



MALMÖ UNIVERSITY

Steven Slade
830902-5073

Word Count: 13631

**Peace Education for Children in Post-Conflict Societies as
Part of a Conflict Transformative Approach:
*Theory in Practice?***

Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS)
Department of Global Political Studies
BA Thesis – Spring 2013

Supervisor: Dr.A.M. Ø. Kirkegaard
Senior Lecturer
Peace and Conflict Studies

Abstract

The aim of this study is to develop an understanding of how peace education for children can work as part of a broader conflict transformation process in intractable and post-conflict societies. The study sets out to establish if and how theoretically researched knowledge combines with the actual practical work of peace educators and to note the contribution of peace education in the transformative approach.

To assist in achieving my aims, I am applying a comparative evaluation method that allows for a comparison to be made between theory and practice. I have devised two case illustrations concerning specific organisations which can be evaluated with regard to their work with peace education. I have also conducted a thorough literature analysis which has enabled the study to incorporate appropriately selected theoretical approaches to be examined against the work of the practitioners.

The research concludes with a discussion centred on my findings and the normative standpoint that I take: that peace education certainly plays a significant role in the overall conflict transformative process and that theoretical knowledge can and should be the basis of its practical work.

Keywords: Peace education, conflict transformation, children, post-conflict, theory and practice

Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Introducing the Topic.....	1
1.2 Research Problem.....	2
1.3 Research Purpose and Aims.....	3
1.4 Research Questions.....	4
1.5 Material.....	4
1.6 Delimitations.....	5
1.7 Chapter Outline.....	6
2. Methodology and Methods	8
2.1 Methodological Approach.....	8
2.2 Method.....	8
2.3 Ethical Considerations.....	11
3. Theory	12
3.1 Theory.....	12
3.2 Theory and Case Illustrations.....	17
4. Case Illustration 1 – ‘Help the Afghan Children’	18
4.1 Background.....	18
4.2 Philosophy and Objectives.....	19
4.3 Methods and (Theoretical) Approaches to Peace Education.....	19
5. Case Illustration 2 – ‘The Children’s Peace Education Network of Rwanda’ ...23	
5.1 Background and Organisational Structure.....	23
5.2 Visions and Objectives.....	24
5.3 Methods, Practices and Theory.....	24
6. Discussion	30
7. Concluding Remarks	35
References.....	37

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AGLI	African Great Lakes Initiative
CPENR	Children’s Peace Education Network of Rwanda
CRC	Convention of the Rights of the Child
HTAC	Help the Afghan Children
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
MCC	Mennonite Central Committee
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
TLC	Transformational Leader Centre
UDHR	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund

1. Introduction

“Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed” – (UNESCO Constitution, 1945)

1.1 Introducing the Topic

In conflict, there are no winners – not in the long-term. Even when the ‘ending’ of the violence is not based upon a zero-sum outcome but on a more concrete and compromised resolution, the losers of war have always outnumbered the winners. The loss can be not only immediate and devastating, but can by its very nature perpetuate and propagate further, fresh cycles of violence and war. The cyclical pattern of the reasoning behind conflict reoccurrence is simple to follow: the victims (on all sides) feel wronged – their attitudes and behaviours spread generationally – ‘victims’ become perpetrators – the (new) victims feel wronged, and so on.

History is unequivocally clear in the message that ‘violence begets violence’. Thus when scholars and practitioners of peace are working to end conflict, they seek long-term (re)resolution methods which require tools that can positively impact both on the space and time of the conflict situation. For long-term visions to be met, the conflict must be *transformed* rather than just resolved – a message of ‘peace begets peace’ to replace the old, tired patterns of reoccurring violence.

Conflict transformation is a broad and far-reaching process aimed at the transformation of relationships and discourses (Lederach, 1999) within a society in order to put an end to conflict today – and tomorrow. Positive and sustainable peace is the goal and it is a long-term goal which therefore must direct its attention to the many horizons of society where direct and indirect acts of violence are bred. This means incorporating approaches which examine the roots and the reasons for the renewal of conflict, such as social inequality, access to basic needs and structural inequities that enable and facilitate violence in a society (Galtung, 1969). This form of transformation is innately gradual and positive; pro-active and interactive; inclusive and communicative.

There are numerous approaches which are included in the expansive concept of ‘conflict transformation’. This thesis shall seek to explore and develop an understanding of potentially one of the most relevant aspects of conflict transformation – that of peace education. It will study peace education specifically for children in intractable and post-conflict environments to see how this plays a role in transformation and what challenges it faces in contributing to a reversal from violent conflict into a stable peace.

1.2 Research Problem

I intend to build my thesis on a research topic of peace education for children in post-conflict societies as part of a transformative approach in preventing reoccurring cycles of conflict. The research problem that concerns this paper is to develop a further understanding of peace education for children in intractable or post-conflict societies and if and how peace education can be applied as part of a broader transformative approach to conflict. For this, it is necessary to see to what extent theoretically researched knowledge is applied into actual practical peace education work and what effect this form of education can have in conflict prevention. Reconciliation, the rebuilding of relationships, social healing and cultural change and adaption all fall under the umbrella term ‘peace education’ (Lederach, 2003) and I aim to conduct a research study that examines this form of education as a long-term tool for future prevention of conflict.

Post-conflict environments have repeatedly proved to be breeding grounds for continued reoccurrence of violence and war (International IDEA, 2003). Due to the generational inheritance of negative beliefs and behaviours towards other groups, children are often habitually and unwittingly taught to perpetuate conflict in order to meet their wants and needs and to counter what their societal surroundings perceive and label as injustice (Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999). I wish to explore how peace education can contribute to transformation and reconciliation for children in such frequently flammable post-conflict zones so that past mistakes are not repeated and cycles of conflict sustained. This requires conducting an analytical discussion based on relevant literature as well as actually comparing how peace educators work in accordance with theory by means of studying specific organisations.

This research problem clearly relates to the field of Peace and Conflict studies by exploring how conflict can be transformed by means of peaceful education and how the same

strategies – backed up by appropriately selected theory – can be applied to mitigate the long-term impact of war on children, and thus future generations.

1.3 Research Purpose and Aims

As already noted in the research problem, the purpose of this thesis is to develop an understanding of how peace education can work as part of the conflict transformation process for children in intractable and post-conflict societies. By studying and analysing relevant literature and case illustration data that I will gather, I shall describe and examine the various strategies of peace educational transformative methods which can be applied to children who are living through, or that have lived through, violence. I aim for the research to establish and detail the benefits and challenges of peace education and for it to be able to contribute to the field of peace studies as a whole. The research that I shall undertake will help me to narrow the topic of the thesis itself by delving into and developing what role peace education has as a part of the transformative process; it intends to widen awareness and create knowledge about peace during and after conflict.

I consider my research problem as feasible to investigate due to the availability of relevant literature and the accessibility to organisations that will make up the case illustrations. Its feasibility is dependent on the methodology and the research approach that I undertake and the clarity in which I follow the line of my research problem through to its outcome. It is of social importance as it studies means of preventing future conflict and is of scientific relevance with regards to my methodological and theoretical approach. The subject of ‘peace’ as a whole is of obvious social importance and necessity whilst the research and study of peace education is central to its existence within a framework in which peace can be approached and practised.

The study will attempt to contribute to the cultivation of a greater understanding of the role of peace education, with a particular focus on children in post-conflict areas whilst contributing to the field of knowledge on peace education in the realm of conflict transformation.

1.4 Research Questions

To assist in managing my research problem and to meet the purposes of this study, I have formulated the following central research question:

How can peace education for children in post-conflict societies combine theory with practice as part of a conflict transformative approach in preventing reoccurring cycles of war?

I have decided to divide the research question into several **operational** questions in order to establish parameters for the study and to be able to fully investigate and thus develop and explain the research findings:

- 1) In what ways is peace education for children practically applied in post-conflict societies?
- 2) How do the methods practiced by the peace education organisations that I shall study compare with previously established theory that is relevant in the fields of peace studies and conflict transformation?
- 3) How can peace education for children be integrated into a broader holistic conflict transformation approach?

1.5 Material

The material that I intend to use for my research project is a combination of primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources were selected through a thorough and detailed review and collection of data from academic books, research articles and other relevant texts, located via a variety of outlets including libraries, academic databases and online media. By conducting an exhaustive and comprehensive analysis of the literature, I am confident that it will be possible to produce a cohesive and clear study that will avoid over-generalisations and be more interpretive in its content and outcome. I propose to study literature that covers a broad and over-arching standpoint of the subject in order to convey a precise and more analytical assessment of peace education as part of the transformative approach.

For my main primary source, I have established contact with a member of a non-governmental organisation (NGO) that is involved with peace education work in Rwanda. The name of the organisation is ‘The Children’s Peace Education Network of Rwanda’ and they

work with peace education for children in a way that is meant to be sustainable and transformative within the country, following on from the genocide in 1994. I have established this contact by means of researching their website and writing an email inquiry which included a brief proposal of this thesis; the contact responded and agreed to assist me in my data gathering by providing first-hand knowledge of the organisation, their methodology and their peace education practices. This connection through email correspondence has allowed me to ask specific questions that are relevant to my research topic and the respondent has been particularly forthcoming in providing assistance.

My second case illustration concerns another NGO working with peace education methods in Afghanistan. All of the material and data that I have obtained relating to their work has been retrieved from their official website and from documents published on the website, and therefore is primary-sourced. Other primary sources include official documents from the United Nations, governmental bodies and various NGO's of relevance to the subject matter.

I am confident that the primary source material is authentic for the purposes of this interpretive study but I am of course aware of the potential bias that is always inherent in gathering data from official publications of organisations and from individuals that work within these organisations. I have attempted to overcome any note-worthy latent bias by comparing data with other sources, such as online media, when possible. The secondary data derives from a variety of academic and organisational sources from both local and international perspectives and as far as can be known is credible and legitimate for the purposes of this study. I must also note that although I endeavored to use as much differing material as possible, the study was somewhat constrained by the scope of the essay with regards to time and length.

1.6 Delimitations

It is of importance to first acknowledge that the term 'peace education' can (and often is) viewed as an umbrella term which can cover diverse subject areas such as development, democracy and human rights etc. (Harris, 2009). The term and wording is wide-ranging and it is crucial that I note its generalisability and clearly state that although these subject areas may appear in some form in my essay, they will only do so when I am relating peace education to conflict transformation and peace education as *part* of the transformation process. Also, the

term can be used interdisciplinary, i.e. for psychological rehabilitation, and this will not be my area of focus. Within the research conducted, I have decided to concentrate specifically on peace education for *children* in post-conflict environments – thus I am not exploring the broader notion of peace education in the entire societal sense, which would naturally include adult education as well. However, allusions of peace education in a communal sense are made when it is deemed relevant to the overarching objectives of the study and features within the work of children’s peace educators.

I will not primarily discuss the role of children in warfare in neither the victim nor perpetrator sense – this falls outside the parameters of this thesis and has been written about extensively elsewhere. Nor will I retell or review particular encounters or experiences that children (or adults) have had in conflictual situations unless it pertains to a specific description or analysis of peace education, e.g. the reconciliation process.

The focus will be on children and on intractable or post-conflict societies and will not elaborate on the extensive peace education that occurs globally in relatively tranquil societies. This as well has a vast amount of literature covering this focus of peace education but it again falls outside of the purpose that I aim to discuss and develop.

Finally, it must be stressed that this study will not be able to offer an evaluation of the effectiveness of peace education for children as part of the transformative process simply because any results of peace education must be measured and assessed in the long-term. Conflict transformation, and therefore peace education as a part of it, is a gradual and enduring process and it is not possible for a study of this size and scope to be able to offer clear results on this particular aspect.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Following this introductory chapter, the second part of this thesis shall elaborate upon the methodological approach and method that I use for this study. The third chapter details the theory that will guide and fortify the research. Design, methods and theoretical approaches will be established that help escort the reader through the rest of the study and a small section on how I intend to link the theory with the case illustrations will be outlined.

The fourth and fifth chapters will be of the case illustrations themselves; they will detail and describe the chosen organisations and relate their objectives and methods with the previously stated theoretical approaches and if and to what extent they incorporate them

within their practices. The sixth chapter will be an analytical discussion of the broader notion of peace education as part of the conflict transformation approach and the role of theoretical research, with connections made to the previously discussed case illustrations. The final chapter will be the overall conclusion where I shall explain my research findings in relation to my research aims and questions and also to highlight where further research may be required in this field.

2. Methodology and Methods

2.1 Methodological Approach

This thesis is structured around a qualitative approach, which is firmly rooted in the traditions of applied social sciences. It is grounded in a method which shall allow practitioners of peace education to understand how and why theories are necessary in the implementation of practical peace education work. This methodological approach will show how theoretical research affects practice by analysing and comparing theory with practice.

Peace education is central in this study and I shall develop an understanding of its role within the broader notion of conflict transformation. Methodologically, I am taking the view that peace education is a normative standpoint in so far that I am placing positive value on it as part of an approach to prevent reoccurring cycles of war in post-conflict societies. It is central to this approach; its integration and implementation into conflict transformation is vital in bringing about a lasting and sustainable peace in areas of intractable and post-conflict.

The study follows that conceptually theory ought to be incorporated into peace education and that theoretical research should be the basis onto which its practice is grounded. The method I have chosen will enable me to use important scientific approaches to evaluate practices in peace processes. The study will examine theory and how people who work with peace education follow and apply the theory practically. It shall demonstrate the need for theory to lead to actions by comparing it to and against application of existing practice. The methodology is constructionist as it pertains to the applied social sciences and derives from a normative position.

2.2 Method

I shall be applying descriptive and analytical research of literature *and* constructing illustrations of specific cases in my thesis in order to attempt to fulfil its aims. I shall be using a comparative evaluation method in my study which will hopefully allow me meet the overarching objective: if and how peace education can play a significant role within a broader conflict transformation approach.

A comparative evaluation method is a framework for comparing different processes within an overall program (Chambliss & Shutt, 2010). The method entails the selection of

these processes and to then be able to compare them analytically with one another (ibid). In this study, I will be making a comparative evaluation of if and how theoretically researched knowledge is incorporated into the practices of peace education organisations. This will thus enable me to pragmatically form an understanding of the role peace education plays in the transformative process and assist me in meeting my research aims and objectives.

I am combining a literature review with the study of specific organisations through the application of case illustrations. The method that I have chosen fortifies my intended approach and will allow me to develop an analysis of the outcomes of the evaluation (Vartiainen, 2002). I will compare the different processes by connecting the peace education practitioners' methods with theory – and noting to what extent theory plays in their work, if this is deliberate or unintentional and the effect of their peace education practices.

For the case illustrations, I shall study two different peace education organisations that operate in different intractable or post-conflict societies. The comparison will be based upon data gathered from the organisations themselves and from a descriptive and analytical review of relevant and appropriate literature. From this I can ascertain both if the two case illustrations demonstrate the application of theory into practice and as well I can articulate a broader discussion of peace education as part of the conflict transformation approach and the role of theoretical research. I will evaluate both cases individually in their own chapters of this study and as well comparatively in the discussion section that follows these chapters.

I have, after reviewing a selection of articles and online material, decided to use as a case an organisation that conducts a peace education project in post-1994 Rwanda and a second case illustration of an NGO that also works within the peace education field in Afghanistan. The case illustrations shall be able to highlight the phenomena that I am studying by providing an analytical frame and the broader topic that I am studying can act as a lens in which I can acquire a clearer and more focused look at the specific organisations.

As mentioned, the illustrative cases will be of organisations that work directly in intractable or post-conflict societies; Rwanda and Afghanistan. It will focus on the specific organisations that have been and are until this day practicing peace education in the countries. The goal is that this comparative evaluation will be able to provide insight into peace education practically applied and to possibly develop a further understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the theory that lies within it.

I am not attempting to evaluate results or definite outcomes as this is not possible in regards to my research topic; I am taking a qualitative approach which involves making a comparative evaluation using case illustrations and connecting these with the broader topic at

large derived from the study of appropriate literature. This comparative evaluation method shall allow me to integrate theory into my case illustrations; I shall be able to discuss the relationship between practice and theoretical approaches that lay behind it and the extent of this relationship (Tjosvold & Sun, 2002). I aim to access how theory is applied and thus describe its potential which in turn may raise “awareness of a theoretical possibility (that) can help discover real opportunities and potentials that might otherwise go unrecognised and untapped” (Jacobs, et al., 1997: 12).

The challenges that may be associated with this method could include weaknesses with regards to the amount of quality data I am able to collect and that which is useable in my research – yet I am confident from my initial findings that this will not be the case. Another potential challenge may be combining both the review of literature approach with the case illustrations – the juxtaposition needs to be cohesive in order for the study to provide clear and understandable insights and for this evaluation research to contribute to the existing literature. With regards the illustrated cases that shall be included within my research, it is imperative that the data that I collect be rounded enough so that I am able to evaluate it using the broader notion of peace education as a method of transformation that I shall discuss throughout the text. The theoretical approaches that I have selected need to act as key indicators when the organisations are described and analysed and shall dictate the nature of the comparison (Chambliss & Shutt, 2010). These indicators will assist in connecting practice with theory and in fully explaining my main findings.

Finally, I must also note that much of the case illustrative data has been gathered from the official websites of the chosen organisations. Although, as I observed in the earlier section entitled ‘Material’, this is a primary source I should state that I am aware of the limitations when I apply this comparative evaluation method. The authenticity and the authority of these websites may always be in question (Hine, 2000) yet I think that this study avoids these particular pitfalls as the method is comparing not only what the organisations do but what they *say* they do. To further strengthen their validity, I have also established contact with one of the organisation and properly researched their work via other online avenues. I am as well attentive to the fact that there is a limitation (in one of the illustrations) by only reviewing online material; this means the method I use is interpretive and insight into the organisations actual activities is limited.

2.3 Ethical Considerations

With the type of research I am conducting, ethical considerations generally are not of too much concern due to the fact that most data being analysed is publically accessible. However, as one of the case illustrations that makes up a part of the thesis includes email correspondence from a contact I have made in a non-governmental organisation, it is vital that permission is granted regarding all material that is gathered from this source. Permission from the subject – in this case my contact – has important ethical ramifications due to potential consequences that could arise out of publishing sensitive or delicate material. The contact that I have established is with an individual who is working for an organisation in a post-conflict country and their work concerns peace education and is thus of a sensitive social and political nature. I have therefore sought permission during our correspondence regarding data (i.e. methodological practices, personal opinions) that is acceptable in her eyes for use in my study. There have been numerous reasons that the contact has given me concerning information or material that has been shared with me but omitted from this thesis. I have of course respected these reasons and left out anything that the contact has requested and have respected the confidentiality of our correspondence.

Even though the topic is heavily concerned with children, this has not been a problem for me with the data that I have collected from literature, academic resources and online media as this requires minimal ethical consideration. It is essential that though that I remain true to all of the data that I have collected – whether it derives from literature, online media or from the contact I have made, it is imperative that it is not distorted in any way nor manipulated for any purposes.

3. Theory

3.1 Theory

‘Peace Education’ can be seen as an umbrella term that can include human rights, development, democracy, disarmament and conflict resolution educations and more – thus the theory of peace education as well encompasses a range of broad and interdisciplinary traditions (Harris, 2009). Rather than outlining general theories related to peace education, I will instead concentrate on the theoretical concepts as they pertain to the subject of my thesis – in relation to conflict transformation and peace education as a part of the *transformative* process.

Even when analysing the *approaches* to peace education, it is vital to differentiate between whether the education will take place in regions of intractable or post-conflict, or in regions of relative tranquillity. The context of these categories matters (Salomon, 2002: 5). This section of the thesis determines to seek out approaches that are directed towards intractable or post-conflict regions and the modern theories that strive for the reduction of violence and the threat of violence. I shall frame some of the theories that relate to, and can be used by, peace educators when applied to conflict transformation and with a specific regard to peace education for children.

Many forms of peace education perspectives are drawn from some of the basic principles of peace theory (Dewey 1922; Boulding 2010; Galtung 1969). Parts of this theory state that there are three (general) ways to achieve peace: peacekeeping, peace-making and peace-building. Peacekeeping can be seen as ‘peace by strength’, peace-making can be the application of conflict resolution techniques so that the warring parties can resolve their differences after fighting has stopped, and peace-building looks at longer term goals, such as attitudinal adjustment and developing understanding of perspectives (Harris, 1999: 300). It is apparent that peace education must be a part of peace-building as both short- and long-term goals are considered to be sought via the educational process (UNICEF, 1999). In this approach, as well as being a part of peace-building, peace education can then be viewed as a distinct part of conflict transformation. This is an aspect that will be reflected upon when analysing the practices of the organisations within the case illustrations.

John Paul Lederach defines conflict transformation as “movement from the latent stage of confrontation to the negotiation of dynamic, peaceful relationships” (1999: 75). He

pursues this notion of transformation as being not simply one of resolution or cessation of conflict but of a process that as well breeds a sustainable peace and alters its indelible nature. Transformation goes beyond the resolution of issues and attempts to encounter and confront the systems and structures that keep them in place (Vriens, 1999: 48; Galtung, 2003). It involves reconciliation and rejects recrimination. However, Lederach also notes in the preamble to his work that he is “more of a practitioner than a theorist” (Lederach, 1997: xvi), that his research is inductive. This is interesting to note when looked upon besides this quote by influential pedagogy theorist Paulo Freire: “Human activity consists of action and reflection: it is praxis; it is transformation of the world. And as praxis, it requires theory to illuminate it. Human activity is theory and practice; it is reflection *and* action.” – (Freire 1973: 125. Emphasis added). Hence, the practical work undertaken by Lederach and those of his ilk are still seemingly punctured by theory – whether this comes before or afterwards, whether it is inductive or deductive.

Lederach’s ‘pyramid of peace-building’ concerns actors and approaches: the narrow top part of the pyramid displays leadership actors (i.e. political, military and religious), the middle features academics, NGO’s and ethnic leaders etc. whilst the bottom contains local leaders such as community developers and local health officials – commonly referred to as the grassroots. These three levels of course have substantial differences with regards to approach, dependent on their position within the pyramid – stemming from high-level cross-government negotiations to prejudice reductions workshops in local schools (Lederach, 1999: 39). The range of this ‘theoretical pyramid’ affects how conflict transformation, and not just resolution, can be embarked upon. Power, visibility and communal influence are among the concepts that must be broached differently by the different actors concerned with transformation (ibid: 40); and this impacts on peace educators who are most often concerned with the middle and lower parts of this pyramid.

After noting down the basic characteristics of Lederach’s ‘pyramid of peace-building’ and in relation to conflict transformation, it can be realised that it is both possible and plausible that peace education can be adopted into this part of the transformative process. “Peace education aims not to reproduce but to transform” (UN Cyber-schools, 2008) and with regard the pyramid approach, Lederach (1999: 81) purports that transformation is better and more effectively centred on the middle level. This is pertinent to peace education to a certain degree – academics at universities, NGO’s and other sector leaders can grasp the transformative stick tightly and weave peace educational methods such as conflict resolution programs, problem-solving workshops and create mediation training which will all

(hopefully) contribute to the transformation and reconciliation process. Specifically with children, peace education is typically associated with the grassroots of a post-conflict society where access and availability to primary education is limited (Singh, 2009) which is a challenge to peace education within a holistic view of transformation. This theoretical approach perhaps in part negates the lower level of the pyramid, or the grassroots. Peace education, especially in intractable or post-conflict societies, must continually contest opposition to its presence and this often requires localised knowledge and context to apply the broader values of the educational stream (Minow, 2002) as education in many of its forms is cultural and determines children's worldviews (Punamäki, 1999). Its aims, when the 'peace-building pyramid' is taken into account, will have to be to bridge the gap between the 'extreme' micro level (i.e. the individual) and the 'extreme' macro level (i.e. the world) – particularly when the structural causes of conflict are analysed, such as poverty, inequality and exclusion (Haavelsrud, 2008; Azar, 1990).

The topic of this thesis concerns peace education – but it focuses on it as a transformative and preventive method. This means a discussion of structural theories and approaches to peace and conflict transformation is pertinent and necessary. Galtung (1969; 2003) is widely recognized for the concepts he developed concerning *structural violence* and *positive and negative peace*. Structural (sometimes called 'indirect') violence refers to a form of violence which harms people by preventing them from meeting their basic human needs; examples can include institutionalised elitism, poverty, sexism and a lack of access to education and healthcare (ibid). It is an "avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs" (ibid: 21) and it is structural precisely because it is inherently institutionalised within a society. Galtung discusses direct violence (behavioural) as being interdependent with structural violence and they can both result from *cultural violence* – aspects of culture which can be used to justify or legitimise either or both forms of violence. He states that "what is taught in schools usually reflects the past, which is simply handed over to the present..." (Galtung, 1975: 49) and thus invites the continuation of the cycle rather than its prevention. Therefore peace education attempts to counter these structural practices not only to transform the conflict from one of violent to peaceful but to manage prevention for any potential reoccurrence. The structurally-based theoretical approach comprises 'positive liberty' – facilitating and maintaining peace – rather than only 'negative peace-making' – the cessation of armed conflict (Bickmore, 1999: 236).

This approach derived from the concept of positive and negative peace that is as well attributed to Galtung (1969 et al.). Negative peace is when there exists an absence of personal

and institutional violence; whereas positive peace refers not only to the absence of conflict, but to the existence of social justice, wellbeing, gender equity and human rights (Galtung, 2003). It is peace addressed positively and proactively – the desire for supportive and collaborative relationships, to strive for more than just the cessation of violence but for *positive* peace. These highly relevant theoretical approaches will be addressed further in this paper with regards to children and how children are educated in challenging post-conflict societies, and whether structural and institutionalised forms of peace and violence are included in peace education.

Peace education is “a base of theoretical and practical knowledge (which) allows individuals to choose for themselves values that reject violence, resolve conflicts peacefully and sustain a culture of peace” (UNGA, 2002). The United Nations views and promotes peace education as a human right, from the conception that peace itself is an innate human right (Reardon, 1987: 80). Branches of the UN such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) have peace education as central to their constitutional mandate and The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) are globally viewed as common and generally adopted documents (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1989). Still, Galtung and others criticise the UN for operating a very stato-cratic paradigm that is far too broad and not always contextually and locally applicable (Galtung, 1986; et al.). This is important when we seek to understand the theoretical approaches to peace education.

Peace education is by no means uniform. In fact it is seen as “a vague concept in the minds of most people” (Salomon, 2002: 2) and confusion at the conceptual level as to what peace education is leads to the view that more research on its impact is required (Vriens, 1999; 48; Bajaj, 2008: 136). Peace education itself is a vast spectrum of complimentary and competing notions that can range from psychology to pedagogy. Conceptualising peace education for the purposes of this thesis means categorising some of the approaches. Bar Tal and Rosen (2009; 559) deliberately differentiates two approaches in order to break down the well-fortified holistic approach; they state that in intractable and post-conflict environments there exists a ‘broad and narrow’ approach. The broad approach is considered societal – about the education or re-education of society as a whole in order for peace transformation to be effective. It concerns changing and constructing “society members” worldviews and these worldview refers to values, beliefs, attitudes, emotions, patterns of behaviour, amongst others (ibid: 559). It is an integrative theory of peace, which sees peace education as part of healthy

development for people to examine and transform their worldview (Danesh, 2006). It involves challenges to the dominant discourse and the changing of relationships.

A narrower approach focuses primarily on schools and educational facilities for children and youth. The approach emphasises socialisation, which is the social knowledge that schools transmit (Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999), and focuses on the development of peace education within the broader curricula. The broader approach can of course be criticised for its attempt at an overarching reach while the narrow approach has to be wary of criticism emanating from those that question its educational legitimacy and the depth of the role of the governments in overseeing the peace education, particularly in post-conflict environments as I will demonstrate later on. Therefore a holistic approach has become dominant in peace education theory (Clarke-Habibi, 2005).

Lederach (1997: ix) states that a holistic approach to peace education can be made sustainable by “profound reconciliation, restoration and rebuilding of relationships”. It complements the UN doctrine of “all human rights for all peoples” (UN, 1948) and encourages the possibility for transformation through (peace) education (Toh, 2002: 15). In the minds of some, peace education *is* inherently a holistic approach – “to the complex forms of violence experienced in diverse communities” (Harris, 1999: 306). By exploring and examining the whole of conflict, the holistic approach hopes to acquire a greater set of tools for peace education for children to be enabled and to be effective. The theoretical holistic approach is seen as key to reconciliation and hence prevention of the reoccurrence of war and conflict. This perspective stipulates prescription over proscription – focusing on what should be done to attain positive outcomes rather than what should *not* be done to avoid negative outcomes (Lourenço, 1999).

Overall, it is evident that the theory and perspectives that surround peace education are not distinctly clear; there are several different approaches and strategies which conceptually differ if we seek a single, overarching theory for peace education. For the benefit of my thesis, I will however make use of some of the approaches described and I will principally pay attention to them with regards to how children are affected by peace education in post-conflict societies by comparatively evaluating whether theory influences practice in the two case illustrations. The selected approaches shall then be able to act as key indicators in if and how theory plays a part in practice.

3.2 Theory and Case Illustrations

For the two illustrations of cases that I shall use in my research, I shall be studying the extent to which the two organisations work in accordance with theory. This approach will allow me to essentially compare how much theory is applied within the organisations when examining the practicalities of their peace education work. I will look at the theories that have been outlined above with regards to the two specific case illustrations. Through the analysis of these case illustrations, I intend to discover and understand whether the organisations that I am studying apply theoretical approaches to their practice of peace education for children in intractable or post-conflict societies. Particular theoretical approaches that can be applied to peace education as a part of conflict transformation will be explored and see if and how they are included within the organisations' practical work; the challenges that they face with regard these theoretical foundations; what other methods of peace education is incorporated within their work and if it is apparent that these forms of peace education for children are in fact a part of conflict transformation. Finally, after describing and examining both of the organisations, I will present an analytical discussion on my findings as well as linking the study with the broader notions of both peace education and conflict transformation.

The theoretical aspects that I shall concentrate on are the following:

- Whether the peace education approach goes beyond the immediate conception of short-term peace-making and sets long-term goals that are a fundamental part of peace theory, such as applying continual peace-building techniques.
- If the peace education itself is part of a narrow or holistic approach and how this relates to conflict transformation – with particular regard to the reconciliation, restoration and rebuilding of relationships.
- In what ways does the peace education of these organisations address structural theories of peace and conflict, i.e. Galtung's notions of positive and negative peace.
- Ways in which the organisations adhere to Lederach's 'pyramid of peace-building' and whether any influence can be seen on the process of conflict transformation as a whole.

4. Case Illustration 1 – ‘Help the Afghan Children’

4.1 Background

All of the material and data gathered about this organisation is taken from the official website of ‘Help the Afghan Children’ and from official documents and external links to related NGO’s and other organisations provided on their website: <http://www.htac.org/index.htm>

Help the Afghan Children (HTAC) is an American-based non-profit organisation that has full charity status and operates out of its local office in Kabul, Afghanistan and its American office in Fairfax, Virginia. The organisation was established in 1993 by Suraya Sadeed, an Afghan-American woman, “in response to the horrible conditions of Afghan children she witnessed during Afghanistan’s civil war in the early 1990s” (HTAC, 2012). HTAC’s mission is to have a commitment of “educating and empowering a new generation of Afghan children” in order to break the cycles of war and violence that have plagued the country for generations and to help establish peace and stability into Afghanistan (ibid).

HTAC primarily uses education as a tool in the attempt of accomplishing its goals. Yet they also have undertaken to build their own ‘model schools’ in various regions in Afghanistan where they now enrol between 10,000 and 20,000 pupils every year. These modern and purpose-built schools are intended to compliment the country’s national curriculum and are generally over time handed back over to Afghanistan’s Ministry of Education when they have become fully operational and self-sufficient. The organisation also invests in local communities via methods such as the training and development of local teachers and by conducting educational administrative work (ibid).

However, the main work of HTAC is in its educational programmes; they run computer programmes, environmental programmes and landmine awareness programmes amongst others (ibid). They as well, of course, run a significant Peace Education programme and this will be the focus of this case illustration.

4.2 Philosophy and Objectives

At the heart of the core principals and philosophy of HTAC is that peace education is a way to address the root of reoccurring cycles of violence. Educating young people in this intractable zone of conflict is a means of future prevention and a way forward for peace. To manage and develop these principals, the organisation has several stated key objectives (ibid):

- 1) Providing tools to help children better cope with the emotional trauma many of them suffer from previous exposure to violence;*
- 2) Teaching children the basic concepts of peaceful everyday living, including non-violent conflict resolution;*
- 3) Training teachers to role model peace education concepts in the classroom;*
- 4) Involving children in activities where they can apply peace principles learned in class; and*
- 5) Working with parents to support peace education principles in the home.*

Now, I shall set out the methods that HTAC employs in order to attempt to meet their objectives and to compare to what extent theoretical approaches have on their actual practices.

4.3 Methods and (Theoretical?) Approaches to Peace Education

The first point to note about how HTAC goes about its method of peace education is that it only operates in schools that are in its participating programme. Although the organisation has expanded its programmes of peace education, not all regions in Afghanistan have such schools so there will invariably be a limit with regards to access and availability. The regions of Afghanistan in which they implement programmes are: Kabul, Kandahar, Samangan, Farah, Laghman, Jowzjan and Sar-e-pul (HTAC, 2012).

When analysing HTAC's methods which concern its peace education programs, it is clear that there is a division in its overall approach. By a 'division' I refer to approaches aimed at different actors – the children (students) and the adults (teachers, parents, community leaders). The students are inevitably the centre of the teaching-learning program – as already emphasised, the organisation sees peace education for children as the central pillar in its aims to halt the cycles of violence in Afghanistan (ibid). This requires educating children in the art of peace. HTAC initiate peace education by teaching conflict resolution in alternate ways that

do not involve violence – they encourage their students to deal with emotions such as fear, anger and hatred by non-violent means whilst simultaneously embracing ‘qualities’ such as patience, bravery, sympathy and mediation. Educating, encouraging and enabling students to find peaceful solutions to problems are at the centre of their work, it is the foundation upon which their educational platform works from. Methods such as role-playing are employed in an attempt to assist students with learning about non-conflict resolution techniques and debate and discussion is promoted in order for feelings of expression to be made (ibid). This particular method is related to a holistic theoretical approach to peace education where prescription (what should be done, positive) is given greater focus than proscription (what should not be done, negative) ((Lourenço, 1999)). The students are taught positive behavioural techniques rather than reprimanded over negative behaviours and this in turn is a promotion of non-violent conflict resolution.

The students in the schools where HTAC have a presence are also educated in inclusion. It is of primary importance for the organisation that inclusion in the classroom is maintained, whether this is in regard to ethnicity, gender or religious differences. Cooperation and consideration is taught and ‘students learn and practice the technical skills of non-violent conflict resolution as well as opportunities to work collaboratively with other students in resolving long-standing problems (HTAC, 2012). This approach of inclusion incorporates a structural theoretical base (Azar, 1990) – HTAC and the teachers that they have trained are positively addressing the structural issues that have enabled and perpetuated violent conflict by educating pupils to respect one another’s background, regardless of difference. They are seemingly attempting to counter long-held structural practices in Afghan schools and to transform traditional discriminatory discourses that have led to violence. Their desire for children to respect differences also delegitimises inherent cultural violence that is held within the confines of structural inequities (Galtung, 1969) that facilitate indirect violence in societies.

One aspect of the organisations method of peace education that they themselves refer to as “unique” is the transformation of the regular classrooms into “peace rooms” (HTAC, 2012). HTAC have redesigned the rooms to be more conducive with their practices of educating students – they sit at a large table alongside the teacher, which allows for everyone to be able to see each other and communicate in a more direct fashion. This small environmental adaption follows changes in the role of teachers who are considered as “facilitators and supporters” rather than simply authoritative figures (ibid). The locally trained Afghan Teachers are also taught to be communicative and act as role-models for the children

and to not “engage in counter-productive corporal punishment practices” which has previously been integral to the Afghan school system. This is viewed by HTAC as “changing the teacher/student relationship in a positive way” (HTAC, 2012) and these endeavours are transformations in the educational policy itself. This falls in line with what Bar Tal and Rosen (2009) discuss as being able to take a narrow approach to peace education, where the method focuses primarily on schools and children, but applying it in a holistic manner within the school system itself. This can be managed by a broad education to encourage tolerance and the rebuilding of relationships (Toh, 2002, Galtung, 1969, et al.).

HTAC state that they complement their peace education for children approach by “working with parents to support peace education principles in the home” (HTAC, 2012). The organisation understands that the core values of peace lie in a child’s home environment and thus parents and adults must “play a positive role by reinforcing basic peace principles within the home environment” (ibid). The parents are given information on what and how their children are being taught and joint seminars are held on the peace educational methods being used. HTAC informs that they typically provide enrolled students’ parents with orientation about the program at the beginning of each year. As well as providing complementary educational practices to the parents of the children, HTAC “trains and empowers local community school committees (or neighbourhood Shuras) in practical ways to support peace education in their own community” (ibid). They have been beneficiaries of funding from several large foundations and governments which has allowed for provision of community-based projects to empower and educate locals on peace education methods, including the training of 2000 individuals. Much of this peace-orientated education in the community focuses on women’s rights and abilities to educate and be educated in a patriarchal society (ibid).

From delving into the organisations peace education methods, these can be linked to again maintaining a holistic approach to peace education by the organisation and as well connecting it with the principals of conflict transformation. Even though the approach is mainly directed towards children, it is also branching out to affect socialisation in the local communities thus increasing its transformative powers. Lederach espoused conflict transformation as being able to “confront the systems and structure” (1999: 75) that reconstruct violence repeatedly and it is evident from HTAC’s approach that their methods of peace education do in part go hand-in-hand with the transformative approach. They seek to educate not only children but parents and local people of influence – to transform conflict not only for today but for tomorrow.

It can also be noted from the work of HTAC that their approaches to peace education adhere to Lederach's wider notion of a 'pyramid of peace-building' (ibid: 39) with concern to conflict transformation. By engaging with local community leaders and committees (or Shuras), HTAC is working with both the 'bottom' of the pyramid and middle level actors. They form links with the grassroots by means of their educational facilities and as well offer guidance and assistance to local leaders and people of influence within any given community. HTAC set out to promote peace throughout this 'pyramid' but focus mainly on the lower levels which means they can acquire localised knowledge and customary practice (Minnow, 2002). This approach of peace education can then have the possibility of being part of a broader notion of transformation and future prevention of reoccurrence of violent conflict (Lederach, 1999).

To conclude, some long-term goals of peace-building are incorporated within theories of peace which sets out not only to promote immediate resolution to conflict but are to be used as a tool for future conflict prevention. It is evident that although nowhere do HTAC explicitly state they are following any theoretical approaches with regards peace education and conflict transformation, they do certainly include long-term peace-building concepts into their objectives and practices. Their education itself is inextricably linked to their future objectives and HTAC are attempting to apply peace education as a means of laying down long-term foundations for the prevention of conflict. They also address structural theories as described and attempt to apply a holistic approach to their work, even within the narrow confines of working with peace education primarily in learning facilities. However, HTAC do not specifically link their work with theoretically researched knowledge and this is an obvious constraint for their practices. It is a challenge that many organisations have to overcome otherwise there lies a danger that the good intentions of people are not matched by appropriate knowledge which could lessen the positive effect of their work.

5. Case Illustration 2 – ‘The Children’s Peace Education Network of Rwanda’

5.1 Background and Organisational Structure

All of the data and information gathered about ‘The Children’s Peace Education Network of Rwanda’ (CPENR) has been acquired either via communication through a series of email discussions and the contact that I have made in the organisation, Kirsten Mandela, or via the official CPENR website (<http://cpenrwanda.wordpress.com/>) and their named affiliates.

The organisational structure of CPENR is worthy to first note: they were borne out of international cooperation between several organisations working within Africa and are themselves part of a small and locally based Network. The Network grew out of the Peace Education Division of the Transformational Leader Centre (TLC) and the African Great Lakes Initiative (AGLI). In 2009, the Children’s Peace Library was founded as part of the Network and has been centrally funded by the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and the Kathryn Davis Projects for Peace. In sum, the development of CPENR “has been an international collaboration, relying on support and contributions from a multitude of individuals and organizations” (CPENR, 2013).

TLC is a non-profit organization recognized by the Rwandan government and was created in 1998 as a result of the growth and success of Theological Education by the Extension Commission with main goals to increase leadership abilities of local church and community leaders (TLC, 2011). AGLI is a small Quaker NGO that enjoys a non-profit status in the United States, “which strengthens, supports, and promotes peace activities at the grassroots level in the Great Lakes region of Africa” (AGLI, 2013). The main funding for CPENR comes from the MCC which has “contributed 10,000 volumes to be made available to children around Rwanda and have financially supported the library’s growth” (CPENR, 2013) since its foundation.

Kirsten Mandela is Program Manager of the Children’s Peace Libraries which is run through the network and helped found the Peace Libraries in 2009 after working as a

volunteer for AGLI. She is an American who “received a grant to teach ConRes in Rwanda in 2009 and started the library as sort of a side project” (Mandela, 2013) alongside members of the TLC. She has explained that CPENR does not have non-profit status and “thus relies on their affiliate organisations for this” and they make use of the AGLI and TLC part of the initiative, for non-profit status – “which is why we've decided to call it a Network, since it's really a group of people working for various peace organizations that are cooperating on this project” (ibid). The organisational structure is relevant when it is seen how the CPENR apply and practice their peace education in Rwanda and this will be demonstrated in due course.

5.2 Vision and Objectives

Rwanda is still a country in recovery – in 1994 over one million people are estimated to have died in a conflict and genocide based on tribal and ethnic affiliations. The children of Rwanda naturally suffered on a massive and profound scale which included injury, mutilation, loss of family and home and heightened psychological difficulties directly resulting from the conflict and its aftermath (Magnarella, 2005; Strauss, 2006 et al.). With the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), the government of the country has pursued and perceived development, justice, education and reconciliation as key to constructing peace and sustainable economic and social growth (Kayitesi-Blewitt, 2006).

The stated vision of the Network is “to see a positive transformation and sustainable peace promotion among the children of Rwanda” with their motto of ‘Building a sustainable peace in Rwanda through the education of the children’ emphasising their mission (CPENR, 2013). Their objectives are built upon educating peace and tolerance to children and they state that “if positive inter-tribal relationships can be established early on in the lives of Rwandan youths, it will lay the foundation for a unified population that can continue to work towards lasting peace and prosperity” (ibid). They undertake a non-violent conflict resolution approach aimed primarily at children through a variety of methods that intends to induce a prolonged peaceful environment within the country that is underpinned by the notion of continued and contemporary peace education techniques.

5.3 Methods, Practices and Theory

In order for CPENR to support and practice forms of peace education for children in Rwanda, they have “five Children’s Peace Libraries provide much-needed educational

material to students in the surrounding communities and strive to be centres of learning” (CPENR, 2013). These are the Peace Libraries that Kirsten Mandela helped found and make up the work of the Network. She explains the generalities of these libraries:

“As for what we do: We now have 5 libraries around Rwanda that are staffed by English speaking librarians who are there to help students learn to read. Most of the librarians are also trained community mediators, and when funding is available we run workshops. Most of the day to day realities in the library are simply book checkout along with literacy training, whether it’s story time or help to students who are struggling. During students’ holidays (and sometimes during their school days) we run either conflict resolution or peer mediation workshops”.

(Mandela, 2013).

Since the opening of the first Children’s Peace Library in 2009, CPENR has opened up Peace Libraries in Gisenyi and Kanzenze (Rubavu District), Byumba (Gicumbi District), and Ruhengeri (Musanze District) within Rwanda. Their website states that “the largest of our Children’s Peace Libraries, the Kigali library, offers access to over 2000 books for all reading levels” (CPENR, 2013). Kirsten Mandela works as a Program Manager and spends most of her time “overseeing the Byumba library as well as teach(ing) conflict resolution classes” (Mandela, 2013). Her work, as well as the work of other staff members of the Peace Libraries, involves a broad range of peace education-based activities (as well as the more ‘basic’ librarian tasks, as already indicated). These education roles include literacy and English language teaching, peer meditation and participation in community development initiatives.

In 2009, a government decree stated that all Rwandan students would be taught English in schools within a two year transitional period which would then encompass all subjects being instructed in the language – a move from the traditional Kinyarwanda and French languages (Republic of Rwanda Website, 2011). This move has naturally increased the requirement for young Rwandans to become better acquainted with the English language and the Children’s Peace Libraries are able to cater to this need. “The Peace Libraries aims to be a space where children can practice and enhance their English skills” (CPENR, 2013) and they help students with vocabulary and comprehension as part of the project. The books encourage children to visit the Peace Libraries where they then can learn more about the other activities that CPENR engages in.

The Peace Library (in Gisenyi Town) seeks to give the children access to knowledge through books and to promote a culture of reading. The books that are available “contain strong messages of peace and social justice” (ibid) – this demonstrates the Peace Libraries

utilising an approach which is theoretically holistic in its nature. Social justice and social change are what Lederach (1999: 173) claims to be an “overriding objective” for the design of conflict transformation in order to positively address the “hatred and divisions” that undermines peace and facilitates violence. The holistic approach allows for education to be a proponent of social change and particularly social healing in the aftermath of conflict; it creates “social knowledge shaped by the agency of people” (Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999). In this case, the peace educators’ agency is transcended through their work in the Peace Libraries, even if it is viewed vicariously – the books promote and encourage peace and social change.

Another method of peace education that CPENR engage in is the running of Peer Mediation Workshops and Conflict Resolution Workshops for children who attend the library. The Gisenyi Peace Library for instance periodically holds workshops for two different age groups: children between 8-13 and 10-15 years old. The website states that the motivation behind these workshops is “to give teenagers the proper skills so that they may develop a greater understanding of conflict and different styles of resolving conflict, factors that escalate conflict and how mediation fits into the distribution of power in conflict” (CPENR, 2012). CPENR peer mediators use a “series of games, role plays, and lessons” that can lay “the foundation for understanding conflict and facilitation of its resolution” (ibid). The students are “taught about the importance of mediation, escalation of conflict, mechanisms for effective communication, and mediation techniques” (ibid). This all falls under the tutelage of four facilitators with backgrounds in mediation thus enabling the organisation to set concrete educational methods in place as a basis for the mediation.

These peer mediation techniques are included within the auspices of the peace education practiced by CPENR; they touch upon theoretical approaches to not just conflict resolution but to transformation. To transform is to build (Lederach, 1997) peace and building is concerned with not only the foundations today, but the stability and maintenance of the building tomorrow. This is evident in the work carried out by the Network working at the Children’s Peace Libraries. CPENR teach young people to settle their own disputes – “the mediation given to these children will help them find a way to settle their problems constructively on their own” (CPENR, 2013). This enables attitudinal and behavioural adjustments and helps enable the children to acquire a developed understanding of different perspectives (Harris, 1999: 300; Saloman, 2002) and therefore provides the children with tools for the future in non-violent conflict resolution techniques. CPENR ensure that these long-term tools are manageable for the children they teach by enhancing and refining their

mediation methods – encompassing a *peace-building* approach, a central pillar of peace theory (Dewey 1922; Boulding 2010; Galtung 1969). Kirsten Mandela describes the scope of the peer mediation workshops:

“While impact may be small (as we are a small organization), we talk to students about leadership and their role in not only resolving their own conflicts, but helping others to resolve theirs. Students who have undergone peer mediation training have not only reported helping fellow students solve problems, but have even talked about mediating conflicts they witness in the street” (Mandela, 2013).

There is a structural element in the peace education of CPENR – the peer mediation workshops enables children to understand the content of what conflicts are, the factors that escalate them, what mediation is, and different ways of resolving conflicts (CPENR, 2012). Structural theories within peace studies address indirect and cultural violence and analyses the interdependence between them (Galtung, 1969, et al.). The work of the Peace Libraries with regards to peer mediation allows for the students to discuss their feelings and to find the reasoning behind violent conflict – this is surely positive in a country that was racked by ethnic and tribally based violence less than twenty years ago. Galtung (1975; 49) wrote “what is taught in schools usually reflects the past, which is simply handed over to the present” – and as noted in the introduction of this study, societal conflict-based violence is inherited through the generations with the assistance of “a culture of conflict” bred from “collective memories” (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009: 557). Post-conflict societies are thus more prone to the reoccurrence of violence (Kurtenbach & Wolf, 2012; et al.) which dictates peace educational methods to address both the past and the future regarding the tools they provide – a holistic approach.

CPENR are to an extent applying a holistic approach with their teaching and peer mediation groups. They are “using transformative mediation” where “students facilitate their peers to reach their own understandings. Workshops enable students to create meaningful, lasting relationships and provide them with non-violent communication skills to take them through life” CPENR, 2013). This holistic approach sustains relationships (Lederach, 1997) and encourages the possibility of transformation through (peace) education (Toh, 2002: 15). It is methodologically weaving peace education into the broader notion of conflict transformation.

The Network is as well involved with community development within their areas of

operations in Rwanda. CPENR (2013) pledges that they serve to increase community initiatives for peace education by providing consulting services to Rwandan schools, non-profit organizations, and churches. “The peace education program work extensively with local schools and programming is coordinated in cooperation with schools. Therefore, teachers and principals often attend our workshops with the students, which would ideally help shape the inclusion of peace education principles in the classroom” (Mandela, 2013). They “have shared books with schools around Rwanda” so children can have access in areas without libraries” (CPENR, 2013) and have a specific collection of manuals, guides, and curriculum made available to individuals and groups. They state that they: “hope that by providing these materials and services, we will enable others to provide leadership services and trainings in the community, thereby extending the reach of our network and the number of children served” (ibid).

A comparison can be made to Lederach’s (1997: 38) ‘pyramid of peace-building’ when their community development initiatives are explored. When it is stated that “by addressing peace at an individual, interpersonal, community, national, and even global level, we hope to empower children to envision themselves in the peace-making process” (CPENR, 2013), it is apparent that they are working on the grassroots level but with a reach that wishes to extend further up the ‘pyramid’. Their work is centred on children and the local community in their vicinities, yet they are promoting the spread and dissemination of their practices in order to reach a wider level, to affect more than just the immediate actors concerned. This approach is comparable to Lederach’s notion that peace-building – and therefore conflict transformation – should not negate the ‘lower’, or grassroots level, of an intractable or post-conflict society (1997: 42). The work of CPENR comprises of educating children and locals in peace education methods but with an intention that a spiral-effect is initiated in other parts of the country. This is summed up clearly when they describe the overarching aims of their community development program: “Our long-term vision includes an ultimate goal of adding peace education to the national Rwandan curriculum” (CPENR, 2013).

Overall, it is possible to see that some of the peace education work practiced by CPENR does incorporate some theoretical approaches that I have outlined earlier in this study. Setting peace-building as a long-term goal and including long-term goals is noticeable in the approach of the Network as are the structural issues that they address such as educating children on the reasons for conflict and the different factors that lay behind it. Peer Mediation and Conflict Resolution workshops are given in order to provide conflict resolution tools for students that attend the libraries and to show them differing perspectives on understanding

conflict. Yet CPENR does not explicitly state the theory that lies behind their approaches – it has more been incorporated by workers like Kirsten Mandela who have academic backgrounds in peace and conflict, and conflict transformation. She says the majority of her colleagues “do not have academic backgrounds in peace building or even political science and are less versed in theory and method” (Mandela, 2013), which will somewhat hinder a theoretical foundation being at the forefront of their work. Therefore it may be necessary to work at bridging the gap between thoroughly researched theory and the good intentions of those that practice peace education.

The final section will now go on to develop a further understanding of if and how peace education is (and should be) applied as part of the broader notion of conflict transformation. The chapter will draw on the two case illustrations that have been described and analysed as well as comparing whether theory with practice when peace education is explored as playing a significant role in transforming violent conflicts.

6. Discussion

This thesis discusses the role of peace education in intractable and post-conflict societies as part of a broader transformation approach and therefore it is vital to first stipulate the general overarching aims of peace education. In regions of conflict, or recent post-conflict, peace education is initiated in order to help create and develop a culture of peace and to delegitimise and de-value the prevailing “culture of conflict” (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009: 557; Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999; UNESCO, 2000) that is so often omnipresent in these societies. The objective is to facilitate peace-making and provide tools for long-term peace-building.

The focus of this paper is specifically peace education for *children*. This encompasses a narrow approach with regard to peace education as a field but is still able to transcend into a holistic approach when it comes to practice (Lederach, 1997). Peace education for children in post-war-torn zones is vital to prevent future reoccurrence of violence; it labours to cease the cycle of conflict and thus the concentration on the (re)education of children becomes central. Kirsten Mandela who works with CPENR in Rwanda describes the need for peace education: “Rwanda is stable now, but peace education is an important preventative tool and students benefit from peace education programs in peacetime as well as wartime. This current generation of youth has grown up with relative peace, but Rwanda is by no means guaranteed a peaceful future” (Mandela, 2013). It is noted extensively in the literature that children who have been previously exposed to prevalent violent culture in their formative years are adversely affected and more likely to commit future violence (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009: 560; Salomon 2002; UNICEF, 1999). Punamäki writes that as children grow and develop educationally, so too do their understandings of conflict and peace develop: “from concrete to abstract, from specific to general, and from atomistic to comprehensive accounts” (1999: 127). This highlights the need for theory in peace education – theory can engage in practical learning to ground the education with a solid foundation from which to work from. HTAC in Afghanistan and CPENR in Rwanda attempt to teach children from a very young age, for example, methods of non-violent conflict resolution so that peace is learned as a progression alongside their general education. The knowledge of both peace and conflict is acquired in childhood which is often linked to a child’s understanding of interpersonal and intergroup

relations (Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999). Kirsten Mandela claims that “it is important to give youth concrete skills for dealing with conflict and a sense of agency over their interpersonal and community relations” (Mandela, 2013) and theoretically attained research can help underpin the directions and flexibility of peace educators such as HTAC and CPENR.

As seen from the case illustrations, peace education for children is not required to only be taught in schools. Whilst HTAC operate their own schools and work in others, CPENR runs a set of Peace Libraries throughout several regions of Rwanda. These facilities where peace education is practiced are commonly called ‘learning centres’ by UNICEF (1999). However, those who call for the institutionalisation of peace education tend to favour traditional schools as they have the “authority, legitimacy, resources and methods” to be able to carry it out with efficiency and effectiveness (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009: 560). This is reiterated by Baldo and Furniss (1998: 25) who state that peace education is “most effective when the skills of conflict resolution are learned actively and modelled by the school environment in which they are taught”. In this case it is possible to compare HTAC with CPENR with regard to their ‘learning centres’ – HTAC even actually re-modelled their classrooms in order to encourage group participation when it came to holding conflict resolution classes (HTAC, 2011). Yet CPENR can hold similar workshop-based methods of education in a different environment. This may be pertinent to note when peace theorists are considering the importance of environment for peace education as it may or may not hinder the practitioners.

Bar-Tal and Rosen (2009: 567-569) discuss two general models when it comes to the methods that are available for peace education: indirect and direct. The indirect model is about open-mindedness – about the questioning of dominant discourses and assumptions. It involves the teaching to children about tolerance, empathy and human rights and also suggests educating youth on non-violent conflict resolution skills (ibid). The direct model concerns the changing or adapting of societal beliefs and attitudes and thus the adaptation of behaviour. It is as well a long-term goal and is about “changing the perception of the Other’s narrative and the beliefs connected to this narrative” (Salomon, 2002: 9) whilst being able to lend legitimacy to the Other’s narrative and be critical of one’s own.

Both of these models, but particularly the direct one, conforms to Lederach’s (1997) explanation that the rebuilding of relationships is essential to conflict transformation for societies and peoples in intractable or post-conflict. Conflict transformation involves the transfer of not only conflict to peace behaviourally, but of a symmetrical attitudinal change.

This is where peace education can find its niche within this process. CPENR runs peer mediation workshops as part of their education program which teach children how to settle their own disputes peacefully and constructively and teaches students to act as mediators to their peers when they are having disputes. It is essentially about relationship building (CPENR, 2013). Kirsten Mandela of CPENR states that “peace education is definitely viewed as part of a broader conflict transformation approach. Almost twenty years after the violence, Rwandans are still reluctant to talk about conflict of any kind, and conflicts are often repressed instead of resolved” (Mandela, 2013). This follows the direct model by concentrating on attitudinal adjustment and developing understanding of differing perspectives (Harris: 1999: 300). Both CPENR and HTAC construct role-playing scenarios where they are taught to resolve conflicts peacefully and teach respect, tolerance and empathy (HTAC, 2012). Mandela (2013) of CPENR describes the classes: “The lessons consist of activities, discussions, and games, which promote independent thought and produce tangible skills for working towards peace”. Students are encouraged to engage with one another and reconciliation is promoted when required as part of their education (CPENR, 2013).

UNICEF (1999: 3) view peace education not as a separate subject but one meant to be incorporated into education as a whole, and this affects the methods applied. Governments and organisations wish to spread the message of peace and if the education is more incorporated than separated, it will open up room for a holistic rather than a narrow approach with regards to peace education within the transformative process (Lederach, 1997). Holistic means in this case that the form of education shall have a broad focus and will endeavour to encompass the whole spectrum of peace instead of concentrating on a particular part. This is obviously a challenge that any NGO will likely face when embarking upon peace education – they are limited to the areas they work in and therefore a more general holistic approach is not often possible as well as the fact, as exemplified by the two case illustrations, that work is constrained by numbers of personnel, reach, budget and government restrictions (Mandela, 2013; HTAC).

A balanced approach to peace education intends for young people to be “conscious of their own responsibility for peace” (Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999) and this is what HTAC and CPENR are aiming for (HTAC 2013; CPENR, 2013). It is following the line of constructivism as it hopes to actively induce an attitude and idea that can become inherent in children through this form of education. The education encourages participation as opposed to passivity in the learning process. The methodological approaches outlined in the case illustrations must confront structural obstacles in order for their practices to bear fruit – peace

must be seen as proactive (regarding social harmony, non-violent resolution etc.) rather than only a negation of war (Galtung, 1969; Lourenço, 1999). CPENR in Rwanda work towards this model, overtly or not, by practicing techniques which attempt to teach children equality and inclusion as well as resolution (CPENR, 2013).

It has been said that peace-keeping research is largely atheoretical – “the goal has been to identify what worked rather than how or why it worked” (Diehl & Druckman, 2010: 134). This runs contrary to the normative approach of this study which is that peace education requires theoretically researched knowledge to underpin its practices and for it to be an essential part of the transformative process. This is certainly a challenge for both theorists and practitioners alike. Lederach (1997: 7) wrote that “metaphorically peace is not merely a stage in time or condition. It is a dynamic social construct”. This notion of peace as a ‘construct’ enables theory to be integrated into the practical work of organisations such as HTAC and CPENR – it solidifies peace education as a normative approach in tackling reoccurring conflict in intractable or post-conflict societies. It can thus be argued that peace education *does* play a significant role in the overall transformative process.

Peace theory is also drawn upon by promoters of peace education “to teach the skills to construct a peaceful world and the motivation to live lives based upon non-violent principals” (Harris, 1999: 300). This relates and compares to how CPENR and HTAC work in the field; they both initiate programs that aim to counter the violent conflictual culture which has previously led to war on a large scale. They teach positive mechanisms that children can follow in order that they can learn the importance of relationships, reconciliation and restoration (HTAC, 2013; CPENR, 2013). This work includes role-play, non-violent resolution techniques, peer mediation, workshops, the role of respect and mutual trust, reading and cooperation (ibid). The theoretical approaches that strengthen their work links with the notion of transformation which is described as being “the movement from the latent stage of confrontation to the negotiation of dynamic, peaceful relationships” (Lederach, 1997: 75). Relationships and reconciliation are central to transformation and much of these organisations work incorporates the building and rebuilding of peaceful relationships amongst children.

‘Critical’ peace education theory focuses on “the social conditions of peace education”- essentially it is about tailoring peace education methods and practices into a local context (Bajaj, 2008: 137). This theoretical approach is of obvious importance and highlights the reasons why theory is vital to the practices of peace educators. Peace education is in no way uniform or universal and one set of methods cannot simply be always transferred – local setting, culture, environment and context will always dictate its practice (Harris, 2009). Peace

education, especially in intractable or post-conflict societies, must continually contest opposition to its presence and this often requires localised knowledge (Minow, 2002). As Kirsten Mandela of CPENR has observed, the locally-based people helping within the Network enable greater trust for the methods practiced (Mandela, 2013).

There are of course many challenges associated with peace education in intractable and post-conflict societies. Not only withstanding the potential hostilities of the surroundings, it is “extremely difficult” as well for practitioners to apply the broader notions of peace education – concerned with structure and transformation – within a country or society that has other prioritised needs (Vriens, 1999: 46-47). The concern initially for any peace-maker is about “restoration and recovery” rather than “reconciliation and relationships” (ibid) and naturally positive peace will take a back seat to negative peace and the cessation of direct violence. In the case illustration of CPENR, this challenge did not play a significant role as they began their work over a decade after the conflict had ended. That is not to say wounds have healed but that the organisation did not have to deal with physical restoration of human and infrastructure as such. However, HTAC are working in a country that is still undergoing a prolonged period of conflict and thus have comparably different concerns; they must have secure facilities where they can operate and by no means at all can go into any region of Afghanistan to initiate their projects (HTAC, 2012).

Another challenge in the whole field of peace education is the fundamental problem of the lack of longitudinal follow-up studies (Harris, 1999: 301). Given the inherent nature of the philosophy of peace education and the work being carried out, it is very difficult to measure results – successes or failures – over any short period of time. The measurement of the education of children is always longitudinal and with peace education it is increased as there is no way of knowing whether a program has been successful until a long time after it has ended (ibid). It is self-evident that peace education, with relation to both theory and practice, is a long-term peace-building endeavour. Without being able to measure results and outcomes, peace education practitioners must rely on experience and ethics and this again pinpoints the need for a theoretically researched foundation to prop up their work.

7. Concluding Remarks

As outlined at the beginning of this study, the purpose of this research project was to develop an understanding of if and how peace education can be applied as part of the conflict transformation process for children in intractable and post-conflict societies. I set out a normative position that peace education can and should be integrated and implemented into the broader notion of conflict transformation. To assist in my research aims, I decided to compare theoretically researched knowledge with practical methods being applied by peace educators in the field.

I drew upon case illustrations that comprised of two different organisations working with peace education in intractable or post-conflict regions. I have described and compared their methods with established theory relating to peace education and conflict transformation; I have endeavoured to develop an understanding of if and how theory impacts upon their work and to what extent it is incorporated within it. I have as well formulated a broader discussion on the role of peace education as part of the transformative process and elucidated on the benefits and challenges that confront peace educators.

The central research question was divided into several operational questions in order to firstly set parameters for the study itself, and secondly to allow me to form a clear and coherent analysis. These inferential questions were not set out to be ‘answered’ in an itemised fashion but rather to provide a foundation for the study and to be touched upon continuously throughout the text. The study has shown ways in which peace education for children is practically applied in post-conflict societies by use of the case illustrations and to an extent in which theoretical approaches underpin this work.

Conflict transformation “requires legitimacy, recognition, inclusion and coordination” (Lederach, 1997: 60) – through my study I have shown that peace education is a prerequisite to this, that it is an inherent part of the transformative process. Peace education has a vital role in preventing reoccurring cycles of war and it sets out long-term peace-building goals that although cannot be measured within a given timeframe, can be governable, malleable and attainable. It is vital that peace educators view their work as part of a broad transformative process and that theoretical research is incorporated within the methods that they apply so that the foundation of peace education is solid and sustainable. With the incorporation of

approaches that address structural, transformative and holistic based concerns, peace education has the capability to reconcile and rebuild societies that have been plagued by conflict. By focusing the education on children, governments and NGO's can methodologically apply practices that can assist in molding attitudinal changes that reject existing hostile historical mythologies and instead embrace adaptation and difference. If, to deliberately reference an oft-quoted cliché, 'children are the future' then peace education can help ensure one that has evolved beyond cycles of reoccurring violence into one that promotes conflict resolution methods to be met by peaceful means.

The study that I have conducted falls within the framework of applied peace research. Its normative position suggests that peace education has a prominent role to play in a wider transformative process and the research that I have undertaken attempts to contribute to knowledge and understanding to these fields of peace research. Due to the scope of this study, limitations have been placed with regard to the number of organisations that I have been able to examine that are actively involved with peace education for children. Therefore I certainly suggest that further research is required which allows the divergent methods practiced by peace educators to be explored and compared with theoretically based approaches. The measuring of results and outcomes requires evaluative research that is extensive in terms of general scope and timeframe; however more feasible is research that can assist in the analysis of peace education work and its role as part of an overall conflict transformation approach.

References

Literature

- Azar, E.E., 1990. *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases*. Aldershot: Dartmouth
- Bajaj, M., 2008. *Encyclopaedia of Peace Education*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, Inc.
- Baldo, M., & Furniss, E., 1998. *Integrating Life Skills into the Primary Curriculum*. New York: UNICEF.
- Bar-Tal, D., & Rosen, Y., 2009. Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Direct and Indirect Models. In: *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (Jun., 2009), pp. 557-575
- Bickmore, K., 1999. Teaching Conflict and Conflict Resolution in School: (Extra-) Curricular Considerations. In: A Raviv, L Oppenheimer & D Bar-Tal (Eds)., 1999. *How Children Understand War and Peace: A Call for International Peace Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. Ch. 11
- Chambliss, D.F., & Shute, R.K., 2010. *Making Sense of the Social World: Methods of Investigation*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publishing
- Clarke-Habibi, S., 2005. Transforming Worldviews: The Case of Education for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Journal of Transformative Education*, Vol. 3 No. 1, pp. 33-56
- Creswell, J., 2005. *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research* (2nd Edition). New Jersey: Pearson Education International
- Creswell, J., 2008. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publishing

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

Diehl, P.F., & Druckman, D., 2010. *Evaluating Peace Operations*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Freire, P., 1973. *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder & Herder

Galtung, J., 1969. *Theory and Methods of Social Research*. Oslo: Universitetsforl.

Galtung, J., 1975. Essays in peace research. Vol. 1, *Peace: Research, Education, Action*. Copenhagen: Ejlers

Galtung, J., 2003. *Positive and Negative Peace*. Baljit: Singh Grewal

Galtung, J., & Jacobson, C.G., 2002. *Searching for Peace: The Road to TRANSCEND* (Second Edition). London: Pluto Press

Haavelsrud, M., 2008. Conceptual Perspectives in Peace Education. In: M Bajaj (Ed)., 2008. *Encyclopaedia of Peace Education*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, Inc. Ch. 7

Harris, I.M., 1999. Types of Peace Education. In: A Raviv, L Oppenheimer & D Bar-Tal (Eds)., 1999. *How Children Understand War and Peace: A Call for International Peace Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. Ch. 14

Harris, I., 2009. A Select Bibliography for Peace Education. In: *Peace and Change*. Volume 34, Issue 4, pages 571–576, October 2009

Hine, C., 2000. *Virtual Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications

Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), 2003. *Resolution After Violent Conflict: A Handbook*. (Eds. D Bloomfield, T. Barnes & L Huyse). Stockholm: International IDEA

Jacobs, G., Macfarlane, R., & Asokan, N., 1997. *Comprehensive Theory of Social Development*. International Centre for Peace and Development. Available at: http://www.icpd.org/development_theory/comprehensive_theory_of_social_development.htm
[Accessed 21 May 2013]

Kayitesi-Blewitt, M., 2006. Funding Development in Rwanda: The Survivors' Perspective. In: *Development in Practice*. Volume 16, numbers 3&4, June 2006. Pgs. 316-321. Available via: <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/4030061?uid=3738984&uid=2129&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=21102041865503>. [Accessed 10 May 2013]

Kurtenbach, S., & Wulf, H., 2012. Violence and Security Concerns in Post-Conflict Situations. Duisburg: Institute for Development and Peace. Available via: http://inef.uni-due.de/cms/files/wp03_gesamt.pdf [Accessed 22 May 2013]

Lederach, J.P., 1997. *Building peace: sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press

Lederach, J.P., 2003. *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*. Pennsylvania: Good Books

Lourenço, O., 1999. Toward a Positive Conception of Peace. In: A Raviv, L Oppenheimer & D Bar-Tal (Eds.), 1999. *How Children Understand War and Peace: A Call for International Peace Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. Ch. 4

Magnarella, P.J., 2005. The Background and Causes of the Genocide in Rwanda. In: *Journal of International Criminal Justice*. Vol 3, Issue 4. Pgs. 801-822. Available via: http://www.thepicaproject.org/?page_id=154. [Accessed 10 May 2013]

Minow, M., 2002. Education for Co-Existence. In: *Arizona Law Review*, 44. Pg. 1-29

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 1989. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Available via: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx> [Accessed 12 May 2013]

Punamäki, R.L., 1999. Concept Formation of War and Peace: Between Child Development and a Politically Violent Society. In: A Raviv, L Oppenheimer & D Bar-Tal (Eds.), 1999. *How Children Understand War and Peace: A Call for International Peace Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. Ch. 6

Raviv, A., Oppenheimer, L & Bar-Tal, D., 1999. *How Children Understand War and Peace: A Call for International Peace Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Reardon, B., 1987. Peace Education: A Review and Projection. In: B Moon, S Brown & M B Peretz (Eds.), 2000. *International Companion to Education*. New York: Routledge

Salomon, G., 2002. *Peace education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. Mahwah, NJ. LEA

Strauss, S., 2006., *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. N.Y: Cornell University Press

Tjosvold, D., & Sun, H. F., 2002. Understanding Conflict Avoidance: Relationship, Motivations, Actions, and Consequences. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 13 (2), 142–164.

Toh, S.H., 2002. Peace Building and Peace Education: Local Experiences, Global Reflections. In: *Prospects* 2002 vol: 32 iss: 1 pg: 87

United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), 1999. *Peace Education in UNICEF*. New York: UNICEF Programme Publications. Available at:
<http://www.unicef.org/education/files/PeaceEducation.pdf> [Accessed 25 April 2013]

United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 2000. *Culture of Peace and Non-Violence*. Available via: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/bureau-of-strategic-planning/themes/culture-of-peace-and-non-violence/> [Accessed 23 May 2013]

Vartiainen, P., 2002. *On the Principals of Comparative Evaluation*. London: Sage Publications. Available at: <http://evi.sagepub.com/content/8/3/359.full.pdf> [Accessed on 25 May 2013]

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: A Raviv, L Oppenheimer & D Bar-Tal (Eds.), 1999. *How Children Understand War and Peace: A Call for International Peace Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. Ch. 1

Websites:

African Great Lakes Initiative (AGLI), 2013. Available at: <http://aglifpt.org/about.htm>. [Accessed between 10 April and 29 May 2013].

Children’s Peace Education Network of Rwanda (CPENR), 2013. Available at: <http://cpenrwanda.wordpress.com/>. [Accessed between 10 April and 29 May 2013]

Republic of Rwanda Government, 2011. *Moving forward in Rwanda's Education: Interview with Dr. Charles Murigande, Minister of Education*. Available at:

<http://www.gov.rw/Moving-forward-in-Rwanda-s-Education-Interview-with-Dr-Charles-Murigande-Minister-of-Education>. [Accessed 12 May 2013]

Transitional Learning Centre Rwanda (TLC), 2013. Available at:

<http://tlcrwanda.wordpress.com/> [Accessed between 10 April and 29 May 2013].

United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), 2002. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/ga/> [Accessed on 15 May 2013]

Others:

Kirsten Mandela., kirstenmandala@gmail.com, 2013. [Email discussions]. Messages to S.Slade., cloud2126@hotmail.com, 2013. Between 29 April and 27 May 2013.

United Nations, 1948. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml> [Accessed 20 May 2013]