leone sought both to provide children with temporary respite from the war and to address aspects of the trauma that they were experiencing. The intensity of the conflict in Sierra Leone meant some areas were harder to reach than others, and it was recognized that these types of interventions reached only a fraction of the target population. This was also a result of the fact that many agencies saw educational interventions as a secondary priority to other humanitarian concerns of the time. Schools as Zones of Peace (SZOP) was an initiative developed in Nepal. SZOP was an agreement by both sides in the conflict to avoid using schools as military targets and recruiting grounds. The parties in conflict formally agreed to avoid locating their activities in schools and SZOP brought about a reduced level of violence, enabling schools to remain open. SZOP seemed to work in Nepal because the conditions were favourable, and in particular because the parties to conflict were deeply concerned about international recognition. While it might be an important initiative to implement in other conflict zones, local dynamics will determine success. During conflict, the evidence suggests that educational interventions are focused on protection for both children and schools, and on attempts to use education as a mechanism to address both the psychosocial trauma experienced by children and to provide a sense of stability in the midst of turbulent times. These interventions can be understood as playing a potentially important role in building the foundations for future peacebuilding, both in protecting education systems that can provide a point of continuation between conflict and peace and enhancing the potential that children can recover from the trauma of conflict, promoting social cohesion and reconciliation.

In the immediate post-war period

In the immediate aftermath of conflict, there is a well rehearsed set of education programmes that deal with the reintegration of ex-combatants, accelerated learning

[4] While for clarity we present these conflict phases as linear, we recognize that they are by no means necessarily chronological. A resumption of conflict can interrupt post-conflict peace and, within a national territory, pre-conflict peace; conflict and post-conflict situations might be occurring simultaneously in different parts of the country.

programmes for students that have missed out on education, school reconstruction and refurbishment, psychosocial support and peace education initiatives. While there are clearly coordination and technical issues that can be improved, and scaling-up coverage was clearly an issue in both Sierra Leone and Lebanon, the programmes appear to be well thought through and appropriate to the needs of the population groups. In all cases, but particularly in Sierra Leone, there was a massive surge of interest and appreciation of the importance of education in the immediate post-war period, and government and international agencies struggled to cope with the upsurge in demand. In Lebanon, after 2006, there was not necessarily an upsurge in demand, but schooling was highly valued and it was a priority to coordinate psychosocial support for teachers and students, rebuild/refurbish schools (which were used as shelters), and bring everybody back to school as soon as possible.

The Complementary Rapid Education for Primary Schools (CREPS) programme in Sierra Leone was an important educational intervention with a programme rationale that providing an accelerated learning programme for children who missed out on their education during the war would help children move on in their lives and improve their situation. It also had a psychosocial and trauma component and developed on the earlier Rapid-Ed interventions. CREPS was also linked to the DDR process, but coverage went well beyond child soldiers. The programme was well funded and well organized. It was eventually ended in 2010, after an evaluation suggested that it had served its original purpose, but that it was in danger of creating a parallel system to compete with the normal primary cycle. Timing, it was suggested, was crucial here.

The Demobilization Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) process represents a key component of the UN and international response in the post-conflict phase, and vocational training for ex-combatants is key to reintegration. It is clear that in the skills training component, great care should be taken to think through the market openings of skills and to think creatively about training. Similarly, there were serious questions about both the quality and the length of training necessary for graduates to emerge successfully. Failure of this component could cause aspirations to turn to anger, with important security ramifications. However, this is not just a technical problem; it was also a political-economic one of whether general conditions facilitated and assisted in self-employment opportunities, and the evidence for this remains patchy. Similarly, within the educational component there are opportunities to engage with issues of psychosocial trauma and anxiety related to reintegration processes. In Nepal, the strong bonds between child and youth soldiers and their leaders was an important issue, which appeared to hamper reintegration into civilian life.

Both the CREPS and vocational training programmes play a potentially crucial role in reintegrating both ex-combatants and returnees, thus potentially enhancing social cohesion and sustainable peacebuilding. This could be understood both as a peace dividend and as building the legitimacy of the state, but also, if well planned and developed, potentially transformative for those involved. There are, however, important issues regarding skill development, length of training and course design, which need to be carefully developed based on solid analysis of the local context.

School building and reconstruction programmes are common in post-conflict environments where schools were destroyed. Sierra Leone was particularly badly affected, as was the south of Lebanon after the 2006 war. These initiatives are vital in getting the education system functioning again in the post-war environment. In terms of the programme rationale,

the reconstruction of schools can represent a clear sign to the population of state presence and, therefore, build legitimacy. It can also be seen as a 'peace dividend', as evidence that peace can bring benefits. There is a general recognition of the success and importance of these initiatives and, equally, admissions of some of the weaknesses, linked, for example, in Sierra Leone to poor workmanship in the construction of buildings, corruption within the system, and lack of planning and foresight in terms of, for example, the duplication of short courses for teacher training and a lack of planning for the future integration of teachers into the state education system. However, it is important to remember that it is not only the state that can engage in school reconstruction, and the case of Lebanon demonstrates how private provision of schooling, which emerged as a substitute for the collapse of the public system, can lead to a strengthening of schooling based along sectarian lines. The challenge for the state in Lebanon in the post-conflict phase was to regain state authority over the education system through regulation of both private and public systems, curricular reform and the promotion of social cohesion.

In Lebanon, a non-formal education programme known as Education for Peace straddled both the conflict and immediate post-conflict phase of the civil war. Bringing together different segments of the community, it provided a space for reconciliation and envisioning an alternative future. During research interviews, it was widely cited as the most 'successful' programme of its kind, and it gave root to multiple other programmes and efforts that have been modelled on it, developing a generation of peace education activists that would later become leaders of NGOs and institutions. Here, we see how a relatively small initiative can lay the foundations for future education and peacebuilding processes, although the scale was clearly inadequate for the challenges that the society faced.

This immediate post-conflict period clearly then provides education with a number of important entry points and challenges: the resumption of education as a key public service, which signals the return and legitimacy of the state; represents a peace dividend for recipient populations; and can provide a welcome indicator of a return to normalcy. As a key institution and process for socialization, education during this period can also, when well developed, provide a vehicle for post-war reconciliation, social cohesion and national unity.

In the medium term post-conflict period

In the medium term post-conflict period (5–15 years after cessation of hostilities) education programming as international development processes and education programming as peacebuilding become more blurred. In Sierra Leone, in response to the success of the expansion of the education system, particularly basic education, there was shift of emphasis towards working on issues related to the quality of education, sparked by recognition that educational achievement was weak. UNICEF has been involved in important interventions in training the large amount of untrained teachers working in the most marginalized areas of the country through Distance Education Programmes. Similarly, they are engaged in important work in curriculum reform, introducing human rights and citizenship education through the implementation of a section within the curriculum on 'Emerging Issues' and strengthening civil-society participation in school governance.

In both Sierra Leone and Lebanon, the talk is of a shift from hardware to software, and also a shifting emphasis on upstream work addressing the lack of capacity within Ministries of Education. During this period, one gets the sense from the different interviewees that educational strategy is much less about reconstruction and concerns with the legacies of the

war, and much more to do with broader discourses related to the general relationship between education and international development, and particularly for UNICEF issues of equity. The policy of system strengthening reflects a broader statebuilding agenda that seeks to better coordinate international education interventions in line with national priorities developed around poverty reduction strategy papers, and also in line with the Paris Declaration. Should agencies revert to standard 'development' practice or should there be a medium-term conflict approach to education systems in conflict-affected states? In view of the current concern with durable peace and peacebuilding and the dangers that countries might revert to conflict, it may be advisable to develop education programmes in post-conflict environments that actively address the particular drivers of conflict and modify their programmes to a development plus drivers of conflict education approach. This would entail seeking to focus attention on specific contextually defined drivers such as inequalities (geographic, ethnic, political, gender) through educational programmes, as well as issues of relevance to social cohesion within broader society and more transformational processes. This might modify substantially programming priorities for the delivery of education services and also advocacy objectives of lobbying national governments in post-conflict contexts. Crucially, this would also depend on good political economy and conflict analysis to inform education programming.

Some lessons learned

Important in all of the case studies and across different conflict phases, peacebuilding in the education sector includes service delivery, governance and interventions aimed at transformation within the broader society (e.g., economic, societal relationships and social cohesion). Educational interventions related to peacebuilding appear to have different levels of focus: from broad structural interventions – that address the overall systemic problems of the education system – to more micro interventions that are underpinned by conjunctural and strategic concerns relating to security and stability – skills training related to DDR; psychosocial interventions and interpersonal and inter-communal reconciliation. Timing is clearly important in these issues – both in terms of when to start and when to end initiatives, and the interrelationship between different interventions. Our evidence suggests that education should be addressed early to prevent conflict, be engaged during the conflict and play a central role in the post-conflict period. Similarly, better coordination between different agencies is needed, in order to ensure maximum impact and effectiveness and prevent needless duplication of effort.

We need a better and shared language to talk about the interrelationship between education and peacebuilding that can delineate some of the issues raised above. Similarly, education is no doubt part of many other interventions absent from our coverage in this research – e.g., human rights training for the military and police, and capacity development of civil servants (beyond the education sector), which we often do not directly associate with education. Across the cases and conflict periods, care needs to be taken to provide a balance between short-term interventions and longer term – and ultimately transformational – objectives, including commitments to the broad Education for All objectives and the MDGs. Crucially, the quality of the use of resources is equally as important as the increased quantity of resources directed to conflict-affected states.

In reviewing the variety of education programming, there is clear evidence of the need for more linked-up thinking and planning for education and peacebuilding interventions. It is also necessary to think of how short-term and conjunctural interventions might better link up to

later peacebuilding strategies. One example of this is the training of teachers. Teacher training was one key example whereby we can see multiple agencies, training numerous teachers on a variety of short courses, but often lacking a long-term perspective. More thinking needs to done regarding the strategic planning of interventions, coordination between agencies and national government, and the long-term development of the education sector.

UNICEF is well placed to lead a coherent peacebuilding agenda

In all of the case studies, it was found that UNICEF is well placed, among international agencies, to lead the process of incorporating a more focused approach to the role of education in peacebuilding. UNICEF has a great deal of credibility in all of the countries reviewed, not least because it has a presence in each country before, during and after conflict and crosses the divide between humanitarian and development agencies. Similarly, its experience of working with a wide range of civil-society organizations at local and national levels and, for long periods of time, gives it access to invaluable sources of information for informed peacebuilding and for partnership development. Its increased focus and engagement with national governments also allows it the potential to act as a powerful voice for the interests of civil society. Similarly, while UNICEF's actual financial contribution to the education sector varies widely across the cases, its reputation as the leading external agency working on education does not. In both Sierra Leone and Nepal, where there is clear coordination by donors in the education sector, UNICEF is the sector lead. This makes UNICEF well placed to influence national government policies as well as those of the international community and UN agencies. It is also seen by many informants in the different countries as an 'honest broker' with strong expertise in the design, management and delivery of high-quality education interventions. Emergent from the research is recognition that one of its major strengths is its 'local staff', who carry the institution's 'historical memory' and have a depth of local knowledge that will be invaluable for the development of a coherent peacebuilding strategy for UNICEF in education. Despite these demonstrated and well recognized strengths in the sector, UNICEF faces enormous challenges if it is serious about adopting a peacebuilding approach to education.

KEY FINDINGS

1. **Conceptual issues**
   - The concept of peacebuilding is not well defined, but the key issue is whether UNICEF accepts a definition where the distinctive characteristic is an attempt to go beyond humanitarian assistance or simple service provision. Definitions informed by peacebuilding theory place an emphasis on transformations within conflict-affected societies. Supporting social transformation is not a neutral activity and is likely to be perceived as more political and interventionist (although the form of intervention can be support for local peacebuilding initiatives, rather than external intervention). However, the common starting point should be a deep analysis of the context in which the conflict is taking place that includes sensitivity to political economy dynamics that goes beyond a technical understanding of the education system.
   - Conflict-affected or post-conflict? The study was framed in terms of peacebuilding in 'post-conflict' contexts. This is consistent with the UN definition of peacebuilding that concentrates on the immediate period following a ceasefire or peace agreement, but

is problematic because it refers to a very narrow period of time (2–3 years). It is also problematic because of the conceptual difficulties in defining when a situation is post-conflict, whether it makes any sense to talk about 'phases' of conflict and how the dynamics of conflict vary between different localities. This raises a fundamental question about whether UNICEF wishes to define and limit its programming commitment to countries that are identified as 'conflict-affected' or 'post-conflict'.

2. Integration with the UN peacebuilding agenda

- The study suggests that UNICEF has not been strongly integrated into the UN peacebuilding agenda within countries. Some of the reasons for this include a UN priority with security and political reforms in the immediate post-conflict period; a lack of appreciation of the role of education in the immediate post-conflict period; and reservations on the part of UNICEF country staff of becoming too closely identified with a military presence, a desire to maintain some institutional autonomy, and the ability of UNICEF to access resources independently.
- However, UNICEF is a member of the UN family of institutions and the case studies suggest that there is still an argument to be made within the PBF and other UN organizations about the importance of education in post-conflict peacebuilding. Research by McCandless (2011) identifies three broad theories of change underlying education's contribution to peacebuilding (delivery of peace dividends; strengthening sector governance; and providing entry points to deliver peacebuilding results).
- In addition, many field staff are not aware of UN planning processes and assessment tools and how this might affect and inform education programming.

3. Implications for UNICEF (mandate, positioning)

- Consistent with its mandate, UNICEF has comparative advantages to take a lead on peacebuilding (internationally respected for work with children; extensive field presence before, during and after conflict; significant experience of working with ministries of education; and access to high-level UN committees and global networks such as INEE and the education clusters).
- However, for UNICEF to make an explicit commitment to peacebuilding it also needs to consider the implications of how this may affect the way it is perceived, e.g., will its programming become perceived as more political or interventionist?
- UNICEF needs to consider how a commitment to peacebuilding relates to other UNICEF priorities such as equity and gender – there would seem to be coherent links between these concepts and peacebuilding but they will need to be articulated more explicitly.

4. Implications for UNICEF education programming in conflict-affected countries

- At the global level, UNICEF needs to engage with a small number of key partners (such as those involved in the education clusters, or those with specialized peacebuilding expertise) to seek a coordinated approach in countries where the contribution of education to peacebuilding is prioritized (this is consistent with the DAC principles).
- Working with governments – conflict assessments are likely to raise challenges for the extent and style of working with national governments (this could range from close alignment with government, which is consistent with DAC principles, to challenging government or working for transformations that government does not support).

- Working with other partners – identifying partners that share transformation goals may create tensions with partners that do not share the same goals as the broader UN peacebuilding agenda or may mean working with partners who are unacceptable to government. It also raises questions about the extent to which UNICEF leads or supports implementation by local partners to ensure ownership is local and sustainable, even if this takes longer.
- Education programming to support peacebuilding needs to be based on country-specific conflict assessment. There is a need for a peacebuilding/conflict analysis lens to inform policy, and a necessity to move from generic 'global' solutions to localized adaptations that fit issues such as drivers of conflict in different locales.
- There is a need for a much more systemic and systematic engagement with conflict and political economy analysis to inform policy and programming suited to the education sector. A need to develop strategies to build on local staff's 'tacit' knowledge to link with country-wide strategic approaches, and to develop alignment while maintaining emphasis on the particularities of the education sector.
- Timing and sequencing – there is a difference of opinion between GMR and WDR about when to prioritize education. It is important to be clear about what education can and cannot do in different conflict phases. More care should be taken to consider the likely impact of education programming on longer-term peacebuilding. Also, there are implications for the duration of programming commitment since transformation processes take place over much longer timescales and different timescales may be necessary within different regions of the same country.
- There is a need to make education programming more relevant to post-conflict transformations (it is more than just service provision – and needs to include education sector reforms as well as addressing political, security and economic challenges).
- A gender-sensitive approach to peacebuilding needs to be incorporated into the organization's culture: peacebuilding requires a more nuanced understanding of the way gender affects and is affected by armed conflict with differential impacts on young men and women and children.

5. Implications for capacity development

- Develop a comprehensive capacity-building strategy for peacebuilding. In order to be able to influence the UN peacebuilding agenda, agencies involved in the education sector in conflict-affected countries need to develop a peacebuilding lens at all stages of policy and programming and be able to articulate a coherent vision of the role of education in peacebuilding. This will require capacity-building interventions across agencies from headquarters (HQ) level to field offices.
- Develop strategic peacebuilding tools to inform policy and programming.
- Develop procedures/processes (a tool) for conflict analysis on the micro level (based on macro analysis of the UN).
- Develop clear guidelines and capacity development to address how the broader UNICEF equity approach engages/relates to the peacebuilding approach.
- Develop strategy and coherence for education policies at different stages of intervention in peacebuilding processes that transcend the humanitarian/development divide. Capacity-building interventions such as teacher training take place across all phases. There is a need to ensure that capacity is not lost, but built upon through coherent planning and strategy.

6. **Implication for monitoring and evaluation**
   - Important to be clear about the distinction between programming that is part of humanitarian response, provision of education this is conflict sensitive, and that aimed at peacebuilding. Each of these approaches will have different goals and so the information required to monitor them and the indicators used will be different. It will therefore be important to develop indicators that are particular to peacebuilding outcomes.
   - McCandless (2011) suggests that "peacebuilding outcomes manifest differently in different contexts, yet tend to fall into one or more of three areas:
     - Resilience and social cohesion strengthened
     - State accountability, legitimacy and capacity advanced, state-society relations improved
     - Conflict drivers mediated and/or lay the conditions for peace to sustain."

     These provide a useful framework to think about indicators for outcomes related to education programming that supports peacebuilding.
   - Improve evaluation procedures. High-quality evaluation of programmes for the purpose of learning and upscaling (independent, longer term, more sophisticated methods) rooted in an understanding of programme theory need to be developed.

7. **Research and knowledge generation**
   - While it is important to address monitoring and evaluation for reasons of impact and accountability, there is also a distinctive role for research that generates new knowledge and insight into education programming in conflict-affected countries, and how it relates to longer-term peacebuilding. In this respect, the distinction between evaluation and research is extremely important. Research can address a range of questions, such as the depth of understanding and analysis on which interventions are based; how these are implemented by various agencies and perceived by various local interests; and, most importantly, why certain initiatives are perceived to be more successful than others. This suggests that such research needs to be 'independent' (from donors, implementing agencies and beneficiaries); 'critical' (in that it problematizes the challenges and questions assumptions); and 'formative' (in that it is initiated at the outset, rather than after the event, and provides regular feedback on findings and insights so that programming may be changed and adapted in a developmental way).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UNICEF

The following are a number of specific recommendations for UNICEF arising from the study:

- **UNICEF leadership** should develop a policy paper on UNICEF's commitment to peacebuilding. It should clarify how UNICEF interprets the concept of peacebuilding (and whether the commitment is only to 'post-conflict'); the rationales for education making a contribution to peacebuilding; how a renewed commitment to peacebuilding relates to other UNICEF priorities such as equity and gender; and a statement about the implications of peacebuilding for capacity development and approaches to programming in conflict-affected countries.
- **Identify areas of common agreement with global partners** about the contribution of education to peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries. This should include a commitment to undertake and share conflict assessments and participate in jointly

funded programmes, as well as make agreements about complementary strengths of different global partners.

- **Consultation with country offices.** There should be a consultation process between HQ and country offices about the implications of the policy paper as it is drafted so that experiences and concerns from field offices can be included and awareness raised about a renewed commitment to peacebuilding.
- **Integrated UN presence.** There should be a short (3 month) study to gather information from UN country offices about the extent to which UNICEF is currently integrated within the UN peacebuilding presence in conflict-affected countries; and how this operates in practice, obstacles and improvements. This could then be used to raise awareness of the role of education in peacebuilding with the PBO and other UN agencies.
- **Capacity development and training.** There should be an assessment of capacity for conflict analysis and support for peacebuilding within HQ and field offices. This would assess what expertise currently exists to undertake conflict assessments at country level from an education perspective; and what organizations, people and resources exist with conflict and peacebuilding expertise at country level. The assessment should identify and cost a programme of professional development and training that is required within the organization and at country level to support a commitment to peacebuilding. One outcome could be the establishment of online learning resources on peacebuilding that can be accessed by staff (this could be a short course on peacebuilding that could be certificated similar to the current security training).
- **Pilot studies in three countries.** There needs to be 2–3 preparatory country case studies to test the feasibility of a shift towards education programming that has a more explicit peacebuilding rationale. These should be countries that are considered a priority in terms of current conflict assessment . Each pilot study would engage with the country office in a sustained way to develop a conflict analysis from an education perspective; identify potential programming in response to the analysis (or existing partner programmes that could be strengthened to increase ownership); and develop a set of criteria to monitor results specifically related to peacebuilding goals.
- **Introduce an education and peacebuilding programme in a limited number of countries.** Findings from the pilot studies should inform the roll-out of a more extensive UNICEF education and peacebuilding programme, but limited to a manageable number of countries that opt to participate and meet a set of criteria that have been identified for participation in the programme.
- **Greater emphasis on knowledge management and institutional learning.** In all of the above much greater attention should be given to knowledge management, learning and dissemination of peacebuilding experience (including sharing of experience between countries that opt into the programme), and particularly how programming can support longer-term conflict transformation processes within societies, rather than unsustainable, external interventions. A realistic proportion of the programme budget should be devoted to this aspect.

CONCLUSION

As the field studies demonstrate, access to a quality education is regarded as a right that should be maintained even in the most difficult circumstances. In the midst of conflict, it can provide knowledge and skills that provide protection and, in the longer term, values and attitudes that provide a basis for transforming conflict itself. Education is deeply implicated in processes of socialization and identity formation, is vital for economic growth and individual and national advancement, and can act as an important vehicle for social cohesion and reconciliation. On the other hand, education can also undermine all these processes and therefore we need to ensure that it is delivered effectively and equitably and is a driver of peace rather than war. Crucially, education is not a marginal player in peacebuilding, but a core component of building sustainable peace. Peacebuilding is essentially about supporting the transformative process any post-conflict society needs to go through and these change processes unfold over generations. In the short to medium term, external peacebuilding support is aimed at assisting the society to develop the resilience needed to prevent a lapse into violent conflict, and in the medium to longer term the emphasis shifts to developing the resilience needed for self-sustainable peace.

Developments through the education sector represent a very important part of this transformative process, with huge potential to impact positively or negatively on the process. This study suggests there is an opportunity to move away from post-hoc rationalizations of the way education contributes to peacebuilding, towards strategic planning for a far more transformative role for education in peacebuilding processes. The challenge is to move away 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. The education sector is potentially a very important sector for supporting the transformative process in post-conflict societies. The study suggests that the focus should be on supporting transformation through reform of the education sector and paying attention to the values and content communicated through the education system. Such interventions need to be mindful of the dynamics of social transformation, especially the need for these processes to evolve during several generations, in order for them to become part of a self-organized and sustainable future. The more intrusive and externally driven, the less self-organized and sustainable will be the outcome, and it is also necessary to recognize the potential for us to do harm, despite our best intentions. The support offered thus has to be informed, sensitive and patient, and recognize that the primary agency for managing the transformative process rests with the conflict-affected society itself.

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United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
3 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017, USA

www.unicef.org/education/
www.unicef.org/evaluation/
www.educationandtransition.org

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