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## Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CRC	Convention on the Rights of Children
ECRI	European Commission on Racism and Intolerance
EFA	Education For All
GTZ	Germany Technical Co-operation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDP	Internal Displaced Persons
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
IRC	International Rescue Committee
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid
NORAD	Norwegian Agency For Development
STM	Stortings Meldingen
TEP	Teacher Emergency package
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UD	Utenriksdepartementet
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNEVOC	United Nations Technical and Vocational Education
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNISPAL	United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organisation

# 1. Setting the scene

## 1.1. Introduction

Formal education is considered a motorway to a person's lifetime economic prospects as well as to making the most of one's talent and interests. It is a good; the more of it the better (Connell 1993). While the substantive contents of what was taught did receive critical comments from, critical pedagogues and feminists (jfr. Freire 1970, Giroux 1983, Harding 1991, Giroux and McLaren 1996), the over-riding concern has been on access and returns to education. The implicit argument presented in this thesis is that, since the Renaissance the function of knowledge in society has changed. Gradually, but with increasing rapidity, knowledge has become systematised and based upon scholarship and research. The functioning of society has itself come to depend more and more upon a highly abstract and complex body of knowledge, predominantly technical and scientific, which has to be transmitted in a formal manner. Of course, we learn a lot more informally within the confinement of our homes and beyond. But an immense amount – and it is a growing amount – of what we learn is derived from a formal learning process in institutions designed to instruct all young people from the age of six to sixteen and well beyond (Viazey 1975).

Education also plays a considerably immense social and political role. “In a globalised geopolitical order, in which knowledge; particularly credentialised knowledge, plays an increasingly powerful role in determining the pattern of occupational opportunities,” argued Lynch and Lodge, “education is a central player in the distribution of privilege” (Lynch and Lodge 2002: 1). This, applied to whole societies, is a relatively new phenomenon. It is associated with the last century or so, and has so far been realised only to a large extent in the developed countries. Violent conflicts interrupts this process and presents the greatest challenges in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially in relation to halving poverty, universal primary education and gender equality by 2015 (World Bank 2003). These are basic factors to economic development, since it produces both the technology and trained workers who operate the economy. This was characteristically true of the 1990s, when complex humanitarian emergencies began to seem commonplace. By 2000, conflicts in Africa, Asia and Europe had effectively send waves of refugees across borders displacing many more internally. Most of the countries at the centre of these complex humanitarian emergencies, for example, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Uganda themselves, suffer massive internal population displacements. The effects on education can easily be guessed.

## 1.2. International convention on the right to education

It was agreed at the Dakar education forum in 2000, that countries lagging behind commitment to achieving universal primary school enrolment by 2015 due to lack of resources should be helped. Yet, statistics show that, 115 million children worldwide are not enrolled in primary school. Half of these live in countries in or recovering from conflict and about two-thirds of them are girls (UNESCO 2002). And even if some children do attend school, most eventually drop out before completing the primary cycle. Schooling is often of very poor quality due to chronic lack of equipment, teaching materials and trained teachers. The cognitive achievements of large numbers of children thus remain well below average, bringing serious opportunity costs to themselves and the respective societies. Despite the many obstacles, progress is being made. Overall, the net enrolment ratio (NER), indicating primary school enrolment rose over the decade (1990-2000). At the world level, the NER rose from 81.7 percent in 1990 to 84 percent in 2001. The increase, however, is far from enough. Under those rates, it is estimated that the NER will gradually rise to 87 percent by 2015 (UNESCO 2002). This will still mean millions of out of school children. Displaced and refugee children are expected to constitute a substantial proportion of those millions.

The right to education is an absolute right of all children, in all countries and in all situations, and should be protected regardless of circumstances. According to the CRC (Convention on the Rights of Children), the right to education must be achieved on the basis of equal opportunity, reflecting the fact that there should be no discrimination in access to education (OHCHR 1989). Education has to reach out to those who have been traditionally unreached: girls, street children, children affected by armed conflicts, children affected by HIV/AIDS, children with disabilities, and rural children. It is to be understood that they are on the margin of mainstream society. Affirmative policy relative to their situation will need to be legislated.

Article 28 of the CRC, declares education as an inalienable right that also assist in the acquisition of other rights. It provides for a free and compulsory primary education for all, and different forms of secondary and vocational education, “available and accessible” to all. But the right to education is one that transcends access alone and includes quality (WCEFA 1990). Article 29 of the CRC reflects an international consensus about the fundamental purposes of education. This includes a holistic approach with focus on cognitive growth, personal and physical development, as well as preparing children for a responsible adulthood

in a free society. These articles are an illustration that illiteracy is man made and it can be undone by a collective will of all. Overcoming this hurdle is not an act of charity on the illiterate. It is an act of justice.

### **1.3. Defining the theme of the thesis**

Although education is understood in our world as a highway out of poverty; a function it commendably serves for some, access to that highway remains elusive for a large number of children. In this thesis, the plight of those children and in particular, those unable to join that highway because of an emergent situation will be a subject of concern. Gudmund Hernes described emergencies as “a condition which arises suddenly, and the capacity to cope is suddenly and unexpectedly overwhelmed by events” (Hernes 2002: 2), therefore calling for prompt action. In this thesis, education in emergencies will be understood to cover education for refugees and displaced children in emergencies occasioned by violent conflict or political instability.

Refugee and displaced children have a right to education. The Machel (1996) report notes that denying education to refugee children contravenes article 22 of the 1951 Geneva Convention which states that refugee children should receive the same treatment as is accorded to national with respect to elementary education. But conflicts and political instabilities greatly impede the exercise of that right. Using the Uppsala dataset (Eriksson and Wallensteen 2004) on armed conflicts, it is easy to note that most countries involved in violent conflicts since 1990 are also rated low on the human development index. In this context, it is important to note that conflict is both a barrier to accessing education and a consequence of lack of access to, and insufficient education. The discussions in this thesis will revolve around three central questions:

1. What is the impact of conflict on access and provision of education?
2. How can education policies, programmes, content and funding be organised in emergencies.
3. What is the relevance of peace education in situation of emergency?



Provision or non provision of education will be discussed from a very broad perspective. Attention will be directed to the institutional and structural barriers that impede the provision of education. The Approach is holistic. There will be no exclusive focus on any particular aspect of education or conflict but rather an inclusive view. It will emphasis on of how the process of schooling can change the socio-economic and cultural settings, that fuel most conflicts and serve to mitigate the effects of violent conflicts on children.

#### **1.4. Outline of the paper**

Part one sets the theoretical framework for the analysis of succeeding chapters. It opens with a parked historical background of how the concept and functions of education evolved through the centuries. Thereafter it proceeds to define education and conflict. I shall make use of the theories of Bronfenbrenner, Dewey and Durkheim. Part one, like all the parts thereafter will conclude with a preliminary summary. Part two will examine the right to education. It will examine conventions on child labour and rights with reference to education, violence on education and violence by education. Girls' education is a theme that is always discussed whenever the mathematics of enrolment is up for computation. It is not left out here either. The importance and barriers to educating the girl child will be discussed with reference to emergency and tradition.

In part three, the focus will shift to the structure and organisation of education. It is the contention of this section that conventional organisation of education with structured administration, graded class and curricula, monitoring, funding, etc are peacetime luxuries not affordable in situation of emergencies. Part four is devoted to the content of education. Psychosocial counselling, integrating ex-combatants in civil society, and vocational training are all considered an integral part of emergency education. These issues will be examined in relation to their contribution and relevance to the welfare of children during and after conflict.

The role of peace of education is the subject of part five. The section will evaluate the role of schooling on conflict prevention and identify current trends in conflict prevention practices. The paper closes with concluding remarks by offering insights into how inequality and injustices can be readdressed through the provision of formal education.

## 2. Conceptual framework

### 2.1. Historical conception of education

The Parisian mob that stormed the Bastille in 1789 had three slogans engrained in their minds: liberty, equality and fraternity. These slogans would later symbolise a universal process of reform that aspired to liberate all of human race from bondage and slavery into a common condition of freedom and equality. Yet, from a historical perspective, Bastille was nothing new. A critical view of how society can organise itself, goes way back to Plato's dialogue (Sayers 1999), in which his notion of the telos or goal of human society resided in the striving of infinite perfection. Plato attached high importance to education because he was convinced that a good life and a just society required the special training and encouragement of the rational parts of human nature so they would dominate and control its instinctive and emotional aspects. For him, the root of evil would be an education that allowed instinct and emotion to dominate over reason. In Aristotle's politics (Miller 1997), attention was devoted to analysing the nature of a just society that was a central theme in the dialogue of Plato.

The Judea-Christian theory of education, while stressing rationality less than Plato did, discloses a similar distrust of human nature and of its instinctive emotions. Although the thinkers of the enlightenment broke with sectarian religion and the idea of original sin, most of them did not break with the moulding and civilising principles of education that had animated societies through history. Social theory in the work of Hegel (Stern 1993) and Rousseau (1957), the positivist and scientific sociology in Comte (2001) were all, but attempts to create a just society. But it was with Marx (Bottomore 1963) that, the basis for a truly critical theory of society was established. His conception of class struggle, for example, was an indication of how issues of social justice had been mismanaged.

The quest for social justice and democratisation and the role of formal education in this process became a preoccupation of renowned critical pedagogues such as Friere (1970), Goodlad (2004) and Giroux (1983) among others. The subject of concern was the role of schools. Common questions included: What knowledge should be taught, and just as important, what is not to be taught? How does the structure of schools contribute to the social stratification of our society? What is the relationship between knowledge and power? Is the purpose of schooling to ensure democracy or to support big business? These and many more questions were not a product of historical accidents, but rather a culmination of a process. By

the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the reform movement had expanded to include human, political, religious and social rights. Included in the social rights, was the compulsory provision of basic education. This would later be crowned by a United Nations (UN) Charter of 1948, commonly known as the Universal Declaration on Human rights (UN 1948: Article 26). Other subsequent conventions on the right to education are derived from this declaration.

## 2.2. What is education?

Like Conflict, education is also an ancient concept. The word has often been broadly defined and looked upon as an instrumental variable in hands of states and individuals to maintain or change the status quo. It assumed different functions in different historical settings. In the middle ages, for example, education was above all Christian; in the Renaissance, it assumed a more lay and literary character. But one aspect of this though remains unchanged: *It was defined and can still be defined as a social process by means of which communities, societies and nations transmit across generations their knowledge, skills, cultures and traditions that are valuable for the purpose of stability and survival.*

This concept is central to understanding Durkheim's theory of education. In 'Suicide', he wrote that education is "only the image and reflection of society. It imitates and reproduces the latter in abbreviated forms: it does not create it" (Durkheim 1951: 373). He further argued that:

Each society, considered at a given stage of development, has a system of education which exercises an irresistible influence on individuals. It is idle to think that we can rear our children as we wish. There are customs to which we are bound to conform; if we flout them too severely, they take their vengeance on our children (Durkheim 1956: 65).

Education for the reproduction of the society and to some extent improvement of what had been reproduced has always predominated. When, for example, the concept of the development of the individual as an intelligent, reasonable human being, was adopted as an aim, it is recognised that there must also be a consensus on the definition and understanding of those aims. These two factors of tradition (reproduction) and change (improvement) have determined the varying forms of both education and the society which it serves. In our own time, the concept of education is gradually being broadened to include the development of a world citizenry. This makes educational change both an important reflection of underlying

structural change and an active agent of that change. Education and society can best be described as interdependent; it is society which sets the goals which education follows. The society itself must be understood if its goals are to be fully appreciated (jfr. Tyler 1947, Ociti 1973). The history of education is thus an aspect of the history of society and the structures upon which its foundation rests.

Since education is a social process, it cannot be autonomous. It manifests and expresses the ideas, ideals and aspirations of the groups that it serves. It is therefore logical to conclude that, any educational enterprise can not be elaborated in the abstract; independent of time and place. Certain common elements have always to be taken into consideration. The ultimate character of that enterprise is determined by those particular environmental, cultural, political, social and economic forces which make up the life of organised society. Of the common elements, the most important being, the fact that, we are a biological animal, educable and adjust ourselves to the environmental influences around us.

### **2.3. Ecological model of Bronfenbrenner**

Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecology emphasises the influence of the environment, or context, on child development. All development occurs in contexts, and can therefore only be properly understood in context (jfr. Mead 1931, Rogoff 2003, Goncu 2003). Bronfenbrenner contributed significantly to the field of psychology by drawing attention to the importance of contexts. His model separates out aspects of the environment according to the immediacy with which they impact on the developing child. There is the Microsystem, which is the individual child within the settings which immediately impact on the child (family, peers, etc.). The Mesosystem describes how the various settings within which an individual actively participates interact. The Exosystem is the extended family, the parent's workplace, etc, which impacts on the child indirectly. Finally, the Macrosystem constitutes the broad ideology, settings within a society or culture. It represents the constituencies evident in all the other setting within a society or culture. Or, to put it another way, it sets the tone for everything else that happens within a particular society. This is how he defined the ecology of human development.

The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between active, growing human being and the changing properties of the

immediate settings in which the development person lives, as this process is affected by relations between these settings and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded (Bronfenbrenner 1979: 21).

This definition has important implications. First, the developing person is portrayed as actively engaged, influenced and seen also to influence the environment. The environment of interest is not a single, immediate setting, but incorporates several settings, and larger setting, which have more or less direct influences, and interconnections between these settings. Taken more broadly, the definition provides for a model that can be used as a tool for describing human development with consideration for the role environment plays in the process.

#### **2.4. Social cohesion model of Durkheim**

To most readers, Emile Durkheim stands out as the most outstanding sociologist of all times. Was he? Durkheim was a trained educator who saw in education an indubitable tool that could be deployed in maintaining social cohesion and stability. This is the only way to explain why his sociology was basically concerned with effects of change during the transition from traditional to modern societies. Durkheim's analysis of the differences between mechanical and organic solidarity in the *Division of Labour* (1984), and his concept of anomie in *Suicide* (1951) examined the need for societies to create rituals and institutions to provide for social cohesion and meaning. He was worried that, since modern societies did not inherit the values and rituals that bounded together traditional societies of the past, it could become unstable.

Durkheim's sociology has been associated with a general functionalist theory in sociology. This theory view the social system as a complex machine that is dependent on her numerous components for efficiency and sustainability. It is principally concerned with social cohesion through consensus and agreement. "To study the function of a social practice or institution is to analyse the contribution which that practice or institution makes to the continuation of the society as a whole" (Giddens 1993: 711). Although functionalists understand that change is inevitable, the social process leading to the change is of concern. Their main worry is whether such a change will keep harmony and preserve society from disintegration. The role of education is precisely to provide a mechanism to help socialise different groupings so as to ensure stability.

Functional theory has been criticised for preoccupying itself so much with factors leading to social cohesion at the expense of those producing divisions and conflicts. A view that social order often reflects the overall interests of society, rather than the interests of dominant groups in society has also been criticised (jfr. Hurn 1993, Bottomore 1963, Freire 1970). Consequently, Durkheim's analysis of the rituals that hold groups together fails to analyse sufficiently how the very rituals that hold groups together often form the basis for conflicts between groups. Thus, in modern societies marked by Marxian class division, the rituals that hold groups together are used to dominate and alienate less powerful groups. From this perspective, the role of education can degenerate into maintaining the dominant order, rather than to provide a truly democratic social order.

## **2.5. Transformational model of Dewey**

Contemporary concerns with the role of schools in solving problems related to the tensions between individuals and community have historical roots in Dewey's early writings on education in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. But long before Dewey, Jefferson had conceived of a common grade-school education that would create a literate and independent citizenry. It would also be a place of equal opportunities where every talent would be given an equal chance to excel (Barrett 1967). Although born a country boy, Dewey had by 1894, become thoroughly enmeshed in the problems of urbanisation as a resident of Chicago. He was worried about the effects and misery of city poverty on a democratic society. His pedagogic practices were a response to that concern.

Dewey argued in "My pedagogic creed" (1887), "The school and society" (1900) and "The child and the curriculum" (1900) for a restructuring of schools along the lines of embryonic communities. He also advocated for the creation of a common curriculum which would cater for the child's interests and development. He asserted that a community was formed by the virtue of the things its members held in common: aims, beliefs, aspirations and knowledge. Such common understanding he wrote, "cannot be passed physically from one to another, like bricks" (Dewey 1997: 4). He reaffirmed the connections between such common learning and the goals of community and democracy as follows: Beings who are born not only unaware of but quite indifferent to the aims and habits of the social group have to be rendered cognizant of them and actively interested. Education and education alone, spans the gap (ibid: 3).

The most important function of formal education was no other than, to ensure as much as possible a commonly shared knowledge and culture of understanding that was a necessity in the preservation and consolidation of a democratic society. This vision was recognised by the Norwegian school reformers of the 1990s:

It is the tenet of popular enlightenment that shared frames of reference must be the common property of all the people – indeed must be an integral part of general education – to escape avoidable differences in competence that can result in social inequality and be abused (...) Education plays a leading role in passing on this common background information – the culture everybody must be familiar with if society is to remain democratic and its citizens sovereign (Hernes 1994: 26).

Dewey's progressive methodology rested upon the notion that children were active, organic beings, growing and changing and requiring a course of study, which would reflect their particular stage of development. He believed that the school should reflect the community and that democracy could be realised through education. While he was certainly concerned with the social dimensions of schooling, he also was acutely aware of the school's effects on the individual. Thus, his philosophy of education made a conscious attempt to balance the social role of the school with its effects on the social, intellectual and personal development.

## **2.6. What is conflict?**

The main objective of this section is to explore theories of conflict and search for a dominant paradigm that is embedded in all conflicts. Functionalists view society as an integrated whole, composed of integrated structures. The continuation of a society thus depends on cooperation, which in turn presumes a general consensus, or agreement, among its members over basic values (Giddens 1993). Little consensus or lack of it among members is the reason for most civil conflicts. A society which recognises that human beings have diverse values and concerns must find space for individuals or groups whose views deviates from those of the mainstream majority. This, however, is achievable only in situations where individual liberties are joined to social justice. It is common knowledge that, if freedom is not balanced with equity, and if some individuals or groups find their lives largely devoid of self fulfilment, deviant behaviour is likely to be channelled towards socially destructive ends.

Those who focus mainly on conflict have a very different opinion. Their guiding assumptions can easily be outlined using Marx's account of class conflict. According to Marx, societies are divided into classes with unequal resources. This in turn generates group interest as a dominant feature of the social system. At some point, group interests collide. The result is always an active struggle between classes. Not all influenced by this viewpoint concentrate on classes to the degree Marx did; other divisions are regarded as important in promoting conflict, for example, ethnicity or party politics.

Without dismissing the issues of social justice and class struggle, Waltz is rather more appealing. In "Man, the State and War," he discovered the roots of war in: the human behaviour, the structural dysfunctions of the states, and the rivalries among the states (Waltz 1959). This is typical of most countries where wars are fought along regional or ethnic divide. But more explicitly, it can be said that contradiction within us fuels explosions of violence. When passionate explosions of violence are systematised, rationalised and justified, the phenomenon of war appears. The enemy is thus perceived as the figure whose subjugation or elimination will appease the collective fury.

There are countless definitions of conflict. For the purpose of this thesis, conflict will be defined as, "*a situation engendered by antagonism between groups in a society.*" It occurs when groups' objective, interests, needs or values clash (Schelling 1960). This alone explains why violent conflict has something of a perverted religious ritual. Its function is to create collective catharsis. There is a large volume of literature written about the nature and theory of conflict, especially with regard to warfare. Of significance is, the classical and the behaviourist approach to conflict. The classical approach focuses on the macro level analysis. It is primarily concerned with analysing the interaction of groups. Ethnicity, race, language, religion and gender are among the most obvious. The behaviourist meanwhile, focuses on the micro level, the unit of measurement being the individual rather than the group (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff 1981).

## **2.7. Micro theories of conflict**

Among the most important assumptions of the behaviourist school are the beliefs that the root causes of war lie in human nature and human behaviour, and that an important relationship



exists between intrapersonal conflict and conflict that pervades the external social order. The behaviourist school believes in the centrality of the stimulus – response hypothesis. This school seeks to establish whether humans possess either biological or psychological characteristics that would predispose them toward aggression and conflict. They also seek to explore the relationship between the individual and its existence in its environment. Among the prevalent micro theories that I will review are: instinct or innate theory of aggression and social learning theory.

### **2.7.1. Innate theory of aggression**

Are human beings inherently violent and divisive? Early psychologists often postulated that there was an innate instinctual or biological mechanism which would predispose humans towards aggression. This led to the formulation of the instinct theories of aggression. This theory is built among others on biological determinism and social Darwinism (jfr. Brock-Utne 1989, Dickens 2000). But misuse of scientific theories and data to justify violence and war is not new. For example, the theory of evolution has been used to justify not only war, but also genocide, colonialism, and suppression of the weak.

In Seville, Spain 1986, a group of scientists met to explore the source of human aggression. The meeting concluded that, there was no scientific basis for considering human beings innately aggressive animals, inevitably committed to war on the basis of biological nature. Rather, they said, war is a result of socialisation and conditioning, a phenomenon of human organisation, planning, and information processing that plays on emotional motivational potentialities. This implies that we have real choices between going to war and refraining from doing so (Mack 1990).

The significance of the Seville conclusion gets to the core of one of the central debates in conflict theory research: are the roots of human conflict to be found within nature (genetic) or nurture (environment). The Seville scientists firmly concluded on the side of nurture. This was a remarkable finding to an issue that had baffled society for generations. However, as recent discoveries by geneticists illustrate (gene mapping for instance), the debate is far from over. Like most pioneering theories, the innate theory was deemed inconclusive leading to the development of social learning theory.

### **2.7.2. Social learning theory**

Social learning theory is based on the hypothesis that aggression is not innate or instinctual but actually learned through the process of socialisation (Kornadt 1991). This hypothesis is the contention of the Seville scientists. One acquires aggressive attributes by learning them at home, in school, and by interaction with the immediate environment. This is an important concept, particularly when the conflict is ethno-national or sectarian. Social learning theorists have tried to understand the relationship of the individual in their environment and how this relates to group aggression. Socialisation into a violent environment like, for example, the Palestinian Territories affects children's development and breeds aggression (Carey 2001).

However important micro theory of conflict analysis may be, in explaining reasons behind our sometimes aggressive behaviours, it still fails to take into consideration other ingredients generating conflicts particularly, at the conscious level. This limitation necessarily ushered in the development of the macro theory of conflict.

### **2.8. Macro theory of conflict**

Macro theory focuses on the interaction of groups, specifically on the conscious level. The emphasis is on what makes the group strong, what makes their freedom possible and how to acquire power and preserve it. Early political theories, from Thucydides (Allison 1989) and Sun Tsu to Machiavelli (Plamenatz 1963) focused on power. The use and exercise of power is central to macro theory of conflict. Macro theorists would agree that power comes in many forms: economic, political, military, even cultural. Macro theorists understanding of conflict is basically Marxian. Conflict stems from, class and group competition for power and resources. These assumptions operate on conscious motivational factors in a material oriented environment. This theory capitalises on observations of group phenomena.

Within macro theory there is an important set of concepts that can be derived from the study of ethnic and sectarian conflict. Horowitz (1985) observed that, in the third world, control of the state and resources within her borders and exclusion from control by others are among the main goals of ethnic conflict. As a consequence one of the key objectives of ethnic conflict is to seek control of the state itself. This is done to ensure that their needs are met, usually to the

detriment of opposing groups. It is a zero sum conflict. One group's gain is another group's loss. While failed development and control of resources is undoubtedly core issues in most polarised states (World Bank 2003), they are not the only ones in this turbulent sea of complexity. Horowitz explains:

In severely divided societies, ethnicity finds its ways into a myriad of issues: development plans, educational controversies, trade union affairs, land policy, (...) issue that would elsewhere be relegated to the category of routine administration assume a central place on the political agenda of ethnically divided societies (Horowitz 1985: 8).

This is certainly the case in all regional, ethnic or sectarian conflicts where every public issue becomes a focus of conflict. The landscape of war torn nations are littered with litanies of grievances; most of which started life as simple disagreements of how best a nation could be organised. As time went by, simple disagreement gathers momentum and become entangled within the wider ethno-national issues. This is one of the features that fashions conflicts into complex and enduring entities. It permeates the very fabric of society.

Macro theory, viable as it may be, does not answer the immediate motivational factors that permeate conflicts. The search for a new paradigm, a synthesis of micro and macro theories led to the development of newer theories, among them, the human need theory.

## **2.9. The human need theory**

Human needs theory is based on the hypothesis that humans have basic needs that have to be met in order to maintain stable societies. This phenomenon can best be describe as a compulsive struggle by humans in their respective institutional environments to satisfy primordial and universal needs – needs such as security, identity, recognition, and development (jfr. Burton 1990, Giddens 1993). They strive increasingly to gain the control of their environment that is necessary to ensure the satisfaction of these needs. This struggle cannot be curbed; it is primordial. The message is crystal clear. Unless individual liberties are joined to social justice: where inequalities are not glaringly large and in which everyone has a chance to lead a full and satisfying life, instability and conflict are inevitable. The significance of this theory is that it recognises and legitimises the needs of parties in conflicts. The needs of all must be met, and not just the needs of some.

## 2.10. Preliminary summary

Dewey and Durkheim were both concerned about the negative effects of modernism and urbanisation on the social fabrics that once held together the traditional and agrarian society. Both envisioned a unique role for schools: that of creating a modern form of cohesion by socialising diverse groups in a democratic community. However, they differed on their emphasis on individualism and community. For Dewey, the role of progressive education was to provide a mechanism that would ensure the sanctity of individual freedom to flourish within a democratic society. Though individualism was an important feature of organic solidarity, the role of education for Durkheim was precisely to ensure that excessive individualism did not destroy the social bonds necessary for social order. For Bronfenbrenner, the development of the individual is central. He describes human development with consideration for the role environment play in the process. In addition, Bronfenbrenner sees the development process as interactive: a reciprocal influence between child's development and the environment.

There are bold assumptions in both education and conflict which explain the correlation between education and conflict and eventually poverty. The assumption, for instance that, instability and conflict are inevitable if basic human needs are not met is a contentious statement with far reaching implications on education. If indeed there are human needs that are required for human development and social stability, then the solution to conflict must be the ability to create an environment in which these needs can be understood and met. Unfortunately, the history of conflict is rich with incidences of needs that are not met, liberties that have been violated and broken promises that were never meant to be kept.

Conflict indeed, has a devastating impact on education, both in terms of the suffering and psychosocial impact on pupils, teachers, and communities. It contributes to the degradation of the education system and its infrastructures either directly as targets of war, or indirectly as victims of circumstances. The havoc caused lasts long after the conflict ends as a result of unexploded devices and the proliferation of light weapons. "Some schools in Cambodia and Angola will not be usable for decades because they are in areas where the costs of demining are prohibitive" (World Bank 2005: 13). While damages to physical infrastructures are an easily rectified legacy, more challenging is the deterioration in human resources that is the lifeline of education and development.

### **3. Education and conflict**

#### ***3.1. Implementing the right to education***

##### **3.1.1. Child labour and the right to education**

The discussion about the right to education often ignores the inextricable link between universalisation of education and enforcing legislations abolishing child labour. The result is that, over 350 million children between 5 and 17 years of age are working world-wide. An estimated 171 million of these work in hazardous situations in 2000. In addition to the number of children in hazardous work, it is estimated that there were about 8.4 million children involved in other worst forms of child labour as defined in ILO (International Labour Organisation) Convention (ILO 2002). This includes among others forced labour and Child soldier. These forms of labour have adverse effects on the safety, health and moral development of children. Though refugees and displaced children are also victims of all forms of child labour, child soldiers remain the only victims that receive considerable attention.

The implications of this situation are significant. The hazardous and worst forms of child labour are of universal concern, given the obvious harm that they inflict on the lives of these children and their possibilities for a hopeful future. In situation of emergency, it also has important economic implications. Most notable are the substantial future income losses that the children will incur because of the negative consequences the activities will have on their human capital, including their health and education. Since children are more likely to work and not go to school if their parents worked as children, the economic losses associated with child labour and their implications for poverty are often transmitted across generations. Studies have concluded that eliminating child labour and putting these children into education would have huge aggregate developmental benefits (jfr. Akabayashi and Psacharopoulos 1999, Crips 2001, ILO-IPEC 2004). But prevention of child labour necessitates a conceptual shift in the orientation of education towards the acknowledgement that child labour is a local reality. Global or foreign models require adaptation. This is hampered by school curricula “developed centrally by groups of experts who design them to prepare children for the next level of education to which many children will be unable to proceed” (Haspels 1999: 41)

As the international community rallies around the MDGs as a comprehensive vision for development, child labour stands as a serious obstacle to achieving a number of the goals,

most notably, poverty reduction and universal primary education. The initiative to achieve these goals for refugee and displaced children will not meet its objectives by focusing only on the education system itself (UN 2004). Because of its implications for schooling, child labour must be addressed if the right to education is to be implemented meaningfully.

### **3.1.2. Human right conventions**

Child labour, of course, has already received considerable attention. Most countries have long had prescriptive as well as compulsory education laws. At the international level, child labour has been the focus of various conventions and recommendations. The principal international legal instruments for addressing child labour include the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (OHCHR 1989: Articles 28 & 31) which covers both child labour and the right to education and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (Chao 2002). The UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UN 1948: Article 26) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN 1966: Article 13) also address the right to education. The content of these conventions reflects an evolution in the revaluation of the child in society which is one of the biggest achievements of the twentieth century.

While widely supported, international human rights laws related to children do have limitations. Negotiated by governments, they are the result of political consensus. They reflect what governments and interest groups could agree on, not necessarily what experts believe should be done. Once adopted by the international bodies, individual countries voluntarily decide to ratify and apply the convention in their national laws. While the international system provides mechanisms for oversight and monitoring, there are no international enforcement provisions. Despite these limitations, international conventions provide important standards or points of reference for developing national policy as well as benchmarks against which national policies and interventions can be monitored and assessed.

Of all the international conventions mentioned, the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child has the most ambitious attempts to safeguard the rights of children. The CRC establishes a right to education, acknowledging that fulfilling this right must be achieved progressively. It calls on states to make primary education compulsory and free and encourages the development of secondary education, including vocational training (WCEFA

1990). Under the CRC, governments ought to take measures to ensure regular attendance and the reduction of drop-outs. The CRC focuses on protecting children from work that may harm their development. There is no blanket provision against children working, thereby acknowledging the reality of families who may rely on their children's work, particularly in agriculture. The CRC also breaks new ground in establishing the principle of acting in the best interests of the child (Article 3) and, importantly, giving the child who is capable of forming views, the right to express them (Article 12) and to freely associate (Article 15).

The promotion of children's participation and empowerment in the CRC and other related conventions reflects a key contribution of the rights-based approach to development. By declaring education as a right, the CRC obliges governments and developmental agencies in providing education that meet both the needs and aspirations of the child. This must not be exclusively based on economics imperatives. Henry Giroux for example, observed that, "in spite of its appeal to economic mobility, functional literacy reduces the concept of literacy and the pedagogy in which it is suited to the pragmatic requirements of capital" (Giroux 1983: 87). "A society that reduces the priorities of reading to the pragmatic requirements of capital necessarily has to create educational structures that anesthetise students' critical abilities" (Macedo 1996: 39), so as to "domesticate social order for its self-preservation" (Freire 1985: 116). Children and their needs need be the centre of the educational process and not the demands of the economy, technology, or the bureaucracy.

### **3.1.3. Socio-economic conditions and the right to education**

Beside the disposition on the part of the learner to learn, the socio-economic condition of a learner is an important element in the attainment of educational aims. Learning outcomes are on average poor where people live below the level of bare subsistence, without adequate health, material and security provision. These basic needs are a necessary component of an effective educational establishment. This is perhaps the most controversial issue in the provision of education in situation of emergencies where basic needs are at substandard level. It has to be stressed, however, that success in education is not self contained and oblivious to other non pedagogic components of children's needs. Thus, an interest in education is inevitably tied up to an interest in the social politics of education.

The last sentence above provides justification, if one was indeed needed, for intervention by educators when social policies undermine the process of education. Gadotti (1994) mentions that Paul Freire once recalled that poverty and hunger severely affected his ability to learn and ultimately influenced his decision to dedicate his life to improving the lives of the poor. He didn't understand anything because of his hunger. He was neither dumb nor lacked interest to learn. His background simply didn't allow him to have an education. This confirms research findings that tended to throw doubt upon the concept of an innate intelligence unaffected by social factors (Vaizey 1975).

The correlation between intelligence and high socio-economic class is probably not due to genetic selection but to social conditioning, especially in the early family environment. It is natural and right for teachers to think especially about the pedagogic requisites for learning. But this must not impede them from voicing concern on issues that affect learning outcomes outside the pedagogic realm. Teachers, writes Hargreaves and Fullan "cannot wait for society to get it right. They will become their worst enemies if they do not take action to help break the current deadlock of despair that envelops state school systems everywhere" (Hargreaves and Fullan 1998: 4).

Because of economic imperatives the need to provide effective schooling to all is today more pressing than in any other time in the history of humankind. Politically, the common man must still be educated in order to be protected from their rulers. Many of us require longer schooling to secure decent jobs and sustain ourselves in those jobs. All this is impossible unless issues in education are linked to those of social justice. To express the socio-economic implications of education in our time, sociologists have devised the useful concepts of intellectual capital. Sociologists have shown that intellectual capital (knowledge) operates in almost every sphere of modern society to determine social class, success or failure in school. The concept has even been a subject of rumours in the corridors of entrepreneurs as a determining factor in the level of industrial production. Bourdieu (1996) has shown that those who possess a larger share of "cultural capital" tend to acquire much more wealth and status, and to gain more abilities, than those who start out with very little of this precious resource (Coleman 1991). "Just as it takes money to make money, it takes knowledge to make knowledge" (Hirsch 1999: 20).



## **3.2. The benefit and importance of education**

### **3.2.1. Education as an equalising factor**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century America (USA), crusaders of public education agreed that ideally the rich and the poor should have basically the same education. The objective was to ensure that education also benefited those who would otherwise have remained consigned to the fringes of society. This was a formidable challenge for the public school system to make real the declaration that all humankind is created equal at a time when schooling was a privilege for the upper class. There was a strong conviction that even a rudimentary system, one that bring children together irrespective of class in a free and public institution could preserve the republic. “If children had this opportunity, then it was primarily the fault of individual pupils if they did not succeed in school and life” (Tyack 2003: 103). “A child who is not educated is disadvantaged in terms of income, health and opportunity” (Anderson 1992: 8). International studies, for example, Psacharopoulos (1981) has shown generally higher rates of return to lower levels of education. This finding is disputable because after basic education, children are normally below the minimum age at which they are allowed to work.

Private returns to education in particular receive considerable attention in both the academic research and public policy discussion. The effect of education on individual wages and income is substantial and well documented (jfr. Griliches 1977, Haveman and Wolfe 1984, Card and Krueger 1992). Far less attention has been given to the public benefits of education. Education is a public good whose benefits accrue not only to the individual attending the school, but to society as well. This public return to education provides a rationale for government support to education. Whether the government should provide additional resources to meet the growing demands facing public schools depends in large part on the value of the public return to education.

Education at the lower level provides immediate non-monetary private benefits to parents by virtue of the custodial function of schools which permits parents to work or free them for activities of their choosing. The lost or forgone earnings of older children who could be working but are in school is counted as opportunity cost. In the developed countries the transition from custodial benefit to opportunity cost probably occurs in adolescence. In the developing countries, young children have enough economic value performing domestic

activities, working on the farm and caring for younger siblings. In this situation, compulsory attendance may be difficult to enforce. There are other large non-monetary, personal and family benefits of education that are known and have been extensively researched. These include low mortality rate, reduced crime rate, and improved social cohesion. Since the productivity of one worker often depends on that of another, education benefits the co-worker and employer of the individual who receives the education (Cohn 1979). Both the amount and type of education received may affect the overall performance of the economy (Haveman and Wolfe 1984).

Another benefit of education is its effect on the use of government programmes such as welfare, and other social redistributive programmes. Education has an obvious influence on tax revenues: because income tax increases with educational attainment, the tax revenues increase with income. By reducing the dependence on public assistance and other government programmes and increasing tax revenues, the education of an individual may reduce the net cost of government programmes. Few studies have looked systematically into the effect of education on public programme. Most look at only few programmes, and most do not account explicitly for the effect of education (Moffitt 1996). This relationship has to be understood if the societal benefits of increasing the education of all target groups are to be fully assessed.

### **3.2.2. Education as an instrument of governance**

The most important public benefits of education, has to do with society and government. Education promotes the most basic function of government, namely security and justice. Social cohesion and the prevention of civil strife are so important that these are frequently cited alone to justify full public funding of education. Most countries experiencing wars and civil disorders have also high rate of illiteracy (Eriksson and Wallesteen 2004). Education makes it possible for people to be responsible and informed citizens and to have a voice in the policies that governs them. It also provides people with the knowledge and awareness needed to promote tolerance and understanding among different people who may not necessarily share a common cultural heritage but must live around each other. Education provides people with the tools and knowledge they need to understand and participate in today's world. It helps to sustain the human values that contribute to individual and collective well-being. It makes people more self-reliant and aware of opportunities and rights.

Many countries exploit the power of education in shaping the consciousness of her citizens in times of tensions both internal and external. A post September 11<sup>th</sup> USA, for example, is just reminiscent of other past events in the history of USA when foundational principles of civic education are drummed up as measures of relief for schools to teach. In a post revolutionary USA, for example, schools became arenas to instil American values. “The American faith in the power of civic education to change people became so compelling that the federal government itself used schooling as a follow-up to war and imperialism, a kind of pedagogical mop-up operation” (Tyack 2003:13). Attempt was made to civilise defeated native peoples. Similar effort was launched after the Spanish-American war to Americanise, the new countrymen. After World War two, experts in civic education sought to democratise Japan. The circumstances involved are all different but the instrument and method underlying the campaign was one: school.

### **3.2.3. Benefits and importance in the context of conflict**

Caught up in conflict and war, children are not in school because they are refugees, displaced, traumatised or simply because their school is no longer there. Besides the roles that education plays in times of peace, education here assumes other additional roles. Providing a structure to children’s daily lives and a sense of purpose, education represents a state of normalcy, even when all around is characterised by chaos. Schools can be use as a delivery site of other essential services, such as food distribution and health services. Education relieves boredom among children unable to engage in normal everyday activities because of threats to their security. It provides a unique arena where children can learn to coexist and learn to understand one another (Goleman 1995). It demonstrates confidence in the future of a society and provides an opportunity for children themselves to invest in that future. Children also benefit from friendship and support of school companions and from the leadership and guidance provided by teachers. Schools are also places where cooperative learning can best be achieved (Vygotsky 1978).

Refugee and displaced children should receive education from the earliest possible stage after flight, including in transit camps and when seeking asylum. The justification is as much psycho-social as educational, in that children regain emotional balance by coming together for games and study. School can focus their attention, stimulate their creativity and help develop

social skills and sense of responsibility. In war zones, secondary education specifically can keep older children out of military services, as well as prepare them to take an active part in reconstruction processes at the return of peace. In areas where employment prospects are poor, youth may enlist in the military simply for lack of alternative opportunities for earning income. Education in this regard may provide the only viable option for keeping children and young adults away from combat.

### **3.3. Why educate girls?**

#### **3.3.1. Meeting gender parity**

Meeting the gender parity in education by 2005 was one of the goals drummed up by the 1990 EFA conference at Jomtien, Thailand. Getting that balance right observed Aicha Bah-Diallo, Director of UNESCO's Division of Basic Education (UNESCO 2003), demands political will and profound changes in the way societies are structured. Only by educating girls today, can we get the gender balance right in tomorrow's society. Denying girls their right to a quality education effectively denies them all other human rights. It also minimises the chances of successive generations, particularly the chances of their daughters being educated.

It has been known for sometime not that girls' education is inextricably linked to other facets of human development: the maternal mortality, health, forced and teen marriages and community empowerment. But acting to mitigate the symptoms is ultimately futile without tackling the causes. Inequality in education reflects the larger social and cultural inequalities in the society. Where decision about who goes to school is influenced by cultural attitudes, the girl child is disadvantaged (Sumra and Katunzi 1991).

#### **3.3.2. Cultural Impediments**

In many parts of the world, social and cultural considerations can often, impede the education of girls. Studies by UNESCO (1995) in 14 sub-Saharan African indicate that, certain cultural practices, such as initiation ceremonies looked upon as a rite of passage to adulthood are sometimes judged to be more important than school attendance. Girls' schooling is also impeded by other factors such as early marriages, and a chain of cultural and moral codes.

Traditionally, the task of preparing young girls for adulthood is more the responsibility of the household and the community. The education which the community gives is therefore regarded as more directly beneficial. For example, the girl learns about motherhood and how to carry out household duties by emulating her own mother. But such education has limited value in societies which are in the process of being modernised. Technological progress demands for the survival of the individual, skills and knowledge over and above those to be found in the community alone.

Sending girls to schools in most developing countries is a recent phenomenon. In the Sub-Saharan African countries, for example, the economic and developmental benefits of schooling began to be understood widely only after independence in the late 1950s. An awareness of the value of human resources and the shift towards modernisation in the sixties and the seventies highlighted the need for education to sustain the economic, social and cultural gains of independence. Though the correlation between the development of education and economic growth was understood by all the governments, cultural impediments dictated that gender issue would be ignored. Equality in access to education was therefore never an issue even though the general expansion of educational structures had resulted in improved enrolments. Decision of which child went to school was left to the parents who more often voted to keep the girl child away or at best restricted such attendance to few times in a week.

The result is that of the 104 million children out of school, 60 percent are girls (UNESCO 2004). Understanding the long struggle to educating girls would be incomplete without mentioning the sustained effort to educate girls in the western world and in particular in the USA. According to Tyack and Hansot, “reformers of the revolutionary generation made a strong case that girls had a moral, social, and civic right to thorough schooling, not simply the rudimentary or frivolous learning they were permitted to acquire during the colonial period” (Tyack and Hansot 1992: 29). In the earlier part of the 19th century, a new but vibrant concept of feminine education was building up. Popular traditional concepts as the mental inferiority of women as a reason for subjugation and inequality were challenged. Proponents of female education instead mounted campaigns to convince citizens that practical benefits would flow from the schooling of girls.

### 3.3.3. The social construction of gender

Hartmann defines patriarchy as a social system characterised by “the systematic dominance of men over women” (Hartmann 1984: 194). It emerges as, “a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women” (ibid: 197). Hartmann goes on to say that “patriarchy is not simply hierarchical organisation but hierarchy in which particular people fill particular places. It is in studying patriarchy that we learn why it is women who are dominated and how” (ibid: 199). Patriarchy so defined affects our ability to initiate relationships that are not based on an acceptance of male prerogatives. It is a social phenomenon which in many instances unconsciously regulates our thoughts and actions. It also provides us with different vantage points, and positions us differently within the social hierarchy.

An early attempt to construct a feminist dimension of critical theory was by Fromm (1970). In “The Crisis in Psychoanalysis,” for instance, he comments on how the patriarchal social structure is closely bounded to the class character of present day society. He describes patriarchal family as one of the most important loci for producing the psychic attitudes that operate to maintain the stability of class society. This conception and its implication for society is criticised by feminists who describe it as, “pervasive sexism that limited females both in school and later in their adult lives” (Tyack 2003: 90). In the USA, feminists teamed up in an alliance with civil rights activists against institutionalised discrimination based on a fallacious construction of social diversity. They realised that women were part of a largely disadvantaged group that included ethnic minorities and “people in countries dominated politically and economically by imperialist powers (...) all of whom suffer disempowerment and silencing” (Lewis and Simon 1996: 255).

Education alone is insufficiently attractive to be self-sustaining. What girls can do with their education determines the attractiveness of schooling. If women cannot be employed, own land, forced into marriage or deprived of political representation, education alone will have little effect on their plight. Affirmative laws need be enacted. World wide, for example, the number of female teachers in preparatory and lower grades is comparatively higher than their male counterparts. This trend is tremendously reversed specifically in the developing

countries where the proportion of female teachers and administrators decreases to nil in higher grades.

There are several implications to this notable absence. For example, an all-male teaching staff will render school premises a male domain, which may stop parents from sending their daughters to school or from allowing them to continue their education when they reach a certain age. Implicit in the withdrawal is worries by parents that their daughters could become targets of sexual harassment by an all male dominated staff. Though not proven, the equitable representation of female teachers at this stage onwards would have an assuring appeal to both parents and the female pupils.

### **3.3.4. The barriers to educating girls during conflict**

The single most important factor preventing girls from attending and achieving in school is gender discrimination. For girls and boys both have hurdles to overcome. For girls the hurdles are, for the most part, higher and more frequent – simply because they are girls. The playing field is uneven from the start. Learning does not begin at a child's first day at school. The early years of a child's life are critical to his or her development. Yet discrimination against girls can begin even before birth, when female foetuses are more frequently aborted than those thought to be male. More often than not, there are different expectations as boys and girls grow and develop, which is of significant concern since low expectations are tied to low achievements. Family economic condition also plays a role. The school may charge fees that a family cannot afford. And when there is a choice to be made, the family will put its resources into the education of the boy believing that it is a better long-term investment.

The absence of proper sanitation facilities and water points can be a major reason why girls never attend school or drop out, particularly at puberty. Providing adequate sanitation facilities has, as a result, assumed a much higher priority within girls' education programmes. The drive to get more girls into schools, can also transform the quality of life in a local community, which may have for years lived on polluted and distant water sources. In Lao People's Democratic Republic, for example, the lack of access to water and sanitation among others is a major factor influencing enrolment. The result is that 52 percent of the female population is illiterate (ADB 2001). The issue is not just the lack of facilities in the schools,

but their absence in the wider community. The household chore of fetching water falls mainly on girls. Even those who make it to school may be sent by their teachers to fetch water. Providing adequate sanitation and water joints within the vicinity of the school may could bolster enrolment of girls and substantially reduce risk of infection by water related diseases among the communities concern.

Issues of safety and security in and around school particularly affect girls. Ideally, camps for refugees and the displaced should be places of safety, offering protection and assistance. However, refugee displaced populations are complex societies that often reproduce former divisions and power struggles predating refuge and displacements. At the same time, displacement has negative effect on traditional systems of social protection and respect for women, children and the elderly. As a result, incidences of violence, alcohol abuse, family quarrels and sexual assaults are regrettably common, noted United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR 1995). If children have to travel long distances to school, parents are less likely to allow their daughters make the journey because of the risks to their security.

### ***3.4. Violence against education***

#### **3.4.1. Why children are not at school**

Violent conflicts have always made victims of non-combatants. The patterns and characteristics of contemporary armed conflicts, however, have increased the risks for civilians. In war affected areas, many children who should be at school are hard to find, hard to get into, and hard to make sure they remain there until completing, at the very least, their primary education (Sommers 2002). Of these three, the first challenge is often the most difficult. Children are too often fighting, fleeing, or hiding during conflicts. They are not hard to get into a school, relatively speaking, if they are already in a refugee or IDP (Internal Displaced Persons) camps. Nonetheless, the proportion of children receiving education usually is very low. During much of Sierra Leone's civil war, for example, tens of thousands of children in camps attended primary schools, but hundreds of thousands more were either difficult to locate or were completely unable to attend school regularly (Lange 1998).

Undermined by internal dissent, countries caught up in conflict today are also under severe stress from a global world economy that pushes them ever further towards the margins.



Rigorous programmes of structural adjustment promises long-term economic growth. But demands for immediate cuts in budget deficits and public expenditure only weaken already fragile states, leaving them dependent on forces and relations over which they have no or little control. While many developing countries have made considerable economic progress in recent decades, others have regressed during the same period. The feeble state of many unstable governments; torn by internal fighting and the erosion of essential service structures have fomented inequalities, grievances and organised violence. The personalisation of power and leadership and the manipulation of ethnicity and religion to serve personal or narrow group interests have had similar negative effects. All the factors mentioned are to be found in any civil conflict. The chaos generated can go on endlessly, subjecting generations to all kinds of deprivation. No-where is this squabble more evident than in the conflict in Somalia.

### **3.4.2. Education for all and the Somali crisis**

Education For All, as defined at Jomtien, represents a vision which emphasises that “every person, child, youth and adult shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs” (WCEFA 1990: Article 1). Of special importance to EFA, are: the primacy placed on meeting basic needs; the plurality of means used to achieve EFA; and the direct involvement of the community. However, a stronger commitment to make this happen is needed if the inspiring dream is not to remain wishful. Unfortunately, there are many places where that dream remains elusive. One of such places is Somalia. In Somalia, the concept of EFA was introduced to the country at the worst possible moment: the beginning of the civil war. In the wake of this war, the educational infrastructure was severely damaged. This was accompanied by the breakdown of administrative infrastructure, political and social disorder, extreme poverty and famine.

Prior to 1990, education in Somalia had already entered a state of crisis. The civil war clearly exacerbated this situation, thereby rendering the implementation of EFA highly problematic. Even then, education in contemporary Somalia can only be understood within a given historical context or at least with some reference to it. These have had a significant bearing in fashioning people’s attitudes to education. Three stages may be distinguished: traditional education, colonial education and post-colonial education (Warsame 2001).

### **3.4.3. Traditional education**

The Somali people have always cherished their traditional cultures, which are partly indigenous, and partly Islamic. For centuries education reflected the values, norms and interests of the traditional pastoralists. These people are for the most part nomadic, and consequently adapted education to their situation, which meant informal education. A more formal element was derived from Koranic schools that were mobile and moved with the herders in seasonal migration patterns, responding to the rains and available grazing land. Traditional education was both socio-cultural and religious in character, taking place within the context of the extended family and its herds, as well as the Koranic schools. Such traditional education tended to be directly relevant to people's basic needs and highly flexible.

### **3.4.4. Colonial Education**

The advent of colonialism towards the end of 19th century brought with it the introduction of social institutions that were foreign to the Somali people. Schooling in the western sense was one such institution that made its appearance in the former British and Italian Colonies after the 1930s. The school system that was established was limited in scope and outreach, serving only a small number of pupils, which was in line with the basic purpose of the colonial schools: to train clerical staff for the colonial administration. At Independence, the colonial school systems had produced only a handful of educated people and left in place a minimal education infrastructure which remained largely insignificant and irrelevant to the Somalis.

### **3.4.5. Post-Colonial Education**

In 1960, upon gaining independence, the new Republic of Somalia inherited 233 primary and 12 secondary schools of differing origins, philosophies and standards from the British and Italian colonial systems (jfr. Bennaars 1996; Abdi 1998). Not much progress was recorded for the next decade and a large section of the population continued to perceive schooling as a foreign institution, irrelevant to their lives. Colonial history had bestowed two foreign languages on Somalia: English and Italian. Somali could not be taught in schools. It had no agreed written form. All that changed in 1974. The introduction of Somali as a language of instruction was accompanied by a mass literacy campaign and the expansion of the country's education system. Underlying the developments was the perception and expectation that, the

use of Somali language was to promote the indigenisation of schooling in Somalia (Warsame 2001).

The results of the massive campaigns were overwhelming. Enrolment figures for primary schools rose from 37,971 in 1969 to 229,030 in 1976. Likewise, the number of primary schools increased from 277 to 1002. By 1980 the number of schools had risen to 1407, enrolling 271,704 pupils (Warsame 2001). It can be said with pride that, some definite progress had been attained in the primary school sector. The significant progress, however, was short lived. Political and social unrest dictated that, the government would be spending more on security and less on the social sector. Under the prevailing circumstance, only 1.5 percent of the national budget was being allocated to education in the late 1980s (World Bank 1990). Schools started to deteriorate rapidly, as administrators and teachers sought better remuneration elsewhere. By 1990, the final collapse was eminent. The number of pupils in primary schools had declined to 150,000, in a much reduced 644 schools (Retemal and Devadoo 1994).

From the preceding paragraph, it is evident that, the collapse in Somalia's education sector was at an advanced stage long before the outbreak of the civil war. The causes were numerous; the obvious being the increasing militarization of the regime which had to divert more resources for security needs and away from education. When the civil war finally broke in 1991, it merely hastened the collapse of a system that would have anyway collapsed. The war destroyed the infrastructures and disrupted the delivery of educational services. It also displaced the communities on which the schools relied for the annual enrolments. Pupils and teachers were forced to flee to the safety of their immediate clan areas or joined others on a long exodus for a refugee life in exile. In much of Somalia today, the formal education sector is just a reflection of the chaotic situation in which the country is engulfed. As for the goals of the EFA, Somalia presents at present the very antithesis of EFA, namely Education For None.

#### **3.4.6. Barriers to education during conflicts**

The fact that Education and schooling are of vital importance to community, family and individual welfare is of little importance in situation of emergency. Actually its very importance is occasionally a reason of elimination as a tactic of combat to ensure that children

became combatants. Many factors resulting from conflict conspire to keep children out of school. These can be economic, social or political. In the worst of situations, they will act together, erecting a wall that not only deprives children of an education, but represent a huge set back to the achievement of the MDGs. The cumulative future income lost these children will incur as result of deprivation from schooling can only be imagined. They are likely to resort to crime and hooliganism as means to survival in a post conflict environment.

Children do not normally understand the ideological and political jargons that are at the roots of most conflicts. Children may join armed groups for purely economic reasons. Hunger and poverty may drive parents to offer their children for armed services. In some cases, armies pay a minor soldier's wages directly to the family. It is unusual that, driven by hardship or coerced by military or armed gangs, parents encourage their daughters to become soldiers. As conflicts persist, economic and social conditions deteriorate while educational opportunities become more limited or even obliterated all together. Under these circumstances, recruits tend to get younger. When adults are in short supply, children are then induced for recruitment. This actually explains also why many combatants in conflicts that have lasted years tend to be younger. The closure of schools and the security implication created by the war are responsible for school age children becoming militias and looters; qualities seen as crucial to individual and family survival and defence against both real and imagined aggressors.

The capacity of the state to deliver even a basic education during the conflict is very much reduced. Education requires consistent funding, complex administrative systems and close collaboration between policy-making at the national, regional and local levels, as well as with agencies responsible for implementation, supervision, monitoring and evaluation. Maintaining such a complex system is difficult in the best of times and simply impossible during conflict. But the crisis in education in emergencies is also due to failure at the international level. During the early stages of an emergency, providing education just doesn't seem nearly as important as providing the necessities of food, shelter and clean water. Donor funding may not even be earmarked for education activities. UNHCR describes the problem thus: Due to funding constraints, difficult decisions related to the required prioritisation of limited resources have often had a negative impact on the education sector (UNHCR 2000: 2).

Traditionally, education was not viewed as an appropriate area for direct intervention. International agencies were more accustomed to supporting governments in the field of

education. The absence of a legitimate political authority in areas of conflict was often used as a pretext to withholding assistance and investment in education. This is changing given the clarity and universal recognition and pressure on the need to provide education in areas of conflict. There are a number of international agencies committed to serving in war zones for as long as circumstances allow. This has given new insights and experience in working with local authorities and communities in places like Somalia where state structures are negligible.

Education is highly susceptible to political manipulation during conflict. Naim Abu Al-Hummus, Palestinian Education Minister once described education in Palestine as pathetic. Frequent invasion and curfews by the Israeli Defence Force restrict school attendance (UNESCO 2004). The curfew impedes the movements of service essential the normal functioning of schools. During the occupation in West Bank, curriculum was censored and books considered offensive were banned. At one point the military authorities ordered the blanket closure of Palestinian schools in the West Bank. Yet, there is no evidence suggesting that keeping schools closed or opening them had any bearing on the level of violence (Goodwin-Gill and Cohn 1994). It can correctly be argued that the blanket closure may, in practice have made enlistment into the ranks of violent militant groups more appealing to for Palestinian youth (Chatty and Hundt 2005). Studies into violence have revealed that, youth who observe adults accepting violence as a solution to problems are apt to emulate that violence (Crawford and Bodine 2001). By closing schools, the Israeli Defence Force was not only directly contributing to the escalation of violence but also laying grounds for further future violence.

### ***3.5. The violence of education***

#### **3.5.1. Education and tolerance**

Those working on the provision of education in conflict situations have made a potential significant contribution to educational theory, as well as planning in highlighting the assumptions that are made about the value of education. Bush and Salterelli challenged the widely held assumption that, “education is inevitably a force for good” (2000: v). They examined peace-destroying and conflict-maintaining impacts of particular approaches to education: the uneven distribution of education as a means of creating or preserving privilege, education as a weapon in cultural repression, denial of education as a weapon of war and

education as a means of manipulating history for political ends. Alongside this negative face of education, the authors also identified peace-building and conflict-limiting impacts: conflict dampening impact of educational opportunity, nurturing an ethically tolerant climate, disarming history and educational practices as an explicit response to state oppression.

These and related issues have also been examined by Harber and Davies. Harber argues, with considerable evidence, that the dominant model of schooling world-wide is authoritarian, and that this authoritarianism “provides the context for schools’ role in the reproduction and perpetration of violence” (Haber 2004: 38). Davies on the other hand, examined the antecedents to conflict, and the role of education within those roots. She came to a similarly disturbing conclusion: education indirectly does more to contribute to the underlying causes of conflict than it does to peace. “This is through reproduction of economic inequality and the bifurcation of wealth/poverty; through the promotion of a particular version of hegemonic masculinity and gender segregation; and through magnifying ethnic and religious segregation or intolerance” (Davies 2004: 203). Notably, both authors refer to the general model of schooling used throughout the world.

Education should be a means to empower children and adults alike to become active participants in the transformation of their societies. Learning should focus on the values, attitudes and behaviours which enable individuals to learn to live in a world characterised by diversity and pluralism and not on some authoritarian codes that justifies the status quo. 1995 was declared by UNESCO as a year of tolerance. This was meant to generate awareness among both policy-makers and the public of the dangers associated with contemporary forms of intolerance.

The proclamation by UNESCO was not accidental. The end of the cold war had seen a steady increase in social, religious and cultural conflicts, too many of which quickly turned into wars. Among others, the declaration affirms that tolerance is neither indulgence nor indifference. It is respect and appreciation of the rich variety of our world’s culture, our forms of expression and ways of being human. The diversity of our world’s many religions, languages, cultures, nations and ethnicities should not be a pretext for conflict. This and related concepts should be made to become part and parcel of formal education.

### 3.5.2. Education: part of the problem, essential for the solution

There is no doubt about the importance of education in shaping citizens to play an effective part in their societies. But education is also an inherently ideological instrument that is related to political violence in both intended and unintended ways. As an instrument, education at its best can help to protect and prevent children from violence, at its worst, it can incite violent conflict. It can be used as a weapon either to oppress people or through which oppressed people can liberate themselves (Friere 1970). This contrast is no where vivid than the terrible revelations at Auschwitz as revealed by a survivor of a concentration camp. In an anonymous letter to a head teacher at a school in Bradfoat, England the survivor wrote:

I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness: gas chambers built by engineers, children poisoned by educated physicians, infants killed by trained nurses, women and babies shot and wounded by high school graduates. So I am suspicious of education. My request is help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns. Reading, writing and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more human (Rutter 1994: 113).

This letter expresses both hope and fear surrounding education; a concern shared by many people that, education is sometimes less a victim than an instrument of political violence. According to Greene, the terrible revelations at Auschwitz and Hiroshima demonstrated what could happen when the old dream of knowledge as power was finally fulfilled. He concluded saying, “science was viewed as losing its innocence in its wedding to advanced technology” (Greene 1996: 23).

What happens in schools, public or private, is less frequently examined through the human right lens. Moreover, education is widely – albeit wrongly – perceived as inherently good. Getting children all children to school is thus mistaken for their right to education. Hill (1998) has singled out education and law enforcement as the main agencies of social control. Questions about what children are taught are asked much rarely, and abuses of education are detected retrospectively, if at all. When children are exposed to advocacy of racism or incitement to genocide, remedying the harm done by such abuse is difficult, often impossible. The assumption that any education is better than none is as unfounded as it is prevalent. In Hitle’s Germany, a mathematic textbook nudged learners to calculate the financial savings that would ensue from eliminating mentally ill people. “The construction of a lunatic asylum

costs 6 million DM. How many houses at 15,000 DM each could have been built for that amount” (Mazower 1999: 176)?

There are several ways in which education is and has been manipulated negatively. These include denying access to education to certain groups, or using it to suppress their language and cultural values; manipulation of textbooks for political purposes; and the inculcation of attitudes of superiority, for example, in the way that peoples or nations are described. In this circumstance, the legitimacy of the state’s school curricula may be questioned. This is particularly true in ethnic conflicts where rebel forces may challenge the national education system by developing their own curricula and school system (Bush and Salterelli 2000).

The above mentioned characteristics exist in one form or another in most countries that are at the centres of conflicts. Before the genocide in Rwanda, for example, pupils were registered according to ethnic affiliations: Tutsis, Hutu or Twa. In Sri Lanka violent rioting broke off when the country promulgated the “Official Language Act” making Sinhala the official language in the Island nation. In 1987, Tamil was also recognised as an official language; too late, the language riot had matured into a violent conflict and with a much enlarged political agenda (Spencer 1990).

### **3.5.3. Mismatch of pupil and school**

Today’s educational designers are constantly on the look out for the best methods of how to educate the citizens of tomorrow. The challenges are formidable not less because the precise demand of that tomorrow is not very evident. Tyack (2003) describes Hellen Todd as child labour inspector who knew many children who had run away from school. Her job among others included visiting the children in the factories where they worked. Despite the long working hours in appalling working conditions, most of the young workers she talked with did not want to return to school.

“School ain’t good,” said one of Todd’s child workers. “when you works a whole month at school, the teacher she gives you a card to take home that says how you ain’t any good.” Another told Todd: “You never understands what they tells you in school, and you can learn right off to do things in a factory.” “Would it not be possible,” Todd asked “to adapt this child of foreign peasants less to education, and adapt education more to the child?” (ibid: 99).



Todd was dealing with children who fled school, those excluded and those who found no meaning in schooling. In a less dramatic way, however, children who have struggled to learn, or resisted the teacher, or failed academically have long been part of the everyday world of schools. That is not about to change. Diversity remains a classroom reality. How to make sense of that diversity, however, is the most persistent question encountered by educators. That task is certainly not made less easy when schooling is not properly adapted to the local circumstances. Writing on the impact of formal education on the Huaorani people of Ecuador, Rival suggests that, the traditional knowledge and socio-cultural continuity of the people does not depend only on writing books in vernacular languages. “What tribal people need so urgently are not just new forms of schooling but new forms of learning which will do justice to their unique skills and cultural knowledge” (Rival 1993: 143).

#### **3.5.4. Academic failure and retention**

Poor performances, failures and drop-outs are issues that besides, being academic issues have real social and economic dimensions that must not be ignored. Different theories have been advanced to explain poor performances. These theories have tended to explain failures either as conditioned by, genes, socio-cultural impediments or structural inequality. Because explanations of academic failure and success have been at the centre of much educational policy, trying just to fine-tune the old academic structure may only be a partial solution. In the 1970s, activists, educators and researchers challenged deficit theories by insisting that structural inequality, racism, and poverty – issues overlooked by deficit theories – could better explain students` poor academic achievement. Gintis and Bowles (1976) for instance, suggested that schools tend to serve the interests of the dominant classes by reproducing the economic and social relations. As a result this theory claims, schools therefore not only reflected structural inequalities, but also helped to create and maintain these inequalities.

It is obvious that, Helen Todd`s children had as much learning difficulties as other social problems to which they had to attend. Their situation in fact, is comparable to the endemic decline in enrolment, retention and outflow that hit the African countries in the 1980s as a result of the World Bank`s fiscal policy. It is this background argued Brock-Utne (2000) that led some multilateral organisation to organise the 1990 conference on EFA. Todd`s children had a rescue in philanthropists, who became concerned about the plight of children who were

held back in grades or fled schools as early as possible. “The pupils` problems were not just pedagogical,” they argued. “If children came to school hungry, or had headaches, or couldn’t see the numbers on the blackboard, or lacked money for school books and clothes, they were already on the road to failure” (Tyack 2003: 109). Support was drummed up for a wide range of child welfare services that included among others school lunches and medical care. This in itself alone is not a sufficient remedy to improving learning. Support given, has to be sustain through communal involvement.

The community eventually must come to own and embrace it as its own. In war affected communities, levels of involvement once international agencies arrive is inconsistent. The mandates given to aid agencies usually override communal initiatives. In Somalia, for example, it was felt that, reinforcing the sense of communal responsibility over schools could boost enrolment, performance and retention (Bennaars 1996). A UNESCO document sums up a common dynamic between the two groups in the following way: “Crisis-affected communities provide much of the resources for emergency education, but support from the wider international community is often needed to permit an adequate response” (UNESCO 2001: 20). Donor support is required, at least initially. It is expected that such support could be reduced gradually through the introduction of income generating projects. In the Gedo region of Somalia, for instance, Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) operated at the community level, promoting income-generating activities as an avenue to integrate village schools into the traditional systems of socio-economic life. In this way communities may begin to be more directly involved in the educational enterprise; thereby enhancing its relevance.

### **3.5.5. Preliminary summary**

Child labour is a significant phenomenon, large in scope, and with very important social and economic implications for societies at peace as well as those in conflicts. It takes a variety of forms, from children working on family farms to children engaged in armed conflict. It has serious implications on human capital accumulation and in perpetuating poverty and therefore is closely linked to progress toward the MDGs, especially the goals of achieving universal primary education and halving poverty. ILO convention (182 1999) broadens safeguards against intolerable forms of child labour. It also emphasised government obligations to ensure access to free education and mandate vocational training for children removed from

labouring. But given the connections between conflicts, child labour and schooling, the efforts to achieve MDGs will not be fully successful unless these issues are appropriately addressed.

The key question in recent times has been how to implement the rights to EFA for children in situation of emergency. There are known contributing factors that can facilitate rapid expansion of primary education to achieve the MDGs targets (Sinclair 2003). However, the additional constraints arising from conflict make addressing these factors even more challenging. "In some cases, war's impact on education system has been so extensive that approaching the EFA targets seems nearly impossible" (Sommers 2002: 1). One such case is Somalia where education has been described as totally destroyed. This is how UNESCO summarised it: In fact, the education situation in its entirety is problematic, and so is, evidently, the implementation of Education For All (Bennaars 1996: 20). The basic data sheet from UNICEF (2000) on education issues in Somalia sheds further light on the situation there. Information on this data sheet is not an isolated case. It is a duplicate of other emergencies.

It is difficult to highlight emergency education programmes that have or have not succeeded in reaching their objectives because so few have been adequately evaluated. Without such evaluation, Pigozzi believe we "run the risk of promoting activities that are not, in the long run, in a child's best interest" (Pigozzi 1999: 19). The participation of girls in formal education is a problem as seemingly intractable as it is perplexing. Although this problem also plagues girls in countries not affected by war, girls in emergency situations are either prevented from schooling or drop out early (Rhodes m.fl. 1998). Yet girls' education is the most effective means of combating many of the profound challenges of human development as we march toward the MDGs (jfr. UNICEF 2004, Machel 2000). As the Action for the Rights of Children (ARC) notes, "girls and young women are, by far, more vulnerable to being excluded from the educational process, or having it cut short, than boys are" (ARC 2000: 48). Because of this, it is imperative that other drastic measures be put in place to ensure that girls are enrolled.

Wars violate every right of a child: the right to life, the right to be with the family and the community, the right to be protected and above all, the right to education. It deprives them of their material needs, including the structures that give meaning to social and cultural life. It harms the entire fabric of the societies: homes, schools, cultural institutions, etc. Today's conflicts are vicious and may last the entire period of an individual's childhood. Within this

period, they run the risk of being exposed to atrocities that are detrimental to their development. Many of those enrolled, have learning difficulties due to psychosocial distress (UNISPAL 1990).

## **4. Organisation of education**

### **4.1. Institutional arrangement**

Provision of education as a government imposed-duty is much older than the right to education, and dates back to the eighteenth century (Tomasevski 2003). The argument that the state should provide education to all children merged economic, security and nation-building arguments. The poor, illiterate, indebted and armed were difficult to govern. The economic argument was strengthened by the international labour organisation, which linked compulsory education with the minimum age for employment. Investment in education was defined as a government responsibility, and education as a means to eliminate child labour provided the underpinning for the emergence of the right to education.

In its efforts to safeguard that right, the state finances education, establishes policy and administrative systems, develops curricula and examinations, trains and recruits education personnel and runs supervisory and inspectorate services. Where state authority no longer applies or is severely incapacitated, the international community through relief agencies have a responsibility in ensuring the right to education. Sometimes international agencies find they cannot gain access to conflict zones. This is an obvious constraint. But sometimes the problem has more to do with institutional attitudes. To ensure that the provision of schooling does not collapse, collaboration with local authorities and organisations is essential.

In camps for refugees and the displaced, establishing contacts with the local organisations require no bureaucratic procedures. These organisations can help in sensitising camp inhabitants on education and solicit support from parents especially as regard the education of the girl child. They can also contribute with the recruitment of volunteers to support the implementation of the Teacher's Emergency Package (TEP) developed jointly by UNESCO and UNICEF as part of a rapid response in emergency education. Although only intended as a short-term solution, their implementation signifies an important step forward. TEP was first

used in Somalia in 1992. With the support of German Technical Co-operation (GTZ) and UNHCR, it was given its full scale testing in Rwanda and among Rwandese refugees in Ngara, Tanzania. Under an understanding with the Government of Rwanda, emergency kits based on the curriculum of Rwanda were adapted (Aguilar and Richmond 1998).

## **4.2. Class composition**

For education to be effective, conditions that facilitate learning must be maintained. This unfortunately is not the case in situation of emergency where, learner groups may be extremely heterogeneous in terms of their age, social background, competence, family responsibilities, previous education and war experience. Many children will have attended school for a while and dropped out; others may not have been enrolled previously. Some may have been involved in active combat. Given the variations, a priority would be to conduct a baseline assessment.

### **4.2.1. Baseline assessment**

Baseline assessment is an important step in planning education service for refugees and displaced children. It is beneficial as well in the provision of other services other than education. It helps to establish demands, as well as indicating other constraints. However rough and incomplete, it can be used to gain access to basic demographic information comparatively quickly and at little cost. This can be carried out with volunteer support from within the community. A more detailed assessment after the initial stage may be needed, to establish factors such as previous enrolment, levels of attendance and rates of dropout. Good planning depends also on determining the causes of any disruptions to class attendance, fluctuation and dropouts. While there are obvious practical difficulties in conducting a baseline assessment during conflict, the benefit of having one, however imperfect, endures.

One structural feature most teachers have come to expect is a huge and largely diverse school population that does not justify a conventional placement by age. In this circumstance, teachers find themselves teaching two or more diverse age groups at the same time. This form of classroom organisation presents educators many challenges as well as opportunities for

children. The challenges are particularly evident in cases where teachers, have not been prepared to teach in this kind of setting and are unsupported. The opportunities, however, are that, it can be set up in any camp, any time. In this way, it provides access to schooling for all, including a group parents were often reluctant to send to school; their daughters.

#### **4.2.2. Multigrade classes**

Today, 30 percent of classrooms worldwide are multigrade. In some places, the choice in favour of multigrade schools is often a choice between education and no education (Brunswic & Valerien 2003). Conventional school organisation according to age and graded curriculum is a fairly new innovation. Pre-industrial or agrarian schools, as described by LeVine and White (1986) was developed from and exemplified the cultural contexts of their settings. They tended to be religious and often met as mixed-age groups, such as boys in a Koranic school under an Imam. According to Anderson (1993), separate grades resulted out of administrative practicalities when the process of industrialisation and the idea of mass production extended to the educational system. Dividing students into grades enabled teachers to specialise on a specific portion of the curriculum much more efficiently. Beside, it eases the task of supervision and monitoring.

The current system of determining grouping of children according to astrological deadlines is based on several assumptions. The system assumes that students of the same age are ready to learn the same material at the same rate, in the same amount of time (Stainback and Stainback 1984). That assumption was a subject of study by Goodlad and Anderson. They came to a conclusion that, “grouping children homogeneously on the basis of a single criterion (age) does not produce a group that is homogeneous to the same degree judged by other criteria” (Goodlad and Anderson 1987: 17). Teachers, according to this claim are either fooling themselves or cheating pupils if they believe their class of gifted or retarded children is homogeneous. In emergencies, multigrade classes are deliberately formed out of necessity; usually created for budgetary reasons or because there are too many children or too few teachers. The aim is to maximise the use of personnel, and resources rather than to capitalise on the diversity of ability and experience (Katz m.fl. 1990).

With heterogeneous learners groups, it is very important to assess the material and curriculum for their utility and acceptability among children of different ages. Flexibility in entry and exit into classes helps older children who are educationally behind their age group. In a conventional school setting, the standardisation of textbooks, curriculum, lesson plans and calendar leads to considerable uniformity within the system. It has been said that French school plan is so structured that the minister of education knew exactly what was being taught in a French school at any given time. Multigrade uses instead the pupil's readiness for certain contents. Others let students proceed at their own pace. Evaluation and supervision of performance is often especially difficult in multigrade systems and may be altogether impossible during conflict.

### **4.3. Distant education**

Distant learning, which entails the separation of teacher and learner in time and space, has more potential than conventional institution-based education for reaching children living in remote and insecure areas difficult to access. Distant education mostly is regarded as a special kind of adult education which, is gradually being introduced to children and youngsters (Taylor and Tomlinson 1985). The rationale for distant education from its earliest days has been to open up opportunity for learners to study regardless of geographic, socio-economic or other constraints. Typically this involves helping learners take responsibility for what and how they learn; who to turn to for help and when and where to have their learning assessed. This makes distant education highly suitable in a continually changing environment.

Distant learning can be established quickly and at a comparatively low cost, although it requires initial organisation and investment in material and manpower. UNESCO's pre-packaged teaching and learning materials are useful tools in this endeavour. Distant education is characterised by comparatively low levels of supervision and evaluation of performances. While this is an advantage in unstable areas with few teachers, it does require a higher level of motivation to learn among pupils than conventional education. This makes it relatively unsuitable for in certain age bracket unless their parents are highly committed to provide for the much needed backup.

#### **4.4. Time and duration of learning**

As already alluded to above, school organisation in areas of conflict has to take into consideration all the variables that dictates what is permissible. Because of displacement, injuries and death caused by conflict, a sizeable school population may be orphans who have to take care of younger siblings or simply children who care for older or wounded parents or relatives. Schooling may also conflict with a family's economic needs in a way neither intended nor relevant to the content of education. Family well being may depend on children's help in caring for siblings, preparing food, gathering firewood, fetching water, or working on the farm. Parents may be willing to enrol their children only when school attendance does not conflict with household demands.

The conventional school calendar is in generally scheduled in ways that make it difficult for children to play an economic role in their homes. Most school curricula require that children enter school at a certain age; that they spend most of their day at school; that they attend school most days the school is open; and they progress from one grade to the next without interruption. It is a difficult system to combine with work. Each of these requirements results in the loss of potential students, and none has anything to do with the content of what is learned. Children who do not enter school at the appointed age become self-conscious about studying with younger pupils and are most likely to drop out. Children who miss part of the school year drop out instead of rejoining it at a later stage.

To minimise the cycle of failure occasioned by low participation and rigid promotional and entry standards, scheduling lessons selectively can help give children maximum possible access to education even in the worst of circumstances. Education can be provided in shifts, or through flexible attendance, rather than in fulltime regular courses. The duration at school will ultimately be dependent on the variability in the periods of tranquillity. This is specifically important in frontline zones where school buildings or large gatherings are legitimate military targets. A variety of class schedules ranging from daily shifts or compress classes within some particular times of the year are among the varieties to pick from.

However attractive some of these options may appear, they need careful monitoring. There is reason to believe that the number of hours of school attendance and how that time is used contribute vitally to learning outcomes (Fuller & Clark 1994). A system that is subjected to so



much interruption or shifts that are too short may impede rather than enhance learning. In addition, shift systems particularly can overstretch teachers and affect their ability to perform efficiently.

#### **4.5. School provisions**

Pressures to improve the quality of schools and increase enrolment, coupled with unstable or decreasing funding from donor agencies, have led many refugees and displaced communities to look to themselves to supplement resources available to schools. Local communities can supplement school resources in a variety of ways. They can contribute in building, renovating or maintaining school building, volunteer as teaching assistants and contribute in financing educational materials. Most are probably aware that such support may be demanded of them in a situation where looting, shelling and displacement frequently deprive educators and learners of essential equipments.

Over-reliance on community, however, can result in serious problems with quality. It tends to heighten inequalities in the provision of service across schools within communities. Lillis and Ayot (1988) noted that, while the establishment of harambee schools in Kenya had permitted large numbers of children, especially girls, to attend primary and secondary schools, they often suffer from low quality. This is because of the low level of resource contribution by the local community who are often barely able to cater for their needs. It in fact increases than decreases inequality in the provision of education within and between communities. In the context of emergency education, community support for schools should not be mandated.

Increasingly UNESCO's TEP is being used in most troubled spots to supplement provision by communities in the provision of education. Each TEP contains basic teaching equipment for children and teachers (textbooks, teacher's manual, pens, pencils) and it estimated to cater for the daily needs of at least 80 pupils. The teacher's kit contains a teacher's guide which outlines the pedagogical methods and the content of lessons to develop literacy and numeracy. The kits are meant to cover instruction from grade one to four and are designed for a six months span of learning that then phases into the formal textbook-based curriculum. The TEP package is meant as an immediate solution to a situation gone bad. But conflict and emergencies are lasting longer. To make the TEP programme more robust and enduring,

UNESCO developed a training programme for the implementation of TEPs based on a “train the trainer” approach. This approach has an advantage. It allows the local staffs to develop independent infrastructure in preparation for the introduction of the formal curriculum.

#### **4.6. Quality**

From an industrial perspective, delivering quality requires understanding and conforming to customer’s requirements and needs. Implicit in this process is getting it right first time: no rooms for mistakes in the end product. In practice this means that quality is built into the process rather than using a procedure in which deficient products are inspected or sorted out. It is not the product which is subject to quality control, but the production process itself. The key to success is to put in place management system that is geared to the delivery of total quality. This is possible only after determining the needs and requirements of customers. The twist here is that efficient and technologically advanced systems of producing manufacturing goods or services are not in themselves of value, unless they contribute to meeting customer’s specifications (Price 1984). From an industrial perspective, the single and overriding aim is quite simple; to enhance and improve profitability.

Quality as understood above is used synonymously in education with effectiveness (Clemet 2003). Birch notes that effectiveness is concerned with outcomes. “A college is effective to the extent that it produces outcomes which are relevant to the needs and demands of its clients” (Birch 1988: 4). Although from a resource perspective, the notion of effectiveness in this context seems reasonable, that tiny piece of threat linking effectiveness to resources is a subject of debate. However contentious the debate may be, quality can be seen as a legitimate aspiration of the educational system, whereas effectiveness can be measured in terms of the extent to which this can be achieved within set financial constrains. It may therefore be seen as a more sophisticated way of bringing together the notions of effectiveness and efficiency into a coherent and comprehensive evaluative concept.

These concepts consequently, lead to an emphasis on the input and outcomes of education and training. Measurement of quality can be derived from inputs into education, which include manpower, cost and the curriculum components. In terms of outcomes, emphasis can be laid on the knowledge, skills, attitudes and general competences attained by the learner and the

extent to which these meet the personal needs of the individuals and the society. The emphasis on the verification of quality in education, “leads to the setting of clear and appropriate standards to meet client requirements and to building in processes of quality control to measure the extent to which set standard has been attained” (Muller and Funnell 1991: 14). This is usually done by testing, public reporting of school results and monitoring management performances. In addition to influencing motivation and approach to service delivery at school level, it is also expected that, “disclosure of information about school performance will rectify an important market failure – asymmetric information about school performance – and thus increase efficiency in resource use” (Hægeland m.fl. 2004: 7).

#### **4.6.1. Quality in the context of conflict**

It is extremely difficult to define quality in education as each system may be built on philosophies pertaining to specific societies. This is even made more complicated in situation of emergencies where educational planners have to decide which educational systems to adapt (Sesnan 1999). It is important to acknowledge that quality improvement is a process and requires an ongoing commitment. The drive to get every child enrolled can obscure the need for quality. Apparently, the most profound and lasting impact of conflict on education are sometime on quality rather than on access. The deterioration in quality, which represents one of the most significant challenges in education, should be a consideration from day one. This is only possible by reconceptualisation of education as a basic need in line with other needs.

Quality is a concern of everyone; parents, teachers, pupils, etc. Strategies to tackle it are most successful when addressed as an ongoing process rather than striving to meet some external, official, or historically determined standard. Discussions about how to improve the quality of learning and of the learning environment are as critical in temporary learning spaces under trees or canvas as they are in established systems. An ongoing concern for quality in term of inputs, processes, and outcomes is critical to ensuring that the system does not sacrifice learning opportunities for externally imposed targets. In this context, there will inevitably be tradeoffs between investment in expansion of access and improvement of quality. Where resources for relief activities and education springs from the same source, the issue of priorities becomes even more pressing, not simply because of the constraints on resources but

also because of key decisions around sequencing. Time becomes as critical a resource as money or human capital and adds new dimensions to the calculations related to prioritisation.

Simplistic formulae such as access first, quality later become even less helpful in such contexts. Treating quality improvement as a key ongoing concern helps to provide a framework for discussions around priorities and sequencing. This is no easy task, given the volatile social and political pressures under which provision of education takes place and the structural absence of conventional school organisation. Improving the provision of education and quality in the context of conflict might instead entail new creativity in designing delivering mechanisms and institutions that are highly responsive and constitute effective tools for intervention in quality improvement.

## **4.7. Funding**

Education in emergencies sits uneasily between humanitarian aid and development assistance. In acute emergencies, the key institutional actors may rightly focus on survival issues. But it has to be noted that, since about half of all refugees and displaced persons are children and young people, it is important that UNHCR approach to refugee protection and assistance towards a durable solution include a clear policy for education (Sinclair 2002). UNHCR (1995) guideline on refugee education states that, shelter, equipment, and materials used be developed in reference to a well managed government school. Poorly equipped government schools in the immediate vicinity of refugees settlements, also be standardised. It is therefore essential that enough funding is secured both for refugee education and eventually the host community. However, most emergencies are unpredictable and the resources needed depend entirely on their nature, scale and intensity. What is considered standard furthermore is open to interpretations.

### **4.7.1. International funding**

Recent pronouncements by donor governments suggest a growing acknowledgement that humanitarian response to emergencies includes education from the onset. The Winnipeg Conference (UNICEF 2000) on War-Affected Children issued a declaration which included

the statements that, education must be a priority in humanitarian assistance. Good quality education which enables children to think critically, solve problems, collaborate with others and respect diversity is the key to a future free of armed conflict. Education is also an essential alternative to recruitment. This pronouncement is backed by the governments of Norway and Sweden who described education as the “fourth pillar” of humanitarian response, along with food, water, health and shelter. In Norway, 15 percent of developmental aid will be earmarked for education (NORAD 2004). This increase is part of the government’s effort to roll back the tide on poverty (jfr. UD 2002, St.meld. 35, 2003-2004).

It is difficult to discern the policies of donor governments towards education in situation of crisis and emergency. Very little information is normally available describing national policies beyond a general commitment to supporting basic education for all. Some donor governments do indeed provide consistent funding for refugee education, specific emergencies and reconstruction programmes, but the issue needs to be brought more forcefully into the domain of public policy. It is an issue that will not simply go away. It will instead assume importance given the rise in the cost of education.

#### **4.7.2. Cost-sharing**

The idea that free education and compulsory education are linked, that education should be made free so that it could be compulsory is falling apart. Even if the direct costs of education are borne by the state, the indirect costs may be beyond the capacity of the family, while the opportunity cost may be impossible to bear. Parents are therefore forced to make enrolment decisions on the basis of economic concerns: How much does school cost? What economic benefits, can children be expected to get from school? Do expected future benefits outweigh the current opportunity costs? The obligation of the state to compensate parents for sending their children to school has not changed from 1952: Where poverty prevails, legal measures for the raising of the minimum age for admission to work or for compulsory attendance will remain ineffective and may be argued as even harmful (...) where possible, the institution of family allowances and other privileges should be contemplated (UNESCO/ILO 1952: 26).

Beside costs, usefulness of education influences parental choice. Disillusionment with education that produces armies of unemployed graduates is well known and demonstrates the

necessity of adopting education to children's future (Tomasevski 2003). People who do not send their kids to school cannot be discarded as ignorant but might have in doing so made a rational choice. The language of instruction may be foreign. The curriculum may be geared toward preparing pupils for continuing in the next level of education, an option that may not appear desirable or even possible given the circumstances in which people live (Hagberg 2000). Finally, the benefits of education may accrue differently to different groups. What is the benefit of seeking an education if one is effectively barred from participation in future schooling or work outside the camp. If women, for example, have few opportunities in the work force, why, parents might ask, should they be educated? These questions are particularly important for the refugee communities, which are almost always dispossessed, living outside the mainstream economy, less able to afford costs and less likely to see benefits.

#### **4.8. Preliminary summary**

Under a normal situation, the provision of education is the responsibility of the state. Where state authority no longer apply, that responsibility shifts to the local community with the active assistance from international aid agencies to ensure that schooling does not collapse. Gaining the support of the local community is important and demands careful advocacy no less in situations where schools are viewed with suspicion or considered a threat to traditional norms of upbringing. The locals can help in among others, conducting baseline assessment and volunteering their services whenever demanded for by the school. This is not always easy. Often, civilians living in war zones or displaced as a result of war are coerced into free labour by the military authorities. This usually results into distaste for volunteer services.

Heterogeneity in age, competence and experience has to be seen as strength in diversity. Because of the varied backgrounds of the school age population, multigrade classes can be divided on the basis of written or oral tests. In order to maximise the learning opportunities of the groups, teachers and volunteers from within or outside the community should be provided with in-service training. The presence of volunteers lightens the workload of teachers and can extend the capacity of the school to teach skills appropriate to the community. "Having students serve as teachers within and cross grade levels can be a very effective tool both for learning, and is an essential part of multi-grade teaching" (Thomas and shaw 1992: 15).

UNESCO's TEP kits are increasingly becoming a ready made solution in the provision of education in situation of emergency. In Somalia where the TEP was first developed and used, the kits formed the basis of schooling in both secular and Koranic schools. The effectiveness of this use in the formal system has not yet been thoroughly evaluated. Besides offering access to basic education, TEPs have also been employed as part of a demobilisation scheme for child soldiers and other young adult combatants. This new found role that was not initially perceived has meant that, TEPs had to be redeveloped to include literacy needs for young adult combatants. Neither UNESCO nor NGOs involved in the implementation at this stage can document the effectiveness of the programme in meeting the goals initially envisioned.

It is important to acknowledge that quality improvement is a process and requires an ongoing commitment. Emergency education sometimes can over pursue an access first policy, thus relegating quality to a later stage. Studies show that the most profound and lasting impact of conflict on schooling, however, are on quality rather than access. Quality tends to deteriorate as qualified teachers disperse, as learning materials and supplies become less available, and as the length of the school day is reduced to accommodate two or more shifts. Outdated and inappropriate curricula, inadequately prepared teachers, collapsed teacher training, support and supervision services and poor alignment of the system to the development needs of the country can continue to undermine the quality of learning many years after the problems of access have been addressed. Given all this, the challenges to improving quality in emergency education, should be a consideration from the very beginning.

Education in emergencies sits uneasily between humanitarian aid and development assistance. It is in the understanding of EFA resolutions that primary education and preferably secondary also should be free. Though basic education is free in most countries, there are surprisingly hidden costs that prevent poor children from attending schools. Many countries require uniforms or charge fees of various kinds. Schools in refugee and displaced settlements are not exempted from this rule. In situations where costs such as those mentioned, are identified as barriers to attendance, effort should be exerted to reduce or eliminate them altogether.

In 1974, for instance, the Kenyan Government announced it would eliminate primary school tuition. The plan was brilliant but did not provide for a way to replace the lost revenue to schools. To make ends meet, schools had to impose some kind of fees. The net result was, low enrolment among the least able (Nkinyagi 1982). The government of Kenya did eventually

wave off fees in primary education in 2003. The result is yet to be evaluated. But the most ambitious campaign to increase school fees was in Malawi on recommendation by the World Bank (Pscharapoulous and Woodhall 1985). It was argued at the time that increasing the fees would not affect enrolments and that the poorest would not drop out of school. Contrary to the argument, the recommendation resulted in plummeting enrolments (Fuller 1989). The government of the time became a target of an aid suspension by the donor community in 1992, which hastened regime change (Tomasevski 1997). The new government eventually restored free primary education in 1994.

## **5. The content of education**

### **5.1. Language of instruction**

At the heart of all education is language policy (Phillipson 1999). Whenever possible, the learner's first language is to be used as a medium of instruction. Research findings from many countries in Europe, for example, Norway suggest that, the disproportionate failure of children with a first language other than that used for instruction is attributable to among others, the children's inadequate linguistic abilities (Hægeland m.fl. 2004). Other factors commonly cited also include, unstimulating home environments, and parents' lack of formal education in the official language. A large number of these children can rightly be categorised as semi-lingual, with no proficiency in either mother tongue or official language, due to continual code-switching in their communities and the use of non-standard language at home.

Education is often defined as a message carrier (Cowen 2000: 5). Whether children understand the message depends on three key factors: the language of instruction, teachers and books. There are many children who are educated in a language different from their own, but there is too little information available about language as an obstacle to learning. Home-school discontinuity in terms of language and culture was assumed to create school adjustment problem for children, with a consequent achievement gap (Tharp 1989). It must be remembered that these research findings explain the disproportionate school failure, dropout and repetition rates of immigrant children in the west. It is not illusionary to maintain that, the same factors also can explain school failures in other places. Lack of proficiency inhibits active participation in learning, class discussions and group work (Brock-Utne 2000).



Another disadvantage of having to use a metropolitan language as the medium of instruction is the lack of parental help and community involvement in children's education. Parents are likely not to turn up for conferences or shy away from school communal activities if they lacked proficiency in the official language. Because of limited help, children are more likely to be tracked out of the academic path, to repeat a grade, and to drop out of school (Hakuta 1986). From a developmental perspective, this school-language policy is disadvantageous because it does not build on children's existing native language skills (Gonzales 1975). This language policy is also catastrophic. It results in steadily decreasing numbers of languages and a consequent loss of our rich cultural heritage (Crawford 1991).

## **5.2. Teacher training and recruitment**

Despite the widespread recognition that teachers are keys to improving educational quality, many recurring problems affecting teachers' performance have not been dealt with. Efforts directed to improving the quality of education in areas of conflict and refugee camps have, for the most part, seen teachers as no more than mere recipients of NGOs mandates placing them at the margin of policy-making and implementation. The failure to include teachers in policy making and implementation has meant that many policies have failed to adequately address teachers' concerns and needs. The mounting challenge for policy-makers concerned with the quality of education for refugees and displaced children is to attract and retain qualified teachers. Particular effort is being placed in convincing those from among the refugees and displaced communities.

Despite their importance, teachers get no more than a casual nod in global education strategies. It is much too easy to define them as a production factor in the manufacturing of human capital and forget that they are people with rights. Probing into their fate can reveal that, they are poorly and irregularly paid. It is not unusual that they are paid in goods other than cash. For education that takes place without a school building, without water, sanitation, desks or chairs, books, blackboards or chalks, a teacher makes all the difference. To be able to make a difference, the teacher's role needs to be recognised. Researchers and teacher advocates have argued that addressing teachers' economic needs and concerns will significantly have an impact on the quality of education. This would in turn boost the quality of education offered. Many have recommended addressing economic considerations in a

systematic way, calling for more coherence in policies regarding recruitment, training and professional support (Thompson 1990).

The training of teachers should include programmes relevant to conditions in the camps; local curricular content, local languages, the frequent need for multigrade classes and teaching under substandard conditions. Admission to training must be organised such that women are proportionally represented. This is important because few countries in the world have established a policy of gender balance, namely the objective that the representation of one sex should not exceed forty per cent without corrective measures being automatically triggered off. Perceptions teachers hold about their expected workplace at the recruitment and deployment stages will greatly contribute to whether or not they will choose to work as teachers and remain in their stations of duties. Lack of input regarding placement combined with weak administrative support, poor facilities, low moral and lack of community support for work done can negatively influence recruitment deployment, and retention.

### **5.3. Curriculum development**

The content of schooling is an important component of education. Malhotra (1983) identified a compelling reason for the problems of low enrolment and dropout at an elementary level. He says, apart from socio-economic factors which prevent children from enrolling in schools or result in their premature departure or withdrawal, education unrelated to specific needs of specific communities is a major hindering factor in reaching the goal of universal primary education. Attention must be taken to understand the rituals and beliefs that govern their lives (jfr. Goncu 2003, Hundeide 2003, Rogoff 2003). This conception is highly relevant to the context of refugee education. Curriculum contents, argued Talib, “should stand for and reflect their actual experiences; in effect, such a measure would protect a literacy pack from selecting symbols and meanings that masquerade as valid and valuable for all” (Talib 1998: 205). Here is a view from a Masai herder: We pick out the brightest children, those with the most potential, and then send them off with goats. It takes brains to identify each animal, find water, and ward off cattle rustles and *predators* (my own). School is for those who are less quick (Kenya, 2002). The school curriculum should reflect the society and its values (jfr. Tyler 1949, UNHCR 1997) in order to convince parents of the value of formal schooling and get children interested and engaged in their subjects.

The role of educational institutions in countries which have and still experiencing conflict is also important. Schools are powerful instruments of socialisation (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). They transmit the values, beliefs, attitudes and all that constitutes our societies. It is not uncommon for these values to be filtered through the school curriculum. As Freire (1970) reiterated many times, education is never neutral; it is either for domestication or for freedom. However, curriculum developers are often faced with the task of developing curricula in a situation where educational institutions might have implicitly or explicitly contributed to the cause of violence. Any educational action involves a normative judgement, decisions as to what to explore and what to ignore. UN Special Rapporteur on Rwanda described in 1977 how successive regimes not only conditioned the population to ethnic hatred but also instrumentalised education in the preparation of genocide: The schools took it upon themselves to develop actual theories of ethnic differences, based on a number of allegedly scientific data which were essentially morphological and historiographical (...) this theory was a major factor in the 1994 genocide (Degni-segui 1997: Paragraph 25).

Like curriculum development, appropriate and revised textbooks would need to focus on underlying roots of most tensions such as poverty, illiteracy, discrimination and oppression. Whilst the details of exactly what to teach should be the responsibility of those immediately concerned with teaching, it is important that all those who are involved with the planning and implementation of refugee activities are aware of the scope of curriculum contents and make informed decisions about which to promote and encourage in particular circumstances.

#### **5.4. School-based psychosocial programme**

In a survey commissioned by the Government of Rwanda and UNICEF (Gupta 1996) on children after the genocide it was discovered that a large proportion of them had lost immediate family members, and many among these, had actually witnessed their murders. These atrocities indicate just how much violence children get exposed to, during conflicts. But apart from direct violence, children are also deeply affected by other distressing experiences. Armed conflicts do not only destroy, displace and split families and communities. They also break down trust among people, undermining the very foundations of children's lives. The manner to which children respond to the stress of armed conflict will

depend on their own particular circumstances. These include individual factors such as age, sex, personality, cultural background, etc. Other factors will be linked to the nature of the traumatic events, including their frequency and the length of exposure.

Research evidence shows that early psychosocial intervention in educational settings can dramatically improve the educational potentials of children affected by war. In Rwanda (*ibid*), a survey showed that two thirds of the sampled had witnessed someone being killed or injured. The response to this was the rapid restoration of schooling, as a means of outreach to children, as well as training teachers to understand the effects of trauma (Aguilar and Richmond 1998). A significant proportion of children who have experienced conflict will suffer from adverse psychosocial consequences. Their attention span may be reduced; they may become emotionally demanding, and be over-anxious, irritable and fearful (*jfr.* Zutt 1994, Teffer 1999). Yet, for some children, schools may provide one of the few locations in which they have access to adult attention and concern (*jfr.* Bronfenbrenner 1986, Raywid 1988). It has been known for some time that children reared in families in which contact with adults is either minimal, absent or abusive may lack the self-esteem, confidence, or social skills required to negotiate the demands and routines of schools (Dreeben 1968). Establishing quasi-familial relations with their teachers lays a base upon which, trust and confidence can be built.

There are advantages in using schools for psychosocial measures. The structured environment of the schools provides a sense of stability. This is vital in psychosocial adjustment (Tolfree 2003). School activities can be designed in such manner as to mimic the learning style practiced in the villages (Fuglesang 1982). By learning together, children develop problem solving skills and gain a sense of control over their lives. In 1998, UNICEF (2001) developed psychosocial programme designed for war-affected children. The programme covers among others: recreational activities and psychosocial counselling. This programme was applied in Eritrea where, the overall emergency child protection objective was the provision of psychosocial counselling service to children affected by the border conflict with Ethiopia. The programmes are designed to advance children's psychological and social development, strengthen protective factors that limit the effects of adverse influences and to "to ensure that psychological recovery and social reintegration can take place" (Nylund *m.fl.* 1999: 19).

## **5.5. Limitations of school-based psychosocial support**

Whatever the benefits, there are also serious constraints with school-based psychosocial programme. Psychologists and psychoanalysts working in the field of emergency response are deeply preoccupied with a debate regarding the universality or otherwise of the concepts of psychiatry and psychology in non-western cultures. For some experts, elements of the western approach must be used, while for others the focus should be the restoration of supportive social structures broken by conflict and displacement (jfr. Summerfield 1999, Parker 1996). The large-scale use of individualised therapies is not practical in such situations, and a community-based approach is needed.

UNICEF's support for community-based psychosocial programme was one of its main interventions in Bosnia-Herzegovina where local psychologists were hired to train school teachers in the basics of psychological trauma. A 1998 review concluded that teachers were given valuable information about behavioural changes in their students at an important time and felt better able to cope (Richardson 1998). Despite the training, issues of class size, inadequate mechanisms for continuous monitoring and supervision will undermine success (Rutter 1994).

While there is a large body of literature around refugees addressing social, medical and political issues, only a small proportion of this is about school-based interventions and programmes. In addition, research done with refugees is typically concerned with specific refugee populations. There is evidence to suggest that, findings can not be generalised across cultures (McCloskey and Southwick 1996). Cultural differences exist in the interpretation of trauma, and in ways of coping (jfr. Kleinman 1987, Beneduce and Martelli 2005). The same event therefore may have different effects on different groups of people and the same intervention may not be equally successful with all groups of people. In addition there are significant differences between group that affect outcomes, such as the particular circumstances around flight, cultural and geographical distance between the displaced and place of exile or displacement, etc. (Miller and Rasco 2004). Ideally, any psychosocial intervention should follow a thorough sociocultural analysis of the country's culture, traditions and institutions (including any regional variations) in order to identify social differentiations and who will benefit from what and how (Palmer 2002). The current available information on this issue is riddled with definite limitations that can not be ignored.

The World Health Organisation (WHO 1994) stresses that in spite of the universal characteristics of trauma, mental health in non-Western World must be viewed as an integral part of public health and social welfare programmes, and not as a separate entity requiring specialised knowledge and skills. Primary health care workers, frequently the only net work available, may have a role in fostering discussion of war related effects within a locally relevant framework, and assisting in the recognition of those who merit extra attention and support. In the traditional beliefs of many African cultures, for example, the welfare of the body and soul is dependent on the actions of others, including spirits and ancestors. Accordingly, the main source of trauma is the spirits of the dead. Spirits of the dead are believed to haunt the living relatives when proper burial rites are not observed or ignored. In this context, modern psychotherapeutic approaches as reflected in the school based psychosocial therapy are ill suited in a situation where people are more likely to turn for assistance to their families or traditional healers. It may also ultimately undermine the resilience of families to cope by paying little regards to their methods.

Regardless of the merits or demerits of the programme, there remains a lot to be explored concerning the effectiveness of structured activities including education in healing the effects of trauma, displacement, breakage of social networks and so on, among child and young adults in emergency situations (Bracken and Petty 1998). Psychosocial intervention in this case is more of an art than science. It is better therefore to introduce constructive social activities of the type discussed above rather than wait for scientific proof of effectiveness; which in any case is difficult to achieve, given widely varying situations, experiences and cultural and ethical considerations in establishing valid control groups.

## **5.6. Vocational training**

Employment opportunities are often very limited for both refugees and displaced persons. This is the same for countries emerging from armed conflicts that must face challenges of finding ways to swiftly reintegrate returnees into civil society. This can be a fairly complex process and represents immense difficulties for countries and communities that are usually resource depleted. It is therefore advisable that educational programmes should not be confined to reading and writing but extended to include technical and vocational training leading to a complete participation of adults in economic life (UNESCO 1966). The strategy

should be aimed particularly, but not exclusively, at integrating former combatants into a normal civilian life. For child soldiers and other former combatants, this can also be considered as part of a demobilisation package. Training offered should meet quality requirements and offer skills that can benefit the community in a peacetime economy.

It is generally agreed that, most work opportunities of the future will require, vocational and technical skills that today are not readily available in general education institutions. That concern is an integral part in the provision of the EFA. Technological changes, globalisation, frequent economic recessions and diminishing resources, means that legislation and policies be developed to ensure that TVET (Technical and Vocational Education and Training) caters adequately to the varied needs of all members of society to enter or re-enter the world of work (UNEVOC 2005). A unit known as UNEVOC (United Nations Technical and Vocational Education) within UNESCO has the mandate of improving quality of education through diversifying the contents and methods regarding implementation of TVET programmes. It promotes policy dialogue, supports capacity building for TVET in the areas of teacher training, curriculum development and reform and establishes monitoring strategies.

Vocational training is usually provided in special training centres. Their performances, however, have not been criticised. The educational requirements for entry are often too high for ex-combatants and other children with only a minimal level of basic education. Many such schemes also tend to isolate trainees from the local labour market because they are based on capital-intensive settings, very different from the labour-intensive operations typical of most informal economies to which refugees and displaced persons are normally accustomed. Seldom are most of these trainings and courses planned on the basis of a prior market survey. Frequently skills imparted are of little practical value (Sinclair 1990).

## **5.7. Preliminary summary**

Though a variety of problems characterises education for refugee and displaced persons, the issue of inefficiency as shown by indicators such as low enrolment, high dropouts and poor cohort survival are the most obvious. Clearly, creating a relaxed educational environment is for a whole host of reasons extremely difficult in the context of conflict. This of course should not be looked at independently from other determining factors in the lives of refugees and the

displaced. All refugees and displaced persons have suffered grief and loss: the involuntary loss of their homes and familiar ways of life. In addition they might have suffered the traumas of persecution, violence, the loss of loved ones and close relatives. These are real issues, and they affect educational outcomes.

At the heart of any educational enterprise is the language of instruction, teacher recruitment and training. In recent times, the focus of educational policy has shifted from providing educational access to improving educational quality (jfr. Clemet 2003, Kane and Straiger 2002). This shift is reflected in policy changes directed at both human resource management and budget allocation. Increasingly, researchers, educators and policymakers point to the teacher as a key actor in the successful implementation of quality improvement policies. This is also evident, for example, in the informal review of World Bank basic education projects in the decade, 1980–1990 (World Bank 1992). Although this emphasis on teachers represent a remarkable departure in this review, it should be noted with grief that, in many countries quality in terms of teaching, training and terms of services for teachers had degenerated within the same period not less because of the conditions imposed by the same World Bank (Brock-Utne 2000).

Curriculum and textbook reforms require a cautious and sequential approach to ensure that guidance on immediate key curriculum matters does not over shadow development of a wider curriculum vision. The curriculum is one single issue that often generate the highest levels of concern in the context of conflict. The curriculum is also at the centre of concern over management of diversity in education and in the wider society. Most curricula in conflict prone nations have either an assimilationist or a separatist approach to dealing with identity. Both of these strategies often become the focus of identity struggles that contribute to conflict. Reforming the seemingly insulting aspect is a major undertaking requiring strong and clear political leadership, extensive consultations, considerable technical expertise and comprehensive training programmes for teachers. Given that many of these conditions do not exist or are severely incapacitated during emergencies, considerable flexibility and innovation are required to tackle the urgent curriculum issues that confront education authorities.

Armed conflict affects all aspects of child development: physical, mental and emotional. To be effective, assistance must take each of these into account. Historically, those concerned with the situation of children during armed conflict have focused primarily on their



vulnerability. The loss, grief and fear a child has experienced must also be considered. This concern is reflected in article 39 of the CRC, which requires parties concerned to take all appropriate measures to promote children's welfare. This is best achieved by ensuring that, psychosocial assistance intrinsic to child development and growth is addressed as a matter of urgency from the outset of relief operations. Not much is known about the long term effect of conflict on children. What is obvious is that, all cultures recognise childhood as a highly significant period in which children learn future roles and incorporate the values and norms of their societies. The extreme and often prolonged circumstances of armed conflict interfere with this process.

The value of technical and vocational education and training in the provision of skills for employment is well recognised. In camps for refugee and displaced persons there can be a lot of idleness specifically among school age children. This in itself is a recipe for violent crimes in a post conflict era as the group would not be useful in a peace time economy. When demobilising combatants, UNICEF normally advises parties concerned on the need of education and training as part of the reintegration programmes to improve the prospect for ex-combatants to play a productive role. This is important. Education and training represent not only a lifeline to securing permanent peace but also equip individuals with the competencies and skills that are essential in life.

## **6. Education for peace**

### **6.1. Education for conflict resolution and prevention**

In response to the recent record of traditional peacekeeping in conflict settlement and resolution, academics and policy makers have begun to re-examine conflict prevention as an ideal instrument for the creation of peace. The main message of those involved in the study and practice of conflict prevention is as clear as it is obvious. Compared to conflict management, it seems less costly in political, economic and human terms to develop institutional mechanisms that prevent tensions from escalating into violent conflicts. This is easily achieved by employing early warning mechanisms that can allow the international community to monitor relations between and within States and to facilitate capacity building within conflict-prone societies (Carment and Schnabel 2003).

There is no lack of rhetoric on the necessity of conflict prevention, but serious attempts to give organisations the tools, procedures and means to put global and regional preventive systems into place are modest at best. Education for conflict resolution brings together multiple traditions of pedagogy, theories of education, and international initiatives for the advancement of human development through learning. It is fundamentally dynamic, multicultural and grows out of the work of critical pedagogues such as Freire (1970), Giroux (1983) and many others. This education aims to cultivate knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to achieve and sustain a global culture of peace.

## **6.2. Peace education as an agent of social change**

Birgit Brock-Utne defines education for peace as “an education aimed at bringing peace” (Brock-Utne 1989: 78). It is however interesting to note that, education for peace is rooted in the global peace movement. People all over, are deeply concern about the acute threat to world peace. This is explicitly manifested in the fears that modern weapons of mass destruction could lead to a nuclear catastrophe. Facing, for the first time in history, the possibility of a total nuclear destruction, many people – irrespective of their national or social origin, call into question the given state of international relations on which the concept of global peace is built. Accordingly, many peace researchers argued that the global movement towards peace involves not simply eradicating war but “cooperation and non-violent social change, aimed at creating more equitable and just structures in a society” (Hicks 1988: 6).

While peace has regularly been a guiding ideal in human history, finding manifold expression in religious writings and beliefs, it has only been actually realised in human society in a vague and rudimentary way. There have never been shortages of grand political designs seeking to safeguard peace via systems of alliance and entente, peacekeeping forces, genocide tribunals and UN resolutions on conflicts. Kant (1991) in “The Cosmopolitan” describes us, as species of education through history. He describes how history teaches man to humanise his instinctive behaviour; including his aggressiveness that manifest itself in the brutality of war. But each relapse into aggression, he insisted, has a distinctively educative and hence corrective side to it. This bit of thought has been rehearsed over and again in our time, from the conception of the League of Nations to the work of the United Nations and her many resolutions to preserve peace by appealing to our ability to learn from history.

In a 1989 Culture of Peace Congress in Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivoire, there was a call to construct a new vision for the culture of peace and promote education and research for this vision (UNESCO 1995). In the schools, the practice of that culture of peace is an opportunity to promote the total welfare of children, advocate for just and equitable treatment and promote individual and social responsibility. Peace education is a demonstration that there are alternatives to violence. Empirical studies (Kornadt 1992) have demonstrated that, frustration and aggression are not necessarily mutually conditioned. If, however, from an early stage, an individual finds that aggression as an outlet for frustration is successful, then pathological interdependence can in fact come about. It is thus important that management of frustration and aggression be learned at an early stage. This in itself is a proof that human behaviour is largely a product of a learning process. That process is neither static nor terminal. It is ongoing. It is on this ability that educational intervention can have a liberating effect.

### **6.3. The pedagogy of peace education**

Betty Reardon, on an assignment from UNESCO to work out a manual on education for a culture of peace wrote that, "war is an institution that has evolved in virtually all human society" (Reardon 2001: 39). This statement may mean war is inevitable; a contention rejected by the scientist in Seville (Mack 1990). Research by Boulding (2000) suggests that war is a recent phenomenon. There are also many non-violent cultures that have survived to our time (Goldstein 2001). One way to meet the challenges of peace education is to build bridges of support among key participants. Just as learning takes place in a broader context and not exclusively in schools or classrooms, so peace education must inevitably rely also on all of us: families, communities, social networks, etc to gain legitimacy and have lasting effect. "Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed" (UNESCO 1945). As a model, the ambitious aims of peace education is preventing political violence and redressing the distortion of values in those exposed to violence. For this to be realised, peace education should be incorporated into the curriculum prior to, during and after conflict, in countries at war as well as those at peace (Dugan 1991).

In terms of methodology, peace education should emphasize largely but not exclusively on inter-personal behaviour. Conflict is generated at group level, but by changing inter-personal behaviours, a grand work for changing inter-group behaviours is in the making. Those

exposed to violence should be equipped with skills needed to resolve inter-personal conflicts without resort to violence. The process of schooling must inculcate in the children the values of tolerance, mediation and negotiations in resolving differences. These were also the conclusions of the Madrid Conference on School Education where the use of school curricula, textbooks and teaching methods were prioritised (UNHCR 2001). Controversies regarding the teaching of wars, conflicts and associated abuses occur daily. Croatian textbooks, for instance, have been found to have included descriptions of Serbs as “merciless barbarians who ran amok (Pingel 2000: 87). In Serbian school textbooks, those same events are probably described as ethnic cleansing and forced expulsion of the Serbian population from Croatia.

In a world of diversity and disparity, children are a unifying force capable of bringing people together. Children’s needs and aspirations cut across all ideologies and cultures. The needs of all children are the same: nutritious food, adequate health care, a decent education, shelter and a secure and loving family. Children are our reason to struggle to eliminate the worst aspects of warfare and our best hope for succeeding (Machel 2001). We must envision a society free of conflict where children can grow up as children, not weapons of war. Whether we regard warlike attitudes as having their origins in a more primitive natural human condition characterised by the “right to violence,” the only way in which we can seriously expect to modify such attitudes in the long term is through education (Rohrs 1994).

#### **6.4. Limitations of peace education**

An integrated curriculum that has peace education as an important component begins with our role and responsibilities to society. Integrated teaching observed Clark (2002), is attuned to natural processes of learning, such as constructing meaning and understanding context, relationships, and concepts within a genuine community of learning. The purpose of education is not to pile up facts but to cultivate inquiry, meaningful understanding, and direct interpersonal engagement and analysis of the content of learning. It is to mitigate the role of memory in rekindling past conflicts (Cairns and Roe 2003).

One of the objective towards which education should be directed is often defined as tolerance. Setting the limits of the intolerable is the first necessary step towards creating space for tolerance (Tomasevski 2003). In most countries, domestic law protect individuals against

being publicly insulted, but prohibitions of group defamation are rare (Jones 1998). Maligning foreigners, for example, can be deemed an expression of patriotism and is often a vote-winner. This has been emphasised by the ECRI (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) which has, in the case of Denmark, pointed out that negative stereotypes and prejudices are “promoted by public opinion leaders, including political elites from across the political spectrum” (ECRI 2001: 13). Their inevitable influence on children and young people undermines integration, tolerance and harmony in school-based education. The whole scenario is such that, what a child hears in school is in conflict out-of-school messages, for example, the media.

While the value of peace education approaches has never been disputed, their effectiveness in preventing or reducing political violence is yet to be fully evaluated (Sommers 2001). Notable criticisms are known to exist. Haavelsrud (1983), for example, notes that it is naïve to think that the oppressors in any given conflict would be willing to embrace peace education, making it necessary to concentrate on the oppressed and those who are neutral. Just as Education cannot solve the problems of unemployment – that is the business of economic planners in a nation – so peace Education alone cannot be expected to prevent war. For many, the immediate cause of conflict is inextricably linked to the distortion of history, adopted and legitimised, and not in few occasions taught in schools (Obura 2003). Cairns and Dunn (2002) are critical of the very foundation of peace education. They think that, while religious groups and others are all battling the minds of children, adults continue to pursue conflictive relations. He asks whether peace educationists expect too much of education, given that learning in children is largely inspired by adult role models. It is virtually impossible for education to inculcate peaceful values in children when adult role models are built on conflict.

## **6.5. Preliminary summary**

If what is mentioned above is anything to go by, then peace education is lined up for failure. Whatever recipe of influence popped up by school on personal identity and behaviour of children has little or no effect on the way children identify themselves and act as a member of a group. Since it is group identity and group behaviour, and not inter-personal behaviour that are determinants in armed conflict, emphasis on building inter-personal behaviour and relationship could be misplaced.

It is evident that, peace education's tendency to focus on correcting individual views and behaviour about war while wars themselves emanate from group conflicts is sitting on a false premise. Children are not necessarily passive victims of conflicts. Group level analysis of their immense competencies and contributions in the context of conflict and displacement is required (Boyden and de Berry 2004). Schools need to pay attention – not reactively, but proactively – to developing children's social and emotional competencies that is their ability to understand, manage, and express the social and emotional aspects of their lives in ways that enable them to learn, form relationships, solve everyday problems, and adapt to the complex demands of growing up.

Creating a future generation of responsible and compassionate citizens requires a consistent, comprehensive, sustained effort. If violence and non-violence are equal options that individuals may choose to manage conflict and anger, and if the behaviours associated with each of these choices can be learned, then it is clear that, education of young people must include the learning of peaceful methods and behaviours. Yet, it is to be noted that schools per se, have no control over many of the factors that contribute to violence: social injustice, absurd military spending, unequal distribution and access to resources, etc. World peace can only be made viable via the resolution of socio-political problems on international, regional and local levels. It cannot be achieved through an accumulation of arms stockpiles in the interests of something masquerading as national security (UN 1983). On the contrary, the reallocation of national resources away from armament and toward education is urgently required, as demanded for by the EFA declaration, which calls for “a transfer from military to educational expenditure” (WCEFA 1990: 8).

## **7. Conclusion**

After the EFA conference, access to equal and quality education has become a birth right for ever child regardless of circumstances. However, in spite of this cherished ideal, access to education remains elusive for a proportionally large number of children. The reasons are more often than not related to poverty, civil conflict, displacement and gender. At the same time, many children, who enter the school at primary level, do not complete the cycle for reasons just mentioned. Another challenge is the mismatch between formal learning in institutions and economic opportunities in society. According to human capital theory of investment, the

expectation of a good job creates the incentive for human capital investment in education. If returns, in form of wages, are too low or too uncertain to justify the sacrifice required, parents and children will have no incentive to invest in schooling.

Formal education “plays a foundational role in determining the character of the political, economic and socio-cultural life of any given society” (Lynch and Lodge 2002: 1). Schools argued Siraj-Blatchford is, “a key arena where children can reflectively develop knowledge about themselves and their skills and abilities in participating with others” (Siraj-Blatchford and Siraj-Blatchford 1995: 38). This alone, makes participation imperative for every member of the society. Dreeben (1968) argued that, it is within schools that children are exposed to norms which are critical to their successful negotiation of modern economic and political institutions. These norms include independence, universality and solidarity. These he believed, cannot be transmitted within the home or other intimate social environments because of their more communal orientation. Schools play key roles in not only distributing cultural heritage, but also in defining the parameters of that heritage. It is an important arbiter of what constitutes the culturally valuable, in terms of what is taught and how it is taught.

Conflict has an extremely disruptive effect on education, disrupting funding and services essential to schooling. In spite of insecurity and displacement, the biggest obstacle to education for refugees and displaced persons is funding. Perceived as a developmental activity, education traditionally was never a priority in international relief programmes. Even today, when a growing number of institutions are involved in the provision of education in emergencies, funding is inadequate; coverage poor; and standard low. Where it is integrated in relief and rehabilitation programmes, it is often subject to extremely disruptive short term emergency funding arrangements. UNESCO has been instrumental with its contribution in the provision of teacher training and the production and distribution of the TEP kits for use in emergency schools. However, it is essential that such emergency measures developed for short-term usages are seen as transitional and do not become permanent in the absence of long term planning and investment.

Gender discrimination is pervasive in all patriarchal societies. In the developing countries of Africa for instance, it is also a legacy of colonialism. This is reflected in education as much as in employment. Consequently, schools alone cannot change the mindset behind structural gender inequality, but they do have a key role in educating children (future parents) why

limiting access to girls' education is wrong. Dewey once asserted that, "it is the aim of progressive education to take part in correcting unfair privilege and unfair deprivation, not to perpetuate them" (1997: 119). In many conflicts, schools have too often been accused of serving to uphold privileges. This is easily accomplished through both the written and the hidden curriculum (Giroux 1983). By creating opportunities for children to form Cordial relations with others in schools, educators could begin the process of helping children "to be tolerant towards social, political and religious systems which differ from their own, ensuring that community accepted humanistic values and human rights are upheld, and to work for international peace solidarity in an interdependent world" (WCEFA 1990: 3).

Conflict is and has always been a result of inequalities in the level of participation, distribution and consumption in the society. The purpose of this thesis has not just been about advancing understanding of how schooling can promote social cohesion, knowledge, skills and help to mitigate the effects of conflict. It has also been, about contributing to the debate on conflict resolution, by offering insights into how social injustices can be readdressed. Critic to this view is many and vibrant. "Many observers have argued that whatever the ambitions the egalitarians and liberals have for education to transform society, this has not happened" (Ross 2000: 82). Education systems and schools, which tend to reproduce the skills, values, and social relations of dominant groups, are frequently a contributory factor in conflict (Smith and Vaux 2003). Formal education according to this claim can have no significant equalising generating effect in a society characterised by a higher degree of structured inequality (jfr. Williams 1961, Jencks 1972, Apple 1990). This confirms Bourdieu's doubts of schools as promoters of egalitarian values. He instead proposes that we abandon the "myth of the school as a liberating force so that we can perceive the educational institution in the true light of its social uses, that is as one of the foundations of domination and of the legitimation of domination" (Bourdieu 1996: 5).

Pierre Bourdieu and the sceptics may be right after all. The Jomtien conference, the Dakar education forum and the Convention on the Rights of Children while making elaborate references to marginalised groups such as the poor, victims of conflicts and the disabled, it no-where suggests that these groups require affirmative action relative to the advantaged of the society. Similarly, girls' education that has become a priced agenda in the corridors of relief agencies and donor countries should have to do with issues of fairness, equity and securing the best talents rather than masquerade as preventive mechanism for birth control



(Brock-Utne 2000). Refugees, the displaced, the girl child and the generally marginalised of the society are some of the most disadvantaged groups of modern times. Without developing new strategies that favour the periphery over the centre, it will be impossible for this group to partake in the dreams that once inspired the categorisation of education as a basic right for all.

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