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The Second Opportunity

Education, Peacebuilding and Transformative Justice

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“On a day like today, my master William Faulkner said in this very place, "I refuse to admit the end of mankind." I should not feel myself worthy of standing where he once stood were I not fully conscious that, for the first time in the history of humanity, the colossal disaster which he refused to recognize thirty-two years ago is now simply a scientific possibility. Face to face with a reality that overwhelms us, one which over man's perceptions of time must have seemed a utopia, tellers of tales who, like me, are capable of believing anything, feel entitled to believe that it is not yet too late to undertake the creation of a minor utopia: a new and limitless utopia for life, wherein no one can decide for others how they are to die, where love really can be true and happiness possible, where the lineal generations of one hundred years of solitude will have at last and forever a second opportunity on earth.”

Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Nobel lecture (8th December 1982)

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Abstract

Traditionally, transitional justice and children's education have been considered as two separate fields with little crossover. Education and children's participation in general fit uneasily with legalistic paradigms of transitional justice, which prioritise fighting impunity, delivering truth and reparations, and institutional reform. They also often fall outside the scope of peacebuilding, which seeks to neutralise immediate security threats, and considers education as part of a development process which itself is dependent and therefore secondary to the cessation of hostilities. This essay will argue that such approaches overlook both the role of children and the transformative capacity of education, and the contribution it can make to sustainable peace. To mobilise this capacity, it proposes shifting the approach to post-conflict reform from transitional to "transformative" justice, considering education as a tool for transformation, and recognising children as agents of change.

Tradicionalmente, la justicia transicional y la educación de niños se han considerado principalmente como dos campos que tienen poco en común. La educación y la participación de niños en general no caben bien con los paradigmas jurídicos de la justicia transicional, los cuales dan prioridad a la lucha contra la impunidad, la búsqueda de verdad, y la reforma institucional. Tampoco suelen coincidir con el ámbito de la construcción de paz, la que busca neutralizar amenazas inmediatas de seguridad, y considera la educación como parte de un proceso de desarrollo, el que es dependiente y por ende secundario al cese del conflicto. Este ensayo discutirá que tal paradigma subestima el papel de los niños tanto como la capacidad transformadora de la educación, y la contribución que pueden hacer hacia una paz sustentable. Para movilizar dicha capacidad, propone cambiar el enfoque en procesos de posconflicto desde la justicia transicional a la justicia "transformadora," considerando a la educación como una herramienta para la transformación, y reconociendo a niñas y niños como gestores de cambio.

List of Acronyms

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CESCR: Committee for Economic and Social Rights

CRC: Convention on the Rights of the Child

EU: European Union

EULEX: European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

IAG: Illegal Armed Group

ICESCR: International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights

ICTJ: International Centre for Transitional Justice

IGO: International Government Organisation

IHRL: International Human Rights Law

NGO: Non-Government Organisation

OAS: Organisation of American States

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

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"The Second Opportunity": Education, Peacebuilding & Transformative Justice

Introduction

Traditionally, transitional justice and children's education have been considered as two separate fields with little crossover.[1] Education and children's participation in general fit uneasily with legalistic paradigms of transitional justice, which prioritise fighting impunity, delivering truth and reparations, and institutional reform. They also often fall outside the scope of peacebuilding, which seeks to neutralise immediate security threats, and considers education as part of a development process which itself is dependent and therefore secondary to the cessation of hostilities. This essay will argue that such approaches overlook both the role of children and the transformative capacity of education, and the contribution it can make to sustainable peace. To mobilise this capacity, it proposes shifting the approach to post-conflict reform from transitional to "transformative" justice, considering education as a tool for transformation, and recognising children as agents of change.

It will be demonstrated that education is a tool capable of transforming knowledge, identity, culture and material living conditions, of individuals, collective groups and society, both during and after conflict. As recognised by UNESCO, a child's learning process is not limited to formal schooling, but includes non-formal activities and initiatives, and informal everyday experiences at home and in the community.[2] Where these learning processes contradict or are incoherent, the transformative function of any one isolated educational initiative is limited, since theory is inconsistent with experience, and thus lacks credibility. It will therefore be argued that education for transformation is necessarily an integral process, requiring participation and coherence from a range of actors across society. Following this logic, the thesis will take a broad

[1] Children will be considered according to the legal definition in the CRC as "every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier."
[2] UNESCO (2012)

approach to transformative education, illustrating the synergies between different processes in society.

Section 1 will take a normative approach, outlining the limitations of the traditional "transitional justice" model, and suggesting the benefits of "transformative justice." It will then analyse the importance of children's participation, demonstrating that they are rights-holders, stakeholders and agents for transformation. Turning to education, it will be argued that as a multiplier of rights, education is tool capable of mobilising this capacity, discussing a range of educational initiatives vital to repairing the social fabric and empowering young people after conflict. In this way, educational initiatives as part of transformative justice processes can interrupt vicious cycles of conflict, and provide individuals and society with an alternative to violence.

Whilst the concept that education is capable of transformation holds great normative power and creates little academic dispute, in practice education remains undervalued in conflict and post-conflict societies. Given this inconsistency between theory and practice, Section 2 will analyse three cases in Sierra Leone, Peru, and Bosnia, where educational reform has performed a transformative role in post-conflict and peacebuilding processes. Although the contexts of the conflicts differ, it will be argued that many of the political, economic, social and cultural obstacles to implementation of educational programmes are similar. It will thus make several conclusions regarding the practical implementation of transformative educational initiatives, and the possible lessons for future processes.

Finally, Section 3 will report observations and conclusions from field work in Colombia, going into more detail about the implementation of educational initiatives on the ground, and the relevant challenges. It will be argued that to maximise the transformative capacity of education, there must be synergies between processes on a vertical level: between national, regional, and local actors, and a horizontal level: targeting social, cultural and economic interventions. It will also be demonstrated that through education, children can be agents for transformation, even during conflict.

If this coherence is achieved, it is proposed that education can contribute to guarantees of non-repetition, reconciliation, and the promotion of peace. Education is thus shown to be an essential tool in processes of transformative justice and peacebuilding, and capable of providing a disjuncture that interrupts cycles of conflict. It follows that, in societies plagued by a historic inability to achieve peace and human development, education provides individuals, groups, and societies with a second opportunity.

Part 1. Children, Education & Transformative Justice

1.1. Transitional to Transformative Justice: A New Paradigm

Since the first democratisation processes in various former military dictatorships across Latin America in the 1970s, scholars and practitioners have traditionally conceptualised reform in post-conflict societies using models of "transitional justice." The UN defines transitional justice as "the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempt to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past abuses, in order to ensure accountability, serve justice and achieve reconciliation."[3] Transitional justice processes typically include mechanisms including criminal trials, amnesties, truth commissions, reparations, institutional reform, and initiatives for reconciliation or memorialisation. As the term "transitional" implies, such mechanisms are designed to help society progress from a violent, unjust and/or undemocratic past towards a peaceful, just, and democratic future. The salience of the concept worldwide is demonstrated by the use of transitional justice models in post-conflict societies in Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa, together with extensive academic research and support from IGOs including the UN and EU. Transitional justice could thus be considered as a norm which has "cascaded" on an international level, and is now considered the *prima facie* response to conflict and instability.

Felipe Gómez Isa has argued that this epistemic success has been accompanied by a "scant advance in the theory" of transitional justice paradigms.[4] This has left scholars "hostages of an episodic, partial, and very fragmented theoretical construction."[5] Increasingly, however, the conceptual, political and practical foundations of "transitional justice" as a model have been questioned. Criticisms include that it is overly legalistic, elite or exclusive to victims, and responsible for prioritising civil-political over economic, social, and cultural (ESC) rights. As a result, there is a "growing disenchantment with the performance and efficacy of transitional

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[3] UN (2010)
[4] Lyon & Reed (2010) 145
[5] Ibid. 145

justice mechanisms in achieving the goals associated with their original purpose."[6] These criticisms will be briefly summarised, considering the ramifications for transitional justice's stated objectives of peace, justice and reconciliation.

Transitional Justice as Legalistic

Since its historic origins in the post-war tribunals of Nuremburg and Tokyo, transitional justice has retained a strong legal focus, predominantly in the form of criminal trials. Retributive punishment is often considered the primary mechanism to enforce accountability and rule of law, to prevent impunity, and to provide "justice" for victims. This premise is increasingly challenged from criminological, socio-psychological and political perspectives. Kieran McEvoy, for example, points out that limiting conflict prevention to deterrence through retributive punishment ignores criminological literature "which asks serious questions of deterrence theory generally never mind in the particular social, political or cultural circumstances (of the conflict.)"[7] Critics also suggest that legalistic and punitive approaches cause transitional justice to become institutionalised with the creation of courts and tribunals. This shifts the transitional "space" away from communities affected by the conflict and towards elitist institutions which often fail to engage with the general population.[8] The justice delivered by these institutions has been criticised as "thin"[9] and "distant"[10] from communities affected by the violence, given their lack of participation in the transitional process, and the persistence of human rights violations.

One example of such "distant justice" is in Kosovo, where international intervention in the form of the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) UNMIK and EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) programmes have struggled to ease ethnic tensions, brought few perpetrators to justice, and lost legitimacy following internal

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[6] Balasco (2013) 206
[7] McEvoy (2007) 438
[8] Gready & Robins (2014) 341
[9] Robins (2012) 15
[10] Gready (2005) 71

corruption.[11] Likewise, the introduction of a Constitution with comprehensive human rights protection has lacked implementation and is distant from the reality of organised crime, poverty, gender violence and ethnic tensions. Stan Cohen has criticised this "magical legalism" which suffers from "the disconnect between the 'real world' in some transitional societies and the plethora of 'law talk' which often characterize debates amongst the political elites."[12] In summary, whilst fighting impunity is clearly an important aspect of state-building, post-conflict reform must go beyond purely legalistic or punitive mechanisms in order to engage society, facilitate reconciliation and bring "justice" to affected communities.

Transitional Justice as Elite Discourse

Such debates over "justice" often pose the question: justice for whom? Critics of the legalistic focus of transitional mechanisms argue that such an approach marginalises large sections of society, restricts victims' agency, and makes transitional justice an "elite discourse."[13] Institutionalisation of transitional mechanisms in the form of courts and tribunals creates a state centred, top down delivery of "justice," dominated by lawyers, judges and politicians, who are typically socially and economically privileged relative to the majority of the population.[14] Victims and the general public may not engage with transitional justice institutions, either because of the difficulty to understand the technical language of mandates, rules and procedures, or for lack of civic trust in public institutions as a consequence of the conflict.[15] Even truth commissions, often described as "victim centred," often operate "through the objectification of the victim to support the broader aims of the state," and lack restorative or redistributive processes to satisfy the victims' needs.[16] As a result, "justice" and "transition" become concepts delivered by dominant power groups to victims and society in general. Human

[11] Informal conversations during visit to Kosovo, January 2015
[12] Cohen (2002) 108
[13] Robins (2012)
[14] Ibid. 416
[15] Ramirez Barat (2014) 29
[16] Gready & Robins, (2014) 347

rights become “largely claimed on behalf of victims rather than by victims themselves.”[17] As Tshepo Madlingozi argues,

> “Understood in this way the human rights discourse is actually often detrimental to the empowerment of victims as it produces a lack of agency . . .the victim produced by transitional justice NGOs and others in the international human rights movement is a hapless, passive victim dependent on NGOs and others to speak for her and argue her case.”[18]

Elite control also allows for discourse to be instrumentalised for political interests. In Rwanda, for example, Tutsi government control over the transitional process allowed the government to monopolise the narrative of the genocide, erasing violations against Hutus from the national imagination, and rejecting criticism of government violence as “genocide denial.”[19] Finally, considering transition only as a top-down process makes reform conditional upon the economic limits and political will of elite groups. This undermines sustainability, since reform becomes dependent on party politics, global markets and external aid.[20] There is thus a need for bottom up dimension to transitional processes, which empowers and dignifies non-dominant groups and victims, pluralises the collective narrative, and decentralises the administration of “justice.”

Transitional Justice as Neglectful of ESC Rights

Elite control of transitional justice has international as well as national dimensions. The very concept of “transition” has been criticised as forming part of a Western linear narrative of progress, where “developing countries” advance towards the endpoint of free-market liberal democracy.[21] This ownership of transitional justice by “political actors with an agenda and interests that they wish to preserve and protect

[17] Ibid. 343
[18] Madlingozi (2010) 213
[19] Burnet (2009)
[20] Ramirez Barat (2014) 29
[21] Lundy & McGovern (2008)

above all else," contributes to conservative policies which preserve the social status quo, potentially perpetuating power structures which contributed to conflict in the first place.[22] In this context, violations of civil-political (CP) rights are often prioritised over economic-social-cultural (ESC) rights. This prioritisation is reinforced by the aforementioned dominance of legalism, since ESC rights violations are often considered non-judiciable. As Laplante notes, this "leaves policy change to the discretion of political leaders."[23] In fragile societies, such policy change may be depicted by politicians as potentially destabilising, and thus not only do inequalities and economic injustices go unaddressed, but they are consolidated in the name of "peacebuilding" and "stability." This violates States' obligations to protect ESC rights, protected in the ICESCR and other international conventions like the CRC and CEDAW, and neglects the needs of victims, many of whom prioritise education, employment, housing and basic goods like food, medicine and clothing.[24] It is thus essential that the "indivisibility" of ESC and CR rights re-affirmed in the 1993 Vienna Declaration is implemented in practice, to respect human rights obligations, and support victims' needs.

Transitional Justice as Overlooking Structural Causes of Conflict

ESC rights violations may also be ignored since transitional justice is highly dependent on the notion of "post-conflict," that is, a period of peace following a period of violence. Within this paradigm, conflict is considered only in its manifestation as violations of CP rights associated with war, such as the right to life or human dignity. Whilst such violations may decrease after a peace agreement between the principal combatants, violations of ESC rights which serve as structural causes of conflict, such as poverty, inequality, and lack of access to health or education, often persist or even exacerbate. This contributes to organised crime, domestic abuse, and re-recruitment of demobilised soldiers, blurring the academically comfortable distinction between conflict and post-conflict eras. The linear model of "transition" from conflict to peace is therefore often incoherent with the reality of cycles of conflict in society, which

[22] Lyons & Reed (2010) 145
[23] Laplante (2008) 341
[24] Gready & Robins (2014)

continue even after the official ceasefire or peace agreement. If these cycles are not acknowledged, structural violence is entrenched, and return to conflict is more likely. Sustainable peacebuilding processes and justice models that provide credible guarantees of non-repetition must therefore consider the cycles of violence that persist after an official peace agreement, rooted in structural inequalities and systematic violations of ESC rights.

A Change in Approach: Transformative Justice

The aforementioned criticisms could be addressed by adopting a new approach to post-conflict reform, one that expands the concept of "justice" to include non-legal methods, gives agency to victims and local communities, and includes ESC rights as a priority. This would involve planning "justice" not just according to its *objectives*, in the "transitional" sense, but also in terms of *process*, and the participation of victims and local communities. This shift in approach has been termed "transformative justice." As Gready & Robins explain,

> "Transformative justice is defined as transformative change that emphasizes local agency and resources, the prioritization of process rather than preconceived outcomes and the challenging of unequal and intersecting power relationships and structures of exclusion at both the local and the global level. While transformative justice does not seek to completely dismiss or replace transitional justice, it does seek to radically reform its politics, locus and priorities. Transformative justice entails a shift in focus from the legal to the social and political, and from the state and institutions to communities and everyday concerns.
>
> Transformative justice is not the result of a top-down imposition of external legal frameworks or institutional templates, but of a more bottom-up understanding and analysis of the lives and needs of populations. Similarly, the tools of transformation will not be restricted to the courts and truth commissions of transitional justice, but will comprise a range of policies and approaches that

can impact on the social, political and economic status of a large range of stakeholders."[25]

Achieving wider participation of stakeholders thus involves expanding the range of "transformative mechanisms." From the perspective of the State, this involves: first, reforming the process of traditional mechanisms, by consulting with communities over the best form of reparations, encouraging democratic participation in truth commissions and institutional reform, and focussing on ESC rights violations. Second, it involves expanding the range of "bottom-up" mechanisms, including community memorialisation projects, local reconciliation initiatives, and educational programmes. As Gready & Robins argue, these mechanisms shift the locus of justice from "invited spaces," like official legal institutions, to "new democratic spaces…at the interface between state and society."[26] Local people are empowered, victims are given agency, and society is mobilised and educated to construct peace. This process, consistent with Freire's concept of "conscientization," ensures post-conflict reform is not restricted to "elite" negotiations, and supports transformation across society.[27]

Transformative justice is intrinsically linked to peacebuilding, given the fundamental role played by guarantees of non-repetition in both processes. Lambourne argues that the change of terminology from "transitional" to "transformative" is important, since it "implies long-term, sustainable processes" rather than an "interim process that links the past and the future."[28] By considering process and identifying the root causes of conflict, transformative justice seeks to act as a disjuncture, interrupting vicious cycles of conflict and constructing a more just and sustainable peace. This endeavour is coherent with the concept of "positive peacebuilding," where peace is not simply defined negatively in terms of the absence of conflict, but involves empowering local people and building social cohesion to reduce the possibility of relapse into violence.[29] Like justice, peace is reconceptualised not as an end product, but a "social

[25] Gready & Robins (2014) 340
[26] Ibid. 358
[27] Lundy & Mark McGovern (2008) 280
[28] Lambourne (2009) 30
[29] Gready & Robins (2014) 350

and associative process that rebuilds fractured relationships between people."[30] This has also been described by David Roberts as "popular peace," which prioritises everyday needs and human security, as opposed to top down or "trickle-down peace," enforced by institutions and international actors.[31] By looking further backwards at structural inequalities and ESC rights violations underpinning the conflict, transformative justice proposes alternatives that go further forward. It therefore supports a more holistic, sustainable, and democratic peacebuilding process.

1.2. Children and Transformative Justice

Having provided a conceptual outline of transformative justice, Robins & Gready recommend that "thicker descriptions and assessments of transformative justice in relation to specific groups…and geographical settings are now needed."[32] Given the increasing involvement of minors in conflict, as both combatants and victims, children's role in such processes is essential if justice is to be truly inclusive. Four key arguments for applying a "child-sensitive lens"[33] to transitional processes have been highlighted, from the perspective of children's rights, human security, children as stakeholders, and children as agents of transformation.

The *human rights perspective* emphasises compliance with international children's rights, encoded in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and its Protocols. The CRC has been ratified by every State other than Somalia and the United States, and thus provides widespread protection of children's rights. The convention protects the "best interests" of the child (article 3), the right of the child to life (article 6), to not be separated from parents (article 9), to the highest attainable standard of healthcare (article 24), to education (article 28), to be free from economic and sexual exploitation (articles 32 & 34), and to be free from trafficking and torture or inhuman treatment (articles 35 and 37). Such rights are systematically violated during conflict,

[30] Rama Mani (2002) 50
[31] Roberts (2011) 410
[32] Gready & Robins (2014) 361
[33] ICTJ (2011)

often by both government forces and rebel groups. Given that under article 4 States must "undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative, and other measures for the implementation of the rights recognized in the present Convention," States are obliged to investigate such violations to ensure that the rights are implementable in practice. A "child-sensitive lens" is therefore necessary during transformative processes to avoid these violations being overlooked.

A number of obligations of State Parties contained in the CRC are particularly relevant to children in transformative justice processes. These include to provide protection and humanitarian status to child refugees (article 22), to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of child victims of exploitation, abuse or conflict (article 39), and to treat children who have infringed the penal law "with dignity and worth" (article 40). Furthermore, the right to be heard in judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child (article 12), to free expression (article 13), and to cultural participation (article 30) affirm the right of the child to participate in post-conflict reforms and initiatives. The Optional Protocol of the CRC on the involvement of Children in Armed Conflict extends the protection to child combatants, affirming that State Parties shall "accord to such persons all appropriate assistance for their physical and psychological recovery and their social reintegration." In summary, there is comprehensive international protection of children's rights during and after conflict, which affirm the obligation of States to adopt a "child-sensitive" lens to transitional justice, to allow child participation in reforms that affect them, and to ensure reintegration of child combatants and victims.

The *human security* perspective argues that applying a child-sensitive lens to transformative processes is essential to protect the "vital core" of children's lives, that is, the capacity "to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair."[34] This, in turn, is necessary to avoid future conflict. Whilst disarmament and demobilisation processes may temporarily restrict violations perpetrated by children, effective reintegration and empowerment programmes are necessary to make this peace

[34] UN Trust Fund for Human Security (2015)

sustainable. As the 2003 Humanitarian Action Report states, the key to preventing re-recruitment of children is “long-term investment in education, psychosocial support, vocational training, and support for families and communities.”[35] Transformative reparations can take this approach by empowering children, by improving their socio-economic condition, and encouraging child participation through educational initiatives. Such initiatives can also contribute to increasing self-esteem, social cohesion, and future employment opportunities, all of which reduce the likelihood of recruitment by rebel groups or criminal networks in the long term. Despite their conceptual differences, human security and national security thus have clear synergies with regards to children, since investing in reintegration and inclusion not only removes children from conflict, but empowers them and thus reduces the likelihood that they will resort to violence in the future.

The *stakeholder perspective* argues that children are disproportionately affected by conflict, and are therefore key stakeholders in the post-conflict process. As the Alison Smith states,

> “children are always stakeholders – because they are the victims and witnesses, often disproportionately affected; because they are active members of society; and because they will inherit and have to implement the results of the transitional process.”[36]

The impact of armed conflict on children has been widely documented. This research was stimulated largely by Graça Machel’s ground-breaking 1996 report, which highlighted the impact of displacement, sexual exploitation, mine clearance, disease, malnutrition, traumatisation, and denial of education.[37] Increasingly, children are also involved as perpetrators of violence, often through forced or coercive recruitment.[38] Child soldiers are valued by armed groups since they are highly obedient, easily

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[35] Smith (2010) 5
[36] Alison Smith (2010) 46
[37] Machel (1996)
[38] Goodwin-Gill (1994)

manipulated, swell the labour force, and can be exploited for dangerous tasks such as drug smuggling and mine clearance.[39] After joining an armed group, girl soldiers are often particularly vulnerable to sexual violence, forced marriage, and human trafficking.[40] Those that neither perpetrated nor directly suffered from crimes often have witnessed horrific violence, and face traumatisation and nightmares.[41] All children are also vulnerable to psychological, social and economic damage caused by the loss of parents and family members, absence of health or educational services, and cultures of fear and distrust. It is clear, therefore, that the distinction between perpetrator, witness and victim is particularly nebulous in the case of children, affirming the need for all children to be considered stakeholders in the post-conflict process. It follows that transformative justice processes must recognise children as stakeholders in conflict and include them in post-conflict processes, to raise awareness of their needs, and to prevent a legacy of conflict emerging that perpetuates children's rights violations and impunity.

The *agents of transformation* perspective emphasises the importance of children's participation in transformative processes in stimulating change. Despite political rhetoric that considers children as the "future generation" and thus reduces their value to their future potential, young people often claim their right to participate in the present. Clearly, any participation must be sensitive to the danger of re-traumatisation, and efforts to include children in truth-telling and at narrative formation have sensibly followed the "do no harm" policy. However, denying children the possibility of participation in such processes risks leaving a generation traumatised and permitting intergenerational iteration of trauma in the future.[42] As perpetrators, witnesses or victims of violence, children may want to engage in cathartic processes of story-telling. In Colombia, for example, child psychologists have explained how children "often identify a need to tell their own stories, to put their voices in the public sphere."[43] Child-friendly procedures of expressing narrative, such as art, story-telling, or

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[39] Denov & Ricard-Guay (2013) 6
[40] Ibid.
[41] Pirisi (2001)
[42] Much of the work on intergenerational trauma is based on children of Holocaust survivors, eg. Fraiburg (1975)
[43] ICTJ (2011) 12

theatre, may be more appropriate than testimony in court or official truth commissions.[44] Since in many societies the youth represent up to 50% of the total population, opening the space for children to participate in this process can mobilise the "tremendous pool of capacity, energy, ideas and creativity" provided by young people, thus enriching, pluralising and energising the transformative process.[45] Such projects not only assist children to confront traumatic memories and make sense of their situation, but can encourage solidarity and social cohesion by including children in a collective narrative of conflict. This also ensures that children will feel invested in the society that they inherit, and thus preserves the transformation process and collective memory in the long term. Mobilising young voices is therefore beneficial not only to children themselves, but to the short and long term success of the transformative process.

In conclusion, the justifications for the inclusion of children in the transformative justice process can be summarised in two key reasons. Firstly, it is their right, according to international human rights standards. Secondly, it supports the short and long term objectives of the transformative justice process, and protects against the process being forgotten or collapsing into violence in the future. It is therefore imperative to find child-sensitive, appropriate methods of incorporating children in the process of transformative justice.

1.3. Children's Education and Transformative Justice

Current scholarship on the role of children in post-conflict societies is focussed on children's involvement in criminal trials and truth commissions, disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) processes, and reparations programmes. In comparison, there is relatively little research on the importance of education as a transformative mechanism. That education continues to be perceived as a low priority immediately after conflict, receiving just 2% of the humanitarian aid budget, could be

[44] UNICEF (2010) 424
[45] UNICEF (2010) 12

considered as both a cause and a consequence of this lack of scholarly interest.[46] Another explanation is that, with the exceptions of Peru, Timor Leste, Sierra Leone and Guatemala, education is seldom referenced in truth commission reports.[47] It follows that education often falls outside the scope of traditional transitional justice processes, which emphasise the investigation and prosecution of individual human rights violations. Conversely, in transformative processes which consider root causes of conflict, community participation, and reparations of ESC violations, the role of education is indispensable. Taking a transformative approach thus opens the conceptual space for education to emerge as a key locus of post-conflict reconstruction and reform.

The importance of including education can again be summarised in two key reasons. First, it is a basic human right which States are obliged to respect, protect and fulfil under IHRL. Second, it is an essential tool for transformation. To understand the significance of these factors in transformative processes, it is necessary to analyse the relationship between education and conflict.

Education & Conflict: A Cause and a Casualty

Education has been said to have a "negative face," causing and resulting from conflict.[48] Many scholars have identified lack of available education as a factor underpinning conflict, since combatants are often predominantly young males who have not received an education, and are easily manipulated by propaganda and the allure of taking up arms.[49] Furthermore, lack of access to education has been identified as a key grievance underpinning conflict.[50] By neglecting rural areas, or failing to invest in infrastructure and access to schools, states generate an exclusive education system which exacerbates poverty, inequality, and division in society. Access may also be limited on discriminatory or economic grounds, fuelling ethnic, racial, religious, or class tensions. Furthermore, since education transmits values and principles to the next generation, the "acceptability" of education and curriculum content may exacerbate

[46] Barankat, David Connolly, Hardman, Sundaram (2012) 138
[47] Paulson (2009) 17
[48] Bush & Saltarelli (2000)
[49] INEE (2012) 7
[50] Ibid. 7

division. This is the case where curricula exclude or vilify a certain group, or simply "privilege the history, culture, religion and language of one culture over another."[51] Violence in schools also reinforces a culture of conflict, particularly where authoritarian pedagogy and corporal punishment are utilised, or where bullying is tolerated. The failure of the State to respect, protect and fulfil the right to available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable education can therefore be identified as a structural cause underpinning conflict.

The right to education is also violated as a consequence of conflict. Availability of education is reduced since schools are targeted and destroyed during war, particularly in rural areas, where schools may be the most substantial permanent structure.[52] Educational infrastructure is further undermined by the persecution of teachers, who are often disproportionately affected given their position as prominent, and often politicised, members of the community.[53] Schools and universities may also be closed for fear of violence, high absenteeism or lack of funding from the State.[54] Accessibility is damaged by displacement, which removes children from their local community and school. It is also reduced by damage to infrastructure, which prevents students and teachers from getting to school.[55] The journey to school has also been identified as a primary site of communication between children and armed groups, and recruitment or attack is therefore a threat.[56] Children may take on other work during conflict which removes them from education, including fighting with armed groups, caring for family members, or working in their place in the case of death, disappearance or serious injury. Where children can still go to school, conflict also damages the acceptability of the education provided. As well as physical damage to educational infrastructure, fear and traumatisation can undermine students' confidence, concentration and motivation to study, as well as teachers' capacity or motivation to teach. Securitisation of schools and interference by armed groups exacerbates these issues.[57] Heightened tensions resulting

[51] Ibid. 6
[52] Graca Michel (1996) 43
[53] Ibid. 43
[54] Ibid. 43
[55] Ibid. 43
[56] Downing (2014) 39
[57] Haines (2014)

from conflict may make education unacceptable by encouraging curricula or teaching which is discriminatory, militant or excessively authoritarian. Reductions in public expenditure on education, typical during conflict, further damage quality of education, as well as its adaptability to cater to vulnerable groups.

In summary, the failure of the State to respect, protect, and fulfil the right to education is both a cause and a consequence of violence and instability. It follows that the systematic violation of the right to education exists in a cyclical relationship with conflict and division. States must therefore consider education during and after conflict for two principal reasons. First, States are obliged to remedy violations of the right to education, and to provide guarantees of non-repetition. Second, education must be considered a root cause of conflict, and must thus transformed to facilitate positive peacebuilding.

Right to Education

The right to education for children is affirmed in international human rights law (IHRL), in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26), and binding Covenants including the CRC (Articles 28 and 29), and the ICESCR (articles 13 and 14). These articles provide comprehensive protection, with article 28 of the CRC obliging State parties to recognise the right to free and compulsory primary education and to accessible secondary and higher education, to encourage attendance, to ensure discipline is applied in the spirit of the convention, and to promote international cooperation in matters of education. The substance of this right is elaborated by General Comment number 13 of the CESCR, which affirms the principles of availability, accessibility (physical, economic and non-discriminatory), acceptability and adaptability as “essential” to the right to education. The right to education is also protected by regional instruments, including the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Article 11), San Salvador Protocol of the OAS (Article 13), and Protocol 1 of the European Convention of Human Rights (Article 2.) Protection against discrimination for specialist groups is provided for women in the CEDAW (Article 10),

and for persons with disabilities in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Article 24.)

There is also a body of *lex specialis* in International Humanitarian Law (IHL) which deals with the right to education in conflict. This right is protected in Article 24 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which applies to international armed conflicts, and Article 4.3 of the 1977 Additional Protocol to the Geneva Convention relating to non-international armed conflicts. Refugee children are protected by the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which obliges State parties to accord refugees the same educational opportunities as provided to nationals. This Convention does not cover internally displaced persons (IDPs), since they have not crossed a border. Soft law instruments, such as the 1998 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, have filled this lacuna with respect to education. Principle 23 states that the authorities shall guarantee education to displaced boys and girls, "whether or not living in camps, as soon as conditions permit." Regarding demobilised child combatants, the right to education can also be read into the obligation of States to provide assistance "for their physical and psychological recovery" and for "social reintegration" under the Optional Protocol on the involvement of Children in Armed Conflict. Finally, under International Criminal Law (ICL) States are obliged to prosecute attacks on buildings dedicated to education which are not military objectives, as such attacks are considered a war crime by the Rome statute of the ICC (Article 8.) States are therefore legally obliged by IHRL, IHL and ICL to respect, protect, and fulfil the right to education in conflict and post-conflict settings.

The right to education also operates as a "multiplier" of rights. As Katarina Tomaševski stated, "it enhances all other human rights when guaranteed and forecloses the enjoyment of most, if not all, when denied."[58] Getting children back to school is an imperative step towards peace, since school can represent a state of normalcy and stability, giving structure and purpose to children's lives.[59] In fragile post-conflict situations, education can therefore protect the right to life and to be free from inhuman

[58] Tomaševski (2003)
[59] Graca Machel (1996)

treatment. Furthermore, schools provide children with physical protection from attack, rape, recruitment, or forced trafficking.[60] Keeping children off the streets reduces exposure to armed or criminal groups, drugs, violence and prostitution. Information provided to children regarding landmine awareness, HIV prevention, or the threat of child trafficking could also be potentially life-saving.[61] Schools can also be used to provide services essential to the right to health, including delivery of food, water, sanitation and medicine.[62] Providing education is thus not a long-term development goal, but an immediate humanitarian imperative and a prerequisite for post-conflict reform.[63] Education can also enable rights later in the post-conflict process. For example, knowledge empowers children to participate in political and administrative issues, literacy classes enable cultural participation, and language classes can facilitate inclusion in society. Education and skills training also increase the job prospects of the child, reducing the risk of poverty, street work, or crime. For girls in particular, education can also reduce the possibility of forced marriage or early pregnancy.[64] Education *in* human rights can raise awareness about what rights children have, providing the knowledge necessary to claim and protect them. In summary, education during and after conflict is not only the right of the child, but an indispensable tool to protect and enable other rights.

Education and Reconciliation: Processes in Synergy

If a transformative approach looks to go beyond legalistic forms of justice and create a sustainable peace, it follows that reconciliation of divided groups is essential. Whilst reconciliation is a highly contested concept, it can be understood in relation to Paulo De Grieff's concept of "civic trust."[65] Whilst at its narrowest, civic trust incorporates mutual trust, recognition and tolerance between groups, a more expansive interpretation incorporates positive relations such as cooperation, dialogue, empathy and support.

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[60] Anderson (2011) 88
[61] Ibid. 88
[62] Ibid. 88
[63] See "Education Cannot Wait," Global Campaign for Education (2015)
[64] Anderson (2011) 88
[65] De Grieff (2009) 3

Civic trust has a vertical dimension, between citizens and the State, and a horizontal dimension, between citizens. Structural causes of conflict are often rooted in political, economic, social or ethnic tensions towards the State (lack of vertical civic trust), or between citizens (lack of horizontal civic trust). Conflict exacerbates these divisions, since "years of violence leave deep scars of anger, grief, sense of victimhood, will of revenge, and so on."[66] Thus, like the "negative face" of education, lack of civic trust in both dimensions can be identified as both a cause and consequence of conflict and violence. If these "scars" are left unaddressed, there is a risk of a "vicious cycle" emerging of conflict, grievance and division.

From this perspective, the prime function of "reconciliation" is to repair civic trust in both horizontal and vertical dimensions. This process "goes beyond the agenda of formal conflict resolution to changing the motivations, goals, beliefs, attitudes, and emotions that prevail among the great majority of the society - regarding the conflict, the nature of the relationship between the parties, and the nature of the parties themselves."[67] Various empirical studies have demonstrated that years of formal schooling is the best predictor of high social capital in society.[68] It is therefore clear that, in order to achieve such a revolution in the psychology and attitudes of society, education is key.

Finally, it should be highlighted that vertical and horizontal reconciliation processes are highly synergetic. As the ICTJ have pointed out, "fostering vertical trust by enhancing educational capacity can potentially contribute to horizontal trust between citizens, since improved educational capacity would aim to enhance participation rooted in rights."[69] Furthermore, since violation of the right to education and weak civic trust exist in a cyclical relationship not only with each other, but with conflict, both are in need of "repair" or "transformation" to sustain peace. Educational initiatives, reconciliation, and peacebuilding are therefore strongly synergetic processes, and must

[66] Bar-Tal & Rosen (2009) 558
[67] Ibid. 558
[68] INEE (2009) 14
[69] ICTJ (2009) 15

be considered integrally under transformative justice.

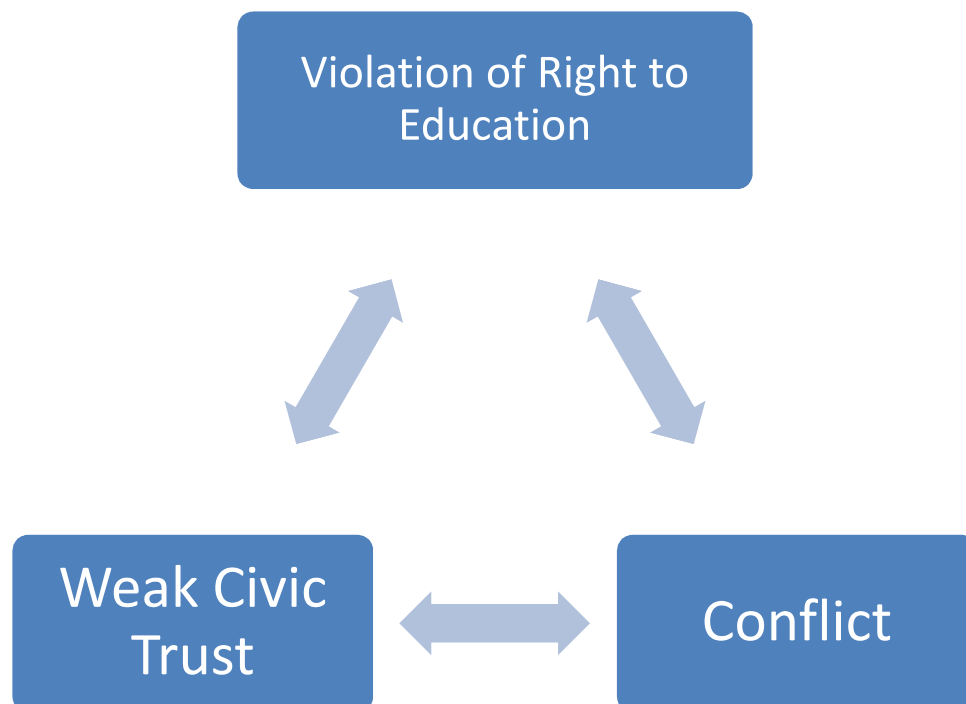

Figure 1. Synergies between education, civic trust, and conflict.

Reintegration, Inclusion & Curriculum Reform: Towards Horizontal Reconciliation

The concept of the “cost of inaction” has been used in the fields of environmental protection and healthcare to argue that the consequences of leaving structural problems unaddressed outweigh the costs involved in addressing them. This could also be said of education. Modern conflicts often divide societies on political, ethnic, religious or economic grounds, pulling apart the fabric of trust, communication and cooperation that holds society together. If these divisions are allowed to exacerbate, civic trust is weakened, and the prospect of conflict is increased. This is particularly the case with the education system, where exclusive schooling or divisive curricula reinforce stereotypes and ignorance of the “other,” and allow mistrust and mutual suspicion to accumulate over generations. Proactive processes are needed to repair these fractured social ties between citizens, and empower children with the knowledge, values, attitudes and skills necessary to pursue non-violent resolutions to conflict.

Since conflict is by definition divisive, such "repair" requires a reintegration process. Transformative education must therefore proactively seek to reintegrate vulnerable groups, including former combatants, victims, IDPs, orphans, children with disabilities, girls, minorities, or children from poor backgrounds. One obstacle to reintegration is the "lost child" stereotype, often resulting from problematic perpetrator-victim bifurcations. Former child combatants, for example, have been described as "a ticking time-bomb…lost children, lost for peace and lost for the development of their countries."[70] Similarly, victims are described as "ghosts" incapable of ameliorating their situation. Such stereotypes "actively suppress understandings of children's agency and legitimise concerned adults to speak on their behalf."[71] By challenging these stereotypes and shifting focus from children's past to their present capacity and future potential, education can encourage reintegration and child participation in transformative processes.

Consequently, education is often a key aspect of institutionalised reintegration and reconciliation programmes. For IDPs, the government may have to undertake certification and accreditation programmes to ensure that children have the necessary documents to access formal learning, as well as facilitating access to schooling in an appropriate language, and financial support if necessary to compensate for lost opportunity costs. For former child combatants, reintegration traditionally coincides with the final stage of disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) programmes. Reintegration programmes consist of four key elements, each of which responds to an injury inflicted by armed conflict on children: family reunification, psychosocial and trauma support, training in vocational and life skills, and accelerated learning.[72] Going to school can facilitate family reunification by changing the identity of the child from "former soldier" or "victim" to simply "student," encouraging acceptance from the local community. This transformation can boost the self-esteem and psychological well-being of the child, as does the increased social capital from making friends, the ability to express through art, theatre, and sport, and the "life-

[70] BBC News (2007)
[71] Berents (2009) 16
[72] Wessels (2005) 366

affirming" nature of the learning process in general.[73] Reintegration processes also respond to the fact that, in the aftermath of conflict, many children have lost years of schooling and possess only the skills acquired for war or for survival.[74] By addressing this legacy through skills training and accelerating learning, job prospects are increased and the prospect of children falling into "long-term, post-conflict cycles of poverty," is reduced.[75]

Reintegration processes must also adopt a gender perspective and ensure that girl combatants are not excluded, in recognition of the disproportionate impact of conflict on girls, and the different forms of trauma and stigmatisation resulting from sexual abuse and gender stereotypes.[76] They may have to balance reintegration with motherhood, and are often disadvantaged by social, cultural, or economic structures that discriminate against women and girls or exclude them from participation in society. It is therefore imperative that post-conflict education is inclusive of all groups, to facilitate horizontal reconciliation and ensure the transformative process does not perpetuate discrimination and division.

Whilst for former combatants and victims, access to education is often a priority, for minorities, girls, and other vulnerable groups, educational content is particularly important following conflict. Schools are a microcosm of wider society: children form horizontal relationships with other children, and vertical relationships with teachers, mirroring relationships between citizens and between the state and the general population. It follows that the values and principles that are taught are often reflective of the predominant mode of thinking in society. If these values are discriminatory or divisive, they will be transmitted to the youth and replicated by the future generation. In history textbooks, for example, certain ethnicities or nationalities can be vilified as the "enemy" as part of a nationalist historical narrative.[77] If education is segregated within states, such as in Bosnia, this could result in the emergence of competing historical

[73] Graça Michel (1996) 92
[74] Ibid. 43
[75] Denov (2010) 800
[76] Denov (2013)
[77] Paulson (2009) 8

narratives between minority groups.[78] Such narratives entrench mutual suspicion, discrimination, and racism, and encourage a militant culture, making violence part of national identity and a proud "historical tradition." Ethnic groups may also be represented disparagingly, encouraging stereotypes and discrimination, as was the case with indigenous groups in Peru.[79] This is also true where women and girls are represented in gender stereotyped roles in textbooks, with the effect that discrimination and gender inequality is transmitted to children, replicated in schools, and perpetuated in future society. Similarly, if violence is permitted in the form of bullying or corporal punishment, conflict will be construed as normal or acceptable. This could create a "culture of violence" damaging to sustainable peace. Horizontal reconciliation can thus be encouraged by transforming the representation of different groups in the curricula, the pedagogical approach to teaching, and the atmosphere in the classroom.

Social cohesion can be further strengthened through citizenship, human rights and peace education programmes. Citizenship programmes involve developing the skills needed for children to be active and responsible citizens, including understanding of local, regional, and national issues, and ability to investigate, analyse, and suggest solutions.[80] Such programmes teach the importance of democratic values and institutions, and develop children's problem-solving skills. Citizenship lessons thus take a pedagogical approach which encourages the active participation of children in decision-making processes. Human rights education is closely linked to citizenship education, and involves a more specific analysis of international human rights, human rights institutions and documents like the UDHR and CRC. It promotes respect for principles of non-discrimination, non-violence, equality and respect for human dignity, as advocated in the preamble of the UDHR. Such principles are developed further by other skill-development programmes under peace education, including non-violent conflict resolution, mediation and debate.

"Positive peace" education may involve a more direct engagement with past conflict, exploring the causes and consequences and promoting "memory" of the

[78] Moll (2013)
[79] Frisancho & Reátegui (2009)
[80] Garnett Russell & Tiplic (2013)

conflict. This conflict-sensitive education can be conceptualised as a vaccine: by exposing society to a small dose of the conflict "disease," it can develop resistance and successfully fight exposure in the future. The dosage must be an appropriate strength, applied correctly and when the recipient organism is healthy enough to fight it, to avoid inadvertently introducing the disease. Conflict-sensitive education programmes must therefore be sensitive to the specific social context to avoid triggering conflict. By promoting peaceful dialogue, however, the memory of conflict can be transformed from a source of division and resentment to a unifying narrative of suffering. This "narrative construction" is essential to processes of state-building and national identity, since as John Gillis points out "the core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity."[81] Promoting historical memory can thus promote a "Nunca Más" (Never Again) attitude, contributing to reconciliation, a culture of peace and guarantees of non-repetition.[82]

Education and Transformative Reparations: Towards Vertical Reconciliation

Another mechanism with transformative potential is reparative justice. Reparations can be thought of as a "corrective justice response to injury by an offender."[83] This reparative process can facilitate vertical reconciliation by providing acknowledgement from the government of their obligation to protect human rights, and their failure to do so in the past. This acknowledgement can be provided through reparations including financial compensation, measures of satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition. This serves to assuage distrust or fear of the State, and makes human rights "real and enforceable."[84]

In modern conflicts, however, individual compensation is often problematic. First, the number of victims is often extremely high, placing an unrealistic financial burden on the State to compensate every victim. Second, it is often difficult to quantify suffering in pecuniary terms, and risks creating a "hierarchy of suffering" which creates

[81] Gillis (1994) 3
[82] ICTJ (2011) 34
[83] Winter (2007) 373
[84] Torpey (2003) 5

grievances between those recognised as victims and those not.[85] Third, where compensation is not accompanied by guarantees of non-repetition or reform of structural violence, it may also be viewed as “blood money” used to buy the victims’ silence.[86] Fourth, in many scenarios, money does little to address victims’ concerns of ongoing violence and instability, damaged infrastructure, and truth about the past.[87] Finally, it discriminates against victims who lack access to justice.

With respect to children, these challenges are exacerbated. The process of dividing society into “victims” and “perpetrators” necessary for financial compensation is particularly problematic, given that child soldiers are themselves often victims of crimes including forced recruitment, exploitation, and physical or sexual abuse. This may cause resentment or confusion where those considered “perpetrators” receive compensation.[88] The distribution of compensation to child victims is complicated, since the child may not be eligible to receive large sums of cash, and there is no guarantee that the family would spend it in the best interests of the child.[89] Therefore, whilst financial compensation to victims is in many cases just and a legal obligation, reparative justice must go beyond this mechanism to provide genuine vertical reconciliation.

A transformative approach to remedying human rights violations has been suggested to challenge reparations from the “transitional” paradigm, which are largely limited to the legalistic procedure of identifying a violation, a perpetrator, and a remedy.[90] As Alicia Ely Yamin explains with regards to disease as a violation of the right to health, under this approach,

> “there is an underlying idea of society as being in a state of equilibrium. The violation upsets the equilibrium; the remedy restores it. However, if we

[85] UN Women (2012) 14
[86] Torpey (2003) 106
[87] Robins (2012) 15
[88] Marie Miano (2013) 38
[89] Ibid. 38
[90] Yamin (2008) 53

> understand patterns of disease to be socially produced, we cannot seek to return to a status quo ante, but rather to fundamentally challenge it."[91]

Similarly, Gready & Robins suggest that for genuine reparative justice, reparations should "look at harms done and the structures underpinning such harms, rather than at decontextualized acts of violence."[92] Given that inequality, exclusion and discrimination often constitute such structures underpinning violence, reparations of this sort would incorporate distributive, as well as corrective justice. They are therefore likely to have a collective, rather than individual nature, and aim not just at restitution of victims, but at empowerment of vulnerable people. In this sense, they are transformative, since they extend the locus of the "damage" or "violation" suffered by the victim beyond the individual act of violence to long-term structural injustice, thus revising the type of remedy provided. Rather than simply offering compensation, the remedy seeks to address the long-term grievances of vulnerable groups, and "transform the circumstances in which they lived."[93] In unequal societies, this transformative approach is necessary to prevent reparations simply restoring victims to their previously vulnerable position, and to provide more credible guarantees of non-repetition.[94]

As previously demonstrated, the educational system often constitutes a structure underpinning conflict, and is thus in need of transformation. There are many advantages to including education in collective reparations programmes. Educational benefits are normally prioritised by child victims, and particularly mothers, whose demands often include education for their children.[95] Education-based collective reparations are also relatively inexpensive compared to financial compensation of victims, and with respect to children, can avoid controversial processes of division between "victims" and "perpetrators."[96] In conflicts where entire communities have suffered, collective reparations simplify administrative issues like applicability and eligibility, and avoid the

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[91] Ibid. 93
[92] Gready & Robins (2014) 347
[93] Uprimny (2010) 253
[94] Ibid. 250
[95] Rubio Marín (2009) 20
[96] Marie Miano (2013) 38

beneficiaries suffering resentment from the community.[97] They can be more culturally appropriate in communities where collective identity and wellbeing is prioritised over individual rights.[98] Educational investment is also likely to support beneficiaries over a sustained period of time than one-off cash payments.[99]

Furthermore, considering the visibility, scope and importance of schools and education “on the ground,” reparations targeting the education system stand to maximise the reconciliatory potential of reparative justice. Investment in education can create a “peace dividend,” demonstrating the government’s commitment to the development of the youth and the sustainability of peace.[100] Many studies have shown that, after conflict, demand for education from the youth increases.[101] Demographic changes following peace, such as increased birth rates and high urbanisation driven by displacement, can swell this demand and put pressure on educational services. Providing education therefore sends an important message to children from the State: that they are important, have potential, and have a future worth investing in. Given the inaccessibility of other transitional justice mechanisms such as criminal trials, truth commissions and institutional reform to most children, educational investment may be one of the few features of the State seen by young people.

However, framing educational initiatives as reparations can be problematic, since children have a right to education regardless of whether they are a victim of conflict. As De Grieff points out, development initiatives in general lack reparatory value, since “beneficiaries perceive such programs, correctly as ones that distribute goods to which they have right as citizens.”[102] By framing provision of education as reparations, there is also a risk that only those identified as victims receive basic services, and consequently that victims become resented in society. Whilst reforms that fulfil the right to education may provide a form of restitution for violations of that right,

[97] Ibid. 38
[98] Ibid. 36
[99] Ibid. 38
[100] Paulson (2009) 10
[101] UNICEF (2011) 20
[102] De Grieff (2004) 470

they do not constitute compensation, and are therefore necessary, but not sufficient for reparations.

As Mazurana and Carlson explain, to constitute compensation reforms thus "have to go above and beyond what the state is already obligated to provide."[103] This may include the provision of psychosocial support, job skill training and accelerated education programmes, scholarships for secondary and higher education institutions, and accompaniment or supplementary classes by educational professionals.[104] Symbolic measures and memorialisation initiatives, such as naming a school after a victim or group of victims or promoting historic memory in schools, are particularly important. As the ICTJ points out, this type of memorialisation can "rebuild trust and legitimacy for tainted educational institutions and offers interesting potential for community and micro-level reconciliation."[105]

Schools and the curriculum can also serve as a site of "outreach" for transitional justice mechanisms, enhancing their symbolic and practical value. As Elizabeth Cole & Karen Murphy state, "schools offer a way out of two of the main impasses institutions such as truth commissions face, namely how to get their work to reach beyond an intellectual, usually urban elite, and how to give their work life beyond the sitting of the commission."[106] By introducing reports into the curriculum and teaching historical memory and victims' testimonies, education can enhance means of satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition for victims. In any case, process is imperative, and victims and the local community must participate in the organisation and distribution of reparations.[107] Whilst the exact projects undertaken will vary depending on the conflict, including educational initiatives as part of a transformative reparations programme is thus essential to vertical reconciliation and sustainable peacebuilding efforts.

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[103] Mazurana & Carlson (2004) p. 163
[104] ICTJ (2011) p. 4
[105] ICTJ (November 2009) p. 23
[106] Cole & Murphy (2011) 335
[107] Ibid.

1.4. Summary

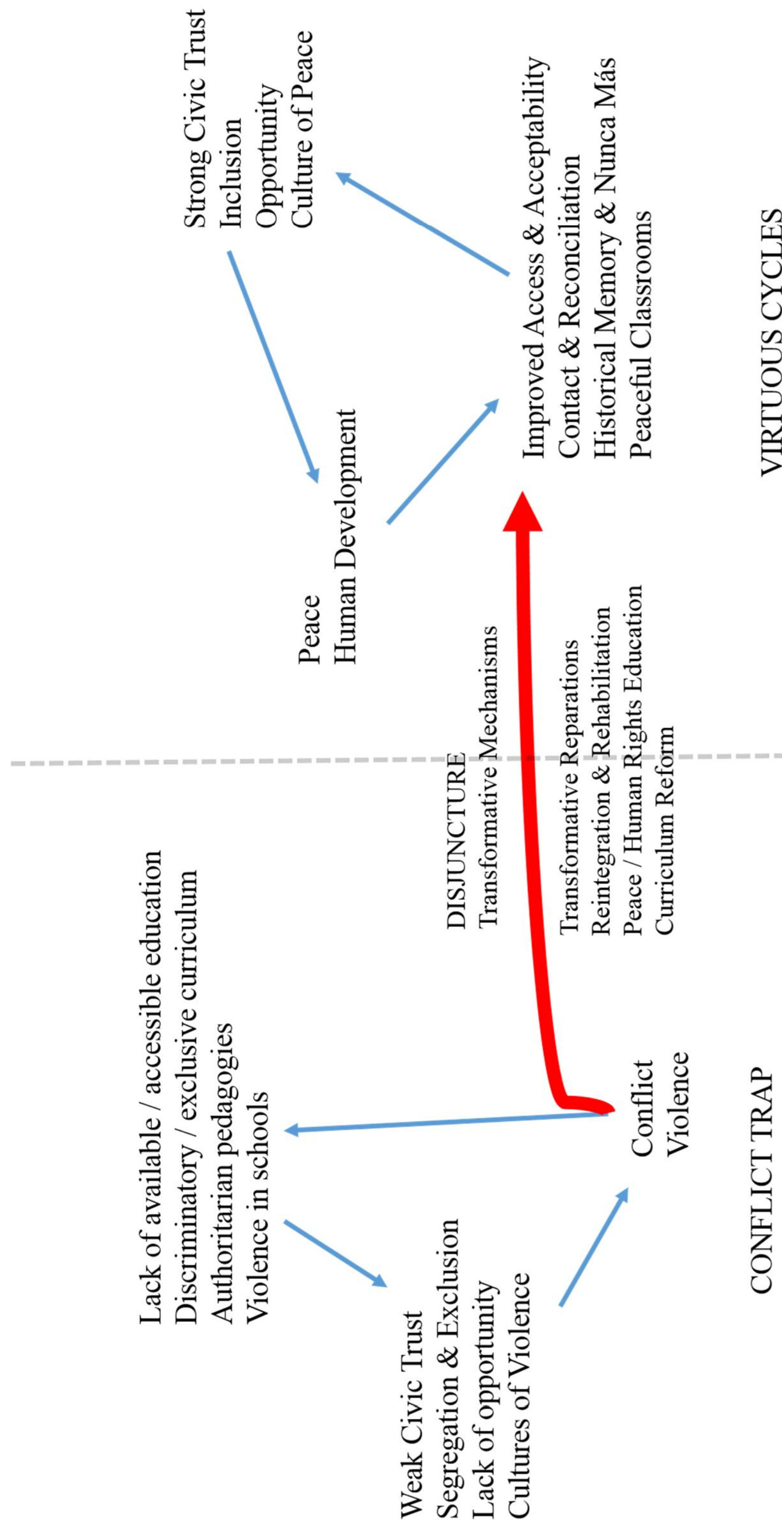
Given its capacity to empower and transmit knowledge, education has been described as a "multiplier" of rights. However, where education is exclusive, discriminatory, or authoritarian, it can also transmit values and attitudes counterproductive to human rights, and therefore "multiply" division and conflict. Conflict undermines the right to education, limiting availability and access, reducing quality, and contributing to an exclusive, discriminatory, or militant curriculum. This system entrenches division and inequality, exacerbates grievances and mistrust, and leaves the future generation without the knowledge necessary for development and non-violent conflict resolution. In this situation, where the structural causes of conflict go unaddressed, the prospect of relapse into conflict and violence is high. Even despite traditional transitional justice mechanisms such as criminal trials, rule of law programmes, truth commissions or institutional reform, the "peace" created is more a fragile compromise than a sustainable solution to injustice. If the right to education is not addressed in post-conflict settings, society can therefore become immersed in vicious cycles of violence, weak civic trust, division, and violation of children's rights, known as the "conflict trap."[108]

Whilst conflict is by its nature destructive and divisive, Mary Joy Pigozzi has noted that it can provoke "crisis situations," which catalyse change and "provide an opportunity for transforming education."[109] Transformative justice can seize such opportunities by addressing structural injustices in the past, thus serving as a disjuncture and interrupting vicious cycles of conflict, division and underdevelopment. Education is essential to this process, to reach the masses of youth disproportionately affected by conflict, and facilitate vertical and horizontal reconciliation. There are a number of mechanisms to create this disjuncture, including transformative reparations, historical memory projects, reintegration processes for demobilised child soldiers and victims, and production of an inclusive curriculum that transmits values, attitudes and skills conducive to human rights. If these measures are effectively implemented, it is possible

[108] Collier (2003)
[109] Pigozzi (1999) 4

to conceive of the initiation of more virtuous cycles of accessible, acceptable and inclusive education, a culture of peace and human rights, strong civic trust, and stability. This in turn can contribute to more sustainable peacebuilding, democratisation, and development processes.

Figure 2. Transformative Justice and Disjuncture: Education as part of "Conflict Trap" and virtuous cycles.



Part 2. Education and Transformation in Practice

Whilst the literature on children's role in post-conflict processes has grown since Machel's 1996 report, scholars have been criticised for producing "overly policy-focused" work, which lacks "analyses of particular conflict environments, instead substituting generalities based on acceptance of the universality of the dominant discourse."[110] The same criticism could be made of literature promoting education as a transformative mechanism, which tends to focus on the strong normative value of education over empirical analysis of its implementation in specific cultural and social contexts. Despite the academic consensus regarding education's normative value, it remains under-valued and rarely utilised in practice. To explain the chasm between theory and practice, it is therefore necessary to investigate the practical, political and economic obstacles to implementation of educational initiatives.

The neglect of children's issues, and specifically of education in many transitional processes, presents a significant obstacle to scholars attempting to conduct such research. Nevertheless, the following section will analyse three cases from three different continents, selected because the conflict context necessitated the consideration of education in the post-conflict process. Firstly, the conflict in Sierra Leone was characterised by high child involvement as combatants, and thus integrated educational initiatives as part of the reintegration and reconciliation process. Secondly, the conflict in Bosnia conflict was based on ethnic division and hatred, perpetuated by the education system. Thirdly, the Peruvian conflict featured heavy involvement of teachers and students as both combatants and victims, and consequently, educational reform and transformative reparations targeted towards education were key aspects of the post-conflict process. Clearly, the historical, cultural and political context of each conflict differ. However, the achievements, obstacles and limitations to the initiatives in practice

[110] Berents (2009) 15

are sufficiently comparable to draw some general conclusions regarding the practical implementation of educational programmes.

2.1. Education in Reintegration Processes: The Case of Sierra Leone

The Sierra Leonean conflict lasted eleven years between 1991 and 2002, and was waged between the State and rebel groups, including the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and Armed Forced Revolutionary Council (AFRC.) According to the Sierra Leonean Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report, inequalities in access to education rooted in the British colonial were a key grievance underpinning the conflict.[111] Less than 45% of children of school-going age went to primary school, of which 9% went to secondary school, and 1% to tertiary institutions.[112] The RUF cited the inability of the State to provide free education to justify starting the conflict.[113] At the time conflict broke out, children constituted approximately half the population.[114] These children were disproportionately affected by the conflict, suffering sexual slavery and rape, amputation, mutilation, displacement and torture.[115] Between 5,000 and 10,000 children, depending on estimates, were also systematically abducted and forcibly recruited by rebel groups, and coerced to participate in hostilities.[116] Additionally, several schools and educational facilities were destroyed.[117]

Education would be imperative to the post-conflict process, given its central role not only in causing the conflict, but in the restoration of normalcy leading to peace. As one ex-minister noted, "as the children went to school the rest of the country felt comfortable enough to open the other businesses."[118] The 1999 Lomé Peace Agreement included an Article which provided that Government shall accord particular attention to the issues of child soldiers, including education (Article 30.) Accordingly, the National

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[111] Sierra Leone TRC Report (2004) 241
[112] Ibid. 241
[113] Ibid. 241.
[114] Ibid. 234
[115] Ibid. 234
[116] Ibid. 236
[117] Ibid. 241
[118] UNICEF (2011) p7

Committee for Disarmament, Demobilisation, & Reintegration (NCDDR) provided funding for teaching materials, school fees, uniforms and some subsistence costs, and reported that 6,452 child combatants were placed in school by May 2002.[119] Educational initiatives were not limited to child combatants; the SABABU School Reconstruction Programme involved the construction and repair of school classrooms, the purchase and distribution of textbooks, skills training, teacher training, and capacity training with the Ministry of Education.[120] Non-formal education was addressed through programmes like the Youth Reintegration Training and Education for Peace Program (YRTEP), which reached 40,000 former child soldiers and non-combatants.[121] Children over fifteen had the option to choose skills training or apprenticeships, which was preferred by older and poorer young people over returning to school.[122]

This focus on education and skills training as part of the reintegration process reflected the desires and needs of children, who identified education as one of their "top concerns" and "the top solution to the problems they face."[123] The immediate post-conflict period saw a surge in demand for education, and former child combatants called for an accelerated learning initiative known as the Complementary Rapid Education Programme (CREPS.) The programme also included IDPs, victims and orphans, many of whom stated that education made them feel "less excluded" from society.[124] Based on interviews with youth in Sierra Leone, Lowicki and Emry have argued that

> "Young people believed that education is essential to their survival, protection and full recovery from their experience of armed conflict. They saw it as answering their need for self-respect, economic opportunity and having productive roles and voices in society."[125]

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[119] Soloman & Ginifer (2008) 18
[120] Bu-Buakei Jabbi (2007) 5
[121] Berents (2009) 17
[122] Lowicki & Emry (2005) 2
[123] Ibid. 2
[124] Ibid. 9
[125] Ibid. 9

Demobilised children even threatened to return to war if promises to provide education and skills training were not kept.[126] It follows that education served as an incentive to participate in the DDR process, illustrating the synergies between education, inclusion, human security and national security. Given that it was demanded by children themselves, it also integrated children into the peacebuilding process, and recognised children as stakeholders and agents of transformation.

Such integration faces many obstacles in African countries, given that child soldiers are often referred to as "bandits" and "vermin."[127] Education is a key tool for transformation in this respect. As anthropologists have pointed out, in Sierra Leone "knowledge is seen not simply as filling an empty vessel, but as a powerful transformative experience – not just acquiring knowledge but forging a new identity."[128] This identity transformation could be observed not only on a personal level, in terms of self-esteem and motivation to work, but also on a social level. As John Williamson states, "community members could see that they had made a transition from being a child soldier and were working actively toward becoming a productive member of the community."[129] Furthermore, the reconstruction of schools under the SABABU project reassured communities that the State was present and was viewed favourably as a peace dividend, and community sensitisation projects helped assuage fear or hatred of children who had perpetrated crimes against families during the conflict.[130] This educational experience was complemented by culturally-sensitive processes of rehabilitation, including religious support, local rituals and healing ceremonies. Such programmes encouraged forgiveness of the past and acceptance of children into the community, with the result that 98% of former combatants were reunited with their families.[131] Education, reintegration of children affected by conflict and community reconciliation are thus highly synergetic processes, and are essential to sustainable peace.

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[126] Ibid. 9
[127] Berents (2009) 15
[128] Shepler (2003) 66
[129] Williamson (2006) 198
[130] UNICEF (2011) 43
[131] Williamson (2006) 185

Providing education as part of reintegration programmes is also vitally important to compensate for the years of schooling lost to conflict. Children more directly affected may require an initial "bridging programme" to prepare mentally for reintegration into education. For former combatants, this education is often provided in "transit camps," and is conflict-sensitive, including lessons on peace education, HIV and landmine awareness, and sensitisation regarding causes of child recruitment. In Sierra Leone, the Rapid Response Education Programme (RREP) focused on "peace, reconciliation and trauma healing as well as basic numeracy and literacy skills" to ensure children were ready to reintegrate into formal schools.[132] The RREP lasted six months, and was immediately implemented as soon as an area was declared safe. Upon completion of the RREP, children entered the CREPS programme, which attempted to recover the education lost during conflict by condensing six years of schooling into three.[133] The CREPS programme extended the provision of conflict-sensitive education initiated under the RREP, and provided practical information for the physical and mental health of the child, including topics on trauma healing, HIV/AIDs, gender issues, human rights and peace education.[134] Teachers were trained for the CREPS through Distance Learning Programme (DLP), which allowed teachers to train whilst working in other jobs.

Some of the results of the CREPS programme have been encouraging: the Norwegian Refugee Council reported that the target groups of children were reached, and by June 2005, 8,453 children were enrolled in the programme. Pupils were enthusiastic about the programme, and were described as "very eager to answer (questions from teachers) and not afraid of making mistakes."[135] CREPS students who passed the national exam (NPSE) did so with results as good as regular students, and drop-out rates for CREPS students in secondary schools were low.[136] As a consequence of the SABABU, CREPS and other educational programmes, availability of education was increased substantially in the post-conflict period, with the number of primary

[132] Johanesen (2005) 11
[133] Williamson (2006) 197
[134] Sierra Leone TRC (2004) 336
[135] Johanesen (2005) 26
[136] Ibid. 7

schools increasing from 2,336 to 5,117 between October 2001 and March 2003.[137] The TRC also reported improved access to education, contributing to increased enrolment.[138] The educational initiatives pursued in Sierra Leone therefore helped transform the situation of exclusion and neglect that characterised the education system before conflict.

However, the programmes also had several shortcomings. Even after SABABU, the majority of schools remained temporary structures, and lacked classroom furniture, teaching materials and basic sanitary provisions.[139] They were vulnerable to rainfall and had to be regularly replaced.[140] This caused overcrowding in classrooms and forced some classes to be combined with regular school classes. The Ministry's reluctance to take ownership of the CREPS project, viewing it primarily as a UNICEF programme, undermined its achievements, with the lack of commitment to recruitment of teachers and provision of funding for teacher's wages considered by the TRC as "major stumbling blocks in the advancement of the programme."[141] Higher salaries in NGOs exacerbated this issue, contributing to a 15% drop in CREPS teachers between 2002 and 2005.[142] The standard of teaching was low, with many Untrained and Unqualified Teachers (UUT) reliant on the Distance Education Programme, which lasted just two weeks and was considered too short.[143] As a result, many UUTs did not know how to use the textbooks or UNICEF education kits. There was also an insufficient number of textbooks for the CREPS programme, with a 2003 evaluation reporting that only a third of teachers had one set of all textbooks, and that 82.6% of centres lacked supplementary reading resources.[144] Pedagogical techniques were also criticised, with a focus on memorisation, and lack of teaching methods stimulating creativity and active learning.[145]

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[137] Sierra Leone TRC (2004) 338
[138] Ibid. 338
[139] Ibid. 338
[140] Johanesen (2005) 55
[141] Sierra Leone TRC (2004) 337
[142] Ibid. 337
[143] Johanesen (2005) 7
[144] Ibid. 27
[145] Ibid. 7

Many of these issues are systematic within the education system. 40% of teachers across Sierra Leone are UUTs, and despite the construction of 500 new schools under the SABABU programme, the programme leader Conteh Kamara admitted that "I have no idea how we will find enough text books and teachers for all those schools by the time they open."[146] Furthermore, skills training was often undermined by lack of support with finding jobs or initiating microenterprises, and lack of job opportunities left children frustrated having completed the reintegration process.[147] Finally, corruption remained a problem throughout the SABABU and CREPS programmes, with textbooks appearing for sale on the black market, and money for education "disappearing."[148] Supporting education has thus been a valuable tool for reconciliation and reintegration in Sierra Leone, but its contribution to development and transformation has been limited by several economic, social and practical obstacles. Tackling these broader structural issues in Sierra Leonean society would thus be necessary to maximise the transformative capacity of the initiatives.

Girls and the DDR Process in Sierra Leone

Another feature of Sierra Leonean society described by the TRC as "particularly abhorrent" is the "the inclination not to educate girl children" in some regions of the country.[149] The neglect of girls and gender bias in the reintegration processes in Sierra Leone were described by UNICEF as "in hindsight, the biggest crack in the DDR system," since "too many girls and young women fell through and never received any benefits."[150] This discrimination followed largely from DDR policy of linking reintegration with disarmament, with one study showing that 46% of girls excluded from DDR cited not having a weapon as the reason.[151] Some girls were not allowed by their "bush husbands" to enter the DDR process, and many actively avoided the process, out of shame or for fear of prosecution, stigmatisation, rejection by family and local

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[146] IRIN (2007)
[147] Williamson (2006) 198
[148] IRIN (2007)
[149] Sierra Leone TRC (2004) 241
[150] UNICEF (2004)
[151] Williamson (2006) 191

communities, and gender violence in mixed-sex DDR camps.[152] As a result, between 1998 and December 2003, just 506 girls were formally demobilised.[153] Given that one study estimated the number of girl combatants at between 8,600 and 11,400, it is clear that thousands of girls were excluded and invisibilised.[154]

This exclusion had severe consequences for the post-conflict process in Sierra Leone. One UNICEF report stated that, of those who did attempt to return to their communities, "many girls were subjected to verbal abuse, beatings, and exclusion from community social life."[155] UNICEF's "Girls Left Behind" project, established to attempt to identify and assist girls excluded from the DDR process, discovered that the majority of the girls had very young children, normally by the men who had abducted them.[156] These girls and their children were not only denied education essential to their reintegration, but psychosocial support, trauma counselling, medicine and economic support essential to their health and well-being. As a result, many girls were driven into commercial sex work, early marriages, and poverty. The transitional process thus missed an opportunity to transform norms of gender discrimination, instead perpetuating exclusion and inequality.

The legacy of such this neglect was made clear during the 2015 ebola crisis. Schools were shut for around nine months, keeping over five million children out of school. The consequential rise in child marriages, combined with lack of access to health services during the crisis, led to an increase in child pregnancies. [157] Once the schools were reopened, the government decreed that "visibly pregnant" girls would not be allowed to re-enrol, since they would provide a "negative influence" to "innocent" girls.[158] It must be concluded that the failure to make educational reforms coherent with principles of non-discrimination and gender equality entrenches inequality and

[152] Ibid. 191
[153] Denov (2008) 825
[154] Williamson (2006) 192
[155] Ibid. 192
[156] Ibid. 191
[157] Bochane (2015)
[158] Dumbaya (2015)

structural violence, undermining the ability of society to react to future crises in an inclusive and non-discriminatory way.

Peace and Human Rights Education in Sierra Leone

One potential means identified to target gender discrimination and violence in Sierra Leone is through human rights education. Such programmes, however faced other cultural obstacles to implementation. The TRC explains that in Sierra Leone, as in many African societies, "hierarchy and authority determine how decisions are reached. In the case of children, adults make decisions for them."[159] Children could be punished harshly for defending themselves against adults, with Chiefs and elders imposing "exorbitant fines" for disobedience.[160] Pedagogical techniques in Sierra Leone have traditionally adopted this authoritarian culture. In Mende culture, for example, teaching is considered a "blessing" from teachers, which is delivered to children in exchange for obedience, and at times, labour or money.[161] Knowledge is also considered more powerful when it is "secret," in keeping with the clientelist, "secret society" culture.[162] These customs are contradictory to many rights contained in the CRC, including children's right to non-discrimination, free expression, to participate in decisions which affect them, and the right not to be forced into work. They also violate the basic principle of the right to free education, and are difficult to reconcile with key pedagogical principles of peace and human rights education, such as child participation, critical thinking and debate. This has led some cultural relativist commentators to suggest that the international community should focus efforts on funding the rebuilding of communities, rather than imposing Western models of human rights, since "communities have their own frameworks for understanding and addressing the distress they have suffered as a result of war."[163]

To ignore pedagogy, however, overlooks one of the root causes of conflict. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF), for example, exploited the discontent produced by

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[159] Sierra Leone TRC (2004) 241
[160] Ibid. 241
[161] Shepler (2003) 64
[162] Ibid. 64
[163] Ibid. 66

harsh fines and unequal education systems to recruit many child combatants.[164] In response to this, UNICEF and the Sierra Leone Ministry of Education developed the "Emerging Issues" Teacher Training programme, which includes a section on "principles of pedagogy," alongside more traditional peace education topics such as human rights, civics and democracy, gender, and health and the environment. Successful Peace Education kits have also encouraged community involvement, designing activities that encourage participation from students and adults alike. One local chief praised the programme for the creation of a more "lively community," and evidence from group meetings has also suggested that the Peace Education Kit "contributed significantly toward changing teaching practices, student involvement, and even community attitude."[165] Furthermore, some cultural and religious customs have supported the Peace Education projects. Given the religious overtones of peace, some "shy participants" were emboldened by their beliefs to present their ideas "with resounding strength, as if from a pulpit."[166] Whilst project coordinators had to be careful not to allow faith in God to undermine human agency, religious influence generally supported the deconstruction of stereotypes that condemn child soldiers as "lost" or "empty victims." Where educational projects were culturally sensitive, their transformative impact was therefore maximised.

Despite these encouraging signs, peace education kits alone are unlikely to transform deep-rooted discrimination in the long term. As Christine Ellison points out, whilst human rights education has helped increase girls' enrolment has since 2002, this has had a limited effect, since there is a still "a large gap between expansion of girls' education and transformation of institutional frameworks and norms that may have contributed to or done little to alleviate systemic discrimination against girls and women."[167] For the State and society to close this gap, it is essential to form a shared understanding of the need for transformation, rooted in a collective memory of the origins and effects of conflict. Both State and society in Sierra Leone, however, have been reluctant to look back at the conflict, based on a culture of moving forward by

[164] Sierra Leone TRC (2004) 242
[165] Bretherton, Weston & Zbar (2005) 360
[166] Ibid. 361
[167] Ellison (2014) 201

forgetting about the past. As Mneesha Gellman argues, "the idea that war violence is common knowledge and therefore does not need to be publicly discussed has contributed to the pervasive and institutionalised culture of silence."[168] The official curriculum contains no reference to the conflict, and a "Peace Museum" opened in 2013 has as yet received few visitors.[169] With a generation born after peace reaching the end of their formal education with little understanding of the conflict and its effects, peace education programmes and peace in general across Sierra Leone are, as Gellman argues, "by no means secure."[170] The case of Sierra Leone therefore demonstrates the difficult task of making educational initiatives culturally sensitive, but coherent with "universal" human rights, and supported by wider political, economic and social transformation.

Conclusions

To conclude, the case of Sierra Leone demonstrates that education can transform the identity of former combatants and victims, and facilitate reintegration, rehabilitation and reconciliation. The State, however, must have ownership of these programmes, to sustain funding and recruitment of teachers in the long term. To guarantee sustainability, external actors should therefore work alongside, and not substitute for the State in financing and running educational initiatives. Furthermore, the right balance must be found when tensions between cultural relativism and "universal" human rights arise. Programmes must consult local people and be sensitive to traditional customs and hierarchies to be effective, acceptable, and sustainable. Spiritual processes in particular, such as rehabilitation and reconciliation, will depend on local customs and rituals. Certain universal human rights like non-discrimination, however, are non-violable, and can undermine peace if violated whilst following local traditions or customs. Discrimination against girls in relation to access to education, for example, can contribute to girls being "left behind" in the transformative process. Cultural relativism should also not be used as an excuse to abandon initiatives involving child participation or analysis of the past, since such programmes can often be adjusted to be acceptable to a society, and can encourage critical analysis towards those traditions and customs

[168] Gellman (2015) 149
[169] Ibid. 155
[170] Ibid. 155

which may contribute to rights violations. Participation and non-discrimination should therefore be immediate obligations of States and the international community in transformative processes.

2.2. Schools, Curriculum & Reconciliation: The Case of Bosnia & Herzegovina

As previously argued, conflict sharpens divisions within society, weakening horizontal civic trust between citizens. In the conflicts leading to the breakup of Yugoslavia, nationalist leaders of different ethnic groups exploited ethnic tensions to incite violence and mobilise support for their political agendas. The fear, mistrust and hatred left by ethnic conflict posed a particular obstacle to peacebuilding in Bosnia & Herzegovina, the most heterogeneous of the former Yugoslav states. The international community concluded that preventing ethnic violence would be possible only through separation, and thus adopted a partitionist logic to peace negotiations.[171] This contributed to a series of arduous and demographically impossible attempts to divide the country into ethnically homogenous regions. As David Campbell argues, this endeavour demonstrated that "the nationalist imaginary was never far from the negotiators' minds."[172] Ultimately, the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords institutionalised this imagery, creating the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina (FBiH) and the Republika Srpska (RS), and establishing a three-person Presidency consisting of one Bosnian Serb, one Bosnian Croat, and one Bosniak. Whilst proponents of the plan argued that this reflected the reality of ethnic conflict, critics have argued that the accords "proclaim democracy while entrenching apartheid structures and ethnic-based parties."[173] The case of Bosnia thus represents an example where "negative peace", as much as conflict, can threaten horizontal reconciliation.

This partitionist impulse was transmitted to children through the education system. For example, when large numbers of displaced children returned, their parents

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[171] Campbell (1999)
[172] Ibid. 410
[173] Pajiç (1998) 137

opposed their reintegration into classes with children of different ethnicities.[174] Consequently, they began their own private classes at home and in coffee shops. In response, the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina (OHR) and the OSCE proposed the "two schools under one roof" system, labelled as "possibly the most visible and obvious symbol of the politicization of education."[175] Under this system, fifty-four schools were divided to prevent contact between children and staff of different ethnic groups, despite the fact they were studying and working in the same building.[176] In extreme cases, this involved the formation of two separate entrances, separate classrooms, and the appointment of two separate school directors and school councils.

There has been little political will to desegregate the schools, with politicians keen to manipulate homogenous classes to stir nationalism and mobilise support. As one OSCE worker stated, "education is one of the last areas where politicians still have a strong grip and they don't want to let go."[177] The few attempts at reform have been met with violent resistance from within the community, with the front door of the Novi Seher school in Doboj set on fire in 2003 in protest against the planned reunification.[178] Segregation was also enforced by the practice of bussing children across borders to "monoethnic" schools. In 2002, it was estimated that between between 5,000 and 10,000 pupils crossed the the border between RS and FBiH to attend school.[179] Whilst this respects the right of the parent to decide the education received by their child, the scale of the problem reflects the inability of the State to assuage parents' fears that their children would be discriminated against and bullied in schools where they are the minority. Following the failure to introduce bottom-up or top-down reconciliation processes, the partitionist logic considered necessary for peace has thus ossified within

[174] Natalya Clark (2010) 249
[175] Perry (2003) 29
[176] UN Human Rights Council (2008) 29
[177] Natalya Clark (2010) 250
[178] Ibid. 349
[179] Batarilo & Lenhart (2007) 130-131

the education system, with the result that classrooms have become increasingly ethnically homogenous.

This homogenisation presents several obstacles to horizontal reconciliation. James Coleman has argued that social capital can be divided into "bonding capital," that is, the development of networks, norms, and trust *within* groups of people, and "bridging capital," the formation of those relationships *between* groups of people.[180] Where bonding capital is privileged at the expense of bridging capital, an "us" and "them" mentality is created. This encourages discrimination and negative stereotypes, which in extreme cases, can amount to dehumanisation of the "other." The "negative peace" approach taken in Bosnia has overlooked the importance of bridging capital, creating an "enclave multiethnicity," where diversity exists only in terms of "the aggregation of predominately homogenous entities within a thin veneer of external unity."[181] In education, this enclave system reduces contact between children from different ethnic groups. As one Bosniak secretary of a two schools under one roof establishment stated, "the students have little contact with each other and the secretaries, teachers and school directors only contact each other when they need to."[182]

This division undermines a key tenet of reconciliation, known as the "contact thesis." The thesis states that social exposure to the "other" and interpersonal contact is a prerequisite for the deconstruction of prejudice and stereotypes, and the formation of tolerance, trust, and understanding.[183] As Staub has argued, "trust and connectedness arise from 'proximal' experiences…trust must evolve through a history of contact, cooperation and friendly relations."[184] Encouraging contact has had visible benefits in Bosnia; as one Bosniak student related:

[180] Hill (2011) 156
[181] Campbell (1999) 422
[182] Natalya Clark (2009) 365
[183] Natalya Clark (2010) 350
[184] Staub (2007) 265

> "When I started having contact with Croats through the Youth Centre, I realized that they also suffered during the war and that there are Croat children who, like me, lost their mothers. So my views of them have changed. I now have trust in Croats because I have contact with them."[185]

This contact is particularly important in ethnic or national conflicts, where prejudices and stereotypes may become "monolithic identity constructions" predicated on immediately observable characteristics, like language or physical appearance.[186] Failure to integrate the education system allows these stereotypes to be perpetuated into the future, transmitting fear and hatred, impeding integration and feeding long-term conflict. It follows that the segregation of education in Bosnia is a serious impediment to reconciliation and sustainable peace, and it is thus no wonder that, having originally proposed the separation, the OSCE has now joined NGOs in calling for integration.[187]

Partition and segregation has further ossified in society through its institutionalisation in the formal education system. Education provision is highly decentralised; the FBiH and RS have their own Ministry of Education, as does each of the ten Cantons in the FBiH and the Brčko District in the north-east of country. This makes thirteen Ministries of Education in total, many of which use different curricula.[188] Pašalic-Kreso has argued that this decentralisation has "undermined unity in educational policies, common educational goals, common values."[189] Similarly, Galloway has stated that the State has been made impotent to encourage unity through education, instead "conferring responsibility and powers on units that were hopelessly small, in most cases ethnically exclusive and, too often, controlled by local interests whose principal commitment was to their own ethnic group."[190]

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[185] Natalya Clark (2010) 351
[186] Ibid. 351
[187] OSCE (2003)
[188] Hill (2011) 164
[189] Pašalic-Kreso (2008) 360
[190] Galloway (2006) 258

In an attempt to prevent this local control discouraging the return of displaced children, the Ministries of Education of the FBiH and RS signed an agreement designed to strengthen parents' rights to decide the content of their children's education.[191] Article three of the Agreement created a "national group" of subjects, including History, Geography, Language, Literature, Nature, Society, and Religion, and gave parents the right to have their child study such subjects under a curriculum constructed by representatives of his/her ethnic group. For example, a Bosnian Croat child taking the "national curriculum" will learn about the geography of Croatia, not Bosnia. Whilst the agreement intended to discourage physical segregation in schools by permitting separate curricula, Bozic has argued that the national group system "helps to sustain the fundamental cause of segregation by maintaining a system that shields politicization of education."[192] In the RS, for example, textbooks refer to the RS as part of Serbia, with the result that children are incorrectly taught that they are citizens of Serbia, and not the FBiH.[193] In summary, the fragmentation of education has been institutionalised, entrenching ethnic division and allowing local groups to instrumentalise education for political or nationalist purposes.

This instrumentalisation causes the transmission of knowledge and values counterproductive to peace. Whilst an agreement was reached to remove insulting and offensive language from textbooks, many old textbooks are still used, and the practice of encouraging children to "strike out" the banned content only highlights a history of division and hatred.[194] In any case, history textbooks teach an ethnicised narrative which often represents the local ethnic group as a victim of historical oppression from an aggressive "other." As Baranoviç concludes in her study of Serb, Croat and Bosniak textbooks in Bosnia, "in all of the textbooks, one's own nation was predominantly portrayed in a positive manner, e.g. as a nation that has always fought defensive wars, has been the victim of aggression by other nations, as having suffered throughout

[191] "Interim Agreement on Accommodation of Specific Needs and Rights of Returnee Children" (2002)
[192] Bozic (2004) 332
[193] Hill (2011) 163
[194] Ibid. 163

history."[195] Torsti's research of eighth grade textbooks provides examples of the different historical narratives taught to children; regarding the causes of the war in BiH, the Serbian *Istorija* and *Dodatak* blames separatism, the Bosniak *Historija* cites Serb aggression and "Great Serb nationalism," and the Croatian *Povijest* argues that the war was a continuation of the war in Croatia.[196] Such narratives create competing historical "truths," which incorporate selective memory and denial of atrocities committed by the local ethnic groups. Contested memories are created, which impede reconciliation, as each group refuses to cooperate with the other until their "truth" is recognised.[197] A stalemate is reached, since each group believes, in the words of one Croat woman, that "reconciliation depends on them, not on us."[198] Given the links between memory, identity and conflict, the failure to reconcile these contested memories "to a large extent explains why we are not witnessing the formation of a unified nation-state, but its slow disintegration."[199]

These divisions are deepened by history teaching which promotes an epic historic narrative of ethnic conflict, creating a historical memory which encourages militancy and makes cooperation appear impossible. Bartulovic argues that textbooks in the RS promote the message that "new conflicts will erupt sooner or later, since Serbs are separated from their fatherland and are being forced to sacrifice the unity of their nation and unique cultural identity."[200] Similarly, many textbooks focus on the entrance of Islam during the rule of the Ottoman Empire, citing the "clash of civilisations" as the root cause of modern conflict, and rejecting the prospect of peaceful coexistence between religions.[201] The capacity for education to provide understanding of other cultures is ignored, since as Baranoviç notes, "even though we are dealing with the history of a single country, none of textbook groups referred to each other's history in

[195] Baranoviç (2011) 22
[196] Torsti (2007)
[197] As one Kosovan-Serb politician told me, "reconciliation starts with truth." (Priština, January 2015)
[198] Natalya Clark (2009) 366
[199] Bartulovic (2006) 51
[200] Ibid. 66
[201] Ibid. 66

more than 25% of the units."[202] When religious education is given to mixed groups, teachers are rarely trained to manage conflict from students.[203] Incidences of students holding their nose as they pass children of other religions, as well as fighting to decide which religion is "better," have been reported.[204] Classrooms therefore become microcosms of a violent and divided society, perpetuating historical amnesia and lack of understanding of the history of the "other."

Bosnia thus demonstrates the "cost of inaction" in post-conflict educational reform. An education system that fails to promote inclusion, contact and a collective memory of conflict has impeded the formation of a unified Bosnian identity, preserved the "us" and "them" mentality, and perpetuated hatred and division. This demonstrates the negative side of "negative peace," and the immediate obligation for the State to take progressive measures towards reconciliation and reintegration, even if division is necessary in the short-term for security purposes.

The Case of Brčko

The district of Brčko in North-East Bosnia provides many exceptions to the general trend in Bosnia. Wedged between the Serbian and Croatian borders, and considered strategically vital by all sides, Brčko suffered greatly during the conflict. After debates about its place in post-conflict Bosnia threatened to undermine the Dayton Peace Accords, in 1999 an agreement was reached that Brčko would formally be incorporated into both the RS and the FBiH, but also exist as a separate "mixed entity." Consequently, Brčko became viewed as an experiment for integration and multi-ethnic society in post-conflict Bosnia.

On July 5th 2001, the Single Law on Education and Harmonised Curriculum integrated the Bosniak, Serb and Croatian education systems. Article 9 contained four components for integration: free expression for students in their own language, school

[202] Baranoviç (2011) 19
[203] Pašalic-Kreso (2008) 367
[204] Ibid. 367

documents to be available in the language and alphabet requested by the student or parent, the ethnic composition of teachers should reflect that of the students, and existing textbooks may be used only if they are harmonised with the curriculum.[205] Although "national subjects" still exist, students are separated by their nationality in just 25-30% of their classes, and in many cases share classes for these subjects with children from other ethnicities.

Integration has been generally seen as a success by residents, with the OSCE reporting in 2006 that "residents in Brčko district are consistently the most satisfied with education in BiH."[206] As one resident stated, "you can see the difference between the younger generations – they are just schoolmates just like before, like nothing happened."[207] International observers have also praised integration, stating that "the lack of riots, protests or violence illustrates that Brčko's system of carefully mandated inclusiveness works."[208] Importantly, investment in education was key to integration, with one government official identifying high wages as a key incentive for teachers to persist with the multi-ethnic experiment.[209] The model of integration as pursued in the Brčko "experiment" can thus be said to have improved the acceptability of education, and supported long term reconciliation and peace.

It would be dangerous, however, to label the experiment a "success" and to overlook the limitations of the Brčko model. The rules encoded in Article 9 place a high burden on teachers, who lack the necessary training to deal with conflict in classes about human rights and democracy, are made to plan lessons and teach in three separate languages, and are restricted in their use of teaching materials by fear of prioritising material from one ethnic group over another.[210] Teachers have also reported secretly giving text books to children and planning school trips on days when sensitive topics

[205] OSCE (2007)
[206] OSCE (2006)
[207] Jones (2012) 142
[208] Ibid. 142
[209] Ibid. 144
[210] Ibid. 146

are due to be taught.[211] Whilst these actions are "done informally to avoid recrimination and accusations of ethnic nationalism," Briony Jones points out that "none…suggest that teachers and students necessarily want to return to a segregated school system."[212] Nevertheless, the Brčko experiment demonstrates the practical challenges to integration, such as balancing reconciliation with freedom of expression. Inclusive education thus has huge transformative potential, but is dependent on investment in education, and financial and professional support to teachers.

Peace Education in Bosnia

One initiative that could address these issues, encouraging democratic debate without threatening peace, is Bosnia's Education for Peace Programme. Its basic aim is to "effect lasting transformation in the worldviews and character of individuals, groups and societies such that they come to understand and consistently embody the universal principles and practices of peace."[213] Its activities include teacher training for conflict resolution and dealing with trauma, integrating concepts of peace in all subject areas, and encouraging students to express themselves in creative ways through the arts. It also offers "Leadership for Peace" workshops for students and the current leaders in the community, with the hope that future leaders will "become peacemakers." [214] Furthermore, the programme includes education for the empowerment for women, and raises awareness of domestic violence. Clarke and Habibi have argued that in divided communities where the programme was carried out, the "rigid friend/enemy dichotomies dissolved dramatically, and participants began to see themselves and to relate to others through the perspective of unity rather than division."[215] After initially being introduced to 112 schools, the programme has now been extended to all 2,200 schools, reaching 1.5 million students.[216] As the only programme voluntarily adopted by all three ethnic groups without being fundamentally changed, the Education for Peace

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[211] Ibid. 146
[212] Ibid. 146
[213] Natalya Clark (2010) 353
[214] Education for Peace, (2008)
[215] Clarke-Habibi (2005) 47
[216] Hill (2011) 164

Programme demonstrates that peace education is politically viable even in highly segregated societies, and may be an initial site of cooperation between rival groups.

However, to assess the genuine transformative value of human rights education (HRE) programmes in Bosnia, they must be politically, socially and culturally contextualised. Neve Gordon argues that HRE programmes are largely shaped by their "local spaces" since "the political ideologies circulating within these spaces may either be conducive to or hinder the implementation of meaningful HRE."[217] In Israel, for example, decades of segregation, war and racism have separated Jewish and Palestinian youth. Consequently, despite the existence of compulsory civic education in schools since 1976, less than half of the Jewish youth in Israel believe that Palestinians should receive equal rights.[218] Gordon argues that where hyper-ethno-nationalities exist, ethnic groups view territoriality and defence as essential to their survival. This preoccupation with security and survival, normally inimical to peace and cooperation, is "often based on selective and highly strategic historical, cultural, or religious interpretations."[219] Such interpretations are manifested in societies with little contact between groups, and a militant identity founded in exclusive, discriminatory history teaching. Whilst these conditions have been observable for decades in Israel, the current education system in Bosnia is creating a comparable society. Conversely, in integrated local sites like Israel's Jewish-Arab bilingual schools in Hagar, HRE and peace education programmes have been far more effective.[220] Gordon concludes that desegregated schools "cannot be a replacement for HRE, but they do serve as its necessary groundwork and condition of possibility."[221] The transformative potential of the Education for Peace Programme will therefore be conditional on wider societal reconciliation, since HRE classes alone are undermined when they are completely incoherent with the lessons taught to children in informal learning spaces and every-day life. In summary, both desegregation and HRE are necessary, but not in themselves sufficient, for reconciliation and sustainable peace.

[217] Gordon (2012) 390
[218] Ibid. 391
[219] Ibid. 396
[220] Ibid. 397
[221] Ibid. 399

Conclusions

To conclude, the case of Bosnia demonstrates that the cost of inaction in the name of "Negative Peace" is high when it comes to education. Whilst desires to keep opposing parties apart in the immediate post-conflict is understandable to prevent conflict, the failure to take measures to progressively deconstruct this segregation can transmit tensions to children and entrench division in the long term. Excessive decentralisation can also undermine peace by allowing education to be instrumentalised for local interests, and impeding the formation of a collective narrative of conflict. The everyday reality of segregation and lack of exposure to the "other" undermine values taught in peace education and human rights education programmes, since such lessons are outweighed by contradictory attitudes taught to children in non-formal environments, and even within classrooms as part of formal schooling. Where schools and society are integrated, such as in Brčko, the potential for the development of a human rights culture and sustainable peace is greatly increased. Educational reforms must therefore be coherent with wider societal processes in order to maximise their transformative potential.

2.3. Reparations & Conflict-Sensitive Education: The Case of Peru

Vertical reconciliation between the State and citizens is dependent on the State's recognition of responsibility for past violations, and commitment to providing reparation. Whilst apologies and financial compensation have reparative value, more long-term mechanisms may be required to preserve the reconciliatory effect into the future. In the case of violations of children's rights, such mechanisms may include recognising state responsibility in the official curriculum, and providing long term collective reparations which transform the structures that violate children's rights. These

highly symbolic measures are closely linked with collective memory, or where they are absent, collective "forgetting." Since what a society chooses to remember or forget in post-conflict transitions is integral to national identity, and by extension, nation building, such mechanisms are highly politicised.

The Peruvian post-conflict demonstrates this. The internal armed conflict in Peru was waged predominantly between the State and the Maoist Communist party Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), and lasted from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s. The conflict displaced 600,000 people and caused the death or disappearance of 70,000.[222] Violence disproportionately affected certain groups; 75% of victims had Quechua or another indigenous language as their native tongue, 79% lived in rural areas, and 68% had low levels of formal education.[223] The conflict therefore divided Peruvian society on ethnic and class lines. The truth commission, known as the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation (CVR) detailed the disproportionate impact on children, who suffered sexual violence, arbitrary detention, extrajudicial execution, kidnapping, forced recruitment, murder and forced disappearance from all parties. The CVR highlighted particular systemic violations for which the State was responsible, relating how the State kidnapped children as young as 15 and forced them to fight with the *Comités de Autodefensa* paramilitary groups, and identified the State as responsible for 71% of the cases of sexual violence against children.[224] As well as this, the CVR explained that Sendero Luminoso had "exploited fractures and rifts in Peruvian society," recruiting in rural areas "abandoned" by the State.[225] The State's failure to provide available, accessible education left a vacuum filled by Sendero Luminoso, who established *escuelas populares* (community schools) and used them to indoctrinate students in Maoist theory and violent revolution.[226] Much of the Sendero Luminoso leadership were themselves drawn from the educational sector, including leader Abimael Guzmán, who was previously a professor of philosophy. In summary, the CVR provided a frank

[222] Laplante (2014) 144
[223] CVR (2003)
[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid. 412
[226] Laplante (2014) 154

recognition of State responsibility of CP and ESCR rights violations before and during the conflict.

Transformative Reparations and Education

To acknowledge and remedy these violations, the CVR proposed an Integral Reparations Plan (PIR) for communities affected by conflict. The PIR stated as its objective "to repair and compensate for the violation of human rights as well as for the social, moral and material losses or damages suffered by the victims as a result of the internal armed conflict."[227] Reparations were planned through a highly consultative process with local communities, who requested at the last minute that a programme on access to education be included.[228] Collective reparations were considered important for two reasons. First, whole communities were often the victim of rights violations, particularly in rural and indigenous regions. This was the case specifically with violations of the right to education, since in many communities teachers and students were caught between State persecution of suspected sympathisers with Sendero Luminoso, and the armed group's own attempts to recruit, indoctrinate and take over schools. Second, communal relations were central to the identity of many indigenous and rural communities, making collective reparations more culturally appropriate.[229] Given the poverty in many of these communities, collective reparations were generally welcomed.[230] The programme was implemented in 2007, focussing on small infrastructure projects, including the reconstruction of schools and provision of learning equipment. [231] Each community received up to 100,000 soles (around $37,000), with 1,946 communities benefitting by 2013.[232] Community participation has been encouraged, with management committees drawn from the community and empowered to define the content of the project.[233] Proposals for transformative reparations linked to

[227] Garcia Godos (2008). P. 73
[228] Correa (2009) p. 15
[229] Correa (2013) 11
[230] Ibid. 11
[231] Ibid. 11
[232] Ibid. 11
[233] Ibid. 12

education for individual victims have included payment of school fees, scholarships for higher education, and adult education programmes.[234] In theory, therefore, the reparations package has the capacity to repair violations of the right to education, and transform the circumstances that originally contributed to conflict.

Lamentably, the aforementioned political disinterest in Peru has prevented an effective implementation of the reparations programme. The majority of the 5,697 communities registered by the Reparations Council have not received reparations.[235] The government has "systematically failed" to provide adequate funding to the projects, asserting that "there are no funds" despite increasing spending in politically popular areas, like defence and development.[236] Education programmes in particular have been neglected, with no progress made towards implementation until August 2012.[237] The eligibility of beneficiaries has also been continuously limited, with the administration of President Alan Garcia excluding all child victims from reparations other than victims of enforced disappearance or rape, and children whose parents had been murdered.[238] These limitations are closely related to the absence of sensitisation about the conflict and the historical amnesia encouraged by the Peruvian State. As Rubio Escolar argues,

> "when political leaders calculate that they win more…respecting the decisions of courts and applying the law to all citizens, rather than protecting their armed forces…transitional justice becomes reality. Unfortunately, in Peru there is no debate about the transitional process… there is no interest to know the truth...the lack of attention received by the thousands of victims is a sad confirmation that one part of the country has still not learnt to recognise the other."[239]

In other words, State "disinterest" in compensating victims and transforming the situation of vulnerable children is in fact the result of a political calculation that other

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[234] Defensoria del Pueblo, Peru (2008) 82
[235] Correa (2013) 12
[236] Laplante (2009) 247
[237] Correa (2013) 22
[238] Ibid. 22
[239] Rubio Escolar (2013) 59

projects, such as defence spending or development, can "buy" more support, for less money. This situation elucidates the State's interest in undermining education initiatives that attempt to increase understanding for victims and knowledge of State responsibility for human rights violations before, during and after conflict.

Some of these more "popular" programmes, particularly relating to development, have been passed off by the State as a form of collective reparation. This conflates reparations, which specifically recognise victims and possess a restorative or redemptive dimension, and development, entitled to all citizens regardless of their involvement with conflict. President Alejando Toledo, for example, presented his "Plan for Development and Peace" as a means of implementing the PIR. These projects, however, were perceived by victims as part of the everyday work of the State, and lacked symbolic reparatory value. As one study of victim's opinions argued, "a project or collective programme is not sufficient for victims - the reaffirmation that they have been victims of abuse, and that the State recognises its responsibility, is primordial."[240] Symbolic displays of recognition have been missing from reparations programmes involving education, with the result that the majority of projects are not recognised by victims as forms of reparation. Where recognition has been given to past violations, it has been selective and politicised, often talking only about the consequences of "terrorism."[241] The failure to recognise the State's role in persecuting teachers and students, recruiting children and attacking schools reinforces the sense among victims that collective reparations are motivated by politics, not justice. It also undermines the acknowledgement of State responsibility for human rights violations, fundamental to means of satisfaction for victims and vertical reconciliation. It is clear, therefore, that reparations in Peru have lacked transformative value, and have not facilitated vertical reconciliation.

[240] Ibid. 138
[241] Correa (2013) 14

Conflict-Sensitive Education

One of the four "essential institutional reforms" recommended by the CVR was the proposal to "reform education to promote democratic values."[242] Noting the limited implementation of Truth Commission recommendations in El Salvador and Guatemala, the CVR pressured the Ministry of Education to include its findings in the curriculum. By encouraging a "never again" attitude and recognising State responsibility for human rights violations, this proposal was capable of contributing to guarantees of non-repetition and means of satisfaction for victims. Whilst this was not achieved during the Commission's mandate, it was eventually picked up in 2003 by the human rights NGO Instituto de Defensa Legal, and the Faculty of Education at PUCP, who began working on an educational resource to teach children about the conflict.

This project was called *Recordándonos* (Remembering Us.)[243] The resource was designed to complement the core subjects of "integral communication" and "social personal" at primary level, and "social sciences" at secondary level, as well as to be used for human rights education.[244] Its stated objective was to "contribute to forming a new official memory which promotes the values of rights and democracy put forward by the CVR, and to stimulate a national debate which involves different sectors of the country."[245] Significantly, it adds that:

> "We must come to understand that the threat of the past repeating itself will continue to exist so long as we deny that the events of the violent past were not solely the product of the actions of subversive groups but rather the effect of profound inequalities, injustices, exclusion and mistreatment that predate the conflict and continually undermine the conditions which make possible a true democracy. From this need to understand comes the necessity to engage children

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[242] CVR (2003)
[243] Paulson (2010) 343
[244] Ibid. 346
[245] Proyecto Recordándonos

> and youth in reflection and moral inquiry about the past as an essential part of the educative process."[246]

The Recordándonos resource therefore promotes what could be termed "transformative memory," that is, a consciousness that to avoid return to conflict in the future, structural injustice in the past must be transformed. It includes children as agents in this process, and identifies education as a key tool for transformation.

The resource implements these principles with a pedagogical approach which encourages child participation and group discussion in classes. Children responded positively to this approach in pilot classes, and produced work that impressed teachers with its "depth and thoughtfulness."[247] Students' knowledge of the conflict was found to increase after the pilot,[248] and teachers praised the "straightforward" nature of the materials.[249] This "rich and enthusiastic feedback" from students and teachers suggests that the Recordándonos resource had the capacity to transform the Peruvian traditions of authoritarian pedagogy, and contribute to a human rights culture founded in collective memory of an oppressive past.[250]

The pilot did, however, indicate problems with implementation of the resource. Feedback was far more positive in regions that had suffered extensively under the conflict, such as Ayacucho and Cuzco, as opposed to regions more removed from the conflict.[251] Such imbalance threatened the project's objective to produce a collective narrative that would facilitate reconciliation across the country, and transform the discrimination and ignorance towards rural and indigenous regions. This problem was exacerbated in 2004 when the Ministry of Education chose to prioritise distribution of the Recordándonos resource to communities most affected by the conflict. The former director of Basic Primary Education explained that the twenty six hundred schools

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[246] Paulson (2010) 323
[247] Ibid. 348
[248] Ibid. 351
[249] Ibid. 349
[250] Ibid. 348
[251] Ibid. 349

selected had been previously targeted by Sendero Luminoso, and thus saw the resource as necessary for the "prevention against the possible resurgence of violence."[252] Whilst it might be appropriate to target affected regions to give recognition of rights violations as reparations, this statement makes it clear that the resource was appropriated by the government for counter-insurgency purposes. This securitisation and regionalisation of the Recordándonos resource undermined its purpose of encouraging understanding across the country of the structural causes of conflict and State responsibility, and as Paulson argues, "reiterates the very structures of difference, division, regionalism and racism that the CVR identified as causes of Peru's conflict."[253]

Whilst the Ministry of Education initially supported the Recordándonos project, it was not involved in its development and did not provide financing. This was instead provided by the Spanish organisation Fundación Santa Maria, and later by UNICEF and Save the Children. As one project coordinator lamented, this non-activity allowed the Ministry of Education to distance itself from the project when it became politically desirable. The resource was subjected to several revisions by the Ministry which diminished State responsibility, since as one Minister emphatically admitted, "we cannot openly present information against the State…being very sincere, we simply cannot."[254] For example, a statement in the first edition for third and fourth grade students read that the Armed Forces and Police "used violence and in many cases did not respect human rights."[255] This was edited in the second edition into the passive voice: "in many cases innocent people were killed in the fight against the subversive groups."[256] Despite such changes, conservative opposition to the report was not diminished, and in 2006 the Ministry of Defence wrote to the Ministry of Education criticising the resource for insulting the honour of the armed forces, further stalling the project's implementation.[257] More recently, educator and Congresswoman Mercedes Cabaillas condemned the project as an "apology for terrorism," amplifying fear from

[252] Ibid. 358
[253] Ibid. 359
[254] Ibid. 352
[255] Ibid. 353
[256] Ibid. 353
[257] Ibid. 356

teachers and students about discussing the conflict in class.[258] The government's lack of funding also provided financial obstacles to dissemination, preventing the printing of a colour version of the report as requested by students and teachers, which proved too expensive.[259] Consequently, the Recordándonos project has been rarely used in Peruvian schools, and the conflict in general has been left out of the curriculum.[260]

This political undermining of conflict-sensitive education has had several consequences for the transformative process in Peru. A 2013 study by the Institute of Peruvian Studies (IEP) reported that the conflict was rarely mentioned in class, and that children have a "profound lack of knowledge" about the conflict.[261] What little understanding children have of the conflict derives principally from their family and the media.[262] Given the media's inherently conservative stance and broad opposition to the CVR, and the highly personal nature of families' experiences, neither source is capable of providing a balanced narrative of conflict, or stimulating democratic debate. Teachers feel limited in what they can and cannot say regarding the conflict, and therefore tend to avoid the issue altogether. The study argues that this silence in schools "prolongs, or at least, does not question the validity of stereotypical discourses about 'the other.'"[263]

The failure to promote conflict sensitive education has been paralleled by the inability to establish pedagogical methods or a classroom environment conducive to democratic learning. Students reported disinterest from teachers, corruption including taking payment for grades, physical and symbolic violence, and even sexual harassment.[264] Schools are characterised by deterioration of physical infrastructure, scarcity of books and teaching materials, and "in general, plain abandonment."[265] Such disinterest has obstructed vertical reconciliation between the State and teachers, who distrust the government, resent the lack of funding for education, and retain grievances

[258] Frisancho & Reátegui (2009) 436
[259] Paulson (2010) 351
[260] Uccelli (2013)
[261] Ibid. p. 23
[262] Ibid. p. 24
[263] Ibid. p. 39
[264] Ibid. p. 23
[265] Ibid. p. 22

and mistrust originating from their persecution during conflict. The end result, according to the IEP, is a "circle of mistrust which makes it difficult to talk freely about the conflict."[266] In summary, political opposition to the CVR and conflict-sensitive information has preserved the underlying structures of conflict rooted in the education system, and had impeded the formation of a collective memory capable of transforming them.

To conclude, the case of Peru further demonstrates the political and economic challenges to educational reform. The State's lack of ownership over curriculum reform processes allowed it to distance itself from such initiatives in the future, criticising attempts to examine the military's role in the conflict and encouraging a culture of silence. This deterred teachers and students from discussing the conflict for fear of reprisals, and impeded the formation of a collective narrative of conflict. The politicisation of transformation processes also undermined the reconciliatory potential of symbolic reparations, since memorialisation was selective and accounted little for violations committed by the State. This political detachment also led to funding problems, undermining the introduction of conflict-sensitive history teaching and the implementation of transformative reparations. Consequently, over time victims became invisibilised, transformation was relegated to an issue for "rural" regions that suffered from conflict, and regional, ethnic and class divisions were perpetuated. It is clear, therefore, that educational initiatives in transformative processes are highly sensitive to the political context, and may need support from local civil society, the media, or the international community.

[266] Ibid. p. 42

2.4. Key Conclusions & Summary

From the above cases, four key conclusions have been made regarding the implementation of transformative educational initiatives in post-conflict environments.

1. Educational initiatives need political support from the State, but are undermined where they become overtly politicised.

All three cases demonstrate the need for the State to support and take ownership of post-conflict educational programmes. The State is the principle duty-bearer regarding the rights of the child and the right to education, and therefore must respect, protect, and fulfil the right by ensuring that education is available, accessible and adaptable on a non-discriminatory basis. It is also vital for vertical reconciliation and "justice" for victims that the State acknowledges its responsibility for rights violations. Political support must be sustained by investment to initiate and sustain educational initiatives, and fund wages that recognise the role played by teachers in peacebuilding and reconciliation processes. The three cases demonstrate that where this political and economic support is lacking, educational initiatives risk becoming politically "incorrect" or taboo, dependent on external support (and thus unsustainable in the long term), or undermined by lack of funds.

Educational initiatives should not, however, become overtly politicised. It may be impossible to remove politics completely from educational initiatives, given that processes of peacebuilding, reparative justice and nation-building are inherently political. However, where these processes are instrumentalised or appropriated for purely political objectives, they become more divisive than reconciliatory. Political support must therefore be consistent and committed, but to the greatest extent possible, objective and channelled towards the goals of positive peacebuilding and transformative justice for all.

2. Educational initiatives need support, but not ownership, from the international community.

Many transformative mechanisms, such as reintegration programmes, reconstruction of schools, curriculum reform and reparations are expensive and complicated to organise. States emerging from conflict often do not have the resources to undertake such programmes alone. Guidance, financial assistance and political pressure from the international community can therefore facilitate transformation by supporting these programmes from an economic and political perspective.

However, external actors should not substitute for the State in financing and running educational initiatives. This enables the State to distance themselves from the projects in the future and remove political or financial support, thus making the projects unsustainable. Even where projects are predominantly funded or led by the international community, they must therefore facilitate State involvement and ownership to be sustainable.

3. Educational initiatives must encourage community participation be sensitive to local contexts and cultures, but retain a collective dimension and respect universal human rights.

Local involvement and cultural appropriateness is essential for educational initiatives to encourage participation and ownership. Such participation is necessary to engage victims and ensure reform does not become an "elite discourse." Ensuring initiatives are context and culture-sensitive also enhances their practical impact in the community, and reduces the risk that peripheral regions feel marginalised from the transformative process. Finally, local customs may be fundamental for social or spiritual processes such as rehabilitation, reintegration or reconciliation. Local participation and cultural sensitivity are therefore essential in order that initiatives are acceptable, sustainable, and genuinely transformative in nature.

Such a decentralised approach, however, risks creating a "splintered" transformative process, which emerges differently in different regions and thus impedes the formation of a collective narrative. Cultural relativism and local traditions may also be invoked to

promote programmes that encourage division, undermine child participation and even violate fundamental human rights. It must therefore be ensured that local initiatives are held together by a common thread including a shared understanding of basic truths regarding the conflict, a commitment to peace and reconciliation with the "other," and the respect of fundamental human rights.

4. Educational initiatives may be implemented progressively over time, but there are certain immediate obligations.

Many transformative mechanisms may take time to implement. Introducing the history of the conflict into the official curriculum immediately after peace, for example, could spark division and conflict. Similarly, complete integration may be impractical immediately after conflict, since high levels of fear and mistrust may contribute to rejection of reintegrated combatants, or even outbreaks of violence. There may also be economic obstacles to educational reforms, necessitating a progressive approach. Delaying some educational initiatives may therefore be economically necessary, or desirable to protect security and establish "negative peace."

The failure to take steps towards educational reform, however, can undermine peace in the long run. The failure to lay the foundations for integration and reconciliation in the future and the institutionalisation of divisive education policies carries a high cost of inaction, since structures of division and tension are likely to ossify and reproduce over generations. Furthermore, discriminatory education policies can leave vulnerable groups behind, exacerbating inequality and division and undermining human security. Respecting, protecting and fulfilling the aforementioned non-violable human rights, and the taking of steps towards reconciliation, are therefore immediate obligations not subject to progressive realisation.

Summary

To summarise, educational initiatives must be supported by a range of stakeholders, including the state. They must also be coherent with international human rights standards, and wider processes in society. This is necessary for the initiatives to be credible, sustainable, and accountable, and to maximise their transformative potential.

Part 3. Education & Transformation in the Colombian Peace Process

3.1. Conflict Context

The third section will analyse in more detail the transformative capacity of educational initiatives using the case study of Colombia. Colombia was chosen as a case for several factors. First, the Colombian conflict is the world's longest running internal armed conflict, tracing back over five decades to 1958.[267] In this period, at least 220,000 have lost their lives to conflict. Colombia now has an IDP population of over six million, the second highest in the world behind Syria in 2015.[268] Historians have identified historic structural inequalities, an exclusive political system and normalisation of violence tracing back to colonialism as causes of the conflict.[269] The construction of sustainable peace therefore necessitates genuine transformation to recognise the deep structural roots of violence.

Second, the conflict has had a distinctly regionalised impact. Large urban centres like Bogotá experience conflict very differently to smaller cities, surrounding "comunas," and the countryside. This context necessitates a decentralised, local approach, coherent with principles of transformative justice.

Third, Colombia cannot be said to be either post-conflict or transitional in the traditional sense. Previous processes framed as "peacebuilding" or "transitional justice" by the State, like the demobilisation of paramilitaries in the Autodefensas Unidas Colombianas (AUC) in 2005, have been criticised as "smoke and mirrors" by Human Rights Watch for their failure to dismantle the economic and political networks of armed groups, address structural causes of conflict, or provide guarantees of non-repetition.[270] The current peace process initiated in Havana in November 2012 is limited to the Government and the largest rebel group, the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC.) Given that other actors including right-wing paramilitary groups, drug trafficking and other organised criminal organisations, and smaller guerrilla groups

[267] CNMH (2013) 20
[268] IDMC (2015)
[269] Comisión Histórica del Conflicto y sus Víctimas (2015)
[270] Human Rights Watch (2005)

like the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) have all heavily participated in the conflict, it unlikely that Colombia will be genuinely "post-conflict" even after an agreement is reached. Furthermore, Colombia's government has been democratically elected throughout the conflict, and thus to talk of "democratisation" or "transition" is problematic. This, however, enhances the effectiveness of the transformative approach, since it acknowledges cycles of conflict and is not so dependent on the dichotomies marked by "post-conflict" and "transition" labels.

Fourth, the concept of "transitional justice" has been highly politicised, and has functioned as an "ambiguous consensus."[271] Whilst conservative sectors have criticised "transitional justice" for vilifying the military, victims groups have associated it with the controversial 2005 demobilisation of paramilitary groups. This process was negotiated clandestinely with politicians and paramilitary leaders in the "Pacto de Santa Fe de Ralito," and followed the formula "as much justice as possible, as much impunity as necessary."[272] Victims groups and civil society organisations have thus mobilised transformation "from below," with educational initiatives often at the forefront of local peacebuilding processes.

Fifth, children have been disproportionately affected by the conflict. Since 1985 around 2.5 million children have been displaced, and many have been victims of forced disappearance, murder, torture, sexual assault, and land mines.[273] Children have also participated heavily in the conflict, with around 12,000 already demobilised, and many still active in illegal economies.[274] Children are recruited as young as eight, and are often trained to use arms by the age of thirteen.[275] It is clear, therefore, that children are key stakeholders in any justice or peacebuilding process in Colombia.

Finally, the violation of the right to available, accessible, and acceptable education has been identified as a cause and consequence of the conflict. Guerrilla groups legitimise their "struggle" against the State through a Marxist-Leninist doctrine

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[271] Lyons and Reed (2010) 168
[272] El Tiempo (2005)
[273] CNMH (2013) 314
[274] ICBF (2014)
[275] HRW (2003)

that denounces the high inequality in Colombia, and the "state abandonment" of services including education in the countryside.[276] Despite the tendency to discuss "forced recruitment," studies have suggested that the vast majority of child combatants in Colombia join apparently "of their own accord."[277] This is largely due to lack of opportunity, since "most of the children are from a desperately poor background, lacking any chance of an education, personal advancement, or status. Most stopped going to class well before completing elementary school."[278] As well as lack of availability and accessibility, poor quality of education has been cited as a factor driving conflict. There are significant issues with educational infrastructure; in many schools in the countryside there are "no tables, no books, children work with blackboards and chalk."[279] This poverty correlates with high violence in schools, which normalises conflict and encourages dropouts. The education system has therefore been historically conservative, exclusive, and inaccessible, perpetuating conflict.

In turn, the conflict has violated the right to education. Displacement and destruction of educational infrastructure has prevented millions of children going to school. The presence of armed actors in local areas leads to high dropout rates, either for fear of contact, or as a result of recruitment. Schools have also been directly penetrated by armed groups, with the FARC in particular going into schools to recruit children.[280] Accessibility and quality has been reduced by the persecution of teachers, predominantly by paramilitary groups. Between 1999 and 2005, of the 1174 trade unionist assassinations worldwide, over one third (416) were Colombian education sector workers.[281] The education system is thus both a cause and consequence of conflict, and an essential factor contributing to the "conflict trap" and cycles of violence present for over five decades in Colombia. Transformation is thus necessary *of, in* and *through* education to build peace and guarantees of non-repetition.

[276] Colombia Reports (2013)
[277] HRW (2003) 25
[278] Ibid. 35
[279] Interview 3
[280] Haines (2014) 106
[281] Novelli (2010) 277

It should be noted that, given the ongoing nature of conflict, many of these processes may be more immediately identifiable with "conflict transformation" than "transformative justice." However, given the length of the conflict, and consequently, the importance of guarantees of non-repetition to justice and peacebuilding, the two processes overlap significantly. Colombia thus provides many examples of education and "transformative justice" in practice.

Methodology

The information for this section was compiled predominantly from a series of face-to-face interviews conducted in the Colombian cities of Bogotá and Barrancabermeja in May 2015. Interviews were conducted with a range of stakeholders including adults, young people, children, government representatives, NGO workers, teachers, and local civil society leaders.[282] The interviewees were selected for their direct experience participating with educational initiatives that contribute to transformative justice. Incorporating a diverse range of actors was considered necessary to recognise the fact, as argued in Section 2, that educational initiatives are most transformative if part of integral processes within society towards peace.

To balance this broad approach with the need for detail, two principle case studies have been selected for analysis. Clearly, limiting analysis to two case studies has the drawback of omitting information from various other experiences that also contribute to transformative justice. The cases have been chosen, however, for their different approaches and objectives, and their usefulness as examples of how to organise and implement educational initiatives. The first is directed primarily on a national level, by a State-affiliated organisation, and focuses on reparations. The second is directed primarily on a regional level, by civil society, and focuses on peacebuilding. It should not be inferred from this distinction that the initiatives function exclusively in these spaces; on the contrary, it will be argued that their ability to integrate different levels of society contributes towards visibility, participation, sustainability and coherence.

[282] The interviewees and questions asked are included in Appendix 2. All interviews were conducted in Spanish and translated by the author.

The approach is thus as holding a microscope over the country, providing a superficial overview before zooming in for a clearer image of regional and local processes, then zooming out to return to the wider context. This approach balances detail with the need for perspective, demonstrating the importance of coherence between bottom-up and top-down processes.

Significance of the Havana Peace Process

A process fundamental to understanding this wider context is the FARC-Government peace negotiations in Havana. The interviewees shared the opinion that an agreement would not be sufficient to secure peace in the country. One 15 year old boy, a victim of forced displacement from the North Santander region, captured the sentiment, arguing that "peace doesn't consist only of an agreement, of something from high society. Peace begins with dialogue from every person…everyone has to put their grain of sand."[283] Others emphasised the diverse armed actors excluded from the negotiations, the persistence of structural causes such as poverty, inequality and state abandonment, and the prevalence of violence in everyday life, at school and in the home.

Despite this emphasis on peacebuilding "from below," many interviewees stressed that the Havana negotiations were essential in opening the space and stimulating dialogue about peace, human rights, and memory. Under the previous Uribe administration, the politics of "señalamiento" (stigmatisation) of human rights defenders and promotion of military "National Security" policies limited freedom of expression by associating such issues with the guerrilla, making them highly politically sensitive and dangerous to discuss. The new government's acknowledgement of the state of armed conflict and commitment to peace and human rights, demonstrated by the negotiations in Havana, provide official recognition of the importance of such processes, reducing stigmatisation and enhancing security. Recognition of human rights has also contributed to increased government investment in civil society organisations, which under Uribe was almost non-existent.[284] Shifting official rhetoric from focus on

[283] Interview 9
[284] Informal conversation with Government Representative, Bogotá, May 2015

war to peace has thus provided many groups leading educational initiatives with more political and economic support.

The negotiations have not only facilitated communication, but stimulated it. As one interviewee summarised, ""this is a crucial moment for Colombia to get answers, so we want to move, to guarantee, to offer alternatives."[285] This has mobilised support for human rights and memory, and stimulated dialogue in society and in the classroom. One teacher at a secondary school in Bogotá explained that the Havana process "has greatly stimulated the class, and has made the students put forward their opinions, take more interest in what is happening, ask lots of questions."[286] This impulse has a domino effect; increased journalistic material and official State-sponsored reports, for example, have provided primary resources to facilitate study of the conflict in schools.

In conclusion, whilst many perceive the negotiations in Havana as distant and doubt the impact of an agreement, the process itself has been hugely significant in transforming the values associated with human rights and memory. This has opened the space for dialogue and stimulated debate. The Havana negotiations are thus a good example of a national process facilitating transformative education on regional and local levels.

3.2. Case 1: Reparations & The National Centre for Historical Memory

The reparatory capacity of education is inherently linked to its ability to transform and function as a "multiplying right." Leonardo Villa Arcila has argued that "education has an important capacity as a source of change in the situation of victims, since it markedly augments their capacity for agency with respect to the social order that was established through terror and violence…reparations through education thus have an important transformative potential."[287] Article 51 of the 2011 Victims' Law, which enumerated the reparations entitled to victims in Colombia, integrated educational

[285] Interview 2
[286] Interview 4
[287] Vila Arcila (2010) 20

initiatives as a central element. Programmes have included priority access to higher education, academic accompaniment, scholarships, and personal stipends for uniforms and educational materials.[288]

Colombia, however, has encountered many of the problems that limited the reparative value of programmes in Peru. Victims rejected the government's proposal that provision of educational services included as a right in the Constitution counted as reparations.[289] The state's historic abandonment of the countryside and "chronic underdevelopment" in rural regions is a significant obstacle to framing educational initiatives as reparations, since "compensation through education is only possible when means of restitution of the right have been previously adopted."[290] Communities have also complained that they must suffer a "quota of blood" to be eligible for social services, creating grievance and mistrust not only between non-beneficiaries and the government, but also between non-beneficiaries and victims.[291]

Furthermore, educational projects that have been welcomed by the local community have not been recognised as reparations. The Colegio San Francisco de Asís in Villatina, Medellín, for example, was constructed as a means of satisfaction and guarantee of non-repetition following the 1992 massacre in the community. However, as Zamora Prieto points out,

> "Although the relatives positively value and recognise the importance the expansion of the school has had for the neighbourhood, the majority don't see any reparatory sense in the work and understand it better as an obligation of the State to provide the neighbourhood with social infrastructure."[292]

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[288] CIJT (2010)
[289] Firchow (2013) 54
[290] Perez Murica (2010) 52
[291] Firchow (2013) 54
[292] Zamora-Prieto (2009) 429

The lack of symbolic value attached to the college is largely responsible for this reaction. A plaque at the entrance of the school refers only to the Government, the politician who opened the college, and the community of Villatina in general, without mentioning the victims of the massacre.[293] Of eighty students interviewed, only two were aware of the reparatory intention of the college.[294] Given the historic lack of state presence in many regions of the country, a fundamental cause of conflict, the symbolic value of such programmes is fundamental.

Recent reparative projects are more conscious of the importance of symbolic reparations. The 2011 Victims' Law, for example, puts emphasis on means of satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition as forms of integral reparation. Education is key to these processes. The guarantees of non-repetition enumerated in Article 149, for example, include the establishment of human rights education programmes, national campaigns to raise awareness about violence against children and women, and creation of a "social pedagogy," based in "historical truth," that will promote reconciliation. The recovery and construction of historical memory is also identified as a measure of satisfaction for victims. Article 143 establishes the State's role in this process:

> "the State's responsibility of memory corresponds to the provision of guarantees and conditions necessary for society to advance in memory reconstruction processes, supporting the right to truth of both victims and society and a whole…in no case will the institutions of the State be able to impulse or promote exercises orientated towards the construction of an official history or truth which denies, restricts or threatens the constitutional principles of plurality, participation, solidarity and the rights to free expression and thought."

This balance between facilitating without appropriating truth and memory appears consistent with the conclusion made in Section 2: that educational initiatives should be politically supported, but not politicised. To institutionalise this function, Article 146

[293] Ibid. 430
[294] Ibid. 430

created the "National Centre for Historical Memory," (CNMH) responsible for the recovery and construction of national memory of the conflict. This should be achieved by collecting victims' testimonies, archiving records of human rights violations, and raising public awareness by producing reports and public exhibitions. The Victims' Law therefore clearly stipulates the role of the State facilitating historical memory and truth, contributing to measures of satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition for victims.

The CNMH explicitly recognises this reparative function in its vision to become "a platform for the promotion of dialogue and articulation of various memories of the armed conflict, which guarantees the inclusion of diverse actors and populations and contributes to integral reparation, historical clarification, guarantees of non-repetition and the construction of sustainable peace."[295] A key method of generating this dialogue is through the production of reports regarding the conflict. The CNMH has produced several reports on "emblematic cases" of the conflict, detailing massacres and mass displacement by the paramilitaries, army, and FARC in cases including El Salado, Bojayá, and Marpiripán. These reports serve the traditional purpose of truth commissions, "reducing the range of permissible lies," and raise awareness about the conflict, its origins, and victims.[296] Such awareness is a prerequisite for transformation, since as member of the victims' movement MOVICE Alejandra Gaviria postulates, "how can you transform something if you don't know the damage it caused?"[297] Upon the release of "Basta Ya," a comprehensive report compiling all the origins and consequences of the conflict, President Santos stated argued that:

> "I consider it urgent, particularly in the context of reconciliation that we will soon experience in the post-conflict, to stimulate a cultural change in Colombia, based in education, that encourages debate, tolerance, respect for differences and peaceful, intelligent engagement with opponents' criticisms…"[298]

[295] CNMH (2015)
[296] Ignatieff (1996) 113
[297] No Habrá Paz Sin Las Mujeres (2013)
[298] CNMH (2014)

Such comments give official recognition to the synergies between memory, identity, and reconciliation, and the capacity of education for transformation.

When interviewees were asked why formal education was an appropriate sphere for discussion about the conflict, many stressed the importance of the classroom as a space for identity and culture formation. In this sense, pedagogy is as important as the educational content, since the lessons must be delivered in such a way as to encourage participation and formation of democratic values. Whilst these debates may be sensitive, many interviewees pointed out that children are already exposed to the conflict in informal spheres, such as with family and from the media. These sources often give a selective interpretation, sometimes communicated in an authoritarian "matter-of-fact" manner or without permitting debate.[299] Given this reality, the formal educational sphere should avail of the opportunity to create a peaceful space for participative learning, democratic debate and promotion of a heterogeneous narrative of conflict that does not stigmatise, discriminate, or exclude the "other." As CINEP representative Marco Fidel Vargas argues, "the war is a war of perceptions, of people who have fundamental, immovable truths…as they are absolute, they consider that they have to relate to everybody else in a violent manner. Changing this mentality through education is fundamental."[300] Education can thus promote a "pedagogy of peace" over the "pedagogy of violence" historically favoured as a tool of problem solving where ideas clash in Colombia.

A representative of the Centre for Memory, Peace and Reconciliation (Centro de Memoria) in Bogotá also stressed the historical role of education in perpetuating conflict, arguing that historically, schools "have been the place of "forgetting" (olvido), the imposition of impunity, of silence in the face of what is happening."[301] Silence was also imposed by armed actors, particularly against victims and children, as a weapon of terror, as demonstrated by the threat used as a title of a 2003 Human Rights Watch

[299] López de la Roche (2003) 99
[300] Interview 3
[301] Interview 6

report, "You'll Learn Not to Cry."[302] Thus, whilst conflict education and memory is inherently political, so too is silence and "olvido," and in a way conducive to violence. The "cost of inaction" is clear; conceding the space for debate about the conflict to the media and the home risks ignoring victims, feeds pedagogies of violence and perpetuates conflict.

The reports produced by the CNMH contribute towards breaking this silence. However, as one teacher from a secondary school north of Bogotá pointed out, the reports themselves have limited value for teachers in schools, since

> "The reports are very academic and not very pedagogical. It's very difficult for professors to work with these reports in the classroom – neither the language nor the format invites the students to work…"[303]

The CNMH has recognised this issue and the limiting effect it has on the reparative and transformative impact of the reports. As Maria Rocha states:

> "these reports, if they remain on the bookshelves in libraries, if they are only read by historians, anthropologists and political scientists, in reality we would not be contributing to non-repetition. We need to turn these academic bricks into pedagogical tools."[304]

In other words, to mobilise the transformative and reparatory capacity of the reports, they must be transformed pedagogically, and introduced into the classroom.

The CNMH has undertaken this challenge with the *Caja de Herramientas* programme, which seeks to assemble a "toolbox" of pedagogical approaches to facilitate teaching about the conflict. This toolbox seeks to make conflict-education sensitive to the local context and feasible to teach in regions of conflict, considering the need to balance promotion of memory and "Nunca Más" with the "do no harm"

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[302] HRW (2003)
[303] Interview 4
[304] Interview 1

principle and the risk of re-traumatisation or attack. This is achieved in part through the use of primary resources in classrooms, including press cuttings, extracts from laws, opinions of politicians, and victims' testimony.[305] From these sources, students are invited to debate and form their own opinion, rather than receiving a pre-constructed "official" version of events. This encourages student participation and develops critical thinking skills, teaching students to question and analyse information they receive from the media and other informal sources. It also develops democratic debate and communication skills, and permits a heterogeneous, dynamic narrative of conflict in place of an exclusive "official history."

The variety of methods and pedagogical approaches in the toolbox is vital for many reasons. First, it is consistent with the decentralised educational system in Colombia, which establishes standards and competences and allows each school to form its own curriculum. Second, it recognises the different regional experiences of the conflict, and permits a context-sensitive implementation. Third, it is appropriate to acknowledge the sensitivity of the subject matter. As Rocha explains,

> "In the case of El Salado, you don't need to work with an eight year old child about the massacre, but you can run workshops about stigmatisation. You don't have to go into detail about the cruelty of what happened, but you can discuss what caused it, so that from there you can encourage non-repetition."[306]

In this way, teaching about the conflict can also encourage the formation of citizen competencies, contributing to guarantees of non-repetition. Fourth, such a flexible pedagogical approach permits a variety of teaching styles and possible approaches to the conflict. This not only stimulates creative teaching but could also assuage teachers' concerns about discussing the conflict, since they are free to use the method they consider appropriate for the local context, target group, and their professional capacity. Consequently, the toolbox has been well received by teachers, who have not

[305] Ibid.
[306] Ibid.

complained of lack of training or fear of discussing the conflict, as occurred in Peru with the Recordándonos resource.[307] Fifth, this bottom-up implementation of classes provides the classes with a degree of independence from political processes. The Caja's diversity of sources, participative pedagogy and emphasis on local contexts would make it difficult to calumniate or obstruct the process from above. The toolbox is thus designed to be sustainable and practical, whilst simultaneously promoting multiple voices and a participatory approach to learning.

Whilst the assembly of the toolbox is directed predominantly on a national level, regional and local processes are also fundamental. This is necessary in order that the process of assembling the toolbox, as well as its content and delivery, encourages local participation and is context sensitive. The assembly process therefore seeks to "systematise" local experiences of conflict education by integrating the initiatives into the toolbox. For example, professor Ana Duran, from the Colegio Campoalegre secondary school in the north of Bogotá, took her students to El Salado, the site of the massacre of sixty people over five days in 2000, which led to the displacement of the entire village.[308] Literature on visiting sites of memory, many of which are based on the Holocaust Museum at the Auschwitz concentration camp, emphasises the potential for such visits to encourage transformation and promote "Nunca Más" attitudes, but warns of the danger that such spaces become marketised and "consumed" as sites of "thanatourism."[309] Actively engaging with the space and, where possible, the survivors, is identified as a means of avoiding voyeurism and commodification.[310]

Accordingly, the students in El Salado lived for a week with the local returned population, conducting interviews, visiting the educational facilities, and learning about the agricultural work carried out by locals in the fields. Duran explained the importance of the trip by arguing that:

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[307] Ibid.

[308] The massacre was recognised by the CNMH as an "emblematic case" of the Colombian conflict with the report "La Masacre de El Salado, Esa Guerra no era Nuestra." CNMH (2009)

[309] Yankholmes & McKercher (2015) 3

[310] Cowan & Maitles (2011) 166

> "For me it was very important to take them to El Salado because there is a connection with their guides, they are impacted by emotions and not simply the rationality that dominates in some classes, and they live the experience of what happened up close."[311]

This personal experience living and working with children from a part of the country with a radically different historical and cultural context impacted the students greatly. One effect was to "humanise" and dignify the "other" in the eyes of the students, who identified the most important lesson as the realisation that "the victims are people, peasants, farmers, students; they have the same desires, aspirations, dreams as themselves; they recognised them as people, they lack opportunity, they had to suffer something very tragic, but with spirit (empuje) and desire they can move forward (seguir adelante)."[312] Such exchanges therefore promote agency of students and "victims" alike, deconstructing the negative stereotypes associated with victimhood.

The element of exchange between students from different backgrounds was fundamental to the transformative impact of the trip. Following the "contact thesis," exchange is capable of transforming Colombian context of "cognitive segregation," where students in urban regions like Bogotá students consider the conflict and rural populations as distant and largely irrelevant to their lives. The reaction of the students demonstrates this transformation:

> "there was a very deep questioning, firstly for why did I not realise? Why did the media give us one-sided information? Why didn't I find out? And afterwards, what can we do? What I can do to avoid this? How can we get out of this cycle?"[313]

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[311] Interview 4
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid.

The trip thus developed the students' critical thinking skills, their understanding of the conflict in the national context, and their agency as citizens. Following this "conscientisation," feedback from the trip was overwhelmingly positive, with many students pursuing further study of the El Salado case, and students supporting another exchange bringing a student from El Salado to the college in Bogotá. Despite initial concerns before the trip, feedback from parents was also positive, with many explaining that the trip had encouraged conversation and debate in the home, integrating parents into the learning experience. The El Salado trip is therefore an important example of how local educational initiatives can encourage understanding of the conflict and victims, thus transforming identity and mobilising support for peace. By integrating these local initiatives with national projects like the *Caja de Herramientas,* themselves targeted at a local audience, a circular learning process from "above to below" and vice-versa is established, "tejiendo" (weaving together) a social fabric of education, memory, empathy, understanding, and desire for peace.

Even within urban cities like Bogotá, new communities formed predominantly from displaced families remain segregated, on a physical and cognitive level, from the urban centre. As one researcher from the Centro de Memoria in Bogotá explained, "the children from the north of Bogotá don't recognise the other side of the city."[314] Much of the literature on collective memory and nation-building identifies museums as sites capable of transforming this division.[315] Another initiative supported by the CNMH that has taken this into account is the *Museos Escolares de Memoria* (MEM) project. Like other museums of memory, this project pursues the objective of "promoting the elaboration of the past to convert it in the pivot of social debate for reconciliation and the construction of the present and the future."[316]

The project involved asking students to speak with friends and family and find an object that evoked a memory of conflict.[317] This was done with students from two schools in Bogota: Los Nogales, a private, bilingual college in the north of the city and

[314] Interview 6
[315] Maceira (2012)
[316] Ibid. 75
[317] Interview 5

considered one of the most elite educational institutions in Bogotá, and La Giralda, in the *barrio* of *Las Cruces*, located in the south of Bogotá, with a high IDP population and associated with high levels of poverty, crime and drug abuse. The students interviewed the owners of the objects and then connected the objects with the testimony, alongside a quantitative section entitled "modality of violence," which contains statistics that frame the testimony in the wider conflict context. This connection of the object, testimony and quantitative data demonstrates synergies between memory and education across formal and informal educational spheres.

The various objects were then collected together to form a "Museum of Memory," presented at the Colombian Book Festival in April 2015. An example of an object was a toy plane accompanied by the words:

> "I have a toy plane that helps me remember him. They gave it to my brother in Christmas 2002. It was his favourite toy…it was the only thing I brought when I arrived in Bogotá, and the only thing I had left of my brother before they murdered him."[318]

The objects are "legacies condensed in stories" which "seek to be heterogenous and divergent but whose central values are not negotiable."[319] These "central values," of human dignity and suffering function to weave the separate testimonies into a collective narrative. They also encourage student agency, as demonstrated by the positive reactions of the students to the project, with one girl commenting that

> "it's very important that these museums are formed in a scholarly environment so that children realise that peace is not only constructed sat at the negotiating table in Havana or by important or powerful politicians…but can begin to be constructed from things as simple as memory and recognition of victims."[320]

[318] Museos Escolares de la Memoria (2015) Image from same source.
[319] Maceria (2012) 88
[320] MEMO (2015b)

Similar projects are to be integrated into a "Museo de la Memoria" mandated by Article 148 of the 2011 Victims Law and assembled by the CNMH. Recovering and publicising testimony is thus considered a prerequisite to an education about the conflict that dignifies victims and facilitates the *tejido* (weaving) of a narrative that integrates marginalised groups with the "elite" centre considered more removed from the conflict.

In both the aforementioned projects, a pedagogical approach encouraging student participation is fundamental. This is partly to minimise intervention from the teacher, who should serve only as a facilitator of investigation, since as the professor coordinating the MEM project argued, excessive control of the learning process from above could corrupt the process into a form of *chantaje* (exploitation / coercion.)[321] Instead, promoting student participation encourages students to become "gestores de paz" (agents of peace.)[322] The CNMH explained in their analysis of the MEM project:

> "From the classroom the students construct historical memory involving teachers, students, friends and family, ensuring that reflection over the armed conflict unfolds from the textbooks and permeates the everyday lives of the participants. In this way, the students learn the armed conflict from the impact it has inflicted on the civilian population, and they become agents of peace..."[323]

This idea of students as "historical agents" was also identified by Ana Duran as key to the El Salado Project, stating that "a principle that we have in my class is that those who study the conflict are historical agents, they are responsible for the opinions they take."[324] By participating actively in the recovery and construction of memory and by directing their own learning process, these pedagogical approaches invert the traditional educational model, where information is delivered from above to below, from teacher (and often by extension, society) to student. This participation and the shared sense of agency in the construction of memory and pursuit of peace could also serve as the

[321] Interview 5
[322] El Espectador (2015)
[323] CNMH (2015b)
[324] Interview 4

“common thread” that unites the various educational initiatives across the country.[325] This is fundamental role given the regional or local focus of many of the initiatives, and the risk that such an approach causes the conflict narrative to fragment, thus perpetuating division and conflict.

One significant obstacle identified by teachers and NGO workers to the systematisation of such initiatives across the country is the *subvaloración* (undervaluing) of education. Despite the acknowledgement of many politicians that education is important for peace and development, Vargas argued that in practice:

> “The sphere of education and pedagogy is a suppressed sphere…it is an undervalued knowledge, a dominated knowledge…the educator knows that professionally they are discriminated against, and the discrimination is in their salary.”[326]

The poor salaries received by Colombian teachers reflect a wider lack of investment in education and teacher training. The injustice created by this *subvaloración* was manifested in a strike in April 2015 involving 300,000 primary and secondary school teachers, supported by 1,500 students and parents in the Plaza Bolívar on the 5th of May.[327] As one teacher told me, “we feel undervalued…they talk about education for peace, but still they invest more in war.”[328] This lack of investment reduces the quality of public education, and limits the professional capacity of teachers to support educational initiatives targeted at transformation.

Lack of investment also creates huge inequalities between private and public education, reinforcing exclusion and segregation so severe that it has been described as an “educational apartheid.”[329] If educational initiatives fail to bridge these divisions, the transformative capacity is limited, since as Vargas explains, in some regions “there is no

[325] CINEP (2011) 33
[326] Interview 3
[327] Terra Noticias (2015) See Appendix , Figure 4
[328] Informal Conversation with Teacher and FECODE member, Plaza Bolívar, Bogotá, 05/05/2015
[329] Villegas (2010)

exchange - they speak of citizenship, but citizenship between themselves."[330] Furthermore, segregation leaves children in marginalised spaces, like teachers, feeling undervalued and ignored by the State. One fifteen year-old girl from the barrio *Las Cruces*, a highly stigmatised neighbourhood with a high IDP population situated just a twenty minute walk above the *Plaza Bolivar* and Colombian Congress, visited the Committee on the Rights of the Child in Geneva to represent Colombian children. After congratulating her on this responsibility, her response was revealing:

> "Thank you, but what to me seems incredible is that we have the government right here next door. That we had to go to Switzerland…because they don't listen to us here, that we had to go all the way there to tell our story, when here is the nucleus where it happened."[331]

Inequality in the educational system and exclusion of "peripheral" groups thus limits the transformative effect of initiatives by reducing bridging capital between groups, "invisibilising" the victims of conflict, and perpetuating segregation incoherent with the core values of peace, human rights and memory. There remains, therefore, a chasm between rhetoric and practice regarding the role of the Colombian state in education and peace.

To conclude, the State through the CNMH recognises the synergies between memory, education, the transformation of culture and identity, and the reparative value of measures of satisfaction and guarantees of repetition. The reports weave a collective "national" narrative of conflict from local narrative threads, balancing local agency with the need for a shared understanding of conflict that promotes plurality and understanding of the "other." In this way, through education and memory the conflict and the "pain" suffered by victims can be socialised and mobilised as a tool of union, rather than of division. To facilitate this process, the *Caja de Herramientas* project systematises local experiences of teaching about the conflict into a toolbox designed to assist educators across the country, thus creating a virtuous cycle between local, regional and national educational processes. A pedagogical approach that favours

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[330] Interview 3
[331] Interview 10

student participation is key to the toolbox, to promote student agency in the recovery and construction of memory. In this sense, "education" is returned to its original etymological meaning, *ex* (towards the outside) *ducere* (to guide), facilitating the student's own investigation and externalisation of information, rather than internalising official facts from above. This process is also conducive to the formation of citizen competencies such as critical thinking, conflict resolution and respect for others. The transformative capacity, however, is limited by the *subvaloración* of education, lack of investment from the State, and segregation of marginal groups.

3.3. Case Study 2: Peacebuilding & the Magdalena Medio

One key challenge for regions across Colombia is the reintegration of former child combatants and IDPs, many of whom have been displaced from the countryside to urban areas. Given that proximity to Illegal Armed Groups (IAGs) is cited as one of the most fundamental indicators and causes of child recruitment, (particularly in the walk to school), and that many of these IAGs are not involved in the Havana negotiations, it is probable that violence and child recruitment will remain even after any agreement is reached.[332] It is also worth emphasising that former child combatants and IDP children often live in rural areas or urban *comunas* neglected and highly stigmatised by the city centres, and consequently, characterised by poverty, unemployment, crime and lack of educational opportunity. As a result, these children are highly vulnerable to recruitment into IAGs or organised criminal organisations such as drug traffickers and "gota gota" loan "collectors".[333] Given these cycles of conflict, it follows that processes of reintegration and prevention of violence are often flipsides of the same coin, and serve the same purpose of conflict transformation, guarantees of non-repetition, and sustainable peacebuilding.

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[332] Downing (2014) p. 42

[333] "Gota gota" (drop by drop) refers to short-term, high interest loans. Criminal and paramilitary organisations offer these loans and often recruit children to use violence to forcefully demand repayment.

There are several national initiatives responding to these challenges. The Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR), for example, has developed DDR programmes and prevention initiatives for children. Many of these initiatives, such as "Mambru no va a la Guerra, este es otro cuento" are focused on non-formal education, particularly on the promotion of art and culture as alternatives to violence. These national initiatives must have a regionalised focus, since as Vargas argues:

> "Colombia is a country of regions, and to a great degree, conflict and violence in the country has unfolded on a local and regional level. In other words, the macro national conflict is composed of various conflicts on the micro level. Therefore, the resolution of the conflict must necessarily pass through the micro level, and the diverse regions."[334]

Government institutions like the ACR often have limited presence in the regions, given the State's historic absence and the ability of armed groups to "fill the vacuum" of authority and services. Some of the most successful reintegration and prevention programmes in such areas have thus been directed from the bottom-up. This involves a coalition of civil society, business leaders, and the youth, with the support of the State, and often utilising education as a tool for reconciliation.

Education & Conflict in the Magdalena Medio

One example of such a network is the "Programme for Development and Peace of Magdalena Medio," (PDPMM) initially formed in 1995. Comprising of municipalities along the River Magdalena and traversing the departments of Bolivar, Cesar, Santander and Antioquia, the region is rich in natural resources, and is the principal oil zone in the country. Despite this natural wealth, the State has historically lacked presence across the region, and the extractive model of development has failed to redistribute wealth and created high levels of inequality. This vacuum of authority and economic opportunity was filled in the 1980s by guerrilla groups like the ELN and

[334] Interview 3

FARC, who exerted de facto control in the region and supported illegal economies including coca cultivation. In the early 1990s, this presence was countered by the emergence of paramilitary groups, principally the Bloque Central Bolivar of the AUC.[335] During this period, the region of Magdalena Medio had one of the highest rates of conflict across Colombia, with murder rates at around fourteen per day.[336]

In this violent context, the largest oil company in the region, ECOPETROL, and its Labour Union (USO) united with the Diocese of Barrancabermeja in calling for "a regional diagnostic that would establish the structural causes favouring violence and poverty, and would propose methods and solutions to overcome them."[337] The Consorcio CINEP-SEAP (Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular - Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País) was formed on October 17th 1995 to complete this diagnostic, involving a highly participative process which involved 1500 people across the country.[338] Questioning how a region so rich in natural resources could produce such violence and poverty, it was concluded that the problem lay with the model of development. The report recommended the formation of a Programme for Development and Peace (PDP) for the Region, with funding from the World Bank, the EU, and ECOPETROL. As Vargas explains, a PDP

> "seeks in essence the construction of the social rule of law, through the participation of citizens throughout the territory. The strategy to achieve this supreme objective consists in the empowerment of the inhabitants, that is, the strengthening of human capacities on an individual level for the transformation of social relations, and the strengthening of social organisations on a collective level to manage conflicts, generating conditions for a dignified life."[339]

[335] CINEP (2011) 80
[336] Ibid. 80
[337] Jesuitas Colombia (2015)
[338] CERAC (2007) 5
[339] Vargas (2015) 1

In other words, the key purpose of the PDP for Magdalena Medio (PDPMM) would be to transform the model of development in the region, prioritising principles of empowerment, cooperation and human dignity over competition and profit.

These processes are consistent with the UN's principle of human development, considered "the expansion of people's freedoms to live long, healthy and creative lives; to advance other goals they have reason to value; and to engage actively in shaping development equitably and sustainably on a shared planet."[340] Human development is not considered by the PDPs as a goal to be pursued after peace, but "a condition for peacebuilding."[341] Peace must therefore be constructed "in an integral manner, where the social, political, economic, cultural, and environmental processes, among others, are indispensable for the creation of specific conditions that permit a full life."[342] Educational initiatives and child participation are essential to these processes.

As a microcosm of society, the distinction between negative and positive peace, alongside the debates and dilemmas that accompany it, is as relevant within schools as with the local community:

> "One the one hand, there is the protectionist view, which seeks to make the school a place of neutrality or "peace." On the other, there is the pedagogical view, based on the idea that the school and education are responsible for forming a culture of peace. Another view is that of empowering subjects, based on the idea that education corresponds to generating citizen capacities and presenting options, discussions, and alternative means to violence solutions."[343]

The PDPMM recognise this provision of "alternatives" as fundamental to the empowering and transformative capacity of education, thus favouring a positive peacebuilding approach. Education is viewed as a disjuncture that can intervene to promote debate, democratic competencies, and pedagogies of peace.

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[340] UNDP (2010) 2
[341] Vargas (2015) 6
[342] Ibid. 6
[343] CINEP (2011) 259

However, such a proactive approach in a zone of high conflict inevitably brings risks, and must be reconciled with a "do no harm" approach. As CINEP explain, "for the act of presenting themselves as an alternative to violence and offering the youth an alternative to life proposed by the armed groups, the participants of the project were threatened, forcibly displaced, and in some cases murdered."[344] During the politics of *señalamiento* under the Uribe administration, human rights defenders were stigmatised as supporters of the guerrilla and targeted by paramilitaries, and consequently, "speaking about human rights could literally cost a teacher their life."[345] Following the principle of "do no harm," human rights education programmes were therefore essentially impossible. The PDPMM did not, however, conclude that education could not play a transformative role. On the contrary, education was recognised as "part of the little institutional and social capital maintained despite the violence," and as one of the only spaces where transformation was feasible. [346] As Vargas explains,

> "In zones of maximum conflict and highest confrontation, for example in the case of Magdalena Medio, education was the only space where human encounters (encuentros) could be generated. If I speak of the political, economic, environmental sphere, education is the space of reconciliation, for the construction of the community, to listen to oneself and listen to the 'other.'"[347]

In this sense, conflict provides an opportunity to construct and re-construct society, through education.

Seeking to mobilise the formative and transformative potential of education whilst recognising the reality of conflict, the PDPMM promoted a shift of pedagogical approach from a focus on politically sensitive concepts of "human rights" to more abstract concepts of life and dignity. This approach, highly dependent on emotion and self-reflection, was termed "bio-pedagogy." The key principle of bio-pedagogy is that

[344] Ibid. 88
[345] Interview 2
[346] EEAS (2011) 169
[347] Interview 3

> "the starting point of any action, proposal or educational project should be the subject living in their local context and the world. A subject situated in their territory, conscious (viviencial), with experiences, needs, dreams, frustrations, existential problems. A subject that affirms their autonomy, that dialogues with others and with the world. It is a proposal, a process and a mobilisation of the subject's potential and capacity."[348]

One example of such an initiative is the "Album of Life."[349] This project encourages children to produce an "album" of memories, both positive and negative, from throughout their childhood. The timeline is then projected forward, where children are encouraged to represent their hopes and aspirations for the future. Encouraging this examination, it is sought that children learn to value their own life and recognise their own agency, and by extension, respect that of others. Institutions like the Escuela Normal Cristobal Rey dedicated to training teachers for rural areas and in conflict zones have embraced this pedagogical approach, initiating projects and "stimulating rural education."[350] Such a pedagogy maximises education's capacity as a "life-affirming activity," making it an invaluable tool for peacebuilding and transformation in the present, and not simply a means of formation for the future.

Comuna 7 and La Ciudadela Educativa

The practical ability of education to affirm life is demonstrated by the experience of the "Comuna 7," a neighbourhood in south-east Barrancabermeja with a population of around 18,000. Barrancabermeja could be considered a microcosm of wider Colombian society in the sense that it is highly segregated. [351] Resources and services are concentrated the urban centre: Comunas 1 and 2, home to around 25% of the population.[352] The "afueras" (surroundings), Comunas 3-7, are characterised by a

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[348] CINEP (2011) 193
[349] Interview 1
[350] Escuela Normal Superior Barrancabermeja (2015)
[351] See Appendix 1 Figure 5
[352] Molina López (2007) 216

high IDP population, stigmatisation, state absence, lack of educational investment, and poverty.[353] This contributes to crime and IAG presence, causing further stigmatisation and exclusion, and sealing the vicious cycle. Segregation is closely related to the history of development in the city, where oil companies "installed camps for Colombian workers, separated by wire meshes and security guards from the camps where the North Americans were accommodated."[354] This physical segregation extended to the education system, with huge disparities of educational opportunity. In Comuna 7, there was no secondary school before 1998, and enrolment rates were just 59% at primary level, and 33% at secondary.[355] This contributed to high levels of teenage pregnancy and child recruitment into armed groups and youth crime.[356] Given the role of education in perpetuating exclusion and conflict, alongside the fact that Comuna 7 has the highest concentration of children in the city, it was clear that education would be at the centre of any transformative process.[357]

In this context in 1997 the Merilétrica electricity company, which was investing in Barrancabermeja, was confronted by high levels of kidnapping and attacks from the FARC and ELN.[358] In response, the company and the government designed plans to construct military bunkers to protect its workers. Viewing an opportunity, a group of parents, teachers, religious organisations and civil society leaders united as the "Equipo Gestor" and offered to negotiate with the guerrilla groups to end attacks, provided the money spent by Merilétrica on security was invested instead in a new secondary school for the community.[359] When violence intensified following the incursion of paramilitaries into the region, climaxing with the massacre of 32 community leaders and young people on May 16th 1998, the PDPMM, ECOPETROL and Merilétrica committed to an organisation named the "Educational Citadel (Ciudadela Educativa) and Integral Development Corporation of Comuna 7 of Barrancabermeja," to coordinate

[353] Ibid. 263
[354] Ibid. 261
[355] Ibid. 261
[356] Ibid. 264
[357] Aldana Berrio (2013) 2
[358] CINEP (2011) p. 35
[359] Ibid. 35

educational initiatives in the community. The Ministry of Defence designated 196 hectares as an "educational zone" for the Ciudadela, which would be free from arms and violence. With the financial support from the EU and international oil companies, the "edificio Paloka" secondary school was completed.

Measuring the transformation is problematic, given the difficulty to quantify societal and cultural changes, and to measure prevention without resorting to the speculative "if not for the initiative" hypothetical. However, there is much qualitative and quantitative evidence to suggest that the Ciudadela has contributed significantly to peacebuilding in the community. Almost 5,000 students currently study within the Ciudadela, and educational coverage has increased from 30 to 97% in the area.[360] Investing in the availability of education has contributed to transformation and prevention, as testified by the dramatic decrease in child recruitment and violence in the region.[361] Improving quality and adaptability by favouring a pedagogical approach that promotes student participation, the Ciudadela has said to provide "a rich education for the poor," and has been recognised as "the clearest and most successful example of civil society in Magdalena Medio as an agent promoting social, political, and environmental development."[362]

Facilitating dialogue and reducing violence has also challenged segregation and stigmatisation of the region. As Molina López explains,

> "A central aspect of the formation of the plan is its concern for reducing segregation and erasing the stigma of violence that has characterised the eastern communities, and for advancing in real proposals for urban development. In this sense, the transformative proposal suggested the construction of collective meeting spaces, which would give a place to representatives from each group and social organisation present in the *comuna*."[363]

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[360] Aldana Berrio (2013) 7
[361] Interview 7
[362] Molina López (2007) 269
[363] Molina López (2007b) 13

By opening the space for the State, private corporations, civil society leaders, local people and even IAGs to contribute to the proposal for "life-affirming" education, several stakeholders have been encouraged to "invest" in peace and development in the Comuna. Consequently, "a relationship and dialogue between the community and public and private institutions has been generated, improving relations, the recovery of credibility and trust, and the level of public and private investment in Comuna 7."[364] Given that exclusion and lack of opportunity largely accounts for the presence of guerrilla groups, and stigmatisation for presence of paramilitaries, targeting these issues through education has permitted community leaders "a high level of autonomy (although still not complete) before the illegal armed groups that have devastated the region."[365] As former PDPMM member Rosario Jaramillo explains, the Equipo Gestor "has been in the majority of the negotiation tables, and has created territories of peace, achieving that the arms that exist remain outside."[366] Providing an alternative to violence in the form of the Ciudadela has thus contributed to reducing conflict and stigmatisation, supporting virtuous cycles of increased educational opportunity, cooperation, dialogue and investment. The project therefore demonstrates how investing in education can transform communities even during conflict, by mobilising the youth and civil society, uniting groups with radically different interests, and providing an alternative to violence.

One of the key pedagogical principles of the Ciudadela Educativa has been the importance of art, culture and non-formal educational initiatives. In recognition of this, a cultural centre termed the "Centro Cultural Horizonte" was established as part of the Ciudadela. The Centre has the objective of constructing "a space where art and pedagogy combine in search of new forms of relationships and dignified living between the inhabitants of the marginal zones of Barrancabermeja."[367] The group run regular workshops with children from the Comuna 7, organising activities involving theatre, literature, art, and break-dance. The workshops are directed towards encouraging

[364] Aldana Berrio (2013) 8
[365] Molina López (2007) 6
[366] Interview 2
[367] Central Cultural Horizonte (2015)

children to "investigate and investigate themselves, project and project themselves, create and create themselves, evaluate and evaluate themselves, in contact with memory and culture."[368] This space of self-reflection and imagination not only occupies children's free time, keeping them off the streets and out the reach of drugs, gangs and violence, but helps children discover their capacity to create, shows their value to society, and promotes peace as a form of relationship with the outside. As Director Guido Ripamonti explains, "we started with theatre, but we showed them that they were not here just for theatre itself, but for human transformation and to construct movements for peace."[369] Such workshops serve purposes of integration and prevention in the sense that they bring children together and distance them from war and violence, on physical, cognitive and spiritual levels.

The Centre is warmly recognised within the community and by the PDPMM, who also emphasise the value of the projects for integration and reconciliation, stating that "the proliferation of dance, music, theatre, art and literature in Barrancabermeja is an enormous strength for the establishment of platforms of cross-sectoral and intergenerational dialogue."[370] Taking the importance of this intergenerational dialogue into account, the Centre undertakes projects that combine art and culture with memory. Every 16th of May, for example, the anniversary of the 1998 massacre in the Comuna 7 is commemorated with a theatre production, which features youths from the community and an improvised monologue from one of the victims, who lost his son during the massacre. When asked why such initivatives were important, one fifteen-year old girl from the community, a member of the youth collective *Jóvenes Constructores de Paz* (Young Peace-Builders) argued

> "I think it is very important for young people to be part of memory processes because we are living the legacy of conflict: drug-trafficking, drug addiction,

[368] Ibid.
[369] Henriques (2015) 15
[370] PDPMM (2009) 45

> forced recruitment. Although we weren't here when they committed the massacre, there is still pain, and we feel it."[371]

The centre has also promoted youth participation through culture and memory with the production of a film, *Mateo*, about the violence in Comuna 7, and has sought to spread their pedagogical model across the country with initiatives like the *Ciclogira*, where the actors cycled across the Magdalena Medio, performing and running workshops. The high visibility and popularity of the Centre in the Comuna 7 demonstrate that combining art, culture, memory and pedagogy can facilitate prevention and integration on a micro level, and encourage personal and social transformation.

Educating for peace in Magdalena Medio is therefore an integral process involving a range of different actors and programmes. Such initiatives need to be connected to find synergies and encourage cooperation, ensure coherence, and facilitate collective learning by systematising positive experiences. One institution furthering this goal is the University of Peace (Unipaz), which is currently creating a course in "Ethics and Political Science" to be targeted at students leaving the Ciudadela Educativa and prospective teachers in the region. As Rosario Jaramillo, coordinator of the project describes, the process of forming the course has involved stakeholders from across the Magdalena Medio:

> "The Escuela Normal Superior Cristo Rey, Ciudadela Educativa and Centro Cultural Horizonte, with the network of community representatives and the Secretary of Education of Barrancabermeja, joined together with the Ministry of Education to create a "School of Education" that could take these ideas of peace and development and convert them into a curricular proposal that would collect and multiply this spirit. These groups wanted to prepare a new generation of educators and leaders utilising, to a large degree, the culture of development and peace advanced by the PDPMM."[372]

[371] Interview 8

[372] CINEP (2011) 129

In this sense, higher education plays a role in ensuring that educational initiatives for children can be collected, evaluated, improved and reproduced in the future. It thus creates “a community that continuously learns to transform conflicts in a positive, caring, and intelligent manner.”[373]

Another initiative with similar objectives is the “Red Prodepaz,” an association of the various PDPs across the country. This “network of networks” enumerates as its key components criteria including integrity (integralidad), comparison, training, dialogue and sustainability.[374] As Jaramillo explains, Red Prodepaz “created networks of organisations which allowed the experiences to be heard. This generated trust, since people said that if they had success, it can work for us.”[375] By opening the space for this dialogue “they began weaving together a territory, an entire region, generating the critical mass necessary for transformation.”[376] The network is also supported by national and international businesses like ECOPETROL, as well as Government Ministries and international organisations like the UN, EU and World Bank, who cooperate to organise funding.[377] In this way, the Red Prodepaz connects the local and regional to the national and international level, ensuring a “virtuous cycle” between bottom-up and top-down processes. This collective ownership is consistent with many of the conclusions reached in Part 2, and contributes towards coherence, sustainability, and accountability. Systematisating local experiences therefore magnifies the transformative capacity of micro-level educational projects onto a macro scale, widening the educational experience to involve the entire country, and generating the “critical mass” necessary to repair the social fabric torn apart by conflict.

[373] Ibid. 129
[374] Andrade (2006) 22
[375] Interview 2
[376] Interview 3
[377] Vargas (2015) 24

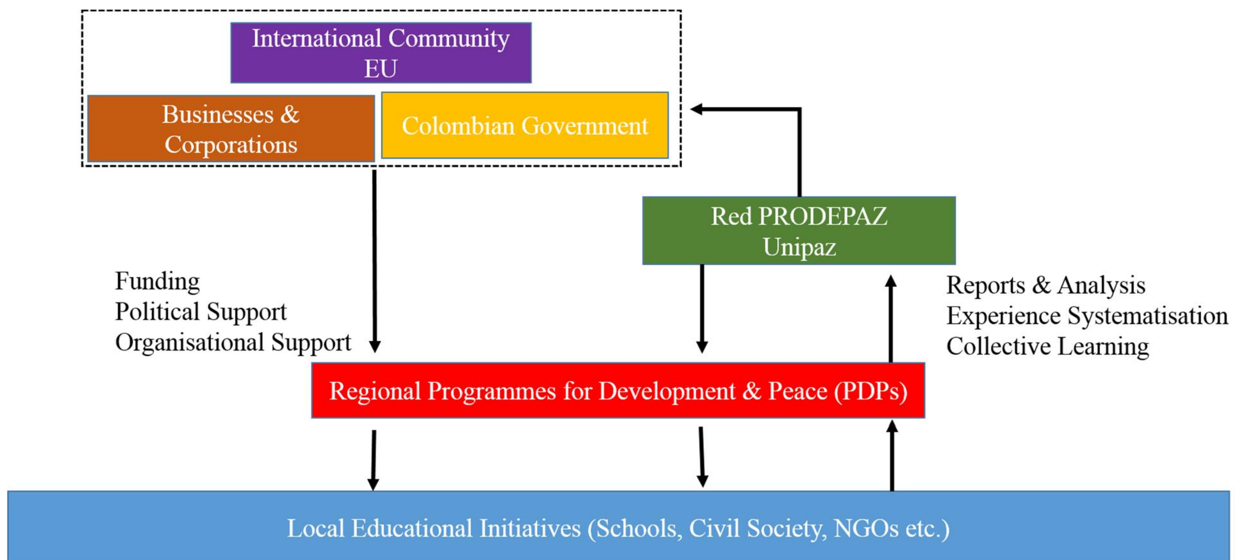

Figure 3. "Virtuous Cycle" of cooperation between top-down and bottom-up processes.

Despite these achievements, deep structural problems remain to the right to education, rooted in the lack of State investment. In the region of South Bolívar, for example, schools re-opened four months late in April 2015 due to a lack of available teachers.[378] There remains a demand for human rights education; one leader of the youth group *Jovenes Constructores de Paz* in Magdalena Medio argued that "they have to teach us about human rights so that we can claim them when they are violated."[379] However, as one CINEP representative pointed out, many teachers in the Magdalena Medio are unfamiliar even with the concept of citizenship. Teaching human rights or memory of conflict would therefore require significant investment in teacher training.[380] Since education remains under-prioritised, such investment has yet to materialise, leaving such projects limited by the low quantity and quality of teaching professionals. Consequently, despite the persistence of IAG presence and insecurity, Molina argues that

> "the greatest enemy of the process hasn't been the illegal armed groups…but the lack of political will of different administrations, which haven't made significant

[378] Interview 7
[379] Interview 8
[380] Interview 3

> advances in the implementation of public policies and strategies that reduce socio-spatial inequalities and segregation of the urban periphery."[381]

Even where initiatives are directed from the bottom-up, the transformative capacity of education must therefore be supported by State investment and public policy to be truly realised. Such support may entail a radical shift in mentality and priorities, redirecting resources away from war and unstable economic extraction, and towards education and sustainable human development.

To conclude, whilst children's education is a core aspect of peacebuilding proposals in the Magdalena Medio, the initiatives go far beyond simply nurturing the "future generation." The process of investing in child participation and education in the present has been fundamental in promoting alternatives to conflict, and opening spaces for dialogue, reconciliation, and transformation.[382] Four broad conclusions can therefore be made to summarise the educative experience of the Magdalena Medio. Firstly, that education can facilitate transformation, of culture, identity, and opportunity, on individual and societal levels, even during conflict. Secondly, that the key principle uniting the educational initiatives is the promotion of pedagogies of peace, including dialogue, cooperation, and learning, as an alternative to conflict. Thirdly, that to be coherent and sustainable this must be an integral process, including peace and development programmes, supported by local people, civil society, the Government, business and the international community. Finally, that to maximise the transformative potential of the initiatives, the government has to increase investment in education and prioritise education as a tool for peace.

3.4. Summary

To summarise, Colombia provides several examples of educational initiatives promoting peacebuilding and transformative justice. The Havana peace process has

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[381] Molina López (2007) 263

helped open the space for dialogue about human rights, memory and peace, and has stimulated educational initiatives designed to transform culture, identity and opportunity in the country. The most successful and sustainable of these initiatives have integrated national, regional and local experiences, creating a virtuous cycle between top-down and bottom-up processes. This ensures visibility, coherence, accountability, and collective learning, helping maintain many of the balances outlined as necessary in Section 2. It facilitates involvement of the State and thus provides the initiatives with official political support, without the initiatives becoming manipulated or appropriated for political motives. Similarly, it creates structures and institutions that the international community can support, without becoming dependent on foreign aid or programmes. It permits local participation and recognises local cultures and contexts consistent with principles transformative justice. At the same time, it encourages exchange of experiences, promotes dialogue and narrative construction on a national level, and ensures that the educational process is not fragmented on the basis of region, class, or experience of conflict.

Finally, by promoting children's participation, a mass of the population disproportionately affected by conflict are mobilised as agents of peace. This carries a preventative function, integrating children into society and deterring recruitment, and provides the peacebuilding and transformative justice processes with energy, support, and sustainability into the future. This can represent a "first step" towards constructing a "culture of peace," and commitment to humanity which serves as a common thread uniting the various peacebuilding and transformative justice initiatives across the country.

Many obstacles remain pertinent to the initiatives, including the segregation of the educational system in Colombia, the undervaluing of teachers, political indifference and ongoing crime and insecurity. It should be noted, however, that by promoting transformation of culture, identity and opportunity, education is capable of deconstructing these limiting factors. It follows that the transformative capacity of in education is exponential. An initial investment in education as a "peace dividend,"

targeted towards challenging these limited factors, can therefore stimulate the flourishing of further initiatives and provide society with the momentum to construct and reconstruct after conflict. Educational initiatives supporting transformative justice thus go beyond supporting "the future generation," stimulating reconciliation, integration, and creation of cultures of peace across society in the present. With political support and investment to sustain this disjuncture, education can transform the fundamental structural causes of conflict, and promote the initiation of virtuous cycles in society.

Conclusion

To conclude, education's transformative capacity results from its special status as a "multiplying right," and by extension, its position as a key factor in either virtuous cycles of peace and development, or vicious cycles of conflict and human rights violations. Education can directly multiply rights to the individual by providing life-saving information, encouraging agency and participation, and providing the knowledge necessary for children to claim their rights. As a life-affirming activity, it can also serve a preventative role, boosting self-esteem and value of the child, keeping them physically safe and reducing the likelihood of recruitment or attack. It can also multiply rights on a societal level, by facilitating integration, reintegration and reconciliation of former child combatants and victims, and promotion of diversity, citizenship and cultures of peace.

However, where the right to education is not respected, it can perpetuate division and conflict. By segregating children on the basis of class, race, or ethnicity, with the availability and quality of education favouring one group over another, inequality is entrenched in society, feeding grievances and tensions. A curriculum that promotes militancy, division, or discrimination further exacerbates tensions and increases the possibility of future conflict. By laying the "building blocks" of society, education can thus stimulate and amplify virtuous or vicious cycles, depending on whether it is available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable.

Given that existing power structures often perpetuate exclusion and inequality, education has to positively intervene in order to facilitate transformation. Peacebuilding and transformative justice processes provide a disjuncture, opening the space for this intervention, and mobilising the transformative capacity of education. There are a number of mechanisms by which educational initiatives can intervene to promote horizontal and vertical reconciliation in society. Education can facilitate reintegration of former child combatants and victims, by transforming their identity, boosting self-esteem, and providing skills and knowledge necessary to work and contribute to the community. It can encourage horizontal reconciliation by integrating children from different groups within the "safe space" of the classroom, encouraging empathy and

deconstructing stereotypes and fear of the "other." Knowledge, skills and attitudes such as peaceful conflict resolution, citizenship, human rights, democratic debate, and appreciation for diversity can also be promoted in this space, contributing towards a culture of peace. By promoting memory, educational and pedagogical initiatives can dignify victims and encourage a "*Nunca Más*" attitude, contributing to guarantees of non-repetition and transformative reparations. Supporting recovery of memory can also represent a means of satisfaction for victims, facilitating vertical reconciliation between citizens and the state. In this way, educational initiatives can re-weave a social fabric torn apart by years of conflict, strengthening social capital and civic trust, and contributing to positive peacebuilding.

There are several challenges to the implementation of these initiatives in practice. Initiatives must be supported by the State to ensure economic and political sustainability, but are corrupted if overly politicised. Similarly, the international community must provide support, but not take ownership, since the initiatives would be abandoned when the international agenda inevitably changes. Furthermore, local participation and ownership is essential to involve communities in the transformative process, and ensure initiatives are sustainable, and relevant to the community's culture, politics, and experience of conflict. Equally, if educational initiatives are too decentralised and operate only on a local level, their overall transformative effect is limited, and there is a higher risk that the narrative of conflict becomes fragmented, and that universal human rights are violated in the name of local "customs" and traditions.

The best way to achieve such balances and maximise the transformative capacity of education is through a multi-stakeholder approach, encouraging agency from local people and NGOs, but with support from regional civil society groups, INGOs, governments, business, and the international community. Forming such networks not only provides accountability, cooperation and ownership, but can ensure coherence between various educational initiatives, and facilitate collective learning by systematising positive experiences. Forming these networks is therefore vital to the sustainability and the transformative effect of the educational initiatives and peacebuilding process.

It is also clear that the cost of inaction regarding education during and after conflict is high. Whilst insecurity and lack of resources may encourage "temporary" spending cuts and segregation, failure to take steps to transform this situation is likely to lead to the ossification of unequal and unjust structures in society. Failure to respect immediate obligations, such as the right to non-discrimination in education, also replicates division and entrenches tensions into the post-conflict period. In recognition of historic inequalities in many societies, educational initiatives must actively include marginalised groups and communities to avoid being discriminatory in practice.

The current experience of Colombia demonstrates several obstacles to these processes. These may include ongoing security issues, stigmatisation of human rights, persecution of teachers, undervaluing of education, lack of teacher training, underdevelopment and/or lack of resources, and social structures which perpetuate division and mistrust. However, given the capacity of pedagogical interventions to transform identity, culture, and opportunity, education can deconstruct the very obstacles that it is limited by. Encouraging child participation and mobilising a large demographic of society as agents of peace, the critical mass necessary to transform these obstacles can be obtained. It follows that the transformative effect of education is exponential, provided that it receives sufficient political and economic support from the State and international community to challenge these limiting factors.

The mechanisms utilised, processes adopted, and level of State or international support will vary depending on the context. It is clear, however, that education has a key role in processes of transformative justice and peacebuilding, by protecting and multiplying human rights, facilitating vertical and horizontal reconciliation, and providing alternative pedagogies of peace over pedagogies of violence. In this way, transformative educational initiatives can serve as a disjuncture that interrupts vicious cycles of conflict, giving individuals, groups, and society a second opportunity to construct and re-construct society, prioritising values of positive peace and sustainable human development.

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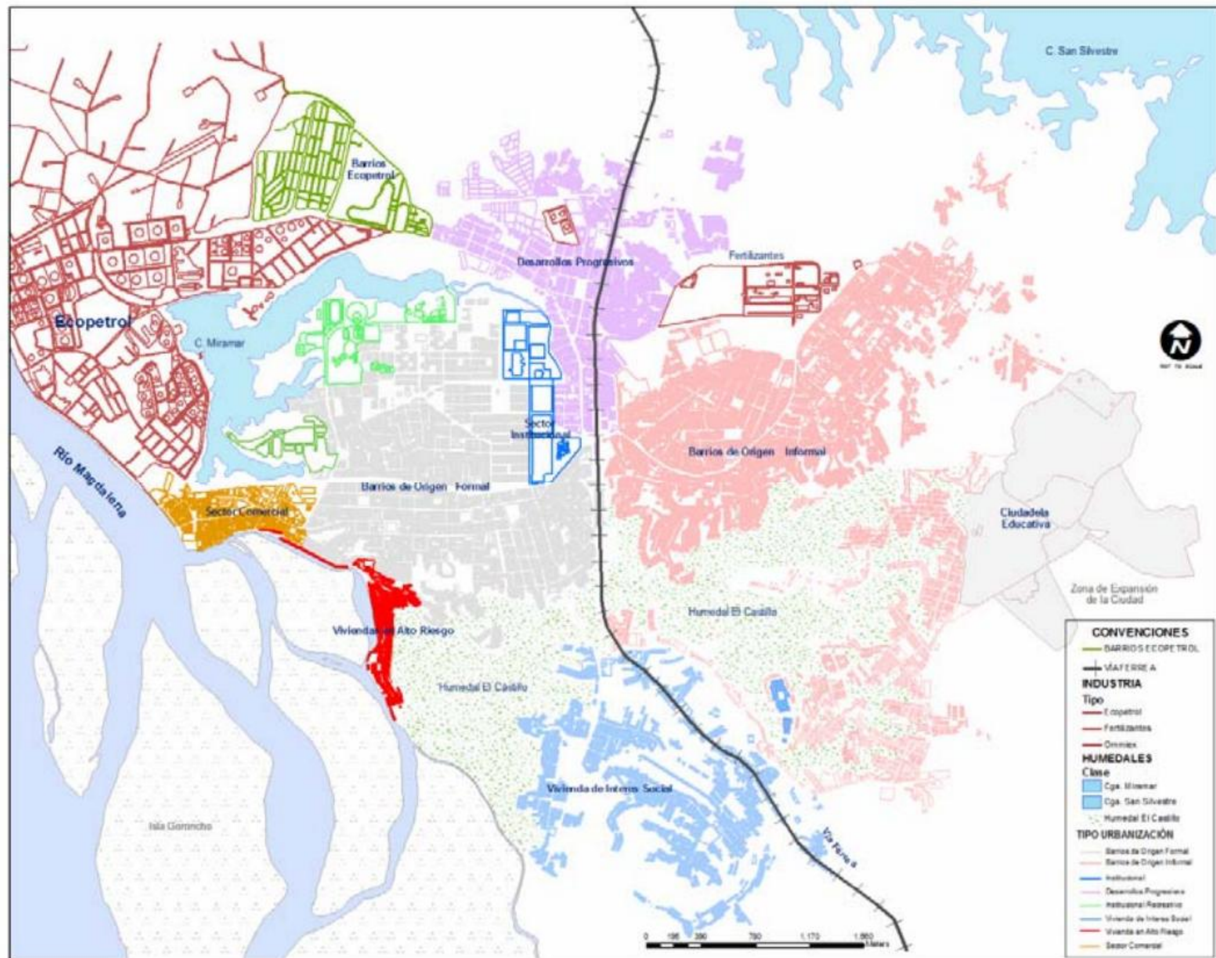
Appendix 1

Figure 4. Street art in Plaza Bolívar in defence of public education, May 5th, 2015.
Source: Photo by author

Figure 5. Segregation in Barrancabermeja. Source: Molina López (2007) 262



Appendix 2. List of Interview Respondents and Questions Asked

Interview 1. Rocha, Maria Andrea. Centro de Memoria Histórica, Bogotá, 05/05/2015

Interview 2. Jaramillo, Rosario. Corporación Plan Desarrollo y Paz de Magdalena Medio, Bogotá, 06/05/2015

Interview 3. Vargas, Marco Fidel. CINEP, Bogotá, 07/05/2015

Interview 4. Duran, Ana. Teacher, Bogotá, 14/05/2015

Interview 5. Charria, Arturo. Teacher, Bogotá, 14/05/2015

Interview 6. Researcher. Centro de Memoria y Reconciliación, Bogotá, 15/05/2015

Interview 7: Researcher. Corporación Plan Desarrollo y Paz de Magdalena Medio, Barrancabermeja, 11/05/2015

Interview 8. 15 year old girl, Jóvenes Constructores de Paz, Comuna 7, Barrancabermeja, 12/05/2015

Interview 9. 14 year old boy, Barrio Las Cruces, Bogotá, 10/05/2015

Interview 10. 15 year old girl, Barrio Las Cruces*,* Bogotá, 10/05/2015

Questions Interviews 1-7

NOTE: All interviews were conducted in Spanish and translated by the author. Questions were adapted depending on the respondent, but the core of the interview consisted of the following questions:

- Do you think that children generally know much about the conflict? Where do they get this knowledge from?
- Are themes of the conflict and historical memory currently approached in the classroom?
- What role does the school play as a space for formation of memory?

- Do you think that many teachers are sufficiently trained / willing to approach the conflict?
- Which challenges and obstacles are there for the promotion of dialogue about the conflict between children in the school?
- Why is it important to begin the dialogue now when in many countries it is considered too sensitive during conflict?
- How can such themes be approached? What pedagogical tools can be utilised?
- What role does non-formal education play in this dialogue?
- What role do the arts play in this dialogue?
- Please describe the initiative that you are part of.
- How are gender issues considered?
- Is human rights education relevant to the initiative?
- How have teachers / students / parents reacted to the initiative?
- How does the initiative function in regions of high conflict?
- What role does the State play in the process? Does the initiative receive political support?
- Do you believe that such initiatives are independent of broader political processes?
- How does the initiative target victims?
- What role does the initiative play in peace and development processes?
- How does the initiative contribute to the construction of a collective national narrative?
- How does the initiative contribute to integration and desegregation?
- What impact does the initiative have on its participants?
- What role does the Havana peace process play?

Questions Interviews 8-10

NOTE: Since the respondents were below 18 years old, a do no harm approach was taken to interviews. The respondents were recommended by NGOs and civil society organisations who could confirm their suitability to be interviewed, and interviews were carried out in the presence of an adult who had either worked with or knew the child well. All three children had previous experience participating in educational and / or peacebuilding initiatives in the community, and gave their full consent to be interviewed. Their identities, however, have been kept anonymous.

The interview predominantly took the form of an informal conversation about their experience with these initiatives, but the following questions were also asked to all:

- What role does education play in your life?
- Do you enjoy school?
- What extra-curricular activities do you participate in?
- Do you think it is important for adults to listen to children in issues regarding the community? Why?
- How would you like to see your community change in the future?
- What do you understand by the term “peace”?