

Indicators for Education for Peacebuilding in Fragile States

UNICEF's Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Program

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INTRODUCTION

The World Bank's 2011 Development Report lists insecurity as one of the "primary development challenges of our time".¹ It adds that no low-income, fragile, or conflict-affected country has yet achieved a single Millennium Development Goal (MDG); and that countries afflicted with political and criminal violence find their economic growth compromised and their human indicators stagnant.² The report concludes that strengthening legitimate institutions and governance is crucial to provide employment, justice, and security for citizens, thus contributing to the breaking of cycles of violence.³

To reduce the risk of a lapse or relapse into conflict, the United Nations Secretary General emphasized the importance of a multidimensional range of political, security, social, and economic measures that address both the causes and consequences of conflict, and the need to strengthen national capacities for conflict management at all levels.⁴ As of 2012, discussions on peacebuilding interventions and conflict prevention no longer focus solely on conflict-preventive diplomacy, or structural prevention of conflict measures (governance, economic development, national security), but also on considerations how the provision of administrative and social services can be used to restore peace and stability.

There is significant evidence to include administrative and social services amongst the menu of choices available to directly support peacebuilding in any given context. Finding the appropriate balance among the many peacebuilding priorities in any setting should ultimately be a country-driven exercise – one that is inclusive of a wide range of stakeholders at different levels, especially historically marginalized groups.⁵

UNICEF AND PEACEBUILDING

UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) is a social services provider agency. Its mission is "to advocate for the protection of children's rights, to help meet their basic needs and to expand their opportunities to reach their full potential."⁶ Children and their carers suffer the most from conflict, and have the most to benefit from peace. As the World Bank states:

People in fragile and conflict-affected states are more than twice as likely to be undernourished as those in other developing countries, more than three times as likely to be unable to send their children to school, twice as likely to see their children die before age five, and more than twice as likely to lack clean water.⁷

65% of the total resources entrusted to UNICEF are being expended in countries termed as fragile by the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).⁸ UNICEF anticipates that the 21st century faces increased and more complex risks for communities⁹ across the globe – unprecedented in frequency and magnitude – resulting from natural disasters, manmade disasters and climate change.¹⁰ An estimated 46 countries – home to 2.7 billion people – will experience the compounding effects of climate change interacting with economic, social and political problems, thereby escalating an already high risk of violent conflict.¹¹ Stresses and shocks are likely to exacerbate competition for scarce resources. In the late 1990s the number of children affected by disasters was estimated at 66.5 million per year; and climate change impacts are projected to increase this number to as many as 175 million per year in the coming decade.¹²

The acknowledgement that competent, transparent, and accountable provision of social services may contribute to the mitigation of conflict drivers is an important development in contemporary peacebuilding discussions. It is in UNICEF's interest to combine its significant experience of providing social services working in fragile, conflict, and post-conflict contexts with a more systematic approach to conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding. This will enable UNICEF to contribute more effectively to the resilience of social systems, and help prevent the loss of future generations of children to conflict and disasters.

EDUCATION FOR PEACEBUILDING

Education is central to identity formation. It can promote cohesive societies and contribute to state-building.¹³ It is "one of the most visible and far-reaching services that states provide, given that there is a school in every town or, of

equal importance, citizens' expectation of a school in every town. Teachers usually form the largest cadres of civil servants, at times rivaling the military¹⁴. Education can also undermine social cohesion. Inequitable provision of services, or biased curriculum and teaching methods can reinforce existing exclusion and stereotypes. Thus, education needs to be delivered effectively and equitably to ensure that it is a driver of peace rather than conflict.¹⁵

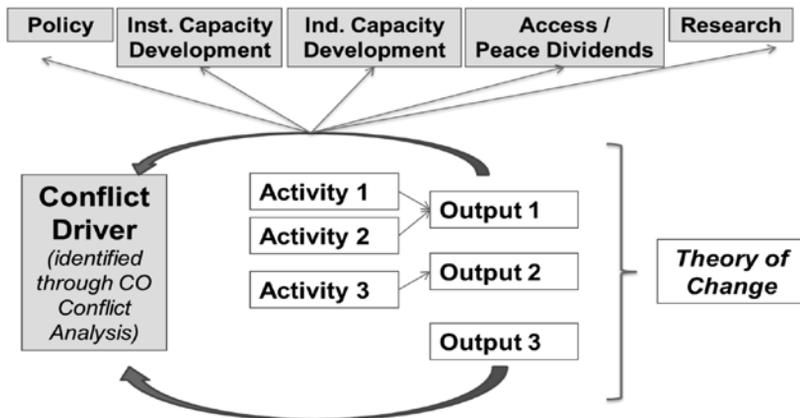
Although UNICEF country offices have implemented education programs with peace-relevant content in recent decades¹⁶, programming for peacebuilding was not an area for which donor funding could be easily mobilized – precisely because administrative and social services were not considered to be an entry point for peacebuilding and conflict prevention. When – in December 2011 – UNICEF was awarded a grant from the Government of the Netherlands to implement a Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Program (PBEA)¹⁷, a unique opportunity was created to launch education programs that served as an entry point for the conflict-sensitive provision of social services and the strengthening of positive relationships. PBEA's results framework (see Figure 1) emphasizes program implementation at multiple system levels simultaneously for assisting policy makers and institutions, as well as teachers, parents and caregivers, to prevent, reduce and cope with conflict. PBEA interventions also aim to provide access to services (as a peace dividend¹⁸), and to close knowledge gaps in the field of education and peacebuilding.

Figure 1: PBEA Outcomes



Prior to engaging in the design of education for peacebuilding work plans, each country office conducted a conflict analysis, consisting of a political situation analysis, a causal analysis, a stakeholder analysis, an analysis of conflict dynamics, and a prioritization of conflict drivers.¹⁹ Based on the conflict drivers identified²⁰, UNICEF country offices then developed work plans with outputs aiming to mitigate identified conflict drivers through policy, institutional and grassroots level interventions (see Figure 2). With PBEA funding support from the Government of the Netherlands, 14 UNICEF country offices currently provide technical assistance in making national education sector plans conflict-sensitive; engage in the training of ministry and partner organization personnel on the principles of conflict-sensitive education services administration, textbook revisions, teacher training, and the provision of education services in war-affected regions. UNICEF also supports education-for-peacebuilding relevant research such as minority language policy research, or research on the linkage between education and transitional justice.

Figure 2: PBEA Workplan Design



IDENTIFYING PEACEBUILDING INDICATORS

To identify indicators, UNICEF country teams were asked to define indicators for sets of outputs that contribute to the mitigation of prioritized conflict drivers. The following provides examples for each of the five outcomes, drawn from work plans implemented by the 14 PBEA participating countries.

Global Outcome 1: Education for Peacebuilding Policy

- **Driver of Conflict:** Lack of inclusive, conflict-sensitive education policies that address the grievances of ethnic minority groups regarding equal opportunities for success in education, and acknowledgement of their identity, history, citizenry, linguistic and cultural heritage. Lack of these basic education rights has resulted in a lack of trust towards governments and resentments between groups.
- **Output:** Comprehensive education sector review is risk-informed and conflict sensitive, and enriched to allow for greater use of multi-lingual approaches and methods at state, district and township levels.
- **Indicator:** Conflict-sensitive and peacebuilding relevant principles are reflected in key basic education policy documents based on findings from the conflict-sensitive and peacebuilding audits.
- **Description:** Education sector plan reflects multiple cultural identities.
- **Theory of Change:** If the diverse citizen groups are being respected in their request for fair representation of their identity and civic legacies in teacher and school curriculums as well as education policies, then resentment against the government will decline, and trust between government and minority groups (including trust between groups) will increase.²¹
- **Means of Verification:** Committee of Education Sector Review reports, training reports, desk reviews on Minority Language Policy Study.
- **Qualified Aggregation:** Demonstrate that the Committee for Education Sector Review has developed an education sector plan that reflects multiethnic cultural heritage.

Global Outcome 2: Institution Building

- **Driver of Conflict:** Discriminatory textbooks, particularly in regards to gender and religious differences, continue to be used in classrooms thereby reinforcing stereotypes and divisions amongst children. Additionally textbooks do not actively engage children sufficiently to encourage them to think critically; therefore rote learning is the norm, further ingraining such stereotypes and discriminatory beliefs.
- **Output:** Increased capacity to develop for provincial institutions responsible for curricula, and for school supervisors to deliver education that promotes child-friendly education as well as social cohesion and resilience.
- **Outcome Indicator:** Number of provincial curricula departments that have adopted materials that promote child friendly education as well as social cohesion and resilience.

- Description: Three-part workshop with textbook writers, development of supplementary materials, and orientation to review boards and departmental managers.
- Theory of Change: If provincial education departments provide education that supports peace and addresses issues that may have fuelled conflict, such as discriminatory textbooks and teaching techniques that promote rote learning and a hidden curricula that promotes a negative picture of ‘the other’, then education will contribute to children’s ability to think critically. It will also increase the likelihood for the positive transformation of relationships and the promotion of respect for diversity while developing a common identity.²²
- Means of Verification: Curriculum departments’ official lists of materials.
- Qualified Aggregation: Demonstrate that the provincial institutions responsible for curricula and textbooks have increased institutional capacity for conflict sensitive and ‘social cohesion and resilience’ education; and that they will develop and adopt textbooks and materials that promote active learning and ‘social cohesion and resilience’. Deem that these materials have been adopted, on the basis that the relevant institutions’ logos will be included in materials; and that they will be added to the list of the institution’s official materials.

Global Outcome 3: Community and Individual Capacity Development.

- Conflict Driver: Children and youth do not feel they can participate in their community due to certain power dynamics and cultural barriers that lead to a lack of identity, trust and respect, participation, dialogue, awareness and aspiration. Preconceived ideas about ‘the other’ also inhibit their ability to interact with children from various backgrounds, further ingraining such ideas and increasing rifts between children from different educational and cultural backgrounds.
- Output: Children and youth have broken down preconceived divisions and stereotypes through increased interaction with groups from various backgrounds.
- Output Indicator: Number of children (male/female) in local formal and non-formal schools participating in activities with other children, in school and out of school on a weekly basis in target districts.
- Description: Participation of children from different educational backgrounds in weekly sport and recreation activities.
- Theory of Change: If youth are brought together from different backgrounds to interact, play, create and learn together, then they are

less likely to continue to see each other in a negative light and will bridge divisions through finding areas of commonality in order to participate constructively and engage with each other.²³

- Definition of “different backgrounds”: Depending on the analysis of conflict drivers in the different regions, this can refer to different educational backgrounds or different ethnic, religious or tribal backgrounds.
- Means of Verification: Participants’ lists including name of school (or out-of-school children).
- Qualified Aggregation: Demonstrate that hard to reach and excluded non-formal school and out-of-school children have an increased ability to promote social cohesion, by participating in interactive activities together with other children, in school and out of school, once a week at minimum.

Global Outcome 4: Access to quality education services that address urgent community needs, administered in a conflict-sensitive manner, and provided as a ‘peace dividend’.

- Conflict Driver: Absence of essential social services in conflict-affected regions amongst communities creates resentment.
- Output: Increased access for children to quality education in war-affected communities, delivered as a community peace dividend.
- Output Indicator: Number of children that have gained access to child-friendly learning environments based on multi-community stakeholder consultations; funds contributed to school construction effort by participating communities.
- Description: Children from war-affected communities, who did not have access to basic education previously, now gain access.
- Theory of Change: If education services are being made available as a peace dividend following a consultative process with stakeholders, it is possible to build positive relationships between previously isolated communities through the provision of education and social services.²⁴
- Definition of “peace dividends”: The visible, tangible result of peace that is accessible beyond the political elite to communities – men, women and children – throughout the state and in an equitable manner.²⁵
- Means of Verification: Number of communities/number of children from communities which previously lacked education services, receiving quality education in child-friendly schools or temporary learning spaces.
- Qualified Aggregation: Demonstrate that areas and populations affected

by conflict and excluded from provision of basic social services are given access to education services in a conflict-sensitive and peacebuilding relevant manner.

Global Outcome 5: Research and knowledge generation

- Conflict Driver: Lack of context-adequate evidence and research on education-relevant conflict drivers that ignore diverse cultural identities, needed to enable institutions to address issues of conflict and cohesion in a strategic and systemic manner.
- Output: Research institution commissioned to expand initial work carried out on the Language, Education and Social Cohesion initiative, with the aim to address the questions of minority language policy and planning, citizenship, and ethnicity concerns in the educational context.
- Description: Data retrieval that will support technical assistance initiatives on policy development on language, education, and social cohesion.
- Output Indicator: The overall PBEA program implementation at the regional as well as country level is informed by relevant research findings pertaining to conflict sensitivity and education and peacebuilding.
 - Language, Education and Social Cohesion report produced.
 - Guidelines produced.
 - Number of research articles published and disseminated demonstrating the relationship between language issues and conflict.
- Definition of “minority language policy and planning”: Efforts to integrate opportunities for minority language-based cognitive processing in education and communication systems, to neutralize historic disadvantages experienced by minority groups socialized into regional languages and non-standard forms of speech.²⁶
- Theory of Change: If UNICEF collects evidence on conflict drivers such as cultural degradation, the disregard for minority languages, and violence against children, then education policies can be developed to mitigate these conflict drivers.²⁷
- Means of Verification: Language, Education and Social Cohesion report, guidelines report, and sample copies of research articles.
- Qualified Aggregation: Demonstrate the filling of existing knowledge gaps in the field of education and peacebuilding, for use in advocacy in the area of peacebuilding and social cohesion-relevant programming.

MONITORING AND EVALUATION, BOTTLENECKS, AND LESSONS LEARNED

For UNICEF, the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of peacebuilding and social cohesion-oriented education workplans presents challenges but also important organizational learning opportunities. UNICEF education-for-peacebuilding workplans relate to 14 socio-culturally diverse fragile states that lack institutional social cohesion monitoring systems, data retrieval capacity, and sometimes even readiness to ask questions that are conflict related in nature. UNICEF Country Offices' monitoring work plans identify education outputs and outcomes that contribute to the mitigation of selected conflict drivers, while unable to address others. Given the limited time frame of a four year programme contract, and given the fact that peacebuilding is indeed a long-term, multifaceted and multidimensional process, UNICEF will need to focus on the achievement of progress benchmarks rather than on indicators for measuring peacebuilding change at the national level.

In fragile country contexts the implementation of peacebuilding programs is a politically-sensitive undertaking. Although it is possible to obtain consent and endorsement of government partners through engagement in consultative planning processes, such activities take time and cannot be rushed. The innovative nature of the PBEA requires a risk analysis-based planning and implementation process, and the abandonment of traditional ways of doing programme design. Specific training and retraining of M&E staff (both within UNICEF but also among partner organizations) in peacebuilding-relevant M&E approaches is needed, combined with mentoring, coaching and staff accompaniment. M&E operationalization plans must be practical and pragmatic given their implementation in geographically demanding environments, many of them fraught with travel impediments and security risks. In high workload environments with unfavourable working conditions, and restricted capacity for learning and movement, it remains challenging to recruit staff with special M&E skill sets. Multiple emergency demands require constant adjustments and accommodation to competing engagement necessities.

These challenges notwithstanding, the PBEA provides a unique opportunity to explore and document how international agencies such as UNICEF can put their expertise in the service of social cohesion and resilience agendas. UNICEF will focus on the development of case studies that demonstrate how social service providers can contribute to the mitigation of drivers of conflict. This will create evidence and lessons learned that will be useful for education, child protection, water, health and nutrition experts interested in contributing to peace and security for children, their communities and their nations.

Notes

- ¹ The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD] / World Bank, 2011, p. 1
- ² Ibid.
- ³ Ibid, p. 2
- ⁴ Adapted from the Secretary General's Policy Committee Decision, May 2007; and the Report of the United Nations Secretary General on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict, A/63/881 – S/2009/304; in: UNICEF Office of Emergency Operations (2012, June). Conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding in UNICEF. Technical Note. New York: UNICEF, p. 3. See also Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Development Assistance Committee (2001). The DAC Guidelines: Helping Prevent Violent Conflict, Paris, OECD-DAC, p. 23ff
- ⁵ United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, 2012, p.1
- ⁶ UNICEF 2014a
- ⁷ IBRD / World Bank, 2011, p.5
- ⁸ UNICEF Office of Emergency Operations, 2012, p. 8 (footnote 33)
- ⁹ United Nations Social and Economic Council, 2013, p.2
- ¹⁰ Penrose & Takai 2006
- ¹¹ UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2008
- ¹² Tarazona & Gallegos, 2011, p. 4
- ¹³ UNICEF, 2011 (December), p.7
- ¹⁴ Winthrop & Matsui, 2012
- ¹⁵ UNICEF, 2011 (December), p.7; United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, 2012
- ¹⁶ United Nations Children's Fund, 2011 December
- ¹⁷ For more information on the Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Webpage visit <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/>
- ¹⁸ Peace dividends are “vital actions that address the consequences of conflict. They help create incentives for non-violent behaviour, reduce fear and begin instilling confidence in affected populations in their communities and in the legitimacy of their institutions.” (UNICEF Office of Emergency Operations, 2012, pp. 3-4)
- ¹⁹ UNICEF Office of Emergency Operations (2012, June)
- ²⁰ The conflict drivers that emerged from the UNICEF PBEA conflict analyses include: (a) weak governance characterized by divided politics, limited policies and legislation and weak local capacity to provide security and equitable services; (b) political corruption and exclusion, centralization of power and resources leading to lack of trust and exclusion from decision-making in areas affecting people's lives; (c) poverty and unequal economic development; (d) environment and competition over natural and scarce resources; (e) ethnic and religious divisions mobilized along political lines and emphasizing grievances in terms of inequalities between groups – education system may be reinforcing divisions; (f) youth demography especially in countries with high youth population; (g) lack of livelihoods, minimal economic diversification, poor infrastructure, few local opportunities and lack of relevant education, increasing tensions over small pools of money and jobs, frustration of adolescents and young parents facing unemployment and disempowerment; (h) migration, displacement including increasing pressure in rural and particularly urban areas (especially impacting on schools and local communities) caused by large numbers of returnees increase likelihood of tensions and conflict, Intergroup intolerance, stereotyping, xenophobia, sectarianism; (i) violence within communities and families, especially against children, gender based violence and gender discrimination (abduction, early marriage, negative attitude towards girls' education) (UNICEF PBEA Program Management Team, unpublished document).

- ²¹ This theory of change builds on the ‘Institutional Development Theory’ (Woodrow, in UNICEF Office of Emergency Operations, 2012, p. 38), which argues that peace can be secured by establishing stable/reliable social institutions that guarantee democracy, equity, services, justice, and fair allocation of resources. Suitable methods include new constitutional and governance arrangements/entities; institutional capacity development; development of human rights, rule of law, anti-corruption; establishment of democratic/equitable economic structures; economic development; democratization. It furthermore links to the ‘Root Cause and Justice Theory’ (ibid.) which ascertains that peace can be achieved and sustained by addressing the underlying causes of conflict (injustice, oppression/exploitation, threats to identity and security, inequalities, grievances, etc.). Suitable methods include long-term programs for social transformation and structural change, truth and reconciliation; governance reform--institutions, laws, regulations, and economic systems; development of local human capacity for conflict management; etc.
- ²² This theory builds on the ‘Public Attitudes Theory’ (ibid.) that posits that war and violence are partly motivated by prejudice, misperceptions, and intolerance of difference. Positive social relations and non-violence can be promoted by using the media (television and radio), community development, social mobilization to change public attitudes and build greater tolerance in communities and society. Proposed methods include TV and radio programs that promote tolerance; modeling tolerant behavior; peace education and conflict management in educational systems; curriculum development; advocacy campaigns; community development programs involving different groups; symbolic acts of solidarity/unity; dialogue among groups in conflict—with subsequent publicity.
- ²³ This theory builds on the ‘Relationships and Connections Theory’ (ibid., p. 37) which argues that peace emerges out of a process of breaking down isolation, polarization, division, prejudice and stereotypes between/among groups. The theory posits that strong relationships are a central ingredient for peacebuilding and community resilience. It is therefore assumed that processes of inter-group dialogue; networking; relationship-building processes; collaborative, joint management over any shared resource or concrete initiative are means to advance peacebuilding. Although significant and deep contact may help to overcome prejudice and contribute to the ‘humanization of the other’, overcoming of violence may require additional influences and experiences to promote reconciliation, such as healing, establishing the truth and justice, and creating a shared history (Staub, 2011, p. 338)
- ²⁴ This theory builds on the ‘Public Attitudes Theory’ (ibid., p. 38) which posits that community development is a means to promote peacebuilding in war-affected areas. Positive social relations and non-violence can be promoted by using the media (television and radio), community development, and social mobilization to build greater tolerance in communities and society. In addition, the emphasis of joint stakeholder analysis prior to program implementation as a means to prevent inter-community tensions across scarce resources also relates to the “Relationships and Connections Theory” as well as the “Grassroots Mobilization Theory” (ibid., pp. 37-38). Peace dividends may not necessarily address the underlying causes of conflict, but are nonetheless vital actions that address the consequences of conflict. They incentivize non-violent behavior, and begin instilling confidence in affected populations and in the legitimacy of their institutions (UNICEF Office of Emergency Operations (2012, June), pp. 3-4).
- ²⁵ UN Secretary General, 2009, p.x
- ²⁶ LeBianco, 2007, p. 9
- ²⁷ This theory relates to again to the “Root Cause and Justice Theory’ (Woodrow, in UNICEF Office of Emergency Operations, 2012, p. 38)
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