

Peacing it Together: Why Peace Education is an Integral Aspect of Development
for Post-Conflict Societies

By
Emily M. Anderson

A Thesis Submitted to
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts in
International Development Studies

April, 2012 Halifax, Nova Scotia

Copyright Emily M. Anderson 2012

Approved: Dr. Anthony O'Malley
Supervisor

Approved: Dr. Hetty van Gorp
Reader

Approved: Professor Ian McAllister
External

Date: April 18, 2012



Library and Archives
Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-90002-4

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-90002-4

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

Peacing it Together: Why Peace Education is an Integral Aspect of Development for
Post-Conflict Societies

By: Emily M. Anderson

Abstract

Peace education, a relatively new prevention strategy, is based on teaching curriculum designed to address the immediate needs of children living in a post-conflict society. Children are provided with the tools and techniques to help manage conflict and hatred in their own lives – redefining the notion that conflict is an inevitable part of life while fostering the understanding that conflicts need not be dealt with using violence or hatred. The success of peace education programs is evidenced in the Education for Peace (EFP) program in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH). While the characteristics of this program are culturally specific, it provides hope for other post-conflict societies. There are underlying ideals stemming from this program that establish a foundation that can be replicated in other developing countries emerging from conflict. Although peace education has been critiqued and largely overlooked, this thesis has demonstrated how peace education is an effective tool in helping to reduce the prevalence of conflict.

April, 2012

To my family and close friends who have helped me in various ways through this journey. It is their love and continued support that has brought me here and for that I am forever grateful.

Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	7
1.1 Conceptual Problematic.....	7
1.2 Rationale for the Case Study.....	10
1.3 Structure of Thesis.....	12
Chapter Two: Literature Review	15
2.1 From International to Civil: The Various Types of Conflicts.....	15
2.1.1 Competing Views on the Causes of Civil War.....	17
2.1.2 Is Conflict Development in Reverse?	21
2.1.3 Greed versus Grievance.....	22
2.1.4 The Consequences of Civil War.....	24
2.2 An Assessment of Conflict Prevention Strategies in a Post-Conflict Context.....	28
2.2.1 Peacebuilding Initiatives.....	31
2.2.2 Civil War Settlements	32
2.2.3 Education and its Role in Conflict Prevention.....	35
2.2.4 Defining Peace Education and its Necessity.....	38
2.2.5 Peace Education in Diverse Cultural Contexts.....	41
2.3 Why Target Youth?	42
2.3.1 Examining the Direct Impacts of Civil War on Children.....	45
2.3.2 Defining Children’s Role in Conflict Prevention through Peace Education.....	47

Chapter Three: Case Study of Peace Education in Bosnia-

Herzegovina.....	49
3.1 Methodology.....	49
3.2 Background: The Balkans, Yugoslavia and the Civil War.....	51
3.2.1 General.....	51
3.2.2 The Civil War.....	55
3.2.3 The Dayton Peace Agreement.....	57
3.2.4 The Current Situation.....	59
3.3 The BiH Civil War and its Impacts.....	61
3.3.1 Consequences of the BiH Civil War.....	61
3.3.2 The Civil War and Its Impact on Children.....	62
3.3.3 The Civil War’s Impact on Education.....	64
3.4 International Education for Peace Institute –Background.....	67
3.4.1 EFP-Balkans.....	69
3.4.2 Integrative Theory of Peace and EFP Curriculum.....	72
3.4.3 Three Fundamental Properties.....	75
Chapter Four: Discussion and Analysis.....	79
4.1 Essential Components of the EFP Program.....	79
4.1.1 Various Levels of Support.....	80
4.1.2 Concrete Materials.....	82
4.1.3 On-going Evaluation.....	84
4.1.4 The Nature of the Curriculum.....	86
4.1.5 Conditions of the Education System.....	87

4.1.6 Community-Wide Involvement.....	89
4.2 An Analysis of the Essential Components.....	90
4.3 A Development Model for Replication.....	93
4.3.1 Level I Countries.....	94
4.3.2 Level II Countries.....	96
4.3.3 Level III Countries.....	97
4.4 Lessons for Development.....	98
Chapter Five: Recommendations and	
Conclusion.....	101
References.....	108
Appendix A	118

Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Conceptual Problematic

Conflict, manifested as the result of basic competition between individuals or groups, has always been a central feature of human existence (Unwin, 2001: 450). When conflict escalates, either within a country or between two or more countries, it hinders development. There are numerous examples of countries that have been unable to progress or develop as a result of the after-effects of conflict. For example, Sierra Leone, emerging from an eleven-year civil war largely fought by child combatants, ranks lowest in most social and economic indicators of well-being and has been designated by the U.N. as the second least livable country in the world (PSI, 2006:4). All persons are affected by conflict and its obstruction to development, especially children.

During the past century, the nature of conflict has changed as the end of the Cold War promised a cessation of the conflicts fuelled by the superpowers' ideological differences. Instead, wars have raged in virtually every part of the globe, either between or, more typically, within nation States (Machel, 2000:5). Since that time there has been growth in social concern about the horrific forms of violence such as ecocide, genocide, modern warfare, ethnic hatred, racism, sexual abuse and domestic violence (Harris, 2004: 5). Conflict has increased in severity and size throughout the world in recent decades. This increase is reflected in the number of people fleeing their countries due to conflict. In 2009 there were over ten million war refugees, with a further fifteen million displaced persons; this number represents an increase of more than one million people since 2008 (UNHCR, 2009, para.1 & 4). Although there is a wide spectrum in the type

of conflicts, this thesis will focus on civil war conflicts, examining specifically countries that have recently emerged from a civil war and are currently in a post-conflict state.

This extends to a much larger issue; the lack of attention directed to the ability of education to help children reintegrate into society post conflict and for them to learn the skills to work towards preventing future conflicts from arising. Education is not yet considered to be an essential tool for conflict prevention.

Recently, education has become a primary focus in the development field. The second Millennium Development Goal (MDG) outlines the 2015 target to ensure all children throughout the world, boys and girls, attend school and receive a primary education. Similar initiatives have been created by international organizations such as Global Campaign for Education and Education for All. Although the new focus on education is good and strives to overcome a key deterrent to development, it concentrates on enrollment numbers and gender equality within those numbers, rather than quality of curriculum. The solution I put forward is peace education, a specific type of education that strives to help children understand and deal with the negative consequences of war in addition to providing strategies of how to deal with and manage conflict more effectively in order to generate peace.

This thesis aims to explore the relationship between peace education and its effectiveness as a tool for conflict prevention, for children in particular, when used in conjunction with other prevention strategies. In a time of escalating violence, civil unrest, the onset of civil wars and prevalence of reoccurring civil wars, the need to reassess current conflict strategies has never been so crucial. This is especially the case in the context of targeting future generations, the children and youth of the community.

Therefore, the central question this thesis will seek to answer is: *can peace education be considered a viable development initiative for conflict prevention in post-conflict societies?*

Children and youth are identified as a key factor to examine because they are the primary targets in education, and it is believed that through education, the prevalence of conflict can be reduced over time. UNICEF consultant S. Fountain defines peace education as:

The process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level (1999:i).

Peace education makes young people conscious of their own responsibility for peace in this world. Children are future leaders and decision makers and if development tactics take preventative measures today, there can be a more peaceful future. Peace education strives to address how children experience and perceive war, conflict and violence and helps establish techniques children can use to diffuse their own conflict situations.

To demonstrate how peace education has been an important tool in promoting peace in post-conflict societies, a case study of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and the work of the *International Education for Peace Institute* (EFP-International) will be reviewed and explored. Using this case study, I will argue that peace education has been a successful tool in post-conflict reconstruction and development for BiH and can serve as a guide for other post-conflict societies of the global South to follow and emulate.

1.2 Rationale for the Case Study

Although the concept of peace education has existed for several decades, how it has been used in practice is a relatively new phenomenon. As a result of this, finding a program that had been active for longer than a number of years posed a great challenge for me. Ideally, I was looking for a long-term program that had been in place for a number of years and one that continued to be in operation at present.

The second challenge I faced in locating a case study was the fact that to date, very few peace education programs have been evaluated. Due to the nature of peace education and the goal it is trying to achieve – sustainable, lasting peace - it is difficult to determine whether a peace education program is effective. This would require a long-term study and assessment of its impact over time. Several authors have commented that many peace education programs avoid assessments, and while there is an abundance of writing on peace education there is a lack of concrete, empirical data to reinforce it. Salomon (2000) illustrates this notion by stating in the peace education field there is “a paucity of scholarly work... set of criteria of efficacy, effectiveness and success, or empirically examined crucial questions” (p.9).

Despite these significant challenges, through extensive research I discovered a peace education initiative in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) that fit my criteria – a long-term and evaluated program. BiH has been plagued by years of conflict and civil unrest that destroyed both social and physical infrastructure and established conditions comparable to other countries in the developing world.

Figure 1. Map of Bosnia-Herzegovina



(From: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bk.html>)

Although Bosnia-Herzegovina is nominally part of Eastern Europe, it is a developing country and a sufficient case study for this thesis; therefore the well-established peace education program in BiH entitled '*Education for Peace*' (EFP) that is operated under the direction of the international organization *International Education for Peace Institute (EFP-International)* will be explored in detail. The program was first implemented in 2000 and has been well documented and evaluated ever since – serving as one of the few standing evaluated peace education programs. Due to the fact that evaluated peace education programs are few and far between, I believe that in order to properly determine whether peace education is a viable initiative for developing countries in a post-conflict state, this particular case study in BiH will reveal whether peace education can indeed be considered a viable development initiative for conflict prevention in post-conflict societies. It is in semi- periphery and core countries where

peace education programs have been tried out and evaluated. By assessing the outcomes of the BiH case study and the EFP program, I can begin to assess the potential for peace education for countries in the global South.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

This introduction being Chapter One, Chapter Two will explore the theoretical debates of three areas of development studies: conflict, education, and children. To answer my central question, an in-depth analysis of civil war conflicts is imperative. First, I will examine the competing views of the causes of civil war and their subsequent consequences. It is important to establish an understanding of why conflicts exist in the first place and the impact the conflict – different levels of violence and destruction – has on all aspects of society. Subsequently, a critical analysis of current prevention strategies being implemented by the international community will be explored. In addition, I will search for how and to what extent general education is incorporated into the strategies for conflict prevention. Finally, I will explore the literature on the origins of peace education to illustrate how it has existed for a long time, what it is, how it is different from general education and why there is a need. It is my goal to demonstrate how peace education is a simple preventative tool that can be included in current education curricula and that it has the potential for an enormous impact on current and future generations, especially in the context of preventing future conflicts. Parallel to the consequences of civil war, I will explore the literature that focuses on the direct impact civil war has on children. In order to establish effective conflict prevention strategies that target children, understanding how children interpret and comprehend war is essential. Most significantly, I will

explore why peace education has targeted children and what development literature has said regarding the role of children in conflict prevention.

Chapter Three is the case study, an assessment of the organization *International Education for Peace* (EFP-International), in particular their *Education for Peace* program established in the country of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Chapter begins with a description of my methodology, explaining how data was acquired and used in this thesis. Then to provide the reader with adequate understanding of the nature of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is important to first discuss the context of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. This will ensure that the reader has a general understanding of the history and the divisions that were at the forefront of the conflict back then and continue to be to a lesser degree today. Details of the history of BiH are provided and the nature of the civil conflict (1992-1995) is discussed, followed by the specific consequences the people (children specifically), infrastructure and economy of BiH endured. A section of this Chapter is dedicated to an analysis of peace initiatives that were established after the war and what impact this is having on the society of BiH today. The final component of this Chapter is a detailed account of the EFP program that was first established in BiH in the year 2000 and how it has evolved over the past twelve years.

Chapter Four provides a detailed analysis and discussion of the EFP program, in particular a discussion of what factors appear to be essential components of the program that enable it to be a success in BiH. These factors are further discussed to determine how much, if any, financial investment is required for it to operate. The Chapter then explores the possibility of the EFP program being transformed to function in another post-conflict setting in a country that is categorized as underdeveloped. This Chapter

seeks to answer the question of whether peace education is indeed a useful tool in post-conflict reconstruction. The EFP program stands as a primary example to illustrate this. It is my opinion that the EFP program can be replicated in other settings to produce similar results in other societies with some minor adjustments. Three nations' scenarios, with varying degrees of viable education systems and access to funding are explored to demonstrate this more substantially. This Chapter concludes with a description of the lessons that can be extracted from this thesis for the use of development studies in general and conclusions will be drawn about the EFP program and whether it is an effective tool for post-conflict reconstruction of BiH or other underdeveloped nations.

The Final Chapter of this thesis provides a summary of the conclusions that can be drawn from our analysis and discussion. It will bring together the threads from the other Chapters and state the main findings to draw the overall conclusion of this study with respect to my argument. Finally recommendations that can be made regarding peace education and its role in the development of post-conflict societies will be made.

Chapter Two: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this thesis is to examine whether peace education can be considered a viable development initiative for conflict prevention in post-conflict societies. This Chapter will explore the current literature of three areas in development studies: conflict, education and children. First, I will outline the competing views on the causes of conflict as well as the direct and indirect consequences conflict creates. Second, I will provide an analysis of the current tools used for conflict prevention in efforts to determine the effectiveness of their ability to incorporate education as a part of the process. Finally, peace education will be explored to demonstrate its power and potential as a valuable tool for conflict prevention in light of the lack of attention it has had to date in this field.

2.1 From International to Civil: The Various Types of Conflicts

The term 'conflict' is difficult to define. At its most basic level, conflict is commonly described as a struggle between individuals or collective groups. Conflict exists in many different capacities for many different reasons, for example power or resources (Goodhand & Hulme, 1999:14). This vague definition encompasses several forms of conflict, which are vast and complex on their own. Therefore, it is important to distinguish the specific type of conflict on which this this thesis will focus - civil wars.

While defining civil war is essential in order to maintain a common framework and eliminate confusion, electing one encompassing definition proves to be no easy task. An analysis of civil war literature suggests that most often civil war definitions use the

'absolute number of battle related deaths' as a distinguishing factor for civil war versus other types of conflict. For example Collier & Hoeffler (2001, 2006) define civil war as: "an internal conflict with at least 1,000 combat-related deaths per year (p.5).

Correspondingly the literature often cites the Correlates of War (COW) project and their definition of civil war, which is based on four main characteristics: "1. Military action was involved. 2. At least 1,000 battle deaths resulted during the civil war. 3. The national government at the time was actively involved. 4. Effective resistance (as measured by the ratio of fatalities of the weaker to the stronger forces) occurred on both sides" (Collier & Hoeffler, 2001:3; Gleditsch, 2002:615; Lacina, 2006:276; Lindemann, 2008:3).

Nicholas Sambanis (2004) has constructed a definition of civil war that is both detailed and comprehensive. In his definition, Sambanis outlines that armed conflict is considered a civil war if:

- (1) The war takes place within a territory of an internationally recognized state with a population of more than 500,000;
- (2) The parties are politically and militarily organized, and they have publicly stated political objectives;
- (3) The government (through its military or militias) must be a principal combatant. If there is no functioning government, then the party representing the government internationally and/or claiming the state domestically must be involved as a combatant;
- (4) The main insurgent organization(s) must be locally represented and must recruit locally, though there may be additional external involvement and recruitment;
- (5) The start year of the war is the first year that the conflict causes at least 500 to 1,000 deaths. If the conflict has not caused 500 deaths or more in the first year, the war is considered as having started in that year only if cumulative deaths in the next 3 years reach 1,000.
- (6) Throughout the durations, the conflict must be characterized by sustained violence, with no three-year period having less than 500 deaths;
- (7) Throughout the war, the weaker party must be able to mount effective resistance, measured by at least 100 deaths inflicted on the stronger party;
- (8) The war ends if interrupted by a peace treaty, ceasefire or decisive military victory producing at least two years of peace (p.829).

Civil wars as outlined by Cramer (2007, 2008), Collier and Hoeffler (2001, 2006, 2008), Pearce (2005, 2005), Lacina (2006), Mattes & Sauve (2009), are the most common type of war today; since large-scale violence is no longer perpetrated between countries on an international level (Collier et al. 2008:3).

This thesis will examine post-conflict situations in the context of civil war because they are the most prevalent wars today; they last much longer and often have a more disruptive impact on the development of individual countries than international conflict (Stewart et al, 2001:67). In order to effectively address the question of how to prevent future conflict, it is essential to examine the nature and causes of conflict.

2.1.1 Competing Views on the Causes of Civil War

The field of conflict and development has undergone drastic changes over the last three decades in its analysis and understanding of civil war. In the 1980s, neo-classical economists entered this field with economic interpretations of the causes of civil war and have profoundly influenced the literature since that time (Cramer, 2007:2; Pearce, 2005:152). To determine the underlying causes of civil war, conflict and development literature will be explored. In particular, the diverging perspectives of well-recognized conflict specialists, Christopher Cramer, Paul Collier and Jenny Pearce will be examined.

Paul Collier, a World Bank neoclassical economist, and his colleagues N. Sambanis and A. Hoeffler, have written a number of influential papers that have contributed to the literature on civil war. Some recent works include *Civil War* (2006), *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done*

About It (2007) and *Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War* (2008).

The main premise behind much of Collier's work is that economic motivations can best be used to explain civil wars – how they started, why they persist for so long, their effects and why many countries fall into a “conflict trap”. For example, Collier (2007) provides an outline of three main structural factors that increase a country's likelihood of experiencing civil war. Firstly, he asserts that there is a relationship between the onset of civil war and the initial level of income in a country; that low-income countries are more likely to experience a civil war than high-income countries (p.19). Fearon & Laitin (2003) argued that “low gross domestic product (GDP) per capital is a strong predictor of war because it proxies for state incapacity” (as cited in Collier, 2007:19-20). These authors agree on the premise that economics is a significant contributing factor to the cause of civil war.

For Collier and many others who operate under a similar framework, the link between low-income and civil war may be apparent, but as Collier points out “not all theorists of civil war base their work on empirical data. Some social scientists, particularly those who are politically engaged, know what they want to see in civil war and duly see it” (Collier, 2007:19).

The second factor, according to Collier that makes a country prone to civil war is slow, stagnated or declining economic growth. Collier notes there are many explanations for this; however he observed that, “it is at least in part because low-income means poverty, and low growth means hopelessness” (2007:20). Finally, Collier puts forth natural resources and how they are often used to finance and, in some cases motivate conflict to erupt as the final economic risk factor. Collier uses the example of diamonds,

or what are commonly referred to as 'conflict diamonds', and how these diamonds came from an area that was controlled by military forces and were sold to finance military action (2007:21-22).

In contrast to Collier's interpretation of the causes of civil war, political economist Christopher Cramer has a more radical explanation of conflict. Through an analysis of Cramer's work it is evident that he is not satisfied with the growing popularity of neo-classical economics in the field of conflict and development. Strongly influenced by Robinson (1976) and Atkinson (1997) who discussed economists' short-lived interest in inequality and growing attention towards the impact distribution had on growth, Cramer (2003) notes "there has been growing literature in this vein, claiming that there is a general pattern according to which inequality is bad for growth" (p.398). Throughout his work, Cramer often criticizes the economic interpretations stating that "neo-classical economics can only provide misleading and reductionist explanations that, at best, account for only one dimension of violence and violent conflicts around the world" (2008:8).

In addition, Cramer (2003) argues that often times the links between economic factors and civil war are described more tenuously than they actually are (p.397). To clarify, Cramer does not discount the role economic inequality plays in causing a civil war; however he stresses that the types of inequalities that exist and the ways in which these inequalities are managed within the society should be a greater focus than broadly examining economic inequality. Cramer states:

When a World Bank economist sneers at historians and anthropologists popping up to explain a new war in terms of ancient hatred he is right in that many accounts of war ignore the rather more recent causes of conflict, and he is right to

stress that they downplay the influence of economic factors. But he is wrong to assume that all violent conflict may be adequately understood in terms of the assumptions and logic of neo-classical economics (2007:7)

Cramer (2003) maintains that this “recent endogenous growth literature” which is grounded in neo-classical economic theory is deeply connected to what Cramer refers to as “an older argument in political economy and political science” which outlines high levels of inequality in wealth and income as the most significant factor for the outbreak of a civil war (p.398). Cramer’s rationale for this stems from the influential work of T.R Gurr’s work *Why Men Rebel* (1970) which explores the underlying causes of political protest and rebellion throughout Southeast Asia and Africa; T.P Wickham-Crowley’s *Guerillas and Revolution in Latin America* (1992) which specified the attention towards peasant groups and their support to guerilla groups was overshadowed by the attention towards international support to either guerrilla groups or their opponents; as well as J. Boyce’ *Economic Policy for Building Peace* (1996) which examined the peace process led by the United Nations in El Salvador following their twelve-year civil war. Each of these works discussed high levels of inequality as a primary motive for civil unrest.

Political Sociologist, Jenny Pearce largely influenced by Cramer operates from a similar framework, stating that much of the current literature on civil war is dominated by the analysis of neoclassical economic opinions. Pearce (2005) argues that economic civil war literature is “at a much lower stage of development than the social movement literature that has also had to confront the analytical challenge of explaining collective action and individual motivation” (p.153). From this Pearce asserts that more case studies or fieldwork analysis needs to be conducted to add empirical reference to what the neoclassical theories are proposing. Pearce argues that social, cultural and historical

factors are important in the context of understanding civil war and that economists should incorporate these frameworks within their own to establish a more complete foundation for their own theories (pp.160-161).

2.1.2 Is Conflict Development in Reverse?

Both Collier and Cramer highlight the phrase 'development in reverse' in their work; however their perspectives exist on opposite sides of the spectrum. In Collier's opinion, the ability to find a modern civil war that can "reasonably be seen as ushering in social progress" is rare and when those expectations are found they are just that, exceptions. To date according to Collier, civil wars have put development and progress in reverse for the country and can often hinder development for neighbouring countries. He asserts, above all, civil war creates such destruction to the infrastructure and other forms of capital and economic growth that it severely impedes development for the length of the war and many years thereafter (2003:32).

Meanwhile Cramer contends that war is not in fact development in reverse, but rather a necessary stimulant of development. From this perspective, Cramer understands civil war or other forms of violence within a developing country to be meaningful and rational rather than the opposite. He states, "contemporary violent conflicts are not eruptions of meaninglessness; nor are they outbursts of backwardness" (2007:283). Instead, Cramer subscribes to the notion that "violence all too often makes sense" (p.284). He prefaces this statement by insisting that in order to make sense of conflicts, they do not necessarily fit a rigid model of rationality, but that violence makes sense to different people at different times or different sense to people at the same time (p.284).

As an example, Cramer portrays violence as a form of communication in a context where other forms of communication have diminished or have been broken down. He states that violence can be used as a tool of communication and is especially effective when it generates understanding, which in turn almost always produces peace. Cramer appropriately points out that “one difficulty is that communication through violence, even if it generates peace, fosters an evolving linguistic register of violence... El Salvador is a good example. War ended in peace. But the violence of war has broken up, in peace, into multiple smaller vicious communications” (p.284).

2.1.3 Greed versus Grievance

The expression “greed vs. grievance” refers to a model employed by several dominant authors in the field of conflict and development; the model is used to explain the causes of civil war. Created by Paul Collier (2004), this model utilizes a neo-classical economic method of analysis to explain the motivation and opportunities for rebellion, identified as a common factor for the cause of a civil war. Collier asserts rebellion can be explained by atypical grievances and that economic grievances have greater explanatory power than social or political grievances (2004:1). To justify this statement, Collier looks to the work of H.I Grossman (1991,1999) who models rebellion “as an industry that generates profits from looting” (p.269), and J. Hirshleifer (2001) who provides the explanation that “rebellions are motivated by greed, which is presumably sufficiently common that profitable opportunities for rebellion will not be passed up” (Collier, 2004:1-4).

The greed vs. grievance model outlines three 'proxies' for greed and four 'proxies' for grievance, or in other words variables that are considered to be greed or grievance, motivations or opportunities. An example for one proxy for greed is the proportion of young males in the total population; and average years of schooling. From this Collier suggests that in societies with high percentages young uneducated males and high rates of unemployment there is a high probability that these males will engage in opportunities that allow for "instant gratification or economic gain by looting primary commodities (loot being the poor man's rent)" (Cramer, 2007:129). To Collier and many others (Grossman, 1999; Hirshleifer, 2001) this circumstance provides the "right opportunity for a greed motive" (Cramer, 2007:129).

Cramer believes that to separate the theory into separate entities, as Collier does, is erroneous. From his perspective, Cramer argues that greed and grievance are not unrelated and should therefore be examined as a complete entity. The rationale for this argument stems from P. Levi's work (1986) *The Periodic Table* from which he infers that "when civil war models [such as the greed vs. grievance model] are subjected to closer inspection... it is not clear that the proxy is capturing the thing it is meant to stand for in the abstract model" (Cramer, 2007:131). To illustrate this further in the context of the greed vs. grievance model, the proxy of male population and average years of schooling is used. Collier's model confirms the level (number of males/age of school) combined with a lack of good employment opportunities provides a good explanation for the motivation of conflict. However, Cramer proposes "it might just as well reflect or be directly a source of social anger" (p.131). Correspondingly, Stewart (2000) argument contends that this "conflictual outcome" is not based on the quality of education, but

rather the “distribution given categorical inequalities drawn up along lines of collective identities” (p.9).

2.1.4 The Consequences of Civil War

As mentioned above, civil wars are the most common type of wars fought in the world today. Once civil wars have started they are extremely difficult to stop; the duration of a civil war is, on average, ten times the length of international wars (Collier & Hoeffler, 2008:3). Due to the nature of the violence and the long span of time, the consequences of civil wars are vast and complex. Collier and Hoeffler (2008) note, “their consequences are usually dire, being massively destructive to the economy, to the society and to life itself” (p.3). Large-scale displacement, torture, mass killings, destruction of infrastructure and social systems are simply some of the physical realities of conflict. The impact of a civil war affects all aspects of society.

The abstract expression, human cost, refers to the sheer number of people who are affected by the conflict. This number includes individuals killed during combat and civilians who were either killed or injured as a result of the conflict. Determining the exact number can be difficult: as Collier and Hoeffler (2006) highlight “both parties in the conflict tend to understate their fatalities and overstate the opponent’s fatalities” (p.7).

Depending on the severity and length of the conflict, a large portion of the population may leave their homes if they are in close proximity to the conflict and seek refuge in designated camps or bordering countries, either temporarily or permanently (p.28). As highlighted above, in 2009, there were over ten million war refugees in the world and another fifteen million internally displaced persons (UNHCR, 2010:1). With

such high levels of population dislocation a number of consequences arise that are directly linked to civil war. Often, due to the high influx of people seeking refuge in designated camps, the camps are faced with extreme challenges including providing clean and safe drinking water, food and a good sanitation procedure. The majority of camps are unable to meet the basic needs, for reasons that will be outlined below, and as a result refugee populations are subjected to a heightened risk to epidemic diseases such as tuberculosis, dysentery or human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection. In addition, under these circumstances, refugee populations are often faced with high levels of malnutrition and stress, which weakens their already compromised immune systems (Ghobarah et al., 2003:192; Salehyan, 2008:787). As Stewart and Fitzgerald (2001) note, “the indirect consequences of conflict- including raised deaths from hunger and disease generally far outweigh direct destruction and battle deaths” (p.225).

During a civil war, the physical infrastructure of a country suffers great destruction. School buildings and healthcare centers are often the primary targets for military groups and therefore endure the most damage (Sommers, 2002:6; Collier, 2008:28). Such devastation accumulates several long-term consequences to which societies affected by civil war are vulnerable many years after the war has been declared over. For example, with damage or an inadequate health care system the populations are exposed to an increased risk of disease, injury and death, largely caused by poor economic growth, political instability, lack of resources and government’s inability to direct any available financial resources towards the health care systems (Ghobarah et al., 2003:192; Machel, 2000:15). Damage to roads, bridges and railroads during war pose a greater challenge to distributing clean water, food and medicine to refugee populations

which contributes to the high levels of deaths among refugee camp populations (Ghobarah et al., 2003:193). The impacts of conflict in developing countries are particularly alarming as the levels of poverty and inadequate health services and resources severely hinder the ability of a country to recover post-conflict.

Throughout a civil war individuals are vulnerable to many human rights violations created by the extreme levels of violence and cruelty endured by the civilians. Several civil war scholars note the high incidence of rape during war, refugees in particular women and children being particularly vulnerable (Collier, 2008:27; Stewart & Fitzgerald, 2001:225; Cramer, 2008a: 9).

These violations are largely ignored both during and following the civil war. As Machel (2000) notes,

Today's warfare often entails horrific levels of violence and brutality, employing any and all means – from systematic rape, to the destruction of crops and poisoning of wells, to ethnic clearing and outright genocide. Combatants appear to abandon all human standards, unleashing ferocious assaults against children and their communities. And children themselves can be drawn in as fighters, caught up in a general maelstrom in which they are not just the targets of warfare but even the perpetrators of atrocities (p.6).

The impact of the atrocities mentioned above is enormous for the victims. Therefore the factors that require more analysis and examination are the emotional and psychological effects of conflict, as these are the realities that leave a more substantial, long-term imprint in the lives of victims (Machel, 2000:15).

One of the most significant and lasting consequences of a civil war is the dramatic increase in the spread of HIV infection. The increase is based on a variety of vulnerabilities established by the brutality of a civil war. First of all, the levels of sexual

abuse during a civil war are extremely high, especially within refugee camps. Armed forces and military personnel are often the main perpetrators of sexual violence during civil war, yet rarely are they held accountable (Machel, 2000:16). In the absence of a functioning healthcare and education system, the spread of the disease becomes more widespread. The destroyed healthcare system is unable to identify and prevent the spread of HIV through blood transfusions; the lack of education contributes to the inability to inform populations about the spread of HIV and how to properly protect themselves (Machel, 2003:13; Collier, 2008:287-288).

The physical impacts of war such as loss of infrastructure and displacement are only half the battle in rebuilding a nation. The other half consists of healing and recognizing the internal wounds suffered by millions of people directly affected by war.

There are the vivid memories of the war, but there are also the reality of adjusting to a new life in either a community that was completely destroyed by the civil war or a completely different place, one where adapting to a new culture is essential. As Machel (2000) directly points out “every war-torn society faces a huge task of rebuilding – physical, economic, political, cultural and psychosocial. Conflicts destroy more than buildings and bridges; they also rip apart the cultural fabric that binds societies together” (p.43).

Up to this point, the reported consequences of a civil war are negative because it is impossible to deny the deplorable conditions and circumstances civil wars cause for those affected by their violence. However, it is important to note that Cramer (2008a) acknowledges all the horrific events of war, but points out that not all consequences of war are bad or negative. He states that:

While war and forced displacement commit many people to enduring penury, and while others are driven into unspeakable working conditions, others find ways to 'cope' that effectively lift them out of extreme and chronic poverty – often through the same mechanisms of migration and labour. The cliché that there are winners and losers in war applies within the less off as well as to the whole society (p.13).

In another 2008 (b) article, Cramer describes individuals who do “relatively well out of war” (p.4). He recounts the situation in Mozambique, where individuals were engaged in entrepreneurial work, initiating the postwar economic reconstruction by “supplying basic food and consumer goods to the countryside or those bringing imported foodstuff from Swaziland and South Africa into the besieged capital, Maputo, and its large population of foreign aid workers” (p.4). Despite the glimpse of optimism in the literature, Cramer illustrates that the consequences endured by civil wars are negative, that “It makes life even worse for those who already would spend the whole of their lives in extreme poverty. In addition, by destroying assets, disabling individuals and forcing people into conditions of bonded labour and inescapable debt, it increases the number of people likely to spend their whole life in extreme poverty” (Cramer, 2008a: 13). It is important to understand the magnitude of the consequences established by civil war in order to properly mitigate the effects and successfully prevent future conflicts from happening.

2.2 An Assessment of Conflict Prevention Strategies in a Post-Conflict Context

Thus far, I have explored the competing views of the causes of a civil war, the extensive consequences that these conflicts and violence impose on a society and the direct repercussions felt by society and those who have lived through a civil war. During these civil wars and immediately following the cease-fire, the international community

and governing bodies are not idle; instead policies on conflict prevention are designed, implemented and refined over time to address immediate needs and preempt countries from returning to violent conflict. Therefore, “post-conflict transitions put heavy burdens not only on the countries themselves, but on the international organizations that are called upon to play a critical role” (Castillo, 2001:1967). This section will examine the current literature on prevention strategies, specifically in a post-conflict context. First, it will explore the high prevalence of countries emerging from a civil war to return to a civil conflict state, which will establish why prevention strategies are so important. Second, this section will discuss competing views on effective prevention strategies; exploring two key categories: peacebuilding and civil war settlements.

It is commonly understood that once a country has entered into a civil war and has emerged from the conflict, it is more probable that the country will return to the conflict. Collier and Hoeffler (2006) provide several explanations for why the probabilities of repeated conflicts are so high. They describe that evidence suggests the factors leading to repeated conflicts can be summed in to one of two categories falling “between that due to long term proneness and that due to the legacy of the previous conflict” (pp.33-34).

Meanwhile, Fortna (2004) asserts that post-conflict countries are more likely to endure another civil war based on ‘indecisive military outcomes’ that were established at the end of the previous civil war. These indecisive outcomes provide grounds for both sides to claim a victory in some way and resort to violence once again as “no one is fully satisfied with the terms of peace” (p.273). Fortna also posits identity and ethnic divisions within a country to be other primary reasons intractable from civil conflicts such as civil wars (2004: 273). However, the work of Collier and Hoeffler (2006) acknowledges that

violence often leaves an unresolved hatred amongst members of a population, but that this powerful rationale is not sufficient in explaining the organization of large-scale conflicts (p.32). It is well recognized within this literature that it is better to avoid civil wars and for prevention strategies to provide plausible and realistic tactics to help countries refrain from engaging in violent warfare again. However, as Collier and Hoeffler (2006) insightfully note “whether the opportunities for prevention offer more scope for conflict reduction than opportunities for ending current conflicts and reducing the risk of their rapid reoccurrence is less clear” (p.35).

2.2.1 Peacebuilding Initiatives

Peacebuilding is a common, encompassing term used by the United Nations (UN) that is identified as a strategy for conflict prevention in post-conflict situations. The original design of peacebuilding action was to “identify and support structure to consolidate peace in *post-conflict countries* in order to avoid a relapse into conflict”. It consisted of non-military intervention strategies from external actors to support countries transpiring from civil war. The ultimate goal of peacebuilding was to “establish the conditions for sustainable peace” (Tschirgi, 2004:1-4). In Goodhand and Hulme (1999), the five main modes of intervention distinguished by the United Nations is outlined as:

1. Emergency assistance: humanitarian provision to victims in war;
2. Peace-making: political, diplomatic and sometimes military interventions;
3. Peace-keeping provision of peace-keeping military forces, verification (of elections, of respect of human rights, etc.) and other techniques used to monitor compliance with agreements and foster mutual confidence;
4. Peacebuilding: the promotion of institutional and socioeconomic measures, at the local or nation level, to address the underlying causes of conflict;
5. Preventative diplomacy (or conflict prevention): political and diplomatic

activity to reduce the likelihood of a conflict escalating into physical violence (p.15).

Despite the fact that peacebuilding activities have been recognized as a crucial component in the reconstruction process of a post-conflict society and that it is the responsibility of the international community to provide such support, there is some debate over the effectiveness of peacebuilding and its motives. For example, in an analysis of peacebuilding in civil wars since World War II, Doyle and Sambanis (2000) conclude the overall peacebuilding activities make a positive contribution in conflict prevention (p. 793). Similarly, Hartzell et al. (2001) found that peacebuilding activities in the form of third party intervention was particularly effective in maintaining peace for countries transitioning from a civil war (p.193). In contrast, the research of Dubey (2002) concludes that peacebuilding activities established by the UN or other third party interventions have no significant impact on the duration of peace for post-conflict societies (cited in Fortna, 2004:100).

In reference to its motives, past UN peacebuilding activities have been criticized. Critics assert that peacebuilding activities often have a hidden agenda and do not reflect the needs of the war-torn countries they are seeking to help. Tschirgi (2004) highlights this dilemma in stating:

The promise of a new peacebuilding agenda was that the international community would intervene collectively – as a ‘third party’ – to help resolve violent conflicts and civil wars, and that external actors would actively support the process of rebuilding in the affected countries without the shadow of the Cold War politics or to suit the narrow national interests of individuals states. In other words, what was being promised was unlike earlier generations of imperialist, colonialist, or other self-serving external interventions even though in an international system based on states, it was recognized that state interests shaped their international policies (p.2).

Despite these challenges and the need to overcome the existing weaknesses of peacebuilding, the persistence of civil war conflict throughout the world reaffirms the need and demand for the existence of peacebuilding. Peacebuilding activities should seek to include the specific dynamics of an individual country and involve them in the planning and designing phases to ensure the most effective peacebuilding activities for that particular country are implemented. As Goodhand and Hulme (2007) insightfully point out: “every conflict is unique, with its own configurations of power, structures, actors and beliefs or grievances” this must be taken into consideration for prevention strategies and peacebuilding activities (p.17). It is important to note that this is reflected in the written work of the UN as it states: “Most importantly post-conflict peace building activities should not be dictated by the international community, but should reflect national needs and development aspirations and thus should be molded by particular political and socio-economic conditions of each case” (UN, 1996:2), however what is said in writing and done in actuality can be very different.

2.2.2 Civil War Settlements

The literature on post-conflict prevention highlights another framework for conflict prevention: civil war settlements. Authors who discuss the various types of settlements assert that finding civil war settlements is essential and these settlements have the potential to ensure and sustain post-conflict peace through this agreement. The following section will discuss two specific types of civil war settlements and the competing views on these settlements.

Mattes and Sauve (2009) identify two 'provisions', which they contend will assist in addressing the existing "commitment problems". Commitment problems according to Mattes and Sauve often exist after a civil war is declared to be over and a settlement is not found that works to initiate more conflict and warfare. The two provisions are: 'fear-reducing and cost-increasing'. The fear-reducing provisions are "designed to lessen the belligerents' insecurity and fear regarding further actions of the opponent by imposing constraints on the opponents' ability to renege on the deal" (p.738). Cost-increasing provisions work to raise the costs of further fighting to "make it less likely that the belligerents prefer to resume their military campaigns, even if they expect that the other side may renege on the peace deal" (p.738). By increasing the costs of warfare, the provision promotes fighting as an unattractive option. In addition, Mattes and Sauve (2009) assert that cost-increasing provisions such as: "the separation of forces, sealed borders, the withdrawal of foreign troops, and peacekeeping contribute to peace by increasing the two sides' incentives to uphold a deal, once it is signed" (p.756).

The final civil war settlement that will be discussed is power-sharing. Spears (2000) defines power-sharing as the process "whereby government posts are distributed across the most powerful political parties or grouping" (p.105). It is the belief that through this process of power-sharing, or the distribution of power among important actors in the society, conflict can be dealt with effectively and peacefully. Spears notes this method of civil war settlement has become increasingly popular "as a way out of otherwise intransigent conflicts in divided, multi-ethnic African societies" (2000:105). Advocates of the power-sharing process, Mattes and Sauve (2009) state this is an effective tool for increasing the likelihood and duration for peace. They contend that one

specific type of power-sharing in particular; political sharing is the most important and successful. This is supported by their research, however the details of their research are not included (p.756). Meanwhile, Spears (2000) questions the power-sharing process and claims there are obvious problems associated with this civil war settlement. He suggests “power sharing agreements are difficult to arrive at, even more difficult to implement, and even when implements, such agreements rarely stand the test of time”. He does acknowledge that there are a few cases where power sharing has been effectively implemented. These cases are quite limited and therefore the evidence of power sharing as a tool for successful conflict resolution remains unresolved (pp.105-106).

Through an analysis of conflict prevention literature, it is clear that prevention strategies require all-encompassing views to address the challenges societies are confronted with post-conflict – economic, infrastructure, social and human capital. The timing of these prevention strategies is also imperative. Countries emerging from civil wars are in immediate and critical need for assistance, especially in the area of prevention. By implementing effective, culturally appropriate prevention strategies, countries are less likely to return to a state of civil unrest and will work towards building peace. It is crucial that both the international community and local communities play a role in determining the most appropriate strategies and ways of delivering them. This will require a large, ongoing commitment to ensure peaceful stability for many years to come.

2.2.3 Education and its Role in Conflict Prevention

In 1948, education was proclaimed a basic human right by the United Nations through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 2009, para.7). This was the first major initiative taken towards promoting universal education and since that time a number of governments and world leaders have made pledges in order that this documented right can be transformed into a reality. In the last two decades, a significant push has been made on the international level through the recognition that no investment towards development and social justice is more important or critical than primary education for all. Through the 1990s, several international conferences were held, including “World Conference on Education for All (1990), the International Conference on Population and Development (1995), the World Social Summit (1995) and the World Summit for Children (1990)”. The importance of ensuring education for all children was a common message that disseminated out of each of these conferences (Chowdhury et al., 2003: 603).

In 1990, international institutions UNESCO, UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF and the World Bank joined together to launch a new movement, 'Education for All' (EFA) at the World Conference of Education for All. EFA was established with the intention to make progress on the lack of accessibility to education. Specific objectives were outlined to measure advancements, such as the goal to vastly decrease illiteracy throughout the world by the end of the decade (2000) (UNESCO, 2010, para.2).

In response to the “world's main development challenges and the calls of civil society, the MDGs [Millennium Development Goals] promote poverty reduction, education, maternal health, gender equality, and aim at combating child mortality, AIDS

and other diseases,” one goal of the eight UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) established focus on the intention to provide primary education for all (UNDP, 2006).

These efforts must be recognized; the new focus on education initiatives are commendable and strive for improvements in development. Yet many development practitioners and scholars alike have raised concern about the MDGs – in what they stand for and what they are attempting to achieve (Saith, 2006, Nelson, 2007). For example, in the second MDG, in reference to the achievement of universal primary education, success is measured by enrollment numbers and ratios and not the quality or content of the education provided. As James (2004) suggests, a more appropriate goal for the MDG’s would be to establish a goal for the universal attainment of certain minimum levels of knowledge in literacy, numeracy and life skills. This shift would enable the MDGs to focus both on quality and quantity, rather than simply the latter (pp.447-449).

In correspondence with this discontent, the international institutions fail to mention the harsh, negative reality that war takes its toll on education, both in the physical and practical sense. As Greitens (2001) illustrates, schools are often a primary target of violence and destruction due to its “symbolic and practical value to the community” (p.152). At this point in time, for many children around the world, school is the only remaining stable influence for children. Schools can provide an avenue for change, enabling access to young populations at large, which are often ready and willing to learn. Schools as institutions are the factory of the leaders of tomorrow. As Harris (2008) argued, the core values of schooling should be about caring and commitment towards one another (p.260). In earlier work, Harris states: "the road to peace was

through universally shared knowledge. This assumes that education is the key to peace” (Harris, 2004:9).

A fundamental component of peace education addresses the content of education as it contends that much of the school curriculum throughout the world today teaches children impractical knowledge rather than practical, essential knowledge such as getting along with one another. Peace education stresses the importance of teaching tolerance and patience to children in an effort to nurture individuals who do not automatically turn to physical violence in an argument or disagreement; “a goal of multicultural understanding aimed at reducing stereotypes and hostilities between groups” (Harris, 2004:7). Peace education is personal development. This thesis will explore the components of peace education and determine whether they can be used universally to reduce the prevalence of conflict in society.

Today, in 2012, it seems unlikely that the second MDG will be achieved in its allotted time frame. The international community and NGOs alike are still striving towards enrollment and secondary enrollment numbers to achieve education for all. They fail to acknowledge real barriers such as conflict that make all forms of general education stand still. Due to lack of full achievement of this goal and a continued focus on achievement, it is not surprising that peace education, a specific type of education, is not a priority and instead is viewed as an additional task that requires more time and effort. The next section will explore the foundation of peace education in more detail and how it can be a positive contribution in the efforts to prevent future conflict in post-conflict societies.

2.2.4 Defining Peace Education and its Necessity

The exact origins of peace education are unknown. Key peace education authors like Ian Harris who believe the central lessons of peace education have always existed in different forms to help individuals deal with personal or large-scale violence and conflict. In the most simplistic terms, Harris (2002) defines peace education as “the process of teaching people about the threats of violence and strategies for peace” (p.19). Before beginning a discussion of the unique principles of peace education and how it manifests in different ways for different contexts, it is critical to look at the origins of peace education and how it came to be today.

Peace education is not a theory, nor is it directly affiliated with one person or school of thought. The following timeline demonstrates how peace education has evolved throughout history:

- 1960s: Nuclear Arms Race (evidence of inter-state conflict), Peace Movements (Europe) and Civil Rights Movements (USA).
- 1970s: Peace education as a political and development education
- 1980s: International understanding, regionalized approaches, ‘lost decade’ in development replace politicized approaches, environmental concerns (rise of Green parties and ‘sustainable development’)
- 1990s: Post – Cold War global governance enthusiasm and shifts from interstate to intrastate conflict – UN is viewed as the core organization.
- 2000s: Increased interest in ‘development’, ‘global studies’, but also the ‘corporations’ of universities and curricula (van Gurp lecture, September 2010).

In the context of development studies, conflict has always been a central part of human history, whereas ‘codified education’ is considered to be an invention of modern times (Vriens, 1999: 27). Peace education is used to inform people about the destructiveness of conflict, whether it is conflict among individuals, communities or full-scale conflict between ethnic groups or countries. Peace educators draw attention to the

negative repercussions conflict can have, and point to strategies for creating peace to reduce the prevalence of conflict in all arenas (Jones, 2000: 234; Harris, 2008, 245). In other words, peace education refers to “teachers and teaching about peace; what it is, why it does not exist and how to achieve it” (Harris, 2008:16). The means of achieving peace are non-violent in nature. According to Harris (2004), peace education has five main postulates: “1.It explains the roots of violence, 2. It teaches alternatives to violence, 3. It adjusts to cover different forms of violence, 4. Peace itself is a process that varies according to context, 5. Conflict is omnipresent” (Harris, 2004: 6).

The discussion above regarding the causes of civil war illustrates the extreme presence of violence and conflict existing in our world today. The impacts and consequences of civil war have large, negative repercussions on society for several years preceding the war. Scholars in support of peace education promote that “the universal presence of conflict and war in human history has always necessitated that priority be given to education for conflict management and war preparation” (Danesh, 2006:55). Correspondingly, as highlighted above the impact of education is undeniable; it has a significant influence on children. As Danesh (2006) suggests, “given the importance of education, we need to review our current approaches and perspectives to know not only our methods and contents of education but also the framework – conflict-oriented or peace-oriented – within which this education is provided” (p.565). Proponents of peace education argue that there is a great need for peace education programs to be implemented throughout the world, especially in countries emerging from a civil war or violent conflict. It is believed that through peace education individuals can become empowered to adequately address conflict without violence, that peace education has the

potential to be an effective promoter of conflict prevention (Harris, 2002:19; Danesh, 2006:56-58).

The recognition and potential of peace education extends beyond scholars and peace educators. More recently international institutions have commented on the principles of peace education and have begun to incorporate them into their work. For example, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has described education “as a key means to spearhead the movement towards a culture of peace” (Danesh, 2006:58). The Convention on Rights of the Child (CRC) has indicated the importance of human rights education (a component of peace education) as a fundamental right that all children are entitled to through their work. Similarly, the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) has “viewed the promotion of understanding, peace and tolerance through education as a fundamental right of all children, not an optional extra-curricular activity” (Harris, 2008:4). Each of these examples speaks to the encouraging signs that a new consciousness regarding the need for change in the approach to education is surfacing.

It is important to acknowledge here the understanding that peace education, its curriculum and messages conveyed through teaching, are extremely difficult to promote in a post-conflict situation. Similar to general education, there are immense challenges that must be overcome such as assisting and supporting children as they deal with the “catastrophic impacts of war on all aspects of their lives and grieve their monumental losses”. Such healing is necessary in order for children to move forward from the trauma of war (Danesh, 2006:61).

Some existing critiques of peace education argue, “the field is, in fact burdened by its title”. Opponents of peace education question the ability to attain peace through the teachings of a course. Furthermore, critics challenge the notions of peace education and argue the program is flawed due to its Western bias on how to problem solve. More cumbersome, however, are the questions regarding the lack of existing empirical data that validate the effectiveness of peace education. Finally, peace education is often criticized for its focus on children through education and how parents or guardians are not primary targets of the messages of peace education as well. This argument essentially maintains the idea that because the larger community does not play an active role in peace education programs, the messages of peace education are confined to within the classroom learning environment (Sommers, 2001:8-9; Sommers, 2006:25; Boyden & Ryder, 1996:55). However, despite these critiques peace education needs to start somewhere. Studies such as Maxwell et al. (2004) demonstrate an alternative method of evaluating the success of peace education which based on the assessment of aggression behaviour in primary schools students in South Africa is possible and can provide substance for how influential this field can be (Tominson & Benefield, 2005:21). The messages and strategies are important and effective. If children grow up learning appropriate ways to manage their anger, frustrations and learn the ability to deal with their own conflicts, the beneficial effects will extend far beyond education.

2.2.5 Peace Education in Diverse Cultural Contexts

The core principles of peace education are relatively the same and static throughout the world. However, the manner in which programs of peace education are

transmitted in a global context is not uniform or fixed. Across borders, peace education programs vary considerably in terms of ideology, objectives, emphasis, curricula, contents, and practices.

For example Bar-Tal (2002) highlights,

In Australia, peace education focuses on challenging ethnocentrism, cultural chauvinism, and violence, on the one hand, and promoting cultural diversity, nuclear disarmament, and conflict resolution on the other. In Japan, peace education mostly targets issues of nuclear disarmament, militarism, and the nature of responsibility for acts of violence performed in the past. In South America, peace education is preoccupied with structural violence, human rights and economic inequality. In the United States, peace education programs often concern prejudice, violence, and environmental issues (p.28).

Within a wide range of different peace education programs a common general objective can be found. As Bar-Tal (2002) suggests, “even though their objectives are similar, each society will set up a different form of peace education that depends on issues at large, conditions and cultures, as well as views of creativity of the educators” (p.35).

They all aim to foster changes that will make the world a better, more humane place. The goal is to diminish, or even to eradicate, a variety of human ills ranging from injustice, inequality, prejudice, and intolerance to abuse of human rights, environmental destruction, violent conflict, war, and other evils in order to create a world of justice, equality, tolerance, human rights, environmental quality, peace and other positive features (Bar-Tal, 2002:28; Salomon & Cairns, 2004:14-15).

2.3 Why Target Youth?

The terms ‘children’ and ‘youth’ are familiar labels commonly used to describe a category of young people. The specific age the terms refer to can fluctuate depending on

the institution or frame of reference. As Herrera (2006) notes, the term youth “refer[s] simultaneously to a “cultural group, an age cohort and socio-political category (1426). The exact age parameters vary depending on the government or international agency, for example as Herrera (2006) outlines, “the United Nations classifies youth as persons 15-24 years old, the World Bank sets a younger bar defining youth as 12-24 year olds, and in various youth ministries in developing countries the outer limits of youth extend to 40, the expected age of economic independence and marriage (Herrera, 2006:1427). For the purpose of this thesis, the terms children and youth will be used to refer to a young population that are between the ages 4 and 18, the population that is a primary target of education initiatives.

Until recently an insufficient amount of attention was dedicated to children; they were not a key population or a primary focus for development initiatives. However, the past three decades have witnessed a dramatic shift in this area, as children are now at the forefront of many development projects, and recognized as an important group to help achieve development targets. For example, in 1989 the United Nations established the Convention on Rights of the Children, followed by the African Charter on Rights and Welfare of Children in 1992. Several other international organizations have mirrored similar dedication to children through actions directed towards improving the conditions that surround them (Bourdillon, 2004:101). As Herrera (2006) illustrates

Youth has catapulted onto the development agenda with an unmistakable urgency in the space of just a few years. Whether in reports dealing with youth itself, education, gender equity, maternal health or HIV/AIDS – principle topics of the reports under review – the ‘youth question’ seems to be seeping into, and sometimes saturating, development debates (Herrera, 2006:1425).

This shift illustrates the importance children, or the young generation has had on development initiatives today and in the future shaping of society. Correspondingly, this shift highlights a logical process due to the fact that children comprise a large portion of the population. In many cases, especially in the developing world, children or individuals below the ages of 25 account for over half, if not more of the population (Bourdillon, 2004; Herrera, 2006).

The vast number of children alone should be the motivation behind a child-centered development focus; in addition is the fact that children today will be the leaders of tomorrow. Therefore, not only should development initiatives focus on how children understand war, but also on how these should be included in the designing phase process. Bourdillon (2004) outlines the importance of children as actors in shaping societies in which they live, with particular reference to interventions for development (pp.99-101).

Children and youth are a key population group to examine because they are the primary targets of education and it is believed that through education conflict can eventually be eliminated (Herrera, 2006). The concept of peace education is to make all young people conscious of their own responsibility for peace in this world. Children are the future leaders and if development initiatives take proactive measures now, the outcome will be a more peaceful future. Peace education seeks to address how children experience and perceive war, conflict and violence, and helps establish techniques children can use to diffuse the conflict situations they experience as individuals within their society (Harris, 2004). As Vriens (1999) describes, “ultimately, youngsters have to arrive at their own point of view about their situation and their influence on and contribution to the peace process, at both the personal and structural levels” (p.29). The

primary motive of peace education is to make children and youth populations aware of their own responsibility and ability to create peace and this is accomplished in a variety of indirect ways.

2.3.1 Examining the Direct Impacts of Civil War on Children

While all persons within a society that has been torn apart by a civil war are affected by the conflict, the impact on children is particularly devastating (Evans, 1996; Wessells, 1998, Machel, 2000). This section will explore the impact conflict has on children who have experienced war first-hand and how children interpret and understand civil war. To clarify I will be looking at children who have been directly affected by a civil war, which may include but is not limited to child soldiers. An analysis of conflict literature reveals that in recent years the numbers of civilians killed or injured in war has dramatically increased; this is especially true in regards to the number of children. For example Black (1996) and Weiss and Collins (1996) highlight conflicts such as the ones that took place in Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia and how the casualty reports from these conflicts state that as high as 95 percent of victims were civilians (p.5, 29). In most developing countries children and youth constitute almost half the population, therefore the bleak reality of the percentage listed above is that the majority of those casualties were children (Sommers, 2002:2). The 'State of the World's Children Report' written in 1996 by UNICEF outlines that "the decade of 1985- 93, over 2 million children were killed, 1 million disabled, 12 million made homeless, and over 1 million orphaned or separated from their parents" (Greitens, 2001:149). To put this in perspective, these are children who are born into the conflict and have little understanding of what the conflict

is about. Therefore it is easy to conclude that the impact of conflict on children is tremendous.

Children are left with both visible and invisible scars from conflict. Children hear or witness parents discussing imminent danger, parents being overcome by emotions, and they share in the chaos and fear experienced everyday: losing a family member, fear of a bomb attack or being forced from the home, as examples. Parents can prepare children to cope or deal with traumatic events, however, many children become separated from parents. Children can construct harmful visual images of certain events that may not have even been witnessed, which can lead to post-traumatic stress disorder (Levy and Sidel, 2000:168-169; Raviv et al., 1999:300).

Despite the extremely high numbers of children directly affected by conflict, there is an insufficient amount of evidence available concerning the experiences children endure during a civil war as well as the effects they feel subsequent to the conflict. The knowledge and discourse surrounding children's understanding of war and peace are limited and need further exploration. The leading researchers in this field tend to focus on "refugees", "unaccompanied children" and "child soldiers" (Greitens, 2001:149-150). While these groups may be especially deserving of attention, they are often affected by conflict in ways that are substantially different from other children (Greitens, 2001:149 and Raviv et. al., 1999:2). It is important to obtain an understanding of children's perceptions of war, conflict and peace in attempts to revive this population and work towards building a more peaceful future.

2.3.2 Defining Children's Role in Conflict Prevention through Peace Education

As highlighted above, it was only recently that youth became a central focus of development and its initiatives. However, despite this attention it is argued that children and youth as a category continue to be overlooked, especially in their capacity to be seen as primary actors in the peacebuilding process (Wessells, 1998:636; McEvoy, 2000:86). There is an undeniable truth about children and youth being an important population group to target and in which to invest.

Children who live through and experience a civil war first hand encounter tremendous impacts and the current literature is able to illustrate this accordingly. However, what is not often explored or researched is the resilience children can and often endure despite the horrific accounts of the civil war. As Evan (1996) describes: "children grow up quickly in times of war and civil strife. They are called upon to take on responsibilities... Sometimes children take action on their own belief... Thus, rather than seeing children merely as victims, a great deal can be gained by building on children's resilience and coping skills (p.17). Children and youth can be a great resource for restoring communities torn apart by civil war.

To effectively engage children and youth in this process, it is essential to know and truly understand the civil war from their perspectives; how they experienced it and made sense of the violence and destruction. This in turn will help develop accurate measures for conflict prevention for the young populations to engage in (McEvoy, 2000:86). In addition, this will help children and youth rebuild their "sense of purpose, self-esteem, and identity" which is needed in order for them to be "involved in identifying the problems and developing viable interventions (Evan, 1996:17; Machel,

2000:7). Core strategies of peace education work towards creating and establishing just that, they strive to empower young populations to use non-violence to deal with conflict. This population has the ability to prevent conflict on a small scale in their own lives, which can have a large and lasting impact on the future. Diverging from the regular conflict prevention strategies that focus on the whole population (but often only target adults or decision makers), peace education focuses on the power and potential within young populations to create and mobilize change within their own communities. Therefore, it is believed that through peace education, children and youth can be involved in the prevention and restoration of their community.

As G. Machel fittingly puts it “The task we face is indeed a challenging one. But the cost of failure – for this generation’s children and the next – is simply too high to bear” (UNICEF, 1996, para.9). Children and youth living in a post-conflict context need opportunities to see themselves as positive contributors, rather than idle participants in a broken society.

In this study, I will argue that peace education is an effective tool for the prevention of conflict when it is used in conjunction with other prevention strategies. Peace education provides on-going support to individuals, especially children, living in a post-conflict society and empowers them to use non-violence (effective communication, empathy, etc.) methods to address violence rather than resorting to emotional and physical hurt. Over time peace education has the capacity to have a positive impact on post-conflict societies by decreasing the prevalence of violence and conflict.

Chapter 3: CASE STUDY OF PEACE EDUCATION IN BOSNIA- HERZEGOVINA

This Chapter is the case study of a peace education program, *Education for Peace* (EFP) that was implemented in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH). The first part of this case study will examine a brief history of the Balkan region and well as the formation and dissemination of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) to provide some context, followed by BiH's succession from SFRY and the outbreak of its civil war in 1992. The second part of this Chapter will explore the initiatives towards peace, past and present, and the underlying impact of the conflict on the citizens and social infrastructure and the education system. The Chapter will conclude by examining in detail the EFP program as administered by the International Education for Peace Institute in BiH.

3.1 Methodology

While there are many components to post-conflict reconstruction and development, I have selected peace education to be of particular importance and an area that is often overlooked. In order to outline the potential of peace education as a tool for post-conflict reconstruction a case study method will be employed.

The term 'case study' is difficult to define as it has many different definitions and interpretations of its use and purpose. For example; a "method as an attempt to systematically investigate an event or a set of related events with a specific aim of describing and explaining this phenomenon" or "a detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository or documents, or one particular event" (Berg,

2009:317-318). At its most basic level a case study can be described as an investigation of a “person, institution, or a society rather than of people, institutions, or societies more broadly” (Schrank, 2006:21). In other words, a case study is an in-depth examination of a particular person, event, institution, organization or country.

Due to the fact that I am attempting to answer a somewhat broad question - *whether peace education can be considered a viable development initiative for conflict prevention in post-conflict societies*, employing a case study method would prove to be very useful and beneficial in arguing my position. By utilizing one specific peace education program entitled, *Education for Peace*, which is in operation in a number of BiH communities as my case study, it will enable me to illustrate how effective a peace education program can be in a post-conflict setting. This can then serve as an example for other societies facing similar post-conflict challenges.

In order to complete this thesis, extensive research regarding the history of the conflict and the current conditions of the post-conflict state of BiH will be explored exclusively through secondary resources. These secondary resources will include: World Bank data reports on BiH, international government reports that examined the effects of the civil war on civil society as well as post-conflict reconstruction, BiH documents of the Dayton Agreement, humanitarian intervention and implementing peace. As well, articles that discuss the education in BiH and the direct effects the civil war had on the system and children growing up in a post-conflict society will be reviewed. In addition, a detailed examination of the *EFP program* will be completed through secondary resources found online and in print. The resources from EFP-International will provide a detailed narrative of the organization’s peace education program and the context-specific

curriculum that is used in BiH. Through articles that have been written by H.B Danesh (Founder of EFP-International) and his experience and involvement in BiH as well as articles that have been written about the work of EFP-International, I will be able to illustrate how this organization began, how it has evolved, how it presently exists and what the organization hopes to do in the future. Additionally articles that explore the assessment and impact of this program will be investigated to develop an understanding of the significance this program has had on its participants and larger community. Finally, the workbooks and teachers' manuals that have been published by EFP-International will be examined to understand fully understand this peace education program and the role of this education in post-conflict settings.

3.2 Background: The Balkans, Yugoslavia and the Civil War

In order to understand the complexity of the civil war in BiH (1992-1995), it is important to first examine the history of the Balkan region, more specifically, the creation and abolishment of Yugoslavia as it is closely intertwined. The magnitude of the history and conflicts in the Balkan region is extensive and complex. For the purposes of this thesis, I will explore a brief history of the Balkan region to provide some context for BiH and the ethnic divisions that exist within.

3.2.1 General

The name "Balkan", the Turkish word for "mountain", has been used since the early 19th century to refer to a specific geographic area located in Eastern Europe. The Balkan region is comprised of a collection of nationalities and religions from countries

that include: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH), Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Slovenia, and sometimes Turkey and Hungary. For centuries this region has been plagued by conflict and strife between ethnic and religious diversity. As Kreso (2008) notes “the Balkans area is, according to its geographic, ethnic, cultural and historical characteristics, a very complex, jagged, multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multicultural area with a very turbulent past and present as well” (p.355).

As one of the largest countries in the Balkan region, The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was formed in 1945 following the Second World War, and was composed of six republics; BiH, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia, and two autonomous provinces; Kosovo and Vojvodina. Under the communist leadership of Josip Broz Tito (1945-1980), Tito attempted to rebuild SFRY after the war and establish a new, unified form of nationalism across ethnicities and cultural boundaries (Gibbs, 2009: 46; Cothran, 2002:14; Kyiakou, 2000: 1C-4). As Robinson (2011) outlined,

This new Yugoslavism sought to promote a national unity that did not rely on linguistic or cultural similarities but offered a political framework that could both challenge the primary Austria and Hungary and incorporate the progressive ideals offered by new social and political movements emanating from Europe and gradually gaining currency in South Slav lands (p.12).

The political structure of SFRY under Tito’s leadership was organized in a manner that allowed “each republic and province was governed by a President [who] had some power within his own republic, but was required to obey and uphold laws established by the federation” (Cothran, 2002:14). The general perception of Tito was that he was well liked and many admired his ability to govern a country with such diversity – religiously,

culturally and ethnically – and with relatively no conflict. As Cothran (2002) notes, “many believed Tito achieved and managed what he had hoped to in his intentions of rebuilding a community, however 1980 with the passing of Tito marks what many believe to be the beginning of the destruction of Yugoslavia” (p.14).

In 1980, with the sudden death of Tito, a number of changes within the political structure and in the stability of the nation transpired. As Haynes (2008), like many others, comment “any glue that may have still joined Yugoslavia, dissolved” (p.XV). An example of this change occurred in the organization of the political structure that moved from a centralized government with one leader to a “revolving presidency” system that rotated a president from each republic on a yearly basis;

With power devolving to the presidents – each with the well-being of his own republic in mind- Yugoslavia as a federation began a rapid descent into chaos. The rotating presidency turned out to be a weak vehicle for ruling a nation. Centralized power went to the most powerful of the republics, Serbia (Cothran, 2002:15).

Tensions among the various ethnic populations began to rise at this time as leaders such as Milosevic (Serbian leader) began to push their own republic’s agenda and manipulated their people into believing that they were superior or more entitled than the other republics exposing the differences and giving momentum to existing tensions. As these tensions continued to rise, Slovenia and Croatia each developed a plan that would allow their republics to withdraw from SFRY. Despite Milosevic’s stark protests, Slovenia and Croatia seceded SFRY on June 25, 1991 and marked the beginning of many years of turmoil throughout former SFRY. In response to these secessions, Serbia retaliated by sending the JNA (Yugoslav People’s Army) into Slovenia first, which was quickly fought off by their own army (the Slovenian Army), and then JNA forces moved into Croatia.

The conflict in Croatia lasted longer than in Slovenia as the army in Croatia was not as strong and the large population of Serbs within the country put them at a disadvantage. This particular conflict ended with a cease-fire agreement that was mediated by the UN in 1992. However, this was not the end of conflict and unrest in this region. Despite the challenges Slovenia and Croatia faced in their transitions for independence, in 1992 BiH and Macedonia also decided to break from the former SFRY and become their own, independent nations. Macedonia, with a very small Serb population, was able to separate with very little resistance, BiH on the other hand experience immense challenges that would unfold into a full-scale civil war (Haynes, 2008:XV; Cothran, 2002:15-18).

3.2.2 The Civil War in BiH

Prior to the outbreak of the civil war in 1992, the population of BiH could be divided into the following categories: 43 percent Bosnian Muslims, 33 percent Bosnian Serbs, 17 Bosnian Croats and 7 percent other. Given the location of BiH, almost entirely landlocked and surrounded by Serbia and Croatia, this made it highly susceptible to them attempting to assert control over large sections of the country. In actuality, it is said that both leaders from Serbia and Croatia met in 1991 in a private, secretive meeting to discuss how the country (BiH) could be divided between them, leaving a small portion of the territory for the Muslim people.

In 1992, a public vote was held on the proposal of BiH independence. Although this referendum was boycotted by the Bosnian Serb population, the proposal was passed with sixty percent of the population voting in favour of independence for BiH. The Serb population of BiH greatly opposed this decision and retaliated with the support of Serbia

and the JNA, to assert control in the Serb-majority parts of BiH. Due to the high levels of military power of the JNA, the Bosnian Serb population was able to quickly maintain control over sixty percent of the land. The Bosnian Croat population responded to this by assuming control over other parts of the country with the support of Croatia. For three and a half bloody years, the three ethnic groups of BiH were in conflict with one another, each group committing unspeakable crimes against one another. Several accounts describe this civil war as one of the deadliest of all the disintegrating Yugoslav Federation (BBC, 2004).

In this particular civil war, civilian fighting largely characterized the conflict. The atrocities broke into communities where individuals used to live peacefully together despite their ethnic differences. During the war, it remained unclear who was fighting with whom, with neighbours fighting against neighbours. Citizens of BiH were being beaten, raped, killed or displaced from their homes by other citizens. As Kyiakou (2000) notes, “nationalism is key to explaining the special bond forged by history between the military and society” in this particular region of BiH (p.1C-1).

Although each ethnic group experienced great atrocities and had many victims, the Bosnian Muslim population appeared to be the most disadvantaged. As Haynes (2002) outlines, “attacks were going on in all directions, it was the Bosniaks in Bosnia [Muslims] bearing the brunt of the hostilities and forcible relocations to the extent that gears of genocide were on the table” (p.4). This is evident when examining the brutality of attacks in Srebrenica. As the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) described

The single worst atrocity of the war occurred in the summer of 1995 when the Bosnian town of Srebrenica, a UN-declared safe area, came under attack by forces lead by the Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic. During a few days in early

July, more than 8,000 Muslim men and boys were executed by Serb forces in an act of genocide. The rest of the town's women and children were driven out (2004).

Mass killings, rapes and other atrocities were committed throughout the three-year period of civil war in BiH. It has not been until recently that leaders such as the former Bosnian Serb military leader Mladic and Serb leader Radovan Karadzic - a man who many analysts appoint being the most responsible for the outbreak of conflict – have been brought to trail in the International Criminal Court (Karadzic in 2004 and Mladic in 2011) (BBC, 2004).

The nature of the conflict had the people of BiH living in fear of one another, of anyone who was different. The people held and arguably continue to hold extreme levels of hatred and animosity towards those who are different for what they did to their families, homes and communities, placing blame on those who are different for inflicting the pain and suffering they had endure during the war and the years to follow.

Throughout the conflict there was a mentality of nationalism that led each ethnic group to believe that they were superior than the others and that if they did not fight, they would be overtaken by the other (Haynes, 2002; BBC, 2004; Cothran, 2002).

Throughout the accounts of the civil war, several authors have highlighted the lack of international assistance and intervention during the war. This is believed to have prolonged the length of the war and arguably the level of destruction felt on multiple levels of society in BiH. Throughout the war and for many years to follow the international community was heavily criticized for their lack of involvement. Although, the United Nations Special Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had been sent in to BiH in the early spring of 1992, its role was to deliver humanitarian aid and monitor the “no fly

zones” and “safe areas” established by the United Nations (Cothran, 2002:23; UNPROFOR, 1996, para.24).

As Cothran (2002) states:

Indeed, for most of the war, no foreign country sent troops to fight in Bosnia... many nations sent diplomats to Bosnia to broker a peace agreement in an effort to avoid sending in troops to end the conflict, but diplomatic efforts failed dismally and contributed to the devastation of Bosnia by prolonging the war (p.24).

The nature of involvement from the international community did improve however, in large part because of the legally bound signing of the peace agreement. This document will be further explored in the section that follows.

3.2.3 The Dayton Peace Agreement

Formally known as the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina also referred to as the General Framework, The Framework, Dayton Peace Accord, The Dayton Peace Agreement; each of these names describe a document that was signed to signify the end of the bloody conflict in BiH on December 14th, 1995. Originally initialed in Dayton Ohio on November 21, 1995, the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed in Paris by the presidents of BiH, Croatia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the presence of the United States, Britain, France and representatives from the European Union. The signatures on this document symbolize a commitment from these individuals and their countries to fully respect the territorial boundaries of BiH and its political independence (Johnson, 2000:1.5-1.7; Cousens & Cater, 2001:27). According to Last (2003), “the signing of the Dayton Agreement in December 1995 was intended to mark a watershed between ineffectual international intervention in an

ongoing civil war and robust international support for and enforcement of an agreed peace” (p.25). Not only was this document important in establishing an end to the civil conflict, but it also outlined the process of reconstruction, placing a great deal under the responsibility of the international community with non-negotiable terms (Chandler, 1999:26). For example, the Dayton Peace Agreement established the *Office of High Representative (OHR)* which demonstrates itself as: “an *ad hoc* international institution responsible for overseeing implementation of civilian aspects of the accord [Dayton Peace Agreement] ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (OHR, 2007, para.1). This document was a reflection of the “new post-Cold War interventionist approach”. As outlined by the United Nations in several documents and cited in the Chandler (1999) “the Dayton Peace Agreement reflected the new post- Cold War interventionist approach of international institutions, encapsulated in the United Nations’ Agendas on Peace, Development and Democratization, which since 1992 has stressed the importance of post-conflict peace-building and the necessity for the long-term involvement of international organization in political institution building and governance” (p.34).

The official document of the Dayton Peace Agreement itself is two pages in length with eleven annexes that provide all the details. The eleven annexes are divided into the following sections: (1) Military Aspects of the Peace Settlement and Regional Stabilization, (2) Inter-Entity Boundary Line and Related Issues, (3) Elections, (4) Constitution, (5) Arbitration, (6) Human Rights, (7) Refugees and Displaced Persons, (8) Commission To Preserve National Monument, (9) Establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations, (10) Civilian Implementation of Peace Settlement and (11) International Police Task Force (OHR, 1995, para.1; Chandler, 1999:44).

In an effort to establish a union and cohesion among the three ethnic groups of BiH, the Dayton Peace Agreement (Annex 2: Inter-Entity Boundary) constructed two new entities within the country and its political system. The Federation of BiH (FBiH) consists of mostly Muslim and Croat populations and Republika Srpska (RS) holds a large Serb population. (In addition, the Brcko District operates as a neutral, self-governing administrative unit, but is formally apart of both FBiH and RS). These two entities coexist under the same central government, however, much of the governing takes place at the entity ministry level (Mearsheimer & Evera, 1995:16 and Kreso, 2008:360). For example, as described in the International Crisis Group Team under the Canadian Forces Joint Operations Group (2000), at present, BiH is characterized by a “three *de facto* mono-ethnic entities, three separated armies, three separate police forces, and a national government that exists mostly on paper and operates at the mercy of the entities” (p.2E-2).

3.2.4 The Current Situation

It has been over fifteen years since the Dayton Peace Agreement was first signed and within that timeframe it has been recognized and celebrated for its efforts in establishing peace in the country of BiH. A place once overthrown with violence, hatred and brutal accounts of murder has not returned to such circumstances since 1995, which is remarkable given the existing deep-rooted social tensions that were a result of the conflict and the concern of relapse. Although the Dayton Peace Agreement is appreciated for its success to date as a step towards development for BiH, it has also been subject to great deal of criticism (Chandler, 1999:38; Cousens & Cater, 2001:137).

When the Dayton Peace Agreement was first initialed, it was the first of its kind. The first UN administer of BiH, Carl Bildt, described the agreement as “by far the most ambitious peace agreement in modern history”, which Chandler (1999) put forward, “it was ‘ambitious’ because, under the guide of a negotiated peace settlement, it sought to create a new political entity, which was not a product of popular consensus or popular involvement and was seen by many Bosnians as an external imposition” (p.43). However, since that time, a significant amount has changed in the field of post-conflict reconstruction. In 1995, at the time when the civil war had been put to an end post-conflict reconstruction theory was almost non-existent. Prior to this time the international community had little engagement with this type of work. Yet, over the next twelve years considerable progress had been made in the efforts of post-conflict reconstruction.

As Haynes (2008) recounts, “the international community... had the opportunity to view very different models of international intervention and assistance efforts in East Timor, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq, all the while, international administration was underway in Bosnia”. While none of these conflicts have been declared officially over, nor has the international community completely removed their presence in these countries, “...securing sustainable peace and security for the country is in question. Reviewing the development of post-conflict reconstructions in Bosnia, therefore, becomes even more timely and imperative” (p. XIX). It can be argued that the Dayton Peace Agreement was successful in achieving its primary goal, which was to avoid a relapse into conflict after 1995. However, in the process of this success, the Dayton Peace Agreement established a superficial three-pronged political system to govern the

whole country that has engineered a facetious equality among the three ethnic groups and arguably escalated the deep-rooted tensions among the groups, rather than address them.

3.3 The BiH Civil War and its Impacts

3.3.1 The General Consequences of the BiH Civil War

In November of 1995, after three and a half long years of violence, brutality, horrific levels of conflict and in some areas ethnic genocide, the civil war of BiH was declared over. Although it has been almost twenty years since the outbreak of the war in BiH, the consequences of the conflict are still prominent throughout the country. An exact number of casualties is unknown. However it is estimated 250,000 people were reported missing or dead, with more than 200,000 wounded, 50,000 of those children. Another 2 million citizens displaced either internally or externally as refugees (Cousens & Cater, 2001:25; OED, 2004:1). Although the acts of violence with high levels of atrocities ended on that day, the magnitude and devastation have remained and the after effects of this war and arguably still exist on some level today.

The physical state of the country was left in complete ruins. The infrastructure of BiH – the homes, buildings, hospitals and school buildings were either completely destroyed or damaged. As Cousens & Cater (2001) outline, the “physical and economic losses were severe, with total replacement costs of the country’s destroyed assets estimated by the World Bank to be between \$15 billion and \$20 billion” (p.25).

Although a great deal of funding and effort has gone into rebuilding this destruction, the lasting impact of the war is still evident in the slow reconstruction of the infrastructure, both physical as well as social.

Correspondingly, the economy of BiH had also been destroyed, bringing an already damaged population to even higher levels of poverty. As the World Bank (2004) describes, “by 1994 the gross domestic product (GDP) and GDP per capita had plummeted to less than 20 percent of the prewar level, significantly lower in relation to any other country in Eastern Europe” (p.2). Many sources noted, at that time (in 1995) unemployment levels had reached 90 percent with BiH’s gross domestic production (GDP) levels dropping three-quarters. (Cousens & Cater, 2001:25).

Without discounting the magnitude of this destruction and the impact it would have on the population, for the purpose of this thesis it is important to look more specifically at the arguably more devastating, long-lasting effect, the psychological impact on the citizens of BiH. To date, there have been a large number of reported cases of post-traumatic stress disorder, severe depression, addiction, aggression, high levels of stress, anxiety and suicide. Such effects were brought on the by the high levels of violence, prejudice, hatred and mistrust built up among the three ethnic groups. It is not uncommon for a person to know at least one person who was directly involved, hurt or killed during the conflict and although there has been some effort towards assisting the population, the lasting effects and anguish continues to exist in BiH today as the hurt and mistrust is past on through the generations (Cothran, 2002:26-27; Danesh, 2004:255).

3.3.2 The Civil War and Its Impact on Children

As discussed in Chapter Two, although all persons are affected by a civil war, the impact of the conflict on children is particularly devastating. Growing up in BiH during the time of the civil war exposed children to witness and in many cases were the victims

of awful acts of brutality. At the 'State of the World Children Report' (UNICEF, 1996) indicated that systematic rape was often used as a weapon of war "to humiliate and degrade, instill terror, and promote social division" in the ethnic cleansing of BiH and the unfortunate reality is that many children were often the victims of these abuses. Cairns (1997) estimates that as many as 80,000 women and girls were raped in former Yugoslavia (cited in Greitens, 2005: 152). The psychological scars of these events are deeply embedded in the children. The adults often characterize the BiH youth of today as a "quite and serious generation who had to grow up before their time" (Daiute et al., 2006:63). As Richman (1996) insightfully outlines, "most children in conflict zones are showing a normal response to extreme circumstances, and require support rather than psychological treatment" (cited in Greitens, 2005:153). There is great potential in the youth population of post-conflict societies. As G. Machel (2000) asserts, they

Continue to be the greatest hope and the greatest resource in rebuilding war-affected communities. Their active participation in community-based relief, recovery and reconstruction programmes will strengthen and sustain initiatives while increasing adolescent's sense of purpose, self-esteem and identity (p.7).

Beyond the psychological impacts of witnessing the atrocities of war, the children and youth of BiH were forced and continue to grow up in a society that was torn apart by war. Finding new avenues to extend beyond the depressing realities of this post-conflict culture is imperative for the future of BiH.

3.3.3 The Civil War's Impact on Education

Over the past three decades, the education system of BiH has endured acute and drastic changes; in terms of how the system is organized, how it operates and even within the context of what is taught in the curriculum.

Under SFRY and the Tito regime, one standard and uniform education system existed that provided all (six later independent nations) the same curriculum. The only difference between these systems was the language in which it was taught. According to Fischer (2006), the “curricula and teaching methods were guided by the socialist values, stressing collective solidarity and political loyalty over critical thinking” (p.299). However, parallel with the collapse of SFRY, the uniform education system was abandoned as well. New systems of education were established as new borders were instituted. Over time the education system of BiH would endure even greater, more adverse changes throughout the civil war and even the decade to follow.

During the civil war (1992-1995) the education system in BiH almost ceased to exist. In a country that was been torn by war, attending school was a low priority. For many children, the physical structure of the school had been destroyed or the area was considered to dangerous to be in, so children did not attend. Those who could afford it sent their children away to study in the United States or elsewhere; while a large majority fled the country as refugees to live in non-permanent areas until the horrors of the war had subsided. Once again education was not an immediate priority for those seeking refuge and therefore many children during the war went without any form of formal education (Swee, 2008:6).

Immediately following the civil war, the education system of BiH was divided between the two entities that were established under the Dayton Peace Agreement: The Federation of BiH (FBiH) and Republika Srpska (RS). Each entity assumed the responsibility of their own education system, which this materialized in different forms for each entity. For example, the Federation of BiH (FBiH), which is divided into ten cantons, the education system is completely decentralized and each canton is responsible for how the education system is operated and regulated. In the other entity, in Republika Srpska (RS) the education is a more centralized. As Kreso (2008) blatantly states, “this has led to an immense increase in educational bureaucracy and is extremely expensive and inefficient system for such an impoverished country”, in addition to what many others have deemed socially destructive (p.363).

To examine the education system as a whole in BiH, it is segregated into ethnic divisions throughout the country and across entity boundaries. As Bozic (2006) notes, there are three different types of segregation that is currently being practiced in BiH: “(1) two schools under one roof, (2) busing children to mono-ethnic schools, (3) and the teacher of so called “national subjects”. Similar divisions have been noted in other countries emerging from ethnically driven conflicts, for example Northern Ireland or South Africa (pp.325-326).

However, what is important to extract from this segregated, highly politicized school system is what transpired for the children; the fact that the children of BiH were learning, and continue to learn very different versions of history. The textbooks and school subjects are being used to “mold the student’s identity and induce national pride”, however this type of national pride placed each ethnic group against one another. In a

sense, the curriculum had been produced to serve and harness nationalistic interests. The portrayal of “historic perceptions and myths often played a role in the construction of ethnic identities” and as a result the divisions among the ethnic populations became exacerbated; in their early years of school, children were taught intolerance towards ethnic diversity (Fischer, 2006:314, Bozic, 2006:323). Overtime the curricula of the separate education systems have generated more attention due to their highly controversial nature and ability to generate high levels of hostility within the populations of BiH. Perhaps it is the fragmentation in that education system that has enabled this to exist for so long.

In recent years, issues of curriculum reform have been brought to the forefront of BiH’s government agenda, which is highly influenced by outside sources. As Fischer (2006) notes, a closer examination of the curriculum is required

First, parts of the teaching materials proved to be offensive, encouraging stereotypes, and likely to increase divisions between the Bosnian ethnic communities. Second, the fact that the different curricula were incompatible caused severe problems to Bosnian pupils, especially those returning to their pre-war areas of residence (p.311).

Many initiatives towards curriculum reform have been established to date, however these issues remains unresolved and many challenges remain. Moreover, a change in the curriculum is not the only component that is required to help the education system of BiH progress. A greater recognition of the teachers and the role teachers have in the education of the children is vital. In order for teachers to fulfill this role adequately, more training is required, in particular training that is based on how to teach and operate in a multi-ethnic classroom, community and society. Teachers need to have sufficient training that enables them to recognize their own bias and cultural baggage which will in

turn help them deal with unforeseen challenges that may arise in the future as a teacher living in a post-conflict, multi-ethnic society.

It is often the case that conflict utilizes education to manipulate pupils to believe a certain idea, reaffirming the hatred and attitudes that perpetuate the conflict in the first place. The case of education in BiH is no different. Today, with the conflict and civil war in the near past, children are entering school and learning from the environments that surround them. In order to move forward and establish a more peaceful society, it is important that the education system use its power to address the existing inequalities and discrimination rather than promote them.

3.4 International Education for Peace Institute – Background

International Education for Peace Institute (EFP-International), defined as a “research, training, and community development agency”, is a non-profit organization that is committed to achieving lasting peace through education. Registered as an independent association in Switzerland, EFP-International encompasses a number of organizations, including its sister organizations: EFP-Canada and EFP-Balkans, and partners with EFP-America and YOUTH PEACE-BUILDERS NETWORK to coordinate and complete a number of peace education projects worldwide. The primary motivation of this EFP-International is “to develop and implement programs that foster a culture of peace and a culture of healing in communities around the world that are struggling to cope with the effects of conflict, injustice and violence” (EFP-International, 2005).

Established in 2000, EFP-International was founded and is currently under the direction of Dr. H.B. Danesh, a well-known author in the field of peace education.

Danesh's qualifications and professional background are both extensive and impressive; Danesh is currently a visiting professor of peace education and conflict resolution at the European University Centre for Peace Studies, located in Austria; he is a retired professor of psychiatry from University of Ottawa in Canada; and continues lecturing as a professor in peace and conflict resolution studies at Landegg International University in Switzerland (Danesh, 2009).

Danesh, along with other co-supporters created EFP-International based on the vision that:

The greatest challenges before humanity at the start of the 21st century are conflict, violence, terrorism, and war along with their terrible consequences of poverty, disease, despair, environmental destruction, and poor leadership. These challenges are present at all levels of human life—family, school, community, society, and globally". While EFP-International recognizes the considerable effort (time, money and energy) that has been put forward by the international community and citizens throughout the world to help neutralize the effects of conflict, EFP-International argues this is not enough. Instead, EFP asserts that there are enough resources in our world today to establish a universal civilization of peace (EFP-International, 2011, para.2).

To achieve this, according to EFP-International, peace and education are inseparable aspects of civilization. It is believed that "no civilization is truly progressive without education and no education system is truly civilizing unless it is based on the universal principles of peace.... We, therefore, inadvertently promote a culture of conflict and violence and our children and students do not learn the ways of peace".

In doing so, EFP-International outlines the following as its endeavors:

- To conduct community and social development projects in any part of the world with a focus on creating a more peaceful and violence-free world;
- To provide the structure for the development and implementation of the peace education projects around the world;

- To offer both community-specific in-class and international web-based Education for Peace programs for school communities and leaders in various countries of the world where the ravages of war, prejudice, terror and rapid social, economic, and cultural change have created conditions of insecurity and conflict in families, schools, and communities alike;
- To establish a comprehensive on-line library on issues pertaining to Education for Peace and make it available to educators and policy makers everywhere;
- To conduct research on the principles of Education for Peace and make the findings available globally;
- To develop curricula of Education for Peace based on established universal scientific principles and the unique cultural and social circumstances of each participating group, making the curricula accessible to all through World-Wide Web, in as many languages as possible;
- To train educators and Education for Peace specialists, who would, in turn, use their knowledge and expertise in pursuit of peace through peace education;
- To offer expert consulting services to governmental and non-governmental agencies regarding issues of conflict, violence, and peace (EFP-International-B, 2011, para.2).

Inherent in their practice of peace education is the belief that the key to sustainable, long-lasting people is when “it leads to peaceful behaviour at both individual and societal levels” (Danesh, 2008:157).

3.4.1 EFP-Balkans

EFP-International’s first exposure to BiH was in September of 1999 when Dr. Danesh was invited to hold a three-day workshop on Conflict-Free Conflict Resolution (CFCR) in Sarajevo. A specific kind of conflict-resolution training that focuses on unity-centered practices (a prominent concept in the EFP programming and something that will be explored in further detail below). Over fifty people attended this workshop and participated from a number of backgrounds including: BiH government employees, journalists, individuals from different international community agencies and other

interested citizens. As a whole, the group represented the three distinct ethnic groups living in BiH at present, Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs. As Danesh (2009) described, “the workshop began in an atmosphere of tensions and polite distance... some participants asked that they be lodged in a different hotel, separated from members of other ethnic populations –“their former enemies” (p.254). It was clear throughout the duration of the workshops that tensions among the ethnic groups were still high and very real and that the wounds left from the civil war in 1992-1995 had not yet subsided. Despite these immense challenges, Danesh (2009) notes, “by the end of the first full day of the CFCR workshop, a clearly positive change had occurred, and a process of genuine, constructive communication had started” (p.254). By the end of the second day, based on the effectiveness of the workshop, the BiH Foreign Ministry and the Ministries of Education of both entities invited EFP-International to bring the EFP project to BiH as a pilot project. This initiative was made possible through a 1-year grant from the government of Luxembourg (Danesh, 2009 and EFP-International, 2011-A, para.1).

In its initial stages, the pilot EFP project was conducted in six schools with an equal number of primary and secondary school students. The schools were located in three different cities of BiH; Banja Luka, Sarajevo and Travnik. Together these cities and schools populations represented the diversity in BiH’s society, both in terms of ethnicity as well as economic background. Since the very beginning regional teams were established to help with the implementation of the EFP project and to provide ongoing support. Each team was made up of teachers from the participating schools and two members of EFP-International two who were not from BiH originally. As EFP-International outlines, the pilot EFP project can be broken down into three categories:

“staff training and curriculum development, introduction of the EFP concepts in the classroom and promoting of meaningful interaction and communication among the participating schools” (p.255).

Since the EFP program was first introduced – its curriculum and teaching principles have rapidly expanded throughout BiH over the last twelve years. Currently the program is operating in over one hundred schools across sixty communities of BiH. The program is reaching over 80,000 students, 50,000 teachers and 150,000 family members in BiH (Danesh, 2005). With the strong potential of continuing to expand, the EFP program has become one of the “longest, largest and most comprehensive programs of peace education ever undertaken” to date (Danesh, 2008:170). At present, a five-year plan is in progress (2007-2012) with the intention to “incorporat[e] the EFP Curriculum into the BiH education reform process, thus involving all 2200+ schools with about 1.5 million students and 110,000 teachers and school staff in the study of all subjects from grades 1-12 within the parameters of peace” (EFP-International, 2010:3)

The specific peace education curriculum established by EFP-BALKANS and its affiliated organizations is unique in this field. Similar to other reconciliation programs, the EFP curriculum explores the driving forces of conflict, but also focuses on how to constructively deal with conflict. Redefining the notion that conflict is an inevitable part of life, but also fostering the understanding that the ways in which conflicts are managed do not need to be dealt with violence or hatred. It is in the techniques that foster non-violence and peace – a concept referred to as – finding unity through diversity (something that will be explored in greater detail below) is what makes the EFP program truly remarkable. The curriculum, as Danesh (2008) emphasizes “is formulated on the

principle that unity-building (not conflict-management) is the most effective approach to peace education and that this goal could be best accomplished by helping students develop a unity-based worldview rather than conflict-based” (p.170). The following section will explore specific details of the curriculum and the theories on which it is based upon.

3.4.2 Integrative Theory of Peace and EFP Curriculum

The EFP Program and curriculum is based on a theory called Integrative Theory of Peace (ITP). The premise of this particular theory is formulated upon four sub-theories, which are that: “(1) Peace is a psychological and political as well as moral and spiritual condition. (2) Peace is the main expression of a unity-based worldview. (3) Comprehensive, integrative, lifelong education is the most effective approach for developing a unity-based worldview. (4) A unity-based worldview is the prerequisite for creating both a culture and peace and a culture of healing”. Within this theory, the concept of world view is defined and understood as the “framework within which we understand the nature of reality, human nature, the purpose of life and laws governing human relationships” (Danesh, 2008:156-158).

At its core, the EFP program and its curriculum is based fundamentally on the concept that ‘unity’ can be found in diversity and it is in this unity through diversity that lasting peace can be found. It is based on the beliefs that humans have many dimensions – biological, psychological, social, moral and spiritual – which all contribute to fostering and shaping one’s life.

As Danesh remarks,

The unity-based (integrative) worldview considers 'unity' rather than 'conflict' to be the primary law operating in human life and relationships. It perceives conflict to be simply a symptom of the absence of unity. It points out that various theories of conflict- biological, psychological and social – could be accounted for the diverse expression of our humanness could be understood within an integrative development framework (Danesh, 2008:159).

The EFP integrative curriculum is based on three premises: (1) unity, not conflict, is the main force in human relationships; (2) worldview is the main framework within which all human individual and group behaviour takes shape; and (3) peace is the main outcome of a unity-based world view (Danesh, 2008: 156; Danesh, 2010:3).

As highlighted above, a distinctive feature of the EFP curriculum integrates the concept of peace into several subjects rather than presenting it as one codified subject. According to Danesh, the founder of EFP curriculum “with the help of teachers and of other adults, students engage in such diverse subjects as physics and history, biology and literature, sociology and chemistry, psychology and mathematics, sports, arts, geography and economics, and political science and religion – all with the principles and practices of peace (rather than conflict) in mind” (Danesh, 2006:55).

The EFP curriculum focuses on delivering “a systematic, sustained plan of action to educate children and youth, their parents, teachers and leaders in the principles of peace” (EFP-International-A, 2011, para.1). Unlike other programs of its kind that tend to select a few students to practice and mediate conflict resolutions skills, the EFP program operates under an integrative framework model that incorporates its principles in all subjects, to all students. Therefore, the EFP program does not exist solely as a class about peace. Rather it promotes a “fundamental reorientation of how students view

themselves, others and the world around them. EFP employs a combined approach of “addressing themes such as inter-ethnic harmony, human rights and democratic decision-making processes...” as well as “issues of worldview, human nature, individual and collective development and the psychological, moral, ethical and spiritual causes of violence and war” (EFP-International-B, 2011). The overall objective that stems from the curriculum and the lessons of EFP-International is to provide students, teachers and the wider community the opportunity to engage practices and principles of peace that are incorporated in aspects of their everyday lives.

To date, there are nine volumes to the EFP curriculum. One volume, ‘Education for Peace’ manual provides a detailed outline of the concepts, methods and essential components to the EFP curriculum. Another volume is a manual specifically designed for teachers, which provides educational tools promoted through ten units. A third volume is a manual for students (created for secondary students in particular) to engage in critical and constructive thinking towards the peace education themes. The themes covered throughout each of these three volumes include: the concepts of oneness in humanity, unity in diversity and human rights and responsibilities. The eight remaining volumes provide an in-depth analysis and discussion for issues presented in the first ‘Education for Peace’ manual, for example, Conflict-Free Conflict Resolution or Leadership in Peace (Danesh, 2008:167; EFP-International-C 2011, para.2).

Danesh (2008) describes these volumes as a reflection of:

The latest developments in the field of peace education and related disciplines, and draw from the extensive lessons learned and observations made in the course of seven years of implementation of the EFP program in many schools with tens of thousands of students. This voluminous body of research, observation and empirical data provides ample support for the EFP’s conceptualization of peace as

the end result of the process of creating unity, rather than the efforts to offset the negative consequences of conflict. This original approach to peace education has proven to be particularly effective in the post-conflict school communities of multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina (p.167).

3.4.3 Three Fundamental Properties

Through the curriculum, EFP's main objective is to strive to establish its three fundamental principles in its work – to establish a *Culture of Peace*, a *Culture of Healing* and *Culture of Excellence*. These three cultures are describes as follows:

A culture of peace refers to an environment characterized by mutual trust, unity in diversity, practice of the principles of human rights and democracy, as well as the ability to prevent violence and resolve all conflicts in a creative and peaceful manner.

A culture of healing refers to an environment that enables all members of the school community – students, parents/guardians, teachers, administrators, and support students – to overcome the trauma they have suffered, individually and/or collectively as a result of their experience of conflict, violence, or war.

A culture of excellence is an environment in which pursuit of personal and group excellence and critical thinking in all domains of life – intellectual, emotional, social, moral, and spiritual – is actively pursued, encouraged and realized (Danesh, 2010:4).

According to EFP and the framework the program follows, it is these three cultures that exist in the “foundation of a civilization of peace”. This remains another distinctive feature of the EFP program and is one of the reasons why it is believed to be suitable for many societies, rather than strictly BiH. It is the belief that through these core, fundamental properties any society that has experienced the trauma of conflict, war, violence and hatred can benefit from establishing a culture of peace, healing and excellence to prevent such levels of suffering from happening in their communities again (Danesh, 2010:4). It is imperative to note here, that although EFP's main goal is to establish these three cultures, they do not claim to create environments that are

completely free of conflict. As Danesh describes, “conflict is an ubiquitous phenomenon in the contemporary world across cultures and societies. As such, the goal of creating a conflict-free society is not a realistic goal, especially at this juncture in the development of human societies. However, creating a violence-free society is not only a desirable but also an essential task of every progressive civilized society” (2008:165-166).

Finally, as outlined earlier in the literature review (Chapter Two), Danesh (2008) states “most peace education programmes are not subject to rigorous research and evaluation” (p.156), Danesh sought to change this through EFP’s work by integrating evaluation procedures from the beginning, in 2000 when EFP was first introduced. Since 2000, Danesh has noted the EFP curriculum to be a work in progress. It is continually changing, adapting and incorporating new peace education research findings as well as any lessons learned as the program continues to be implemented in BiH and increasingly more throughout the world (Danesh, 2008:156). As a result of the evaluation process, the EFP program and people who stand with it, are confident in the success it is having in its participating schools, providing hope for continued success and growth in the years to come.

The positive influence of this program is illustrated in the following testimonials from individuals who are involved with the EFP program of BiH on some level. The participants are representative of the three ethnic groups within the country (more testimonials can be found in *Appendix A*).

A student participant described the impact the EFP program has had on their life as:

The biggest change that has happened is that there are no more walls between my city and the city where the Bosniaks are the majority. Instead of saying ‘them’, we became ‘we’/ I felt that way through the games. We can socialise now and

play as much as we like. No matter whether you are called Mitko or Zeljiko, it's the same. They have the same games like the Serb children and they eat the same lunch. Now, I really don't know what the differences between us are.

A parent of a participant expressed gratitude toward the EFP program and the work that it does by stating:

I am glad that EFP has chosen the school of my children and that my children have the chance to be educated in a civilised way, and learn to resolve their and their friends' conflicts in a diplomatic manner... As a parent, I notice a quiet and peaceful atmosphere among the children on the way from home to the school. My children are very communicative and relaxed... Everything they learn in the school, they implement in their lives (at home, with their friends, and outside). This all means that your project has a positive impact on them.

Another student participant communicates how important the EFP program has been in their life by explaining:

I would be the happiest person if Education for Peace started before 1992 and that it was first recognized by those who were carrying guns that year. Many parents, children, godfathers, friends and acquaintances would have been killed today. Since March 2005, Education for Peace is present in our schools. This education has positive impact on us, primary school students, and it guides us to a nice and free future. We are just children eager for a nice life, eager for new insights and for associating with any type of nationality and religion. Since March, my heart is ruled by tolerance for all religions, races and nationalities. We are all someone's children whose parents want peace that you are teaching us about (Danesh, 2008:168-169).

Based on the data presented in this Chapter, it is evident that this particular program has been deemed successful in the post-conflict society of BiH. The EFP program has provided insight (unity through diversity) and support to its participants, primarily children, who have been living in a post-conflict society that is still greatly troubled by the effects of the civil war. With such positive outcomes established in many communities across BiH, a peaceful country not only seems plausible, but likely through the continued efforts of EFP-International. However, a large component of this thesis – to demonstrate how this particular program can serve as a guide for other countries in a

post-conflict state – has yet to be explored. As highlighted above, BiH is not a complete replica of an underdeveloped country. Due to its access to funding from the European Union (EU) or from other European countries BiH is in a better position on the world scale than other countries who do not have this access and who have also suffered from years of brutality and war. The next Chapter will look beyond the case study and determine what aspects of the EFP program can be extracted to replicate to assist other post-conflict societies and begin the progress of establishing peace through the principles and guidelines created by EFP-International.

Chapter Four: DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

This Chapter will explore specific elements of the EFP program which are considered to be major components that contribute to its overall success. After establishing the essential components, I will examine what characteristics are specific to the BiH context and what characteristics can be adapted to other post-conflict societies. I will explicitly outline different countries that could potentially benefit from the EFP program and the degree to which the program could be transferred. This Chapter seeks to extend beyond the case study of EFP-International in Chapter Three and demonstrate that peace education is generally an important tool for post-conflict reconstruction and development. Finally, this Chapter will conclude with a discussion of the lessons that can be extracted from developmental studies – what contributions peace education has made to date and what are the prospects the EFP program and others like it have for the future.

4.1 Essential Components of the EFP Program

In order to understand the impact of the EFP program and the potential it has in reproducing the program in other post-conflict, underdeveloped societies, the essential components of the EFP program must be examined in further detail. For the purposes of this thesis, I have divided what I have regarded as essential components into six categories: various levels of support, concrete materials, on-going evaluation, the nature of the curriculum (including conditions of the core concept of unity), the conditions of the education system and the level of inclusion at the community level.

4.1.1 Various Levels of Support

Prior to the establishment of the pilot project phase of the EFP program in 2000, there was a large amount of support from top government officials of BiH for the messages conveyed in the work of EFP-International. The Minister of Foreign Affairs along with the thirteen Ministers of Education (in addition to others) were very impressed with the conference EFP-International administered and from the onset advocated their support for such a program to exist in their country and education systems (Danesh, 2004 (HB) and EFP-International, 2010:3). This high level of approval and encouragement is regarded as an important factor in generating success for this program. Without such support, it would have been extremely difficult for EFP-International to merge into the formal education system and to rapidly expand across the country as it did. Although top-down development is subject to great debate in development studies, I believe in this particular case, a large factor of EFP's success can be attributed to the support it gained from the government or "top".

Similarly, the support gained from individuals involved in the school community (principals, teachers, administrators, etc.) is considered an asset. The particular style of the EFP program enabled not only teachers who would be directly engaged in the teaching materials of this peace education program, but also other members of the school staff to take part in the training session. This sequentially allowed a number of others in the school community to become active participants in the EFP framework and to offer their support for the program to exist in their schools.

In addition to the actual teaching of the program, there were a number of opportunities for the community outside the school to become part of the EFP program as

well. For example, *Regional Peace Events*, a side-project to the EFP curriculum helps promote peace through a series of student led presentations. These events were hosted in various communities throughout BiH and allowed parents and guardians to attend and become more involved in the program through their support of their children. This set the stage for parents, guardians and other community members alike to become further involved in the EFP program and its messages of peace in the BiH community. Another example is the two *National Peace Events* that are held each year one in Banja Luka and Travnik. The event was established to allow students, their parents, their teachers and school administrators to come together from different regions to share their presentations on peace (Clarke-Habibi, 2005:45-46). These events have proven to be profound on all participants involved, a teacher following their attendance at the Regional Peace Event commented:

Few words are needed to describe this experience, because we all saw it. People were together, mixed with each other—guests, parents, students from Travnik and Nova Bila—there were no differences made between people, it was very good.
— Grade 1 Teacher, Nova Bila Primary School

Similar remarks were expressed by a parent following the National Peace Event in Banja Luka:

The fact that the children from all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who belong to different ethnic groups and represent different cultures willingly gave effort and spent their free time together with the teachers to prepare presentations in the interest of unity says a lot. The children's expressions and applause say to us all, that life together is not only possible but necessary.
— Parent, 3rd Primary School, Iliđa

In the past EFP-Balkans has hosted a *Youth for Peace* conference at the United Nations Headquarters in Sarajevo. The motivation for this conference was to allow representatives from schools across BiH where the EFP program has been implemented

to come together and to “systematically consult together on a common vision for the future of their country, and to present this vision to representatives of the leadership of their society” (Clarke-Habibi, 2005:47).

These various levels of support are considered vital to the success of the program because without it a ‘controversial’ program such as this would not be sustained. If the government did not see this program as a worthwhile or an important initiative to take on in the education system, it would not be as widely accepted throughout the country to the degree it is, or at all. Without the support of the school community, staff, teachers and principles than a program like this could not be maintained, as it is these individuals who stand as the driving force of this program in many respects. Without support of parents and the outside community, what children learn within the confined walls of the classroom would be constantly challenged outside the classroom. Although this is bound to happen to some degree, it is evident that the community of BiH is attempting to make a conscious effort to learn the principles of peace that are promoted by EFP – becoming inspired to make a more peaceful and brighter future for their children. Most importantly, it is the support from the students that is the most critical factor of the multi-level support. Without their willingness to try and be open to the lessons of peace, the EFP program would be not successful.

4.1.2 Concrete Materials

As time progressed and the presence of EFP-Balkans became more established in BiH, a number of developments were made within the organization and to the program itself. Most significant of these developments was the creation of the tangible materials;

these included the textbooks for students and teachers as well as the training manuals. As discussed in the previous Chapter, these materials are comprised of nine volumes of the EFP curriculum (Danesh, 2008; EFP-International- C, 2011, para.2). These volumes have provided an opportunity for the important messages and principles of the EFP program to be promoted in a more organized unified manner, furthering its creditability.

A direct outcome of the production of EFP textbooks has allowed the organization to address a principle concern of many peace education critics, who have argued that the goals of peace education programs are often elusive and intangible. These textbooks showcase the curriculum, making it less ambiguous by demonstrating how it is possible to develop concrete curriculum. Subsequently, EFP program has increased the possibility of extending beyond the borders of BiH and utilizing the fundamentals of this peace education program elsewhere.

The fact that EFP-International has concrete materials to help facilitate its curriculum and activities is considered an essential component contributing to the success of the program because it has assisted the program to become more stable. The concept of peace education in general is heavily critiqued for being too scholarly, focusing on theories and ideas rather than practical materials that can be utilized. It is important to note, however, that success can be achieved with curriculum that is not as extensive as that developed by the EFP program. However it could be inferred that having written material is beneficial and enables the program to be conducted in a more organized manner. Moreover this will also assist with the ability to assess the program in a formal manner, a component that will be discussed further below.

4.1.3 On-going Evaluation

Due to Danesh's extensive background in conflict resolution and peace education, he was well versed with the lack of existing empirical data in the field of peace education to date. With this in mind, Danesh deliberately designed a method of internal evaluation that would enable EFP-International to conduct its own evaluation, monitor its progress and potential for further advancement. The evaluations were also created to ensure that EFP program was facilitating the most up-to-date methods and practices of peace education; incorporating new peace education findings, materials and activities whenever possible (EFP-International, 2010:4).

The method of internal evaluations consists of brief interviews that are conducted by on-site faculty with randomly selected individuals who are involved with the EFP program in some capacity – students, teachers, parents, school staff members, etc. Each new school to which the EFP program is introduced, is subjected to internal evaluations every three months for the first year of its implementation. The results of these interviews were not always positive, in fact the first sets of interviews (conducted during the pilot project phase) were described as “quite revealing”. These interviews found that in each school, approximately “30% of teachers and staff support were quite positive about the program, 30% were quite negative, and the remaining 40% had assumed a wait-and-see attitude, neither fully committed to nor actively rejecting the program” (Danesh, 2010: 264). Four years after the program had been established and the methods of evaluation were in place, a number of positive conclusions were made regarding the program. For example, “it is clearly evident that the participating students and teachers have begun rebuilding the ties of friendship and cooperation with other ethnic

populations” and “with 230 certified EFP trainers across BiH now, and with the agreement of all the country’s educational authorities on the importance of integrating EFP into educational policy, the ground is set of its long-term sustainability” (Danesh, 2010: 265).

In correspondence to the internal evaluations, as the EFP program continued to grow and expand across BiH, two longitudinal research projects were conducted through research grants funded by the United States Institute of Peace in 2004. Since that time a number of other studies have been conducted either through EFP-International itself or from other outside institutions. Overall, the results from these studies and evaluations indicated that the EFP program has been successful on several levels in achieving and promoting a culture of peace, a culture of healing and a culture of excellence within the schools and throughout the greater communities of BiH.

The evaluation component of the EFP program is regarded as essential for two reasons. The first is because evaluation is often an element that is missing from other peace education programs. This poses a challenge to these programs’ effectiveness. However EFP-International evaluations enable the organization and observers to conclude “the program indicated that the EFP-World program has had a very positive impact on social reconciliation among the populations of those schools communities that participated in it” (Danesh, 2010: 264). Second, the fact that EFP-International has a system for on-going evaluations demonstrates its initiative to strive to be the most valuable program it can be by ensuring the peace education curriculum is the most up-to-date and compatible with its participants.

4.1.4 The Nature of the Curriculum

The basic qualities of the curriculum – its design, content and methods for instruction are analyzed as an essential feature linked to the success of the EFP-program for several reasons. First, as emphasized in Chapter Three, the formulation of the curriculum for the EFP-program is quite unique. EFP-International outlines in its rationale that,

The greatest challenges before humanity at the start of the 21st century are conflict, violence, terrorism, and war along with their terrible consequences of poverty, disease, despair, environmental destruction, and poor leadership...[and] to adequately respond to these monumental challenges and opportunities, we need to lay the foundations of a sustainable and universal civilization of peace by better understanding the nature and dynamics of peace at all levels of the human experience (EFP-International, 2010:1-2).

To accomplish such a goal EFP-International has designed its curriculum to establish a culture of healing – to effectively deal with the impacts of conflict and prevent future conflict through peaceful resolution- a culture of peace – rather than a culture based on war, violence and hatred – a culture of healing – enabling individuals to overcome the effects of trauma - and a culture of excellence – that empowers individuals to realize their potential and strive to become peaceful in their action and encouraging others to do the same (EFP-International, 2010:4; Danesh, 2008:815). In other words, the foundations of this curriculum promote peace and peaceful thinking in a holistic, all-encompassing way. It attempts to draw connections between the different aspects of life and living to illustrate how one can incorporate the values of peace in every way.

In correspondence with the curriculum as an essential component considered to be a part of the increasing success of the EFP program is the core concept of unity in all of

EFP-International's work. 'Unity' is described and defined as a primary force that shapes human life and should be the driving force in establishing positive relationships, rather than conflict. Danesh defines 'Unity', as

A psychological, social and moral expression is a deliberate, purposeful phenomenon. We have the option to create unity, and when we do so, we create conditions that are conducive to life. In other words, unity is life. The formula 'Unity is life and life is unity' depicts the generative character of unity. Unity both creates and maintains life. Therefore, we should not be surprised that in the absence of a conscious, deliberate effort to create unity, disunity and conflict result, and life is endangered. This definition also states that 'conflict is absence of unity, and disunity is the source and cause of conflict (Danesh 2002; 2006).

Danesh's concept of 'Unity' is very important to the EFP curriculum. Rather than focusing on diversity, unity contrasts many current ways of thinking promotes inclusion within diverse groups. Danesh's advocacy for 'Unity' is quite radical in that he encourages individuals to discover the commonalities they share with one another instead of focusing on the ways that individuals differ. Through this process 'Unity' is built and the rise and prevalence of conflict is minimized.

4.1.5 Conditions of the Education System

The current state of the education system in BiH can be considered an essential component of the program's success due to the fact that this curriculum was originally designed for the BiH context, its people, students, culture, society and history of the country. As a result, the curriculum of the EFP program corresponded to the BiH formal system and the operation of how lessons are taught in the classroom. The structure of the BiH education system is comparable to many other education organizations throughout the world. It stands as a formal system with a solid infrastructure for students to engage

in learning and for teachers to guide learning through precise curriculum administered from the various education ministries and entities.

Although the education system of BiH is highly segregated and promotes extreme perceptions of divisions and animosity towards the different ethnic groups (as noted in Chapter Three), the education system is mandatory and compulsory for all children. For this reason, it is considered advantageous for the delivery of the specific EFP-program in BiH. The nature of the EFP curriculum provides the opportunity to engage in dialogue with the “Other” and because of the segregated school system, this is of particular importance in establishing peace. While the particular education system was imperative for the success of the program in the BiH context, I am confident this condition is not mandatory for all countries, especially when the discourse of ‘Unity’ is applied. This proposition will be explored in further detail when the possibility of transforming aspects of the program to be utilized in other post-conflict contexts is discussed. An accurate interpretation of Danesh’s concept of ‘Unity’ is a theory that can transcend across physical and cultural boundaries.

In addition, it is significant to note that although the structure of the education system is considered a prominent feature related to the success of the program in BiH, it also poses an on-going challenge of division among the population. However, as time progresses it is becoming increasingly plausible that the EFP program will have a more substantial and permanent role in the education system of BiH.

4.1.6 Community-Wide Involvement

The final essential component contributing to the success of the EFP program is the involvement of the greater community outside the parameters of the school. In a number of ways the EFP program has made an effort to engage the whole community as a core characteristic of its functioning, involving those who want to support and be included in the process of generating a more peaceful future for the next generation of BiH. Based on some of the criticism outlined in Chapter Two, peace education programs too often target only children in the school environment, which can often times lead to a loss of the messages promoted in the peace education curriculum when children are growing up in a society that is hostile. It is for this reason that community-wide involvement is considered an essential component and this has led to success for the EFP program.

The Leadership for Peace (LFP) program is a primary example of how the messages of the EFP program extend beyond the boundaries of the schoolyard. This particular program, the LFP program, is offered to “national, municipal, and civic leaders – governmental agencies and departments, community organizations, members of the media, religious organization, etc. The art, science and skills of leadership are all in a state of change” (EFP-International, 2010: 4). The LFP program complements and reinforces the information that the children of BiH are exposed to through their own school community. In addition, EFP-International has also established a peace program designed specifically for the family. Its main objectives are to help families learn, adapt and live in this world as peacefully as possible, learning how to deal with conflicts within the family and household effectively as they arise (EFP-International, 2010:4-6). In

correspondence to these programs and others that are designed to include the wider community, EFP-International appreciates information and feedback from the parents and guardians of participants in the school EFP program. This ensures that parents are up-to-date with what is happening in terms of peace education in the classroom and allows opportunities for these community-representative individuals to voice their opinions on the curriculum that is implemented.

4.2 An Analysis of the Essential Components

The previous section explored six categories that were deemed essential components of the EFP program and that contributed to its success. Of these six categories reviewed, two require financial support (concrete materials and conditions of the education system), two may require funding, especially overtime (evaluation and community-wide involvement) and the other two categories (the nature of the curriculum and various levels of support) do not necessarily require a major financial commitment because they have already been well-developed through the EFP program's existence in BiH.

With regards to the various levels of support, support is not automatically financial. In the case of BiH, the various levels of support were needed to help validate the program's existence without any monetary contribution, for example: parental support. The presence of this support has a large impact on whether the program will exist or not.

In terms of creating concrete materials the actual printing, especially in bulk, will require financial support. However there are alternatives to this. Rather than buying

every student and teacher a manual it may be possible to purchase a few copies to share in the school and classroom. For countries and schools that are suffering from a lack of resources and funding already, this may be a more viable option which would enable the EFP program to still exist within their schools. In addition, EFP-International is in its preliminary stages of developing a web-based program that enables schools of varying economic resources and in various parts of the world to access its contents through the internet (Danesh, 2011: 211).

The nature of the curriculum, including the framework of unity has already been well developed over the past twelve years; therefore it should require few resources to reproduce. However, the success of the program in another cultural context will depend on the EFP program's ability to address the lasting impacts and effects of the conflict that exist within a particular country – understanding that each country and conflict can be very different from the next. As Salomon (2009) notes, “if peace education is to be effective it must be context-specific, so that the changes it leads are appropriately situated (109). Therefore, it would be most appropriate for the EFP program to adapt to the specific cultural context it is working in. There is potential for this to be completed by a staff member of EFP-International or through a local non-government organization (NGO).

Community-wide inclusion does not require a major financial commitment for the host country. Events such as inviting parents to come in and see the work of their children who were engaged in the peace education curriculum can be organized with minimal costs while generating a large and longstanding impact. In addition, local NGOs may be able to establish parent meetings or opportunities that encourage parent and

guardian participation. It is under these circumstances that the potential of success is fostered when people outside the school community are invited in to learn the principles of peace education as well.

The category referred to as the “conditions of the education system” requires funding as well as government support. However, as highlighted above, a formal, well-established education system is not a necessary condition for the success of the program. There are a number of other ways in which the EFP program and curriculum could be facilitated – through community groups, NGOs or even church groups within society. What is imperative is the willingness to try peace education and to be open to learn new, alternative ways of dealing with conflict rather than resorting to violence.

On-going evaluation is a method of assessment that does not require an investment of funds, especially in the beginning phases of the program. Brief, informal interviews can be conducted by anyone involved in the EFP program and do not require a lot of resources. Over time however, in order to monitor the success of the program within that particular context and to make the appropriate adjustments, an evaluation method that will be necessary and funding may be required at that time. Harris (2008) describes the need for evaluation in peace education programs in the following terms: “peace research hopes to generate new knowledge that will validate the worth of peace education interventions... Policymakers in civil society want to know: Is peace education an effective way to address problems of violence” (p. 247). It is important to credit EFP-International for laying the foundations for a successful peace education program especially because as a number of prominent authors in the peace education field such as Salomon, Harris, Cairns have noted: “this is where empirical research can be of great

help. Not only can it show us what works, what does not, with whom and under what conditions, but it can also help to concretized and specify goals of peace education” (Salomon, 2009:118).

Although the EFP program stands as one of the few existing evaluated peace education programs, EFP-International is not the only functioning organization that is dedicated to peace education. There are hundreds of organizations throughout the world engaged in peace education work, but due to the lack of attention to date, the international community and other donor agencies allocate very few resources and funding for such initiatives. As a result, most peace education programs are short-lived with limited opportunities to make a lasting impact in their community. Therefore, I would argue that a large factor in replicating the EFP program in countries of the global South and achieving success would be to determine where such organizations exist and partner up with them – have each organization utilize one another to help establish the most effective program possible for that particular country.

4.3 A Development Model for Replication

As discussed above, the EFP program was designed, developed and implemented for the country of BiH specifically - its diverse culture and current conditions of its post-conflict state. Having said that, the central question this thesis seeks to answer is *whether peace education can be considered a viable development initiative for conflict prevention in post-conflict societies*. As the case study explored in Chapter Three illustrated, the EFP program has been a powerful tool in the post-conflict reconstruction in BiH, however further examination as to whether this particular peace education program can

be transported or replicated in other countries, more specifically, countries of the global South is required. Countries that fall under the category of the 'global South' may share characteristics with BiH on a number of levels due to the magnitude of the conflict endured and the lasting impact this has had on the infrastructure, economy, culture and people. BiH is a country situated in the periphery and is distinct from countries of the global South due to its access to financial resources from other European countries. Therefore, the analysis of what modules can be transformed and transferred to other countries will need to take into consideration the varying needs of the other countries – the different cultural backgrounds as well as economic statuses.

The following section will explore scenarios to determine what aspects of the EFP program could be replicated in their specific country context. The first category, Level I will include countries that do not have a very good, functioning education system and have little to no access to financial resources. The second category, Level II will comprise of countries that have a functioning education system, but have insufficient funds for broad financial support. Finally, the third category, Level III will include countries that have both a viable education system and access to financial resources.

4.3.1 Level I Countries

Countries that fall under this category do not have a viable, functioning education system. In addition, the country's access to financial resources is very limited leaving very little, if any funding available to support the construction of the EFP program. Countries such as Nepal or the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) are included in

this category. Each of these countries suffers from extreme levels of poverty that are complicated by the civil wars endured in the past.

In order to replicate the EFP program most effectively in one of these countries many factors must be considered. First, there is virtually no funding available to support, help initiate or sustain the program. The education systems are mostly functioning in a non-formal manner with poor infrastructure and inadequately trained teachers. Despite the fact that many governments, for example Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi and Mozambique, have abolished primary education school fees, it still costs money to go to school and many families are unable to financially afford this (UNICEF). In order to attend school, parents must buy their children a school uniform, textbooks, notebooks, other school supplies and even chalk for the teachers (Mungai, 2002: 21, 29; Ames, 2005: 154).

Therefore a plausible model for the application of the EFP program in this cultural context would be to utilize one or two of the textbook manuals already established with the basic curriculum of the EFP models, rather than implementing the entire EFP curriculum or the web-based material. This would be more cost-effective and would enable the basic activities and messages for establishing a culture of peace, healing and excellence to transform with very little cost involved. Due to the lack of an education system, it may be more feasible to rely on a community group or existing non-government organization that is already established in the community and society to execute the materials and techniques.

A community group or local NGO could instigate another possible model of the EFP program, teaching the lessons of unity through any means available to them. This

would allow the EFP program to start out small and work its way towards an introduction into the classroom. It is important to keep in mind that EFP-International is not the only organization that is working towards establishing a culture of peace through education. There are many organizations throughout the world and perhaps if they join together, pool resources including funding, a greater impact can be created.

4.3.2 Level II Countries

Countries considered under this category will have viable education systems in place, but do not have (or have very little) funding to help sustain the education system. This poses some challenges for establishing a complete replica of the EFP program within their country: this section will explore several ideas of how this could be accomplished on some level. The Philippines is a good example of this sort of country for a number of reasons. First, the education system is relatively stable, offering free and compulsory education to the children of its country. The nature of the conflict endured in the Philippines is quite similar to BiH, where there are at least two opposing religion groups (Muslims and Christians) that have hatred and prejudice against one another. To provide some context, the Filipino population is represented by 85% Christians, 10% Muslims and 5% other religions. According to the World Bank (2011) in terms of its economic standing, the Philippines is rated 44 out of 193 for its GDP. The lack of available funding poses another challenge for implementing the EFP program, although the government is very supportive towards the initiatives of peace education. In fact, in the Philippines peace education was established as a mandatory component of their education curriculum a number of years ago, however under the circumstance of low

financial resources and little teacher training, the government has been unable to effectively establish a permanent program within the country.

What is required to replicate the EFP program in the Filipino context is teacher training and manuals that are re-created to be used within these cultural contexts. Although this will require funding, it may be possible to hone in on the support of the government for peace education and attempt to reallocate funding for such initiatives. Again, it is important to remember that other organizations with similar objectives exist – especially in a context when peace education has been established as a mandatory component in the school curriculum.

4.3.3 Level III Countries

Countries of this category are ones with well-established and stable education systems and have been able to obtain access to financial resources to help their country develop. The EFP program is the most feasible for countries under such conditions, although it would require some adjustment in the curriculum to meet the needs of the particular country – to be culturally specific and contextually relevant. The country of Rwanda stands as an effective example for this category. Rwanda is located in Central Africa, bordering Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi. In 1994, Rwanda endured a bloody and violent genocide that claimed the lives of over 800,000 people in less than one hundred days. For the purposes of this thesis it is not necessary to delve into the history of Rwanda and its civil conflict in great detail, however it is important to have some understanding of the conflict. The majority of the data presented on the conflict in

Rwanda illustrates there were two diverse groups of people, the Hutus and the Tutsi peoples. These two groups were in direct opposition to one another.

Today, eighteen years after the war Rwanda has been recognized for the initiatives the government has made to abolish education fees, enabling more children to attend free and compulsory schooling. Rwanda has been granted funding in support of continuing to improve the conditions, infrastructure, securing teachers and their salaries and providing education materials. With such improvements, progression and support, the EFP program with culturally-specific to the Rwandan case could prove to be very successful.

4.4 Lessons for Development

As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, conflict is a core characteristic of human existence and when a conflict escalates, either within a country or between two or more countries, it hinders development. It impedes society in many capacities and has many lasting impacts. To address this issue of conflict and development effectively, I have explored the potential of peace education to determine whether it is a viable option to invest in for the future of individuals currently living in post-conflict societies. To date, there is a lack of empirical data to prove without a doubt that peace education is effective. However, as Salomon (2009) notes regardless of the shortage in evidence the “research that does accompany peace education despite the numerous obstacles, peace education works at some basic level (p.112).

Through the case study of BiH, a country plagued by a brutal civil war from 1992-1995 that continues to be exposed to levels of violence and hatred, although on a

much smaller scale, the use of peace education has proven to be particularly important and effective. Since EFP-International first established its EFP program in the year 2000, it has grown and expanded rapidly throughout the country through the education system. Through on-going measures of evaluation conducted both from within the organization and outside, the EFP program feedback has proved substantial evidence that it is having a positive impact on its participants and extending this influence in the community. Although it is important to reiterate here that BiH is not considered an underdeveloped country, it has experienced a devastating war that caused catastrophic effects that are comparable to the conditions of underdeveloped countries. Due to the lack of existing empirical data on peace education, this particular case study provided to be one of preferred avenues for determining the potential of peace education in the development context.

Therefore, first and foremost, a lesson that can be drawn for development studies is that, yes, indeed peace education is a powerful, positive tool to help individuals, children in particular, adjust to living in a post-conflict society. When implemented in a careful, well-thought out and planned manner, as the EFP program was and with the support of the local community, the EFP program has proven to be a success. This is obvious in its expansion in BiH over the past twelve years.

It is important that I clarify that I am not trying to infer that this program alone is how BiH has been able to maintain 'peace' in their post-conflict state. Yet this program does provide hope for the future and the positive impact it is having on the younger generations of BiH, creating a place where future generations want to invest and engage in.

Funding was certainly a component to the success of the EFP program, especially in the beginning when it was in its initial stages. Over the course of twelve years, much has been learned and can be extracted from the program to replicate in other societies throughout the world.

Due to the lack of attention to peace education in the process of rebuilding in a post-conflict society to date, it is unsurprising that peace education has not been a prominent focus of development initiatives in the past. However, this thesis was written with the intention that this may change in the future and the peace education programs will become more widely recognized for their potential and more funding will be put into support such work throughout the world. As Salomon insightfully states “peace education in general, and in the contests of conflict in particular, is too precious to give up. No society in conflict can afford the luxury of not having a policy of peace education (2009:118).

Chapter Five: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The main objective of this thesis was to demonstrate how peace education is a viable tool for conflict prevention in post-conflict societies. Peace education seeks to address the immediate needs of children living in the aftermath of a conflict – helping them understand and deal with the consequences of war; in addition to teaching them through the principles and lessons of the curriculum of how to heal, move on and learn to deal with any type of conflict in their lives more effectively. Peace education teaches children how to generate peace within their lives through their interactions between friends, family and the larger community. In addition, a fundamental component of peace education addresses the content of education as it contends that much of the school curriculum throughout the world today teaches children impractical knowledge rather than practical, essential knowledge such as getting along with one another.

The first section of this thesis (Chapter Two) explored three theoretical underpinnings of development studies connected to my central question of – *can peace education be considered a viable development initiative for conflict prevention in post-conflict societies?* These included: conflict and development, education and development and finally children and development. The Chapter closed by exploring the potential of peace education as a powerful tool for conflict prevention despite the fact that there has been a lack of attention in this field to date. Most importantly, this section outlined a key component of peace education and how it addresses the content of education as it contests that much of the school curriculum throughout the world today teaches children impractical knowledge. Instead peace education facilitates the use of practical, essential

knowledge for example: learning to deal with conflicts effectively without resorting to physical violence and hurt. This stands as a driving force for peace education to be supported in the education of children throughout the world especially for children living in a country that is emerging from several years of violence and destruction. Peace education seeks to address the immediate needs of children while subsequently helping them reconstruct a more peaceful future. The EFP program offers a practical methodology for the creation of a culture of peace.

As illustrated in the case study of the EFP program, the peace education curriculum proved to be both a positive and successful addition to the education system of BiH. The nature of this particular peace education program assisted its participants in becoming more readily equipped with tools to deal with conflict more effectively - in their day-to-day lives as well as encouraging them to challenge the existing ethnic tensions that govern BiH society at present. The participant testimonials stand as evidence that the EFP program has increased their tolerance of all ethnic groups and religions. In addition, many teachers who help facilitate the EFP program curriculum have commented on an increased sense of creativity among the school children, especially in preparation for the peace events. Students are eager and excited for these events that allow the whole community to come together (Danesh, 2008:168-169).

While I believe my findings regarding the effectiveness of the EFP program in the BiH context are true as is the discussion of how this program can be replicated in other developing contexts as illustrated in Chapter Four. The data available for my research was very limited. As outlined in the beginning of this thesis, very few peace education programs have conducted formal evaluations, which posed a great challenge for my

research. Several authors have commented on the abundance of writing on peace education; discussions regarding the nature of its curriculum, how and to whom it is taught, but to date there is a lack of empirical evidence to support its claims of effectiveness. To overcome this, my thesis has focused on one organization, EFP International that has been successful in designing and implementing a peace education program in BiH and has conducted on-going evaluation since it first began and as it continues to evolve. I do recognize that my thesis is limited in its research and that it has only scratched the surface of the potential peace education can have. It is clear that much greater research in this area is required. However, it is important to remember that through this program EFP-International has been able to address the immediate needs of the children, without compromising other aspects of their education. The specific nature of the EFP program curriculum was developed in such a manner than it allowed teachers to incorporate the principles of peace in all subjects, rather than introducing the lessons through a new course and having to eliminate another. In addition, the EFP program has been able to address other prominent concerns of the education system such as providing adequate training for teachers to facilitate teaching in a multi-ethnic classroom. Based on the evidence that has been discussed, the conclusion to this study is that the EFP program serves as a worthy example of an effective peace education system that should be promoted and can be replicated under many other different circumstances. It is evident from this thesis: the EFP program is a well-respected avenue in the field of conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction.

Despite the magnitude of the issue of conflict in development studies and the continued prevalence of conflict of various levels in our world today, the need for a new

initiative such as peace education needs to be further explored in developing contexts.

To date, leading international institutions such as the United Nations and UNESCO have made several strives towards generating a culture of peace. This must be recognized and commended, for example:

In November 1995, the 186 member states of the 28th General Conference of UNESCO stated that the major challenges at the close of the 20th century is the transition from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace. [Or] in November 1998, the UN General Assembly adopted resolutions declaring the year 2000 the International Year for the Culture of Peace and the years 2001-2010 as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for children of the world (Salomon & Cairns, 2004:19).

The notion of 'culture of peace' as forecasted by the UN urges citizens "to be educated (or socialized) to see themselves as peaceful people with norms that emphasize cooperation and the resolution of conflicts by dialogue, negotiation and nonviolence" (Salomon, 2009:107). However, despite these establishments – on international levels, peace education and its strategies towards peace has not achieved the level of success it should. Very few education systems throughout the world have made efforts to integrate peace education lessons into their curriculum. As Harris (2008) intuitively suggests: "given the proliferation of organizations interested in conflict, there is the potential for overlap and confusion between the different mandates and levels of resources of institutions such as UNICEF, UNESCO, UNHCR, and World Bank" (p.62). This calls for better coordination among these organizations to ensure more effective promotion of peace education.

Due to such realities it is my recommendation that the UN and other organizations listed above - along with other international development agencies – continue to advocate for establishing a culture of peace in this world. Investing and supporting success and

viable peace education programs, such as the EFP program, which was showcased in this thesis, can accomplish this. The EFP program has proven to have made a substantial difference in a post-conflict society and as illustrated in Chapter Four has a high potential to be adapted and transformed to accomplish similar success in other parts of the world.

More specifically, it is my recommendation for countries that fall under the Level I category to implement the messages of peace and unity outlined in the EFP program through either a select few teachers within the school or by a closely connected community group. As outlined in Chapter Four, there are many established groups working towards peace and therefore perhaps the most effective means for establishing peace education in countries of little resources or infrastructure would be to join together with other forces. The efforts do not have to be extreme in order to make a huge difference. A cost-effective way would be to purchase a textbook or two that can be shared throughout the school so that teachers and students can learn and work together to establish peace in their classroom and among their students.

For Level II countries that have an adequate existing educational system to sustain a peace education program such as this, but lack the necessary funding to train or implement the program throughout the school, it may be more plausible for such schools to utilize the online modules that exist and/or train a select few teachers and students who can then enact as ambassadors for the program and relay the messages throughout their school and larger community. For Level II countries it is imperative to find cost-effective means to implement the EFP program in order to ensure success.

Finally for countries within the Level III category, there are number possibilities for how the EFP program can be implemented to suit their cultural context. Due to the

fact that these countries have viable education systems with resources available to support new initiatives such as this peace education program, what appears to be the most important is to make this specific type of education curriculum a priority.

As this thesis has outlined the EFP program demonstrates a good example of an effective program that inadvertently addresses issues concerning the quality of education children are receiving. The content of this program does not hinder other aspects of their education, but its relevant to the current circumstance of BiH as a post-conflict society. Once peace education is made a priority by teachers, politicians and even education ministers alike, the program will become established and will begin to generate positive, effective and long-lasting changes towards peace. It is evident that education is one area which needs to be strengthened, as it can substantively contribute to renewing stability within a society. Based on its diverse application, the potential of education needs to be emphasized, and should be an integral part of the peacebuilding process.

As the prevalence of conflict in our world remains high, the need to invest in new initiatives that have demonstrated success is becoming more and more imperative. Peace education has not always been an option in the past, due to the lack of attention as well as the standing critiques. Yet, as this thesis attempts to demonstrate, despite the criticism, the EFP program has been able to surpass the negative and produce positive outcomes for its participants in BiH and will continue to do so in the years to come. As Davies (2004) insightfully points out “the relationship of education to conflict is not just in conflict societies – it is a global issues in which stable countries are as implicated. And conflict within school occurs in any political context, with increasing concerns about violence and disaffections among students” (6). Investing in peace education lessons for children

growing up in a post-conflict society may be just as useful to those children who are not,
it is a smart development decision.

References

Aikman, S. & Unterhalter (2005). *Beyond Access: Transforming Policy and Practice for Gender Equality in Education*, Oxford, UK: Information Press.

Atkinson, A.B. (1997). Bringing Inequality in From the Cold. *Economic Journal*, Vol. 107, pp.297-321.

Bar-Tal, D. (2002). The Elusive Nature of Peace Education. In Salomon, G. & Nevo. B (Eds.). *Peace Education: The Concepts, Principles and Practices Around the World*. Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Berg, B.L. (2009). *Qualitative Research Methods for Social Science*, 7th Edition.

Bourdillon, M.F.C. (2004). Children in Development. *Progress in Development Studies*, Vol. 4(2), pp.99-113.

Boyce, J. (Ed). (1996). *Economic Policy for Building Peace*. London, UK: Lynne Rienner Boudler.

Bozic, G. (2006). Reeducating the Hearts of Bosnian Students: An Essay on Some Aspects of Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 20 (2), pp. 319-342.

Canadian Forces Joint Operation Group. (2000). *Smart Book, Volume 2: The Dayton Accords*. Nova Scotia, Canada: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre

Castillo, G.D. (2001). Post-Conflict Reconstruction and the Challenge to International Organizations: The Case of El Salvador. *World Development*, Vol. 29(12), pp. 1967-1985.

Chandler, D. (1999). *Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton*. London, UK: Pluto Press.

Chowdhury, A. M R., Nath, S. R. & Choudhury, R.K. (2003). Equity Gains in Bangladesh Primary Education. *International Review of Education*, Vol.49(6), pp.601-619.

Clarke-Habibi, S. (2005) Transforming Worldviews: The Case of Education for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Journal of Transformative Education*, Vol. 3(1), pp. 33-56.

Collier, P. (1999). Doing Well out of War. *The World Bank*, pp. 1-15.

----- (2003). *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. The World Bank Policy Research Report: Oxford University Press.

- (2004). Development and Conflict. *Centre for the Study of African Economics*, pp.1-11.
- (2007). *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Collier, P. et al. (2008). Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War. *Department of Economics, University of Oxford*.
- Collier, P. & Hoeffler, A. (2006). Civil War. In *Handbook of Defense Economics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- (2004a). The Challenge of Reducing the Global Incidence of Civil War. *Copenhagen Consensus Challenge Paper*.
- (2004b). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Centre for the Study of African Economics*, pp. 1-50.
- Collier, P. & Sambanis, N. (2002). Understanding Civil War: A New Agenda. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 46 (1), pp.3-12.
- (2006). *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Cothran, H. (2002). Introduction. In Cothran, H. (Ed.), *War-Torn Bosnia: History Firsthand*, San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press Inc.
- Cramer, C. (2008a). Violent Conflict and the Very Poorest. *Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper No. 129*, pp.1-25.
- (2008b). Trajectories of Accumulations Through War and Peace. *Heterodox Economic Seminary & International Initiative for Promoting Political Economy*.
- (2003). Does Inequality Cause Conflict. *Journal of International Development*, Vol.15 (4), pp. 397-412.
- (2002). Homo Economicus Goes to War: Methodological Individualism, Rational Choice and the Political Economy of War. *World Development*, Vol. 30 (11), pp. 1845-1864.
- (2000). Inequality, Development and Economic Correctness. *Department of Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, pp. 1-23.

Cousen, E.M. & Cater, C.K. (2001). *Toward Peace in Bosnia: Implementing the Dayton Accords*. London, UK: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Danesh, H.B. (2006). Towards an Integrative Theory of Peace Education. *Journal of Peace Education, Vol. 3(1), pp. 55-78*.

Danesh, H. B. (2008). The Education for Peace Integrative Curriculum: Concepts, Contents, and Efficacy. *Journal of Peace Education, Vol. 5(2), pp.157-173*.

Danesh, H. B. (2010). Unity-Based Peace Education: Education for Peace Program in Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Chronological Case Study. In Salomon, G. & Cairns, E. (Eds.). *Handbook on Peace Education*, New York, NY: Psychology Press Ltd.

Danesh, H.B. (2011). *Education for Peace Integrative Curriculum Series, Volume 4 – Education for Peace Reader*. Victoria, BC, Canada: EFP Press.

Davis, L. (2004). *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos*. New York, NY: Routledge Flamer (an imprint of the Francis and Taylor Group).

Davis, L. (2005). Schools and War: Urgent Agendas for Comparative and International Education. *British Association for International and Comparative Education: Compare, Vol. 35(4), pp.357-371*.

Doyle, M.W. & Sambanis, N. (2000). International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis. *American Political Science Review, Vol. 94(4), pp.779-802*.

Dubey, A. (2002). Domestic Institutions and the Duration of Civil War Settlements. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 24-27, New Orleans.

Evans, J.L. (1996). Children as Zones of Peace: Working with Young Children Affected by Armed Violence. *The Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development, Coordinator's Notebook, No. 19*.

EFP-International (2004). Education for Peace – World Programme Bosnia and Herzegovina: Assessment of Selected Elements of the Programme. *International Education for Peace-Balkans, pp.1-10*.

EFP-International (2005). International Education for Peace Institute: Building Cultures of Peace and Healing around the Globe (2003-2005 Report). *International Education for Peace, pp.1-30*.

EFP-International (2010). Education for Peace: Towards a Civilization of Peace. *International Education for Peace-Canada, pp.1-12*.

- Fearon, J. (2004). Why Do Some Civil Wars Last so Much Longer than Others? *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.41 (3), pp.275-301.
- Fearon, J. & Laitin, D. (2003). Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97(01): pp.75-90.
- Fischer, A. (2006). Integration or Segregation? Reforming the Education Sector. In
- Fischer, M. (Ed). *Peacebuilding and Civil Society in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ten Years After Dayton*. Berlin, Germany: Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies.
- Flogel, M. & Lauc, G. (2000). War Stress: Effects of the War in the Area of Former Yugoslavia. In Fink, G. (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of Stress A-D*, San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Fortna, V.P. (2004). Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48, pp.269-292.
- Fountain, S. (1999). *Peace Education in UNICEF*. New York, NY: UNICEF Staff Working Papers.
- Ghobarah A.H. et al. (2003). Civil Wars Kill and Maim People – Long After the Shooting Stops. *American Political Science Review*, Vol.97(2), pp. 189-202.
- Gibbs, D.N. (2009). *First Do No Harm: Humanitarian Intervention and the Deconstruction of Yugoslavia*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Gleditsch, N.P. et al. (2002). Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 29(5), pp. 615-637.
- Goodhand, J. & Hulme, D. (1999). From Wars to Complex Political Emergencies: Understanding Conflict and Peace-building in the New World Disorder. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20(1), pp. 13-26.
- Greitens, E. (2005). The Treatment of Children During Conflict. In Stewart, F. (Ed.). *War and Underdevelopment, Volumes 1-2*. Oxford UK: Oxford University Press.
- Grossman, H. I. (1999). Kleptocracy and Revolutions. *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. 51, pp.267-283.
- (1991). A General Equilibrium Model of Insurrections. *American Economic Review*, Vol. 81, pp. 912-921.
- Gurr, T.R. (1970). *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Harris, I. (2002). Conceptual Underpinning of Peace Education. In Salomon, G. & Nevo, B. (Eds). *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices around the World*. Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Harris, I. (2004). Peace Education Theory. *Journal of Peace Education, Vol.1 (1)*, pp.5-20.
- Harris, I. (2008). The Promises and Pitfalls of Peace Education Evaluation. In Lin, J. (Ed). *Transforming Education for Peace*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Harris, I. (2010). History of Peace Education. In Salomon, G. & Cairns, E. (Eds.). *Handbook on Peace Education*, New York, NY: Psychology Press Ltd.
- Hartzell et al. (2001). Stabilizing the Peace After a Civil War: An Investigation of Some Key Variablies. *International Organization, Vol.55 (1)*, pp.183-208.
- Haynes, D.F. (2008). Introduction. In Haynes, D.F. (Ed.). *Deconstructing the Reconstruction: Human Rights and Rule of Law in Postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Hampshire, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Herrera, L. (2006). What's New about Youth? *Development and Change, Vol. 37(6)*, pp.1425-1434.
- Hirshleifer, J. (1995). The Dark Side of the Force. *Economic Inquiry, Vol. XXXII*, pp.1-10.
- (2001). Theorizing about Conflict. In Hartley, K. & Sandler, T. (Eds.) *Handbook of Defense Economics, Vol. 1*, pp. 165-189.
- James, J. (2006). Misguided Investments in Meeting Millennium Development Goals: A Reconsideration Using Ends-based Targets. *Third World Quarterly, Vol. 27(3)*, pp.443-458.
- Johnson, A. (2000). *The Dayton Accords*. In Canadian Forces Joint Operation Group. (Eds). *Smart Book, Volume 2: The Dayton Accords*. Nova Scotia, Canada: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre
- Johnson, D.W. & Johnson, R.T. (2005). Essential Components of Peace Education. *Theory into Practice, Vol. 44(4)*, pp.280-292.
- Jones, T. (2000). Conflict Resolution Education: Goals, Models, Benefits and Implementation. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly, Vol. 22(1-2)*, pp.233-267.

Kabeer, N. (2005). Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal. *Gender and Development*, Vol. 13(1), pp.13-24.

Keen, D. (2001). The Political Economy of War. In Stewart, F. (Ed.). *War and Underdevelopment, Volumes 1-2*. Oxford UK: Oxford University Press.

Kreso, A.P. (2008). The War and Post-War Impact on the Educational System. *International Review of Education*, Vol.54, pp. 353-374.

Kupermintz, H. & Salomon, G. (2005). Lessons to be Learned From Research on Peace Education in the Context of Intractable Conflict. *Theory into Practice*, Vol. 44(4), pp.293-302.

Kyriakou, D. (2000). Civil Society and Civil War in Bosnia (Annex 1C). In Canadian Forces Joint Operation Group. (Eds). *Smart Book, Volume 1: Historical Perspectives*. Nova Scotia, Canada: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre.

Lacina, B. (2006). Explaining the Severity of Civil Wars. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50 (2), pp.276-289.

Last, D. (2003). Balkans Operations in the 1990s: Stepping Stones to Improved Peacekeeping. In Pentland, C. (Ed.). *Bridges to Peace: Ten Years of Conflict Managements in Bosnia*. Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Levi, P. (1989). *The Drowned and the Saved*. London, UK: Abacus.

Lindemann, S. (2008). Do Inclusive Elite Bargains Matter? A Research Framework for Understanding the Causes of Civil War in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Crisis States Discussion Papers, Paper 15*, pp. 1-25.

Lowe, J.K. (2005). Fostering Positive Psychological Outcomes in Post-Conflict Settings: Universal-Diverse Orientation and Intergroup Contact in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Teachers College – Columbia University*.

Machel, G. (1996). *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*. New York: United Nations.

Machel, G. (2000). The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: A Critical Review of Progress Made and Obstacles Encountered in Increasing Protection for War-Affected Children. *International Conference on War-Affected Children – Winnipeg, Canada*.

Mattes, M. & Savun, B. (2009). Fostering Peace After Civil War: Commitment Problems and Agreement Design. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 53, pp.737-759.

Maxwell et al. (2004). Educating for Peace in the Midst of Violence: A South African Experience. *Journal of Peace Education*, Vol. 1(1), pp.103-121.

McEvoy, S. (2000). Communities and Peace: Catholic Youth in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.37(1), pp.85-103.

Nelson, P. J. (2007). Human Rights, the Millennium Development Goals, and the Future of Development Cooperation. *World Development*, Vol. 35(12), pp.2041-2055.

Pearce, J. (2005). Policy Failure and Petroleum Predication: The Economics of Civil War Debate Viewed 'From the War-Zone'. *Government and Opposition Ltd.*

Peaceful Schools International. (2006). Education for Sustainable Peace and Development in Post-War Northern Sierra Leone. *Voluntary Sector Fund Application Form (CIDA)*.

United Nations. (1996). *An Inventory of Post-Conflict Peace-Building Activities*. Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2010). *2009 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-Seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons*. Division of Programme Support and Management.

Robinson, S. (1976). A Note on the U-Hypothesis. *American Economic Review*, Vol.66(3), pp.437-440.

Saith, A. (2006). From Universal Values to Millennium Development Goals: Lost in Translation.

Salehyan, I. (2008). The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52(4), pp.787-801.

Salomon, G. & Nevo, B (2002). *Peace Education: The Concepts, Principles and Practices Around the World*. Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Salomon, G. (2006). Does Peace Education Really Make a Difference? *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, Vo. 12(1), pp.37-48.

Salomon, G. (2009). Its Nature, Nurture and the Challenges it Faces. In de Rivera, J. (Ed.). *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace*, New York, NY: Springer.

Salomon, G. (2010). Four Major Challenges Facing Peace Education in Regions of Intractable Conflict. Accepted for Publication in: *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, pp. 1-25.

Salomon, G. & Cairns, E. (2010). *Handbook on Peace Education*, New York, NY: Psychology Press Ltd.

Sommers, M. (2002). Children, Education and War: Reaching Education for All (EFA) Objectives in Countries Affected by Conflict. *World Bank – Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, Paper No. 1*.

Spears, I.S. (2000). Understanding Inclusive Peace Agreements in Africa: The Problems of Sharing Power. *Third World Quarterly, Vol. 21(1), pp.105-118*.

Stewart, F. & Fitzgerald, V. (2001). Introduction: Assessing the Economic Costs of War. In Stewart, F. (Ed.). *War and Underdevelopment, Volumes 1-2*. Oxford UK: Oxford University Press.

Stewart, F. (2000). Crisis Prevention: Tackling Horizontal Inequalities. *Oxford Development Studies, Vol. 28(3): pp. 245-263*.

----- (1998). The Root Causes of Conflict: Evidence and Policy Implications. Prepared for UNU/WIDER Conference on War, Hunger and Displacement: The Economics and Politics of the Prevention of Complex Humanitarian Emergencies. Stockholm, 15-16 June.

Swee, E.L. (2008). *On War and Schooling Attainment: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Department of Economics: University of Toronto.

The World Bank. (2004). *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Post-Conflict Reconstruction and the Transition to a Market Economy (An OED Evaluation of World Bank Support)*. Washington, DC: World Bank Infoshop.

Tschirgi, N. (2004). Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Revisited: Achievements, Limitations, Challenges. *Prepared for the WSP International/IPA Peacebuilding Forum Conference, October 7, 2004, New York*.

Unwin, T. (2008). Conflict, Development and Aid. In Desai, V. & Potter, R.B. (Eds.). *The Companion to Development Studies, Second Edition*. London, UK: Hodder Education.

Vriens, L. (1999). Children, War and Peace: A Review of Fifty Years of Research from the Perspective of a Balanced Concept of Peace Education. In Raviv et al. (Eds). *How Children Understand War and Peace*. San Francisco, CA.

Wessells, M. (1998). Children, Armed Conflict and Peace. *Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 35(5), pp.635-646*.

Wessells, M. (2005). Child Soldiers, Peace Education, and Postconflict Reconstruction for Peace. *Theory into Practice, Vol. 44(4), pp. 363-369*.

Wickham-Crowley, T. P (1992). *Guerillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes Since 1956*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Websites:

BBC News. (2011). *History of the Balkan Region*. Retrieved June 14th, 2011, from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/map/yugoslavia/>

CBC News (2004). *In-depth Balkans: Timeline 1389-1999*. Retrieved June 14th, 2011, from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/balkans/history.html>

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). *The World Factbook: Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Retrieved January 18th, 2012, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bk.html>

Education for Peace (EFP-International-A). *Education for Peace: Towards a Civilization of Peace*. Retrieved June 10th, 2011, from <http://www.hbdanesh.org/education-for-peace.html>

Education for Peace (EFP-International-B). *Objectives*. Retrieved June 10th, 2011, from <http://efpinternational.org/objectives>

Education for Peace (EFP-International –C). *EFP-Curriculum*. Retrieved June 10th, 2011, from <http://efpinternational.org/research-curriculum/efp-curriculum>

Office of the High Representative and EU Special Representative (OHR). (1995). *The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Retrieved July 1st, 2011, from http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=380.

Office of the High Representative and EU Special Representative (OHR). (2007). *OHR Introduction*. Retrieved July 1st, 2011, from http://www.ohr.int/ohr-info/gen-info/default.asp?content_id=38519.

United Nations (UN). (2009). *United Nations Declaration of Human Rights*. Retrieved October 3rd, 2010, from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (1996). *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War*. Retrieved January 14th, 2012, from <http://www.unicef.org/sowc96pk/sexviol.htm>.

UNICEF (1996). *The Impact of War on Children: Study by High-Level Group*. Retrieved January 14th, 2012, from <http://www.unicef.org/sowc96/gimpact.htm>.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2006). *Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)*. Retrieved September 29th, 2010, from <http://www.undp.org/mdg/>.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2010). *Education for All – International Coordination*. Retrieved September 29th, 2010, from <http://www.unesco.org/en/efa-international-coordination/>

UNPROFOR. (1996). *Former Yugoslavia – UNPROFOR*. Retrieved June 23rd, 2011, from http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unprof_b.htm.

United Nations Statistics Division. (2009). *Millennium Development Goal Indicators*. Retrieved September 29th, from <http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Default.aspx>.

The Global Campaign for Education. (2009). *Education Promises*. Retrieved October 3rd, 2010, from <http://www.campaignforeducation.org/>.

The World Bank (2011). GDP Rankings. Retrieved July 14th, 2011, from <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/GDP-ranking-table>.

Appendix A

The following testimonials express appreciation for the EFP program from a variety of individuals who have been connected to EFP-International and the work that is done in BiH.

The children all over the world are in need of peace and security. On the occasion of the Summit devoted to the children, we recommend this program [EFP] to all the nations for consideration, as a model of society oriented towards peace, cooperation, and development.

— From a letter addressed to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Children (8–10 May 2002) by the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina through its Mission to the UN in New York

This is a unique project. It will teach how to create a violence-free environment, in homes and schools and in the country as a whole.

—The Senior Deputy High Representative, Ambassador Dr. Matei Hoffmann (28 June 2000)

This invaluable project was conceived in such a way that the soul-searching process of reflection which the participants undergo as the project unfolds—be they pupils, teachers, parents, administrators, ordinary school workers—results, largely speaking, as we have ascertained ourselves, in a heightened holistic awareness of the war period and its tragic consequences, and indeed triggers the desire amongst them to become authentic peace-makers, and precisely provides them with the necessary tools to achieve this goal....

— Claude Kieffer, Senior Education Advisor, Office of the High Representative, BiH (2002)

As a result of participating in the EFP project, my way of teaching has changed, my relationships with students has changed, and my relationship with my family has changed... all for the better.

—Teacher, Secondary School, BiH (2001)

In this project we learned many new things: new approaches to resolving conflicts, how to create our own lives, and how to make our own decisions. But the most important thing that we learned is to be at peace with ourselves and teach other people to be peaceful. Our society doesn't have many projects like this.

— Student, High School, BiH (2002)

This project has changed our vision and worldview. I feel that the vision of every teacher and student in this school has been in some way changed through this project.

— Literature Teacher, High School, BiH (2002)

Education for Peace has helped us look at our syllabus in a different way, from a

perspective, giving us a chance to enrich it with issues not dealt with so thoroughly before. It hasn't always been easy...but we have become more confident in applying the principles of peace.

— Primary School Teacher, BiH (2004)

Many different programs have been implemented in our school, but none of these projects brought as many positive changes as did the Education for Peace Program.

— Primary School Director BiH (2004)

Before this project things were imposed in our classes, but with EFP we do it because we love it.

— Student, Primary School, BiH (2003)

I am attending primary school in....My class and I have been participating in EFP since March [2005]. I was very surprised when I heard that my male friends did not want to participate in EFP, my female friends are much different from them! Almost all teachers in the school were saying how we are the worst class in the school, and we are! At the end, we all finally agreed that we also wanted to participate in EFP. When teachers heard how our class wanted to participate in EFP, they were very surprised since everybody was saying that we were irresponsible. Since then, we have been involved in EFP and prepared ourselves for it; my class has changed a lot, and it has become one of the best classes in my school. Teachers are amazed at our behaviour now. It is really worth the participation in those presentations. That was just one of the good changes that happened to me during participation in EFP!

— Upper Primary School Student, BiH (2005)

The war had terrible influence on me and my family. My husband is Croat, I am Serb, my daughter-in-law is Bosnian, and my son-in-law is Slovenian....It has been hard to go through all that. Personally I had lost faith in hope and faith in people. People I knew disappointed me, and I had become very careful and distrustful with strangers. The children are my only hope and wealth in this world. I fear for their future. I fear now.

By participating in the activities that proceed in the context of the EFP project—since March of this year [2005]—again I have hope, and the feeling of hopelessness for my country and for the youth in my country is fading away; and my faith that people would cherish peace, worldwide, is reawakening....

—Primary School Teacher, BiH (2005)

Since the beginning of the implementation of the project in our school, many changes have happened. The fact that our country has gone through the war is overwhelming and difficult. The people have suffered too much, and now our goal is to aspire to peace in our community and school, as well as in the whole world. EFP is the best thing that has happened in our school. The students, the teachers, the parents have shown a great interest for development of culture and principles of

peace in our school....The most significant thing is that as a result of participation in EFP Program, the way of teaching in the classrooms has changed: the students are more interested, more tolerant, and more peaceful, and there are fewer fights and conflicts among them. The students have a chance to express themselves in a different way—through creativity and art based on the principles of peace. Through the presentations the understanding among students, teachers, and parents is growing stronger....

— High School Teacher, BiH (2005)

As an American peaceworker, I often find myself internally torn asunder by my role in a country (and a world) that seems to thrive in a state of violent conflict. The question I constantly wrestle with is: How do I bridge the gap between living out Martin Luther King, Jr.'s call to righteous indignation and Gandhi's challenge to —be the change I wish to see in the world□? ...For the past few months, I have been taught that conflict is unavoidable and is only destructive when one is unable to transform it in positive ways. Dr. Danesh's rejection of this model and his proposal of UNITY as an alternative was quite invigorating. Personally, I find that working toward unity is much more life-giving than is conflict transformation.

— Robert Rivers, MA student, European University Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (2005)

EFP provides a framework for achieving an advanced human society that is both practical and universal....I have always heard people say that education is the key' to creating a culture of peace. Before now though, no one seemed to have the right key that would actually open the lock. A 'Culture of Peace' is no longer an empty concept for me.

— Yolanda Cowan is a Rotary World Peace Scholar Studying in Paris and an Intern with in EFP Balkans (2004–2005)

What I have found in the EFP programs is thoroughly original and revolutionary. EFP represents an inspiring new approach—not only to peace education but also to almost all areas of social and cultural development. It incorporates new ways of thinking about conflict resolution, about leadership and political representation, and about social dynamics and relationships.

— Trent Newman, Intern from Australia January–June 2005

The EFP experience for the faculty of Boulder Prep was quite interesting. As the faculty began to see how students being taught from the perspective of peace in all subjects could cause dramatic changes in the outlook of our youth, the faculty themselves began to experience the beginnings of a paradigm shift. A paradigm shift, the whole world but especially our schools worldwide need to experience.

— Andre Adeli, Co-Founder and Co-Director, Boulder Preparatory High School, Boulder, Colorado, USA (2006)

Education for Peace has provided me with a conceptual framework with which to

study the world around me. I feel as though I can alter the architecture of my reality without tearing down its walls! In my work as a teacher, my students now take the lead role in developing comparative tools to evaluate their personal growth.

— Ron Doyle, Instructor, Boulder Preparatory High School, Boulder, Colorado, USA (2006)

Education for Peace has provided me with a conceptual framework with which to study the world around me. I feel as though I can alter the architecture of my reality without tearing down its walls! In my work as a teacher, my students now take the lead role in developing comparative tools to evaluate their personal growth. Finding the common denominator between two fractions becomes a study of diverse elements coming together, transforming to a higher state of existence. The Scientific Method offers the opportunity to examine universal ethical principles, the universal pursuit of truth, unity, service and justice. Each lesson offers an opportunity to use my new-found knowledge for the advancement of peace.

— Instructor, Boulder Preparatory High School, Boulder, Colorado, USA (2006)

The three-day course was an inspiring and stimulating exploration into the potential of humanity to create peace through education and unity-based approaches. The course was an experiential example of what education for peace truly is—the first I have had as a graduate student of Peace Studies. Many professors and lecturers share their perspectives and approaches to peace and education for peace, yet Dr. Danesh is the first who created education for peace in our classroom. The three days were filled with deep listening, sharing, and dialogue, which not only enriched my learning experience but also my soul.

— Brittney Menzel, MA Student European University Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Austria (2006)

I believe the uniqueness of the EFP Project, alongside its successful outcomes, can also inform educational policy and curriculum in many other communities in crisis; for example, Indigenous and minority communities.

— Sophia Close, researcher from Australia (2005–2006)

(Danesh, 2011:339-342).