



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
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International Institute
for Educational Planning



Promoting participation

Community contributions to education in conflict situations

Joan Sullivan-Owomoyela
Laura Brannelly



Education in emergencies and reconstruction

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to Ian Smith, who started the journey of this research project with us, but unfortunately was not able to see its completion. His contribution, both to this work and to the field of international education, will be greatly missed.

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Throughout our research the community members, teachers, ministry of education and other government officials and NGO personnel have been most generous in giving their time to be interviewed for this research study. We thank the UNESCO country offices of Liberia, Jordan and the Occupied Palestinian Territories and the IIEP-UNESCO headquarters staff for their time and assistance arranging logistics, setting up interviews, and providing key documents for this research. We also would like to thank CfBT Education Trust's Susy Ndaruhutse and Carol Flach for their time taken to steer and comment on the development of this research. Within IIEP-UNESCO our special thanks are also extended to Christopher Talbot, Cynthia Cohen and Lyndsay Bird for their insight and encouragement at various stages throughout the study.

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Foreword to the series

UNESCO is increasingly requested to provide an educational response in emergency and reconstruction settings. The organization is in the process of developing expertise in this field in order to be able to provide prompt and relevant assistance. It will offer guidance, practical tools, and specific training for education policymakers, officials, and planners.

The fifth of the eleven objectives adopted by the Dakar World Education Forum in 2000 explicitly focuses on the rights of children in emergencies. It stresses the importance of meeting “the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability and conduct[ing] educational programmes in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict”. The Dakar Framework for Action (World Education Forum, 2000: 9) calls for national Education for All plans to include provision for education in emergency situations. Governments, particularly education ministries, have an important role to play in an area that has often been dominated by the actions of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and United Nations (UN) agencies.

Moreover, the field of educational planning in emergencies and reconstruction is still young. It must be organized into a manageable discipline through further documentation and analysis, while training programmes are being designed. Accumulated institutional memories and knowledge in governments, agencies, and NGOs on education in emergencies are in danger of being lost due both to the dispersion and disappearance of documents, and to high staff turnover in both national and international contexts. Most of the expertise is still in the heads of practitioners and needs to be collected, since memories fade fast. Diverse experiences of educational reconstruction must be more thoroughly documented and analysed before they disappear.

This task includes the publication, in this series, of country-specific analyses being conducted on the planning and management of education in emergencies and reconstruction. They concern the efforts currently being made to restore and transform education systems in countries and territories as diverse as Pakistan, Burundi, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Sudan, Kosovo, Timor-Leste and Rwanda. They have been

initiated and sponsored by IIEP, in close collaboration with colleagues in other UNESCO offices.

The objectives of the country studies are to:

- contribute to the process of developing knowledge in the discipline of education in emergencies and reconstruction;
- provide focused input for IIEP training programmes targeting government officials and others in education in emergencies and reconstruction;
- identify and collect documentation on the management of education in various countries;
- capture some of the undocumented memories of practitioners;
- analyze the responses in very different situations to educational provision in times of crisis;
- increase dissemination of information and analysis on education in emergencies and reconstruction.

IIEP's larger programme on education in emergencies and reconstruction involves not only these country studies, but also a series of global, thematic, policy-related studies. In addition, IIEP has published a *Guidebook for planning education in emergencies and reconstruction* for ministry of education officials and the agencies assisting them, and is developing training materials for a similar audience. Through this programme, IIEP will make a modest but significant contribution to the discipline of education in emergencies and reconstruction. Its hope is to enrich the quality of the planning processes applied in this crucial field.

Mark Bray
Director, IIEP

Foreword by CfBT Education Trust

The educational needs of children affected by conflict, emergencies and fragility have become an increasing area of attention. The Dakar Framework for Action stresses the importance of meeting “... the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability and conduct[ing] educational programmes in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict.” (UNESCO, 2000: 9). But the realization of the Millennium Development Goals and Education For All goals is seriously impeded by ongoing conflict and persistent fragility.

Education in conflict, emergencies, reconstruction and fragility is still an emerging field of discipline; and whilst attention towards the provision of education in these challenging contexts is growing, this growth of interest needs to be supported by rigorous, widely disseminated research to inform education approaches. The research partnership between CfBT Education Trust and IIEP UNESCO has sought to address this increasing need for evidence-based education responses in situations affected by fragility and conflict and to inform educational planning and practice. The intention of the partnership was to develop knowledge on specific interventions, strategies and methodologies that could be used to improve access to quality Education for All.

CfBT Education Trust has long sought to address the barriers to education for the most disadvantaged children worldwide: a key tenet of CfBT’s research and operational work being to achieve greater educational opportunities for learners and enhance the quality of learning received. This research programme has allowed CfBT and IIEP to combine their practical experience working in the field of education and emergencies with rigorous research. We hope that the fruits of this research partnership will encourage further collaboration between researchers, practitioners and policymakers and foster a increasing evidence-based attitude among stakeholders, with people desiring to know “what works” and utilize practice-based research to plan and deliver education in situations of conflict, reconstruction and fragility.

The research produced as a part of CfBT and IIEP’s partnership is a component of CfBT’s broader Evidence for Education research programme. CfBT’s research programme was established with the aim of

investing in a coherent body of practice-based development and research that can be shown over time to have a positive impact on educational policy and practice both in the UK and worldwide. It is our hope that through this research partnership we are able to contribute to this vital field of education by enhancing knowledge on different approaches to plan and deliver education and by doing so help improve the opportunities for learners in these most challenging of contexts.

John Harwood
Chairman, CfBT Education Trust

Contents

Dedication	5
Acknowledgements	7
Foreword to the series	9
Foreword by CfBT Education Trust	11
List of abbreviations	15
List of tables	17
List of boxes	17
Executive summary	19
Chapter 1	What is meant by community participation in conflict-related emergencies and post-conflict reconstruction settings? 21
1.1	Introduction 21
1.2	Research approach and methodology 24
1.3	The importance of communities 27
1.4	What is meant by community participation in education in conflict and/or post-conflict reconstruction settings? 29
1.5	Evolving paradigm of community participation in education 33
1.6	The organization of the book 40
Chapter 2	Conflict-related emergencies: How does conflict and occupation influence community participation in education in conflict settings? 43
2.1	Introduction 43
2.2	Effects of occupation and mobility in conflict or conflict-affected settings 46
2.3	Afghanistan: dimensions of community involvement in a state dealing with ongoing insurgency 51
2.4	Iraqis in Jordan: dimensions of community involvement in a state dealing with the impact of an external conflict 60
2.5	Occupied Palestinian Territories – The West Bank: dimensions of community involvement in a state dealing with a protracted conflict 69
2.6	Conclusion 78
Chapter 3	How do the dynamics of the post-conflict state affect community participation in education in reconstruction settings? 83
3.1	Introduction 83
3.2	Effects of colonialism on countries emerging from conflict 88
3.3	Liberia: dimensions of community involvement in a country with a signed peace treaty 90
	13

3.4	Sudan: dimensions of community involvement in a country with a signed peace treaty yet experiencing sporadic flare-ups	105
3.5	Uganda: dimensions of community involvement in a state with a signed cessation of hostilities agreement	116
3.6	Conclusion	125
Chapter 4	Recommendations and conclusion. Rethinking complex conflict and post-conflict education strategies: putting culture at the centre of education activities	129
4.1	Lessons learned in promoting and protecting positive community participation	129
4.2	Research questions and lessons learned	130
4.3	Recommendations	139
4.4	Conclusion	141
References		143

List of abbreviations

CAFS	Conflict-affected fragile state
CBE	Community-based education
CEC	Community education committee
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CWC	Community Welfare Committee
DDRR	Disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration
DRDA	Diar Relief and Development Association
EC	European Commission
EFA	Education for all
EU	European Union
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
GOSS	Government of Southern Sudan
GOU	Government of Uganda
HASS	Humanitarian Assistance for Southern Sudan (national NGO)
HIV and AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
IAS	International Aid Sweden
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally displaced person
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO)
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRC	International Rescue Committee
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army (Uganda)
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOEHE	Ministry of Education and Higher Education

List of abbreviations

MOEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
MPRC	Multiple Purpose Resource Centre
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NFE	Non-formal education
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PA	Palestinian Authority
PACE-A	Partnership for Advancing Community Education in Afghanistan
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
SBEP	Sudan Basic Education Program
SMC	School Management Committee
SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
UPDM/A	Ugandan People's Democratic Movement/Army
USA or US	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WSP	War-Torn Society Project

List of tables

Table 2.1	Levels of displacement	46
Table 2.2	Detentions, deaths and injuries (September 2000 to September 2005)	71
Table 2.3	Summary of dimensions of community involvement in conflict and conflict-affected settings	79
Table 3.1	Levels of PTA participation	101
Table 3.2	A summary of dimensions of community involvement in reconstruction settings	126

List of boxes

Box 1	Social capital definitions	28
Box 2	Different degrees of community participation	30
Box 3	Partnership rationale criteria	36
Box 4	Principles for partnership	36
Box 5	Conflict and instability in Afghanistan	55
Box 6	Education snapshot (Afghanistan)	56
Box 7	The Ba'ath party	61
Box 8	Conflict and instability in Iraq	62
Box 9	Non-formal education opportunities (Iraqis in Jordan)	64
Box 10	Education snapshot (Iraq)	67
Box 11	Years of conflict and occupation (Occupied Palestinian Territories – West Bank)	70
Box 12	Chronology of conflict and peace efforts (Liberia)	95
Box 13	Education snapshot (Liberia)	96
Box 14	Chronology of conflict and peace efforts (Southern Sudan)	106
Box 15	Education snapshot (Southern Sudan)	110
Box 16	Chronology of conflict and peace efforts (Uganda)	120
Box 17	Education snapshot of conflict-affected areas (Uganda)	121

Executive summary

Community participation is a common phrase in the development and education sectors, along with the accompanying terms of good governance, rights, ownership and accountability. Communities, both during and after conflict, face additional challenges that may make positive engagement in education difficult, but at the same time education can contribute greatly to reconstruction efforts and conflict resolution. During conflict the retreat of the state from the provision of public services creates a gap that is often filled by non-state actors to help ensure continuity of learning. Communities, recognizing the intrinsic worth of education, are often among those who step forward to provide education. Community provision of education can be highly successful and can provide a foundation for partnerships with the state after the conflict has subsided. But participation is not invariably positive. The research set out to explore the type of roles communities play in the provision of education and the conditions or factors that can tend towards either dissembling community involvement or encouraging positive engagement, in both emergency and reconstruction settings. The research draws from the experience of communities in a variety of contexts; this includes prolonged instability with fluid settings ebbing between conflict and post-conflict situations, significant refugee and internally displaced communities, and reconstruction, sometimes with periodic flare-ups of fighting.

Chapter 1 outlines the focus of the research study and the approach taken. It presents the findings of an international literature review, addressing how community participation is interpreted, the forms it takes in conflict-affected areas, and how the international development community has considered the role of communities in education. The chapter goes on to discuss the importance of communities and the nature of relationships both within communities and between communities and external actors, namely the state, UN agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a more detailed field and documentation analysis. *Chapter 2* discusses community participation in situations of emergency and chronic crisis, using field reviews of the West Bank and Iraqi refugees in Jordan and a desk review of the situation in Afghanistan. In particular, this chapter examines the influence that conflict, occupation

and mobility has on the development of communities, how they respond to conflict and how they seek to address educational needs within their communities. *Chapter 3* discusses community participation in post-conflict reconstruction settings using a field review of the Liberian situation and desk reviews of Southern Sudan and northern Uganda. The focus in this chapter is on the role of communities and education in reconstruction, observing the effect that historical legacies and conflict resolution have on the nature of the partnerships that communities form both within themselves and with the state.

One of the central messages emerging from the field reviews is the importance of trust, and fostering positive participation by recognizing this and situating community participation within an appropriate cultural context. Communities in these contexts have gone through considerable turmoil and change; before they can positively engage in educational activities, trust needs to be restored. Attempts to mobilize communities need to be both politically and culturally sensitive, and practical and realistic. Expectations that the state and NGOs have of communities should be tempered in line with this. It was found that the most common form of community involvement involved the provision of material and financial resources, primarily in the form of providing land for building school or classroom venues, contributing materials for school rehabilitation and maintenance. Some communities also contributed human resources through the selection of teachers or involvement in governance structures such as Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs). Trust and external assistance may work to both discourage and promote community participation, through the building or breaking down of relationships and ownership of education.

The research concludes with the following recommendations:

- Building trust and healing relationships is the first step to ensure effective implementation of humanitarian or development activities. Education programmes provide ‘neutral’ spaces if teachers and education authorities view all learners as equal.
- Traditional authorities and structures need to be revitalized, where appropriate, to ensure that cultural and social dimensions are at the centre of education community participation activities.
- Local bonding and bridging social capital mechanisms can be strengthened by understanding each partner’s asset(s).
- Global frameworks should be linked to through cultural contextualization of activities.

Chapter 1

What is meant by community participation in conflict-related emergencies and post-conflict reconstruction settings?

There is a tendency to blame the government for not having done things better for young people and yet the young people themselves do nothing about it. We as young people need to be proactive and engage the government and international organizations on issues affecting us. Involvement of young people at various levels of programming is vital for the success of a programme.

Young man, 18, Angola (Ekehaug and Bah, 2007: 18)

1.1 Introduction

The past quarter of a century has seen half of the world (83 of 162 countries) experiencing some form of armed conflict (Marshall and Cole, 2008: 7). Some of these wars, in particular in Africa and South-East Asia, were fought as proxy wars between the USA and the Soviet Union during the Cold War period. While major wars have diminished over the past several years, there has been a resurgence in countries where conflict had subsided, such as in Sri Lanka and Lebanon. Other countries, such as Uganda with its Lord's Resistance Army, have experienced the spread of conflict and armed militias beyond their borders into neighbouring countries. (Marshall and Cole, 2008). While the reasons for these conflicts vary, the impact they have had on educational systems is self-evident.

Conflict destroys educational infrastructure. Such was the case in Nepal, where during a five-year period (2002-2006), the Maoist movement destroyed 79 schools, 13 district education offices and one university (O'Malley, 2007). During Liberia's 14-year conflict, an estimated 80 per cent of schools were destroyed or severely damaged (International Save the Children Alliance, 2006).

Conflict displaces populations and restricts access to education. It is estimated that up to 90 per cent of internally displaced persons (IDPs) have no access to education (Muñoz, 2008). Children living in areas affected by conflict often fail to start school or, if they do enroll, drop out early.

Conflict forces children out of school and into military movements. In Nepal, during an eight-month period in 2005, the Maoist movement abducted more than 11,800 students from their classrooms and forced them into the militia or to participate in indoctrination courses (International Save the Children Alliance, 2006).

Conflict maims and kills students and education staff. From March 2007 until the end of January 2008, 147 teachers and students were killed and 200 wounded in Afghanistan (Associated Press, 2008). Schools and teachers may also be the target of violence, as seen in Colombia where over 400 teachers were murdered between 1999 and 2005, while 1,198 received death threats and over 300 were forced to leave their homes and jobs in fear of violence (Novelli, 2007).

Conflict discourages donors from providing funding. Half of the children who are out of school (37 million out of 72 million) live in conflict-affected fragile states (CAFS) (Save the Children UK, 2008), yet these countries receive less than a fifth of the distributed global education aid (Save the Children UK, 2007).

During conflict, the state may not have the capacity or political will to provide education. Communities in remote or rebel-held areas may become isolated and beyond the reach of government services. The displacement of people, including teachers, the use of schools as military bases and the destruction of classrooms all inhibit education, while state resources to address these issues during times of conflict are often non-existent. The retreat of the state from the provision of public services creates a gap which is frequently filled by non-state actors (World Bank, 2005a and 2005b). As communities value education both for its intrinsic human worth and for possibilities for societal improvement, which may contribute towards an end to the conflict, the provision of schooling frequently becomes a priority and a focus of community engagement. In the absence of an education authority to manage the education system, communities may step in to re-establish schools. This is the case in certain areas of Somalia. The conflict, which started in the early 1990s, has destroyed Somalia's infrastructure and economic system. However, the community's traditional role in organizing and managing Quranic schools, which pre-dates the colonial period, has been maintained. Drawing on their experience and knowledge in this area, communities stepped in to protect the schools from being taken over by local militias. Gradually the community shifted from being protectors of the school

to becoming ‘owners’ of the school. With the collapse of the state, “the society realized that we need to go back to the old system of educational administration. The community is now responsible for modern schools as it was responsible for Islamic education” (Abdullahi, 2004, in Abdinoor, 2008: 51).

The community’s role in education has prevailed throughout the prolonged conflict because the model was based upon traditional roles and was therefore culturally appropriate, familiar and cost-effective; with additional support frequently received from the broader Diaspora community.

It was the local community, at the village, hamlet or nomadic settlement level, that has always catered for this type of education without outside support. The absence of the state, understandably, has little effect on its continuation. This realization had guided educators, school leaders, and the community to cope with the situation. (Abdinoor, 2008: 55)

Post-conflict expectations of the state are high and education frequently ranks as one of the most important factors in influencing refugees and IDPs to return home. This was the case in Southern Sudan. Shortly before the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), Southern Sudanese returning home indicated that their number one priority – ahead of food, health care, clean water and security – was the expectation that the newly formed Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) would address the issue of education (Cook, Melia and Deng, 2004). Similarly many Liberian refugees delayed their return home because school infrastructure was not in place at the start of the academic year. They preferred to stay in Guinean refugee camps where educational facilities were provided (IRC, 2005).

However, during the post-conflict reconstruction stage, when expectations of the state and the demand for education are high, the re-emergent state may attempt to re-impose itself as a monopolistic provider of public services. This may be due to:

- the public demand for services (Uemura, 1999);
- potential threats to the unity of the state from the decentralization of education and a desire by the state to control educational institutions to minimize any destabilizing effects of education on reconciliation processes;

- an unquestioning assumption that one of the *raisons d'être* of the state is as a provider of education;
- a belief that only a monopolistic government provider has the resources and capacity to institute, sustain and co-ordinate an education system which will benefit all society equally and maintain quality standards for curricula, inspections, student and teacher assessment and management;
- the desire of a new government to demonstrate its competency and willingness to deliver domestic services – both to its own citizens as well as to the international community – in order to increase or attract development funds.

The danger is that the re-emergence of the state may, deliberately or unwittingly, eradicate very positive non-state initiatives for education provision. Along with the loss of social capital that this represents, there is a contiguous political regression contained in the idea of the state removing power from communities or the market. This in itself may contribute to increased grievances, which could re-ignite conflict (Keen, 2002).

1.2 Research approach and methodology

The focus of this research study therefore is to examine the ways that *positive* community participation is protected and nurtured in conflict, conflict-affected and reconstruction settings. The principal research questions posed in this global study are:

1. What is the role of the community in the provision of education when a state is weak or absent during a conflict or post-conflict reconstruction setting?
2. What conditions or factors can tend towards undermining community involvement in the provision of education?
3. What conditions or factors may promote the positive incorporation of community involvement in the provision of education?

The research study employed a mixed-method complementarity design, which used multiple (inductive and deductive) methods of data collection and analysis to measure different but overlapping facets of community participation, in order to reach an understanding of the nature and conditions of community involvement. A complementarity design seeks “elaboration, enhancement, illustration and clarification of the results” and was used to increase “the interpretability, meaningfulness and validity of constructs and inquiry results by capitalizing on inherent

method strengths and counteracting inherent biases in methods and other sources” (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989: 258).

Data collection

Primary data collection methods, including both oral and written data collection techniques, were consistent with a complementarity design approach. These included:

- Written/material data collection: Mute evidence, written documents that endure physically in the form of both organizational and public documents (Hodder, 1994), were collected and reviewed. This included: (i) a community participation literature review; (ii) state documentation (for example policies or documents outlining community participation in education) and (iii) donor/ implementing agency documentation such as strategy documents, budgets, implementation and monitoring and evaluation plans with a focus on community participation.
- Oral data collection: This included both key informant and focus group semi-structured interviews. Key informant and focus group interviews were conducted with: (i) community members (including parents) and school education staff; (ii) political leaders and senior education officials/authorities and (iii) development partners (including both donors and implementers).

Field visits

A multi-site collective field review approach was followed. The parameters of the field reviews directly corresponded to the conditions which affect the relationship between the community and the state. A local (national) researcher was involved in the data collection and analysis of field research in Jordan and the West Bank to ensure the validity of qualitative data; the two principal researchers and two national researchers verified each data collector’s interpretation of the oral (interview) and written (documentation) data before this was synthesized into the final research study. This provided an opportunity to offer an outside and inside perspective. Two states and one territory – Afghanistan, Jordan (Iraqi refugees) and the West Bank – affected by conflict (directly or indirectly), and three states – Liberia, Uganda and Sudan – in the post-conflict reconstruction stage have been examined in detail to identify lessons learned.

- Afghanistan: Since 2001 Afghanistan has experienced significant instability, first from the US-led coalition fight against terrorism and more recently due to the resurgence of the Taliban and other armed militias, especially in the southern provinces. This desk review highlights local community involvement in a state which has experienced decades of conflict from external forces and internal insurgents.
- Jordan: Jordan has hosted the Iraqi ‘guest’ (refugee) population since the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2002. In 2007 the Government of Jordan officially allowed Iraqis to enroll in Jordan’s formal education and non-formal education systems. This field review highlights refugee community involvement in the education process in a host state and examines issues relating to how a host country government incorporates a significant refugee population into its national education system.
- West Bank: This field review highlights community involvement in a fluid territory, alternating from periods of stability to long-term economic crisis to conflict, and examines ways the *de facto* state may encourage stable and continuing participation during periods of instability and conflict due to occupation.
- Liberia: During the years of conflict in Liberia, the citizen/state contract completely broke down, as the boundaries between the two became increasingly blurred and symbolic (Reno, 1999). In part the conflict was caused by factors closely tied to education. This field review highlights community involvement in the education process in a post-conflict re-emerging state and examines issues relating to how education opportunities help communities restore trust, in particular in communities and populations which have been marginalized, and promote community involvement in the education system.
- Uganda: For more than two decades war has raged between the Government of Uganda and the Lord’s Resistance Army. Although the majority of the population (in northern Uganda) was moved into internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps due to the fighting, the state did not officially recognize this area as a conflict zone. This desk review examines the role of community participation in an area experiencing protracted conflict.
- Sudan: Sudan – the north and the south – waged a two-decade-long civil war until the official signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) by the Government of Sudan (Khartoum) and the

Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement in 2005. This desk review examines the role of Southern Sudan's communities during the war and, more recently, during the building of a post-conflict (*de facto*) emerging state.

1.3 The importance of communities

Communities may be defined by the characteristics they share, for example culture, language, tradition, law, class, race and/or geography. They typically have some form of collective interests and/or identity. Additionally, they are likely to have some form of group structure (whether formal or informal), as part of which different members are likely to have different roles related to their common goals. They are also likely to have a degree of local autonomy and responsibility (Uemura, 1999). Whilst communities may have common interests, opinion as to how these can best be achieved will differ, and actors within communities will have different levels of power to exert in decision-making processes.

Some researchers have called for fluidity in the identification of communities rather than static generalizations (Bray, 2000; Wolf, Kane and Strickland, 1997). Bray (2000) identifies three main foundations for communities:

- geography – constituted by those living within relatively small areas such as villages, suburbs or districts;
- identity – religious, socio-economic, ethnic or racial;
- interests – philanthropic or shared concerns on collective issues.

Whilst communities may be founded on more than one of these characteristics, it is important to recognize which of these predominates in prompting the community to action in providing education. This will have implications for the nature of social capital within communities and how others, including the state, perceive their participation. Social capital has numerous definitions (as noted below) with the concepts of trust, relationships and reciprocity underpinning the various definitions.

Of particular note in this study is the type of social capital – bonding or bridging – that is displayed by communities in states facing situations of conflict or reconstruction.

- *Bonding social capital* (exclusive) denotes ties between people in similar situations; in a local education environment, the Parent Teacher Association or other community-based school support mechanisms may serve as the social glue that bonds neighbours (Putnam, 2002; and Edwards, 2000, in Burde, 2004).

- *Bridging social capital* (inclusive) refers to ties among individuals in similar situations; in the education environment local education authorities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) may provide a bridge between community education stakeholders and regional or national education officials (Woolcock 2001; Putnam, 2002; and Edwards, 2000, in Burde, 2004).

Conflict often disrupts the societal base and these groupings. Previously homogeneous communities may now have a multiplicity of groups, including (child, youth and adult) combatants or former combatants, IDPs, refugees and returnees. Thus, states may find that they need to identify new ways to promote community participation in the learning environment with these emerging cultural and social groupings. In post-conflict states it is not unusual to find a mixture of authoritarian and budding pluralistic elements in local and national governance systems (WSP, 1999), which adds another layer of complexity to new forms of social capital. For example, in Afghanistan a series of conflicts have left a ‘hyper-militarized form’ of its social structure with many clans and ethnic groups loyal to a local or regional warlord instead of to

Box 1 Social capital definitions

“Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals within the structure” (Coleman, 1994: 302).

“Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense, social capital is closely related to what some have called ‘civic virtue’. The difference is that ‘social capital’ calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital” (Putnam, 2000: 19).

“Social capital refers to institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society’s social interaction ... Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together” (World Bank, undated).

Source: Smith, 2007: 2-3.

a central government (Weinstein, 2004: 2). Conflict and reconstruction settings provide an opportunity to examine what forms of social capital (community participation) emerge as a result of new or reconfigured community bases.

1.4 What is meant by community participation in education in conflict and/or post-conflict reconstruction settings?

While there is ample literature available regarding the overarching definition of community participation in (formal and non-formal) education arenas, there are relatively few definitions of what is meant by community participation in education in conflict or reconstruction settings. This may in part be explained by the significant number of individuals who become displaced (internally or externally) during conflict, thus creating unstable community bases which have varying forms and levels of participation. In other words, a global definition is not possible.

Community participation studies (across a spectrum of settings) have shown the various channels through which communities may be involved in the learning environment, for example school governance (community education committees (CECs), school contributions (in-kind and financial), school construction, etc. (Uemura, 1999). Beyond the immediate school environment, communities can also play a role in improving attitudes towards learning and thereby promoting participation (particularly for girls). During the conflict period, especially during displacement, individuals may be forced or allowed opportunities to enter into new roles. This can prove to be a destabilizing factor, but is also an opportunity to strengthen positive relationships that emerge, for example, the opportunities women and youth may gain in being decision-makers or, at the very least, having a more active voice.

Shaeffer (1994) poses different levels of community participation that vary according to the degree of engagement and activity (*Box 6*). With this classification system, participation ranges from passive collaboration or involvement with the education system, to an actively engaged role. These are not only distinguishing features between different communities, but are also likely to exist within communities where individuals will display different levels of participation.

Box 2 Different degrees of community participation

Passive	involvement through the mere use of a service (such as enrolling children in school or using a primary health care facility)
	involvement through the contribution (or extraction) of money, materials, and labour
	involvement through ‘attendance’ (for example at parents’ meetings at school), implying passive acceptance of decisions made by others
Active	involvement through consultation on a particular issue
	participation in the delivery of a service, often as a partner with other actors
	participation as implementers of delegated powers
	participation in ‘real decision-making at every stage’, including identification of problems, the study of feasibility, planning, implementation and evaluation

Source: Shaeffer, 1994.

Similarly, the World Health Organization (WHO) (1999) characterizes community participation on three different levels: marginal, substantive and structural participation. In marginal participation, community input is “limited and transitory and has little direct influence on the outcome of the development activity” (WHO, 1999: 16-17). Substantive participation is characterized by the community being actively involved in determining priorities and carrying out activities, even though the mechanisms for these activities may be controlled externally. In structural participation, the community is involved as an integral part of the project and its participation becomes the ideological basis for the project itself. In this latter case, the community plays an active and direct part in all aspects of the development process and has the power to ensure that its opinions are taken into account (WHO, 1999: 16-17).

Other organizations working in the field of education in emergencies and/or reconstruction have varying definitions for community participation with the key words empowerment, sustainability, active involvement and culture as prominent themes. For example, INEE defines community participation in the following manner:

Community participation refers to both the processes and activities that allow members of an affected population to be heard, empowering them to be part of decision-making processes and enabling them to take direct action on education issues. Active involvement of the community facilitates the identification

of community-specific education issues and strategies that are effective in addressing them. Additionally, community participation serves as a strategy to identify and mobilize local resources within a community, as well as build consensus and support for education programmes. Community participation must include real and sustained empowerment and capacity building, and must build upon efforts already underway on the ground. (INEE, 2004: 80)

Similarly, the UNHCR stresses the importance of community participation in its *Education: Field Guidelines* (2003). The toolkit indicates that communities should be involved in all areas of education activities, from initiation to planning to implementation. In particular, community associations that focus on developing education programmes should be supported to ensure their sustainability. Within UNHCR, this overarching principle has been particularized to country programmes. For example, in Chad, community participation means that the community is involved in decision-making processes. They are not merely recipients of aid, but are also involved in the design and implementation of projects (Ansembourg, personal communication, 22 May 2008).

The Community-Based Education (CBE) Forum in Afghanistan, a group of NGOs working with the Ministry of Education on the implementation of community-based education in rural areas, defines active community participation as “sustained participation from the initiation of the class and continuing after integration into MOE systems; School Management Committee is established to take the lead in engaging the community and encourage involvement in education activities; SMC members are men and women who reflect composition of the community” (CBE Forum – Afghanistan, 2008: 1).

Dr S.B. Ekanayake, a retired education advisor for UNESCO and UNICEF, emphasizes the cultural dimensions of community participation based on his work in Afghanistan. He views community participation in emergencies as “a process fostering harmonious relationships and co-existence amongst different ethnic, socio-economic and cultural groups, leading to mobilization of resources to bring about social harmony and development through interactive processes” (Dr S.B. Ekanayake, personal correspondence, 17 June 2008).

In the course of the past several years, various toolkits and guidance materials have been developed to assist a wide range of organizations and individuals implementing programmes with a community participation

component in emergency, conflict and reconstruction settings. These include, but are not limited to:

- ***The INEE Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises and Early Reconstruction***¹ (INEE, 2004). Within the *Minimum Standards* the community participation standards are cross-cutting and “make up an overarching system that embodies all the minimum standards” (INEE, 2004: 12). The Community Participation Standards include: “Standard 1 (Participation): Emergency-affected community members actively participate in assessing, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the education programme” and “Standard 2 (Resources): Local community resources are identified, mobilized and used to implement education programmes and other learning opportunities” (INEE, 2004: 14).
- The subsequent ***INEE Minimum Standards Toolkit*** (INEE, 2008) provides guidance to humanitarian aid workers, government officials and other education personnel in adapting and conceptualising the *Minimum Standards* to their immediate environs. Tools and resources for how to implement the community participation standards are included.
- ***IIEP UNESCO’s Guidebook for planning education in emergencies and reconstruction*** (IIEP, 2006) provides a comprehensive toolkit for education planners and managers and supports the implementation of the *INEE Minimum Standards*. This book assists in the development of an Education for All Action Plan in settings of emergency, crisis and reconstruction, which includes a community participation component.
- The ***UNHCR Education Field Guidelines*** (UNHCR, 2003) provide a framework to harmonize the various refugee education programme approaches used to assist in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and *Dakar Framework for Action*, including the active involvement of the community in the learning programme.
- ***UNICEF’s Education in Emergencies: A Resource Tool Kit*** (UNICEF ROSA, 2006) focuses on helping UNICEF officers prepare for and respond to emergencies to comply with UNICEF’s core commitments. Throughout the guidance notes there are prompts to engage with communities in the identification, planning and implementation of educational activities.

1. Hereafter referred to as the Minimum Standards.

These global instruments and initiatives, in tandem with the work of development partners, have helped consolidate community participation as a priority in education programmes in emergency and reconstruction settings. For example, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) began implementation of the Sudan Basic Education Program (SBEP) in 2002 (three years before the signing of the CPA between Khartoum and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)), which included a focus on building the capacity of the community-school support system through the strengthening of Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) and local school-based Boards of Governors. More recently, in the Occupied Palestinian Territories of the West Bank, the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MOEHE) held in the spring of 2008, a national forum with education organizations and other civil society representatives to rekindle a community-civil society-government partnership. The aim of the event was to gain a better understanding of how the MOEHE might work with NGOs to foster greater community involvement in education programmes and to chart a partnership course.

1.5 Evolving paradigm of community participation in education

In most countries, traditional forms of education were originally a function of communities and the role of education centred on passing down the skills and information needed to ensure the culture's survival. In most colonized states, colonial powers sought to apply their education systems, which often ran alongside traditional community education. Where education was highly centralized, countries emerging from colonial systems have had to rekindle community involvement in formal education. With the rise of neo-liberalism in the 1990s, the role of the state shifted to that of facilitator, creating and maintaining the necessary conditions in which a variety of providers can flourish, promoting processes of democratization, decentralization and good governance (Harrison, 2004). A focus on basic education emerged during this period with communities' contributions tied more to the accountability of financial inputs, such as school fees, or contributions to school infrastructure development, than to qualitative inputs, for example, community involvement in monitoring the quality of teaching.

Global agreements and frameworks such as the *Arusha Declaration on Popular Participation* (UN, 1990) and the *Dakar Framework for*

Action: Education for All (UNESCO, 2000) have helped promote international attention on the importance of the community/civil society in the education arena, and increased pressure for multilateral and bilateral agencies to incorporate community participation within development programmes. The *Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All* (UNESCO, 2000) also brought to the forefront the importance of meeting the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability. The fifth goal of this document – to “meet the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability and conduct educational programmes in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict” – explicitly focuses on the rights of children in emergencies (UNESCO, 2000: 19). The *Dakar Framework for Action* cites the inclusion of the participation of civil society in the education arena as a key strategy to achieving this goal. The participation strategy declares that:

Learners, teachers, parents, communities, NGOs and other bodies representing civil society must be granted new and expanded political and social scope, at all levels of society, in order to engage governments in dialogue, decision-making and innovation around the goals of basic education. Civil society has much experience and a crucial role to play in identifying barriers to EFA goals, and developing policies and strategies to remove them. (UNESCO, 2000: 18)

Community participation is perceived as a way to improve ownership and accountability and to develop the capacity of stakeholders. It also provides an opportunity to improve access to education, particularly for excluded groups such as girls, and to address issues of quality (Miller-Grandvaux, 2004). In post-conflict settings, community involvement is also viewed as a mechanism for peace building because of its potential to restore relationships and community cohesion (World Bank, 2005*b*). Additionally, the state has increasingly looked towards communities to help share the financial burden of providing social services, especially given their rapid expansion in a bid to meet the EFA and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Bray, 2003).

Over the past decade, development discourse has become dominated by the idea of a partnership between the government and the community (Bray, 2000; *Paris Declaration*, 2005). This has also been emphasized in fragile and conflict-affected contexts where development interventions

need to be sensitive to social and political relationships. This is evident in some of the fragile states' strategies and frameworks. Some examples of bilateral and multilateral strategies include those by:

- United States Agency for International Development (USAID): *Fragile States Strategy* (USAID, 2005): The fragile states programming strategy indicates, "It is important to take into account issues such as ethnic and religious tensions that polarize and divide societies. It is only by addressing these dysfunctional arrangements those conditions will be established for stable, long-term growth" (USAID, 2005: 5). One of the stated priority areas is "building the capacity of institutions that service key social and economic sectors – such as those providing healthcare, education, and financial services" to reduce stress and vulnerability (USAID, 2005: 5).
- World Bank: The Bank's Community-Driven Development Group emphasizes that communities need to be empowered to own local initiatives and drive development from the grassroots level, so that community participation is truly community-driven; making the distinction between this and community-based work, which can be driven by external actors (World Bank, 2006).

Several characteristics of successful community partnerships and contextual factors which promote/suppress community participation and foster partnerships between communities, the state and other education partners can be identified. These include varying rationales for community partnerships (*Box 3*) and the general principles behind the formation of partnerships (*Box 4*). These criteria and principles provided the study with a framework for examining how other external actors engage with communities and support communities' education initiatives and informed the development of the data collection tools, providing the structure for the interviews, desk research and analysis of information. Specifically, the criteria were used to measure factors which promote or undermine community participation in conflict and reconstruction settings.

Box 3 Partnership rationale criteria

Partnership rationale	Narrative/comments
Shared experiences	What knowledge/skills did each partner bring?
Mutual support	How did each partner provide mutual support?
Division of labour	What tasks could each partner do best?
Increased resources	What resources did each partner contribute?
Increased sense of ownership	How did the partnership provide a sense of ownership?
Extended reach	Where did each partnership 'voice' reach?
Increased effectiveness	How has each partner helped identify obstacles?
Evaluation and monitoring	What has each partner contributed to the monitoring of the education work?

Source: Adapted from Bray, 2000: 5.

Box 4 Principles for partnership

Principle	Narrative/comments
Trust	Do the partners trust each other? How are each partner's institutional interest, self interest, expectations and culture addressed?
Commitment (long term)	How are conditions for sustainability created?
Clear and mutually accepted roles	How are roles defined to ensure mutual understanding and agreement?
Focus on the big and small picture	How does the partnership address equity tensions between (or even within) communities? How are local needs addressed within the larger national strategy?
Nurturing of partnership	How are partnerships maintained and developed?
Relationships between individuals as well as institutions	What is/are the relationship(s) between individuals and institutions?
Resources – partnerships beyond financial contributions	What are partners contributing to the partnership? What are the contributions beyond the flow of physical inputs? What is the role of social capital in developing and defining partnerships?

Source: Modified from Shaeffer, 1994 and Bray, 2000: 42-43.

Much of the literature assumes the existence of a partnership between the community and the state or the possibility of constructing one. What seems to be missing is the possibility that a state may not wish

– or be capable of enacting – such a partnership (which is particularly common in fragile and/or conflict-affected states); that the partnership may, despite good intentions, still serve to dismantle the community provision of education rather than build on it; or that a government may actually wish to disassemble community involvement in education, considering it a threat to state control.

Communities can, however, play a vital role in peace restoration processes. Community participation in education can help support reconciliation and provide a forum for rebuilding trust and relationships. If inequitable, however, it can also have the negative effect of reinforcing cultural or social divisions, which may have been instigating factors in recent conflict.

Thus, community participation is not invariably positive. For example, community involvement in the selection of teachers can, inadvertently, give rise to patronage and lower quality than might have resulted from a more independent process. Communities may prefer a foreign language of instruction regardless of its pedagogical merits. A dependence on private resources may reduce access to marginalized groups in the community intentionally or otherwise and overburden an already marginalized community. The state may be the agent bringing principles of unity, equity and professionalism to a low quality, unstable collection of service providers.

Because of the challenges of education service delivery in fragile states, recent attention has focused on the state's willingness and capacity to provide services to communities. The literature highlights the importance of community-level initiatives in fragile states and how they may be nurtured and scaled up during reconstruction (Rose and Greeley, 2006). Conditions that may affect the relationship between community and state, and hence the possibilities of partnership, include:

The nature of the social contract:

- a. The state function may be conditioned by precedent, such as that engendered by a previously predatory state.
- b. Communities may have been targeted by the state, or at least feel abandoned by it, and hence be nervous about entering into contracts with it. This may also be the case for refugees who are resident in countries where no social contract may exist because the state is not a signatory to the United Nations Convention relating to the

Status of Refugees (1951) or to the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1967). For example, Jordan is not a signatory to the convention or protocol, and Iraqis who have fled their country due to the conflict often arrive and stay without the proper documentation. Parents are frequently reluctant to provide information to education officials or to participate in the learning environment due to their lack of a residency permit and the fear they may be detained and deported.

- c. Ideas of state control may be incompatible with local cultural premises (Miller and Rudnick, 2006).
- d. States may see strong, active community provision of education as a threat.

The nature of the conflict and other circumstances of the conflict period:

- a. A displacement of the population either as IDPs or refugees may alter the dynamics of communities and agencies seeking to support them. For example, external funding for refugees may be available from a variety of sources, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). However, funding for IDPs is typically more problematic as it is not as readily available and it normally is the responsibility of the state to provide these resources.

The nature of communities with no government or *de facto* authority during the conflict period:

- a. During the conflict period, a community may have been isolated from the authorities and be beyond the reach of state provision of basic services. In 'rebel'-held areas of Nepal, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) used the previously state-supported infrastructure of education as the basis for its own provision of education (Fujikura, 2003).
- b. Communities left on their own might revert to traditional models of education based on local premises, or they might take the opportunity to enact reform based more closely on communities' perceived needs rather than on what the government was able to provide (World Bank, 2005a).

The nature of the transition between conflict and reconstruction (Smith and Vaux, 2003):

- a. The community's involvement in the provision of education may be seen as either transitional or foundational. It may consciously be seen as a temporary, provisional response to a gap in the management and provision of public services, or it may be seen as a sustainable, permanent alternative to conventional state-managed models.
- b. Communities may see the outcome of the conflict as either one of liberation or defeat.
- c. In territories that are not actual states, internationally-mandated education authorities may have tense relationships with local education actors, including community leaders – for example, the UN Mission in Kosovo, and in Timor-Leste the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (Sommers and Buckland, 2004; Nicolai, 2004).
- d. Governments may wish to prioritize national standardization in order to rebuild a sense of 'normalcy', to guard against disunity or may wish to roll back education norms to known models from the past which are closer to comfort levels as a response to limited resources, capacity and time.
- e. Policies and practices (including funding and accountability) on the decentralization of government services, including in the education sector, will influence ways in which the state interacts with local communities. Effective decentralization in post-conflict settings frequently requires a measure of prior recentralization of state functions (World Bank, 2005*b*).

Differing perceptions of the purpose and means of delivery of education:

- a. Governments may actively wish to seize the opportunity for reform, and to learn from community provision, working both directly with communities and with NGOs. For example, in Afghanistan, following community-based education (CBE) initiatives, the Ministry of Education (MOE) has developed CBE Policy Guidelines and initiated a CBE co-ordination forum to discuss developments

- in CBE and alignment with national policy (Ratcliffe and Macrae, 1999; IRC Afghanistan, personal communication, 10 April 2008).²
- b. Communities may have (re)constructed familiar education environments in order to provide continuity of experience in psychologically and existentially challenging times (Simon, 2005).
 - c. Government and community views of the goals of education (for example driven by the demands of the economy as opposed to fulfilling community needs) may differ.
 - d. The extent of harmony within and between local communities will greatly influence how the state responds to particular community initiatives (Rose and Greeley, 2006).

Donor priorities and ideologies:

- a. In particular, the nature of NGO involvement may have had an enabling or surrogate effect, for instance it might have contributed to sustainable community provision which has since become independent, or it may have instilled dependence on NGO capacity and resources (Banerjee, Banerji, Duflo, Glennerster and Khemani, 2006).
- b. The current foci of international financial institutions on bypassing the state and encouraging community participation may encourage partnership policies as they attract resources; however, uncritical notions of participation as an “all good things come together” panacea may cause unforeseen problems (Burde, 2004 and 2005).

1.6 The organization of the book

The themes that emerged from the research echo the research questions outlined in the chapter and research conducted by the UN-sponsored War-Torn Society Project (WSP). The project was born out of frustration in the international community with identifying how best to engage and support war-torn societies. In 1994 the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development and the Programme for Strategic International Security Studies of the Geneva Graduate Institute for International Studies undertook a participatory action research

2. These CBE programmes were a mixture of both community-initiated and NGO-supported activities. In this instance the co-ordination of activities and involvement of NGOs gave a stronger advocacy voice to communities, and facilitated the emergence of a community-based approach to education which could then feed into the MOE guidelines. See Afghanistan case study in *Chapter 2* for further details.

project in post-conflict countries to understand the multiplicity of issues these states faced in rebuilding their countries. Lessons learned from the community participation research have been cross-analysed with the WSP research to provide further evidence and analysis of different conflict-affected contexts. As a result, there has been a focus on how general lessons learned about post-conflict state reconstruction may be applied specifically to the education sector.

The book is organized in the following manner: *Chapters 2* and *3* contain an introduction to the key themes identified regarding community participation in conflict-affected settings (*Chapter 2*) and in reconstruction settings (*Chapter 3*). Each state/territory field review examined includes: (1) an overview of the state/territory – historical, political, socio-cultural and educational context, (2) dimensions of community participation in the state/territory, and (3) a brief summary of the types of partnerships between the state and non-state education organizations. *Chapter 4* follows up with a discussion on the key questions of what promotes and negates community participation in conflict and reconstruction settings and compares the field review findings to the WSP lessons learned.

Chapter 2

Conflict-related emergencies: how does conflict and occupation influence community participation in education in conflict settings?

The specific education-related responses to emergencies increasingly reflect the challenges particularly encountered by the affected populations, which are often not homogeneous, with differences depending on situation or status (Muñoz, 2008: 21).

2.1 Introduction

Education in emergency settings is an emerging paradigm. The transition from an emergency setting to a reconstruction setting is often fluid, with states frequently slipping in and out of emergencies while on the path to rebuilding their societies, or retaining regional pockets of insurgency and instability. This chapter considers the nature of community participation in educational activities in conflict-associated emergencies and situations of prolonged conflict and instability, through the lens of a country (Afghanistan) and a territory (the West Bank), where progress towards reconstruction has been hampered by re-emerging violence at a regional or national level. In addition, this chapter examines the impact of an extended crisis on a neighbouring state (Jordan), which has taken in a significant refugee population from the conflict zone (Iraq). The distinction between the contexts addressed in this chapter and the reconstruction contexts discussed in *Chapter 3* is perceived in terms of progress towards reform and development, as distinguished by willingness for and interest in reform, not only on behalf of the state but also civil society as a whole. As discussed in *Chapter 1*, community participation in education in emergency settings is influenced in a variety of ways, including by the nature of the state before the conflict, the forces influencing the conflict and the length of the conflict. This chapter focuses on identifying the conditions that influence the emergence of strong, positive involvement in the provision of education as well as those factors that may, inadvertently, undermine community participation. The following factors are examined:

The nature of the state before the conflict:

- a. Societies influenced by a long-term, dominant central state or one in which the central and village authorities were allies in monopolizing power may well be less capable of independent community initiatives.
- b. States that encouraged village social administrations may bequeath conditions that in turn encourage strong community participation. This was seen in Burundi where the prevalence of meritocratic community structures enabled the community response to education provision after the withdrawal of the state during the conflict (Obura, 2008). Conversely, local autonomous rule may also coerce local participation, for example in areas of Afghanistan, where so-called warlords control certain areas of the country; they have suppressed any challenges to their dominance.

The nature of the conflict and other circumstances of the conflict period:

- a. Inter-state war will create very different relations between citizens and the government than that created by a civil war. In the latter, communities may be divided, with one political or cultural group perceived to be the 'victor' or dominant within political structures.
- b. A displacement of the population either as IDPs or refugees may alter the dynamics of communities and agencies seeking to support them. Additionally, in times of emergency and displacement inequality and discrimination against marginalized groups, such as women, girls, people living with HIV and AIDS, people with disabilities, ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples, may rise. The allocation of assistance and access to basic services, including education, may be differentiated causing tensions both within and between communities.

The nature of non-state provision during the conflict period:

- During the conflict period, a community may have been isolated from all authorities, for example in Somalia where there is no unified government entity to provide education or support to education programmes. Communities left on their own might revert to traditional models of education based on local premises, or they might take the opportunity to enact reform based more closely on communities' perceived needs than on what the government is able to provide (Abdinoor, 2008; World Bank, 2005b).

- External non-state actors, particularly NGOs and UN agencies, working with communities may take on increased roles because of the lack of a strong or functional education authority, as was the case in Southern Sudan and Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) (see *Chapter 3*). Such involvement stems from the need to ensure educational access and opportunities in areas where state capacity is low or non-existent, particularly in areas with large displaced populations, as seen in initiatives such as Safe or Child-Friendly Spaces and accelerated learning programmes for children who have missed out on their schooling. In such instances, community involvement is likely to be driven externally and can be consultative rather than collaborative³ (Penson and Tomlinson, 2009). Increasingly, NGOs are also targeting quality issues providing teacher training, school supplies and textbooks – inputs that communities by themselves may struggle to contribute.
- Alternative, non-state educational provision and administration may be a form of political resistance, as was seen in Kosovo with the separation of Kosovar Albanians from the mainstream education system. This move was supported both financially and politically by grassroots movements towards decentralization, whereby responsibility for educational delivery and content shifted towards school directors, teachers, parents and the broader community (Sommers and Buckland, 2004).
- Countries that are not signatory to the *1951 UN Convention Related to the Status of Refugees* and/or the *1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* may be put in a position of providing education opportunities for specific refugee population groups only, such as in Jordan where only Iraqi refugees (but not refugees from other countries or territories, such as Palestinian refugees) are officially allowed access to formal and non-formal education opportunities.⁴

The states and territory analyzed in this chapter are Afghanistan, Jordan (with a focus on the Iraqi refugee population) and the Occupied Palestinian Territories of the West Bank. Each state or territory has

3. 'Consultative' refers to external agencies seeking community approval for preconceived programmes; whereas 'collaborative' refers to more interactive partnership approaches, whereby communities are involved in the planning, design and decision-making processes.

4. As per the *Guidelines for Iraqis on available educational opportunities in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*. Academic year 2007-2008.

been affected by the issues of occupation and conflict either directly or indirectly. Both Afghanistan and the West Bank have experienced occupation and conflict firsthand. For a decade (1979-1989) Afghanistan was occupied by the Soviet Union and currently has a large foreign military presence in the country to assist the Afghanistan Government in providing a secure and stable environment for the country. The West Bank has experienced occupation by the Israeli Government for more than 40 years and frequently experiences bouts of extended conflict, for example, intifadas, as well as periodic flare-ups. Jordan has been an indirect recipient of occupation and conflict due to its proximity to the West Bank and Iraq. For the past several decades it has hosted hundreds of thousands of refugees, from the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Syria, Egypt and other countries before the most recent influx of refugees from Iraq.

2.2 Effects of occupation and mobility in conflict or conflict-affected settings

Table 2.1 Levels of displacement

Country/Territory	Number of Refugees (2007)	Number of IDPs
Afghanistan	1,909,911*	More than 200,000 (IDMC, 2008a)**
Jordan (Iraqis in Jordan)	500,000	–
Occupied Palestinian Territories	4,618,141***	24,500-115,000 (IDMC, 2008)****

* This figure reflects refugee numbers provided in June 2008 by UNHCR; see UNHCR statistical online population database: www.unhcr.org/statistics/populationdatabase (see Afghanistan profile). At the peak of the Afghan crisis there were at least a further five million refugees who have since been repatriated. See UNHCR's Afghanistan web site at: www.unhcr.org/afghan.html

** The Afghanistan IDP Taskforce indicates that there is a strong possibility there are more than 200,000 IDPs in Afghanistan as the estimate provided does not include many of those who are displaced due to conflict between the international coalition, the Government of Afghanistan and armed militias/Taliban.

*** As of 30 June 2008 www.un.org/unrwa/refugees/pdf/reg-ref.pdf

**** IDMC Profile for Occupied Palestinian Territories [www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/\(httpCountries\)78C5F977D946B388802570A7004CD702?OpenDocument](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/(httpCountries)78C5F977D946B388802570A7004CD702?OpenDocument)

Sources: UNHCR Statistical Online Population Database www.unhcr.org/statistics/populationdatabase, UNRWA www.un.org/unrwa/refugees/pdf/reg-ref.pdf, and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 2008a 7.

Afghanistan, Jordan and the West Bank⁵ share an Islamic cultural and historical heritage. However, Islam is not a monolithic culture, and different views of civil society exist. Those who follow the 'Orientalist' school of thought frequently attribute a lack of civil society to an absence in separation of hierarchical religious structures from those of the broader civil society. In comparison, other Muslim scholars feel that Islam has always incorporated the idea of democratic governance and that of civil society. According to Salam (2002: 6), Islam is not "inherently opposed to democratic norms although its political experience cannot be said to have always been supportive of civil society ... both participatory, based on *shura*, and authoritarian trends have existed within Islamic political culture". The value placed on the unity of the community (*umma*) has not prevented – although in more urban areas in particular it may have slowed – the development of social and charitable organizations, which play an important role in providing educational opportunities (Salam, 2002). It serves as potential social capital and a bonding mechanism. This is evident today in Jordan and the West Bank, where local charities and community-based social agencies are providers of education programmes, sometimes in collaboration with the education authorities. For example, in Jordan the international NGO, QuestScope, uses local charities to administer their informal and non-formal education programmes that cater to Jordanian and refugee populations. In the West Bank, the Multi-Purpose Research Centre, a community-based agency, implements children and youth education programmes through a network of volunteers. Similarly, the Dalia Association⁶ is a social development community foundation that works with local civil society groups and communities, advocating for communities to be placed at the forefront of decision-making, supporting them in accessing funds and then monitoring their use. Their activities have included working with a community-supported school for the blind and visually impaired.

Effects of occupation

While elements of community participation exist in Afghanistan and the West Bank, the effects of conflict and occupation on their education systems and services have changed the way communities relate to education. During occupation this shows up prominently in the curriculum. The education curriculum plays a valuable role as it

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5. It is important to note that in each state or territory, in particular in the West Bank, there are non-Islamic populations residing within the borders.
 6. www.dalia.ps Retrieved 8 September 2008.

frequently serves as a platform to promote the state's values and, as in the cases of occupying forces, indoctrinate learners into the occupier's cultural norms and viewpoint as illustrated by the following examples.

For Afghan refugees, a significant emphasis on a religious approach was undertaken in all subjects in the refugee schools run by the mujahidin, while within the borders of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union's Marxist ideology permeated the curriculum during the occupation (Ekanayake, 2004). With the introduction of the 'modern' tradition of education in the 20th century, the education system in Afghanistan split between the secular modern (Western) influenced system and the traditional forms of education which took place in the madrassas. Occupation by the Soviets added another level of ideology – the Marxist stream of thought – which was also alien to Afghan society and culture.

During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the Russian language was taught through all levels of the education system; college curricula included Principles of Marxism and History of the Communist Party. The Soviets, through the party they had installed in power – the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan – developed a General Department of Islamic Affairs to ensure the right kind of learning was spread and that Islam was not misinterpreted at schools or religious institutions (Ekanayake, 2004).

Also during the Soviet occupation, opposing traditional Islamic forces (the mujahidin) produced curricula which focused on promoting their values and priorities, for example hatred of the occupying Soviet force. One such example can be found in a mathematics textbook: "The speed of a Kalashnikov bullet is 800 meters per second. If a Russian is at a distance of 3,200 meters from a mujahid, and that mujahid aims at the Russian's head, calculate how many seconds it will take for the bullet to strike the Russian in the forehead." (Craig, 2000: 92). As Ekanayake (2004: 28) notes, "the educational objectives were lost sight of before the needs of the resistance movements. It is unlikely that the cognition or the skills of the subject were developed in students. Judging by the aftermath effects over the years, the continuation of internal struggles indicates that the impact of these messages on the malleable minds of the young children has been very adverse and disastrous." In recent years, the goal of developing a "quality modern national curriculum for primary and secondary education built on Islamic principles to meet regional and international standards" has shaped the curriculum process in Afghanistan (IRoA, 1385: 66).

The West Bank also experienced community and cultural alienation through the use of curricula that did not allow them to connect to their language or cultural base. At first, Palestinians followed the Jordanian curricula (Jordan annexed the West Bank from 1948-1967) and then the Israeli curricula (from 1967-1994, the Israeli government became directly responsible for education). Under the Government of Israel, Arabic and Hebrew became the official languages; however, the higher education programmes used only Hebrew as a medium of instruction. The use of a second language for instruction assisted in isolating Palestinian students from Arabic language academics and their literary sphere. The curricula also presented topics and issues from a Jewish-Israeli perspective and distanced Palestinians from learning about their cultural identity (Baladna Association, 2007). This effectively resulted in significantly increasing the number of individuals dropping out of school and/or not participating in higher education opportunities. In turn, this contributed to a weakened Palestinian education (human resource) base. It has only been in the past decade (when the Ministry of Education and Higher Education has been under the control of the Palestinian National Authority) that students in the West Bank have had a curriculum which reflects their heritage.

The lack of involvement by the community in the West Bank in the recruitment and dismissal of education staff also adversely affected the education system. In 1980, Military Order 854 gave Israeli authorities control over the curricula and education faculty. Foreign staff at Palestinian University, the majority of them being native Palestinians, were required to sign a loyalty oath, rejecting affiliation with any organization considered 'hostile' to Israel and denying membership in the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Many refused to sign the oath thus resulting in deportation by the Israeli government.

Changing curricula to suit the needs of the occupier extends also to liberating forces which serve as administrators. After the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the subsequent removal of Saddam Hussein, the US government, through USAID, began the implementation of a US\$4 million accelerated learning programme. Part of the programme included the development of curricula. During the development of the curricula the Iraqi Ministry of Education was asked to remove Koranic verses which had been used as grammatical examples and replace the verses with neutral content. The (then) Minister of Education Ala'din Alwan criticized USAID for "attempting to limit or ban Islamic religious references in experimental Iraqi school teaching materials paid for by the

agency” (Clover, 2003: 1). The agency funded by USAID to implement the programme indicated this was done because of instructions issued by the agency to fund only “neutral, apolitical and areligious materials because the US constitution prohibited proselytizing with US government money” (Clover, 2003: 1).

Effects of mobility

The 2003 invasion of Iraq and the rise of sectarian violence have created a significant refugee flow, mostly to the neighbouring countries of Jordan and Syria. High levels of mobility create a strain on both the household and hosting state education infrastructure in several ways, including but not limited to:

Financial stability

The average size of an Iraqi household in Jordan is 4.1 people with two out of three Iraqi households having children under the age of 18 years. The majority of Iraqis in Jordan are either living on savings they brought with them or receiving transfers of money. Thus, a significant portion of the population is financially vulnerable when savings are depleted or transfers jeopardized as the situation in Iraq (where 42 per cent of the transfers originate from) continues to deteriorate (Dalen, Daehlen, Pedersen, Tiltnes and Atallah, 2007). Prior to the 2007 Jordanian government decree officially allowing Iraqis to enrol in Jordan’s formal and non-formal education programmes, private schools were the only schooling option available between 2002 and 2007, but few households could afford the private school fees. Thus, many children missed out on several years of schooling.

The financial dependency of households on transfers and/or savings limits the amount of effort and time parents are able to invest in education programmes. International NGOs, such as QuestScope and Save the Children USA, which use Iraqi ‘volunteers’, pay them a stipend because of their economic situation. For example, QuestScope has 42 facilitators (six facilitators in each centre) to whom they pay a stipend because without some form of payment the Iraqis would not be able to participate as they would need to find alternative ways to generate some income to support their household.

Psychosocial needs

A 2008 International Organization for Migration (IOM) study notes that Iraqi children tend to perform poorly in school, which may be due

to psychological issues, such as a sense of disorientation, a sense of inferiority towards the resident children, and the isolation and lack of stimuli of the environments in which many children live. This isolation also affects adult members of the household and limits their participation in the learning environment because of their lack of legal status in Jordan. In the patriarchal Iraqi structures, men play a very prominent role in the family, yet they are increasingly losing their main role as breadwinner and the person responsible for ensuring the safety and security of the family. This, compounded with the distress of displacement and in many cases illegal residence in the country, has led to an increase in domestic violence. These psychosocial issues are exacerbated by the shortage of counsellors, psychologists and psychiatrists available in Jordan to work with affected children and communities (IOM, 2008).

The following sections discuss in more detail the document review conducted of Afghanistan and the field reviews undertaken of Iraqi refugees in Jordan and in the West Bank regarding community participation in non-formal and formal education environments. These reviews set the framework for community participation in conflict and/or conflict-affected states and territories by outlining the factors which influence or undermine community participation in education and the lessons learned.

2.3 Afghanistan: dimensions of community involvement in a state dealing with ongoing insurgency

Historical and political context

Afghanistan's population comprises several ethnic groups: Pashtun (predominantly Sunni), Tajiks (mainly Sunni), Hazaras (Shi'a), and Uzbeks and Turkomans (Sunni). From 1919 until the early 1970s, Afghanistan was governed by a constitutional monarchy and was developing as a relatively stable country with a moderate and expanding middle class. In 1954, when the USA established military ties with Pakistan, Afghanistan turned to the Soviet Union for support. With the overthrow of the monarchy in 1973, Afghanistan entered a period of successive regimes, often installed by force and in some cases accompanied by oppression of some parts of the population, that have been punctuated by outright war and/or general unrest. At the end of the tumultuous 1970s, the Soviet Union sent thousands of troops into Afghanistan to 'stabilize' the situation. This began a ten-year Soviet occupation of the country which was also known as the Soviet-Afghanistan war. Local resistance forces, the jihad

militias (also known as the mujahidin) based in Pakistan and Iran were assisted by the USA and Saudi Arabia to provide counter resistance to the Soviet occupation. In 1989 the Soviet military left Afghanistan, and various mujahidin commanders established themselves as warlords over specific areas of the country. In September 1996, the Taliban took control of Kabul and for the next five years governed the country.

On 11 September 2001, Al Qaeda launched terrorist attacks against the USA, destroying the World Trade Center (in New York City) and extensively damaging the Pentagon (in Washington, DC). Shortly after the attack (early October 2001), the US-led Coalition joined forces with the Northern Alliance⁷ to remove from power the Taliban government, which harboured elements of Al Qaeda. An interim government headed up by Hamid Karzai was installed and in 2004 Karzai became the democratically-elected President of Afghanistan. This government remains in power while facing serious challenges to the extension of its authority to all parts of the country. Despite its removal from power by the US-led coalition in 2001, remnants of the Taliban government have continued insurgency-style attacks on combatants and members of the general population, targeting the government and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces, as well as the education system (teachers and students).

Between April 2003 and June 2006⁸, more than 7,500 child soldiers were demobilized (UNOCHA-IRIN, 2007). However, there continue to be reports of the Taliban and insurgents using child soldiers. Four months into the 2008 school year, numerous schools were closed due to insecurity and 72 students and teachers were killed (Najibullah, 2008).

In a July 2008 visit to Afghanistan, the UN Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict (2008: 1) noted that “children are increasingly reported to be used by armed groups, including the Taliban, as combatants, porters of munitions, informants and in some cases as carriers of improvised explosive devices”. According to the Ministry of Education, the Taliban movement is recruiting male students from schools that have been targeted or destroyed. Part of the Taliban strategy is “to close these schools down so that the children and primarily the

7. The Northern Alliance is a coalition of various Afghan fighters who united to remove the Taliban regime from power.

8. A 2003 presidential decree banned recruitment of individuals under 22 years old; this was changed in 2006 to 18 years old.

teenagers that are going to the schools – the boys – have no other option but to join the Taliban” (Straziuso, 2008: 1).

Various groups are responsible for the insecurity within the country; this includes: (1) armed opposition forces, primarily the Taliban or forces aligned with the Taliban; (2) regional warlords and militia commanders; and (3) criminal groups involved in the country’s narcotics trade. Increased insurgencies have forced many people from their homes. Attacks on the education system, including the burning of schools and the killing of teachers and students, have increased sharply since 2005. Some appear to be motivated by ideological opposition to education generally or specifically to girls’ education. In some cases schools or teachers have been attacked because they are part of the government and represent the government’s presence in the area. As a result, families are more likely to prohibit their girls from attending schools due to socio-cultural restrictions on the movement of females and concerns about sexual harassment and violence (HRW, 2006). One female representative from the Kandahar provincial council said:

The security situation was fine, but during the last two years it is growing worse day by day. In the first three years there were a lot of girl students – everyone wanted to send their daughters to school. For example, in Argandob district [a conservative area], girls were ready; women teachers were ready. But when two or three schools were burned, then nobody wanted to send their girls to school after that (HRW, 2006: 35).

The role of the military in humanitarian and development activities in Afghanistan has increasingly been debated in the recent past. Early in 2008, an official associated with the human rights commission in Kandahar warned that the involvement of international armed forces in the building of schools could provoke action by militants, and the international NGO, Oxfam, indicated it was aware of research that showed in some of the provinces that schools constructed by foreign military forces are “twice as likely to be targeted by militants as those built by civilian agencies” (UNOCHA-IRIN, 2008a: 1). By mid-2008, several international NGOs⁹ working in Afghanistan indicated that “international military actors’ increased involvement in relief and reconstruction is further complicating

9. International NGOs include CARE International, Save the Children Alliance, the Norwegian Refugee Council, the International Rescue Committee and Mercy Corps.

the operational environment for NGOs, particularly in terms of security” (UNOCHA-IRIN, 2008b: 1).

Socio-cultural context

According to Louis Dupree (cited in Ekanayake, 2004: 31-32), Afghan tribal society has six key themes: (1) multilingualism – in Afghanistan, language has brought about discrimination and suspicions, which have hampered unity; (2) illiteracy – a significant percentage of the population is not literate; (3) agriculture and pastoral characteristics – the majority of people live on agriculture and herding; (4) lack of social mobility – a person from a rural area is likely to remain in such an environment for his or her lifetime as the socio-cultural pattern does not provide flexibility; (5) limited social exposure – in Afghan society, socialization takes place primarily in the family circle; and (6) dominance of kinship, which replaces government in governance. The village authority system, land-ownership and lending systems rely on local customs to guide them. One of the key challenges of the modern education system brought to Afghanistan after World War I was the lack of connection it made to these socio-cultural features with the end result being that the modern Afghan system of education increasingly distanced itself from the traditional form of education.

Educational context

In traditional Afghan society, the socialization of children revolved around the nuclear and extended family while the traditional education system centred on Islam. Rote memorization of Koranic scripture and basic mathematics was the primary focus of traditional education systems with tutorials taking place either in mosques or madrassas¹⁰ or, for the wealthy, in private homes. In Afghanistan, one of the objectives of education was to train competent administrators who were schooled in Islamic law. Thus “Islamization was used as a polity expansion, i.e. as a vehicle for expanding state control over legal matters” (Ekanayake, 2004: 14). After World War I, ‘modern’ education became more prominent and it was accepted that “the only way to face the threat of Europe was to reorganize Muslim society and to adopt scientific methods and technology” (Ekanayake, 2004; 15-16). During this period, secular subjects were introduced into the curriculum.

10. Madrassa literally translates as a place where teaching and learning occurs. These are private educational institutions, which are most frequently associated with mosques.

Box 5 Conflict and instability in Afghanistan

- 1973:** The monarchy is overthrown and a national republic is created.
- 1978:** A small group of Marxists seize power and call for land reform changes and women's emancipation.
- 1979:** The Soviet army enters Afghanistan to support a Marxist-backed government.
- 1980:** Afghanistan engages in a resistance war against the Soviet Union. More than five million Afghans flee to Pakistan or Iran, and more than one million men are killed in fighting.
- 1992:** Islamic resistance groups enter Kabul. Afghanistan is ruled for a year by 'compromise' President Sheikh Mujadidi.
- 1993:** Afghanistan develops a revolving presidency among militia commanders, starting with Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani.
- 1996:** The Taliban overthrows President Rabbani.
- 2001:** (October): USA, Britain and other NATO member states initiate Operation Enduring Freedom with the ousting of the Taliban government.
- 2001:** (December): Afghan Interim Authority is created, headed by Hamid Karzai.
- 2005-present:** The Taliban continues its resurgence with attacks on military forces and civilians, including students, teachers and aid workers.

Source: IDMC, 2006a, 2008a.

During the 1950s, formal education became more readily accessible to the rural populations and, in turn, the youth who participated in this form of education increasingly questioned the more authoritarian forms of governance and control to which they were subjected. The constitution of 1964 made basic education compulsory; this, however, did not readily translate into high enrolment levels. In 1975, there were only 17,600 secondary school students and 650,000 elementary school learners (out of a population of more than 15 million) in the country (Encyclopaedia Iranica, 1998). It was during this period that the state took on a more prominent role, which strengthened the establishment of the secular education system (polity expansion) and undermined the influence of madrassas (Ekanayake, 2004: 22). During the Soviet occupation, the spread of Marxist ideology was promoted by sending members of the Communist party to rural areas to inoculate local communities, and many Afghan students seeking a higher education went to the Soviet Union or pro-Soviet eastern European countries. Traditional local governance structures were dismantled and in their place governance structures

which replicated the highly centralized communist state were installed (Mohammed, 2006). The ‘modernization’ of Afghanistan’s education system faced similar challenges to that of colonial and post-colonial African states - Afghans educated through a curriculum that did not assist them in developing the “ethos of the community” (Ekanayake, 2004: 23). Afghanistan’s education system “alienated students from their society, which was deeply rooted in Islam and the rural setting” (Ekanayake, 2004: 23). The educated Afghan was “neither a complete Westerner nor a genuine Easterner” (Majrooh, 1987; in Ekanayake, 2004: 23).

Educational constraints

During the Taliban era (1994-2001), girls were actively discouraged or not allowed to participate in the education system. According to the International Rescue Committee (IRC), the three primary reasons for girls’ access to education remaining limited are: (1) distance from home to school and the reluctance of parents to allow their daughters to walk or use public transportation, (2) the dominance of male teachers in the classroom, who are from outside the community, and (3) cultural beliefs that do not value the importance of girls’ education (Kirk and Winthrop, 2006).

Box 6 Education snapshot (Afghanistan)

Violence targeted against education noticeably impacts on school participation, in particular that of girls. In 2007, 220 pupils and teachers were killed in school-related violence and 236 schools were attacked (Afghandevnews, 2008). At the start of the 2008 school year 6.5 million children, including girls (which make up 35 per cent), enrolled in over 9,000 schools. Four months later at least 72 teachers and students were dead, due to school-related violence, another 62 schools burnt and 640 closed due to insecurity (RFERL, 2008).

Dimensions of community involvement in an insurgency-related emergency setting

The activities described below show how traditional authority structures and systems are the lynchpins in building ‘trust’ between the armed insurgents, local communities and the government. Each partner (in this case the local community and the government) mutually support each other to encourage increased access to formal (primary) education by encouraging the creation of community-based schools in areas

where there are few formal schools (building on shared experiences and mutual support) and by validating the importance of local leadership structures (increased sense of ownership) in promoting a secure learning environment.

Activity: Draw on traditional leaders to ensure a secure learning environment.

The Taliban during their reign altered formal schools into private schools (madrassa) and strongly discouraged and virtually banned girls from getting an education. During the 1980s and 1990s, NGOs such as CARE, the IRC and others, developed the community-based school model that was used in rural areas in particular, where formal schools did not exist. In short, “Community-based schools responded to the value Afghans placed on education, the cultural norms that restricted girls from movement outside of the village, and the limited enforcement capacity the Taliban was able to exercise in rural areas” (Mohammed, 2006: 6). The community-based school model, used by numerous NGOs, built on the way traditional education was organized with the community responsible for finding the space, hiring and paying the teachers and forming education committees to manage the school (Mohammed, 2006). In many cases, these community-based schools relied both on uncertified teachers or mentors who are respected members of the community and teachers who also teach in formal MOE schools. These teachers have received training in ways to compress the curricula of more than one grade level into a shorter period, which allows for accelerated learning.

In recent years, the Government of Afghanistan (post-September 11, 2001) built upon the concept of community-based schools, which have been established jointly by the government and communities in remote, rural areas, to include (1) community-based feeder schools which consist of classrooms containing Grades 1-3 and are linked to the nearest primary school for the upper primary grades and (2) community-based accelerated learning schools which have accelerated learning classes for Grades 1-6 for children 11-15 years (IROA, 2006).

Since 2005, schools have become ‘soft targets’ for insurgents, in the southern province in particular. From March 2006 to February 2008, there were 2,450 ‘terrorist’ attacks on (secular) schools; 235 learners, teachers and other education staff were killed and 222 were wounded (UNOCHA-IRIN, 2008a). The Ministry of Education National Education

Strategic Plan (1385-1389)¹¹ acknowledges the increasing insurgency against the education system as a deterrent to the advancement of education in the country. “If parents do not think that their children will be safe in school or *en route* to school, they will keep their children home” (IROA, 1385: 30).

In order to promote a safe learning environment, the use of traditional leadership structures to establish ‘trust’ between the government and local community to ensure the safe operation of the learning environment is critical. In Helmand Province, which has been especially hard hit by the insurgency, the Governor is using tribal elders to re-open schools that have been closed due to the attacks and/or threat of attack. The role of the traditional structure is critical, as the local government is encouraging the elders to construct private schools and hire teachers; only local elders are able to do this because of their connection with the community. Since the schools would be considered private (and to date the Taliban has not attacked private schools) the assumption is that the schools would not be seen as part of the government structure (Tassal, 2008).

Activity: Implement national strategies on community participation through traditional authority consultations

As part of the national education sector’s five-year strategic plan, by 2010 net enrolment for girls attending primary school will be 60 per cent and for boys, 75 per cent. One of the strategies to achieve this goal is to involve the community in the school management process with community mobilization programmes. The USAID-funded project Afghanistan Primary Education Program¹² offered emergency access to accelerated (primary) learning education for out-of-school youths between 10 and 18 years of age, with a focus on girls. An integral component of the programme was the community mobilization teams that worked with the Shuras (village councils which focus on educational

11. Afghanistan follows the Solar Calendar which is approximately 621 years behind the Gregorian calendar. The first day of the year is 1 Hamal (21 March). Thus the current year 1387 is equivalent to 21 March 2008 to 20 March 2009. Dates in the National Education Strategic Plan follow the Solar Calendar.

12. Creative Associates International, Inc. led the consortium of four international organizations, Aguirre International, Division of JBS, Children in Crisis, Media Support Solution and American Manufacturers Export Group, and five local Afghan organizations, Afghanistan Development Association, Afghan Women’s Education Center, Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance, Coordination of Afghan Relief, and Development and Humanitarian Services for Afghanistan.

issues and are primarily made up of men) to foster a community dialogue which focuses on ‘building trust’ and helping the community reach agreement on issues such as the propriety of female attendance, the class location, and the scheduling of class times. The grassroots approach, which contextualized the national project to local realities, appeared to be vital in keeping education programmes in place.

The Afghan post-war violence has negatively impacted the accelerated learning project at the village level; however, it has not affected enthusiasm for the program. Specifically, a school bombing in Paktia claimed the lives of a teacher and several students, and, in Kandahar, the deaths of AL [accelerated learning] program staff coupled with night letter threats led to the cancellation of some other classes. As tragic as these incidents are, remarkably they have not shaken out-of-school youth’s strong commitment to education (Intili, Kissam and St George, 2006: 9).

Partners’ long-term commitment to community-initiated school models helps spread and replicate sustainable learning models or programmes. The Partnership for Advancing Community Education in Afghanistan (PACE-A) consortium (a consortium of four international NGOs lead by CARE, with the IRC, Aga Khan Foundation, Save the Children and Catholic Relief Services) based their work on community-initiated models of schools and sought to mobilize communities to provide education, as described above. The involvement of international NGOs helped scale-up the initiative, providing additional capacity and helping to develop the model to a level whereby it can be used across provinces. This has now progressed to the consolidation of efforts at the policy level, with the development of MOE policy guidelines on community-based education and the gradual handover of community-based schools to the formal government system. Incrementally, the government is taking responsibility for teacher training, salaries and other costs (IRC, 2007a).

Summary of key findings and lessons learned in Afghanistan

With the prolonged crisis in Afghanistan and periods and regions of relative stability, communities have been instrumental not only in providing access to education (via home and community schools), but also in using the strength of traditional and local structures to help re-open schools and provide a safe environment for learning, despite continued attacks. The

model emerging as Afghanistan progresses towards reconstruction is one of an incremental transition and development of community initiatives. At the initial stage, community initiatives are small scale, isolated and often fragmented with varying models of learning and access for students. Often with the support of local and international NGOs, these isolated initiatives are further developed and replicated on a large basis. Stage 2, or the intermediary stage, sees the emergence of models of schooling at the local and regional level. Activities become more co-ordinated but schools remain resourced by community efforts and external support. The final stage sees progression towards integrating community models into national policy and education systems, for example with NGO-trained teachers becoming formally qualified and employed by the state, plus opportunities for students to take national examinations and/or state provision of other resources such as textbooks.

2.4 Iraqis in Jordan: dimensions of community involvement in a state dealing with the impact of an external conflict

Historical and political context

Prior to World War I, Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq) consisted of three provinces – Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul – which were governed by local traditional leaders. During the course of World War I, British forces invaded Iraq and in 1920 received a mandate¹³ from the League of Nations with administrative control over the area. Ten years later the British and Iraqi governments signed the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, and in 1932 Iraq was granted independence. From the 1930s until the late 1950s the Iraqi government remained primarily pro-Western. In 1958, the movement of Arab nationalism was at its height when the Iraq monarchy was overthrown and replaced with the Revolutionary Command Council and the formation of a republic government. Shortly after this occurrence, the Ba'ath Party started to gain prominence and by 1968 had become the primary force in the government.

Since 1918, a consistent thread through Iraq's politics has been the attempts by groups that had previously been autonomous, but now were contained within the boundaries set by the colonial power, to grapple with the institutions of the new state. As the revenue available to those

13. The League of Nations established a 'mandate' system which promised the local population independence when they were judged to have developed the ability for self rule.

institutions increased with the influx of oil wealth, the problem of fitting the model of a single state to disparate groups, each with its own identity and interests, was exacerbated (Rangwals, 2002: 4).

Box 7 The Ba'ath Party

The Ba'ath Party was started in Syria in 1942 by two teachers with the aim to “struggle to gather all the Arabs in a single independent state”. The Ba'ath Party has a highly centralized structure with major decisions made by the ‘regional command’ in each country. Though the party is a non-religious movement, it draws some of its ideology and language from Islam. The party portrays the development of the Arab world as “dependent on the reinvigoration of Arab culture and Arab unity”.

Source: Rangwals, 2002: 6.

Socio-cultural context

The Iraqi population is predominantly Arab with Shi'a Muslims constituting approximately 60 to 65 per cent and Sunni Muslims making up 32 to 37 per cent of the population. Christians (who descended primarily from the population that did not convert to Islam after the 7th century), Yazadis (who are based primarily around Mosul), Mandaean and a very small number of Jews constitute the other approximately seven per cent of the population (USDOS, 2008). Politics split the Shi'a and Sunni Muslims after the Prophet Muhammed's death with the Shi'a arguing that leadership should be awarded according to parentage (such as an individual of the Prophet's family) while the Sunnis felt leadership should be delegated according to an individual's capacity.

From the 1920s until the Ba'ath Party's ascent to power four decades later, there was a sense of ‘inter-ethnic co-operation and tolerance’ in Iraq (Davis, 2004). Iraqis regularly demonstrated and there was an active civil society base which promoted such organizations as the Women's Empowerment Society (founded in 1924) and Iraqi Women's League (founded in 1951). The rise of the Ba'ath Party ended the nascent civil society movement. As was the case in other developing countries during this time, the argument for the dismantling of civil society in the Middle East was that all energy and attention needed to be focused on advancing the state.

Under Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party government, the Shi'a were often the recipients of brutal treatment due to their open resistance to

his rule; the Sunni Arab population was the primary power base of the Ba'ath Party and were favoured over the Sunni Kurds and Shi'a Arabs. After the Ba'ath Party took power, Iraqi society changed significantly. It was not unusual for entire social groups – nuclear families, clans, tribes and religious communities – to be held responsible for the action of one of their members. Trust was not shared on a community-wide basis but developed primarily between close family members and associates (Chatelard, 2008). According to the UNHCR, since the US-led coalition troops entered Iraq in 2003, more than 2.25 million Iraqis¹⁴ have left the country, with the majority settling in Syria and Jordan, and there are approximately another two million displaced within the country (HRF, 2007).

Box 8 Conflict and instability in Iraq

- 1968:** 17 July: A Ba'ath Party-led coup ousts Arif and Gen Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr becomes president.
- 1980-1988:** Iran-Iraq war. Almost one million people are killed.
- 1990:** Iraq invades Kuwait.
- 1991:** The Gulf War starts when the coalition forces begin aerial bombing of Iraq; 3 March – Iraq accepts the terms of a ceasefire.
- 1998:** Iraq stops co-operating with the UN-led commission overseeing the decommissioning of weapons of mass destruction.
- 2003:** US-led forces invade Iraq. Saddam Hussein is captured.
- 2004:** USA hands over power to interim government.
- 2006:** Sectarian violence surges: from May to June an average of more than 100 civilians per day are killed in violence in Iraq, the UN says.
- 2007:** US President Bush announces a new Iraq strategy; thousands more US troops are dispatched to increase security in Baghdad.
- 2008:** Iraq Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki for the first time raises the issue of establishing a timetable for the withdrawal of US troops.

Source: BBC, 2008a, AlertNet, 2008a.

14. According to UNHCR figures (2007), the refugee population roughly breaks down in the following manner: Sunni Muslims 45 per cent; Shi'a Muslims 25 per cent; Christians 20 per cent and Sabians 5 per cent.

Iraqis in Jordan – educational opportunities

The number of Iraqi ‘guests’¹⁵ residing in Jordan is unknown, with estimates ranging from a quarter of a million to almost one million. The most common range given is 450,000-500,000, which constitutes approximately five per cent of the Jordanian population (Fafo, 2007). Although Iraqis began their migration to Jordan shortly after the US-led invasion of Iraq, the numbers have increased dramatically since 2006 and the rise of insecurity and sectarian violence in Baghdad. Prior to 2006, Iraqis needed only a passport to enter Jordan and were typically given a one-month visa which could be renewed by leaving the country for a brief period. However, after the Amman hotel bombings in 2005, the visa practice became more stringent.

Jordan is not a signatory to the *1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* or the *1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*, and the camps which were set up to receive Iraqi refugees have now been closed. Many of the Iraqi refugees have melted into the urban fabric of Jordan, retaining a low profile as they do not have the appropriate residency documents and are subject to fines¹⁶ and deportation if they are found outside of their home without proper documentation.¹⁷ Without the proper documentation, most of the Iraqis residing in Jordan could not access basic social services including education programmes prior to the 2007 governmental decree, as their limited monetary funds did not allow them to send their children and youth to private schools.

‘Equal access’ to education opportunities for all and the need to have one school system, and not parallel or separate education programmes for the Iraqi refugees, was echoed by the Jordanian Ministries (Ministry of Planning and International Co-operation, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Social Development) interviewed for this study. In August 2007, the Government of Jordan issued a decree allowing Iraqi children and youth to enrol in the formal primary and secondary public system for

15. The Government of Jordan refers to Iraqi refugees as Iraqi ‘guests’.

16. Iraqis residing in Jordan without the appropriate documentation are fined half a Jordanian Dinar or approximately US\$0.70 per day. The residency fines are waived for Iraqis who are voluntarily willing to leave Jordan permanently.

17. The Jordan Interior Ministry reported that at least 360,000 Iraqis in Jordan (August 2008) do not have valid residency permits.

the 2007-2008 academic school year.¹⁸ This was then supported in August 2008 with the waiving of school fees for Iraqi students in the 2008-2009 academic year, in line with the cancellation of fees for Jordanian students due to rising living costs (UNOCHA-IRIN, 2008*d*).¹⁹ Children lacking the proper documentation are tested to determine the appropriate grade level for them to enter.

The Ministry of Planning and International Co-operation, responsible for the overall co-ordination of services provided to the Iraqis, indicated that government officials realized shortly after the 2007-2008 academic year started that since many of the students had been out of school for several years, the classrooms now consisted of students of varying ages. Jordanian teachers have not been trained how to handle multi-age classrooms or over-age learners. As a result, in December 2007 the government extended the decree to include enrolment in non-formal education opportunities, such as the one implemented by QuestScope, since many of the learners had been out of school for several years and were over-age for their grade level.

Box 9 Non-formal education opportunities (Iraqis in Jordan)

Non-formal education (NFE) condenses public formal primary and secondary education (Grades 1-10) into three levels: Level 1 – Grades 1-4; Level 2 – Grades 5-7 and Level 3 – Grades 8-10. It is offered to children and youths who have been out of the formal school system for three years or more. NFE is considered a second chance. NFE curricula are based on formal primary and secondary curricula (Arabic language, mathematics, Islamic education and general education (sciences and national and social education)). NFE classes run for two hours a day; five days per week. NFE classes take place in public schools (each afternoon) and are taught by Government of Jordan teachers. Levels 1 and 2 have their own certificate whilst the Level 3 certificate is equivalent to a formal Grade 10 certificate.

Source: Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 2007.

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18. The decree is issued for one year only and must be renewed prior to the start of the new academic year. Additionally, the decree is aimed only at Iraqis residing in Jordan; other population groups taking refuge in Jordan are not included. A senior official at the MOE acknowledged that he receives questions on a regular basis from other refugee populations in Jordan (Palestinians, Syrians, etc.) as to why they are not allowed to enrol.
19. www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?ReportID=80007. Retrieved 27 August 2008.

Educational constraints

Iraqis in Jordan face several constraints in accessing education programmes and participating in the learning environment. These include community fragmentation, ethnic and religious divisions, and lack of experience with community education committees.

- Iraqi communities in Jordan, in particular in the urban areas, are fragmented. Through the practices of discrimination, torture and terror the Iraqi government led by Saddam Hussein disenfranchised Shi'as and turned individuals inward (people trusting their intimates only), thus promoting strong nuclear units instead of broader communities (Chatelard, 2008). The removal of Saddam Hussein from power also meant the collapse of the state mechanisms which administered the welfare programmes. Individuals turned to family and clan members and religious institutions to gain access to resources or left the country. This experience and the lack of the appropriate residency permits keep divisions strong within the Iraqi communities in Jordan. Many remain isolated for their own and their family's protection; UNHCR has found that unlike other countries with refugee populations, there is a limited community network system in place in Jordan. According to the UNHCR Programme Officer interviewed, there is no good 'informal' network established for messages to be distributed. As a result the UNHCR finds it necessary to print *communiqués* and distribute them to get messages out to a broader audience. Building trust is a critical component of the UNHCR's work since the organization cannot guarantee that registration in the country will safeguard Iraqi refugees/guests from deportation.
- Iraqi learners' religious and ethnic divisions continue in Jordan. The divisions promoted in Iraq between Sunni and Shi'a and between other population groups persist in Jordan. Save the Children USA, working with children in early childhood and primary school programmes, found that Iraqi learners face various levels of discrimination in the school system based on their religious beliefs. It is not uncommon for new students to be identified as 'Sunni' or 'Shi'a' from their accents or for the Sabeen population (who may leave the classroom during Islamic education classes) to face discrimination. Save the Children works with teachers to help them learn how to deal with and defuse issues of discrimination through the use of neutral activities such as sports. Teachers group students

who demonstrate signs of discriminatory behaviour towards one another in play activities to help them learn that ‘everyone is the same’. Save the Children is also working with teachers to help them identify ways to build trust between their (the teachers’) belief systems and the learners’ belief systems. This is particularly important for the Sabean who report active discrimination because of their religious beliefs.

- Lack of community experience with community education committees: Neither Jordan nor Iraq have a tradition of community education structures (such as PTAs). Some NGO-implemented education programmes in Jordan use Iraqi (and Jordanian) facilitators to act as mediators between the Jordanian and Iraqi populations in addition to promoting a dialogue. Iraqi facilitators are paid a small stipend (180-200 Jordanian Dinars) to work as mentors or informal education facilitators to ensure their active participation in the programme. Without payment, participation would not be possible due to the economic situation and the need for Iraqis to pursue alternative means of income.
- Children with Iraqi fathers and Jordanian mothers face a potential ‘stateless’ situation. In a few years time this may have an impact on school enrolment. The Jordan Red Crescent, which works with Iraqis both in Amman and outside the capital, has found that urban communities are more fragmented than rural communities, where Iraqis and Jordanians mix more openly and freely. The Red Crescent indicated that they have been given reports of Iraqi men in rural communities marrying Jordanian women and starting families. This raises the question of the right of these children to attend public education programmes when they are of age since currently in Jordan it is the father, not the mother, who must hold citizenship in order for the child to be considered a citizen of Jordan. With fathers who are not citizens of Jordan these children face the potential risk of returning to Iraq or being considered ‘stateless’.

Box 10 Education snapshot (Iraq)

According to the Ministry of Planning and International Co-operation for the 2007-2008 academic school year, over 20,000 Iraqi students enrolled in public and private primary and secondary schools. An additional 2,250 teachers were recruited (in 2007) to handle the increase in student enrolment. For 2008-2009, school and textbook fees were waived for Iraqi refugees participating in state schools.

Sources: UNHCR, 2008a and UNOCHA-IRIN, 2008d.

Dimensions of community involvement in an external state dealing with the Iraqi emergency

The education activities in Jordan focused on strengthening ‘bridging’ social capital between Iraqi and Jordanian households and international NGOs implementing education programmes. Building on existing ‘bonding’ social capital, international NGOs partner with local welfare societies and Iraqi and Jordanian households to utilize shared experiences (the knowledge the NGO has in implementing education programmes and local organizations or individuals’ understanding of the immediate setting or cultural issues) to extend the reach of formal and non-formal education programmes to displaced populations.

Activity: Provide a ‘neutral’ space to enhance socialization and interpersonal skills development

QuestScope, an international NGO working in Jordan since 1994, focuses on implementing women-led community initiatives, restorative justice programmes and, in particular, informal and NFE programming. QuestScope’s education activities are open to all children and youth: Jordanians, Iraqis, Syrians, Egyptians, etc. From the initiation of an education activity and throughout the course of its implementation, the community is involved. QuestScope uses participatory methods to involve the community when new education programmes are started, including the assessment of needs. The next step is the development of the informal education programme, which is approximately six months in length and works in close partnership with local societies to foster socialization and inter-personal skills development. QuestScope uses the informal education programmes as a place where children and youth of all backgrounds may meet and begin a ‘dialogue’ to discuss issues.

External partners may facilitate trust among various population groups in the learning environment. This partnership principle is particularly important as it provides a starting point to build trust among the various ethnic, religious and socio-economic groups participating in the learning environment.

Activity: Using education opportunities to build informal community support networks

Save the Children USA has worked in Jordan since 1985 with a focus on providing education opportunities at a variety of levels from early childhood to youth programmes. An underlying principle of their work is to provide an opportunity for the community “to speak freely and share their ideas and opinions in the school environment” (personal communication, Save the Children USA representative, 7 April 2008). Vital to the success of their programming is the use of a structured outreach mechanism which includes both Iraqi and Jordanian facilitators. Firstly, the facilitators map the area and then, as a couple, visit the various households to discuss the early childhood programme. By using couples, the programme increases levels of trust and credibility as female facilitators are able to discuss with the women in the Iraqi household the benefits of enrolling their children in the programme, while the male facilitators relay similar information to male family members.

In addition to community focus groups, Save the Children also holds two-day psychosocial workshops for the Iraqi families, which focus on dealing with the various stresses encountered. These workshops set the stage for families to begin a dialogue with one another. It is not unusual for the outcome to be the establishment of informal community networks. The facilitators also build trust through a shared language and, in some cases, a common dialect, as well as provide a mechanism for the distribution of messages. The nurturing of partnerships by focusing on addressing the needs of household members as well as learners provides a vital catalyst in improving the effectiveness of education programming.

Summary of key findings and lessons learned about Iraqi refugees in Jordan

The lack of trust and social cohesion that existed among refugee population groups in their states of origin may be magnified in a refugee setting for numerous reasons. This includes the lack of official refugee status (the host state is not signatory to international refugee conventions

or does not officially recognize the presence of refugees) or stigmatization from local host communities, with tensions arising for ethnic or religious reasons, or perceptions that the refugees are placing an additional burden on the hoststate's resources. Initiatives such as the community education programmes of QuestScope and Save the Children, which seek to integrate refugees with host country populations through the use of local welfare societies and local volunteers, build a sense of community and provide neutral spaces, and are essential for the psychosocial adjustment of children and families.

2.5 Occupied Palestinian Territories – The West Bank: dimensions of community involvement in a state dealing with a protracted conflict

Historical and political context

Between 1920 and 1948, the West Bank territory lay under the British Mandate of Palestine. The presence of thousands of Jewish survivors of Nazi extermination camps led Britain to secretly negotiate with Zionist leaders to settle Jewish immigrants in Palestine. Shortly after the end of World War II, the UN in 1947 partitioned the West Bank and Gaza Strip into an Arab state and a Jewish state, of which 80 per cent of the latter's land was owned by Palestinians (Hagopian, 2004). In 1948, the Arab states rejected the UN proclamation with the result being the 1948 Arab-Israeli War²⁰, which led to more than 750,000 Palestinians becoming refugees and over 500 villages destroyed or depopulated. Palestinians living in Israel went under the country's rule while the West Bank was annexed by Jordan and the Gaza Strip governed by Egypt. This began the period of instability that has been in existence for the past 60 years.

Socio-cultural context

The education system in the Arab world over the past several decades has felt the conflict between 'modernization' and 'cultural preservation' as noted by Sfeir (2006) in her research of the Palestinian system of education. She describes the average Palestinian view of education as a vehicle for preserving cultural heritage and tradition, which aims "to communicate the values of the traditional society: obedience, submission to authority, and conformity" (Sfeir: 2006: 7). The Birzeit University

20. Known by Israelis as the War of Liberation and by Palestinians as al Nakba (in Arabic 'the catastrophe').

(an independent Palestinian institution of higher education located in the West Bank) found that:

Palestinian modern institutions do not share a uniform level of enthusiasm for Western-style modernization. Some strive to achieve modernization and the process of development in the context of and as a reflection of traditional social values. Others see modernization as a system in which prefabricated, foreign social systems are superimposed onto the Palestinian framework. Still others reject the concepts of modernization outright, and prefer to take Palestinian society back to the days of conventional thinking” (Birzeit University; in Sfeir, 2006: 8).

Box 11 Years of conflict and occupation (Occupied Palestinian Territories – West Bank)

- 1947:** UN partitioned the West Bank and Gaza Strip into an Arab state and a Jewish state
- 1948:** British handover of control. Rejection of UN partition and start of first Arab-Israeli War; 750,000 Palestinians forcibly evicted from their homes with Israeli control of Palestine, Egyptian control of the Gaza Strip, and Trans-Jordanian control of the West Bank.
- 1967:** Six-day war between Israel and the states of Jordan, Egypt and Syria; Israel gains control of the Golan Heights, Sinai Peninsula, West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- 1987-1993:** First intifada (Palestinian uprising against Israel) occurs.
- 1993:** Oslo Accords established a Palestinian Authority (PA) that was given limited control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- 2000-2003:** Second intifada takes place.
- 2003:** Road Map to Peace is issued by diplomatic Quartet (USA, Russia, the EU and the UN).
- 2004:** Yasser Arafat (leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation) dies; PA and Israel agree to a cease-fire.
- 2006:** Palestinian elections give Hamas Party control of PA.
- 2008:** A significant number of Palestinians are of the opinion that Hamas and Fatah should initiate negotiations and reconcile: 60 per cent believe that they should negotiate without any preconditions.*

* Surveying Palestinian opinions March 2008.

Sources: Fafo, 2008; Farsakh, 2007; and Pappé, 2006.

Educational context

For the past 40 years, the educational environment for West Bank learners has been directly influenced by the Israeli occupation. The repeated closure of educational institutions has occurred over the years. Just weeks after the first intifada started, the Israeli government issued orders to close all Palestinian universities, colleges and government training schools. A day later, all 1,194 schools in the West Bank were closed. A year later the kindergartens were shut down (UNESCO, 2006).

During the first intifada, students and education staff were imprisoned, educational institutions were closed and numerous roadblocks isolated the Palestinian students. It was during this time that the Popular Education Movement started. Homes and shops were turned into schools. Parents, university students, lawyers, doctors, business people and others from all walks of life became teachers. Community participation was at its peak. When the PA took control of the education system in 1994 it wished to maintain the momentum but due to the need to put in place structures and systems to unify the learning process, it centralized control of the education system and community participation decreased noticeably.

**Table 2.2 Detentions, deaths and injuries
(September 2000 to September 2005)**

Category	Description	Total
Killed	School teachers	32
	School students	592
	University students	200
	University employees	7
Detainees	School teachers	176
	School students	669
	University students	720
	University employees	29
Injuries	School teachers	54
	School students	3471
	University students	1245
	University employees	12

Source: PNA-MOEHE, 2005b: 63.

From 2000-2005, 1,289 schools were closed on and off due to the curfews put in place and the construction of the West Bank Wall. During this period, 269 schools were closed, 2 schools were transferred to military

centres and 38 schools were affected directly by the construction of the Wall, which took land and school buildings and displaced 11,000 students (PNA-MOEHE, 2005a). During the 2000-2001 academic year, students lost a total of 9,930 days of school in different areas. The number of days lost by students gradually declined; during the 2004-2005 academic year, 373 days were lost (PNA-MOEHE, 2005b). Despite the difficulties encountered, basic education enrolment in the West Bank and Gaza was 96 per cent and secondary enrolment in the West Bank and Gaza was 92 per cent. Currently there are several educational constraints; these include:

- **Restricted movement:** Internal travel in the West Bank is extremely difficult due to the Israeli Government's checkpoints, military movements and construction of the West Bank Wall. The 'Wall' limits access to education programmes, health care opportunities, jobs and extended family members. According to a survey on its impact, 35 per cent of those responding indicated that has led to increases in transportation costs and 19 per cent said it makes access to basic services such as schools difficult (IDMC, 2006b). Palestinians living in East Jerusalem are particularly limited in their movement as the Wall isolates communities from the schools their children attend.
- **Lack of qualified staff:** Palestinian and international academics are often denied visas or expelled from the country, and living conditions under the occupation have kept qualified staff away. For example, Al-Najah University in Nablus is currently unable to find an adequate number of native-English speaking teachers to teach foreign language classes: a French teacher was denied re-entry in 2006 and Palestinians with Israeli IDs have been barred from entering Nablus (Birzeit University, 2008).
- **Demolitions and attacks on schools and universities:** The Israeli military has frequently attacked and bombed educational facilities in Gaza and the West Bank. Educational facilities are being demolished to make way for the Wall. In the West Bank, particularly in Area C near the Wall and in the Jordan Valley, Palestinians are being forced to build educational facilities without permits; these facilities are constantly under the threat of demolition and some are inadequate, with students in the Jordan Valley attending classes in semi-permanent tents.

- Gender specific barriers: It is not uncommon for girls to face sexual harassment at checkpoints, gates and during military attacks.
- Internal displacement: Since 2002 and the start of the construction of the Wall a growing number of Palestinians are being threatened with forced displacement. Seventy eight villages and communities isolated by the Wall are threatened with displacement (Ma'an Development Center and Stop the Wall, 2007) while a larger number of people have had to leave their place of residence to be able to access educational or health facilities or jobs. Twenty per cent of Palestinians in East Jerusalem have changed their place of residence involuntarily, 54 per cent of these changes have occurred after 2002 (BRCPRR, 2006). Displacement severely affects education as adjustment to new schooling environments may not always be easy. Furthermore, significant educational disturbance may have occurred prior to displacement, making it difficult to ensure the provision of education.
- Limited partnerships: In a recent survey conducted by the Fafo Institute (2008), the majority of Palestinians polled felt that the PA is doing more harm than good; approximately two thirds (69 per cent) of those polled in February and March (2008) believed that aid to the PA contributes to widening the rift between Fatah and Hamas. A similar proportion (63 per cent) believed that aid to the PA promotes corruption, and the same proportion believed it has very little to no effect on poverty alleviation. The partnerships that have been established over the past several decades involving external agencies, the various liberation movements, civil society and the Palestinian people have followed a cyclical process with the present-day MOEHE examining ways to enhance people's confidence that the PA is able to provide quality education in an equitable manner.

Dimensions of community involvement during conflict and occupation

The activities (below) outline how partnerships involving external agencies, national organizations and the Palestinian populace are forged during protracted periods of occupation and sporadic conflict. Drawing on shared experiences (collaboration between various groups to forge an alternative education system when the official system was closed down for an extended period of time), a division of labour based on each partner's ability and capacity, and increased effectiveness through

the identification of political and economic obstacles, built a *de facto* 'Palestinian' education system during the first intifada. However, when a transfer of power from an occupying force to the occupied populace takes place with little time for the establishment of systems and policies, community participation may be undermined.

Activity: Create alternative education system to replace occupation forces system

During the first intifada (1987-1993), the Palestinians voluntarily created their own system to replace services provided by the Israeli occupation. In response to the closure of schools and universities (from several months to over four years), communities organized alternative classrooms in United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) schools, businesses, private homes and so on. Palestinian teachers, professionals, parents and other community stakeholders banded together to form a teaching cadre. While pedagogically this produced mixed results (for example, professionals, such as doctors or engineers, may have possessed the necessary technical knowledge but they did not always have knowledge regarding appropriate instructional methodologies) the community's 'personal relationship' with the education process was at its peak during this time. The community viewed education as the 'main asset' that they could control. The efforts by the community to build up an entirely alternative education system clearly corresponded to the lack of curricula that taught the national and regional cultural and historical heritage. It was further a response to the Israeli policy of shutting down education and thus depriving Palestinians of an important aspect of social and human capital.

The capacity of the community to build up an alternative education system during the first intifada was based on an active and organized Palestinian civil society that worked on the basis of popular committees and developed a network of national NGOs. The Tamer Institute (which was established in 1989 as a direct result of the first intifada) and the Welfare Associations are just two of the various national NGOs that played an important role in providing education opportunities before and during the first intifada. In addition, the Education Network was established – a coalition of education NGOs formed to “cope with the effects of the occupation on the education system, but also to go beyond that to pose alternatives to traditional education methods” (Nicolai, 2007: 38).

The key partnership principle, a long-term commitment by the Palestinian people to ensure that an alternative education structure was put in place when the official one became non-functional, saw the creation of (and what may be defined loosely as) a *de facto* MOE role during the six-year intifada (1987-1993) by civil society. The Oslo Accords signed in September 1993 paved the way for the creation of the PA's MOEHE.²¹ Education, along with culture, were the first functions to be handed over to the PA.

Activity: Balance the development of a 'national' education system vis-à-vis a robust civil society movement

The first few years (1994-1999) that the PA was responsible for the education sector were chaotic. The MOEHE faced multiple challenges including:

- the building of trust between the various groups – the Palestinian National Authority and the groups within the Occupied Palestinian Territories, which had extensively “initiated and sustained the first intifada” (MOEHE, 2000b, cited in Nicolai, 2007);
- the development of clear and mutually accepted roles and the division of responsibilities among the MOEHE, external donors/agencies, national NGOs and local schools;
- maintaining a focus on the big and small picture, and the planning of cross-cutting issues, such as how equity can be addressed;
- the nurturing of partnerships, particularly how to maintain civil society and community momentum.

Just as the MOEHE was initiating its first five-year plan, the second intifada (2001-2002) erupted and many development-oriented programmes shifted into an emergency-humanitarian response mode. Some communities, as they did during the first intifada, responded by providing teachers and using private resources where teachers were unable to reach their schools or the Ministry was not able to deploy additional teachers. At the Salem and Deir El-hatab Villages Primary and lower Secondary School (Nablus, West Bank) the village council and school team (principal and teachers) in co-operation with the District Directorate assessed the number of teachers required in the various subject areas – primarily mathematics, science and languages – in order to keep the classrooms in session. Newly graduated university students

21. In 2002, the PA's Ministries of Education and Higher Education merged to become the Ministry of Education and Higher Education.

and undergraduates, along with other community volunteers, provided the necessary assistance.

The first five-year education plan saw the inclusion of the community through the formation of Parents' Councils, which are school-driven rather than community-driven. In discussions with the Ministry of Education and Higher Education, it was noted that whether or not a Parents' Council is active depends upon the motivational drive of the school principal as she/he heads up the Council and is responsible for organizing meetings. The focus of the Council is to strengthen the ties between parents and teachers and encourage co-operation to solve problems. Although a basic structure was put in place at the PA level, policy and strategic guidelines for how the Ministry can work with communities to promote education opportunities are not yet present.

The MOEHE in its (draft) Education Sector Review (2005c) acknowledged that community participation has been inconsistent and frequently appears as part of pilot projects or as part of donor projects for a short period of time; however, there was not an overall strategy in place at the national level. The most common form of community involvement that exists appears to be in the form of direct resources, for example land for schools or donations (in-kind or financial) for the construction of additional classrooms or new schools. For example, according to the MOEHE, in Nablus District the community has provided 17 complete schools, additional classrooms for 39 schools and 21 pieces of land. The Ministry of Education and Higher Education Palestine Education Development Strategic Plan (2008-2012) (MOEHE, 2008: 23) recognizes this form of community participation and states that in addition to "moral support and co-operation, the local community and civil society (including parents, municipalities and others) provide noticeable material and financial support ..." The Strategic Plan (MOEHE, 2008: 14) embodies the principal of "enhancing partnership in planning and decision-making with national stakeholders at all levels, as well as the community at large, as well as with donors and other international development partners".

The different levels of community involvement are not a result of less interest in education in Palestinian society but of changed circumstances. There is an acute awareness that the aim of community involvement should not be to create an alternative to the established Palestinian education system but rather to ensure that the educational infrastructure is allowed to work. Importance is thus placed on ensuring

that the barriers to education built up by the Israeli authorities do not stop the system from functioning. Further community involvement is aimed at supplementary projects to the basic existing educational facilities and revalidating community ownership and effectiveness as fundamental components of the partnership rationale.

Activity: Build on local capacity to strengthen education programming

There are a few models of community-based programming that use volunteers as the backbone of their programming; the Multiple Purpose Resource Centre (MPRC) in the Old City of Nablus is one such model. The MPRC operates a remedial education programme for children with learning challenges through the use of a volunteer force (youths between the ages of 17-25). The volunteers, which currently number more than 200, are residents of the Old City and are recruited through local media (radio and television) announcements. The volunteers receive training on communication, active learning strategies and specific subjects, such as mathematics, language, art and music, in order to be effective programme facilitators. The focus of the programme is to provide youths with the opportunity to give back to their neighbourhood.

Increased sense of ownership is the primary partnership rationale between the youth volunteers and the community. Through their interaction with the younger children, the youth volunteers feel they are supporting their siblings and thus are able to gain the respect of other community members. The MPRC also provides the youth with an opportunity to gain skills for potential future careers as well as sponsors special activities for them.

*Activity: Institutionalize community participation:
learn from the past to build the future*

The MOEHE's *Education Sector Development Strategic Plan (2008-2012): Towards Quality Education for Development (2008: 8)* calls for:

improving partnerships through co-ordination and co-operation with UNRWA, NGOs, the private sector and international development partners. ... Participation of all partners in policy dialogue, planning, implementation and monitoring and periodic reviewing of progress in implementation of plans will be realized. EDSP will be the framework for this improved partnership and major investments outside this framework will be discouraged.

As part of this plan, a commitment to build on the successes of community participation to develop policies and guidelines has been expressed. During the Global Campaign of Education-Education for All (week of 16-23 April 2008) the Ministry held a national education meeting – *Towards Active National Partnership to Develop and Improve Education Process* – which was attended by approximately 30 educational organizations. The aim of the meeting was to form an active partnership between civil society and the Ministry. Main recommendations that have emerged from this meeting include:

- Clear, realistic and applicable objectives for partnerships are agreed to with all partners.
- NGOs review the draft five-year plan (2008-2012); the NGO community works with the Ministry to develop a structure for improving partnerships.
- The Ministry works with the local community as well as NGOs to develop partnerships.

*Summary of key findings and lessons learned
in the Occupied Palestinian Territories – The West Bank*

As the capacity of the PA has developed and stabilized, the nature of community and civil society involvement in education has shifted, with the MOEHE taking a leadership role and increasingly being in receipt of funding. There has been a concurrent evolution in the nature of the partnership, which is still in transition and needs to be crystallized in policy to ensure that roles are clearly defined and that the community momentum and support for education is not lost or confined to the provision of resources or school management. Alternative strategies such as using youth volunteers and focusing on transferable skills development can help to foster continued community engagement.

2.6 Conclusion

Levels of community participation are affected by both underlying social factors and political factors relating to the onset, prevalence and resolution of conflict and instability. As the desk and field reviews have shown, these factors influence the development of community structures and the relationships they form with the state and other agencies.

Conflict or conflict-affected contexts are not always conducive to inclusive or lasting participation. Needs and community structures are often transitory, making participation and community engagement

responsive and reactive to issues. This diminishes the foundation upon which partnerships can be built between communities and the state (or other external agencies). In more settled or stable environments where traditional structures exist, such a foundation may be in place to engage more active partnerships to address educational needs. The desk and field reviews have shown that education programmes may serve as a neutral space in which community members may interact and strengthen social capital mechanisms. Education, as a commonly desired good, can provide a fulcrum around which such interaction can take place. External agencies are often key here, in mediating processes and facilitating the scaling up of initiatives. This has been seen particularly in the West Bank with the emergence of local NGOs.

The lessons learned surrounding the different dimensions of community involvement and the factors that promote positive participation in emergency contexts are summarized in *Table 2.3* for the three reviews discussed in this chapter.

Table 2.3 Summary of the dimensions of community involvement in conflict and conflict-affected settings

Dimension of community involvement	Lessons learned and factors that promote positive participation
Prolonged conflict in a formerly occupied state: Use traditional systems and leaders to re-open schools in existing school communities	Building upon shared experiences, existing social capital and familiar community structures increases ownership of educational initiatives. External actors should prioritize ways in which they can work with traditional community systems to ensure mutual support and to increase effectiveness.
Prolonged conflict in a formerly occupied state: Build upon community initiatives during conflict and integrate these within national strategies in a locally realistic manner through local authorities and consultation	Partnerships between communities and with the local government or external agencies should be utilized to advocate for education and integrate community-based approaches into national policy or strategy. This needs to be done with careful consultation to ensure that communities maintain ownership at the local community level whilst also enabling initiatives to be scaled up. In these instances external actors such as UN agencies and NGOs can play an important mediation role, liaising with the state on communities' behalf.

Dimension of community involvement	Lessons learned and factors that promote positive participation
External state hosting refugee community: Provide a 'neutral' space to enhance socialization and interpersonal skills development	A holistic approach needs to be taken in conflict and conflict-affected situations to engage communities and increase the effectiveness of education programmes. This involves partnering with local social welfare organizations as well as international NGOs, and integrating education with broader child welfare issues, to help develop a sense of community beyond cultural, national or religious identity and instead focusing on the needs of the learners in the community.
External state hosting refugee community: Use education opportunities to build informal community support networks	The indirect benefits of community participation in education programmes can be great, particularly when working with displaced communities that need to restore relationships or build 'bonding' capital. Time for the development of community networks should be integrated within NGO-initiated community education programmes, working at the level of households where necessary. This in turn is likely to increase levels of ownership and to extend the reach of the education programme.
Prolonged conflict in disputed territory: Create alternative education system to replace that of the occupation forces	The nature of education and what is taught is a political issue. Communities need to be comfortable with cultural aspects of the curriculum such as history, music, religion and civics. In situations of prolonged conflict and/or in disputed territories this can be divisive and also a barrier to education if parents are unhappy with what their children are being taught. In the West Bank, establishing a Palestinian education system was a key step in strengthening cultural, social and political identity, and a community priority when the Israeli government closed the schools.
Prolonged conflict in disputed territory: Build on local capacity to strengthen education programming	Utilizing communities allows states in conflict to increase access. Care should be taken to ensure that community participation is not exploitative and that participation remains active rather than focusing on more passive forms of consultation. Non-formal education opportunities, particularly for the youth, enable them to contribute back to the community, whilst also developing skills for employment.

Dimension of community involvement	Lessons learned and factors that promote positive participation
Prolonged conflict in disputed territory: Balance the development of a 'national' education system <i>vis-à-vis</i> a robust civil society movement	In order to develop a coherent and inclusive education system, partnership between the PA's MOEHE and civil society was essential. This has required clearly defined roles that are mutually supportive and flexible, so that they can develop in line with the partnership. Community input and contribution needs to be encouraged and fostered as the capacity of fledgling or recovery institutions develops to maintain focus and community engagement. This is particularly important in situations of prolonged conflict or instability where external support to community initiatives may be inconsistent or fluctuate with political conditions. Systems and frameworks for community involvement need to be flexible enough to cope with changing circumstances.
Prolonged conflict in disputed territory: Institutionalize community participation: learn from the past to build the future	Foundations of positive community participation need to be protected in the long term and embedded within practice as a country stabilizes and moves towards reconstruction. This can be achieved through the development of national policy or guidelines on community involvement or legislation to protect community rights, and provide a framework for partnerships with the state.

Chapter 3

How do the dynamics of the post-conflict state affect community participation in education in reconstruction settings?

Societies emerging from war face a range of problems on all fronts, all connected and all urgent. But one overshadows and affects all the others: the destruction of relationships and the loss of trust, confidence, dignity and faith. More than the physical, institutional or systemic destruction that war brings, it is this invisible legacy, grounded in individual and collective trauma, that is most potent and destructive. It has the potential to undermine the solutions to all the other problems, be they economic, technical, institutional, political, humanitarian or security-related (WSP, 1999: 8).

3.1 Introduction

Since the 1990s a significant number of countries (“almost a third of all countries in the world”) have experienced some form of violent conflict (WSP, 1999: 1). The rebuilding of war-torn societies is by far more challenging than ‘normal’ development processes because of the complexity of the issues – the destruction of infrastructure; the lack of financial, material and physical resources; limited institutional presence; social trauma and political volatility, among others – which must be addressed simultaneously. While reconstruction settings vary – for example, in some there are signed peace agreements with the various fractions involved, while in others there may be a ceasefire without resolution to the causes of the internal strife – the elements of a post-conflict reconstruction paradigm are generally the same (Guttal, 2005). As Guttal states, these elements typically include some or all of the following: (i) a UN-led mission for administration, peace-keeping and donor co-ordination, (ii) support for constitutional reform, good governance activities and elections, (iii) the development of national sector plans, (iv) the development of economic policies, including a focus on decentralization, and (v) a range of external and internal actors engaged in reforming the social sectors (for example education, health, water and sanitation.).

Communities in post-conflict and reconstruction settings face a significant number of challenges in rebuilding and developing their physical and social infrastructure. Some of the challenges identified by IRC (2007b) in a review of community-driven reconstruction projects in post-conflict settings include the following:

- The reintegration of returnee populations can be both numerous in size, placing a strain on social services, and also require special attention if returnees include ex-combatants and abductees. Other vulnerable populations including women and youth may also feel disenfranchised and need tailored support.
- Communities often have negative experiences of oppressive governance models and may be unfamiliar with more egalitarian systems based upon transparency, accountability and responsibility.
- Traditional community structures may have broken down during the conflict or displacement, and there may be high levels of distrust between individuals and community institutions.
- The physical infrastructure of the community may have been destroyed and/or in need of reconstruction.

Nature of transition between conflict and reconstruction

Education in reconstruction settings and in particular community involvement in the provision of education is affected by multiple factors. These include, among others:

- The community's involvement in the provision of education during the reconstruction period may be seen by the state, community and other education actors as a temporary response to gaps in the management and provision of education services whilst infrastructure is restored and the state rebuilds its capacity to resume its role as the default provider of education. Alternatively, it may be viewed as an opportunity for change and for communities to engage more in education provision, as seen in Liberia with the development of PTAs. In practice, communities are likely to respond in both ways, supporting the transitional needs during immediate reconstruction phases, but remaining engaged. As communities gain a more established role they may be expected to take on different roles in the longer term, for example the emphasis may shift beyond the provision of physical resources and require a more technical

engagement. This transformation needs to be correctly supported and expectations should be managed.

- Communities may see the outcome of the conflict as either liberation or defeat, as a result of which they may either feel empowered or marginalized in the aftermath of a peace agreement, affecting the level at which they wish to engage with the state.
- Governments may wish to prioritize national standardization in order to rebuild a sense of ‘normalcy’, to guard against disunity or, as a response to limited resources, capacity and time, wish to roll back education norms to known models from the past that are closer to comfort levels. Alternatively, they may wish to take the opportunity to enact reforms and make changes to curricula, textbooks or teaching models. Each option may either build upon or disregard community initiatives, affecting the extent to which communities wish to work in partnership with the state or themselves revert to familiar models.
- Policies and practices (including funding and accountability) on the decentralization of government services, including in the education sector, will influence the ways in which the state interacts with local communities. Effective decentralization in post-conflict settings frequently requires a measure of prior re-centralization of state functions (World Bank, 2005*a*). In Cambodia, decentralization involved the creation of school committees and councils, but these have failed to enjoy the same legitimacy as stronger traditional community structures and associations (Pellini, 2007).
- Non-state provision of education can be seen as being potentially socially divisive, or enabling the extended reach of services and educational access to learners. During the conflict and initial reconstruction period communities, NGOs and UN agencies have often been instrumental in providing education access. The state may wish to utilize these actors in order to support education delivery whilst its capacity is still low and choose to engage with them by providing a policy and regulatory framework in which they can operate. In Somaliland, the government is currently seeking to enforce a regulatory framework for non-state schools supported by the private sector and local communities, often with funding from the diaspora. Such moves, however, may be politically sensitive, particularly if access is seen to be exclusive or multiple curricula are taught. Consequently, they require strong state-level leadership to co-ordinate activities, which may be challenging for

the recovering MOE, especially as there are likely to be imbalances in negotiating power between themselves and international NGOs and UN agencies.

In addition to the above, community participation in education may be restricted by the following barriers (Sommers, 2005):

- Calls for communities to contribute scarce resources and labour may well be too demanding for conflict-affected communities that are often struggling to rebuild livelihoods. As expressed in the IIEP-UNESCO book *Rapid Response: programming for education needs in emergencies* (Penson and Tomlinson, 2009: 56) “Communities want some of the burden taken off them and they look to you for support ... communities are so stretched, to be asked yet another question about what are their needs ...! Then as [their] life gets more stable they want it to be the best for their kids, they get more involved.”
- Community development concepts presume that communities are functional, yet both during and after conflict this may well not be true, and thus they struggle to form themselves coherently or effectively to be positive actors for change. Consequently, in order to foster positive participation, time is needed to restore trust and community relationships. As seen in the field reviews in this chapter, education and child protection may often be used as a vehicle to facilitate this and to create neutral spaces in which relationships can be restored.
- Efforts to mobilize communities often take place where the majority of the populace has low educational levels. Being unfamiliar with educational structures, communities may be tentative to invest their time and resources in education. In Liberia, the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) invested time in engaging in dialogue with communities to discuss and identify educational needs, encouraging ownership of plans before commencing any activities, and often worked to increase adult literacy and numeracy as well as tackling children’s education.
- Power relationships between international agencies (for example NGOs and the UN) and communities are often vertical rather than collegial, with dialogue taking place at a high level with local officials and community leaders, followed by the expectation that the broader populace will act upon it.

- The results of participation in education are often slow to emerge, so communities do not see the immediate value of their investment, particularly when other reconstruction needs may seem to be more pressing.

Post-conflict reconstruction may take place in countries emerging from an extended period of intense internal conflict, for example, civil wars or insurgencies. The field and desk reviews in this chapter – Liberia, (Southern) Sudan, and (northern) Uganda – all have experienced violent internal conflict for an extended period of time. Both Liberia and Southern Sudan have brokered peace agreements and have gone through a period of demobilization and disarmament. Liberia is relatively stable while Southern Sudan remains fluid with periodic flare-ups, in particular in the Three Border Areas.²² Uganda does not (at the time of writing of this study) have a signed peace agreement between the Government of Uganda (GOU) and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), but a Cessation of Hostilities agreement was signed in 2006.

The British colonized both Sudan and Uganda in the 19th century, with independence granted in the mid-20th century. Liberia is unique, as it was not colonized by a European power although European explorers and merchants established settlements in the area in the late 14th and early 15th centuries and also had a presence during the 19th century. However, the country has historical ties to the US because of the various American colonization societies which resettled freed African slaves in the territory in the 19th century. These settlements were eventually incorporated into the Commonwealth of Liberia. Thomas Buchanan, a relation to US President James Buchanan, acted as the first governor of the Commonwealth. In the mid 19th century, Liberia became an independent state.

The historical and political forces of colonial and post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa are influential forces that have shaped community participation, as evidenced in these field reviews of post-conflict reconstruction settings. As with the issue of occupation and mobility, it is not possible to cover the issue of colonialism and post-colonialism in sub-Saharan Africa in an exhaustive manner. Instead, the study attempts to highlight some important issues that may assist in providing insight

22. The Border Areas consist of Abeyi, South Kordofan and Blue Nile states. They are resource rich and in the peace accords have been granted special status, i.e. the North and South share power in the Areas.

into the emerging paradigm of community participation in education during periods of reconstruction.

3.2 Effects of colonialism on countries emerging from conflict

Every culture features a set of roles that must be filled by individuals in each generation and then passed from one generation to the next. ... In addition to individually prescribed roles, each culture values certain competencies that must be mastered by at least some members of each generation. ... Failure to acquire the relevant roles or skills severely limits the realization of the potential of an individual, a group or the overall culture (Garner, 1984: 257).

Education is often viewed as the basis for the preservation of the culture and the maintenance of the culture's social structure. In this view, traditional indigenous forms of education are typically embedded within community life. Traditional education is often experiential in its approach, with the young learning from the older by observing, imitating and experimenting. The education process is based on experience with theory and praxis intertwined. For example, the Mende and Mel groups in Liberia practised (and continue to practise) a traditional oral system of education which is managed by the indigenous *poro* (for men) and *sanda* (for women) secret societies. The learning environment, known as 'bush' schools because of their location in the forests of Liberia, focuses on teaching cultural fundamentals in the areas of agriculture, religion, politics and the art of warfare (Dunn-Marcos, Kooehlon, Ngovo and Russ, 2005).

Unlike the French colonizers, who practiced a policy of assimilation in an attempt to absorb the colonized peoples as effectively as possible, the British colonial policy of rule focused on maintaining traditional institutions but restructured them to serve the colonial power's interests (Owomoyela, 2008). The goal of the formal education system, introduced by the British, was to provide the colonial power with low-level bureaucrats to run the colony. This type of formal education effectively distanced African societies from their cultural base, by a large measure, not imparting the knowledge of cultural practices and traditions.

Formal, or modern education as it is sometimes referred to, was introduced in Sudan, Uganda and Liberia primarily through missionary schools. The missionary schools moved the learning process and the

management of the education environment out of the hands of the community and into the hands of the various religious organizations that served as school administrators. This can be seen readily in Uganda, where formal schooling was introduced by the Anglican and Catholic missionaries with English as the main language of instruction. The “missionary tradition emphasized religion-based general education (religious conversion and instruction formed the core of the curriculum followed by secondary board schools) geared towards employment in the lowest ranks of the colonial administration” (Tomaševski, 1999: paragraph 17).

After independence, the education systems in post-colonial African states retained strong ideological and epistemological traces of the colonial education from which they derived. Many of the new governments focused on asserting extensive control over the citizenry and dismantled traditional participatory institutions in a bid to strengthen the authority of the national government and promote a singular national identity (Ayee, 2000). In Liberia, Sudan and Uganda the focus was on developing a strong centralized system of education to exert control over the state. The Liberian school curricula resembled the curricula followed in US schools and a centralized approach to education was put in place to oversee its administration (Dunn-Marcos *et al.*, 2005). In Southern Sudan, the post-independence Khartoum-based government focused on constructing a “united Sudan with Arabo-Islamism as the sole determinant for national unity” (Deng, 2003: 4). Arabic replaced English as the primary language of instruction. In Uganda, the newly independent government attempted to secularize the education system and laid down principles of non-denominational schools but the government was not effective in its implementation and the trend towards a centralized system began (Tomaševski, 1999).

During the era immediately following independence (1960s-1990s), community participation was limited to non-existent. Many African leaders argued that long-term sustainable development of the newly independent state could be possible only if the state was strictly controlled. In an attempt to ensure this some enforced a military rule while others governed through single-party mechanisms. Thus, it was not unusual that new African governments were more concerned about asserting their authority over the citizenry than with promoting a participatory governance system (Chazan, Mortimer and Rothchild, 1992; and Keller, 1995; in Ayee, 2000). This was enabled by access to new political and economic resources that allowed leaders to “purchase this legitimacy”

(Aye, 2000: 5). In the interest of unifying a new country, during its fledgling years of statehood, grassroots participatory institutions were frequently suppressed or deconstructed. This was done through the dismantling of constitutional provisions that had been written at the time of independence and the criticism of regional structures as a hindrance to national unity (Chazan, Mortimer and Rothchild, 1992; in Aye, 2000).

During the 1990s, community participation began a period of revitalization. This was in part due to the *Declaration on Popular Participation* (UN, 1990: para 13) which highlighted the importance of grassroots participation and declared the need to “establish independent people’s organizations at various levels that are genuinely grassroots, voluntary, democratically administered and self-reliant and that are rooted in the tradition and culture of the society so as to ensure community empowerment and self-development”. This was accompanied by a greater emphasis being placed generally within international community ideology on decentralization and greater involvement of civil society in order to address concerns around equity, accountability and good governance models.

The following section discusses in more detail the field review of Liberia and desk reviews of Southern Sudan and northern Uganda, examining the nature of community participation in education in relation to historical, political and socio-economic contexts. The reviews use examples of community participation to assess the different rationales for community engagement and partnership with the state, and identify factors affecting the roles communities play in education in post-conflict settings.

3.3 Liberia: dimensions of community involvement in a country with a signed peace treaty

Historical and political context

Liberia became Africa’s first republic in 1847, having been settled by freed slaves from the USA since the 1820s. For over 130 years, Liberia remained a hegemonic state dominated by the True Whig Party. Little thought was given to settler integration; what arose during that time was a dualistic society with indigenous Liberians (‘aborigines’) mostly based within the interior of the country and ruled by local custom, and the kwii (‘civilized’) comprised the minority settler population and others who agreed to recognize the settlers’ Liberian law. This legacy

of marginalization of those deemed ‘uncivilized’ has been identified as a contributing factor for the conflict and unrest that emerged during the 1980s (World Bank, 2005c). It has also affected the broader social contract, leading to multiple perceptions of the citizen-state relationship, and resulted in an absence of a shared vision, identity and sense of citizenship (UNDP, 2006).

The Doe military coup in 1980 saw a different ethnic group step forward to exert control and led to further instability as this political power was contested. Then in December 1989, Charles Taylor and his National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) invaded Liberia from Côte d’Ivoire and overthrew the Doe government, prompting widespread violence and displacement.

Following the official election of Charles Taylor, there was a period of relative peace between 1997 and 2001. During this time refugees and IDPs began to return home and rehabilitation processes started, supported by UN agencies and international NGOs. The return of displaced populations coupled with some school reconstruction led to a near doubling of school enrolment during this period. Then in 2001 fighting broke out again as militia groups (predominantly the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia) rebelled against the Taylor regime and gained ground in the north-west and south-east of the country, respectively.

Peace was finally secured in August 2003, after international pressure and the spread of fighting into Monrovia forced Taylor to resign as president. Talks in Accra led to a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), signed by the government, rebels and political parties on 18 August. A transitional government was quickly established and supported by the UN Mission in Liberia with a 15,000-strong peacekeeping force. Elections held in October/November 2005 led to the election of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf as president, who became Africa’s first democratically elected female leader.

During the fourteen years of intermittent conflict, between 5 and 10 per cent of the population was killed and over a million people (approximately one third of the population) were displaced, some forced to flee as many as five times (World Bank, 2005c: 2). Poverty levels soared with over three quarters of the population living below the poverty line (US\$1 per day) and over half living in severe poverty (less than US\$0.5 per day) (Government of Liberia, 2006). Formal unemployment

is estimated to be as high as 85 per cent, and up to two thirds of the population is believed to be illiterate (Liberian MOE, 2007).

Socio-cultural context

Liberia is divided into 15 counties, each of which is composed of several districts. Within each district there is an underlying clan structure; these are territorial units containing more than one town. Under the clan chief are town chiefs and quarter elders (the latter often act as justices of the peace). In addition to this geographical administrative structure, communities are structured according to ethnicity and gender (sodalities²³). Interest-based communities are also common, for example reciprocal labour co-operatives (Kuu) and savings clubs. Educationally, school management committees (SMCs) have dated back to the 1960s or 1970s in some areas, although these were school- rather than whole-community driven.

Whilst the predominant organizational culture and interests of each community varies, generally within the north of the country there is a more hierarchical culture based on dependency (for land and resources) and subordination, particularly of younger generations, is prevalent. In comparison, the south-east is characterized by a more egalitarian approach and competition between rival community leaders (World Bank, 2005c).

The prolonged conflict resulted in a number of immediate changes and challenges to community composition. During the war, community structures faced considerable fluidity and change as populations were displaced; this included the breakdown of some traditional leadership structures as elders fled (World Bank, 2005c). But during the conflict there were also instances of increased co-operation, particularly amongst individuals who stayed: “we survived because we all pulled together” (Atkinson, 2000: 28; cited in World Bank, 2005c: 63).

With the re-emergence of peace, community co-operation was quick to arise. A report on community recovery processes during the period of stability in the late 1990s noted the strength of local social capital and latent potential for community mobilization and partnership

23. These gender-based institutions (*poro* for men, *sande* for women) alternate in dominating community governance. Community members are initiated when they ‘come of age’, and are inducted by elder members including educating young people in traditional roles. They have been more prevalent in the northern regions of the country.

working, particularly to address issues of social regeneration and healing (Atkinson, 2000; cited in World Bank, 2005c). The report, however, also warns of the possibility of tense relationships between communities and NGOs, where NGO involvement in some instances has fed local inequalities (due to incomplete consultation and uneven support to communities) rather than addressed them.

In the immediate post-conflict period, the locally-displaced persons within territorial communities often faced isolation from village activities. The World Bank's rapid social assessment carried out in 2004 noted that IDPs remained silent during community consultation. When researchers enquired as to why, they were told that the "strangers" were seen as temporary residents who had "no right to speak" as they would soon be moving on. Even those people who had been settled for longer periods and were generally accepted in the community remained silent in discussions, as it was expressed that they should not have opinions different from those of their patron or landlord (World Bank, 2005c: 13). In both instances, whilst it was recognized that these groups might be able to make a positive contribution towards the implementation of community initiatives, their right to also contribute towards the decision-making process was not recognized, as they were not perceived to be the long-term beneficiaries of the work.

In comparison, other sections of the community felt more able to step forward in community consultations and initiatives, particularly women and youth. The traditional authority of clan and town chiefs had been undermined if they had fled during the conflict, and people felt more confident of their ability to survive on their own. Individualism has become more widespread and the authority of sodalities has also reduced. The latter was largely due to people's lack of resources to fund initiation ceremonies, but also due to perceptions by young people that such institutions sustained the power of elders. Where traditional structures have remained strong, they have also been influential in re-integration processes, particularly the acceptance of ex-combatants into the community (World Bank, 2005c: 65).

Communities' engagement with broader state structures has also been essential. Social assessments undertaken in the initial post-war period identified suspicion and distrust between communities and the government. The latter was perceived to be too centralized and overly powerful (UNDP, 2006; World Bank, 2005c). A common plea among

community groups was for empowerment and recognition of their willingness to be involved in the provision of education and health services, via the management of their own resources, and involvement in identifying needs and solutions (UNDP, 2006: 43). This sentiment was echoed by NGO representatives, who felt that to improve community empowerment in PTA structures, funds needed to be channelled via the PTAs and not schools.

What emerges is a complex picture of community engagement. Where participation has remained positive, it has been inclusive and addressed the immediate concerns and needs of communities, for example it has enabled reintegration, or helped provide labour for farming and reconstruction work. Tensions have arisen where community structures (traditional or otherwise) have favoured particular interest groups and excluded less powerful community members.

Educational context

Since the mid-19th century, Liberia has promoted the idea of universal education. However, it was not until after World War II that education was spread throughout the state. The freed slaves who emigrated to Liberia had few opportunities for education, either prior to the settlement or after their arrival on the continent. Missionary schools were among the first to espouse modern Western education, with the focus of these schools being on “civilizing and Christianizing” the Liberians, with an emphasis on training teachers, preachers and church leaders (Dunn-Marcos *et al.*, 2005: 36). Present-day Liberia is a mixture of a Western education system, which is modelled after the US education structure and a traditional education system. Presently, there are several educational issues which need to be addressed; these include, among others:

- The quality of teaching and learning: The demand for education is currently high. People value the opportunities that education brings; enrolment has soared as conditions have stabilized and schools have reopened. The current teaching force, however, is under-qualified, poorly paid and often ill-equipped to teach large classes, including a large proportion of over-aged pupils.²⁴ Few instructional materials are available. There has been a proliferation of private and

24. The 2006 school census found that 85 per cent of the students in Grade 1 were 8 to 20 years old, in contrast to the normal age of 6 to 7 years. Furthermore, 50 per cent of these children were aged between 11 and 20 years old (Liberian MOE, 2007).

Box 12 Chronology of conflict and peace efforts (Liberia)

- 1847:** Liberia established as Africa's first republic. Operates as a one-party state for the next 130 years, dominated by Americo-Liberians.
- 1980:** Samuel K. Doe seizes power via a military coup. President William Tolbert is killed.
- 1985:** Doe's National Democratic Party of Liberia wins public elections, although the results are contested.
- 1989:** Rebels led by Charles Taylor invade Liberia from the Côte d'Ivoire and seize control in late December. Armed conflict ensues.
- 1990:** Doe is killed by a break-away force from Taylor's NPFL led by Prince Johnson.
- 1997:** Charles Taylor and the NPFL win the elections by a large majority. A temporary period of relative stability follows.
- 1999:** Rebels begin to revolt against the Taylor regime.
- 2001:** Increase in conflict as militia groups gain ground in the north-west and south-east of the country.
- 2003:** Peace talks are held in Accra, hosted by the Economic Community of West African States. Charles Taylor is forced to resign as president on 11 August and flees into Nigeria. The government, rebels and political parties sign the Comprehensive Peace Agreement on 18 August. A transitional government is formed and the UN Mission in Liberia is established.
- 2004:** A disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration (DDRR) process begins.
- 2005:** Presidential and congressional elections are held in October-November. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is elected president.
- 2006:** A Truth and Reconciliation Commission is set up to investigate human rights abuses between 1979 and 2003.

Sources: AlertNet, 2008b; UNDP, 2006.

community schools as parents seek higher quality or geographically closer alternatives and teachers seek higher wages. These in turn will need to be monitored for educational quality.

- Gender disparities in the education environment: According to the IRC, during the war, women were the backbone of the education programmes and opportunities which existed (IRC, personal communication, 4 April 2008). During the reconstruction period, the role of women in PTAs increased; however, further attention and development is needed in this area to ensure women have equal opportunities for representation. The gender ratio at the primary

level has been improving, with the national level close to 1:0.96²⁵ (UN, 2007). But drop-out rates are far more prevalent among girls and as students move through the system gender disparity increases significantly. At secondary level, the gender ratio is under 1:0.30 in the more rural counties (Liberian MOE, 2007: 14). There remain significant gender barriers to education opportunities, including: (1) the need for female labour in subsistence agriculture and (2) the belief among many rural parents that modern Western education will alienate their children, especially their female children, from traditional values and practices (Dunn-Marcos *et al.*, 2005).

- Aid dependency and limited community involvement: During the conflict, communities became increasingly dependent on external aid agencies to provide food and other basic necessities. Community participation in the learning environment was, overall, very limited due to high levels of displacement and the lack of stability in community structures. Some PTAs did, however, remain in operation throughout this period, whilst others became dormant and were revived either in the ebb of the conflict between 1997 and 2001, or in 2003 after the signing of the peace agreement.

Box 13 Education snapshot (Liberia)

- In 2004 the primary school net enrolment rate was 46 per cent, meaning that more than half of Liberian children of school age were out of school (NTGL, 2004a; Liberian MOE, 2004).
- Only 35 per cent of youths (15 to 24-year-olds) were literate in 2000/2001 (NTGL, 2004b).
- An estimated 75-80 per cent of schools were destroyed or damaged during the conflict (NTGL, 2004b; UNDP, 2006: 45).
- Less than a quarter of children enrolled in public primary schools have access to desks, chairs and classrooms with chalkboards. The pupil-to-textbook ratio in 2007 was 27:1 in public primary schools and 9:1 in secondary schools (Liberian MOE, 2007).
- Nearly two thirds (62 per cent) of the teaching population was unqualified in 2004 (Liberian MOE, 2007).

25. A national average of 96 girls to every 100 boys enrolled in primary school.

Dimensions of community involvement in a post-conflict setting with a signed peace agreement

The activities below describe how community structures have been rebuilt during post-conflict reconstruction, in particular the forging of partnerships between communities and the government to develop a mutual sense of ownership and responsibility for education and child welfare.

Activity: Develop community structures to address the issues of child welfare and rights

Most communities in Liberia have some form of youth group or children's club. Many of these are 'spontaneous' and have no formal structure, but have formed out of common interests such as soccer. Other groups have more structure and/or have been formed by local and international NGOs. The latter are often motivated by concerns to provide safe spaces for children, and opportunities to provide psychosocial support and help reintegrate former child soldiers.

Community Welfare Committees (CWCs) were born out of the informal youth groups and the DDRR process with the mutual aims of reintegrating child soldiers and addressing the issues of child protection and rights. The CWC membership is composed of 'opinion leaders' (both male and female) – specifically, traditional leaders or elders, religious leaders, youth and school representatives. There is often a crossover membership with PTAs operating in the area. The exact structure and functions of CWCs vary according to what local structures are already in place and to some degree the external NGO working with communities during the foundational stages.

The CWCs have a mediation, monitoring and awareness-raising function within communities. Firstly, the CWCs provide a neutral space for children (both former soldiers and non-soldiers) to interact and learn to trust one another. They also provide a forum for child protection organizations to raise awareness and understanding of children's rights with children and communities. This was particularly important for adult community members who expressed that they felt more confident discussing the difference between rights and responsibilities with children after receiving training through the CWC. They also felt reassured knowing that a coherent message was being relayed to the whole community, and that they would be supported by the CWC on children's rights, with an open forum for discussion.

The CWCs also provide a mechanism to report and/or monitor particular protection issues, liaising with schools where necessary on issues related to mid-year school dropout or poor attendance. A representative from the Ministry of Gender's Child Protection team referred to the CWCs as "the first place to go", stating that they have created openness around children's rights issues and also with communities using traditional restorative justice processes to address issues within the community. This role in providing local policing and justice was felt to be important in community empowerment and restoration, especially in a context where police forces are distant and can be untrustworthy.

In addition to being supported by NGOs, the Ministry of Gender's Child Protection and Welfare department is now engaging with communities to support and co-ordinate activities. Since 2007, Child Welfare Officers have been appointed at the district level to work with CWCs advising them on child rights issues, to ensure Ministry policies are carried out and to provide a mechanism for communication and consultation with the Ministry. They also work with NGOs operating within their district to try and co-ordinate activities. Despite this recognition of the importance of consistent and correct messages regarding child protection being disseminated to communities, there are no standard guidelines or operating procedures for the CWCs. The Ministry has placed the emphasis on CWCs remaining 'community owned' and wants them to remain flexible to respond to their own needs, but supported and monitored by the Child Welfare Officers. There are concerns, however, of the officers' capacity to provide sufficient support to the CWCs (personal communication with Ministry officials in Ministry of Gender, 3 April 2008).

Stakeholders interviewed recognized the positive impact of CWCs within their community. One interviewee stated that it was good to have a place to discuss issues, as people want to and need to move on. He said that there is an acceptance that people have to live side by side regardless of their actions during the war, and CWCs provide a way to build something together. Several people interviewed from organizations and communities also said that they have provided an opportunity for cultural change within communities, and a forum to share different perspectives on issues, such as teenage mothers.

Activity: Increasing children's participation and voice in education reform and governance processes

Recognizing the role of children's clubs and youth groups in addressing child protection and child rights issues, the Ministry of Gender started an initiative in 2008 to develop Children's Assemblies and Parliament to give children a voice on issues affecting them and to provide a mechanism for consultation. The Children's Assemblies are based at county level. Their membership comprises boys and girls from across the county, who are elected into position by their children's club. Each county assembly has an average of 75 representatives. The function of the assemblies is to discuss issues raised by children at county level. These can then be brought forward for discussion at the Children's Parliament. The Parliament includes two representatives from each Children's Assembly. The Parliament met for the first time in February 2008 and will continue to meet quarterly. Issues discussed at their first meeting included trafficking (both internally and overseas), rape and abuse. Whilst the impact is yet to be seen, the hope is that issues raised by the Parliament can be fed into policy, with the Parliament and Assemblies also providing a vehicle for consultation.

Activity: Use of the classroom as a neutral space

The teachers at the Cecilia D. Dunbar (public) Primary School in Freeman Reserve stated that during the demobilization and disarmament phase (2002-2004) there were significant challenges that needed to be addressed regarding the inclusion of former child soldiers (approximately 20 per cent of the student body) in the learning environment. The children who had been associated with fighting forces – 70 boys and 40 girls – were more 'aggressive' than their counterparts and frequently challenged the teacher's authority in the classroom and disrupted the learning process of their fellow classmates. Teachers made a significant effort to emphasize that the classroom was a 'neutral' place and that everyone 'is the same now that there is peace'. Using extra-curricular sporting activities, school staff brought students together in games of soccer to demonstrate that 'all Liberians are equal'.

More broadly, within the community teachers, PTA and CWC members and supporting NGOs recognized that the focus on education and children, and the neutral location of meetings within schools, helped bring diverse groups together and provided a balanced space for community participation, which is essential for the rebuilding

of trust. They provide a platform for relationships to be built beyond immediate education concerns. One PTA member remarked how trust needs to develop both individually between members (based on ongoing interactions and a willingness to communicate) as well as within the group as a whole. In this particular example the PTA members were geographically quite disparate, but the PTA had provided a way to open lines of communication, and the impact was being felt in the wider community. The PTA was seen as a place of fellowship: ‘a place to come and laugh with friends’, somewhere to share ideas and come together.

Activity: Development of Parent Teacher Associations

The predominant form of community involvement in education in Liberia takes place via PTAs,²⁶ which have been operational in Liberia since the 1960s. Most of their activities have a school management focus and they are perceived to be school owned, rather than community owned. Using the *Ministry of Education-Malawi Ladder of Community Participation* (adapted from Pretty, 1994), *Table 3.1* outlines the range of activities in which PTAs interviewed as part of this research have been engaged.

Whilst a range of participation levels was identified through interviews, by far the most predominant form of participation revolved around addressing schools’ resource needs (via fundraising, fee collection and provision of materials), particularly for school reconstruction, refurbishment and in some instances for extension. PTA members and Ministry representatives saw this focus on resources and physical contributions from members as a barrier to levels of engagement. This was because poorer members of the community were less able to contribute additional funds so they felt limited by the extent to which they engaged with the PTAs. In contrast, for PTAs that were actively involved in fundraising for the school, this had become the central focus of their role and the role accepted by the school; moving beyond this to higher levels of engagement was either not considered by PTA members or was a difficult transition for the PTA to initiate.

26. PTA was the most commonly referred to parent and/or community group associated with schools in Liberia. In a few instances they were referred to as School Management Committees. The distinction was largely dependent on the region and if they had been formed with support from any NGOs. For consistency, and in line with MOE preferences, the term PTA is used throughout this case study to represent all such groups.

Table 3.1 Levels of PTA participation

Level of participation	Type of participation	Description	Examples of PTA activities
Level 6	Self-mobilization	People participate by taking initiative independent of external institutions. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice, but retain control over how resources are used.	- None mentioned.
Level 5	Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.	- PTA in discussion with school administration to expand primary school to a secondary school. - PTA had created a health sub-committee to help support teachers and students when they are ill, identifying what help is needed and acting collectively if/when appropriate.
Level 4	Functional participation	People participate by forming committees around specific predetermined objectives of the project. Such participation does not tend to be in the early stages of project cycles, but is instead after the major decisions have been made. These committees tend to be dependent on external facilitators, but may become independent over time.	- Monitoring pupil and teacher attendance. - Teacher selection. - Financial monitoring. - Assistance with extra-curricular activities (sports, school gala).
Level 3	Participation for material incentives	People participate by providing resources such as labour or materials (for example Food for Work programmes, which provide food in exchange for school construction).	- School construction, renovation and maintenance. - Collection of financial contributions for teacher remuneration and/or school materials.

Table 3.1 continued

Level of participation	Type of participation	Description	Examples of PTA activities
Level 2	Participation in information giving/consultation	People participate by answering questions and expressing their views. The results are not shared with communities and questioners have no obligation to take on board people's views.	- Consulted on school decisions/planning.
Level 1	Passive participation	People are just told what is going to happen, as an announcement by those administering the project or activity.	- Parents attending meetings to collect their child's school report.

From across the different consultations the sentiment was that PTAs are becoming more community- and child-centred rather than school-driven. Increasingly, social aspects of child development are being discussed, partially prompted by the re-integration and post-war recovery issues to which communities have had to respond. This is also in response to the influence of NGOs and other agencies' work with communities on child rights issues and more holistic community development programmes both during and after the war, including the creation of community-based development committees. One PTA member described his PTA as the 'driving force' within his local community, and explained that their agenda had developed to discuss health and other issues affecting the community.

Organizations also recognized that further work has to be done with PTAs to clarify roles and responsibilities and decrease external dependency. Whilst improvements have been made on both parts, concern was expressed by NGO workers that schools still have a tendency to view PTAs in a school management and support role, and that the community does not understand that the PTA is accountable to them rather than the school. This cultural change will take time to transpire, but hopefully will be facilitated by MOE plans to develop and support the PTA's role, associated with the dissemination of the new PTA manual.

Most NGOs working with communities recognized the need for guidance and training for PTAs, and in their initial work with PTAs in the late 1990s or post-2003, developed their own guidance documents. In partnership with the MOE, the IRC began work in 2007 to collate these efforts and produce a definitive PTA manual. The working group for this project included international and local NGOs, the United Parents Teachers Association of Liberia, County and District Education Officers and youth. In January 2008, the first draft of this manual was finalized and reviewed. Plans for its rollout and PTA development over 2008-2013 include training and the use of community-based drama and radio to distribute material and information on PTAs, using local languages. There are hopes that the manual will help clarify the roles and responsibilities of PTAs. Concern was expressed by NGO workers that schools still have a tendency to view PTAs in a school management and support role, and that the community does not understand that the PTA is accountable to them rather than the school.

Activity: Promote community engagement by external NGOs to prompt or support community initiatives

, Vision in Action, an international NGO based in the USA, and locally-based FAWE indicated that it was not uncommon to spend a year or more in a community before project implementation begins, to gain trust and a better understanding of the local environment. Vision in Action initiated work in Liberia shortly after the disarmament and demobilization period began in 2003. The agency emphasizes a participatory approach, ‘learning from the community’ and spending an extended time in the field to lay the groundwork in a community through participatory assessments. The time devoted to this cultivates familiarity on both sides, forging partnerships and building trust. Taking the time to understand the community context also allows for a more tailored, needs-based development response. The NGO also emphasizes a flexible approach to programming (flexibility with organizational rules) which takes into account local time factors and balances this with Western bureaucratic time factors.

All organizations working with community groups identified the creation of accurate and realistic expectations as vital when initiating community involvement. Communities usually expect some form of incentive for participation, often in terms of financial support for the school/community. Lessons learned from the IRC’s and a local NGO’s work emphasizes that community work should not be focused around income-generating projects during the initial phases (IRC, 2005; Children’s Assistance Program, personal communication, 4 April 2008). It was expressed that the monetary element confused the motivations for engaging with the project, raised expectations of external support and undermined the project’s sustainability.

Summary of key findings and lessons learned from Liberia

Community participation is seen as a foundational aspect of Liberia’s transition from conflict to reconstruction by international NGOs, international financial institutions and the Government of Liberia. In particular, community participation has been emphasized as a key mechanism in reconciliation and reintegration processes, increasing resources and ensuring effectiveness in service delivery both in terms of approved accountability and also in ensuring that community needs are met and issues addressed (Government of Liberia, 2006; and personal communication with Ministry officials, 3 and 4 April 2008). Given this long-term focus on community partnership, there is awareness amongst

stakeholders that community participation should not be tokenistic, and that efforts should be built upon to ensure the sustainability of community initiatives. In particular, the focus needs to be placed on developing leadership and implementation capacity, rather than on participation through the contribution of resources, so that engagement is at an institutional level rather than purely outcomes focused. This is a challenge in the current short-term funding environment and reconstruction phase where expectations for services and external support are high. Consequently, international NGOs and the UN agencies need to be working closely with the government to support the scaling up of initiatives and increased local ownership, applying partnership models such as those used by the IRC in the development of the PTA manual.

3.4 Sudan: dimensions of community involvement in a country with a signed peace treaty yet experiencing sporadic flare-ups

Historical and political context

As was the case in other parts of Eastern Africa, the British colonized Sudan from the late 1890s until the mid 1950s. During this period, Sudan was governed by an Anglo-Egyptian government based in the north (Khartoum) with two separate administrative systems for the (Islamic and Arabic) north and (Christian and Animist) south of the country, based upon existing cultural divisions (Deng, 2003). A ‘Southern Policy’ was adopted with English²⁷ as the official medium of instruction and included the teaching of vernacular languages in the primary school. The policy assisted the south in developing a “sense of identity based on indigenous culture and Christian cultural norms” (Deng, 2003: 3).

At independence, northern elites assumed control of the government and conflict between north and south Sudan started in 1955. This first civil war ended in 1972 with an autonomy agreement. Eleven years later (in 1983), this agreement was broken and for the next 22 years (until 2005) the southern region and the Border Areas (Abeyi, South Kordofan and Blue Nile) endured frequently brutal periods of conflict between the Sudanese government and various liberation movements, including the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A).

During the second civil war, humanitarian assistance became more prevalent. In 1989, the UN/NGO consortium known as Operation

27. Arabic was excluded from the school system.

Lifeline Sudan (OLS) was put into effect. OLS soon became the “*de facto* government in the SPLM-controlled areas in the south as it assumed the traditional role of government in providing social services” (Deng, 1999; cited in Deng, 2003: 7) due to the sheer amount of assistance channeled through this mechanism, as well as the very limited administrative control of the SPLM. This effectively resulted in the indigenous and local structures in the south being supplanted by a UN/NGO system (Duffield, 1993; cited in Deng, 2003: 7).

Box 14 Chronology of conflict and peace efforts (Southern Sudan)

- 1955:** Southern soldiers refuse to transfer to the north; the first civil war starts.
- 1956:** Sudan becomes independent; the British hand over power to the Khartoum-based government.
- 1972:** The Addis Ababa Agreement ends 17 years of civil war. The agreement is based on regional autonomy for the South and the ending of discrimination on the basis of religion, gender or ethnic background.
- 1983:** The South is divided into three regions (Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile); the regional government is abolished.
- 1983:** The second civil war starts.
- 1989:** Reports say two million Southern Sudanese died during the conflict, and one million were displaced.
- 1993:** The heads of state of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda and Kenya establish a committee to resolve the civil war in Sudan, in their capacity as members of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development.
- 2002:** The Government of Sudan (Khartoum) and SPLA sign a ceasefire agreement in the Nuba Mountains; the Machakos Protocol provides for the south to seek self-determination after six years.
- 2004:** The Government of Sudan (Khartoum) and southern rebels agree on power-sharing protocols as part of a peace deal.
- 2005:** The Government of Sudan (Khartoum) and the SPLM sign the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The agreement includes a permanent ceasefire and accords on wealth and power sharing.

Source: BBC, 2008b.*

* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/country_profiles/827425.stm

During the conflict of more than 20 years, famine, fighting and disease killed more than two million people. Another 600,000 Sudanese sought refuge in neighboring countries while an additional four million became displaced within Sudan. The UN estimates that two million people displaced during the conflict have returned to Southern Sudan and the Three Border Areas of Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile and Abyei since 2005 (USAID, 2008).

Socio-cultural context

In Southern Sudan, there are more than 40 different ethnic groups and sub-groups including, among others, the Nilote, Surma, Sudanic and the many Zande groups. While there are many commonalities among these groups due to their pastoral or agricultural traditions, most have distinctive languages as well as divergent cultures and views of the world. There are also contrasting social, religious and cultural practices. This diversity in cultural configuration is an asset to Sudan that enriches its society, but it has also led to a 'crisis of identity' and fuelled conflict and instability because of perceived systemic injustices in national policies and their enforcement, particularly with regard to Southern Sudan (Deng, 2004: 9). The following is a brief overview of the three key regions in Southern Sudan.

- Bahr el Ghazal region: The region is made up of the states of Western Bahr el Ghazal, Northern Bahr el Ghazal and Warrap. During the war, the Khartoum government used the garrison town of Wau (in Western Bahr el Ghazal) as a base. This region saw some of the heaviest and most violent clashes due to its oil reserves (located in the northern part of the region) and its proximity to northern Sudan. In addition, this region also experienced countless militia and Government of Sudan raids, which resulted in numerous abductions. Tensions still exist between the three main groups – the Dinka, Baggara and Missiriya – and there are occasional clashes over resources (water, land and so on) between host populations and IDPs who have emigrated to the region, often with cattle herds (Deng, 2004).
- Equatoria region: This region is often divided into two sub-regions: Eastern Equatoria and Western Equatoria, and encompasses the states of Western Equatoria, Eastern Equatoria, Lakes and Bahr el Jabal. This region is home to the Zande and Madi, among other groups. The SPLA/M was able to achieve a modicum of stability

in this region from the mid 1990s onward and as a result, the lion's share of development assistance took place here, in particular in the Maridi-Yambio corridor. Conflicts in the eastern part of the region primarily have been over resources, IDP movements and a breakdown of traditional values. Conflict issues in the western part focus on the internally displaced Dinkas, who brought their cattle to graze on the fertile Zande land, which is maintained through traditional forms of agriculture and is not suited to the grazing of large herds (Deng, 2004).

- Upper Nile region: This region is inhabited by the Anyuak, Dinka, Kachipo, Maban, Murlei, Nuer and Shilluk. The states of Jongeli, Unity and Upper Nile make up the region. As in the Bahr el Ghazal region, intense fighting between the Government of Sudan troops, factional liberation forces, militias and various ethnic groups occurred here due to natural resources, primarily oil. Conflict in the Upper Nile was characterized by militias (at the time of the signing of the CPA there were more than 25 armed paramilitary groups in existence with diverse interests and agendas). Conflicts over grazing land and water sources exacerbate the situation as many of those who fled during the years of intense fighting returned home with their cattle (Deng, 2004).

Educational context

The two-decade-long conflict saw the emergence of numerous liberation movements and militias in Southern Sudan. Due to the continual splintering and realignment of the various movements it was difficult to establish a comprehensive education system and structure in Southern Sudan. In the areas under SPLM control, it was common for schools to be started and run by indigenous or international NGOs and/or religious groups. The schools in areas under SPLM control generally followed a curriculum that was set by the Government of Ethiopia, Government of Uganda or Government of Kenya, depending on their locale. The schools in the garrison towns²⁸ followed the Government of Khartoum curricula. In 2006, the GOSS Ministry of Education, Science and Technology established interim language and examination policies to gradually phase out Arabic medium instruction (in formal public schools) for upper primary and secondary levels and to transition from

28. The garrison towns housed a significant number of troops from northern Sudan sent south to fight the various Southern Sudan movements and militias.

Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda leaving certificates to the GOSS MOEST leaving examination.

After the signing of the CPA in January 2005, international and national education organizations working in Southern Sudan began to shift from emergency or humanitarian relief to reconstruction and development-focused activities. In October 2005, the Secretariat of Education became the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST) and moved from the SPLM capital of Rumbek to Juba. It put in place an education structure, which encompassed the former northern-held garrison towns and the other parts of Southern Sudan. The MOEST had little, if any, institutional memory to draw upon at independence and faces the following key challenges:

- the reintegration and reconciliation of its citizenry through the selection and capacity building of personnel;
- the building of a participatory education system which encourages grass-roots participation (SBEP, 2005).²⁹

The MOEST Policy Handbook (2007) promotes “the regeneration of social capital including safe return and reintegration of internally displaced persons and refugees” as one of the core strategies to promote the Southern Sudan vision (GOSS-MOEST 2007a: 2). A form of community participation existed in Southern Sudan throughout the years of the conflict; however, it was focused primarily on direct aid to the local learning environment through the donation of in-kind items, for example donations of food to teachers, local materials for school construction and labour for building of schools, instead of on qualitative improvements. During the conflict, many communities became dependent on external aid, much of which was delivered through the OLS. Additionally, the continual fighting created a fluid, often unstable community base. For example, the average household in the Bahr el Ghazal region was displaced more than three times in the 1990s (Deng, 2002; cited in Deng, 2003). The education statistics (see *Box 15*) for Southern Sudan show the enormous amount of resources (human, physical, material and financial) needed to re-instill self-reliance in the emerging state.

29. The education structure was re-organized in 2004 and a (draft) policy framework developed in 2006-2007.

Box 15 Education snapshot (Southern Sudan)

- Most classrooms are open-air facilities. In 2006, only 461 of the 2,922 learning spaces had permanent classrooms.
- Only one out of every five children attended school during the war, with only two per cent of these finishing the primary school cycle.
- Many teachers work as volunteers; in some cases individuals have taken on this role in the absence of teaching staff from the MOEST.
- Teachers' education backgrounds vary: the majority of teachers have either a primary education background (37 per cent) or a secondary education background (42 per cent) while only 15 per cent have attended teachers college and three per cent have attended the university.

Sources: GOSS MOEST, 2007a; GOSS-MOEST/UNICEF, 2006.

Dimensions of community involvement in post-conflict reconstruction settings with periodic flare-ups

The activities described below detail how, during conflict and instability, local initiatives were integral in maintaining education provision but often were reliant on external support. They also emphasize the importance of educational responses and community engagement remaining appropriate to the context and the communities' capacity.

Activity: Promote community involvement to enhance education programming and reinvigorate self-sufficiency

The WSP (1999: 12-23) found that "local participation is necessary to diffuse local conflicts, to mend relations and solve problems at the local level. ... Local solutions and responses to rebuilding challenges are often more effective, cheaper and more sustainable. In addition, they contribute to restoring dignity, confidence and faith in local capacities to cope". In Southern Sudan, local initiatives were often the backbone of the education system during the long years of conflict; these activities were often driven by NGOs or other external organizations. Communities increasingly became dependent on external aid to meet community and individual needs, and as a result, organizations found it necessary to focus on ways to encourage locally-generated community participation.

In the SPLM-held areas, NGOs focused on the provision of education in the absence of a coherent national education system. CARE's Rebuilding Education and Civil Society project, was one such project implemented during the years of the conflict. It focused on eight

communities in Western Equatoria, with the goal of enhancing the quality of the local learning environment by building the capacity of the local community through the development of CECs. CARE focused on developing the CECs' capacity in the areas of action planning – the identification of issues and proposed solutions. A key issue CARE encountered in developing the CECs was the community's limited participation in development-oriented projects.

The community in Tambura was initially not accustomed to active participation in education and other project development activities. The people expect the NGOs to do most of the things for them. Part of this problem was due to the fact the community did not know in what ways they should participate in the education activities. Training them on issues of community mobilization, defining clear roles and responsibilities of all program stakeholders and developing reflective action plans has tremendously improved their participation (EQUIP 1, 2005: 3).

Sommers (2005) recounts the story of a retired education professional in the Akon Payam region of Southern Sudan, who worked as an education officer on behalf of the SPLM from 1989 and succeeded in establishing 24 community schools throughout the region. His method started with meeting the local leaders of villages and spending time explaining the value of education. Once this had been accomplished he encouraged them to construct a school building and bring in local community members to teach. These teachers then received training from the education officer and support with lesson planning. The teachers relied on community support for in-kind contributions in lieu of a salary, or occasionally support from international NGOs.

After the CPA was signed there was a noticeable increase in the number of NGOs working with communities in the area of education. A common problem experienced by NGOs is how to engage effectively with communities and build ownership of education initiatives. NGOs want communities to respond positively to advocacy messages of the need for education and to offer support, but this requires consensus as to the need for education and appropriate forms of delivery. Sommers (2005) emphasizes the distinction between the support for education and support for schooling in Southern Sudan. It is often assumed that both are common aims of communities and external agencies, but in reality whilst there may be a recognized need for education within the community,

there may also be reservations about making a community investment in costly school infrastructure.

Subsequently, the issue of how to reinvigorate community participation was an area of concern. International Aid Sweden (IAS) noted this challenge in the establishment of its vocational education programmes. In 2006, IAS started a Vocational Skills Training Centre that focuses on both occupational skills training (for example carpentry and masonry) and basic literacy. The Centre's programme targets out-of-school youths, ex-combatants (in particular, former child soldiers) and single mothers. One of the key concerns at the start of the programme was the limited level of community participation. In order to address this issue, IAS identified possible strategies to mobilize the community through the use of community members in needs assessment and the training of community members to work in the Centre (GOSS-MOEST, 2007b).

The national NGO, Diar Relief and Development Association (DRDA), also found it necessary to find ways to bolster community participation. During the conflict, DRDA worked with internally displaced Southern Sudanese populations in the north (primarily around Khartoum); then in 2005, the organization was granted permission to relocate to Southern Sudan. The focus of the DRDA work is on addressing the low rate of female literacy and education levels through literacy training in English and Dinka, and female empowerment training (for example legal awareness, health awareness and business training). Community participation is critical to the project's success. In order to ensure the appropriate levels of participation, a thorough needs assessment was conducted to identify (1) the needs of the community, (2) women's need to earn an income, and (3) the interests of women. Vocational trainers and skilled community practitioners were identified. Students do not pay tuition for literacy or vocational skills training courses. Instead, they provide in-kind contributions (such as the construction and maintenance of the community centres) and in exchange are given food through the World Food Programme's Food for Work Programme (GOSS-MOEST, 2007b).

Similarly to Liberia, the pressure of the communities' financial expectations on their education partners affects their level of engagement. In Southern Sudan, Sommers (2005) reported that the USAID-supported Sudan Basic Education Program (SBEP) had difficulty in convincing

communities to support the volunteer teachers and provide other in-kind contributions to schools because communities were used to receiving payments or stipends from NGOs for similar in-kind contributions. For example, community contributions towards education were often focused on school buildings and the payment of teachers and in return NGOs helped facilitate access to World Food Programme Food for Work and school feeding programmes.

As we have seen above, NGOs are instrumental in working with communities to drive forward educational activities to increase access and/or improve quality, particularly in Southern Sudan where educational opportunities were sporadic and levels of community commitment varied. However, resources and capacity for education delivery invariably fall short of need and decisions have to be made about which schools and/or communities to support. Sommers (2005) found that communities in more densely populated areas that are comparatively better organized and have already expressed a commitment to education were more likely to receive international NGO support. He argued that this is because such communities are already better placed to support education initiatives through the contribution of resources and working with NGOs.

Power differentials between NGOs and communities also affect planning and decision-making processes. Impoverished war-torn communities have a poor if not non-existent bargaining position with NGOs intending to work with them. The retention of ultimate decision-making power and resource allocation by NGOs makes it difficult to impart a sense of community ownership and skews the relationship between the two, despite often mutual aims. As such, it is easy for NGO models to be transplanted into communities with new processes or models that communities (such as PTAs) are unfamiliar with and for the communities to fulfil the minimum requirements in terms of the expected level of engagement in order to receive such support. Consequently, education programmes may not be best suited to community needs. Sommers (2005) refers to a community mobilization meeting in which materials, labour and the terms of payment for this to be used in school reconstruction was ultimately determined by the NGO and not the community providing the resources; and the final decisions on community-raised agenda items were deferred to the following meeting.

Activity: Understanding the relevance of and contextualizing activities to meet the needs of a post-conflict society re-establishing its education programming

In 2002, USAID initiated the SBEP. A component of the project focused on working with communities and education officials to identify the education programmes most relevant to the needs of the community, for example the type of education opportunities that would help develop the knowledge base of the community and contribute to the development of the local environs. For example, in remote areas where education opportunities were extremely limited and the situation remained fluid, non-formal complementary education programming offered the greatest potential for improving education levels; while in areas of higher stability and development, a combination of non-formal and formal education programming provided opportunities for individuals to build sequentially upon their education levels and transition between education programmes.

One critical lesson learned by SBEP was that educational activities implemented by the programme, which represented a mixture of best practices from other situations (many from non-conflict areas), were not always directly transferable to the Southern Sudan context. For example, in 2000 education officials working in the SPLM Secretariat of Education visited Bangladesh and adapted the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) community school model (largely) without contextualization to the immediate needs of the Southern Sudan populace. This created numerous issues. Firstly, the success of the BRAC schools was largely due to intensive supervision, which was not possible in Southern Sudan due to the distances between schools and tremendous logistical challenges. Secondly, communities in Southern Sudan had a very limited economic base and could not contribute to the school's development to the extent envisioned (Kirk, 2004). SBEP attuned its implementation approach by:

- giving training to individuals, in particular women, to increase their confidence and empower them increasingly to take on leadership roles in the community or local organization;
- assisting the education structure and civil society organizations in understanding and integrating peace building, gender and HIV and AIDS components into local education initiatives to address post-conflict issues;

- working with local communities to find solutions (including resources) to address their education needs (SBEP, 2005).

This adjustment fell in line with the USAID (global) Fragile States Strategy, which recognizes the uniqueness of crisis and post-crisis environments and that “each fragile state will require careful analysis of the specific situation to determine the most appropriate combination of strategies for averting crisis and mitigating the impact of conflict and crisis” (USAID, 2005: 5).

Activity: Develop community participation national guidelines and/or policy to ensure inclusion of all community members and an active role in school development

During the conflict, communities and external actors (for example donors, NGOs and churches) provided many of the school resources. With the advent of peace and the creation of the Government of Southern Sudan, the MOEST began to turn its attention to the development of policies, including community participation policies and guidelines. In the broad policy framework, it is expected that at the primary and secondary levels the community will contribute at least 50 per cent of the cost of running the school through the State, County or Payam. Contributions can include: (i) the provision of school materials; (ii) the construction of schools; (iii) the employment and remuneration of teachers; iv) the operation of schools; (v) the provision of school uniforms; (vi) the creation of PTAs or Boards of Governors; (vii) the payment of school fees for secondary and post-secondary levels; viii) special contributions for school support; and (ix) the maintenance of schools (GOSS-MOEST, 2007a: 20-21).

Summary of key findings and lessons learned from Southern Sudan

The community has played a pivotal role in ensuring the continuity of education delivery during the conflict in Southern Sudan. With the prolonged nature of the conflict, however, initiatives became increasingly dependent on external actors to provide both resources and the impetus. As a result, creating a shared sense of ownership around education needs became a focus of activities to encourage locally-generated participation. A fundamental aspect of this required working closely with communities to identify educational needs and the types of programmes that would contribute to local development. This was demonstrated by the approach taken with the SBEP, where training was undertaken within communities

to empower them to take leadership roles, whilst also working with the communities to identify local solutions to their needs.

The new GOSS is focusing on protecting positive community participation and providing opportunities for this to continue. This is evident in the inclusion of community participation in the education policy framework, in the initial identification of the roles and responsibilities of partners, and by including communities in the provision of resources (at least 50 per cent), but also in quality assurance and the monitoring of learning through the employment of teachers and the PTA and governing boards.

3.5 Uganda: dimensions of community involvement in a state with a signed cessation of hostilities agreement

Historical and political context

In the 1890s, Britain colonized Uganda under a ‘divide and rule’ policy. The country’s agricultural base was rooted in the southern plantations while the north was considered a labour reserve for the south. The northern part of Uganda was marginalized in economic development plans, with most investment and planning favouring the Baganda region around Kampala. The ethnic and regional divisions, which were exploited by the British (World Vision, 2004), sowed the seeds for a series of national crises after independence. Many Ugandans came to identify more strongly with their ethnic group than they did as citizens of the Ugandan nation state (IDMC, 2008b). After Uganda’s independence in 1962, the government’s leaders promoted a strong relationship with the north, with the Acholi³⁰ playing a leading role in the government structure.

In the mid-1980s, conflict between the GOU and two opposition forces – the Uganda People’s Democratic Movement/Army (UPDM/A) and the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) – ignited. In 1988, the GOU reached a peace accord with the UPDM/A; however, the conflict between the GOU and LRA continued.

The effects of the conflict in northern Uganda are evident in the widespread destruction of social systems, the disintegration of families or

30. The Acholi are an ethnic group residing mostly in the north and making up about four per cent of the Ugandan population (Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005)

household units, the displacement of millions, and the general breakdown of cultural traditions and institutions. Over the past two decades, the self-sufficient nature of the populace has been replaced with a culture of aid dependency. In the mid-1990s, the GOU ordered the (northern) civilian population to relocate into ‘protected villages’ or IDP camps due to insecurity. In the course of the conflict more than 80 per cent (or 1.8 million people) of the population in northern Uganda has called the IDP camps their home (UNICEF, 2005).

In 2000, the Ugandan Parliament passed the Amnesty Act. The Act allows all combatants to receive a voluntary one-time pardon from any state and/or legal prosecution. In 2003, the GOU requested the International Criminal Court to investigate the LRA activities with the result being the Court issuing, in 2005, indictments for the five senior LRA leaders. Since 2006, a peace dialogue mediated by the GOSS has been underway.

During the decades of conflict, thousands of children and youths were abducted by the LRA. While there are no figures regarding the precise number, it has been estimated that between 25,000 and 66,000 youths have been abducted to serve as combatants, ‘wives’, porters or to fill other supporting roles (Annan, Blattman, Carlson and Mazurana, 2008). Abducted children and youths often underwent ‘indoctrination rituals’ with the goal being to brutalize the children, thus ensuring their loyalty to the LRA. This also served as a means to sever the ties the abductees had with their communities and weaken the overall social fabric of society (Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, 2006). Former abductees face significant challenges when re-integrating into the formal education system including, among other concerns, being over-age for their grade level due to their inability to access education opportunities while part of the LRA.

Socio-cultural context

Traditional beliefs and mechanisms can be used to both positive and negative effect. This was the case for the LRA, which used traditional beliefs to perpetuate their cause. The Acholi³¹ culture is deeply spiritual, and both resistance leaders – Alice Lakwena (leader of the Holy Spirit Movement) and Joseph Kony (leader of the LRA) – initially rooted their

31. Although other ethnic groups felt the effects of the conflict, the Acholi were the most affected.

movements in the spiritual world and were supported by the spiritual, traditional and political leaders in the north.

At the community level, the separation between religion and state can be far less strict, and at times they are blurred. Those who wield spiritual power are often duly anointed with political power. The Acholi response to the loss of national power was to politicize the spiritual and spiritualize the political. ... Turning his [Kony's] cause into a spiritual crusade provides both justification and sustenance for conflict. Kony invented a tailored religious cocktail that superficially resembles traditional Acholi beliefs, Christianity and Islam, so as to root the cause of the LRA in a spiritual worldview (World Vision, 2004: 13).

Over the years, traditional authority has diminished. During the colonial period the British removed the traditional leaders from their positions of authority, and it was not until the 1995 constitutional reform that traditional leaders were again officially recognized. Limited in their ability to perform their roles and responsibilities, many traditional leaders have been unable to share indigenous knowledge and traditional reconciliation and justice practices with the populace, in particular the youth. Elders, traditional leaders and the youth have expressed concerns that children and the youth do not know what it means to be Acholi (Liu Institute for Global Issues, 2006).

However, for the past several years, traditional leaders have attempted to put in place reconciliation and restorative justice mechanisms, such as healing and cleansing ceremonies. These traditional practices are rooted in the mending of relationships and the rebuilding of trust among community members. For example, *Mato Oput* (drinking of the bitter root),³² which focuses on restoring relationships through the guiding principles of truth, accountability and compensation, is used by elders to arbitrate disputes (Liu Institute for Global Issues, 2006).

However, these traditional reconciliation and justice mechanisms have had varying results and their success is typically dependent on the setting and understanding of the cultural traditions by those who participate. In 2006, the Justice and Reconciliation Project noted that the cultural institution *nyono tong gweno* or 'Stepping on the Egg' is

32. The roots of the bitter oput tree are mixed with local beer and given to the various sides in a conflict to drink to show their willingness to wash away the acrimony that was present.

practised at the community level to welcome home those who have been away for an extended period of time. The aim of this ceremony is to build unity between and among the various clans within the community and promote forgiveness. The message to the former LRA combatants and individuals associated with the fighting force is that they should return home and be welcomed (Liu Institute for Global Issues, 2006). While some communities have found this to be the first step on the path towards reconciliation, others participating in the ceremony have not understood the sacred meaning of this cultural tradition. The Survey for War-Affected Youth (Annan *et al.*, 2008) reports that some former female abductees find the ceremony of little or no use. A former forced wife indicated:

I was given an egg to step on after my first abduction but there were no ceremonies after I returned from my second abduction. I don't know what the egg was for or what it implied but it is what the elders wanted and I did it only because they told me to do it. I was told it was Acholi culture so I must do it but there was no further explanation than that. After I stepped on the egg I wasn't even allowed to wash it off until I walked all the way home (Annan *et al.*, 2008: 45).

In 2006, after the Cessation of Hostilities agreement between the LRA and the GOU was signed³³ the concept of 'freedom of movement' was put in place, and IDPs were allowed to move out of the IDP camps and choose where they would like to live. In 2007, individuals were allowed to (1) return to their place of origin; (2) resettle in a new location outside of the IDP camp; or (3) integrate locally, and remain in the area of displacement.

Educational context

Although more than 80 per cent of the population in northern Uganda has been displaced over the course of two decades, the GOU did not officially recognize the situation as an 'emergency'. As a result the formal education system in the conflict-affected areas followed the same national policies, guidelines and type of education programming as the

33. As of the writing of this research the LRA has not signed the Final Peace Agreement with the GOU. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre reports that the LRA has again begun abductions from neighbouring Southern Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and the Central African Republic (CAR). The GOU and the UN have said they are prepared for renewed conflict if a final agreement is not reached in the near future. As of February 2008, more than 1.1 million IDPs remained in the camps or in transit sites (IDMC, 2008).

formal education system in the non-conflict areas. This has implications for policy and guideline implementation and the type of education programmes implemented.

Box 16 Chronology of conflict and peace efforts (Uganda)

- 1986:** GOU army launches a bush war against the UPDA in Gulu.
- 1988:** Alice Lakwena joins forces with the UPDA to form the Holy Spirit Movement; Lakwena's movement is defeated in late 1988. Remnants of the Holy Spirit Movement regroup under the command of Joseph Kony (Lakwena's nephew) and Severino Lokoya (Lakwena's father).
- 1989-1990:** Lokoya is arrested; Kony starts ambushing and looting civilian homes and communities.
- 1991:** The rebels begin the practice of maiming and mutilating civilians.
- 1993:** Groups of armed rebels called the LRA attack GOU troops; peace talks between the LRA and GOU are initiated towards the end of year. By 1995 the talks are abandoned.
- 1996:** Mass displacement begins in the north; people are moved into 'protected' communities (or IDP camps).
- 2000:** Amnesty Act.
- 2002:** GOU launches Operation 'Iron Fist' and attacks LRA camps in Southern Sudan.
- 2003:** GOU requests the International Criminal Court to investigate the actions of the LRA; indictments against the LRA leaders issued in 2005.
- 2006:** Peace talks begin in Southern Sudan between the LRA and GOU.
- 2008:** Final efforts being made by GOSS to negotiate a peace treaty between LRA and GOU.

Source: Adapted from IDMC, 2008b.

National guidelines and policies: The lack of dispensation in programming and funding arrangements for schools in the north has affected education delivery throughout the region. For example, the Ministry of Education and Sports has a national set of standards for education institutions, which are used across both conflict and non-conflict settings. These standards do not take into consideration the special circumstances which shape the forms and resources available for education delivery in the conflict-affected districts. Some of the NGOs working in northern Uganda indicated it would be useful to review the Ugandan education standards, using the INEE *Minimum*

Standards (2004) as a resource guide, to see how the Ugandan education standards may be contextualized to the conflict-affected areas (Sullivan-Owomoyela, 2006).

Policies, like the standards, are uniform throughout the country and do not differentiate between learners living in conflict-affected districts and those living in more stable, developing districts. For example, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Capitation Grant Guidelines prioritize expenditures in the following manner: (1) extra-instructional/scholastic materials will be at least 35 per cent; (2) co-curricular activities will be at least 20 per cent; (3) school management will be at least 15 per cent; and (4) administration will not exceed 10 per cent of the total UPE capitation grant release. The lack of flexibility in this policy means that the needs of learners, in particular females, in the conflict areas are not always met. For example, while the UPE policy covers schools fees, it does not cover associated costs of items or materials needed to attend school, for example uniforms or clothes, notebooks and maths sets. The head teacher at the LaCor Primary School in Gulu indicated that in 2005, all the girls who were heads of households (approximately 25) dropped out of school primarily because they could not afford the school-related fees and costs (Sullivan-Owomoyela, 2006).

Box 17 Education snapshot of conflict-affected areas (Uganda)

- One in five female youths have not received any education, and only one in three female youths are functionally literate.
- Young women with children are mostly unable or unwilling to attend school. Forty-three per cent of women are unable to read or write.
- Orphans and former abductees have similar levels of education and literacy to their peers. However, this is not true of long-term abductees.

Source: Annan et al., 2008: 6.

Dimensions of community involvement in post-conflict settings with no signed peace agreement

Activities in Uganda (described below) emphasize the importance of taking a holistic approach to children's rights and education and community cohesion as an integral way of protecting children. This has been seen through traditional restorative justice processes, plus the

use of traditional community leadership models and the formation of community-based interventions around multiple issues.

Activity: The use of culturally-based reconciliation ceremonies and restorative justice mechanisms to assist groups in healing relationships and rebuilding trust

Restoring relationships and rebuilding trust is an essential foundation for community-based initiatives. Recognizing this, the WSP recommended that this be an “explicit and overriding policy objective” in reconstruction strategies and aligned with the political and relational context (WSP, 1999: 22). As such, development and humanitarian organizations working in post-conflict settings need to ensure that they take an inclusive approach to community-based education initiatives that not only address the educational needs of the populace, but also aim to improve community relationships to facilitate engagement in education. This has been particularly important in Uganda with the reintegration of abducted youths and ex-combatants into the community.

Over the past few years, traditional ceremonies, including reconciliation and restorative justice ceremonies, have been undertaken as the first step in healing community relationships. Reconciliation and restorative justice mechanisms are rooted in the essence of the culture and revolve around the recipients’ worldview. Whereas retributive justice typically imposes social isolation through imprisonment, the aim of restorative justice is to reconcile or reintegrate the offender into the community. Until the various groups forgive, it is very difficult for them to trust, and trust is vital in order for the implementation of activities, the reconstruction of systems and the development of relevant policies to flourish.

Traditional healing and cleansing ceremonies, such as ‘Stepping on the Egg’ offer an avenue for reconciliation or symbolic compensation. As stated by one youth ex-combatant, “Going through the ceremony proved to me that the community did want me back, had understood what I had gone through and had forgiven me because they knew it was not my fault. It gave me the strength to continue and try to live my life” (Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, 2006: 19).

Reconciliation and restorative justice activities do not in and of themselves ‘heal’ a community; however, they may offer a first step towards the process of reconciliation. As documented in the Survey

for War-Affected Youth (Annan *et al.*, 2006 and 2008), individuals (in particular children and youth) who participate in traditional cleansing or healing ceremonies do not always understand their meaning or value. Thus, it is important that an explanation is also provided and psychosocial support offered as a follow-up or support mechanism to build on traditional reconciliation and justice activities.

The Ugandan Survey of War-Affected Youth (Annan *et al.* 2006: 66) found that family and community acceptance of returning youths was “remarkably high” and welcoming. More detrimental than ex-combatant’s fear or isolation is community resentment of programmes specifically targeted at ex-combatant youths. Such programmes can be perceived as a reward for violence and active participation in the conflict, elevating their victim status above that of the recipients of violence and attacks (UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2007). Prolonged resentment and differentiation in access to programmes could prove to be counterproductive to reconciliation processes and community cohesion. Baines *et al.* (2006) argues that interventions should be aware of the “ecological paradigm” and recognize that any systemic or societal change, be it through the introduction of education programmes or restorative justice programmes, will have an impact on other parts of the community. Stakeholders need to anticipate the implications of introducing change into communities and encourage ownership of change processes by the local community.

Activity: Utilize traditional community leadership models and integrated strategic frameworks to address the multiple needs of the community

Another lesson learned by the WSP (1999) was that previous attempts to link humanitarian aid to longer-term development assistance through a continuum approach did not address the multiplicity of issues that a post-conflict society may face simultaneously. Integrated strategic frameworks, which acknowledge that different challenges and policy approaches occur at the same time, are the next step forward from the simple co-ordination of activities. The international NGO, the Association of Volunteers in International Service, an Italian development agency which has worked in Uganda’s conflict areas since 1984, indicated the importance of humanitarian aid finding a balance between humanitarian emergency work and reconstruction development work (AVSI, 2008).

In the conflict-affected districts of Uganda, an integrated framework – the Parish-Based Approach – which integrates the traditional Acholi

leadership structure into the village-, parish- and district-level plans, has been put into action by the Office of the Prime Minister. The framework moves away from a singular focus on humanitarian relief activities towards a more participatory, sustainable development approach. While the traditional, site-specific delivery of assistance continues to be the norm in the main IDP camps, development partners such as UNICEF are now working with the authorities at the district capital level, and other local partners to prioritize existing health, water, sanitation and education facilities to be rehabilitated and maintained (UNICEF, 2007). The Office of the Prime Minister has indicated that:

The purpose of the Parish Approach is to ensure that the ‘minimal basic services’ (backbone services) are provided to the population that has moved from main camps to transit sites or villages of origin. Further appropriate (recovery) programming is required simultaneously for returns and (emergency assistance) for those remaining in main camps. The key basic service priorities for IDPs either in transit or place of origin are: (1) basic health services, (2) basic education materials and infrastructure, (3) provision of safe water, (4) stimulation of livelihoods, (5) opening of roads, (6) enhancement of civil administration, and (7) further development of Rule of Law through continued deployment of police and judges (UNICEF, 2007: 22).

Applying this approach provides consistency for communities during the transition period as they return home and development-focused activities commence. The familiarity of agencies working with communities and using traditional structures to plan and identify needs has helped encourage positive community participation in service delivery.

Baines *et al.* (2006: 2) also describe women’s and children’s community groups as playing a vital role in sustaining the social and day-to-day activities within IDP camps. These groups work primarily on a voluntary basis although some are supported by NGOs and local government community development programmes (Baines *et al.*, 2006; Human Rights Focus, 2004). These groups often lack capacity in terms of training and financial resources to implement any long-term initiatives.

Activity: Create Child Protection Committees

As in Liberia, child protection and children’s rights have provided a basis for community engagement in issues affecting children, including

education. Since 2005, Child Protection Committees (CPCs) have been formed in sub-districts across Gulu (Baines *et al.*, 2006). The primary focus of the CPCs is identifying vulnerable children and helping them to obtain the appropriate support. The CPCs recognize that education is a vital child protection tool and strive to increase school enrolment. The CPCs have become well established in camps and whilst they were NGO initiated, they are becoming increasingly seen as community owned and led (IASC, undated). CPCs are now also being extended beyond IDP camps using the Parish Approach to ensure that children returning home are still supported (UNHCR, 2008b).

Summary of key findings and lessons learned from northern Uganda

In Uganda, communities have often provided the backbone to education and child protection issues, remaining flexible during periods of prolonged displacement and intermittent conflict. Where education programmes and policies in conflict-affected districts mimic those in districts that are stable and developing, communities are not always able to provide the resources needed to ensure a quality learning environment. The Parish Approach follows the key premises of the ecological paradigm, for instance “one part of a system affects all parts in reverberating pathways” and “communities must be able to define and take ownership of processes of justice and reconciliation” (Baines *et al.*, 2006: 3). In northern Uganda, this is critical as the functioning and stability of a re-emerging education system depends on multiple factors such as the use of traditional reconciliation and restorative justice mechanisms to build trust between and among community members.

3.6 Conclusion

Community participation in reconstruction settings tends to become more formalized as activities become more co-ordinated between NGOs and UN agencies working with communities and the state. As education sector planning is strengthened, states are forced to consider how they intend to utilize communities and form education partnerships. As was seen in Liberia and Southern Sudan, this was approached from the perspective of decentralization processes, with governments seeking communities’ engagement in governance processes and holding schools accountable to the community. To support this process, mutually agreed frameworks and guidance are needed at both the national and community levels to ensure that roles are established, communicated well and

integrated into long-term planning. This can be a difficult transition for both communities and other stakeholders to make, as the focus is placed on accountability, management and to a lesser degree on the contribution of resources; but expectations of education remain high.

The distinction between community-initiated and NGO-mobilized community participation became more evident in the post-conflict field reviews. This is most probably due to NGOs' roles in facilitating the scaling up of community-based activities as situations stabilize, with initiatives becoming more widespread. Regardless of the instigating factors, a common feature across the field reviews was the need to centre participation within existing social structures to avoid them being short-lived and tokenistic. Context is critical, particularly in post-conflict situations where tensions can still be high. Preceding the participation or mobilization of communities, time needs to be devoted to reconciliation processes and the restoration of relationships in order that participation is inclusive, and that priorities are clearly identified.

The lessons learned surrounding the different dimensions of community involvement and the factors that promote positive participation in reconstruction and post-conflict settings are summarized in *Table 3.2* below.

Table 3.2 A summary of the dimensions of community involvement in reconstruction settings

Dimension of community involvement	Lessons learned and factors that promote positive participation
Develop community structures to address issues of child welfare and rights	Education – as a commonly-recognized need – can provide a focal point around which communities can positively re-integrate, as seen in Liberia after DDRR processes. Additionally, by taking a holistic view of the child, communities can be empowered to address multiple issues and see the impact of their involvement more quickly.
Increase children's participation and voice in education reform and governance processes	Community groups can form a mechanism for consultation with the state and a channel for the restoration of partnerships. Using community structures to establish vertical communication lines is important in supporting decentralized approaches to education and recognizing mutual support.

Dimension of community involvement	Lessons learned and factors that promote positive participation
Development of PTAs	<p>Communities need guidance and support to take on new roles in education. This is often provided by NGOs supporting community initiatives or seeking to mobilize participation at higher levels. Guidance and frameworks help establish expectations and familiarize community members with concepts and roles that may be unfamiliar.</p> <p>Working with NGOs also provides the state with a channel for positively re-engaging with communities, restoring trust and supporting community initiatives, whilst also expanding their reach.</p>
Promote community involvement to restore education and reinvigorate self-sufficiency	<p>Communities mobilized to support education during conflict may become 'fatigued' and look back towards the state to take over responsibility for education with the cessation of violence and the transition towards reconstruction. Ways need to be sought to maintain momentum and community engagement. This may well be through NGOs, or the development of community roles beyond contributions to the running of schools and towards governance roles and involvement that addresses quality issues.</p>
Understand the setting and contextualizing activities to meet the needs of a post-conflict society re-establishing its education programming	<p>Education needs to be appropriate to the needs of the community. Particular groups may need more targeted support, such as youths trying to complete primary education missed during years of conflict, women seeking to develop basic skills to support local entrepreneurship or ex-combatants. Community needs should be integrated into education programming, with models adapted to the context rather than transplanted to the location.</p>
Develop community participation national guidelines and/or policy to ensure the inclusion of all community members and an active role in school development	<p>Mutually accepted roles and responsibilities need to be clarified when partnerships between the state and communities are re-established. These should promote trust and long-term commitment to education, contributing to the development of the education system at the national and local levels.</p>
Utilize culturally-based reconciliation ceremonies and restorative justice mechanisms to assist groups in healing relationships and rebuilding trust	<p>Rebuilding trust among community members is often the first step towards participation and to ensure access to groups that may be marginalized or excluded, such as ex-combatants or former abductees.</p>

Dimension of community involvement	Lessons learned and factors that promote positive participation
Use of traditional community leadership models and integrated strategic frameworks to address the multiple needs of the community	Working through traditional structures increases the likelihood of community participation being sustainable. It helps focus on community priorities and ensure local ownership. For external actors working with communities, taking the time to identify community leadership and mechanisms is essential in building relationships and trust, through which education partnerships can form.

Chapter 4

Recommendations and conclusion. Rethinking complex conflict and post-conflict education strategies: putting culture at the centre of education activities

4.1 Lessons learned in promoting and protecting positive community participation

Using the research methodology outlined in *Chapter 1*, two states and one territory experiencing and/or affected by conflict as well as three states in the post-conflict stage³⁴ were examined. Variables that promote and protect positive community participation as well as practices that, sometimes inadvertently, undermine community participation in education were identified.

Countries experiencing or affected by ongoing conflict:

- Afghanistan, where the population has experienced an external occupation by the Soviet Union as well as other external military interventions and is presently a state where the US is waging a war against terrorism;
- Jordan, where Iraqi refugees have sought refuge from the insecurity and violence in their own country created by the US-led invasion and the rise of sectarianism;
- the West Bank, where 40 years of occupation by the Israeli government has left the territory with a mixture of fluid settings, ebbing between conflict and post-conflict situations.

Countries in a post-conflict phase:

- Liberia, where two decades of intermittent conflict ended with the signing of a CPA, disarmament and demobilization in 2003, and elections in 2006;

34. For the purposes of this research, post-conflict setting is where a permanent peace accord has been signed or hostilities have ceased.

- Southern Sudan, where a liberation struggle by various movements over a period of 20 years resulted in the signing of a CPA between the Government of Sudan (Khartoum) and the SPLM/A in 2005;
- northern Uganda, where a two-decade internal conflict between the LRA and the GOU resulted in the signing of a Cessation of Hostilities agreement in 2006; a permanent peace accord is being mediated by the GOSS.³⁵

4.2 Research questions and lessons learned

Research Question 1: What is the role of the community in the provision of education when a state is weak or absent in a conflict or post-conflict setting? What role does social capital play?

In the field and desk reviews conducted, the nature of community participation in education programmes ranged from limited passive participation to the initial stages of active participation in conflict and post-conflict settings. The most common forms of passive community involvement ranged from the enrolment of learners in an education programme to the provision of material and financial resources, primarily in the form of providing land for school construction or classroom venues, contributing materials (for example stone and wood) for school rehabilitation, and the maintenance of school buildings. In some post-conflict settings, initial active participation was demonstrated through the contribution of human resources in the selection of teachers or collaboration with child protection officers to ensure a safe and healthy learning environment. The research showed that post-conflict settings, where a level of stability existed, had the most active (although it was still limited in content and scope) types of community participation in the learning environment.

A key finding that emerged was the type of social capital that existed in communities in conflict and post-conflict settings and how this promoted or undermined community participation in these settings. Emerging lessons identified the nature of state and community relationships prior to the conflict – in particular the movement away from a decentralized traditional education system with socio-cultural dimensions at the core to a centralized ‘modern’ education – is a key

35. At the time of writing – August 2008 – a final peace agreement had not yet been reached.

factor in the role the community assumes when a state is weak or absent in a conflict or post-conflict setting.

Lesson learned: In conflict, conflict-affected and post-conflict settings, community participation and the role of social capital is tied to socio-cultural norms or political ideology.

Afghanistan: Afghanistan social bonding capital revolves primarily around family units (or clans), with the local leaders being the main providers of aid and protection. Afghanistan does not have a strong central government to unify the populace. Instead, the sense of ‘belonging together’ is achieved through a network of affiliations. “The unit of Afghan social organization is the qaum, a network of affiliations that is most intense in the family, in which are nested wider loyalties to tribe, clan, occupation, ethnic group, region and finally to the continued existence of the country itself” (Weinstein, 2004: 1-2).

In the Afghan education arena, the nature of community participation, and relationships both within communities and between communities and other actors, are based upon socio-cultural patterns. Effective education interventions are grounded in community approval. For example, the community plays an active role in selecting a teacher, often one it feels is “acceptable for teaching girls” (Stannard, 2007: 2). This local social capital bonding mechanism is incorporated into the Ministry of Education (draft) *Community Based Education Policy Guidelines* (2006): priority is “to be given for recruiting the one [the teacher] who is accepted by the communities, is active in community affairs and show [sic] interest to work as a teacher in CBS” (IROA, 2006: 5). Local social bridging capital plays out in the form of School Management Committees made up of five members, who represent the key groups: (1) Chairperson (teacher), (2) Shura (local council) representative, (3) Ulema representative, (4) Parent representative (member), and (5) Education activist or community leader. It is important to note that external agencies, such as the UNHCR, have found that it is critical to put in significant investments from the outset so that the Shuras are comfortable with the consultation and democratic approaches used (Ansembourg, personal communication, May 2008), which are critical components of community-based education activities.

Jordan: Social bonding and bridging capital among Iraqi refugees in the education sphere is virtually non-existent. The reason is two-fold. Firstly, Iraqis have long had ethnic and religious divisions and these

divisions in a host country where the legal status for many Iraqi refugees is perilous increase households' isolation. A Save the Children USA employee explained that many Iraqi parents provide only mobile phone numbers (and no physical address) in order to maintain a low profile and avoid deportation (Personal communication, Save the Children USA representative, 7 April 2008). Additionally, many Iraqi households are more likely to relate to and create bonds with other displaced Iraqi families instead of host community members (IOM, 2008) due to their lack of proper residency documentation. Secondly, neither Iraq nor Jordan has a history of community-school support structures, such as PTAs, which serve as a formal bonding mechanism among parents and other community education stakeholders. International NGOs working with Iraqis have noted that some Iraqi households are forming loose, informal support networks. NGOs have also found that their psycho-social workshops provide a forum for parents and other household members to come together to discuss issues. While this does not readily translate into the direct support of education programmes, this budding bonding social capital mechanism is a potential platform from which to build education support within the refugee community.

West Bank: In the West Bank, social bonding capital originated from a political focus – the goal of working together to create a sovereign Palestinian government. During the first intifada, the closure of schools in the West Bank by the Government of Israel unified the populace and promoted intense collaboration amongst individuals and various organizations and institutions to put in place a substitute education system. Similarly, during the second intifada, community members worked together to assist teachers or act as substitute teachers for those who were limited in their movements due to checkpoints and travel restrictions. The social goal of ensuring education continued in spite of the Government of Israel's closures and movement restrictions, and proved to be a critical catalyst in unifying the citizenry and strengthening grassroots bonding social capital mechanisms. Remnants of the grassroots education movement remain today in non-formal education programmes, such as the ones offered by the Multi-Purpose Resource Centre in Nablus and the Tamer Institute.

Liberia: In Liberia, the cessation of the war provided an opportunity for the emergence of new bridging social capital structures. While PTAs were in existence in Liberia prior to the conflict, they were often run by small groups of individuals with a limited understanding of their roles and

responsibilities. The cessation of hostilities and the transition first from conflict to disarmament and demobilization and then to reconstruction has provided an opportunity for traditional vertical (top-down hierarchal) education structures to develop a new face (committees selected through a more egalitarian process) and new links with other social agencies. For example, Child Welfare Officers (who are part of the Ministry of Gender and Child Welfare) work with local Child Welfare Committees and education officials to maintain an education environment that is free of harassment. This horizontal (social capital) bridging mechanism provides a fledgling base for an enhanced holistic approach to education, in some ways similar to traditional forms of education that focused on developing a rounded individual.

Sudan: In Southern Sudan, national NGOs often served as a bridging mechanism between international NGOs and communities and worked to help renew conflict-ridden communities' commitment to education. This was done by moving education activities from abstract actions to concrete deeds. The national NGO, Humanitarian Assistance for Southern Sudan (HASS), through the SBEP worked with the war-torn community of Limbe in the Equatoria Region of Southern Sudan to build and renovate schools that had been destroyed by the war before and after the signing of the CPA. Prior to the start of the work, HASS and the community discussed each group's contribution to the rehabilitation project. However, when work commenced, only a handful of community members fulfilled their promised commitments. The HASS staff realized that after so many years of war the community was sceptical that the school construction would take place. The staff decided action would be the most effective catalyst and began the physical process of reconstructing the school through hands-on work with the community. Gradually word spread and dozens volunteered their time to the effort (SBEP, 2003: 6).

Uganda: For over a decade, the majority of individuals living in the northern conflict areas were displaced into IDP camps; overcrowded conditions in these camps contributed to the breakdown of familial relations and to the dismantlement of traditional authorities and cultural mechanisms. The youth were not always able to identify who were their traditional leaders. In the past two years, with the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities agreement, traditional leaders and others chosen by the community are re-establishing or developing new communities. The use of traditional reconciliation mechanisms and justice mechanisms,

which entail the acceptance of fault and the expression of remorse by the ‘guilty’ party, and the acceptance by the ‘innocent’ of the apology proffered, has been identified as a way to bring together ex-combatants, many of them child soldiers, and survivors of the conflict. Northern Ugandan communities use traditional reconciliation and justice practices and mechanisms to rebuild a harmonious community base, which is needed in the redevelopment of bonding and bridging social capital. The Justice and Reconciliation Project in Uganda has documented several different traditional rituals that have been used to heal relationships; this includes, among others (Liu Institute for Global Issues, 2006):

- *Yyono tong gweno* (Stepping on the Egg), which is practiced by the cultural institution, Ker Kwaro Acholi, at the communal level. This practice is often viewed as a stepping stone towards restoring confidence in traditional practices.
- *Moyo Kum* (Cleansing of the Body), which is basically a gathering of elders to bless the returned person, wash away bad deeds, and ask the ancestors for their blessing. In some groups the individual being cleansed re-enacts different situations they have experienced and in other groups a goat is speared and dragged across the compound to chase away the evil spirits.

Research Question 2: What conditions or factors tend to undermine community involvement in the provision of education in conflict or post-conflict situations?

Two of the key factors that promote positive community participation – trust and external assistance – may also work to disassemble community participation. The lack of trust between and among various community groups and external actors, and how external aid is sometimes operationalized, undermines community participation by not reinforcing communities’ and national education agencies’ self-reliance and local ownership.

Lesson learned: Lack of trust among community groups and between external agencies and communities has a negative impact on education activities.

Afghanistan: Over the past few years, the Taliban has increasingly targeted the education system, burning schools and killing or wounding teachers and students. Deputy Education Minister Mohammad Siddiq Patman indicated that the widening spread of violence by the Taliban has

not only been a physical attack against the education system, but also a “psychological war against education” (Najibullah, 2008: 1). The MOE’s response to counter this ‘war’ has been to work with tribal and religious leaders as well as the local councils to persuade local Taliban leaders from attacking schools and teachers by reassuring the “insurgents and villages that schools are free of any kind of ideology and are nonpolitical” (Najibullah, 2008: 1-2). In this manner, the MOE is hoping to build upon the bridging social capital of local traditional and religious authorities to regain trust between the government (MOE) and local Taliban, so that schools may be reopened and the learning environment protected.

Liberia: The Liberian NGO, Children’s Assistance Program, and the Liberian staff of the international NGO, Save the Children UK, indicated that during the war years, national NGOs were used primarily as direct service delivery mechanisms. There was no genuine partnership. They attributed this to the brief implementation time frames of the international projects (often three to nine months), the high international staff turnover, and the pressure of international NGOs to meet the targets set by international donors. Capacity-building opportunities for local organizations were scarce or non-existent. Now in the nascent stage of reconstruction, national NGOs are re-evaluating their roles. The Children’s Assistance Program indicated that they felt it was time for donors and international NGOs to begin to trust local NGOs and provide them with more capacity-building opportunities to become self-reliant. Building the capacity of indigenous education organizations allows them to become the bridging mechanism between communities and international donors in place of international NGOs.

The external agencies’ direct service delivery approach also created a ‘high dependency rate’ among communities; many parents now expect some type of incentive to participate in school activities and PTA functions. It is not uncommon for communities to affiliate schools with the international organizations working there, for example a Save the Children school, and do not see themselves invested with autonomous authority to serve as a ‘check and balance’ to government officials – in other words, building trust by ensuring that both the community and the government has a voice in the learning environment. The Ministry of Education is promoting the fostering of trust through the strengthening of local PTAs. The newly-developed PTA manual reinforces the fact that the PTA collaborates with the school’s education staff, but is viewed as “an

autonomous body that does not form part of the school administration” (Liberian MOE, 2008: 9).

Lesson learned: Government policies and guidelines that reinforce and promote community involvement and partnerships with education officials need to be in place to validate or strengthen, depending on the situation, community participation in education programmes.

Jordan: The 2007 government decree, entitling Iraqis to enrol officially in Jordan’s formal and non-formal education programmes, does not discuss the role of parents or households in the education system. Allowing Iraqi refugees access to formal and non-formal education programmes is admirable. However, given the fact that Jordan is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, and thus many Iraqi adults lack the proper legal documentation, they are therefore reluctant to participate in or provide information to education programmes.

West Bank: The rapidity of the transfer of the Ministry of Education and Higher Education from the Israeli government to the Palestinian Authority left the education system in the West Bank with a void in policies to guide community involvement in the local learning environment. The teachers and principal of Salem and Deir El-hatab Villages Primary and Lower Secondary School in Nablus explained how this played out in their school. They indicated that when the Government of Israel was responsible for the education system in the West Bank, the populace felt a responsibility to become involved and support the education system since the occupying force did not provide a quality education programme. However, when the Palestinian Authority became responsible, the community felt released from this duty. The lack of national community participation guidelines resulted in the Parents’ Council becoming increasingly school-driven, or school-based rather than community-driven.

One reason for the lack of and limited co-ordination of community participation initiatives stems from the fact that many of the community-focused activities were not supported on a systemic level. The MOEHE Palestine *Education Development Strategic Plan (2008-2012)* notes that numerous funding and implementing agencies failed to provide the financial support and technical assistance that followed the framework of the overarching education plan. The MOEHE, learning from the past, is now focusing on developing national guidelines for

community participation and promoting forums to build partnerships between the community and education authorities.

Research Question 3: What conditions or factors may promote the positive incorporation of community involvement in the provision of education in re-emergent (post-conflict) states?

The research found two key factors in promoting positive community participation; these are: (1) trust and the healing of relationships needs to be at the forefront of education activities in emergency and reconstruction settings; (2) political rationality is balanced with technical rationality to ensure education programming is relevant and effective within the socio-cultural environs.³⁶

Lesson learned: Understanding the ‘essence of the culture’³⁷ is vital in order to put in place processes and activities that focus on strengthening or revalidating cultural mechanisms and traditions that are positive.

The desk and field reviews of the three post-conflict countries revealed the challenge each faced in balancing their legacy of the various theories of development – modernist, dependency, neo-liberalism, and the current focus on promoting economic development and ensuring national security – *vis-à-vis* motivating the healthy development of socio-cultural aspects. When a ‘one-size-fits-all’ community participation development approach or a set of ‘best practices’ is implemented, without taking into consideration the local context by including cultural mechanisms or social practices validated by the community, the healthy aspects of globalization (lessons learned from other countries and programmes) are negated. Deng in his paper, *Self-Reckoning: Challenges of Socio-Cultural Reconstruction and Unity in Southern Sudan* (2004: 9) put forward the

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36. Political rationality centres on the relational, socio-cultural and institutional aspects of decision-making, favouring compromise and negotiation to balance power and strengthen the legitimacy of all actors and institutions. In comparison, technical rationality has a more scientific approach, adopting evidence-based solutions based on criteria such as efficiency (Goulet, 1986; and WSP, 1999). This is discussed in more detail in Recommendation 3 below.
 37. Culture has multiple definitions; for the purposes of this research it may be defined as the “shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them” (Lederach, 1995: 9). Therefore, the ‘essence of a culture’ refers to the appreciation and promotion or reinvigoration of the positive social and cultural dimensions that strengthen the foundation of a group of people.

premise “that transforming the destabilizing impact of diversity in the Sudan into a resource for nation-building can be achieved by recognizing and acting upon borders of identity as lines of cultural articulation, instead of as fault lines of racial, religious and cultural discrimination”. The International Peace Academy research on assessment of bilateral fragile states strategies noted that development partners (internal and external) should develop a ‘harmonized’ approach that aligns the issues of governance, security and basic socio-economic development and that is “nimble and adaptive, capable of being updated as changing conditions warrant. ... The pursuit of whole of government approaches must be aligned with the priorities of local actors” (Patrick and Brown, 2007: 140).

The central finding from the field and desk reviews reiterates these premises. The inclusion of social and cultural dimensions – or the ‘essence of the culture’ – in education activities in emergency and reconstruction settings is necessary in order to balance western-based humanitarian-development aid strategies and approaches with non-western socio-cultural realities. Lessons learned from the reviews showed that the protection of positive community participation in education activities must place equal value on looking to the future as well as on looking to the past.

Liberia: Vision in Action, an international NGO, focuses on ‘learning from the community’. It is not unusual for the agency to spend a year or more familiarizing itself with the community and its basic cultural mores before implementation of a project begins. This enables the NGO proposals to incorporate both a local political rationality alongside the technical rationality. The NGO also emphasizes a flexible approach to programming (flexibility with organizational rules) which takes into account local time factors and balances this with Western bureaucratic time factors.

Sudan: Midway through the implementation of the SBEP, a review was conducted to identify programmatic challenges and emerging lessons. Given the legacy of inequality and exclusion in Southern Sudan, the SBEP found it important to balance quick impact activity implementation with longer-term structure reform “to afford the Southern Sudan transitional government and the Secretariat of Education the opportunity and time needed to build an education structure/system, including the selection of personnel, without repeating past errors” (SBEP, 2005: 5-7).

4.3 Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Building trust and healing relationships is the first step to ensure the effective implementation of humanitarian or development activities. Education programmes provide ‘neutral’ spaces if teachers and education authorities view all learners as equal.

The restoration of trust is an infinitely complex but essential activity, if education activities are to encourage genuine community participation and draw upon social capital, both bonding and bridging. As noted by the WSP (1999), “The central, primary challenge of rebuilding war-torn societies has to do with mending relations and with restoring dignity, trust and faith” (WSP, 1999: 8).

As the research found, trust among individuals at the local level and between communities and external organizations must be addressed from the outset of the activities. Interviews in Liberia with teachers and parents revealed that it took several years of promoting the classroom and school as a ‘neutral’ environment to have students, both ex-combatants and non-combatants, work together in the school.

Recommendation 2: Revitalize traditional authorities and structures, where appropriate, to ensure that cultural and social dimensions are at the centre of education community participation activities.

The chaos of war often destroys or discredits traditional social structures and authorities, and government structures in place after a conflict may lack legitimacy or be seen to favour certain groups (WSP, 1999). Promoting, and in some cases revalidating, traditional authorities and structures is an integral part of building trust and mending relationships. Indigenous cultural leaders are often viewed by members of society as vessels of the cultural knowledge system, and traditional mechanisms and systems may offer a way for order to be re-established.

The Aga Khan, noted that “without cultural identity, social cohesion gradually dissolves and human groups lose their necessary point of reference to relate with each other, and with other groups ... development is sustainable only if the beneficiaries become, in a gradual manner, the masters of the process. This means that initiatives cannot be contemplated exclusively in terms of economics, but rather as an integrated programme that encompasses social and cultural dimensions as well” (Khan, 2002).

During conflict and extended periods of instability, it is not unusual for traditional social bonding mechanisms to come to the forefront when groups draw upon traditional education mechanisms to provide a learning environment, in the absence of a state authority to do so. While these mechanisms may be weak in technical areas (for example no strong pedagogic understanding of a curriculum), they are helpful in ensuring a safe learning environment to provide continuity and a sense of normalcy for learners.

Recommendation 3: Strengthen local bonding and bridging social capital mechanisms by understanding each partner's assets.

Given the nature of conflict or the effects of conflict (occupation or mobility), there are several different factors which may alter a community's social capital mechanisms. It is important to understand the factors that contribute to how social capital mechanisms take new forms and directions. Genuine partnerships are based on an understanding that not all parties bring the same resources; a balance of understanding what works and why it works, for example selecting teachers from the local community who are known and accepted by the community, is as important as providing teachers with the right training.

For example, the teachers and education staff of the Salem and Deir El-hatab Villages Primary and Lower Secondary School in Nablus indicated the importance of drawing on past experiences (during the first and second intifadas) to provide the communities with 'creative' ideas on how to support community participation and to rename the Parents Council to 'School Friends Committee' (to include all interested community stakeholders).

Recommendation 4: Link to global frameworks through the cultural contextualization of activities.

Education activities in a state or territory cannot be viewed and implemented separately from other humanitarian and development activities. Contextualizing international frameworks, such as the *Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises and Early Reconstruction* (INEE, 2004), at the state and then more immediately at the community level, provides an opportunity to link the development partners' strategic objectives to on-the-ground crisis or post-crisis realities to a global (bilateral or multilateral) strategy. In order

to contextualize global strategies, it is important to have an understanding of the setting and knowledge of the elements that have contributed to the crisis.

The Afghanistan Community-Based Education Forum contextualized the global *Minimum Standards* for community participation and used these definitions as the foundation in the development of a monitoring and evaluation tool to implement programmatic activities against the Ministry of Education Community-Based Education guidelines. As part of the contextualization of the standards, there is a section which reflects on how well the Community Participation Minimum Standards have been met and includes some sample questions to reflect on the processes and practices involved in the implementation of the minimum standards.

4.4 Conclusion

A river does not flow and forget its source. (Yoruba proverb)

Societies – nations, ethnic groups, communities – define themselves by their values, preferences and beliefs. Together, these collective experiences constitute a society’s ‘culture’ and give it an identity both internal and externally. Culture plays a key role in defining individual and community behaviour; it determines how a society will develop and advance (SDC, 2003: 4).

Simply put, social capital matters. Learning from the past to understand the synergies (networks) that draw groups together underpins education programming in emergency and reconstruction settings. Education activities that understand and build on socio-cultural dynamics or reinvigorate traditional community involvement help promote strong bonding and bridging social capital mechanisms. Utilizing best practices from other societies and understanding how they are contextualized to the immediate environment (or in other words, putting culture at the centre of education programming) is key for successful implementation.

Community participation, however, is not invariably positive. To encourage genuine and inclusive participation, positive input from beyond the immediate community is often needed to provide a constructive challenge and work through existing social structures to expand upon community roles in education, forming partnerships and relationships.

Communities are a vital catalyst in enabling access to quality education, never more so than in situations affected by conflict, where

circumstances may prompt them to become more actively involved. But to enable communities to be positive agents for change, they often need external facilitation to help form bridging social capital and restore relationships. Partnerships with communities need to be based on common goals, with both sides recognizing each other's strengths and building upon these.

A precursor to positive community participation in education is a positive community foundation. During and after conflict, communities are in a state of flux, with the potential both to draw together and to heighten social divisions. Time needs to be dedicated to allowing trust and relationships to reform. Educational issues can provide a common forum in which these social bonds can be re-established, but for participation to be sustained and constructive the focus cannot be solely on educational outcomes. Consideration needs to be given to the approach taken to fostering community engagement. Our research has shown that holistic approaches that combine working with community structures with resources to improve educational outcomes are the greatest successes and provide a more solid foundation for durable, inclusive community involvement.

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Promoting participation

Community contributions to education in conflict situations

The book



Community participation is a common phrase in the development and education sectors, along with accompanying terms of good governance, rights, ownership and accountability. Despite the challenges, communities can contribute greatly to reconstruction efforts and conflict resolution.

Communities are often among the first to step forward to provide education, which can be highly successful and establish a foundation for partnerships with governments after conflict has subsided. This research explores the roles communities play in providing education in both emergency and reconstruction settings, including Afghanistan, Liberia, Sudan and Uganda.

The book recommends that building trust and healing relationships is the first step to ensuring effective implementation of humanitarian or development activities. It suggests that traditional authorities and structures should be revised to ensure that communities are at the centre of the cultural and social dimensions of education activities.

The authors

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