EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE

The role of education in the aftermath of ethnic conflict

M.A. Thesis

Marijke Averink, 3230007

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Supervisor: Dr. Peter Malcontent

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Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding.

- Albert Einstein

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ABSTRACT

T he last few decades have seen a rise in intrastate ethnic conflict. Shattered societies disrupted by ethnic divisions, had to be rebuild and reconciled. This thesis questions the role of education in the process of peacebuilding in the aftermath of ethnic conflict. The twin mandate of education systems in post-conflict societies - rebuilding themselves and society at the same time - offers both opportunities and challenges. It builds upon the assumption that education has two faces, a negative and a positive one, and may be a driver of conflict as well as a way of contributing to conflict transformation and peacebuilding.

In an effort to build a bridge between research and practice and in order to form guidelines for educational (re)creators that operate in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, this study tries to find out **'to what extent and how, education can play a role in achieving sustainable peace after ethnic conflict, and to what extent these findings show consistence with the case of Rwanda'**. On the basis of secondary literature, in the first part of this study a theoretical framework is developed on how education can play a positive role in the process towards sustainable peace after ethnic conflict. In order to find out to what extent reality shows consistence with the framework, the second part of this thesis includes a case-study on Rwanda.

The study shows, that as presumed, education can be part of the problem as well as part of the solution. Because education is never value free or neutral, its quality is essential and one should bear in mind that education is not inevitably a force of good. Especially in societies divided by ethnic conflict, where ethnicity can be mobilized trough education, education can play a pivotal role. In these contexts, education should be inclusive and promote socialization, peacebuilding and reconciliation in order to contribute to sustainable peace.

The case-study shows that the Rwandan government implemented many policies that foster the positive role of education. However, there also appear to be some inconsistencies that are in conflict with the developed framework. Although Rwanda seems to be on the road to a peaceful future, some important contradictions are hidden in the current education policy. These obstacles should be removed in order that sustainable peace can be achieved.

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Second World War, the number of intrastate conflicts (conflict within a state) has exceeded the number of interstate conflicts (conflict between two or more states).[1] This trend continued in the twenty-first century. Between the years 2000 and 2006 an annual average of thirty-two armed conflicts occurred and twenty-seven of them where intrastate.[2]

In the study *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, Kenneth Bush and Diana Saltarelli point out that most of the world's Post-Cold War armed conflicts are civil wars. They see a trend to label them 'ethnic' in comparison to conflicts of the past that seemed to be political or ideological in nature. Twenty-four out of twenty-five armed conflicts in 1997 were internal and appear to be motivated by for example religion, traditions or skin-color. While 'ethnicity' is often cited as a major cause of ethnic conflict, Bush and Saltarelli point out that ethnicity rather mobilizes and politicizes conflict than vice versa.[3]

In a report of the Department for International Development (DFID), Alan Smith, Professor of Education and UNESCO Chair at the University of Ulster, and Tony Vaux, Director of Humanitarian Initiatives based in Oxford and former co-ordinator of humanitarian aid for OXFAM, argue that one of the ways in which ethnicity is mobilized for conflict is through education.[4] The role of education has historically often been opposite to coexistence. Professor Tony Gallagher explains that only in the second half of the twentieth century the role of education began to shift from securing the position of social elites to an acknowledgement of cultural diversity and contribution to the process of social cohesion.[5]

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[1] See The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), *Patterns of Peace and Conflict* (2008). <http://www.pcr.uu.se/digitalAssets/17/17955_UCDP_PRIO_brochure_2008.pdf>, accessed 18 Oct. 2012 ; David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, 'Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict', *International Security*, 21/2 (1996), 41 ; T. Gallagher, *Education in Divided Societies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 10.

[2] HalvardBuhaug, Scott Gates, HåvardHegre, Håvard Strand, *Global trends in armed conflict* <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/ud/kampanjer/refleks/innspill/engasjement/prio.html?id=492941>, accessed 17 Oct. 2012.

[3] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict, Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2000), 7.

[4] A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development* (London: Department for International Development, 2003), 5.

[5] Tony Gallagher, *Conflict, Education and Ethnicity Dealing with Division and Cohesion through Education* (Belfast: Queen's University, 2011), 1.

In the light of these historical facts, the 'two faced' relationship of education and conflict becomes clearer. Especially in post-conflict settings, where social cohesion is a critical condition for sustainable peace, education can play an essential role. Although the World Bank's *Reshaping the future: education and post-conflict reconstruction* presumes that education cannot cause or end war, it concludes that education does contribute to the factors that lie at the root of the conflict and has the potential to play an important role in building peace and reconstruction.[6] Whether this claim is correct remains to be seen, but regardless of whether education contributed to conflict, the World Bank states legitimately that education systems and schools are always weakened by conflict. This twin mandate of education systems in post-conflict societies - 'rebuilding' themselves and society at the same time - offers both opportunities and challenges for education in the aftermath of violent conflict.[7]

The existence of these opportunities and challenges are slowly being acknowledged by the international community. At the 50th session of the General Assembly (GA) of the United Nations (UN) a report by politician Graça Machel drew global attention to the devastating impact of armed conflict on children. Machel states that educational activity should be established as a priority component of all humanitarian assistance.[8] Furthermore, the UN Secretary-General's 2009 report on peacebuilding identified a number of recurring priorities in conflict-affected situations: 'establishing security, building confidence in a political process, delivering initial peace dividends and expanding core national capacity'[9]. These priorities include 'the provision of basic services, such as water and sanitation, health and primary education'[10].

Although these UN statements seem to demonstrate an increased understanding of education's role in and after violent conflict, Smith thinks that education's role is still underestimated. He argues that in conflict-affected situations education is

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[6] World Bank, *Reshaping the Future: Education and Post-conflict Reconstruction* (Washington DC: World Bank, 2005), 86.

[7] Ibid, 1-2.

[8] G. Machel, *Impact of armed conflict on children* (1996) <http://www.unicef.org/graca/a51-306_en.pdf>, accessed 21 Oct. 2012, 25.

[9] UN General Assembly Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict* (2009) <http://www.unrol.org/files/pbf_090611_sg.pdf>, 15, accessed 11 Oct. 2012.

[10] Ibid.

about more than service delivery. Education is a means of socialization and identity development through the transmission of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes across generations. Smith argues that education may therefore be a driver of conflict (fuelling grievances, stereotypes, xenophobia and other antagonisms), but can also be a way of contributing to conflict transformation and peacebuilding.[11]

Besides the international community and academics, also practitioners in the field of education are more and more addressing the important role that education plays in post-conflict situations. Independent education consultant Martha Hewison stresses that attitudes to education need to change. She points out that there is a global interest and a commitment by the world's governments in reaching the goals of Education for All (EFA), but that conflicts remain a major obstacle. Hewison argues that to achieve the targets of EFA ('to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults'[12]) the essential place that education should take in conflict response must be recognized.[13]

To maximize the beneficial role of education in the peacebuilding process and to manage the challenges and limitations for education in post-conflict settings, there is a need for strategic frameworks that can serve as guidelines for practitioners and policy makers in the process of post-conflict educational (re)creation. Even though educational response to conflict is increasingly understood as an essential and immediate need[14], education in conflict and post-conflict settings is considered a research field 'in its infancy'[15].

Kathryn Tomlinson and Pauline Benefield state in their work *Education and conflict: research and research possibilities* that there exists a research-practice gap.[16] Three important studies illustrate this statement very well. The two academic studies by educationalists Lynn Davies (*Education and conflict: complexity and chaos*) and Professor Tony Gallagher (*Education in divided societies*) are a contrast to the more practical

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[11] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building* (Paris: UNESCO, 2010), 1.
[12] UNESCO, 'Education for All Movement', *Unesco,*
<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all/>, para. 1, accessed 27 Oct. 2012.
[13] Martha Hewison, *The Fourth pillar* (Oxford, 2002), 57.
[14] Julia Paulson, Jeremy Rappleye, 'Education and conflict: Essay review'*, International Journal of Educational Development* , 27(2007), 340-347, 3.
[15] K. Tomlinson, P. Benefield, 2005. *Education and Conflict: Research and Research Possibilities* (Slough, Berkshire: National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER), 2005), 5.
[16] Ibid, 8-9.

World Bank publication (*Reshaping the future: education and post-conflict reconstruction*).[17] There seems to be a disconnection between the academic literature and the practical reports, and only few theoretical recommendations are elaborated into frameworks or programs that could serve as guidelines for policy makers and practitioners in the process of post-conflict educational recreation and peacebuilding.[18] Whilst a report on *Education for Reconstruction* by David Phillips, Professor of Comparative Education, for example distinguishes between 'physical' reconstruction of school buildings, 'ideological' reconstruction (democratisation of the education system and retraining of teachers), and 'psychological' reconstruction (responding to issues of demoralisation, loss of confidence and health-related issues of stress and depression), the World Bank completely ignores this study and suggests that the reconstruction of physical infrastructure is the only and main priority for post-conflict reconstruction.[19]

Research often seems to be inaccessible to those who might make use of it in practice. Tomlinson and Benefield state that policy makers and practitioners in governments, local and international non-governmental organisations and UN agencies (particularly UNESCO, UNHCR and UNICEF), seem more likely to be aware of research and reflective reports written by those within their own field of operation, than of work undertaken by university faculties. They find this unsurprising because the academic work is all too often inaccessible outside universities.[20] In order for academic research to make an impact on educational interventions, the gap between research and practice needs better bridges. Thus, to be useful for practitioners in the field of post-conflict educational re-creation, academic research needs to build stronger bridges between theory and reality by for example including case-studies, best practices and recommendations.

Besides the research-practice gap, there exists another lacuna in the field of education in conflict and post-conflict settings. It seems that only very few studies focus on a specific type of conflict.[21] The bulk of papers on education in conflict

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[17] Julia Paulson, Jeremy Rappleye, 'Education and conflict: Essay review', 1.
[18] Ibid, 3.
[19] Alan Smith, 'Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation', *Compare*, 35/4 (2005), 373–391, 384. See also: Alcira Kreimer, John Eriksson, Robert Muscat, Margaret Arnold, Colin Scott, *The World Bank's Experience with Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1998), 46.
[20] K. Tomlinson, P. Benefield, *Education and Conflict: Research and Research Possibilities,* 8.
[21] *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict* by Kenneth Bush and Diana Saltarelli focuses on ethnic conflict but lacks in giving extensive proof for the arguments made by the authors. Moreover, the theoretical research is not subject to a 'reality check' (absence of extensive case-

and post-conflict settings, treat conflict as a general phenomenon. They look at the challenges and possibilities for education in post-conflict settings by analyzing the general links between education and conflict. Although there has been a significant shift in the nature and type of conflict in the last twenty years, there is no complete study that focuses on the role of education in the aftermath of an intrastate, civil or ethnic war. This void has to be addressed and needs to be filled.

In an effort to close the research-practice gap by combining theory and practice, the following central question will be guiding this study:

> **To what extent and how can education play a role in achieving sustainable peace after ethnic conflict, and to what extent these findings show consistence with the case of Rwanda?**

The first part of the paper will contain a theoretical overview of the relationship between education and ethnic conflict. It will analyze the role that education plays in building sustainable peace in the aftermath of ethnic conflict. The most important challenges and possibilities that educational (re)creators encounter in these situations will be addressed. In trying to answer the research question I will perform a qualitative research on the basis of secondary literature provided by academics as well as practitioners and policy makers. I will try to develop a theoretical framework that demonstrates in what way education can contribute best in the process of attaining sustainable peace in post-conflict societies that suffered from ethnic conflict. In the second part of this thesis, the theoretical framework will be compared to reality. I will look into the case of Rwanda to find out to what extent the case shows consistence with the framework. Best and worst practices from Rwanda as well as final recommendations will serve as tools for practitioners and policy makers in the field of education in post-conflict settings.

The main aim of this study is to explore the role and significance of education in building sustainable peace in societies emerging from ethnic conflict. By transforming its findings into recommendations, it furthermore aims to build a bridge between research and practice. The case of Rwanda seems highly conducive for this research because an important key aspect of the conflict is that it has been

study material) and doesn't provide a framework, guidelines or recommendations that can serve practitioners and policymakers in the process of educational response in post-conflict settings.

largely fuelled by ethnic divisions. Furthermore, education seems to have played an important role in the run-up to the conflict, being discriminatory and irrelevant to Rwandese society, culture and values.[22] Therefore it will be interesting to see what role education plays in the aftermath of conflict in Rwanda.

To commence the analysis without any ambiguity, the first chapter will give a definition of the key terms that are used in this study. Subsequently, the second chapter will focus on the relationship between education, conflict and sustainable peace. There will be made an attempt to describe how education can foster and counter the process towards sustainable peace. This will be done by analyzing the challenges and possibilities for education in the aftermath of ethnic conflict on two levels: governance (structures) and practice. The first part of the paper will be concluded by an answer to the first part of the research question: To what extent and how can education play a role in achieving sustainable peace after ethnic conflict? In doing so, it will try to form a concise framework of how education can help to achieve sustainable peace after ethnic conflict.

The second part of the study will include a case study on the role of education in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide. In comparing the framework to the reality of the case, this study will try to find out to what extent reality of the matter shows consistence with the developed framework. After an introduction to the conflict, educational policies and practices in post-conflict Rwanda will be assessed. A conclusion will determine the consistencies and inconsistencies with the developed framework on education for sustainable peace after ethnic conflict. Finally, on the base of the inconsistencies, a list of recommendations will be established that could serve as a guideline for policymakers and practitioners in the field of educational recreation in the context of a society that suffered from ethnic conflict.

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[22] See Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy 2003 (*Kigali: 2003), 4 ; Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict, Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children,* 10.

CHAPTER I Definition of Key Terms

I n order to have a clear understanding of the the three main terms used in this research, the following paragraphs will define -'ethnic conflict', 'sustainable peace' and 'education' .

1.1. Ethnic conflict

Many important works on education and conflict have pointed out that the Post-Second World War period has known a rise of interstate ethnic conflict. [23] However, none of them gives a clear definition of the term 'ethnic conflict'. Although Dan Smith makes an attempt by arguing that ethnic conflicts are usually understood as 'conflicts between parties that are ethnically different and where this ethnic difference is central to the conflict'[24], clarification is needed on what exactly is meant with 'ethnic'. In order to have a clearer understanding of the meaning of *ethnic conflict*, the following section will define and analyse each of the two words that form the compound term.

Definition

Dictionaries define conflict as 'fight, battle, war' (Merriam-Webster online dictionary) or more specifically as 'prolonged armed struggle' (Oxford dictionaries), 'strong disagreement' or 'clash between contradictory impulses or wishes' (Penguin all English dictionary). Political scientist Stefan Wolff points out that ethnic conflict is one particular form of conflict in which the goals of at least one party are defined in ethnic terms and in which the primary fault line of confrontation is one of ethnic distinctions. He explains that whatever the issues are over which the parties are fighting, at least one of them will claim that its distinct ethnic identity is the reason why its members cannot realise their interests, why they do not have the same rights, or why their claims are not satisfied.[25] Thus, an ethnic conflict is a conflict in which at least one of the concerned parties thinks that the conflict's causes and potential remedies can be explained by a discriminating ethnic divide.

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[23] See The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), *Patterns of Peace and Conflict* (2008); David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, 'Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict', *International Security*, 21/2 (1996), 41 ; T. Gallagher, *Education in Divided Societies*, 9-10 ; Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, 7.
[24] Dan Smith., *Trends and Causes of Armed Conflict* (Berlin: Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004), 10.
[25] Stefan Wolff, *Ethnic conflict: A Global Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 2.

Whilst dictionaries define ethnic as 'belonging to a racial group' (Penguin all English dictionary) or 'the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition' (Oxford dictionaries), definitions of what constitutes an ethnic group have been subject to much discussion in the social sciences for the past decades.[26] The debate has largely taken place between the primordialists, the instrumentalists and the constructivists and relates to the question whether the features characteristic of a given ethnic group are inseparable of human character (primordialists) or socially constructed by economic or political reasons (instrumentalist and constructionists).[27]

Primordialists argue that ethnicity is formed and shaped by historic, cultural, social, psychological and biological realities.[28] They think that some of the features of ethnicity are objectively present and can be observed from the outside. Professor Emeritus of Nationalism and Ethnicity Anthony Smith, lists six necessary ethnic attributes: collective name, common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, comprising language and/or religion and/or institutions and/or other cultural features, an association with a specific territory and a sense of ethnic solidarity. First Smith argued that all features had to be present to speak of the existence of ethnicity. Later he changed that view by arguing instead that the more attributes a group has, the more it approximates to the ideal type of an ethnie.[29]

In contrast to primordialists, instrumentalists emphasise the malleability of ethnic ties and see ethnicity as a political resource for competing interest groups or as the consequence of the rational choice of individuals to pursue goals of wealth, prestige and power in a collective manner .[30] In short, they see ethnicity as a social construct.[31] The instrumentalist's definition of ethnicity is comparable to the one of the constructionists that argue that ethnic identities are constructed out of the material of language, religion, culture, appearance or regionality. They stress that

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[26]Elliott D. Green, 'Redefining Ethnicity', paper prepared for presentation at the 47th Annual International Studies Association Convention, San Diego, CA, March 2006, <http://personal.lse.ac.uk/greened/ISA.pdf>, accessed 16 Nov. 2012, 2.

[27] Ben Fowkes, *Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Communist World* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 1.

[28] Andries Odendaal, 'Ethnic Conflict and its Management', position paper (Centre for Conflict Resolution, June 1998). <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/staff_papers/odendaal_ethnic.html#f5>, accessed 16 Nov. 2012.

[29] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1991), 21.

[30] John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, *Ethnicity* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1996), 84-104.

[31] Andries Odendaal, 'Ethnic Conflict and its Management'.

ethnicity is not 'given' but is a social and political construction. Constructionist Paul Brass, Professor Emeritus of Political Science and International Studies, defines ethnicity as 'the subjective, symbolic, or emblematic use by a group of people of any aspect of culture in order to create internal cohesion and differentiate themselves from other groups' [32] . Furthermore, sociologist and constructionist Joane Nagel, claims that everyone carries a portfolio of ethnic identities for various situations and to be used in relation to different audiences.[33]

According to academics John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, primordialists fail to account for ethnic change and instrumentalists (or constructionists) seem unable to cope with ethnic durability.[34] Consequently, new research on ethnicity tries to combine the different views. Bush and Saltarelli for example, understand ethnicity to be a form of cultural distinctiveness. They point out that ethnic identity may be based on assumed national origins, or on shared phenotypic characteristics. In either case, the basis for ethnic affiliation establishes a particular community as distinctive and bounded. This means that for the idea of an ethnic group to have significance, there has to be a context of ethnic pluralism. [35]

To conclude this paragraph, it must be stated that this study sees ethnic conflict as a conflict in which at least one of the concerned parties thinks that the conflict's causes and potential remedies can be explained by a discriminating ethnic divide. Drawing on the definition of Bush and Saltarelli, this study understands ethnicity to be a shared belief in a common descent, birth or kinship and can include communities that are bounded by for example religious background, history, nationality or even skin colour. Theoretically, ethnic boundaries are socially constructed and hence malleable, even though in particular contexts they may be treated as timeless and unalterable.[36] Finally, knowing that the term conflict does not necessarily imply violence, it should be stated here, that whenever the term 'conflict' is used in this study, a violent struggle is meant.

1.2. Sustainable peace

This study focuses on the role that education plays in achieving sustainable peace in the aftermath of ethnic conflict. To answer this question, we first need to find out to what extent education takes part in the achievement of a

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[32] Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (New Delhi: Sage, 1991), 19.
[33] Ben Fowkes, *Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Communist World* , 2.
[34] John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, *Ethnicity*, 34.
[35] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 2.
[36]Ibid.

sustainable peaceful society. To facilitate the research, it is critical to define sustainable peace and to determine roughly how it could be attained.

Definition

There is no overall accepted definition of sustainable peace. However, this does not mean that the formulation of a very basic definition of the concept is impossible. In order to form a general definition of sustainable peace, this paragraph will firstly include a definition of the concept of peace.

Although there exists extensive literature on peace and related ideas, there are few operational definitions of the concept. The most simple way to define peace is as 'a state or period in which there is no war or a war has ended' (Oxford dictionaries). This definition is similar to what pioneer and principal founder of the field of Peace and Conflict Transformation research, Johan Galtung, defined as 'negative peace'. More specifically, he defined negative peace as 'the absence of organized collective violence'[37], that is to say violence between major human groups; such as nations, classes, racial and ethnic groups.[38] The stage of negative peace presupposes that war has ended and must not be confused with a mere suspension of war. However, the end of war does not mean that the relation between the belligerent parties has gone back to normal or even amicable.[39]

It was Galtung himself that called for a broader definition of peace as he argued that the condition of peace requires not just the absence of organized collective violence (direct, personal violence) but also the absence of structural violence. This is what he called a 'positive peace', or in other words the absence of social injustices or effects of economic and social exploitation.[40] Besides social justice and the removal of all kinds of personal and structural violence, positive peace requires 'the elimination of social impediments to full human self-realization, ecological balance and the meeting of basic human

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[37]Johan Galtung, *Theories of Peace: A Synthetic Approach to Peace Thinking* (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1967), 12.
[38]Ibid.
[39]Von Heinegg, W. Heintschel and H. Charles, 'Factors in war to peace transitions', *Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy*, 27/3 (2004), 843-876, 847.
[40]P. Rogers and O. Ramsbotham, 'Then and now: peace research- past and future', *Political Studies,* 47/4 (1999), 740-754, 744.

needs'[41]. Critics argue that positive peace is an utopia and will never be achieved in any society.[42] The following figure (1) depicts Galtung's concepts of negative and positive peace.
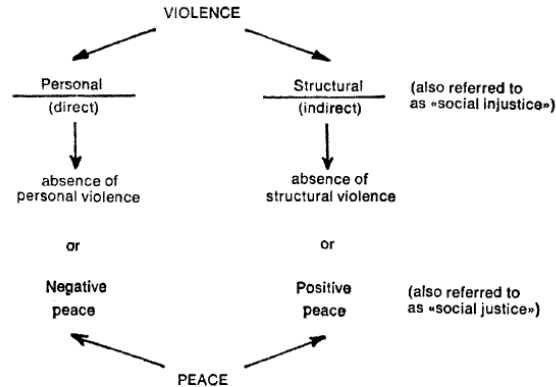

Figure 1: The Extended Concepts of Violence and Peace[43]

Although peacekeeping and peacebuilding organizations are in practice often limited to ensuring a negative peace[44], the overall aim of peacebuilding is described by the UN as the constructive transformation of conflicts by creating a 'sustainable peace'. [45] Moreover, in 2005 the UN adopted a resolution that decided to create a Peacebuilding Commission with a mandate to establish the foundations for sustainable peace and development in post-conflict societies. [46] In 2007 the connectedness between peacebuilding and sustainable peace was further recorded when the UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee defined peacebuilding as 'a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development'[47].

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[41]Jacob Bercovitch, Richard Dean and Wells Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century: Principles, Methods, and Approaches* (USA: The University of Michigan Press, 2009), 170.

[42] J. Presler and S.J. Scholz, *Peacemaking: Lessons From The Past, Visions For The Future* (Amsterdam: Atlanta, 2000), 191.

[43] Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, 6/3 (1969), 183.

[44] Jacob Bercovitch, Richard Dean and Wells Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century: Principles, Methods, and Approaches*, 170.

[45]U.N. General Assembly, *Resolution 60/1 (2005) [World Summit Outcome]*. (A/RES/60/1). 24 October 2005, 24 para. 97.

[46] U.N. Security Council, 5335th meeting. *Resolution 1645 (2005) [Establishing a peacebuilding commission]*. (S/RES/1645). 20 December 2005, 5.

[47]United Nations, *UN Peacebuilding: an Orientation* (Peacebuilding Support Office, 2010), 5.

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Although the UN uses sustainable peace frequently to describe the aims of peacebuilding, it does not define the concept nor does it specify how to achieve it. Henning Haugerudbraaten makes an attempt in clarifying the concept by describing it as a 'stable social equilibrium in which the surfacing of new disputes does not escalate into violence and war'[48]. This means, that sustainable peace implies that there is a state of peace in the present and in the future. Moreover, this state of peace should be positive, because a negative peace does not include a return to normal or amicable relations between the belligerents and thus, there is no question of a stable social equilibrium. In summary, sustainable peace requires a positive peace in the present and in the future.

Dr. Connie Peck, Senior Fellow Programme in Peacemaking and Preventive Diplomacy UNITAR, argues that in order to promote positive peace in the present and in the future, a clear vision is needed of how to proceed. She points out that short-term problem solving (present) and long-term structural approaches to conflict prevention (future) are required. She argues that the building blocks of sustainable peace are well-functioning local, state, regional, and international systems of governance, which are responsive to basic human needs.[49]

According to the school of Human Scale Development and developed by Manfred Max-Neef, Antonio Elizalde and Martin Hopenhayn, fundamental human needs can be classified into 9 areas: subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, creation, identity and freedom. Understanding, the human need that is most relevant to this study, can be fulfilled by learning in for example schools and universities but also from families and communities.[50] If sustainable peace is to be achieved, a well-functioning local, state or regional system of governance should take into account that they have the responsibility to provide their people with the possibility to learn and understand.

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[48] H. Haugerudbraaten, 'Peacebuilding: Six Dimensions and Two Concepts', *African Security Review,* 7/6 (1998), 1-11, 3.

[49] Connie Peck, *Sustainable peace : the role of the UN and regional organizations in preventing conflict sustainable peace*, (USA Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 1998), 15, 45.

[50] Manfred A. Max-Neef, Antonio Elizalde and Martin Hopenhayn, *Human scale development: conception, application and further reflections* (New York: Apex, 1989), 17, 32.

Besides well-functioning local, state, regional, and international systems of governance, which are responsive to basic human needs, Peck argues that adequate legal and judicial protections are required for the safeguard of human rights and the equal and fair treatment of citizens. Moreover, she notes that it involves the development of pluralistic norms and practices that respect every single culture or identity.[51]

Lakshmi Puri, Deputy Executive Director of UN Women, has a similar view on how to achieve sustainable peace. She stresses that social justice and social cohesion are crucial to sustainable peace and points out that to reach sustainable peace, a society needs to embrace diversity and promote tolerance. Furthermore, Puri points out that sustainable peace entails equal participation of all citizens – women and men – in the public life of their country and community. She states that equal representation leads to more participatory and representative political decisions. Consequently, this will result in a more harmonious society and provides strong foundations for sustainable peace.[52]

1.3. Education

To find out to what extent education plays a role in peacebuilding in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, a clear understanding and a contemporary definition of the concept are required. Although education is generally defined as 'the process of receiving or giving systematic instruction' (Oxford dictionaries), this overall accepted and very minimal definition does not explain nor capture the meaning and current understandings of the term.

Current understandings of education

Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, education has been formally recognized as a human right.[53] Article 26 of this declaration states that:

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[51]Connie Peck, *Sustainable peace : the role of the UN and regional organizations in preventing conflict sustainable peace*, 45.

[52] Lakshmi Puri, 'Sustainable Peace for a Sustainable Future', UN Women speech, 4 Oct. 2012, <http://www.unwomen.org/2012/10/sustainable-peace-for-a-sustainable-future/>, 9, accessed 19 Nov. 2012.

[53] UNICEF/UNESCO, *A Human Rights-Based Approach to Education for All* (United Nations Children's Fund/United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2007), 7.

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.[54]

Since 1948, the right to education has been affirmed in numerous international human rights treaties and conventions including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1981) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990).[55] These treaties define the right to free, compulsory primary education for all children and oblige state parties to develop secondary education, supported by measures that render it accessible to all children. The treaties affirm that the aim of education is to promote personal development, strengthen respect for human rights and freedoms, enable individuals to participate effectively in a free society, and promote understanding, friendship and tolerance.[56]

Julia Paulson, Chair of the Conflict and Education Research Group (CERG) in the Department of Education at Oxford University, argues that consensus around these declarations, and particularly around education's legitimate place within them, creates a strong normative imperative for education as an integral part of human development. She states that education can play an essential

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[54] United Nations, 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights', *un*,
<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>, Article 26, accessed 15 Nov. 2012.
[55] UNICEF/UNESCO, *A Human Rights-Based Approach to Education for All*, 7.
[56]Ibid.

role in contributing towards poverty reduction.[57] This point of view is echoed by many international organizations that work in the field of international development, including the World Bank. In her keynote address at the 2011 Education World Forum held in London, World Bank education sector director Elizabeth King states that 'education is fundamental to development and growth'[58].

Moreover, the importance of education to human development is embodied in a series of goals laid out in the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) and is reaffirmed in the 2000 Dakar Framework for Action.[59] In addition, education's central place in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and the UN Secretary-General's global initiative called 'Education First', reaffirm the central role education plays or should play in our societies.[60]

Besides normative evidence, Paulson points out that economists have found empirical evidence for the relationship between education and human development. They argue that higher levels of education increase earnings, contributes to productivity, is linked to macroeconomic growth and can contribute to social cohesion. The latter is due to the fact that educated people have wider and stronger social networks and participate more in social, community and political life.[61] Traditionally, education systems have played a key role in maintaining cultural homogeneity within states. Gallager points out that the invention and use of a canon of national literature or history and the propagation of a national language are examples of the 'naturalization' of citizens and the re-enforcement of social cohesion within a state.[62] Bush and

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[57] Julia Paulson, *(Re)Creating Education in Post-conflict Contexts: Transitional Justice, Education, and Human Development* (International Center for Transitional Justice, 2009), 7.

[58] Elizabeth M. King, 'Education is Fundamental to Development and Growth', paper given at Education World Forum, London, 10-12 Jan. 2011, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1295560712817/keynote_Beth_King-Ed_World_Forum.pdf>, accessed 19 Nov. 2012, 1.

[59] Julia Paulson, *(Re)Creating Education in Post-conflict Contexts: Transitional Justice, Education, and Human Development* (International Center for Transitional Justice, 2009), 8.

[60] United Nations, 'Education First: An initiative of the United Nations Secretary-General', *Globaleducationfirst*, <http://www.globaleducationfirst.org/files/EdFirst_G29383UNOPS_lr.pdf >, accessed 17 Nov. 2012, 4.

[61] Julia Paulson, *(Re)Creating Education in Post-conflict Contexts: Transitional Justice, Education, and Human Development* , 7.

[62] See Tony Gallagher, *Education in Divided Societies* , 139-140 ; Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict* , 6 ; Tony Gallagher, 2011, 'Conflict, Education and Ethnicity. Dealing with Division and Cohesion through Education', *Conflict and*

Saltarelli add to this that education contributes to this process by building a common culture, founded on a common language and a shared history.[63]

Although there seems to be clear evidence for the links between education, human development and social cohesion, Paulson notes that it is problematic that academics that study these links, pay too little attention to the type and quality of education that is dealt with. She argues that content and structure of education matter and notes that Eric Hanushek, expert on educational policy and the economics of education, and Ludger Wößmann, Professor of Economics of Education, argue that the quality of education is critical in terms of the returns to education for economic growth.[64]

Thus, education is not inevitably a force of good. Education may contribute to human or economic development and social cohesion, but only when it is of a certain type or quality. Consequently, Bush and Saltarelli argue that whilst good quality education can be a stabilizing factor in post-conflict environments, educational systems can also be manipulated to drive a wedge between people.[65] As pointed out earlier in this study, Smith agrees with Bush and Saltarelli and argues that education may be a way of contributing to 'conflict transformation' and 'peacebuilding', but can also be a driver of conflict (fuelling grievances, stereotypes, xenophobia and other antagonisms).[66]

Before we continue with a definition of education, it should be stated here that the two faces of education and thus the relation between education and conflict as well as education and peace, will be further developed in chapter II.

Definition

In their study *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, Bush and Saltarelli challenge the generally accepted assumption - that education is inevitably a force for good.[67] For the purpose of their study they define education as 'an important medium for imparting not only pedagogic instruction but attitudes,

Education [online journal], 1/1 (2011), www.conflictandeducation.org, accessed 20 Nov. 2012, 1.

[63] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, 6.

[64] Julia Paulson, *(Re)Creating Education in Post-conflict Contexts: Transitional Justice, Education, and Human Development*, 7, 8.

[65] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, v.

[66] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 1.

[67] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, v.

values and behaviours'[68]. They argue that education transmits language, culture, moral values, social organization and leads to a certain identity.[69] In line with this, Smith defines education as a means of socialization and identity development through the transmission of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes across generations.[70]

Because this study analyses the role of education in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, it is very important to bear in mind that, especially in post-conflict settings, education may influence the dynamics of a society in two different ways. With a focus on formal primary and secondary education - the levels that are likely to be universal - we will therefore use a combination of the definition of Bush and Saltarelli and Smith. This study defines education as an important medium for imparting pedagogic instruction, attitudes, values and behaviours, leading to the development of a certain identity.

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[68]Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, ix.
[69]Ibid.
[70] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 1.

CHAPTER II The two faces of education in the aftermath of ethnic conflict

Internationally education is seen as a transformational force that contributes to both justice and peace. Article 5 of the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960) states that 'education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; it shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace'[71]. In 2000, the UN Secretary General Kofi Anan stated that: 'Education is quite simply peace-building by another name. It is the most effective form of defence spending there is.'[72]

Considering its transformational power, education is expected to contribute significantly to rebuilding shattered societies. Elizabeth Cole, senior program officer in the Jennings Randolph Fellowship program at the United States Insitute of Peace (USIP), points out that education is called on to play many positive roles in the aftermath of conflict. These roles include: 'to help solidify or reform the nation, demonstrate the legitimacy of the state, re-establish social norms and communities, strengthen the state's ability to attract foreign investment via a well-educated workforce, spread messages of peace, inculcate civic values, and teach human rights' [73] . Moreover, Peter Buckland, independent education consultant, points out that policymakers claim that education 'can heal the psychosocial wounds of war, solve youth unemployment, deliver decentralisation and democracy, build peace and promote economic and social development'[74].

The latter is reflected in the *Human Development Report,* yearly produced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In this annual publication,

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[71] UNESCO, 'UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education', *Equalrightstrust*, (14 Dec. 1960) <http://www.equalrightstrust.org/ertdocumentbank/DISCRI_E.pdf>, article 5, accessed 24 Mar. 2013.
[72] Elizabeth Cole, 'Education in the Shadow of history. Education, History education and Their Place in historical Justice', Unpublished Utrecht Edited Volume Chapter, draft, 3 May 2010, 11.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Peter Buckland, ' Post-conflict education: time for a reality check?', *Forced Migration Review* (2006), 7.

which addresses international issues regarding human development, special emphasis is laid on the 'Human Development Index', which ranks the world countries into four tiers of human development: life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, wealth per capita and the combined enrolment rates for primary, secondary and tertiary levels of formal education.[75] The last mentioned is of interest to this study because the fact that enrolment in formal education is assumed to be a key indicator for human development, indicates that schooling is regarded as automatically of benefit to both individuals and society.

The importance of education as indicator for human development is increasingly recognised and being translated into global initiatives such as the Millennium Development Goals, Education For All and Education First. Although the growing attention to education as part of the solution to many global issues seems to be nothing else than a very positive development, Clive Harber, Emeritus Professor of International Education, is concerned about the fact that globally there is far more concern with rights *to* education than rights *in* education.[76] He provides this argument with an example from UNESCO's EFA Global Monitoring Report *Education for All: Is the World on Track?* which claims that education is 'an indispensable means of unlocking and protecting other human rights by providing the scaffolding that is required to secure good health, liberty, security, economic well-being, and participation in social and political activity'[77].

In line with aforementioned authors such as Paulson, Smith and Bush and Saltarelli, Harber argues that in reality education is paradoxical and that it can both provoke good things as well as indifferent and bad things.[78] In the context of a post-conflict society this means that whilst education may contribute positively to development and social cohesion, it also has the potential to misuse its power by promoting ideas and behaviours that counter

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[75] Clive Harber, *Schooling As Violence: How Schools Harm Pupils and Societies* (Oxon: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 7.

[76] Ibid.

[77] UNESCO, *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2002. Education for All: Is the world on track?* (Paris: UNESCO, 2002), 14.

[78] Clive Harber, *Schooling As Violence: How Schools Harm Pupils and Societies*, 7.

social cohesion and form the basis for violent conflict. [79] Likewise, Lynn Davies, Emeritus Professor of International Education, argues that by reproducing economic inequality, bifurcating wealth and poverty, promoting a particular version of hegemonic masculinity and gender segregation and through magnifying ethnic and religious segregation or intolerance, education indirectly contributes more to the underlying causes of conflict than it does to peace.[80]

Ethnicity

Due to the increasing globalization, most of today's states are home to a range of minority or ethnic groups.[81] Thus, modern state-building places emphasis on equal rights and responsibilities of all citizens irrespective of their ethnic, religious or cultural identity. Consequently, education has to break with its tradition of maintaining cultural homogeneity within states or 'identity-based nation building', as Alan Smith calls it. [82] Yet, the problem is that a fundamental characteristic of education is that it forms identities through imparting pedagogic instruction, attitudes, values and behaviours. Education can thus have both a socially constructive and destructive impact on intergroup or social relations.[83]

According to Smith, identity or ethnicity are important for understanding conflict. He argues that whilst ethnicity is no fundamental cause of conflict, it can be mobilized to generate or escalate conflict through education.[84] One of the explanations for this is the growing recognition that education can never be value-free or 'neutral'. This is why especially in conflict-affected countries where divisions are based on identity factors or ethnicity, education can play a

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[79] See Alan Smith, 'Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation', *Compare*, 35/4 (2005), 376 ; Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* v, 9-16.

[80] L. Davies, *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 203.

[81] See Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 6 ; Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 'The World Factobook, Field Listing: Ethnic Groups', *cia*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2075.html#>, accessed 4 Dec. 2012.

[82] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building* , 9.

[83] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* ix, 9.

[84] See A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development,* 5 ; Alan Smith, 'Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation', 376; Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 9 ; Martha Hewison, *The Fourth pillar*, 15.

pivotal role.[85] Smith points out that in these situations education may become a key instrument in terms of choosing to serve identity-based nation-building or rights-based state-building. [86] This challenges the field of international development to find ways of raising critical questions about the form, the content and thus the quality of education as well as its implications for social relations.[87]

Surprisingly, there are few studies that examine the negative face of education in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, or any conflict. This may be due to the fact that until recently, education was not seen as 'life saving'. Cole points out that education in emergencies was seen at best as a second-tier priority after security, food, shelter, sanitation and health services.[88] However, she argues that this has radically changed since the mid-1990's when Graça Machel published her report on the 'Impact of Armed Conflict on Children' in which she states that 'educational activity should be established as a priority component of all humanitarian assistance'[89].

Education Advisers and humanitarian experts now argue that schooling in the aftermath of conflict is crucial for the relief of trauma, for re-establishing a sense of normalcy and for creating places to impart crucial life-knowledge such as knowledge about land-mines, diseases and other threats to security.[90] Coupled with the renewed global attention to education through programmes such as EFA and Education First, there seems to be a widespread acknowledgement of the need of education in peacebuilding. Nevertheless, the quality of education is not often taken into account. During humanitarian response to conflict, education planning, quality and resources are decisive for the way in which education will contribute to peacebuilding. Even where the initial emphasis is on physical reconstruction of the education system, Save the Children identifies four critical elements of quality education needed to support education's role in peacebuilding:

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[85] See Alan Smith, 'Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation', 386 ; Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 9.
[86] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 9.
[87] Alan Smith, 'Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation', 386.
[88] Elizabeth Cole, 'Education in the Shadow of history. Education, History education and Their Place in historical Justice', 12.
[89] G. Machel, *Impact of armed conflict on children*, 44.
[90] See Martha Hewison, *The Fourth pillar*, 54 ; Elizabeth Cole, 'Education in the Shadow of history. Education, History education and Their Place in historical Justice', 12.

1) **inclusion/access**: primary schools must be free and close to home and must attract all children in a community;

2) **safety/protection**: schools must be safe from attack and must foster intellectual curiosity and respect for universal human rights;

3) **relevance**: schools must be free of bias and use an appropriate curriculum and relevant educational materials;

4) **accountability**: schools must be accountable to children, parents and communities and managed transparently and fairly. The opinions of children, parents and the community must be sought and valued.[91]

In the light of the previous statements about the paradoxical nature of education, the fact that research does not take the quality of education into account must be denounced. Because education can contribute to peace as well as to conflict, there should be a greater awareness of the possibilities and challenges that education may encounter in the aftermath of ethnic conflict. To gain a better understanding of the pivotal role that education plays in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, this chapter will further explore the relationship between education, ethnic conflict and sustainable peace. It will include an analysis of the most important challenges and opportunities for education systems operating in post-conflict societies that suffered from ethnic conflict.

The chapter will be divided into two main paragraphs. The first paragraph will include an analysis of the possibilities and challenges with regard to educational structures and governance of education. It will look into educations role at a policy level, that is to say the way in which education systems are governed and structured. In the second main paragraph, possibilities and challenges of educational practices will be exposed. It will look into the positive and negative face of education with regard to 'what is taught', 'how it is taught' and 'by whom it is taught'.

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[91] Alan Smith, *Children, Education and Reconciliation*, (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2010), 12-14.

2.1 Educational structures (governance)

In the aftermath of violent ethnic conflict, education systems need to be rebuilt and recreated. Oftentimes this process takes place in a context where civil and political governance structures are weakened or inexperienced, civil society is disordered and financial resources are constrained. Nevertheless, Buckland argues that some of these constraints also create possibilities. He points out that weakened bureaucracies are less able to resist reform and that new political authorities will often be in support of educational reform to distance themselves from the previous regime. Particularly when international donors are involved, new regimes are triggered to encourage reform.[92]

Aside from the fact that the post-conflict context can be beneficial for reform, research shows that early investment in education in the aftermath of conflict can create a 'peace dividend'.[93] Moreover, Paulson argues that by committing to reform of education as one of the most visible government services, a government can demonstrate its commitment to its citizens and to long-term stability. She states that 'an early investment in quality education can demonstrate the legitimacy of a new government's commitment to peace, development and its human rights obligations to its citizens'[94]. Alan Smith furthermore concludes that good governance of education systems is one of the most important ways of contributing to inclusion, equity and social cohesion. He argues that it prevents for access and quality of education becoming sources of conflict.[95]

Governance with regard to education systems also implies the establishment of certain educational structures. Following a paper of the education faculty of the University of Cambridge, this study defines educational structures as that which is decided for schools by a central or local government and therefore does not cover aspects of structures that lie within the school's own control.[96] Specific educational structures can have a great deal of positive or negative influence on the dynamics of a society recovering from ethnic conflict. Bush

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[92] Peter Buckland, ' Post-conflict education: time for a reality check?', 7.

[93] Julia Paulson, *(Re)Creating Education in Post-conflict Contexts: Transitional Justice, Education, and Human Development* , 10.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 9.

[96] Anna Riggall and Caroline Sharp, *The structure of primary education: England and other countries* (Cambridge: The Primary Review, University of Cambridge Faculty of Education, 2008), 1.

and Saltarelli's research for example, points out that a curriculum that promotes tolerance and egalitarianism, but that is delivered within educational structures that are fundamentally intolerant and inegalitarian, annul much of its potential positive impact.[97]

Studies that analyse the role of governance and educational structures in post-conflict settings, point out that for education to contribute positively to sustainable peace, it is essential that policymakers opt for structures that foster inclusive education.[98] In the following subparagraphs the positive impacts of inclusive education, and the negative effects of opposite exclusive educational structures, will be exposed.

2.1.1. Inclusive education

Conflict has a devastating effect on access to education: 82 percent of the reported 113 million out of school children are living in crisis and post-crisis countries. Vice versa, Smith and Vaux argue that the lack of education - and thus the lack of accessible education - may be an indirect contributory factor to conflict.[99] In the light of these findings, a crucial step towards education that contributes positively to the process of peacebuilding, is accessible education. Smith and Vaux argue that especially in societies that are divided by ethnic conflict, equal access to education can be essential. This is mainly because issues of equality carry the potential to aggravate or ameliorate conflict between different groups within society.[100]

Smith and Vaux point out that in Burundi for example, unequal access to education on ethnic lines was a critical factor that influenced the outbreak of war. [101] More than 25% of the primary schools had been destroyed during the conflict and the number of teachers has fallen from 22% in 1992 to only 4% in 2003. They argue that this was not only the 'impact of war'. By manipulating the allocation of

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[97] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict, Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2000), 34.
[98] See Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building* (Paris: UNESCO, 2010), 10-11, 13 ; Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 11, 14, 17, ; Alan Smith, 'Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation', 379-380 ; Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute (PRIO), 2008).
[99] A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development* , 9.
[100] Ibid, 1, 26.
[101] See A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development* , 10 ; World Bank, *Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction*, 9-10.

resources and the use of French language, Tutsi leaders in government had made education inaccessible to other social groups. Smith and Vaux state that to a certain extent, these inequalities with regard to access to education may have exacerbated conflict.[102]

In order to be really accessible to all, education has to be inclusive. Inclusive education means more than simply having the right to go to school. In her study *Education for Peace* Kendra Dupuy from the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO), demonstrates that formal education systems have an essential role to play in building peace in countries affected by violent conflict. She argues that one of the most important conflict-transforming concepts that mediate the relationship between education and peace, is inclusive education. She states that 'inclusion is critical for building and maintaining peace, because inclusion can redress grievances that motivate individuals to take up arms [...] and may also eliminate opportunities to engage in armed conflict'[103].

With regard to education, Dupuy defines inclusion as 'the educational philosophy of being part of the whole, that children are entitled to fully participate in their school and community'[104]. The aim of inclusive education is that all students have access to the whole range of opportunities (social and educational) offered by schools.[105] Dupuy emphasizes that inclusive education is more than a quantifiable measure of the number of students that are enrolled in schools. Inclusive education has in fact a social dimension. This is because education systems 'underpin the maintenance and reproduction of political, economic, and social structures'[106], which means, that education that is not inclusive can create and reproduce social inequalities that will cause grievances among groups of people that are excluded from schooling. [107]

In the light of these findings, it is easy to see that an inclusive education system is one of the prerequisites for education to contribute to social

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[102] A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development* , 10
[103] Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 28.
[104] R.M. Berns, *Child, family, school, community: Socialization and support* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace & Company, 2001), 265.
[105] P. Mittler, *Working towards inclusive education: Social contexts* (London: David Fulton Publishers, 2000), 2.
[106] Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 29.
[107] Ibid, 29.

cohesion and sustainable peace. But how to achieve inclusive education? According to Dupuy and Bush and Saltarelli, schools that operate in societies that are divided by ethnic conflict and want to be inclusive, mainly need to ensure 1) tolerance for (ethnic) minorities, 2) linguistic tolerance, 3) equality and equity in distribution of resources and 4) merit-based selection practices.[108]

Tolerance for (ethnic) minorities

The obligation for states to foster the development of a free society, where there is tolerance towards (ethnic) minorities, is enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990). Article 29(1d) of the CRC speaks of a state's obligation to provide an education that prepares the child for peaceful coexistence with diverse groups in society:

> States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:
>
> (d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;[109]

Because educational structures underpin the maintenance and reproduction of political, economic, and social structures in society, education that teaches tolerance for (ethnic) minorities and fosters integration, may contribute to social cohesion and sustainable peace in post-conflict societies.

Dupuy argues that the content of the educational curriculum is a key mechanism that may lead to inclusion and tolerance. An appropriate curriculum content may foster a climate that is tolerant towards (ethnic) minorities. She stresses that an education system that only targets the dominant group(s) in society, may fuel grievances over exclusion. In addition, education that does not reflect the language, history, values, needs, social and economic realities of these excluded groups, may fuel grievances over people's inability to use what they have learned in their daily lives. Dupuy points out,

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[108] See Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 16-20 ; Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 37-42.
[109] UN, 'Convention on the Rights of the Child', *Umn,* (2 Sept. 1990) <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/k2crc.htm>, article 29(d), accessed 24 Mar. 2013. UNESCO, 'UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education', article 5.

that by only transmitting knowledge that is appropriate for formal employment in office environments, while the majority of people make their living through farming, education can be highly exclusive. An irrelevant curriculum can foster grievances that may lead to conflict. Reviewing curricula and replacing irrelevant knowledge may therefore be critical in post-conflict societies that deal with issues of exclusion.[110]

Linguistic tolerance

In addition to what is taught, it is also very important to consider in what language children learn. The UNESCO Position Paper on 'Education in a Multilingual World' identifies language as 'a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment, both for the individual and the group'[111]. Language is thus also a fundamental factor in the formation and maintenance of an ethnic and cultural identity.[112] Bush and Saltarelli point out that in many cases, the existence of a certain language may be the only test for the existence of an indigenous people. [113] Therefore, UNESCO states that respect for the languages of different linguistic communities is essential to peace. [114] In line with this, Bush and Saltarelli argue that peaceful relations within and between ethnic groups can be fostered by a sensitive handling of linguistic issues.[115] Language policies are namely strongly connected with wider political issues such as state-building, socio-economic mobility, the distribution of resources and political power.[116]

In addition, children who do not use their first language in school, may encounter more difficulties in joining and competing in their scholastic work, acquiring reading and writing skills and in commutating with teachers and other students. Dr. Wondem Asres Degu points out that such circumstances have a negative impact on academic achievement of the students and

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[110] Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 41.

[111] UNESCO, *Education in a multilingual world* (Paris: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2003), 16.

[112] See Wondem Asres Degu, 'Reforming Education' in Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren (eds.), *Post-conflict Development: Meeting New Challenges* (USA, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. 2005), 132 ; Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, 11.

[113] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 11.

[114] UNESCO, *Education in a multilingual world*, 16.

[115] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 17.

[116] Wondem Asres Degu, 'Reforming Education' in Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren (eds.), *Post-conflict Development: Meeting New Challenges*, 131.

consequently on socioeconomic development. He argues that denying the use of particular languages as mediums of instruction is a form of cultural repression and social exclusion because it continues social privilege and social injustice. These injustices will stimulate disadvantaged groups to put pressure on their government, which may result in political instability and form the cause of ethnic conflict. Degu stresses that especially where ethnic cleavages are part of the conflict, appropriate language policies should be part of post-conflict development and peacebuilding.[117]

Equality and equity in distribution of resources

For education to be inclusive, there is a need for equal and/or equitable distribution of resources within the system – equal and/or equitable both in terms of locations and numbers, and in relation to resources such as money, trained and qualified teachers, teaching and learning materials, school buildings, and school furniture.[118]

Bush and Saltarelli point out that there are many historical cases where ethnic and social groups have been denied access to educational resources. They argue that the exclusion from full participation in the economic and social life of a country have both an immediate and longer-term impact on the socio-economic status of the affected groups: 'Because education has increasingly become a highly valued commodity, its unequal allocation has been a serious source of friction that has frequently led to confrontation'[119].

In addition, Dupuy points out that particularly in developing countries education is not an evenly distributed good. People that live in rural areas and marginalized groups are often neglected in the distribution of educational resources.[120] Professor Clayton L. Thyne blames the unequal distribution of educational resources on expenditure patterns within the education system. He argues that more money often goes to the tertiary level. This disproportionally

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[117] Wondem Asres Degu, 'Reforming Education', 132.
[118] Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 37.
[119] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 9.
[120] Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 37-38.

benefits the wealthy and urban and could foment rebellion because it fosters and perpetuates social and economic inequality.[121]

Furthermore, an unequal distribution of educational resources can also be a function of power. Degu states that 'those who control political and economic power tend to allocate priority of educational opportunities first and foremost to their own children and then to those who are next in line to maintain the power holder's position of interest (ethnic, religious/regional communities)'[122]. Bush and Saltarelli call this 'ethicised' state power, that is used to advance the interests of one group at the expense of others. This happened for example Kosovo, where Serbian authorities reduced the number of places in secondary schools reserved for Albanians.[123]

Merit-based selection practices

A last important characteristic of inclusive education are a merit-based selection practices. Dupuy argues that when students and teachers are not promoted because of individual merit but on the basis of nepotism, corruption, or discrimination, this undermines equality and the foundations of inclusive education. These nepotistic, corrupt or discriminatory selection practices may include ethnic-, class, or caste-based favouritism and the promotion of family or political party members into teacher positions. She states that non-merit based practices can fuel grievances that can become a cause of conflict.[124]

According to Dupuy, merit-based selection practices have therefore an essential role to play in fostering social cohesion and sustainable peace. Professor Lynn Meek explains that through merit-based selection practices, education allows everyone to achieve according to their innate ability and does not serve the interest of any group or class.[125] Individuals from virtually any background may advance politically, socially, and economically. For social

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[121] Clayton L. Thyne, 'ABC's, 123's, and the Golden Rule: The Pacifying Effect of Education on Civil War, 1980–1999', *International Studies Quarterly,* 50 (2006), 736.

[122] Wondem Asres Degu, 'Reforming Education' in Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren (eds.), *Post-conflict Development: Meeting New Challenges*, 138.

[123] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 10.

[124] Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 38.

[125] V.L. Meek, 'Education and the state' in T. Husén and T.N. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of education* (Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd., 1994), 1716.

cohesion and a belief in a better future, it is essential that opportunities exist for every citizen, regardless their ethnic or economic background.[126]

2.1.2 Exclusive education

As stated in the previous paragraph, Dupuy stresses that exclusive education can create and reproduce social inequalities that will cause grievances among groups of people that are excluded from schooling. She argues that these grievances may consequently fuel violent conflict.[127] Professors Andreas Wimmer, Lars-Erik Cederman and Brian Min examined exclusion and competition along ethnic lines. In line with Dupuy's ideas on exclusion, they argue that large ethnic groups that are excluded from state power or are underrepresented in government, are much more likely to express their grievances against the regime through violent means. They stress that the likelihood of violent conflict increases as the centre of power becomes more ethnically segmented and as large groups of the population are excluded from power because of their ethnic background.[128]

To have a clearer understanding of the dangers of exclusive education operating in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, this subparagraph will expose the four most important aspects of exclusive education. There aspects are respectively 1) poor governance, 2) segregation, 3) intolerant language policies, and 4) faith-based education.

Poor governance

In his background paper for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011, Alan Smith describes three important challenges for governance of education systems in conflict-affected situations. Firstly, he argues that state or non-state control of the education system in conflict-affected situations carries a danger of political indoctrination of children and restrictions of fundamental freedoms. He gives the example of Maoists that tried to impose their

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[126] Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 39.
[127] Ibid, 29.
[128] Andreas Wimmer, Lars-Erik Cederman and Brian Min, 'Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set, *American Sociological Review,* 74/April (2009), 334.

curriculum, with a strong ideological content including elements about warfare, in schools in Nepal.[129]

A second challenge for governance of education systems in post-conflict situations is that poor governance can fuel conflict through patronage and by reinforcing inequalities. Especially in situations where conflict is based on ethnic division, and where educational attainment is a way in which dominant groups seek to maintain their privileged position, inequalities in for example funding can be an important source of conflict.[130] In line with this, Bush and Saltarelli emphasise the danger of the uneven distribution of education and the denial of education as weapons of war. They point out that there are innumerable historical cases where ethnic groups have been denied access to education. The exclusion from full participation in the economic and social life of a country has an immediate and longer-term impact on the socio-economic status of the affected groups. In Rwanda for example, Catholic missionary schools openly favoured the Tutsi minority to be educated as future leaders of the country.[131]

Thirdly, Smith raises the importance of questions on decentralisation in education. Although decentralisation of education systems has generally been regarded as a means of bringing about more accountability and ownership of schooling, decentralisation may not always be positive. During internal conflicts, it can be dangerous for the government to lose control of schooling to secessionist movements. Fragmentation will give local political interested groups the power to reinforce ethnic divisions.[132] Following this reasoning, Bush and Saltarelli warn for the use of education as a weapon in cultural repression or 'ethnocide'. In this process a culturally distinct group can lose its identity as a result of policies designed to erode its land and resource base, language, social and political institutions, traditions, art forms, religious practices and cultural values.[133]

Smith states that in order to prevent for poor governance in education becoming a basis for exclusion and thus a basis for conflict, responsible

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[129] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 4-6.
[130] Ibid, 6.
[131] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 9-11.
[132] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 7.
[133] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 10.

control of education systems needs to be encouraged, transparent practices for funding, procurement and employment need to be adopted, and the question whether there is a need for central control or decentralisation of education systems need to be handled with care.[134]

Segregation

Tony Gallagher notes that historically, the commitment to the notion of a common civic tradition has in many societies encouraged an approach based on unitary public schools. He points out that traditionally, many mass education systems had assimilation as an overt aim, which provided little space for the recognition of identities and practices of cultural minority.[135] However, the historical recognition of difference - first through the tendency to separate into religious denominations and later nested in several human rights conventions - has led to the development of separate schools. An example of the increased recognition of difference in education can be found in Article 2 of the UN Convention against Discrimination in Education, which recognizes the right for separate schools on the basis of gender, religion, or language, provided that attendance is optional and that they conform to national standards of educational provision.[136]

Gallagher points out that it is important to make a distinction between segregated systems, in which minorities are obliged to use their own schools, and separate systems, in which minorities run their own schools as a matter of choice.[137] A clear example of the former is the Bantu Education Act (1953). This act was a segregation law which legalised several aspects of the apartheid system. Its major provision was enforcing racially separated education because the appropriate level of instruction for black people was deemed far lower than required for white people. Even universities were segregated and all but three missionary schools chose to close down when the government no longer would help support their schools.[138] Although he argues that the influence of schooling structures on conflict has to be understood as a combination of

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[134] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 4-9.

[135] T. Gallagher, *Key Issues in Coexistence and Education* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Coexistence International, 2010), 2.

[136] UNESCO, 'UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education', article 2.

[137] T. Gallagher, *Key Issues in Coexistence and Education*, 3.

[138] See Nancy L Clark and William H. Worger, *South Africa - The Rise and Fall of Apartheid. Seminar Studies in History* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2004), 48–52 ; Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 14.

structure, curriculum and the opportunities available to young people, Gallager goes on to say that 'whether schooling systems are segregated or separate, there is evidence that such systems can have a detrimental impact on social cohesion'[139]. In order to illustrate his statement, he cites the decision of Israel in the 1950s to formally divide schools, which reinforced the disadvantaged position of Arab-Israelis.[140]

According to Smith, the relationship between conflict and separate schooling based on identity factors such as language, ethnicity or religion is a recurring theme in post-conflict countries. Although he does not argue that separate schooling is a fundamental cause of conflict, he notes that the prevalence of separate schooling based on identity factors in conflict-affected countries is not a coincidence. Smith thinks that a possible reason for separate schooling in conflict-affected countries such as Mozambique, Rwanda and Northern Ireland, is that the institutional structures reflect the political, social and cultural divisions within society. To clarify this, he cites a study from the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that shows how parents in Bosnia and Herzegovina avoid the nearest school to enrol their children in schools associated with their own national or ethnic identity.[141]

Smith argues that separate schooling based on identity factors may be installed due to a lack of trust between groups. He concludes that education may become a source of conflict depending on the way an education system is structured and whether it promotes conformity to a single set of dominant values (assimilation), permits the development of identity-based institutions (separate development) or encourages shared institutions (integration). [142] There lies a danger of exclusion in the former two. If certain minority groups are not able to take part in education because of their different cultural, linguistic or religious backgrounds, or if they feel marginalised, they may eventually develop grievances towards the society from which they are being excluded.

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[139] T. Gallagher, *Key Issues in Coexistence and Education*, 3.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 10-11.
[142] See Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 11 ; Alan Smith, 'Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation', 379.

Intolerant language policies

A second aspect of education which may lead to exclusion, is an intolerant language policy. UNESCO has produced a set of guidelines which represent the organization's current approach to language and education in the twenty-first century. The guidelines are divided into the three following basic principles:

(1) UNESCO supports mother tongue instruction as a means of improving educational quality by building upon the knowledge and experience of the learners and teachers.

(2) UNESCO supports bilingual and/or multilingual education at all levels of education as a means of promoting both social and gender equality and as a key element of linguistically diverse societies.

(3) UNESCO supports language as an essential component of inter-cultural education in order to encourage understanding between different population groups and ensure respect for fundamental rights.[143]

Bush and Saltarelli even go beyond UNESCO's principles and define language as 'an essential component of inter-cultural education in order to encourage understanding between different population groups and ensure respect for fundamental rights'[144]. They state that 'language is an essential element in the maintenance of ethnic and cultural identity and may be, in some cases, the only test for the existence of an indigenous people'[145]. Moreover, they argue that the imposition of a dominant language on ethnic groups is a repressive act and will obviously provoke dissent.[146]

From a conflict perspective, language policies have been used in ways that exacerbate conflict. Smith and Vaux write that particularly where a government policy is insensitive to minority needs, language can become highly politicized and may be used by nationalists to demand for separate schools.[147] The ways in which language has contributed to further divisions within society include for example repression of mother tongue, the use of

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[143] UNESCO, *Education in a multilingual world*, 30.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 11.
[146] Ibid.
[147] A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development* , 29.

certain vocabulary that will help to construct a child's view of reality (e.g. words like 'rebels', 'freedom fighters' and 'terrorists')[148], and the use of a certain language as a means of dominating access to education.[149]

Smith points out, that motives for monolingual and elitist language policies include economic factors (costliness of multilingualism), national unity and power (to maintain central control). These motives are reinforced by myths that say that the use of mother tongue delays learning of national languages and that parents want a national language only.[150] In contrast, research shows that mother tongue language of instruction results in increased access and equity, improved learning outcomes, reduced repetition and dropout rates, socio-cultural benefits and lower overall costs.[151]

Bush and Saltarelli argue that the recognition of the importance of mother tongue instruction is growing. Although they point out that mother tongue instruction reinforces the children's self-esteem, their sense of identity and sense of belonging, they stress that the use of one official language also has its benefits. They emphasise the unifying impact that this policy can have, citing an example from Senegal where after independence French was made the official language in an effort to prevent linguistic conflict between 15 different linguistic groups. Nevertheless, 6 other languages (Diola, Malinke, Pular, Serer, Soninke and Wolof) gained the title of a 'national language', playing an important part in the curriculum and being used in radio, television and literacy campaigns.[152]

Smith argues that from a conflict perspective, the challenge with regard to language policies is to develop policies that contribute towards peace-building and prevent that language is used as a divisive tool. He states that 'multilingual policies may provide protection against conflict resulting from the exclusion of minorities from education or the use of language to reinforce unequal power relations between groups'[153].

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[148] Martha Hewison, *The Fourth pillar*, 17.
[149] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 12.
[150] Ibid, 12.
[151] P. Bender et al., *In Their Own Language: Education For All* (World Bank Education Notes Series, 2005).
[152] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 17-18.
[153] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 13.

Faith-based education

A final issue regarding exclusion in education is education based on religious beliefs, also known as faith-based education. The close link between religion and schooling has a long history. Long before states were sufficiently organized to provide their citizens with schooling, churches undertook this function. [154] The emergence of states has in some cases led to the disestablishment of churches and their role as educators. In particular cases, churches have become closely identified with nation states to the extent that national and religious identities are one.[155]

In our present society however, faith-based schooling has become a very controversial subject. Professors J. Mark Halstead and Terence McLaughlin point out that one of the most significant arguments against faith-based schools in the current debate is the claim that faith-based schools are divisive.[156] Opponents of faith-based education tend to emphasize that faith-based schools may reinforce economic and ethnic divisions and that the development of faith should not be the responsibility of the state but of the church.[157] On the contrary, proponents of faith-based schooling argue that fait-based schools have the potential to promote values of tolerance and respect for difference. They point out that faith-based education relieves the state from some of the burden for school provision.[158] Proponents also tend to emphasize the right of parents to choose the type of school their child attends. This right is enshrined in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).[159]

Evidence of the relationship between conflict and faith-based education is disputed. Alan Smith argues that this relationship is heavily context-dependant and that conclusive evidence on causality between separate faith-based schools and social divisions does not exist. He points out that the attacks of 9/11 added significance to concerns about aspects of indoctrination and

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[154] See Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 13 ; A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 30.

[155] A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 30.

[156] J. Mark Halstead and Terence McLaughlin, 'Are faith schools divisive?' in Roy Gardner, Denis Lawton and Jo Cairns (Eds.), *Faith Schools: Consensus Or Conflict?* (Oxon: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005), 62.

[157] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 14.

[158] Ibid.

[159] United Nations, 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights', Article 26.

proselytization [160] within faith-based education. Considerable attention has been focused on the madrassas - religious schools devoted to the study of Islamic traditions of knowledge.[161] However, Smith stresses that there is no consensus about the evidence on links between madrassas and recruitment to international terrorism.[162]

Since there appears to be a lack of consensus on the matter, Smith draws his conclusion by stating that faith-based schools may institutionalize separate development (or divisiveness) in conflict-affected societies, but thinks that they can also play a role in promoting positive values of tolerance and respect for difference. He notes that from a conflict perspective the policy area requires careful consideration and that, in any context, it is important to address two key questions about the role of faith-based schooling within the education system.[163] To find out to what extent faith-based education and conflict are linked in a certain context, Smith argues that one should first analyse the relationship between the state and faith-based schools. This will allow us to know whether the relationship is likely to be used as a justification for conflict. For example, this can be the case when a dominant faith in a country receives state-funding in contrast to minority faiths. Secondly, the relationship between faith and the teaching in schools should be questioned. The purpose of this second question is to find out whether the inclusion of religious education in the curriculum does exclude children from other faiths, has adopted discriminatory practices towards the inclusion of girls and whether it affects fair recruitment of teachers.[164]

2.2 Educational practices

Historically, there are enough examples of the ways in which certain educational practices can exacerbate intergroup hostility under the conditions of ethnic tension. One of the clearest but also most tragic examples is that of Nazi Germany. Tony Gallagher writes that the Nazi policy towards young people formed a crucial part of the state strategy. Through a variety of

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[160] *to induce someone to convert to one's own religious faith.
[161] Robert W. Hefner, ' Introduction: The Culture, Politics and Future of Muslim Education' in Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (Eds.), *Schooling Islam: The culture and politics of modern Muslim education* (Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2007), 1.
[162] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building* , 14.
[163] Ibid, 14-15.
[164] Ibid, 15.

experimental educational models, including a curriculum influenced by chauvinist and racist values, the Nazis created an ideologically secure leadership for the 'thousand year Reich'.[165] Gallagher argues that the fact that the racist ideology was massively spread - mainly through educational activities - helped to provide the 'ideal' climate within which genocide could occur. To clarify this idea, Gallagher gives an example from a work by William Sheridan Allen, about the experience of a single German town during the Second World War. Allen writes that although most of the towns people did not actively discriminate against the Jewish families, almost no one asked why or where they had gone when those families disappeared.[166]

In order to have a clearer understanding on educational practices that may foster or counter sustainable peace, the two following subparagraphs will expose the most important educational practices that contribute positively and negatively to the dynamics of a society that suffered from ethnic conflict.

2.2.1 Education for socialization, peacebuilding and reconciliation

For education to have a positive influence on the dynamics of a society that has dealt with ethnic conflict, an education system should not only be inclusive, but educational practices need to promote socialization, peacebuilding and reconciliation. The following paragraph will look into these three aspects.

Education for socialization

According to Dupuy, the quality of education has a lot to do with the process of socialization. She explains that this concept relates to the types of norms that schools and teachers implicitly and explicitly approve and communicate to the children such as behaviours, beliefs, values, and attitudes. [167] As a sociological term, socialization is defined as 'the process whereby individuals become members of society or members of sectors of society'[168]. It revolves around questions of how individuals adopt, or do not adopt, the values, customs, and perspectives of the surrounding culture or subcultures.[169] Dupuy

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[165] T. Gallagher, *Education in Divided Societies*, 137.
[166] Ibid, 138.
[167] Ibid, 26.
[168] A. Sturman, (1997). 'Socialization' in L.J. Saha (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of the sociology of education* (London: Elsevier Science Ltd. 1997), 528.
[169] A. Sturman, (1997) 'Socialization', 528.

explains that the socialization process learns children about their society, teaches them the norms of their society and thereby how to effectively interact with others. She argues that the type and nature of the values and interactions that schools approve and communicate to students may contribute to social cohesion or fail to do so.[170]

Dupuy stresses that socialization in education is critical for peace since children spend a lot of time in schools during their formative years. This makes the school a key socialization site for young people. Moreover, Dupuy argues that schools have a critical role to play in teaching children how to manage and resolve conflict; how to manage and form interpersonal relationships; and how to enforce authority; as well as for communicating the value of and skills for building peace. Socialization processes in education can impact social acceptance of, and constraints regarding the use of violence. For building and maintaining peace, education in post-conflict societies should be protective and violence-free. She points out that as a result of improved quality, and a safer learning environment, students may have less motivation, as well as fewer opportunities, to engage in armed conflict.[171]

Dupuy argues that as the curriculum directly and indirectly transmits values and attitudes to students, its content is thus an important mechanism of socialization. In addition to this, what is implicitly communicated to students through the 'hidden curriculum' - 'the routines, rituals, and practices which govern school life and send messages about who and what are valued'[172] - is also an important element in the process of socialization in education. This hidden curriculum includes things that are learned in school in addition to the official curriculum, such as norms and behaviours that are valued as good or bad.[173]

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[170] Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 44.

[171] Ibid, 2, 44-45.

[172] P. Munn, (2000). 'Social capital, schools, and exclusions' in S. Barron, J. Field and Tom Schuller (Eds.), *Social capital: Critical perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 174.

[173] Kendra Dupuy, *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflict Through Education Systems*, 55-56.

Peacebuilding education

Besides promoting socialization, educational practices also need to stimulate peacebuilding. Motivated by Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1960) and the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All - both stating that education shall be directed to the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free, equal, tolerant and peaceful society - the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) define peace(building) education as:

'the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level'[174].

This definition emphasises the preventative role of peace(building) education. Furthermore, UNICEF argues that peace education is an essential component of quality basic education. They provide proof for their argument by pointing to the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All, that states that basic learning needs to comprise not only tools such as literacy and numeracy, but also the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values required to live and work in dignity and to participate in development.[175]

According to Bush and Saltarelli peacebuilding education aims to transform the very foundations of intolerance. They explain that peacebuilding education is a long-term process, relying on local rather than external inputs and resources, seeking to create opportunities rather than impose solutions.[176] They argue that if education has to contribute to sustainable peace, it will have to be driven by people within conflict-affected societies themselves. Because peacebuilding education is a bottom-up rather than top down process founded on the experiences and capacities of the warn-torn communities themselves, external actors must assume supporting and facilitating roles.[177] Bush and Saltarelli explain that peacebuilding education seeks to initiate or support an educational process that allows children to 'articulate,

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[174] Susan Fountain, *Peace Education In UNICEF* (New York: UNICEF, 1999), 1.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* vi, 23.
[177]Ibid, 23, 27.

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accommodate and accept differences between and within groups'[178]. They point out that this entails a two-fold process that constructs positive inter-group relations and deconstructs negative ones.[179]

Bush and Saltarelli see the *demilitarization* of the minds of people as a first central objective of peacebuilding education. This can be done very directly by teaching students that the use of violence is rather a last than a first resort. A second goal of the process of peacebuilding education is *problematization*: education has a critical role to play in encouraging students to question understandings and facts that are taken for granted. A world that is oppressed by violent conflict can in this way be opened and students may start to recognize the need for change. This is closely linked to the third objective, that relates to the *articulation of alternatives*. Peacebuilding education teaches children about tolerance, dignity and respect and about a world without hate and distrust. It shows students that if choices are made, alternatives do exist. Finally, peacebuilding education may alter the 'rules' that guide the interaction between different ethnic groups in different spheres of life (social, political, commercial). Bush and Saltarelli argue, that by *changing the rules of the game* through interaction in the classroom, peacebuilding education can stimulate a shift from intolerance to tolerance.[180]

Education for reconciliation

In recent years, it has become an international norm that some form of truth-telling or transitional justice enterprise must occur in the aftermath of violent conflict or massive human rights abuses.[181] At the end of a conflict the perpetrators and victims of violence must often resettle together in society. Especially in the aftermath of an ethnic conflict this can be very difficult, when neighbours have fought on opposite sides of the conflict. Moreover, the pursuit of justice and reconciliation can be extremely challenging due to the large number of persons participating in the conflict, the different perceptions of the truth and the presence of weakened state institutions.[182] Nonetheless, a joint publication of Women Waging Peace and International Alert on

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[178] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 23.
[179] Ibid, 23-24.
[180] Ibid, 28-30.
[181] Julia Paulson (Ed.), *Education and Reconciliation: Exploring Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations*, 2.
[182] Women Waging Peace and International Alert, *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (Women Waging Peace and International Alert, 2004), 1.

transitional justice and reconciliation, highlights that it is important to have some means by which to acknowledge crimes committed during a period of violent conflict to provide a sense of justice and initiate a longer-term process of healing.[183]

Transitional justice addresses the legacy of human rights abuses and violence during a society's transition away from conflict. It covers the entire range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempts to deal with the past and live with a legacy of major abuses in order to achieve accountability, justice and reconciliation. This includes both judicial and non-judicial mechanisms such as individual prosecutions, truth and reconciliation commissions, amnesty, local mechanisms, reparations and institutional reform.[184] Although specific goals are context-dependant, transitional justice mainly aims to promote justice, reconciliation, truth, reparation, action to prevent recurrence and curb impunity[185], co-existence and sustainable peace[186]. Nevertheless, Pablo de Greiff, Director of Research at the International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), argues that the most important goals of transitional justice are providing recognition to victims, promoting civic trust, and making a contribution to the democratic rule of law.[187]

Julia Paulson argues that the goal of recognition is mutually reinforcing with the post-conflict educational goal of participation. She argues that education and transitional justice can both be seen as instruments of social integration that aim to contribute to participatory citizenship and civic trust.[188] Through participation in education, victimised children feel recognised. This can be mutually reinforcing with the recognition provided by transitional justice measures that involve the children in the processes and address their

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[183] Women Waging Peace and International Alert, *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*, 1.
[184] See Advisory Council on International Affairs (AIV) and Advisory Committee on Issues of Public International Law (CAVV), *Transitional Justice: Justice and Peace in Situations of Transition* (AIV/CAVV, 2009), 8-9 ; UN, *Report of the Secretary-General on the Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-conflict Societies* (UN Doc. S/2004/616, 23 August 2004), 4.
[185] Advisory Council on International Affairs (AIV) and Advisory Committee on Issues of Public International Law (CAVV), *Transitional Justice: Justice and Peace in Situations of Transition*, 11-12.
[186] Women Waging Peace and International Alert, *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*, 1.
[187] Pablo de Greiff, 'Articulating the Links Between Transitional Justice and Development: Justice and Social Integration' in Pablo de Greiff and Roger Duthie (Eds.), *Transitional Justice and Development: Making Connections* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2009), 23.
[188] Julia Paulson, *(Re)Creating Education in Post-conflict Contexts: Transitional Justice, Education, and Human Development* , 4.

experiences. She points out that the importance of this reinforcement comes from the fact that education and transitional justice may be two major state institutions that are visible for victims. Because victims will feel recognised by the two mechanisms they will be more likely to embrace opportunities for participation.[189]

Furthermore, education and transitional justice share common roles in dealing with the past (truth telling and understanding what happened), the present (addressing current needs, recovery from the legacies of conflict, educational opportunities that have been missed), and the future (contributing to reconciliation and sustainable peace).[190] Because this study looks at the role of education in fostering sustainable peace in the aftermath of violent ethnic conflict, the common goal of education and transitional justice in dealing with the future and contributing to reconciliation, is of high relevance. Moreover, since reconciliation is 'the act of reuniting groups or parties who have been fractured as a result of conflict'[191], reconciliation between individuals, groups and peoples and can be considered crucial in the context of a society that suffered from ethnic conflict.[192]

There are many education initiatives that aim to promote reconciliation in the aftermath of conflict such as peace education and human rights education that try to bring children from different sides of the conflict together in one classroom.[193] Paulson stresses that these initiatives 'aim to foster integration, to teach peaceful values and attitudes via concepts like human rights and citizenship and to retell history in a manner that might help create a "culture of peace"'[194]. Although Paulson states that issues such as the human rights records of teachers and a communities ability to guarantee children's rights have to be taken into account, she points out that throughout planning a project that used Peru's TRC to promote human rights and reconciliation in

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[189] Julia Paulson, *(Re)Creating Education in Post-conflict Contexts: Transitional Justice, Education, and Human Development*, 14.

[190] See Alan Smith, *Children, Education and Reconciliation*, 14 ; Julia Paulson (Ed.), *Education and Reconciliation: Exploring Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations*, 2.

[191] Joe A. D. Alie, 'Reconciliation and traditional justice: tradition-based practices of the Kpaa Mende in Sierra Leone' in Luc Huyse and Mark Salter (Ed.), *Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict Learning from African Experiences* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2008), 133.

[192] G. Machel, *Impact of armed conflict on children*, 56.

[193] Julia Paulson (Ed.), *Education and Reconciliation: Exploring Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations* (London: Continuum Publishing Corporation, 2011), 1-2.

[194] Ibid, 2.

schools, community members, Ministry of Education officials and donors all agreed on the assumption that education is crucial for reconciliation.[195]

While reconciliation seems to be a common aim of various educational and transitional justice initiatives in the aftermath of violent conflict, there is no clear definition of the concept.[196] Paulson argues that there is a lack of agreement on the nature of reconciliation, on its necessary components, on who should participate and on how to measure whether and when reconciliation has been achieved. She points out that some say that forgiveness is crucial for reconciliation and others suggest increased opportunities for inter-group contact, fostering coexistence and encouraging dialogue are essential.[197]

This uncertainty about the definition of reconciliation and about how it can be achieved causes even more uncertainty about how it can be fostered through education. Nevertheless, Smith argues that both educational and transitional justice measures can facilitate reconciliation by addressing the legacies of conflict. This can be done by speaking about the impact on the bereaved and injured, remembering and commemorating, debates about forgiveness, expression of regret, apology and symbolic events, understanding the role of amnesties and prisoner releases, alongside concepts of restorative and transitional justice.[198] In cases where there has been put up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), education can play an important role in raising awareness on its findings and in developing public support for implementation of the recommendations. And in the absence of a formal TRC education can contribute to reconciliation by helping people to understand societal events.[199]

In their study on 'The Role of Education in Reconciliation' Claire Magill, Alan Smith and Brandon Hamber highlight the important role that education can play in societies emerging from conflict in helping children and young people both to understand the violent past and to contribute to a shared and more peaceful future.

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[195] Julia Paulson (Ed.), *Education and Reconciliation: Exploring Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations* (London: Continuum Publishing Corporation, 2011), 1-2.
[196] B. Hamber , G. Kelly, 'Beyond coexistence: Towards a working definition of reconciliation' in JR Quinn (ed.) *Reconciliation(s) – Transitional Justice in Post-conflict Societies* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 287.
[197] Julia Paulson (Ed.), *Education and Reconciliation: Exploring Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations*, 3.
[198] Alan Smith, *Children, Education and Reconciliation*, 17.
[199] Ibid, 13.

Their findings provide insight into the experiences and perspectives of children and young people in Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina with regard to the role of education in reconciliation. The research shows that students clearly state that even though it may be sensitive, controversial and very recent education has a positive and distinctive role to play in helping successive generations understand the recent history of violent conflict. Instead of ignoring the past and in order to create a more peaceful future, young people want to understand what happened and why. [200]

The study recommends that if education has to play a role in fostering reconciliation by addressing the legacies of conflict, there are some preconditions that must be met. Firstly, there is a need for more clarity around the concept of reconciliation and schools should be supported in exploring and clarifying it. Secondly, the importance of education in building a better understanding of the nature and causes of conflict should be acknowledged. Furthermore, because it is impossible to have a single agreed interpretation of the past, it should be recognized that this task can only be undertaken by schools if there is a commitment to include multiple perspectives and encourage critical thinking. [201]

Thirdly, the central role of educators should be acknowledged. Young people think that i.a. teachers and youth workers have a crucial role and responsibility to foster understanding and to contribute towards reconciliation. These 'educators' work in the formal but also in the non-formal education sectors. Therefore, the study recommends in the fourth place, that these two sectors need to collaborate more and better to facilitate positive, constructive dialogue in order for them to maximise their potential to complement each other. Finally, the report suggests that appropriate educational resources and guidance are needed. Resources need to be interactive and user-friendly and should challenge students values and attitudes. Moreover, they need to ease the development of critical thinking skills. For the development of appropriate resources, opportunities that new social networking and Web 2.0 technologies offer should be taken into account. Young people could create their own resources in interaction with peers and educators. It is therefore

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[200] Clare Magill, Alan Smith and Brandon Hamber, *The Role of Education in Reconciliation. The Perspectives of Children and Young People in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Northern Ireland* (UNESCO and the University of Ulster, 2009), 1, 107.
[201] Ibid, 107-108

essential that educators are comfortable with these new technologies and the pedagogical benefits they offer.[202]

2.2.2 The school curriculum and teachers

As there exist educational practices that foster social cohesion and sustainable peace, there are many educational practices that cause divisiveness and counter sustainable peace. In summary, what children learn or don't learn, and how they learn, matters for educations role in the aftermath of ethnic conflict. With regard to these questions it is important to take into account that there exist obstacles for the school curricula and for the role of teachers.

The curriculum is the main instrument for the organization of teaching and learning as part of formal education. Smith and Vaux point out that this is why the curriculum is often the focus for tensions related to conflict within broader society.[203] Since knowledge can be included or excluded from the curriculum, it may be seen as an ideological or political tool. In Bosnia and Herzegovina for example, three parallel curricula emerged during and after the conflict in which one of the country's three constituent peoples (Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs) heritage and ideology was represented, accompanied by ideologically-based policy positions.[204]

Although there is no agreed definition of the term 'curriculum', Sobhi Tawil and Alexandra Harley from the UNESCO International Bureau for Education (IBE) point out that a commonly used broad definition refers to 'the organisation of sequences of learning experiences in view of producing desired learning outcomes'[205]. Alan Smith explains that especially when these 'learning experiences' are conceived as the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next, and learning becomes a passive experience; it can be a powerful tool to promote political ideologies, religious practices, or cultural values. He argues that all areas of the curriculum carry values that have the

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[202] Clare Magill, Alan Smith and Brandon Hamber, *The Role of Education in Reconciliation,* 108-110.

[203] A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development* , 28.

[204] Philip Stabback, 'Curriculum development, diversity, and division in Bosnia and Herzegovina' in S. Tawil and A. Harley (Eds.), *Education, conflict, and social cohesion* (Geneva: International Bureau of Education, 2004), 41.

[205] Sobhi Tawil and Alexandra Harley, ' Education and Identity-based Conflict: Assessing curriculum policy for social and civic reconstruction' in S. Tawil and A. Harley (Eds.), *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* (Geneva: Unesco, International Bureau of Education, 2004), 18.

potential to propagate implicit and explicit political messages. Especially the 'national subjects' such as language, literature, history, geography, culture and religion are subjects that often get drawn into controversy because they are tightly controlled by governments and regarded as essential tool for nation building.[206]

In order to have a clearer understanding in what way educational practices exacerbate ethnic conflict, the following subparagraphs will analyse the challenges that lie in different aspects of the school curriculum and the teaching profession.

Type of curriculum: knowledge transmission vs. learning outcomes

From a conflict perspective, one of the most important issues regarding the school curriculum is the *type* of curriculum that is used. The contemporary trend in many countries is to modernise the curriculum by defining terms of 'learning outcomes' instead of conceiving the curriculum as a mere transmission of knowledge.[207] Smith and Vaux point out that this is due to the growing recognition that the expansion of knowledge can no longer be contained by already overcrowded syllabuses and as well to the changing nature of employment and the need for transferable skills.[208]

Besides factual knowledge, learning outcomes refer to skills, attitudes and values. A learning outcome curriculum draws on a much wider variety of learning resources, such as a variety of texts, different media and new technologies that may contribute to the development of multiple perspectives and produce critical and questioning minds. However, there remains a question about the values that are acquired through the process of education based on a curriculum with learning outcomes. Besides this, the variety of learning resources causes higher costs for schools and requires different skills from teachers.[209] In particular for countries recovering from conflict it may be

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[206] See Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 17-18 ; A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 29.

[207] See Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 17 ; A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 28.

[208] A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 28.

[209] See Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 17-18 ; A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 28.

a challenging task to ensure that there is money for new learning resources and to provide training for teachers.

History education

A second aspect of the curriculum that is important from a conflict perspective is history education. Smith and Vaux argue that history education is an area of the curriculum that is particularly open to charges of bias and prejudice. [210] Elizabeth Cole and Karen Murphy point out that 'within education, history may be the discipline that is most inherently conservative, as it has traditionally been the venue in which group cohesion and patriotism have been inculcated'[211].They argue that particularly in societies divided by identity-based (ethnic) conflicts, history education may be an issue.[212]

Sarah Graham-Brown points out that government and curriculum control of a particular ethnic group or elite, often leads to the construction of a version of history which exalts the role of that group at the expense of others. This can even lead to the suppression of events or cultural ideas which are seen as subversive or divisive.[213] An obvious example can be found in the history of the state of Israel, where from 1948 until the 1980's the Israelis installed a separate Arabic language schooling system for remaining Palestinians. The main goal of these schools was to foster a 'loyal minority'. As part of these efforts, any contemporary signs of the Palestinian identity where suppressed. History education for Jewish children aimed to instruct students in the 'culture of mankind' but also to create a Jewish national consciousness and the feeling of a common Jewish destiny. However, in Arab schools, students were only asked to value correctly the part played by Jews and Arabs in the culture of mankind.[214]

Like Cole, Murphy and Graham-Brown, Bush and Saltarelli state that in particular during inter-ethnic tensions, history teaching can be an issue. They

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[210] A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 31.

[211] Elizabeth A. Cole and Karen Murphy, 'History Education Reform, Transitional Justice and the Transformation of Identities'*, Ictj,* (Oct. 2009) <http://www.ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-Identities-HistoryEducation-ResearchBrief-2009-English.pdf>, 1, accessed 3 Dec. 2012.

[212] Elizabeth A. Cole and Karen Murphy, 'History Education Reform, Transitional Justice and the Transformation of Identities'*,* 1.

[213] Sarah Graham-Brown, 'The Role of the Curriculum' in Minority Rights Group (Ed.), *Education Rights and Minorities* (UK: Minority Rights Group, 1994), 28.

[214] S. K. Mari, *Arab Education in Israel* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1978), 70.

point out, that national elites often force teachers to follow curricula that homogenize diversity. By using past events (factual or fictional) to illustrate historical wrongs, ethnic manipulators try to mobilize support for their political projects. To prevent the use of history for political ends, young people should acquire critical historiographical skills so that they can identify the intersection between their personal stories and larger collective histories.[215]

Cole points out that the idea that what is taught in history textbooks can be a cause of intergroup conflict dates back to just after the First World War. To analyse textbooks and make recommendations for reform, the Georg Eckert Institute in Germany was founded.[216] Also after the Second World War, UNESCO and the Council of Europe launched reform programmes directed at the teaching of history in order to build a better world with greater understanding among and between nations. Like education, history teaching was in fact considered both a factor that contributed to the war as well as a part of the solution. UNESCO and the Council of Europe argued that a more international, peaceful, cultural and contemporary history could create greater understanding between peoples and countries.[217] Through the teaching of history, they wished to create 'international citizens immune to propaganda who would safeguard peace, human rights, pluralism and cultural heritage'[218]. History teaching should therefore become more international, include critical perspectives and minorities, and safeguard the cultural heritage through local history.[219]

To prevent history teaching from contributing to conflict, the emphasis on the factual content of history should be replaced by the view that history is an interpretation of evidence. Smith and Vaux argue that in this way, students are encouraged to evaluate evidence from a variety of sources, consider competing interpretations and develop their personal critical perspective on the past.[220]

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215 Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, 13, 20.
216 Elizabeth Cole, 'Education in the Shadow of history. Education, History education and Their Place in historical Justice', 1.
217 See Thomas Nygren, 'UNESCO and Council of Europe Guidelines, and History Education in Sweden, c. 1960-2002', *Education Inquiry*, 2/1 (2011), 37–40 ; A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 31 ; UNESCO, *A handbook for the improvement of textbooks and teaching materials as aids to international understanding* (Paris: Unesco, 1949), 123-135.
218 Thomas Nygren, 'UNESCO and Council of Europe Guidelines, and History Education in Sweden, c. 1960-2002', 40.
219 Ibid.
220 A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 31.

Nevertheless, Cole argues that in the immediate aftermath of conflict it may be very dangerous to teach about the committed atrocities. Although she agrees that it is important to teach young people to be critical about past events, she argues that the brutal details evoked by studying mass atrocities do not necessarily contribute to children's development in a positive way. [221]

Civic and citizenship education

From an ethnic conflict perspective, another area where the school curriculum can play an important role in provoking tensions is civic and citizenship education, which in many societies is a formal part of the school curriculum. Citizenship education learns children about the rights of citizens and their relationship to the state. Besides traditional forms of citizenship education (learning about the constitution, independence, government, institutions etc.), there is recently a trend towards enquiry-based civic education that focuses on the question what it means to be a citizen.[222]

Although this area of education may contribute to a sense of national unity, it can also be very problematic in societies divided by ethnic conflict. Smith points out that a study of citizenship education in the USA and Israel stresses that 'at times of war patriotic forms of citizenship dominate in order to secure national unity, whilst democracy and critical debate in the public discourse are constrained'[223]. He argues that the role that citizenship education plays in the formation of national identity and unity means that it is important to analyse the functioning of citizenship education in conflict-affected and post-conflict countries. Whether citizenship education contributes to peacebuilding or to the exacerbation of conflict depends thus on the context and the approach that is adopted.[224]

Teachers and teacher training

Besides different curricular aspects of education, another last important challenge for educational practices in the aftermath of ethnic conflict relates to the central role of teachers. Smith and Vaux argue that any reform strategy that ignores the central role of the teaching profession undermines a crucial

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[221] Elizabeth Cole, 'Education in the Shadow of history. Education, History education and Their Place in historical Justice', 7-8.
[222] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 15-17.
[223] Ibid, 16.
[224] Ibid, 17.

aspect of the process to social cohesion and may contribute to further (violent) tensions.[225] The World Bank has a corresponding view on the matter and states that teachers are the most critical resource in the aftermath of conflict, and in education reconstruction.[226] Teachers can be a very important factor in mediating the curriculum and the values that it transmits. Furthermore, Smith points to the fact that research has shown that teacher quality determines the student's achievement. [227]

However, in many identity-based or ethnic conflicts teachers may become targets of violence[228] and teacher training and development are in most cases largely neglected during conflict. The World Bank stresses that this creates particular challenges for post-conflict reconstruction as the education system has to cope with a lack of (qualified) teachers.[229] Other challenging factors that relate to the teaching profession include: the status of teaching within a society, diversity-sensitive recruitment and the quality of teacher training.[230] The status of teachers relates i.a. to salary and terms and conditions of employment, both factors that affect motivation of teachers and thus the prospects of retaining teachers in conflict-affected societies. Diversity-sensitive recruitment includes ensuring adequate recruitment of male and female teachers from different ethnicities who can provide education to different student groups in their first languages. And finally, the quality of teacher training speaks for itself although it is an often neglected aspect of development within an education system according to Smith.[231]

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[225] A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 32.
[226] World Bank, *Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction*, xviii.
[227] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building* , 21.
[228] See World Bank, *Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction*, xi ; A. Smith, T. Vaux, *Education, conflict, and international development*, 32 ; Peter Buckland, ' Post-conflict education: time for a reality check?', 7.
[229] World Bank, *Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction*, xviii.
[230] Alan Smith, *The influence of education on conflict and peace building*, 21.
[231] Ibid.

CONCLUSION Part one

Besides being a fundamental human right and an essential tool for human development, the most important conclusion of the first part of this thesis, is that education in post-conflict societies that suffered from ethnic conflict can be part of the problem as well as part of the solution. Although education is increasingly recognised as indicator for human development and being translated into global initiatives such as the Millennium Development Goals, Education For All and Education First, authors[*] that study the links between education and (ethnic) conflict argue that education is paradoxical and that it can both provoke good things as well as bad things. In the context of a post-conflict society this means that whilst education may contribute positively to development and social cohesion, it also has the potential to misuse its power by promoting ideas and behaviours that counter social cohesion and form the basis for violent conflict.

Since the last few decades have seen a rise of intrastate ethnic wars, ethnicity is important for understanding modern conflict. Whilst ethnicity is no fundamental cause of conflict, it can be mobilized to generate or escalate conflict through education. One of the explanations for this, is the growing recognition that education can never be value-free or neutral. This is why especially in conflict-affected countries, where divisions are based on identity factors or ethnicity, education can play a pivotal role. This challenges the field of international development to find ways of raising critical questions about the form, the content and thus the quality of education as well as its implications for social relations.

To encourage a more critical thinking about the role of education in post-conflict societies divided by ethnic conflict, the first part of this study tries to answer the question **'to what extent and how can education play a role in achieving sustainable peace after ethnic conflict?'**. In order to answer this question, policy and practice at different levels within the education system were analysed in terms of their potential to aggravate or ameliorate conflict. The positive

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[*] Paulson, Smith, Bush and Saltarelli and Harber.

and negative impacts of education were examined and resulted in some broad guidelines.

Besides raising awareness on the negative impacts of education, this research demonstrates that education has an important role to play in achieving sustainable peace. By helping people to understand societal events; teaching about human rights; ensuring equal access and participation; and re-establishing social norms and communities, inculcating civic values and promoting tolerance, education can contribute to the building blocks of sustainable peace.

To live up to these expectations, education has to be of a certain quality. Education that is inclusive and promotes socialization, peace and reconciliation may play an important role in fostering sustainable peace after ethnic conflict. Still, policymakers and practitioners in the field of education have to take education's negative face into account. Research clearly shows that there do exist some important challenges for educational systems in the aftermath of ethnic conflict. Thus, in order to prevent for education to contribute to the exacerbation of social segregation in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, governments and organizations that commit to educational reform need to be aware of both the negative and the positive face of education.

An analyses of the positive and negative face of education resulted in straightforward recommendations on two levels. If education wants to contribute to sustainable peace in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, policymakers need to ensure that education is **inclusive:** tolerant towards ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities, ensures equality and equity in distribution of resources and employs merit-based selection practices.

On a more practical level, practitioners in the field of education need to assure that education fosters sustainable peace via a school curriculum and teachers that promote: **socialization, peacebuilding and reconciliation.**

At the same time, to prevent education from contributing to the exacerbation of ethnic conflict, governments and organizations that commit to educational reform need to be aware of the negative effects of exclusive educational structures and specific educational practices that are expressed through the

school curriculum and via teachers. The following framework (figure 2.) summarizes in what way education can contribute best in the process of attaining sustainable peace in post conflict societies that suffered from ethnic conflict:

Objectives	Preconditions	Tools & Strategies
Inclusive education	1. Tolerance for minorities. 2. Equality/equity in distribution of resources. 3. Merit-based selection practices.	1. Equal access to shared educational institutions, recognition and use of mother tongue language in schools, relevant curricula. 2. Equal distribution of money, teachers, teaching/learning materials, school buildings/furniture between different schools and levels of education (primary/secondary/tertiary). 3. Selecting and admitting students on the basis of achievement.
Education for socialization, peacebuilding & reconciliation	1. Education for socialization. 2. Peacebuilding education. 3. Education for reconciliation.	1. Use of the hidden curriculum (by teachers) to communicate and approve routines, rituals, practices, values, norms, behaviors and interactions that foster social cohesion. 2. Bottom-up process founded on the experiences and capacities of the warn-torn communities that demilitarizes the mind (violence is a last resort), problematizes (questions understandings/facts that are taken for granted), articulates alternatives and changes the rules of the game (shift from intolerance to tolerance). 3. Addressing the legacies of conflict and helping people to understand societal events (history) by speaking about the past, the bereaved and injured, remembering and commemorating, debating, raising awareness on TRC findings and developing public support for implementation of its recommendations.

Figure 2: Education for sustainable peace

Still, we have to bear in mind that these guidelines are no magical recipe for sustainable peace. However, taking into account the possibilities and challenges for education in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, may facilitate a society to find the path towards sustainable peace. In the second part of this study, the abovementioned framework will be compared to reality in a case-study on the role of education in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide. By exploring educations positive and negative role in this post-conflict society, the case-study aims to find out whether theory and reality of educational possibilities and challenges in the aftermath of ethnic conflict correspond.

Now is the time to put into practice education's role in the construction of a united, mutually supportive Rwandan society working to achieve the well-being of each of its members. [232]

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[232] Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy 2003 (*Kigali: 2003), 4.

CHAPTER III The role of education in building sustainable peace in Rwanda

R
wanda, a small, mountainous, densely populated landlocked country in Central Africa whose history has been marked by ethnic violence. Before the genocide (1994), the ethnic makeup of Rwanda's population of more than 7 million people was roughly 85 percent Hutu, 14 percent Tutsi and less than 1 percent Twa. For 500 years the traditionally cattle-herding Tutsi dominated the agriculturalist Hutu and hunter–potter Twa. But even after that, the Belgian colonists, who ruled from 1916 until 1962, judged that the tall, thin Tutsis were superior to the shorter, flat-nosed Hutus. By deciding to rule through the Tutsis and favouring them in admissions to colonial schools, the Belgians contributed to a legacy of ethnic resentment.[233]

Nevertheless, shortly before independence (1962), the roles between Hutus and Tutsis were reversed. In the late 1950's during the great wave of decolonization, tensions between the two main ethnic groups increased. While parts of the Tutsi establishment resisted democratization and the loss of their acquired privileges, the Hutu political movement was gaining strength. In November 1959, a Hutu uprising killed hundreds of Tutsi and forced thousands of people (Tutsi) to flee to neighbouring countries (Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda). This marked the start of the so-called 'Hutu Peasant Revolution' or 'social revolution' lasting from 1959 to 1961, which killed more than 20.000 Tutsi's and signified the end of Tutsi domination and the sharpening of ethnic tensions. Belgium relinquished power and granted Rwanda independence in 1962. In the subsequent years, the Hutus took their place and the Tutsis were portrayed as the scapegoats for every crisis. [234]

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[233] See UN, 'Rwanda Genocide: Timeline', Rwanda: A Brief History of the Country - Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations [webpage], <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/education/rwandagenocide.shtml>, accessed 2 May 2013 ; Faculty Plytechnic, *A Summary of the Rwandan Genocide* <http://faculty.polytechnic.org/gfeldmeth/rwandabackground.pdf>, accessed 2 May 2013 ; US Agency for International Development (USAID), *Rebuilding Postwar Rwanda: The Role of the International Community* (Usaid, 1996), v ; The Economist , 'Rwanda since the genocide: The road out of hell', *The Economist,* 25 March 2004, <http://www.economist.com/node/2535789>, accessed 2 May 2013.

[234] See Greg Feldmeth, 'A Summary of the Rwandan Genocide', *faculty.polytechnic.org,* <http://faculty.polytechnic.org/gfeldmeth/rwandabackground.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2013 ; BBC NEWS, 'Rwanda: How the genocide happened', *BBC NEWS Africa* [webpage], (17 May 2011) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13431486>, 2 May 2013.

In the years before the genocide, the economic situation worsened and the incumbent president, Juvenal Habyarimana (Hutu), began losing popularity. Simultaneously, Tutsi refugees in Uganda were reforming the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), led by Paul Kagame. The RPF's aim was to overthrow Habyarimana and secure their right to return to Rwanda.[235] After several attacks between October 1990 (major attack RPF on Rwanda) and August 1993, negotiation resulted in the Arusha peace agreements, signed by Habyarimana and the RPF. However, this agreement did little to achieve sustainable peace. [236]

Later, unassailable evidence demonstrated that even during the peace talks, extremist elements of the Hutu majority were planning a campaign to exterminate Tutsis and moderate Hutus. When Habyarimana's aeroplane was shot down by unknown assassins on April 6th 1994, a pretext was found for the start of the killings. Led by Colonel Théoneste Bagosora, Habyarimana's associates took over control and started murdering Tutsis and Hutus who refused to participate in the killings. Two short sentences from an article in The Economist capture this horrifying moment in history that marks one of the darkest episodes in contemporary history: 'A popular radio station howled for blood. The world watched.'[237]

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda ruined the country in many ways. Approximately 12 % of the 7 million Rwandans perished (more than 800.000) and communities and infrastructures were destroyed.[238] Also Rwanda's education system was strongly affected by the conflict. At the end of the genocide, 75 percent of Rwanda's teachers were either killed or imprisoned.[239] The coup by the RPF and the forming of a government in July 1994 on the basis of the Arusha Agreements marked the

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[235] BBC NEWS, 'Rwanda: How the genocide happened'.
[236] See BBC NEWS, 'Rwanda: How the genocide happened' ; Greg Feldmeth, 'A Summary of the Rwandan Genocide'.
[237] See Greg Feldmeth, 'A Summary of the Rwandan Genocide' ; 'Rwanda since the genocide: The road out of hell'.
[238] Kladoumadje Nadjaldongar, 'Lessons learned from the post-conflict reconstruction in Rwanda', paper given at Regional Workshop on Post-conflict and Development, Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire 3-5 June 2008. <http://www.relooney.info/SI_Expeditionary/Post-Conflict-Economic-Development_9.pdf>, accessed 5 May 2013, 3.
[239] Elizabeth A. Cole and Judy Barsalou, *Unite or Divide? The Challenges of teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict* (Washington: USIP, 2006), 7.

end of the genocide and the start of a post-conflict period with enormous challenges laying ahead with regard to reconstruction.[240]

Of relevance to this study, is the question to what extent and how education has played, and still plays, a role in building a sustainable peace in post-conflict Rwanda. The earliest retrievable official government publication on education's role in peacebuilding dates from the April 1995 Conference on policy and planning of education in Rwanda. Dr. Anna Obura points out that the Declaration mainly focuses on the eradication of prejudice and discrimination. The post-genocide education system breaks with the pervious systems by no longer classifying students or teachers along regional or ethnic lines. Obura furthermore stresses that the Declaration highlights the role of education as a major socializing agent for promoting social cohesion.[241]

Besides recognizing educations role in fostering social cohesion, the 1995 Declaration also explicitly emphasizes education's role in peacebuilding. It states that the role of the education sector is to contribute to national reconciliation by:

> - creating a culture of peace, emphasizing positive, non-violent national values; and promoting the universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for others, solidarity and democracy;
> - eliminating negative and positive discrimination; and promoting access to higher levels of education using criteria solely based on student competency.[242]

Furthermore, the mission of the Rwandan education system is also put forward in the outcomes of the 1996 Curriculum harmonization workshop, and clearly emphasizes education's role in peacebuilding:

> [The mission of the Rwandan education system is:]
> - To prepare a citizen who is free from ethnic, regional, religions and sex discrimination;
> - To prepare a citizen who is aware of human rights and responsible to society;

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[240] Kladoumadje Nadjaldongar, 'Lessons learned from the post-conflict reconstruction in Rwanda', 3.
[241] Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda* (Paris: IIEP, 2003), 93.
[242] Ibid.

- To promote a culture of peace and emphasize national and universal values such as justice peace, tolerance, solidarity and democracy;
- To promote freedom of formulation and expression of opinion.[243]

In later government publications, education's positive role in peacebuilding is repeatedly confirmed. In the 2003 Education Sector Strategic Plan the Ministry of Education stresses that the objective of the education sector is 'to contribute to the promotion of a culture of peace and to emphasize Rwandese and universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for human rights, gender equality, solidarity and democracy'[244]. In the second strategic plan (2006 - 2010) these goals for the education sector are repeated.[245] In addition, educations role in peacebuilding is emphasized in a section on 'Peace and Reconciliation', stressing that 'Education at all levels (primary, secondary and tertiary) is an important means of addressing issues of peace and reconciliation in the context of Rwanda post-1994'[246]. Finally, also in the latest strategic plan of 2010-2015, education is seen as 'one of the main foundations for life skills, including critical thinking and Rwandan cultural values, to face the challenges of health and nutrition, HIV/AIDS, family planning, gender awareness, social inclusion and the promotion of peace, unity and reconciliation'[247].

However, the fact that educations positive role in peacebuilding is being widely acknowledged by the Rwandan government, does not mean that this role is actually being deployed in the right way. To answer the second part of the research question of this study - **'To what extent and how can education play a role in achieving sustainable peace after ethnic conflict, and to what extent these findings show consistence with the case of Rwanda?'** - we need to find out more precisely if and how Rwandan policymakers and practitioners in the field of education did, or did not make use of education to foster sustainable peace.

On the basis of the developed framework in the first part of this study, this case study will expose the role of education in achieving sustainable peace in Rwanda.

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[243] Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 94.
[244] Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy 2003,* 17.
[245] Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2006 - 2010* (Kigali: April 2006), 8.
[246] Ibid, 19.
[247] Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010 - 2015* (Kigali: July 2010), 3.

The first main paragraph (3.1) will focus on the recreation of education at a governance level and the second main paragraph (3.2) will analyze educational practices in post-conflict Rwanda. Finally, in the conclusion an answer will be given to the question whether the educational policies of Rwanda show consistence with the findings of the previously developed framework on education for sustainable peace after ethnic conflict. After an analysis of the positive and negative aspects of the actual education system of Rwanda, a list of recommendations will be provided.

3.1 Recreating education in post-genocide Rwanda

After the 1994 genocide Rwanda was to be unified, healed and reconstructed. As well as other sectors, the broken education system that failed Rwanda, needed a thorough transformation. [248] Although very early documentation on a post-genocide education policy is hard to find, in 1998 a new orientation for education was defined by the Rwandan Ministry of Education. Since then, a new restructured Rwandan education system has been, and still is, slowly being set up.[249] In order to learn more about education's role in building sustainable peace in post-genocide Rwanda, we will need to find out more about this new orientation for education in the aftermath of the genocide and in what ways the new Rwandan government used certain educational policies to foster sustainable peace.

The findings in the first part of this study show, that in order to foster sustainable peace, education needs to be inclusive. As we have seen, a first precondition for inclusive education is tolerance towards minorities. Secondly, it has to provide in equal and equitable distribution of resources and finally schools that promote inclusive education need to maintain merit-based selection practices. The following paragraphs will give an analysis of the presence or absence of these three preconditions for inclusive education in Rwanda.

3.1.1 Tolerance for minorities

An important objective of inclusive education is to foster social cohesion. Therefore education needs to be tolerant towards all kinds of minorities such as for

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[248] See Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 3 ; Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 85.

[249] See République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Education, *Étude du Secteur de l'Education au Rwanda* (UNESCO/PNUD: 1998) ; Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 3.

example ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural minorities. In Rwanda there is an early record of the use of educational policies that promote tolerance towards minorities.

Equal access to shared educational institutions

One of the most important aspects of tolerant education is that it is equally accessible to all. Furthermore, tolerant education implies that there is no discrimination within schools. Obura stresses that the post-genocide education policy of Rwanda promotes national unity and reconciliation, prioritizing i.a. equity of provision and access. [250] In the bulk of documents and strategic plans produced by the Rwandan Ministry of Education in the aftermath of the genocide, the first and most cited objective in the recreation of an education system is to provide accessible quality education to <u>all</u> Rwandans. [251] Strong commitment to international development targets such as Education for All (EFA) and Universal Primary Education (UPE), underline Rwanda's focus on access in reconstructing the education system after the genocide.[252]

Besides being accessible, post-genocide educational institutions need to be shared and don't discriminate between gender, race, culture, nationality, ethnie or any other kind of identity determination. Obura points out, that immediately after the conflict, any form of discrimination became illegal and the classification of students and teachers by their ethnic group was abolished. [253] Besides literally stating that education should emphasize national and universal values including tolerance [254], the 1995 Declaration stresses more specifically that education produces 'citizens free of ethnic, regional, national and religious prejudices (...) committed to human rights and to their obligations to society '[255].

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[250] Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 17-18.
[251] See Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 6 ; Ministère de l'Education, *Le Developpement de l'Education (1990-2000),* (Kigali: IBE, 2001), 7-8 ; Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2006 - 2010*, 8-9 ; Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010 - 2015, 1* ; République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Education, *Étude du Secteur de l'Education au Rwanda*, xi, 11-12.
[252] Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 3.
[253] Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 17-18
[254] Ibid, 93-94.
[255] Ibid, 93.

The use of mother tongue language in schools

As seen in the first part of this study, language is a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment, both for the individual and the group.[256] Moreover, peaceful relations within and between ethnic groups can be fostered by a sensitive handling of linguistic issues.[257] This is what the Rwandan government did in the direct aftermath of the conflict. To foster unity and to absorb the many Rwandan refugees that returned from neighboring countries, the Rwandan government instituted a tri-language (Kinyarwanda, French and English) education policy.[258]

In practice children received instruction in their mother tongue until the 4th grade and after this, parents selected a school where either French or English was used as the main language of instruction.[259] Although the tri-lingual language policy secured linguistic tolerance, it resulted in a divide between the Tutsi returnees from Anglophone countries, the Hutu Rwandans who grew up in Rwanda and the Tutsi returnees from Francophone countries.[260]

In 2008, there was put an end to the tri-lingual language policy in education: Rwanda discarded French as one of its three official languages and announced that English would be the only language of instruction from grade four.[261] Dr. Lindsay McLean Hilker (Antropology and International Development) stresses that this policy change was caused by the deteriorating diplomatic relations with France, aspirations to develop an ICT sector in Rwanda, the new membership of the East Africa Community (EAC) and aspiring membership of the Commonwealth.[262] Although the Rwandan Ministry of Education stated until 2008, that Rwanda had chosen the path of multilingualism and that this had an economic, social and

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[256] UNESCO, *Education in a multilingual world* (Paris: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2003), 16.

[257] Kenneth D. Bush, Diana Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict,* 17.

[258] See Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.* (UNESCO IBE, 2011), 276 ; Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 14.

[259] Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.,* 276.

[260] J. Walker-Keleher, 'Reconceptualizing the relationship between conflict and education: The case of Rwanda.', *PRAXIS: The Fletcher Journal of Human Security* (2006), 21, 46.

[261] See Beth Lewis Samuelson and Sarah Warshauer Freedman, *Language policy, multilingual education, and power in Rwanda.* (Lewis and Warshauer Freedman, 2010), 191 ; Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.,* 276.

[262] Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.,* 276.

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political justification[263], the 2010-2015 Education Sector Strategic Plan presents the reversed language policy that, strangely enough, is justified by the same reasons as the tri-lingual language policy from before:

> Previously, a trilingual policy was adopted meaning that there was a choice of medium of instruction based on the linguistic background and experience of the pupils. However, with Rwanda's membership of the East African Community (EAC) and the Commonwealth, and the increasing development of international partnerships, the use of English has become more prominent and the need for literacy in English greater. It is seen as an important vehicle for trade and socioeconomic development and as a gateway to the global knowledge economy. It has also been expensive to maintain three languages of instruction in terms of learning materials and teacher education.[264]

Whilst English is seen as an important language, it is also the language of the Rwandan elite. Professors Beth Lewis Samuelson and Sarah Warshauer Freedman argue that these new language policies create communicative inequality for Francophone Rwandans because of the politically sensitive nature of English due to its association with the English-speaking elite and its widespread adoption. They stress that English is a means for the elite to tighten its hold on privilege and power.[265] Moreover, since more than 80% of the Rwandan population speaks only Kinyarwanda fluently, 5-15% speak French and only 2-5% speak English, the new policy does not correspond to the reality of the use of languages in Rwanda.[266]

A relevant curriculum

In the first part of this study, we saw that the content of the curriculum is a key mechanism that may lead to inclusion and tolerance. An education system that only targets the dominant group(s) in society, may fuel grievances over exclusion. In addition, education that does not reflect the language, history, values, needs, social and economic realities of these excluded groups, may fuel grievances over people's inability to use what they have learned in their daily lives.

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[263] Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 14.
[264] Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010 - 2015,* 14.
[265] Beth Lewis Samuelson and Sarah Warshauer Freedman, *Language policy, multilingual education, and power in Rwanda.,* 211.
[266] Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.,* 276.

Obura points out, that in Rwanda one of the first decisions with regard to the curriculum that was taken when the Ministry reopened schools in September 1994, was that the relevance and applicability of the curriculum to daily life needed to be ensured. [267] Later on, in the 2003 Education Sector Policy document, this need was reemphasized in policy statements such as: ' quality and relevance in education shall be given strong attention'[268] and 'there is an urgent need to balance access, quality and relevance with a special emphasis on a curriculum which is output-oriented and offering the skills and values necessary for development'[269].

3.1.2 Equality and equity in distribution of resources

Besides tolerance, an inclusive education system requires an equal and equitable distribution of resources – equal and equitable both in terms of locations and numbers, and in relation to resources such as money, trained and qualified teachers, teaching and learning materials, school buildings, and school furniture. There are many historical cases where ethnic and social groups have been denied access to educational resources. Because education has increasingly become a highly valued commodity, its unequal allocation has been a serious source of friction that has frequently led to confrontation.

The Rwandan post-genocide education sector policy focuses on the prevention and eradication of disparities. The 2003 policy states: 'There shall be no disparity in education, be it by sex, region, social group or other reason'[270]. Moreover, an important general objective of the post-genocide education system is to eliminate all the causes and obstacles which can lead to disparity in education be it by gender, disability, geographical or social group'[271]. Nevertheless, there still seem to be certain policies in the education sector that counter the objective of combating inequalities.

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[267] Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 86.
[268] Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 19.
[269] Ibid, 8.
[270] Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 23.
[271] Ibid, 17.

The Genocide Survivors Fund

One of the main policies that counter the objective of combating inequalities, is the Genocide Survivors Fund. In 1998 the *Fonds national pour l'assistance aux rescapés du Génocide* (FARG) was set up to help victims of the genocide, and children who lost at least one parent during the genocide, to pay for school fees, transport and school materials (uniforms, books, supplies). In theory, the FARG can be allocated to Tutsi and Hutu survivors. However, Dr. McLean Hilker points out that in practice, there is evidence that Hutu survivors have been unable to access the fund. She argues that this situation has a very concrete impact in Rwandan classrooms. Whilst Tutsi genocide survivors are able to pay for their school fees and related costs, many Hutu survivors are not able to attend school because they cannot cover the costs.[272]

Hilker argues that the FARG has created significant tensions between children that receive the fund and children that do not. She stresses that the inequality reinforces a wider sense of injustice, felt by many Hutu children who lost their families in the civil war and as a result of the RPF killings. These children are not acknowledged as survivors and are therefore excluded from recompense mechanisms such as the FARG. Moreover, the fact that the Tutsi-survivor status is often interpreted broadly means that many Tutsi repatriates have received the FARG even though they were not in Rwanda during the genocide.[273]

Another aspect of the FARG that raises problems around equality is the fact that FARG-children and non-FARG children are often separated in school, for example, to receive their supplies or for a meeting. FARG-children even carry a FARG identity card. Given that nearly all FARG-children are Tutsi, one could argue that the FARG identity card has replaced the Tutsi identity card that was carried before the genocide.[274]

3.1.3 Merit-based selection practices

Merit-based selection practices have an essential role to play in fostering social cohesion and sustainable peace. When students and teachers are not promoted because of individual merit but on the basis of nepotism, corruption, or

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[272] Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.*, 275.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.

discrimination, this undermines equality and the foundations of inclusive education. In Rwanda the pre-genocide system of ethnic quotas was abolished right after 1994. Negative and positive discrimination in selection practices were banned and merit-based selection practices were adopted. [275] From then on, one of the roles of the post-genocide education system was to contribute to national reconciliation by promoting access to higher levels of education using criteria solely based on student competency.[276]

The National Examinations Council (NEC), established after the 1994 genocide, has assisted in producing an equitable and transparent examination system. Students selection has been made independent and this is designed to improve its efficiency, and to ensure provision of appropriate examinations at all levels of the school system in a transparent manner.[277] Romain Murenzi, Rwandan Minister of Education in 2006, stated that henceforth, the entrance examinations would solely rely on qualifications and argues that this is an undeniable value of social justice that has contributed and still contributes to peace in Rwanda.[278]

3.2 Educational practices in post-genocide Rwanda

Alongside being inclusive, education that contributes to sustainable peace in the aftermath of ethnic conflict needs to promote certain educational practices. The findings in the first part of this study show, that in order to foster sustainable peace, educational practices need to promote socialization, need to include peacebuilding courses and should contribute specifically to the reconciliation process. In order to learn more about the role of Rwanda's educational practices in building sustainable peace, the following subparagraphs will give an analysis of the presence or absence of these three different aspects of educational practices that foster sustainable peace, expose them and try to find out whether they correspond to the practices that were determined in the framework on education for sustainable peace after ethnic conflict.

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[275] Wenceslas Nzabalirwa, 'Education et ethnicite au Rwanda: perspective historique', *SA-eDUC JOURNAL*, 6/2 (2009), 167.

[276] Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 93.

[277] Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 16.

[278] Donata Uwimanimpaye, 'Role de l'Education a la Paix dans le Developpement Integral de la Personne. Cas des communautés d'APAX au Rwanda.', Ph.D. Thesis (Universite de Fribourg, 2010), 86.

3.2.1 Education for socialization

As seen in the first part of this study, the quality of education has a lot to do with the process of socialization. Socialization relates to the types of norms that schools and teachers implicitly and explicitly approve and communicate to the children such as behaviours, beliefs, values, and attitudes. The socialization process learns children about their society, teaches them the norms of their society and thereby how to effectively interact with others. The type and nature of the values and interactions that schools approve and communicate to students may therefore contribute to social cohesion or fail to do so.

The hidden curriculum

As the curriculum directly and indirectly transmits values and attitudes to students, its content is an important mechanism for socialization. In particular, what is implicitly communicated to students through the 'hidden curriculum' - the routines, rituals, and practices which govern school life and send messages about who and what are valued - is an important element in the process of socialization in education. The hidden curriculum includes things that are learned in school in addition to the official curriculum, such as norms and behaviours that are valued as good or bad.

In Rwanda, when schools reopened in September 1994, there was no school curriculum or school ethos via which teachers could exercise their profession. Obura points out that because the pre-genocide curricula and school ethos where repudiated, one of the first steps that were taken, was to pervade the school ethos with the philosophy of national unity, reconciliation and healing, emphasizing attributes that bind all Rwandans. In other words, the hidden curriculum changed and henceforth a new set of values was to be taught. Teachers needed to emphasize the similarities between *Banyarwanda* (literally 'those who come from Rwanda': the Hutu's, Tutsi's and Batwah) and focus on the traditional Rwandan values of '*ubumwe*' (unity in Kinyarwanda) such as solidarity, nobility of heart and goodness, self-control, courage, magnanimity and respect for the ancestors.[279]

Furthermore, the new school ethos focused on promoting an inclusive policy, individual responsibility, a progressive future and on the relevance of the curriculum. The National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) stressed that

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[279] Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 86, 87.

in contrast to the past curriculum, where emphasis was being placed on loyalty and blind obedience to the group and the community, children were now to learn critical thinking and analytical skills. The government of Rwanda wanted them to learn to take individual responsibility for their decisions and actions.[280]

The new set of values in education, focusing on unity, solidarity, tolerance and peace, is anchored in different education sector policy documents. In the 1995 Declaration for example, one of the two main roles of the education sector is set out as 'to contribute to national reconciliation by creating a culture of peace, emphasizing positive, non-violent national values; and promoting the universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for others, solidarity and democracy'[281].

Also in strategic plans and studies on education developed in subsequent years, the new mission of the education sector is time and again reemphasised.[282] In 1998, a study on the post-genocide education policy emphasized for example, that the social and cultural foundations of the Rwandan society were being questioned and rethought after the tragic events of 1994. A new Rwandan collective personality needed to be formed, imbued with values of peace, justice, tolerance and equity. It was the education sector's mission to contribute to the formation of a new Rwandan collective personality by forming a citizen free from any kind of discrimination, exclusion and favouritism, and contributing to the promotion of peace, Rwandan values and universal justice, solidarity, tolerance and respect for human rights and individual duties.[283]

Teachers

For education to contribute positively to the peacebuilding process in the aftermath of ethnic conflict, the central role of teachers should be recognised as a crucial aspect in the process of socialization. As stressed in the first part of this study, teachers can be a very important factor in mediating the curriculum and the values that it transmits. Yet, as 75 percent of Rwanda's teachers were either killed or imprisoned during the genocide, the lack of qualified

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[280] Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 87.
[281] Ibid, 93.
[282] See Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 17-19 ; Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2006 - 2010,* 8 ; Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010 - 2015,* 1.
[283] République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Education, *Étude du Secteur de l'Education au Rwanda* (UNESCO/PNUD: 1998), 4, 25.

teachers showed one of the main challenges for the education sector in September 1994. In a report on the development of education in Rwanda between 1990 and 2000, the International Bureau of Education (IBE) points out that besides the enormous lack of teachers for all levels, other weaknesses of the education system related to teachers are the erosion of the teacher authority and the depreciation of the teaching profession resulting in demotivating salaries and bad working conditions. In order to better the quality and efficiency of the education sector, working conditions for teachers need to be improved and teacher training need to be ensured. [284]

However, as teacher salaries in Rwanda are adjusted according to the index of Civil Service salaries, they are defined in 1985 and did hardly change until 1998 (despite the devaluation of the currency and an increase in living costs). Although the government of Rwanda recognizes the problem, there appear to be many obstacles to resolve the issue. Besides the linkage to the decreasing Civil Service salaries, the shortage of qualified teachers in the aftermath of the genocide, is another significant obstacle for an increase in teachers' salaries. Because unqualified teachers are willing to accept the stagnated wages, qualified teachers are comparatively undervalued and try out their luck in different sectors that offer higher salaries. Subsequently, the state is forced to hire more and more unqualified teachers, which leads up to both the risk of a declining quality of education and higher costs of teacher training.[285]

In addition, the small but increasing budget of the education sector - from 1970 to 2011 between 2.26% and 5.67% of the GDP (see Figure 3. below) [286] . simultaneously has to deal with other urgent expenses such as hiring new teachers (made necessary by the expansion of the system) institutional development, reform of the administrative system, teacher training, the establishment of a modern evaluation system, etc. Nevertheless, the Rwandan Ministry of Education is aware of the need to break the vicious circle, and indicates that arbitration with regard to investment in teacher salaries seems necessary. [287]

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[284] Ministère de l'Education, *Le Developpement de l'Education (1990-2000),* 5, 7, 8, 12.
[285] République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Education, *Étude du Secteur de l'Education au Rwanda* (UNESCO/PNUD: 1998), 38-39.
[286] Index Mundi, 'Rwanda - Public spending on education', *Index Mundi,* <http://www.indexmundi.com/facts/rwanda/public-spending-on-education>, accessed 4 May 2013.
[287] République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Education, *Étude du Secteur de l'Education au Rwanda* (UNESCO/PNUD: 1998), 39.
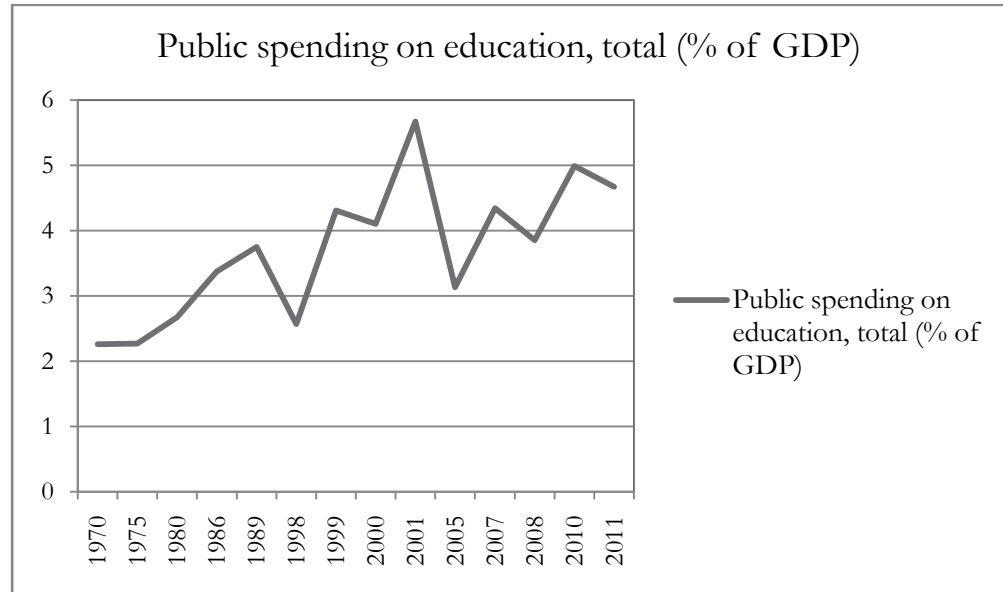
Figure 3: Public spending on education, total (% of GDP)

This acknowledgement is reflected in every education sector policy that followed the one of 1998. In the 2003 document as well as in the one of 2006 and 2010, the Ministry of Education includes teacher training and teacher motivation as one of its main missions in reconstructing the education system:

2003: 'Teacher training through both pre-service and in-service methods with the use of distance learning shall be strengthened. Also different forms of teacher motivation shall be put in place.'[288]

2006: 'The GoR [Government of Rwanda] recognizes the challenges faced in the country which can be summed up as [i.a.]:
2. Addressing the shortage of teachers, both qualitative and quantitative, at all levels and insufficiency of qualified personnel at central and provincial administration levels
3. Improving the status of the teacher and providing incentives for the job given salary and conditions of service which do not motivate.'[289]

2010: 'The Government has addressed the challenges of improving quality despite the financial limitations in recruiting more teachers onto the payroll and improving salaries.'[290]

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[288] Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, *Education Sector Policy* (2003), 19.
[289] Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2006 - 2010*, 7.

Still, in reality, the policies have had no positive effect on the increase of teacher motivation and salaries. In 2008, a teacher survey reveals that sizeable proportions of teachers are concerned about poor job satisfaction and motivation. Moreover, there is no pay progression within each of the three main qualification groups. As a matter of fact, teacher pay has declined since the late 1980s. Taking into account increases in the cost of living, the starting income of a teacher with upper secondary qualification (A2) in 2007 was nearly eight times less than the starting income in 1990. [291]

Nevertheless, more recently (Jan. 2012), in-spired by the continued increase of the GDP and after a reformulation of guidelines for fixing salaries in the public sector, the Rwandan government has started to implement the ministerial order for salary regularization and a new pay and retention policy. As a way for the public sector to keep its brightest employees, the new salary scale sets the level of salaries according to qualifications and experience and regulates salary adjustments in the coming six years. Rwandan teachers will see a 56% of salary increment over this period.[292]

3.2.2 Peacebuilding education

Besides promoting socialization, education also needs to stimulate peacebuilding in a more direct way. Basic learning needs to comprise not only tools such as literacy and numeracy, but also the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values required to live and work in dignity and to participate in development. Because peacebuilding education is a bottom-up rather than top down process, founded on the experiences and capacities of the warn-torn communities themselves, external actors must assume supporting and facilitating roles. Peacebuilding education seeks to initiate or support an educational process that allows children to articulate, accommodate and accept differences between and within groups. As seen in the first part of this study this entails a two-fold process that constructs positive inter-group relations and deconstructs negative ones.

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[290] Ibid, 4.

[291] Paul Bennell and Johnson Ntagaramba, *Teacher motivation and incentives in Rwanda: a situational analysis and recommended priority actions* (2008), <http://www.rencp.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Teacher-Motivation-and-Incentives-in-Rwanda-08.doc>, vii-viii, accessed 15 May 2013.

[292] Rodrigue Rwirahira, 'New pay scale to motivate public servants', *The Rwanda Focus*, 23 January 2012, 8, <http://focus.rw/wp/2012/01/new-pay-scale-to-motivate-public-servants/>, accessed 25 May 2013.

Although Rwanda made early steps towards developing a peace education programme, the goal of a comprehensive peace education curriculum in Rwanda has largely gone unfulfilled. According to Obura, this can be explained by the fact that the Ministry of education was 'not ready' for the programme.[293] Although during the late 1990s, the Ministry wanted to give a central role to 'civic and moral education, the universal and Rwandan values related to peace, tolerance, respect for others, equity, solidarity, democracy and peaceful coexistence'[294] to produce a 'responsible, creative and progressive citizen... of integrity'[295], there was a problem across the board with the notion of "reconciliation". For some people the strong links between peace education and reconciliation were an issue, because the terrors of the genocide were still fresh in everyone's minds and it would be too early to talk about forgiveness.[296]

In collaboration with UNICEF and through the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport, the Ministry of Education developed a peace education program in the late 1990s. However, the program soon became understaffed and underfunded. Obura thinks that they did not put enough effort into it. She argues rightfully, that instead of being blocked by the concept of reconciliation, the Ministry could have taken other entry points for the programme, such as equity and inclusion, aspects with which Rwandans were surely ready to move ahead. Although elements of peace education and history education are present in the school syllabuses, Obura points out that there is no evidence that they are actually being taught, and informal observations to her would indicate that they are not.[297]

Although civic education theoretically has been taught for years in Rwandan schools, Hilker argues that until now, this did not include peace education or conflict resolution skills. She points out that more explicit peace education programmes must be incorporated into both the school curriculum and non-formal forms of education.[298] Fortunately, the non-formal forms of education are recently starting to include peace education. In the last decade, more and more organisations and services got involved in conflict transformation and

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[293]Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 67.
[294] MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, *Actes du séminaire sur l'assistance d'urgence et la reconstruction du système éducatif au Rwanda* (Kigali: MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES 1994), 7.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Anna Obura, *Never Again. Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*, 67.
[297] Ibid, 68, 77-79.
[298] Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.*, 278.

reconciliation in Rwanda. Some of the initiatives are even starting to expand in order to reach more people. From mid May 2013 on for example, the Aegis Trust's peace-building education programme will no longer be limited to the Kigali Genocide Memorial; it is going mobile.[299]

The head of Aegis Trust Rwanda, Robert Bayigamba, is convinced the peace-building education will 'create' a Rwandan youth that promotes a stable and peaceful future. Although good progress is being made, Bayigamba points out that they are currently only engaging 0.01% of the Rwandan youth (aged 15-24). This is one of the reasons why participants repeatedly comment on the need for Aegis Trust to work within schools and rural communities.[300] Still, until now, there are no peace education programmes that could be incorporated in the school curriculum. This is an important problem, considering that peace education is an essential component of quality basic education. As we have seen in the first part of this study, quality basic education can play a very important role in healing the wounds of a society that suffered from a genocide.

3.2.3 Education for reconciliation

At the end of a conflict, perpetrators, victims and bystanders must resettle together in society. Especially in the aftermath of an ethnic conflict this can be very difficult, when neighbours have fought on opposite sides of the conflict. Moreover, the pursuit of justice and reconciliation can be extremely challenging due to the large number of persons participating in the conflict, the different perceptions of the truth and the presence of weakened state institutions. But since reconciliation can be defined as 'the act of reuniting groups or parties who have been fractured as a result of conflict', reconciliation between individuals, groups and peoples is crucial in the context of a society that suffered from ethnic conflict.

Directly after the end of the genocide, the new Rwandan government started focusing on promoting unity and reconciliation. As Marian Hodgkin points out, the government of Rwanda stressed that from then on, the Rwandan identity

[299] AEGIS, *Peace-building in Rwanda goes mobile* (15 May 2013) <http://www.aegistrust.org/index.php/Aegis-Rwanda/peace-building-in-rwanda-goes-mobile.html>, 1, accessed 29 April 2013.
[300] Jean-Christophe Nsanzimana, 'Aegis Trust, educating youth in peace-building', *The Rwanda Focus*, 27 August 2012, 8, <http://focus.rw/wp/2012/08/aegis-trust-educating-youth-in-peace-building/>, accessed 25 April 2013.

should be based on national bonds rather than ethnic differences. The government preached a message of unity, one national group (the *banyarwanda*), that shares a common language, culture, history and land.[301] Although there were not too many problems around the idea of common Rwandan languages, culture or land, the idea of a common history was, and still is, much more disputed. The history of Rwanda had been contested since a long time. Because in the past, political groups have often deployed different versions of history as a justification of their actions, the new government argued that modern national history was too divisive to be taught in a society emerging from decades of ethnic tension. In early 1995, they therefore banned formal history from all school curricula.[302]

Nevertheless, the new collective Rwandan identity had to be drawn upon a common history and thus, the absence of a history curriculum did not leave a vacuum. The government decided to found its reconciliation ideology on selective episodes in Rwandan history, which emphasise those periods that demonstrate a pre-colonial Rwandan unity. In order to create such a narrative, they tasked the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC, established in March 1999) to examine what happened in history to know the 'truth' and avoid to follow distorted history. These efforts had to result in a singular 'official' narrative and had to be used to promote unity among Rwandans.[303]

Because limited progress was made, the Human Rights Center at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), the National University of Rwanda, the Rwandan Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) and the organization Facing History and Ourselves agreed to collaborate in developing history resources for secondary schools in Rwanda in 2003. Because of the many challenges, this has proven to be a very difficult task.[304] Firstly, because the use of a single and official narrative, required by the government, conflicts with modern, democratic teaching methods that foster critical thinking.[305] Critical thinking plays an important role in the

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[301] Marian Hodgkin, 'Reconciliation in Rwanda: Education, History and the State', *Journal of International Affairs*, 60/1 (2006), 199, 202.

[302] See Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.,* 276 ; Marian Hodgkin, 'Reconciliation in Rwanda: Education, History and the State', 199.

[303] See Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.,* 276 ; Marian Hodgkin, 'Reconciliation in Rwanda: Education, History and the State', 204.

[304] Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.,* 276.

[305] Ibid, 277.

reconciliation process. In the first part of this study, we have seen that for reconciliation, appropriate educational resources and guidance are needed. These resources should challenge students values and attitudes and need to ease the development of critical thinking skills.

A second obstacle in developing history resources for schools, is the fact that the Rwandan government decided that promoting unity and reconciliation depends on eliminating the divisive identities of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. In this way, the idea of a new Rwandan identity does not leave any space for students to discuss the realities of continuing ethnic identification and to try to do so in a productive and non-divisive way. Moreover, the instituted laws that enforce the ridding of divisive identities and combat genocide denial are part of this challenge. Hilker argues that these laws have important objectives, but that their definitions are too broad. This means that they are open to political manipulation. She stresses that this explains why teachers participating in the UCB-led history project were reluctant to discuss ethnicity or encourage debate on ethnicity in their classrooms. She argues that teachers are scared to be arrested on the grounds of promoting divisionism.[306]

Despite these challenges, the project resulted in a new history resource book. In 2008 *The teaching of history of Rwanda: A participatory approach* was published and in 2010, history teaching recommenced.[307] However, Hilker stresses that evidence shows that there is only limited progress towards reconciliation in Rwanda and that a sense of injustice is developing because there are groups in society that feel unable to speak about their suffering and do not recognise the histories of their families in the official narrative.[308] Reconciliation is a process that involves the rebuilding of individual and collective relations. As Hodgkin points out rightfully, 'it is not an activity that simply entails "being nicer to each other," but a long-term project that is based on the needs and interest of all groups. Long-lasting, deep and meaningful reconciliation will not occur in Rwanda without reconciliation with history.'[309] She argues that repressing the discussion about divisive and contested moments in Rwandan history will create new dynamics of social exclusion. Trying to create a single narrative and an 'official' truth, will deny or repress the memories

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[306] Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.,* 277.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Lyndsay McLean Hilker, *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda.,* 278.
[309] Marian Hodgkin, 'Reconciliation in Rwanda: Education, History and the State', 200.

of each subgroup within society.[310] Prof. Dr. Susanne Buckley-Zistel stresses that in order to move towards national unity and reconciliation we have to listen to the different stories that emerge from the different groups in society and their particular experience as victims, perpetrators, bystanders, or heroes.[311]

In Rwanda however, learning from and listening to <u>all</u> the different stories of the past does not happen through education. This is regrettable, because as we have seen in the first part of this study, education has an important role to play in helping children and young people to understand the violent past and to contribute to a shared and more peaceful future. Even though it may be sensitive, controversial and very recent, education has a positive and distinctive role to play in helping successive generations understand the recent history of violent conflict. Instead of ignoring the past and in order to create a more peaceful future, young people want to understand what happened and why.[312] For education to play a meaningful role in reconciliation, its important role in building a better understanding of the nature and causes of conflict, should be acknowledged. Furthermore, because it is impossible to have a single agreed interpretation of the past, it should be recognized that this task can only be undertaken by schools if there is a commitment to include multiple perspectives and encourage critical thinking. [313]

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[310]Marian Hodgkin, 'Reconciliation in Rwanda: Education, History and the State', 200, 204-205.
[311] S. Buckley-Zistel, 'Nation, narration, unification? The politics of history teaching after the Rwandan genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 11/1 (2009), 48.
[312] Clare Magill, Alan Smith and Brandon Hamber, *The Role of Education in Reconciliation. The Perspectives of Children and Young People in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Northern Ireland* (UNESCO and the University of Ulster, 2009), 1, 107.
[313] Ibid, 107-108

CONCLUSION Part two

D irectly after the end of the 1994 genocide, the role of education in promoting sustainable peace was recognized by the Rwandan government and also being deployed to build up the country. In order to know whether education's role was, and still is, being fully and properly deployed to foster sustainable peace, this case-study compared the Rwandan educational policies and practices to the previously developed framework on education for sustainable peace in the aftermath of ethnic conflict. This conclusion will summarize its findings which will ultimately lead to an answer to the second part of the research question of this thesis: **whether the post-genocide educational policies of Rwanda show consistence with the findings of the previously developed framework on education for sustainable peace after ethnic conflict.** Finally, it will also include a list of recommendations that could serve as guidelines for the development of future educational policies and practices in Rwanda.

Consistencies: a focus on inclusive education

At the end of the summer of 1994, the broken education system that failed Rwanda was completely destroyed and needed to be rebuild and transformed. In 1998 a new orientation for education was defined. Rwanda was put on the road to a new school culture, with a new school ethos. From then on, education had to promote national unity and reconciliation, emphasizing attributes that bind all Rwandans in order to assure that a horrifying event like this would never again take place. Similarities between *Banyarwanda* (those who come from Rwanda) needed to be emphasized and a new set of values, based on the traditional Rwandan values of *ubumwe* (unity), was to be taught.

Encouraged by commitment to international development targets such as EFA and UPE, the Rwandan Ministry of Education focused its first post-conflict education policy on equal access and equity of provision to all Rwandans. The new school ethos resulted in an inclusive policy, with individual responsibility as one of its key values. In contrast to the past curriculum, where emphasis was being placed on loyalty and blind obedience to the group and the community, children were now to

learn critical thinking in order to become individually responsible for their choices and actions. Any form of discrimination became illegal and classification or separated schooling was abolished. The school curriculum would henceforth be relevant and applicable and thus be output oriented by offering skills and values that are necessary for development. Furthermore a tri-language policy was installed, in order to foster unity and absorb the many refugees. Ethnic quota's in schools were abolished and merit-based selection practices were adopted through the National Examinations Council (NEC).

When comparing the post-conflict education system in Rwanda to the framework on education for sustainable peace, at first glance, there appear to be many consistencies. As described above, the Ministry focused its policy on inclusive education, promoting unity and reconciliation and assuring tolerance for minorities (access to all, relevant curriculum, recognition of mother tongue languages) and merit-based selection practices. When taking a closer look however, some vital parts of inclusive education are missing.

In the course of the development of the 'new education', the government encountered a few stumbling blocks, that pushed them to opt for 'wrong' approaches. Although the Rwandan post-genocide education sector policy focuses on the prevention and eradication of disparities and has the objective to eliminate all the causes and obstacles which can lead to disparity in education be it by gender, disability, geographical or social group, there still seem to be certain educational policies that counter these objectives. In the next paragraph these 'negative' policies and practices will be summarised.

Inconsistencies: divisive educational practices
The first obstacle to inclusive education relates to the language policy. In 2008, there was put an end to the tri-lingual language policy in education. Rwanda discarded French as one of its three official languages and announced that English would be the only language of instruction from grade four. In contrast to the wish of promoting unity, this policy change resulted in communicative inequalities for the French speaking Rwandans and gave the elite, that was already mainly English speaking, an extra advantage. Moreover, the new policy does not correspond to the reality of the use of languages in Rwanda since more than 80% of the Rwandan

population speaks only Kinyarwanda fluently, 5-15% speak French and only 2-5% speak English.

A second important obstacle to equality in education is the Genocide Survivors Fund (FARG). This fund covers for school fees of Tutsi survivors, undermining the Hutu children who lost their families in the civil war and as a result of the RPF killings. These children are not acknowledged as survivors and are therefore excluded from recompense mechanisms such as the FARG. Hutu children that cannot cover the school fees will therefore be excluded from the education system. Besides the fact that inaccessibility to schooling leads to tensions related to injustice, the FARG-receivers are often separated from the rest of the schoolchildren, for meetings or in order to get supplies, and are also caring a FARG identity card. Since nearly all FARG-receivers are Tutsi, this card could be seen as a replacement of the pre-genocide identity card.

Thirdly, the teacher problem was causing a major obstacle for Rwanda to build up its education system and use it as a peacebuilding tool. As 75 percent of teachers was either killed or imprisoned at the end of the genocide, the lack of qualified teachers presented a main challenge for rebuilding the education system. The lack of qualified teachers induced an erosion of the teacher authority which provoked a depreciation of the teaching profession, resulting in demotivating salaries and bad working conditions. In order to better the quality and efficiency of the education sector, working conditions for teachers needed to be improved and teacher training needed to be ensured. However, the shortage of qualified teachers in the aftermath of the genocide, is another significant obstacle for an increase in teachers' salaries. Because unqualified teachers are willing to accept the stagnated wages, qualified teachers are comparatively undervalued and try out their luck in different sectors that offer higher salaries. Subsequently, the state is forced to hire more and more unqualified teachers, which leads up to both the risk of a declining quality of education and higher costs of teacher training. It has become a vicious circle that need to be broken and although the government has recognized the problem pretty fast and indicates that arbitration with regard to investment in teacher salaries seems necessary, the education policies created after the genocide have had no positive effect on the increase of teacher motivation and salaries. Nevertheless, there is some light at the end of the tunnel. More recently (Jan. 2012), in-spired by the continued increase of the GDP and after a reformulation of guidelines for

fixing salaries in the public sector, the Rwandan government has started to implement the ministerial order for salary regularization and a new pay and retention policy. As a way for the public sector to keep its brightest employees, the new salary scale sets the level of salaries according to qualifications and experience and regulates salary adjustments in the coming six years. Rwandan teachers will see a 56% of salary increment over this period.

A fourth negative element of the post-conflict education policy in Rwanda is that unfortunately, the peacebuilding education curriculum in Rwanda has largely gone unfulfilled. This is mostly due to the fact that the Ministry of Education decided that it was too early to talk about reconciliation while the genocide was still fresh in everybody's minds. More recently, there more peacebuilding education programs operate through non-formal forms of education. Still, the programs are not spreading and until now, and the biggest ones, such as Aegis, only reach 0,01% of the Rwandan youth. In order to teach the Rwandan youth peacebuilding values, the programs need to spread over the whole country and need to be included in the school curriculum.

Last but not least, reconciliation proved to be a problematic concept for the Ministry of Education. Although in school curricula the concept of reconciliation was still absent, the government started promoting unity and reconciliation by other means directly after the end of the genocide. The goal was to create one national group, with one language, culture land and history. However, since the Rwandan history had been contested for a long time and the modern national history was thought too divisive, history was banned from all school curricula. Because the basis of one united Rwanda still needed one history, the government decided in 1999 to develop one official history narrative. This turned out to be a difficult task because firstly, teaching only one official narrative conflicts with modern teaching methods and critical thinking, which are rather needed to foster reconciliation. Secondly, ignoring the different stories, identities and ethnicities, means that the realities of the Rwandan society are being ignored. Moreover, the laws that enforce the ridding of divisive identities engender a certain fear for speaking about ethnicity. Teachers and students don't dare to speak openly about the ethnic realities of their society. Thirdly, the creation of one official history narrative is blocking the reconciliation process, since the different ethnicities in society don't recognize their own identity in this official narrative. Different groups

will only be enabled to reconcile when all groups in society build up their individual and collective relations and reconcile with their past. It is a pity that educations power to foster reconciliation is being forgotten. The stories and the past of different groups are being ignored and this will affect the reconciliation process negatively. Although the positive role of education in rebuilding society after ethnic conflict is being acknowledged in general, it is not being used in practice when it comes to reconciliation.

Recommendations

The above observed, we can conclude that for education to contribute to sustainable peace in Rwanda, a few policies and practices need to be changed or adjusted. Based on the conclusions drawn from the case-study on Rwanda, this paragraph will give an overview of recommendations that could eliminate some important obstacles and that could give education in Rwanda a more positive and effective role to play in the peacebuilding process. In order for education to be more conducive in fostering sustainable peace, the Rwandan Ministry of Education should:

Recommendation 1: Adjust the current language policy.

One of the most crucial parts of inclusive education is that has to be tolerant towards minorities. This means that there has to be equal access to shared educational institutions, curricula have to be relevant for everyone and last but not least, mother tongue languages should be used and recognised in schools. In Rwanda, until the day of today, this is not the case. In 2008, Rwanda discarded French as one of its three official languages. Because this policy change resulted in communicative inequalities for the French speaking Rwandans (5-15% of all Rwandans), the current language policy goes against inclusive education and blocks education's positive role in fostering sustainable peace.

Recommendation 2: Change the policy regarding the Genocide Survivors Fund (FARG).

Because in reality the FARG only covers for school fees of Tutsi survivors, this policy neglects the fact that inclusive education has to assure equality and equity in distribution of resources. Hutu children that cannot cover the school fees will be excluded from education. This might lead to tensions related to injustice and therefore needs to be adjusted.

Recommendation 3: Keep investing in increasing teacher salaries and teacher training

Although the Rwandan government has recently started to implement the ministerial order for salary regularization and a new pay and retention policy that sets the level of salaries according to qualifications and experience and regulates salary adjustments in the coming six years, the government should be remembered not to deviate from these plans and in addition, invest even more in teacher training. Any reform strategy that ignores the central role of the teaching profession undermines a crucial aspect of the process to social cohesion and may contribute to further tensions. Teachers are the most critical resource in the aftermath of conflict, and in education reconstruction and can be a very important factor in mediating the curriculum and the values that it transmits. Furthermore, research has shown that teacher quality determines the student's achievement.

Recommendation 4: Invest in peacebuilding education in schools.

Peacebuilding education can demilitarize the mind (violence as a last resort), problematize (question understandings/facts that are taken for granted), articulate alternatives and change the rules of the game (shift from intolerance to tolerance). Although more and more peacebuilding education programs operate through non-formal forms of education, the programs are reaching only a very small part of the Rwandan youth. In order to increase the positive effects of peacebuilding education, it needs to be included in the school curriculum. Almost 20 years after the genocide, the Rwandan youth is ready to move on and deal with concepts such as reconciliation on a regular base.

Recommendation 5: Establish a history narrative that recognizes all different histories of Rwanda.

To attain sustainable peace, sooner or later, reconciliation between the different groups of society, but also between individuals, needs to take place. In Rwanda the concept of reconciliation was found to be problematic. However, instead of carefully treating the subject and incorporating it into the curriculum, the government started promoting unity and reconciliation by other means. Because the goal of reconciliation was to create one national group, with one language, culture land and history, the contested and divisive history classes were banned and

one national history had to be 'developed'. Besides the fact that it appeared to be a very difficult task, it has been one of the most dangerous decisions with regard to rebuilding post-conflict Rwanda. Instead of fostering peace through reconciliation, this initiative is currently blocking the reconciliation process, since the different ethnicities in society don't recognize their own identity and history in the official history narrative that is taught in schools. This is why history education should not be based on one official narrative, but should be open to criticism and contradictions. History education should enable young people to acquire critical historiographical skills so that they can identify the intersection between their personal stories and larger collective histories.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

T his thesis has shown that in the context of an ethnic conflict, education can be part of the problem as well as part of the solution. As we have seen, there lies a constructive but also a destructive force in education. Therefore, it is very important that education policies are well thought out and that the subject is always handled with care. Policies and practice at all levels within the education system need to be analyzed in terms of their potential to aggravate or ameliorate tensions. The framework on education for sustainable peace, developed in this study, could serve as a guideline for educational (re)creators and can be an incentive for policy makers to think in the right direction.

In Rwanda, the important role of education in the peacebuidling process is clearly recognized by all parties concerned, and therefore post-conflict policies and practices are said to be designed to foster unity and reconciliation. Still, in practice, some of these policies and practices are blocking the reconciliation process by excluding groups in different ways. Surely a society needs time to recover from disastrous events before it gets on the right track. However, almost 20 years after the genocide, it's about time that Rwanda starts to learn from its own history and avoids non-inclusive educational policies and practices. This is not only important because wrong educational policies and practices can block the process towards sustainable peace, but mainly because quality education has an essential role to play in fostering sustainable peace. Not making use of this knowledge would be a missed opportunity with dangerous implications for future generations.

In order to build awareness on the matter, it is important that policymakers, practitioners and scholars start cooperating when it comes to recreating education in the aftermath of ethnic conflict. By keeping each other informed on the developments in the field, post-conflict societies that need to be rebuild after violent ethnic conflict, have a better chance in succeeding to find a way to sustainable peace.

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