BACKGROUND PAPER

LEARNING
to realize education's promise

FRAGILITY, CONFLICT, AND VIOLENCE

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Education is central to improving human welfare—both inherently and instrumentally—and yet there has never been a *World Development Report* on education. The WDR 2018 represents an opportunity to take stock of what we know and to provide guidance on how to expand the scope and quality of education around the world. It aims to lay the foundations for a sustained policy focus on learning outcomes and skills for life and work, and to provide guidance on how education systems can be reformed to deliver them.

Education is a right: it serves as a powerful instrument for eradicating poverty and promoting shared prosperity, but fulfilling its mandate and reaching its potential require better policies and delivery—both within and outside the education system. Education can make a positive contribution to both effective citizenship and social inclusion.

Getting an education is the surest route to escaping poverty: schooling typically leads to earnings gains of 6–12 percent for each year of education. Education's value also extends into other pecuniary and nonpecuniary benefits. Educated individuals lead healthier lives and are more engaged citizens, and their families end up healthier and better educated. Education is a key intervention to narrow gender and other social gaps. At the societal level, education spurs productivity and economic growth, and may increase social capital and improve the functioning of institutions. Finally, education multiplies the effects of other interventions and policies, such as agricultural extension, health care provision, and infrastructure improvements. All this evidence provides a strong rationale for investing in education.

Unfortunately, there are major obstacles to these goals in countries and areas affected by fragility, conflict, and violence. Fragility, conflict, and violence come in different forms and have significantly negative impacts on education systems, learning outcomes, and the very nature of how the pedagogical experience occurs. Such impacts can be lack of teachers, lack of finance, trauma from school-based and community-level violence, exclusion based on ethnicity, religion, or gender, or elevated disparities between neighboring regions.

This paper sets out to explore "fragility," "conflict," and "violence" as barriers to educational attainment that are related but also have distinctions that are important for addressing obstacles to learning (Appendix 1).

- Fragility involves the nature of the state and its relationship to its citizens—both the capacity and the will of the state to support educational goals.
- Conflict involves entrenched and frequently perpetuated differences and tensions between different identity groups that can be exacerbated by state fragility.

- Violence is an outward and destructive manifestation both of state fragility (inability to provide security) and conflict (unresolved points of tension, power imbalances, lack of means to resolve conflicts in an equitable manner).

Manifestations of fragility, conflict, and violence have negative consequences for education, undermining the environment for learning. These consequences include:

- *Impacts on state-society relations*, in which perceptions of the state and formal and informal institutions suffer—say, because of a loss of legitimacy of value systems and the institutions that embody them. There can also be a loss of trust in leadership and doubts that official institutions can or will provide protection.
- *Impacts on social relations and trust.* In the domestic sphere, these impacts can change gender as well as intergenerational relations.
- *Impacts on behavioral norms,* in which points of reference are shattered and the rules or norms of community members no longer guide allowed conduct. Such "cultural trauma" describes the loss or disintegration of cultural beliefs and values as new social patterns begin to emerge.
- *Transformations of identities*, which are connected to social cohesion, state legitimacy, and the shared memories of different communities.
- *Impacts on economic well-being and development;* see section below on violence *(*Pouligny 2014).

Challenges of Fragility, Conflict, and Violence

The effects on education of different elements of fragility, conflict, and violence have both immediate and long-lasting impacts on children's learning, well-being, and prospects (O'Malley 2010, UNESCO 2010). When governments lack the capacity or commitment to support education systems, there are far fewer children in school, and when children are in school, there are often either no teachers or schools lack resources for effective learning. In situations where the education system contributes to different forms of conflict—ethnic exclusion, gender exclusion, language of instruction—there will be reduced access to schools for certain groups as well as potential exacerbation of existing conflicts. Finally, and centrally for this paper, violence—bullying, gangs, forms of exclusion—exists in contexts that are not fragile states, including OECD countries, and the overall effect of actual or threats of violence has likely been underestimated in terms of their impact on access and learning.

Since the World Bank's *Low-Income Countries Under Stress* report in 2000, numerous studies and reports have sought to identify and address how fragility, conflict and violence affect education (Rose and Greeley 2006; Dryden-Peterson 2013; Winthrop and Matsui 2013). This paper draws on the 15 years of research and synthesis to identify the key aspects of education and fragility, conflict, and violence, particularly in alignment with the framing of *World Development Report 2018*. Partly due to displacements from the Syrian civil war, more attention has been paid to the education needs of refugees and internally displaced persons, both in camps and, increasingly, in urban settings (LIRS 2016), and this paper will include aspects of education in emergencies and displacement settings.

World Development Report 2011 generated a conceptual shift in assessing the contexts of fragility, changing the language of "fragile and conflict-affected states" to "fragility, conflict, and violence." Part of the rationale for this change was the recognition that violence can afflict parts of states not labeled as fragile under existing metrics, and the increased awareness of how criminal and interpersonal violence have deleterious effects on individuals and communities, as well as states. More recently, work on fragility, conflict, and violence has provided important grounding for assessing the spectrum of factors that contribute to fragility (OECD 2016).

This paper argues that a combination of factors in different contexts, termed *everyday fragility*, severely inhibit learning opportunities and outcomes for millions of children in both nonfragile and fragile states. Furthermore, lack of trust in formal political structures can lead to support for xenophobic and identity-based movements, acceptance of criminal networks, the use of violence to resolve local conflicts, and undermine the legitimacy of local and state institutions. The paper summarizes some of the main negative impacts on education regarding fragility, conflict, and violence, including identifying pertinent literature and resources, particularly in the less explored areas of violence as an interpersonal factor in relation to education.

For children, everyday fragility in relation to education means that part of their reality is the intersection of some of the factors that underpin everyday fragility. They experience highly unequal access to services, they live in differently governed—not ungoverned—spaces, and there is a risk of interpersonal violence at schools, or in the areas around schools.

Everyday fragility provides a way to conceive of education and fragility from the world of the child. In this case regarding learning more than education, there are also profound psychosocial and brain development impacts, or invisible wounds.

Several factors contribute to a denial of the right to education—a violent ecosystem, the treatment of displaced children and divisions within schools, attacks on schools due to the language of instruction (International Alert 2015; 2016; UNESCO 1998; UNESCO 2011). A human rights-based approach is particularly important to identify how less visible, individual, subtle forms of exclusion affect students, and how duty bearers fail in the provision of safe, secure, equitable education. This can include the ways in which teachers and principals treat lower caste members, people with disabilities, and minority groups, the threat of or real violence against girls, as well as the language of instruction or how textbooks portray history and culture.

The goals of this paper are to:

- Summarize policy issues related to education and fragility, conflict, and violence.
- Separate and reflect on fragility, conflict, and violence as related but distinct issues.
- Identify policy and programmatic responses.
- Identify connections with rights to education.
- Support operations that reduce factors that foster fragility, conflict, and violence.

Fragility and Fragile States and Regions

Fragile states are those that lack the capacity, will, or both to provide for the well-being and security of their citizens (OECD 2006; DFID 2007). In large, federal states, sometimes there are

highly differentiated political realities so that subnational fragility becomes the key feature (Examples include Mindanao, northeast Nigeria, and FATA in Pakistan; see Parks, Colletta and Oppenheim 2013.) There are instances where regions of large, federally governed countries provide some of the worst contexts for protecting children from harm, preventing conflicts from becoming violent, and supporting quality education. The absence of—or lack of capacity in sustaining—quality education programs in safe environments, as well as the frequency of extensive violent conflict[2] and reduced social cohesion within communities make children significantly more vulnerable to education failures. In these situations, state parties and armed groups are often implicated in increased levels of risk and toxic stress—including their involvement in the recruitment of children into fighting forces and the separation of children from their families.

Common features of fragile states include the:

- Presence of extensive violent conflict, significant violations of civil and political rights (or elevated risk thereof), or both.
- Limited capacity or will of governments or nongovernmental institutions to resolve conflicts or prevent violence.
- Weak capacity among governments at all levels to finance, regulate, or monitor education, making partnerships more difficult.
- Lack of aid delivery by donors directly to national governments, or active isolation of national governments by donors—and thus the use of a more diverse range of funding and education delivery mechanisms (World Bank 2011; OECD 2016).
- Fragmentation of services through multiple providers without effective regulation or oversight, so that some services may be delivered, but without a functioning education system (Appendix 2).

For this paper, "fragile states" and "fragile regions" refer to state capacity and legitimacy in service delivery, but also to the lack of will or capacity by government to prevent conflicts from becoming violent or creating forms of exclusion (OECD 2006; DFID 2006). They also include elements of decisions on school financing, teacher training, protection of minority groups and women, development of inclusive curricular materials, and mitigation of conflicts between contesting groups.

Education system and learning outcome challenges are most severe in countries affected by extensive violent conflict (UNESCO 2011). Children in the most affected countries consist of about 20 percent of the global primary school-aged population, yet comprise around 50 percent of those lacking access to education—up from 42 percent in 2008 (UNESCO 2013). They are nearly three times more likely to be out of school than children in non-conflict contexts (World Bank 2011) and far more likely to drop out of primary school before completion: 35 percent compared with 14 percent.

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[2] This paper uses "extensive violent conflict" as distinct from "conflict," which is broader and not necessarily destructive, and from "violence," which can be interpersonal rather than part of a wider political or social form of violence. The distinction is important—first to ensure that conflict is not equated with violence, and second to contribute to policies that would address larger-scale forms of violence as distinct from bullying or corporal punishment.

Lack of access to primary education in turn leads to secondary school enrollment in conflict-affected contexts that is more than a third lower than the low-income norm (UNESCO 2011). Of the total number of adolescents at the lower secondary school age who were not in school, more than a third were in fragile and conflict-affected states.

Furthermore, there are serious governance and capacity deficits in conflict-affected contexts that make education reform more challenging and make providing and administering international development assistance more complex and problematic (UNESCO 2011). Negative outcomes include:

- A state's inability or unwillingness to provide education (OECD 2006; World Bank 2011).
- Reduced access to education services, especially for girls (UNESCO 2011, 2013).
- Increased levels and forms of conflict, leading to violence or exclusion (Davies 2004; Bush and Saltarelli 2000).
- Fragile families and communities unable to support children educationally or emotionally (Science Daily 2016).
- Widespread breakdown of institutions (OECD 2016).
- Loss of the right to education (UNICEF 2000).[3]

Conflict

Conflict does not equal violence

For this paper, the concept of conflict is distinct from violence because all household, community, societal, state, and interstate relations involve aspects of conflict. A conflict requires some type of dispute or disagreement, which occurs daily in all societies but which is almost always resolved nonviolently due to social norms, community norms, and political or other—religious, traditional ethnic, patronage—institutions (Smith and Vaux 2003; Bekerman and McGlynn 2007). Conflict is often a constructive element of a dynamic society, but it becomes destructive when the parties to a conflict resort to violent means to advance their goals or cause. Over time, conflict resolution requires not only a reduction in the use of violence, but above all a dissolution of the underlying incompatibility so that the conflict cannot erupt into violence again (International Alert 2016; Davies 2004).

Thus, unlike much of the literature on conflict-affected states, this paper argues that conflict is not the same as violence, and is part of all societies. The greater problem arises when public and private institutions, including social norms, do not effectively resolve conflict without violence (OECD 2016).

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[3] This paper's approach to rights and education is aligned with the background paper on rights and education (Moriarty 2017)

Conflict and ethnicity

Conflict can negatively affect education in several ways, including the content and use of textbooks, forms of teacher training, and the explicit or implicit exclusion of students (Minority Rights Group 2015; Davies 2004; Bush and Saltarelli 2000). Education can also exacerbate conflict, such as through the language of instruction, representation of history and boundaries in textbooks, and teachers' attitudes toward excluded groups (as in Guatemala, Nepal, and Sri Lanka).

A rich literature explores the dynamics between education and conflict, beyond fragile states and separate from violence. Davies (2004) shows the complex ways that education can increase conflict through education policies and practices that exclude or humiliate minorities, exacerbate class and gender differences, and indoctrinate students through war or hate curriculums. Similarly, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) summarize examples of different conflict drivers in education. These include the uneven distribution of education and educational opportunities (Kosovo, Rwanda, Sri Lanka), education as a weapon of cultural repression (Kurdish students denied the right to speak in their mother tongue in schools in Turkey) and the denial of education as a weapon of war (closure of Palestinian schools by Israel). Other negative or conflict-inducing examples include the manipulation of history for political purposes, as well as the politicization of textbooks (Sri Lankan textbooks in 1970s and 1980s declared Tamils the historic enemy of the Sinhalese). There are also numerous instances of images asserting the superiority of one group over another (South Africa under apartheid conveyed the black population as inferior to white), and different systems of segregated education (South Africa and large parts of Sri Lanka).

A study in Nepal addressed the inherent potential conflicts that emerge out of changing education systems as part of nation building, ethnic diversity, and identity formation (Pherali and Garratt 2014). The study focused on post-Peace Accord transitional politics since 2006 in which the government sought to establish a universally recognized Nepali identity through the requirement of an official national language, Nepali. The study notes that "the policy to adopt Nepali as the only official language across all spheres of life has come at the cost of cleansing ethnic groups of their indigenous languages and often precious cultural identities" (Pherali and Garratt 2014, p. 46). Given that Nepal is home to more than 100 ethnicities and more than 70 linguistic communities, this language policy, the authors argue, amounts to state-sponsored linguistic coercion supported by "high caste elite groups" (Pherali and Garratt 2014, p. 43).

Education in Sri Lanka has been a contested area between the Sinhala (majority) and Tamil (minority) communities since independence from the United Kingdom (and leading up to independence; Lal 2016). The language of instruction and heavy emphasis on Sinhalese identify was one of the many factors that led to the emergence of violent opposition to the government in the 1980s, leading to a devastating civil war that culminated in the elimination of the Tamil Tigers as an effective military force. The postwar period presents many ongoing challenges, ranging from the availability of Tamil-speaking teachers to the presentation of the history of the civil war to students. A survey of international agencies operating in Sri Lanka after the civil war found that several agencies had country leaders who were openly supportive of the policies of the Rajapaksa government.

In ethnically stratified societies, privileged ethnic groups usually attain higher average education levels than do members of subordinate ethnic groups. Several factors underlie this pattern. A

privileged background enhances first, educational attainment, and students from advantaged ethnic origins benefit from the educational, occupational, and economic attainments of their parents. Dominant social groups use the education system to secure their privilege across generations. Second, in many countries (for example, Guatemala, India, Nepal) educational selection is based on criteria that favor the children of the cultural and political elite. Third, dominant ethnic groups may control political processes for school funding and are able to promote the schools attended by their children or their educational districts (Bush and Saltarelli 2000).

The structures and processes that appear to turn ethnic intolerance into unbridled violence are highly complex. A list of causal factors might include historical forces, economic tensions, poor governance, perceived threats to cultural identity and—in ways that are not fully understood— formal and informal educational processes. Ethnicity itself is often asserted to be a key contributor to ethnic conflict. But it is increasingly evident that "ethnicity neither causes conflict, nor in many cases does it accurately describe it. Rather ethnicity/identity is increasingly mobilized and politicized in contemporary extensive violent conflicts" (Bush 1997; cited in Bush/Saltarelli 2000, p. vii)

The dynamics of societal change may generate more sustained social tensions, such as evolving gender roles, changing population balances due to migration or displacement, or access to services. Though this may be true in any context (see many OECD countries), it is particularly challenging in fragile political systems. Yet most educational or other service delivery programs do not try to address these elements of conflict. This disconnect creates a negative spiral in which education systems contribute to greater factors of conflict, leading to possible violence, and the lack of conflict resolution practices interferes with further education goals. Ignoring structural factors means not only overlooking dimensions that take place at the macro level, but also not paying enough attention to the micro-level effects of development and conflict in society (World Vision 2015).

Violence

The World Health Organization defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation," though the organization acknowledges that the inclusion of "the use of…power" expands on the conventional understanding of the word (WHO 2002, p. 5). This definition involves intentionality with the committing of the act, regardless of the outcome it produces.

For example, participants at the WHO sponsored 2014 Global Violence Reduction Conference used the public health approach as their main analytical framework to develop a framework for response to sustained violence reduction. This approach understands violence with the "ecological model" developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner (WHO 2016). The model consists of four overlapping levels that all influence violent behavior:

- The individual level, which includes biological and personal history factors that increase the likelihood for victimization, perpetration, or both.

- The relationship level, which includes factors in personal relations between peers, family members, and intimate partners that make involvement in violence more likely.
- The community level, which refers to wider social relationships such as schools, the workplace, and neighborhoods that can play a role in violence.
- The societal level, which consists of lager macro-level factors for violence such as violent norms and values, social and economic policies, and traditional belief systems.

For this paper, consideration of violence includes understanding its origins and impacts at various levels, including political, intercommunal, school level, and intra-household. Education under attack presents the most vivid example of violence and education. But while the most dramatic, the most widespread forms of violence are corporal punishment and various manifestations of bullying.

Violence and trauma

There are four main mechanisms through which individual trauma affects individuals and communities. First, there are *functional impacts, which to the ways in which households and local communities relate to each other, and how they live out their daily lives.* The ways in which people within communities relate to each other will be affected by the presence of individuals who have various symptoms of trauma. Trauma shifts from an individual's experience to the overall life of a community in the ways that actions and relations are changed. This is especially the case in situations of complex trauma, which does not arise from a single event (Pouligny 2014).

A second mechanism is *symbolic impacts*, as trauma shapes how individuals and a community perceive of social relations. It can change the forms and meanings that define a sense of community and societal relations. These types of changes may be one of the notable differences between the results of interpersonal violence and other forms of trauma such as natural disasters.

A third mechanism is a potential *cycle of violence and trauma* which can become repetitive if the underlying facets of the specific traumas are not addressed. Cycles are inward and outward expressions of reactive violence in which victims can become perpetrators and vice versa. This is not a fixed cycle, but there is a greater risk of cyclical violence when the underlying traumas are now addressed.

Related to this is a fourth mechanism in which trauma has *intergenerational effects*—the notion of "historic trauma," where narratives of traumatic events are passed to the next generation. This relates to the narratives that identity communities construct out of their experiences, so that historic events can become perpetual grievances between ethnic groups, as well as fuel for political entrepreneurs to gain or maintain power through calling upon past trauma.

There are then five main dimensions of the impacts of trauma from violence (Pouligny 2014). The first is the *impact on social relations and trust.* In the domestic sphere, these impacts can change gender as well as intergenerational relations, as has been documented in Guatemala, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone. In the public sphere, changes can occur between identity and social groups. Transformations in the sense of community contribute to the weakening of informal social control mechanisms. Finally, civic trust and collective action capacity can suffer greatly, an aspect

strongly related to a deep sense of not feeling safe. This lack of trust and sense of safety has been borne out in several recent studies of community level perceptions in post-violent conflict situations (SLRC 2017).

A second dimension is the impact on *behavioral norms,* in which existing ways of relating, including resolving conflicts are broken, and the implicit structures and forms of behaviors are weakened or suddenly changed. (see World Bank 2015 for an overview of social norms and behavioral dynamics) This can be described as "cultural trauma" as it entails the loss or disintegration of cultural beliefs and values as new social patterns emerge from the violence induced trauma.

Third, the *transformation of identities* can be linked to various forms of social cohesion, shared memories of communities, as well as an impact on state legitimacy. The role of "chosen trauma" as it relates to identity describes how a community's experience of traumatic events can be deliberately mobilized for political and social action by an identity group. There can be both positive and negative outcomes, as it may promote a sense of a shared history and feelings of belonging for maintain social cohesion. There is also a dark of increased exclusion of other groups, a deepened 'insider' versus 'outsider' form of identity, as well as aspects of revenge, and increasing threats of violence.

Fourth, *state-society relations* can be shifted because of a lack of security, the belief that the state promotes or perpetuates violence, and thus expectations or perceptions of change in state and formal institutions. There can be a loss of trust in leadership and doubts that official institutions can or will provide protection. (SLRC 2017)

Finally, there are impacts on a community's *economic well-being and development.* There are pressures on cooperation and levels of trust due to the demands of seeking to provide care for individual traumas as well as seeking to manage their collective consequences. There can be a reduction of mutual support mechanisms and increased tensions among individuals and groups. The World Bank workshop, *Invisible Wounds*, highlighted how exposure to violence has a significantly negative effect on young people's ability to sustain livelihoods, which is echoed in some of the long-term studies of young lives (World Bank 2014; World Vision 2015; International Alert 2015)

Direct acts of violence against schools, teachers, and students

In many instances, particularly in countries or regions with elevated levels of violent political fragility, there are daily acts of violence against teachers and students. These can range from sexual violence to reduce girls' access to education to the assassinations of teachers and school principals as part of an overt political program of intimidation and threats. Sometimes school facilities are also destroyed. In some cases, armed groups—both government forces and opposition militias— will occupy schools as bases of operations, a means of enforcing their control over local communities, or both (GCEA 2014).

In addition, aid workers in education have increasingly been targeted, either as a weapon of intimidation or a statement of intent by the government or militia that education is not welcome

outside a specific ideology or set of norms. These acts of violence contribute to wider psychosocial insecurity and fear of education systems, as well as undermine the authority of school systems.

Violence in schools

Violence against children and its impact on their learning goes far beyond fragile states or direct attacks against schools, teachers, and students. The daily toll of corporal punishment and bullying is likely to be severely underestimated in education systems, due to the reluctance of teachers and principals to report problems and to the social acceptability of corporal punishment and bullying—implicitly or explicitly—in many countries.

PLAN Canada (2012) found that more that, globally, 500 million children experience or are exposed to violence every year. The principal areas of impact are:

- *Sexual violence.* This includes harassment, rape, abuse, coercion, and exploitation. According to the World Health Organization, globally, sexual violence had affected an estimated 150 million girls and 73 million boys under 18 in a single year. Most cases of sexual violence are committed by people a child knows, including teachers, peers, and community members. For example, authority figures may abuse their power to engage in "sex for grades" or for waiving school fees.
- *Bullying.* This is carried out through verbal or physical acts that inflict pain and suffering on a child over time. The way bullying is expressed is gendered: while boys are more likely to use fear, intimidation, or physical force, girls tend to bully one another through verbal abuse like gossip, rumors, or social exclusion. Teachers, too, may engage in bullying, by making children feel worthless or stupid.
- *Cyber-bullying.* A surge of modern technology is often accompanied with innovative ways to commit bullying. Text messages, email, and social media can turn violent and manifest in the classroom and beyond school grounds. Though digital channels can provide a positive space for girls, they also present dangers and new avenues for violence to occur.
- *Physical and psychological violence as "discipline."* In many parts of the world, students are exposed to corporal punishment as a form of discipline. Being spanked, slapped, hit, shaken, kicked, beaten, or belted—these are all forms of violence that teachers or school administrators may inflict on students. Psychological violence is also present in schools, where children may be belittled, humiliated, threatened, or ridiculed by staff and peers.

In 2006, half of the world's children lived in countries where corporal punishment was legal. As of June 2011, corporal punishment in schools was unlawful in 117 countries, though 80 had not yet fully implemented reforms that would move the legal prohibition into the classroom, where social norms often remain supportive of the use of force against children, primarily for "discipline." Gender discrimination in this respect is sometimes reflected in law. In Singapore, for example, corporal punishment of boys (but not girls) is legal. In some cases, the use of physical force with the intention of inflicting pain reflects teachers' impulsive reaction to behavior they dislike. Teachers may be more likely to resort to punitive discipline under stressful teaching and classroom conditions, such as overcrowding, insufficient resources, and increased emphasis on student achievement.

There is near total impunity for this violence, because it can be justified under the guise of discipline. Impunity for corporal punishment reflects deeply entrenched beliefs about acceptable forms of discipline, and often stems from a lack of institutional accountability. In addition to physical violence, psychosocial punishment is also inflicted on children through actions designed to belittle, humiliate, threaten, scare, or ridicule.

A 2012 study by PLAN UK, *Learn Without Fear*, reviewed the global impact of the use of physical and psychological violence as discipline. The study found that students in many parts of the world are routinely subjected to corporal punishment as a form of discipline. They argued that millions of boys and girls in these schools live in daily fear of being spanked, slapped, hit, smacked, shaken, kicked, pinched, punched, caned, flogged, belted, beaten, and battered by teachers, school administrators, or security personnel—people whom students often know and may trust. In some countries, more than 80 percent of students suffer corporal punishment at school. The work of PLAN and the Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishments points to the significant psychosocial costs, as well as the higher percentage of vulnerable children (lower caste, girls, LGBT, children with disabilities) who are the frequent recipients of institutional violence in the school setting (Vegneron 2017; GIECP 2016; PLAN 2014; O'Moore 2004; Young Lives 2016).

Local violence that affects students' ability to learn

It is possible to measure what happens to young people's education in situations of chronic violence to assess the negative impact on educational outcomes. For example, a study in Mexico measured exposure and persistence of violence in schools in Ciudad Juarez, where 60,000 students in localities exposed to drug war violence were analyzed between 2006 and 2010. Some of the main results highlight the strong correlation between violence and lost instructional time (students in violent localities were 30 percent more likely to arrive to class late than students in schools not exposed to drug wars; in addition, teachers were absent more often). The results also pointed to the higher presence of youth gangs in schools affected by violence (52 percent for schools exposed to drug wars against 24 percent for those not exposed), as well as the high proportion of schools suffering from high-intensity violence located in urban areas—regardless of poverty levels. The research also found a negative effect of drug-related violence on academic achievement (drug war exposure accounted for 24 percent of the average annual reduction in standardized math test scores between 2006 and 2011), with more severe effects on lower secondary schools than primary (Rabling, et. al. 2016).

The Mexico study also showed more negative effects of criminal violence in lower secondary schools with a widespread presence of street gangs in their surroundings. The researchers noted that various possible mechanisms explained these results, including a higher incidence of violence in the classroom when students are associated with gangs, the fact that more students are likely drawn into a world of crime when gangs are present, and probable higher incidence of student recruitment into drug cartels when gangs are present. A violent environment in the classroom likely hinders student learning due to factors such as fear, psychological stress, and physical harm. Moreover, the presence of gangs likely changes the opportunity costs for students to invest in their education relative to a life of crime.

Displaced populations

One crosscutting aspect of fragility, conflict, and violence and education involves children whose lives have been disrupted by being displaced from their home communities, due to violence, fear of violence, threats of ethnic cleansing, or natural disasters. Internally displaced persons and especially refugees face significant obstacles accessing schools and reaching their potential for learning (Pavanello 2013; International Alert 2015).

An aspect of the displacement dynamic is that when refugees cross borders, they often settle in areas that are relatively poor, unable to meet the requirements of the new population, or both (Ethiopia border areas, northern Jordan, northern Uganda). Thus, in the borderlands, the displaced increase the marginalization of local populations and find few resources for their own needs, including education (DFID staff interview).

Because some refugees are stuck in borderlands with few resources, others are moving to cities. Globally more than half of forced displaced persons reside in urban areas—with reportedly three-quarters of the 2.5 million Syrian refugees in Turkey flocking to cities. Urban displacement has emerged as a new dimension to the challenges faced in determining longer-term development, beyond the short-term humanitarian responses to internally displaced persons and refugee issues and needs. The movement of people to non-camp urban settings is exacerbating the vulnerability of poor urban residents. Shelter is an immediate priority for those displaced by extensive violent conflict. The temporary shelter they take up on arrival often becomes a longer-term home.

The educational plight of refugees is highlighted in a recent country study by three refugee agencies (LIRS 2016). In all the Middle Eastern and Northern African countries, many refugee children are out of school and—especially for those who have now missed up to six years of schooling—are rapidly losing the ability to catch up. Primary school attendance in Syria was quite high; before the war, almost all of Syria's children had been enrolled in primary school and the literacy rate was an impressive 95 percent for 15- to 24-year-olds. Now, with the ongoing conflict, an estimated 2.8 million children are no longer in school and Syria is estimated to have one of the world's lowest enrollment rates.

The loss of schooling for the current generation of Syrians, whether refugees or those still living in Syria, represents a real step backward in human development. Without education, young people understand that their hopes for the future are circumscribed. Lack of education has long-term impacts for children, their families, future generations, and the society that must contend with large numbers of unskilled, embittered youth. Children who are not being educated become especially vulnerable to exploitation and recruitment into military activity (Mercy Corps 2014).

One aspect of the displacement dynamics is that refugees and internally displaced persons are increasingly settling in urban areas. Globally, urbanization is being driven by a range of factors including economic migration from rural areas and displacement because of conflict, political instability, or natural disasters.

The right to education for displaced children is often difficult to realize in urban areas, with multiple pressures on access and availability of education services. Displaced children and young adults in urban areas face barriers to accessing education, even where services are available, in both formal and informal settings. These include lack of documentation, policy restrictions, actual (fees) and hidden costs (including transportation), and insecure environments both while travelling

to school and in school. If they can access education, they can face further challenges related to language or curriculum, and discrimination by teachers and other students, which further affects their attendance, retention, and learning outcomes. A further barrier is that the cost of living in urban areas is significantly higher than in rural areas. Vulnerable families often cannot manage the loss in income they face if the child or young adult attends education.

International Alert (2015) presented the findings from a case study comparing the impact on social cohesion of segregated and mixed schooling systems of Lebanese and Syrian refugee students. Based on qualitative research with students, their families, and teachers, the report argues that perceptions and relationships between students in mixed classes improve over time. Though this change bears little impact on relationships beyond school or the attitudes and relationships of family and community members, it does equip students with the ability to counter prevailing prejudice. The adoption by ministries and partner donors of an integrated approach bridging education reform with social cohesion programs within the school would support better social relationships and educational attainment for all students**.**

Surveys by International Alert, LIRS/CRS, and others have found that Syrian students in mixed classes also conveyed a better and more diverse perception of the Lebanese than did Syrians in the segregated afternoon shift. In both Akkar and Burj Hammoud, Syrian students conveyed a positive impression of their neighbors, describing them as "very supportive and helpful." Students in Akkar conveyed a positive impression of some classmates at school and acquaintances in their neighborhood because they treated them fairly and humanely, including some teachers and the school director. Syrian students in Burj Hammoud also noted that some close Lebanese friends or neighbors would stand up for Syrian families against hostile or unpleasant encounters. Nevertheless, others still described the Lebanese as discriminatory and expressed bitterness at being harassed or humiliated as Syrian refugees.

Rights and Education under Fragility, Conflict, and Violence: How Does Accountability for Human Rights Contribute to Education Programs in Such Situations?

Rights-based approaches can help ensure fragility assessments include a focus on the right to education as part of understanding the rights of children and the roles of the state, civil society, and donors. They contribute to an overall framework for identifying the obstacles to realizing the right to education. From a basic analysis using a human rights-based approach, country programs can engage with governments in situations where limits on state capacity or donor engagement make issues fraught with uncertainty. An approach based on a child rights analysis can help donors and civil society organizations find greater room for engagement with both governments and communities.

Although human rights-based approaches are not explicitly designed as a resource for analyzing fragility, conflict, and violence, they can identify some of their causes and manifestations by analyzing and understanding violations of children's rights and the root causes of violations, examining the legal and institutional frameworks for addressing these, and determining the capacity and will of duty-bearers—especially the state—to address violations

- *A human rights-based approach strengthens* the capacities of rights-holders to make their claims, and of duty-bearers to meet their obligations, including accountability for services.

- *Obligations flowing from a human rights-based approach:* a human rights-based approach engenders policy and programmatic obligations, and thus accountability helps combat persistent inequities and exclusions from quality services.
- *Value-added of a human rights-based approach:* a human rights-based approach adds value to standard policy discourse, and helps identify the potential pitfalls of using technical approaches without addressing rights and accountability for those rights.
- *Human rights-based approach, service delivery, and outcomes:* poor service delivery undermines human rights to education, health, waster, and sanitation. These unfulfilled rights worsen life outcomes for children and youth from poor communities, and social accountability provides one way to support core goals of a human rights-based approach.

The right of access to education is the right of every child to education based on equality of opportunity and without discrimination on any grounds. To achieve this goal, education must be available for, accessible to, and inclusive for all children. Thus, it must be determined who is excluded, why, and how can this be overcome.

The right to quality education is the right of every child to quality education that enables him or her to fulfill his or her potential, realize opportunities for employment, and develop life skills. To achieve this goal, education needs to be relevant, embrace a broad curriculum, and be appropriately resourced and monitored. Thus, the learning crisis must be overcome and learning must be measured.

The right to respect within the learning environment is the right of every child to be respected for her or his inherent dignity and to have her or his universal human rights respected within the education system. To achieve this goal, education must be provided in a way that is consistent with human rights, including equal respect for every child, opportunities for meaningful participation, freedom from all forms of violence, and respect for language, culture, and religion. Thus, children must be protected from conflict and violence.

Policies to Address Fragility, Conflict, and Violence and Displacement

Reforms in fragile states

Donors need to gain a better understanding of the key governance challenges facing education in different fragile situations and highlight implications for supporting the education sector during diverse types of fragility, including situations where the state is not fragile but there are deeply rooted sources of conflict, violence, or both. Addressing "sector governance" in fragile situations contributes to better, more sustainable results in development. A related goal is to better understand the key macroeconomic and sector governance features that enable or hinder the development transition through emergency relief, recovery, reconstruction, and more sustainable sector development (Wales, Magee, and Nicolai 2016).

Recent work by the Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium highlights that delivering education is never a neutral or apolitical process. Instead, how education is delivered matters, with the key point from the six-year, eight-country study concluding that "it is not what you do but how you do it" (SLRC 2017)**.**

Facing these issues, what can donors do? The design and approach to monitoring a program should depend on whether a donor's priority is to improve education outcomes, strengthen the education system, or catalyze broader societal change. The scope of the program should recognize the scale of the investment—where donors are contributing a small proportion of the education budget, their impact is unlikely to be great. Although the risks of working through government may be greater, the potential benefits and influence are usually greater when it is possible to work that way.

Whether to work with and through government systems will depend on political factors and the balance of perceived risks. Within all the components of the education system (stewardship, financing, resource management, and service delivery) there is a spectrum of interventions ranging from those that directly support government to those working totally outside it. The middle of this spectrum is where significant thinking and experimentation is occurring, and some of these more innovative approaches are likely to prove effective. Donors do not need to exclusively fund through either government or parallel/nongovernmental channels, and in most instances a blend (with variable proportions) will be most appropriate. It should be possible for essential educational needs (such as basic classrooms) to be met with minor risk of undermining broader and more strategic reforms.

Wherever possible, donors should support core stewardship functions—helping national governments lead the development of coherent and realistic education strategies and coordinate various stakeholders. This is particularly important given the range of actors and instruments working in education, with overlapping and competing agendas: United Nations, bilateral and multilateral agencies, NGOs, and many global education partnerships. Strong leadership, effective priority setting, and strategic capacity building are required. The needs for harmonization and rationalization of support in fragile states are particularly pressing, and may necessitate some agencies changing how they operate.

It is important to think ahead and use evidence emerging from countries that have recovered from extensive violent conflict and from other low-income countries to develop approaches that reflect current thinking, rather than just try and rebuild what worked in the past. Donors must be prepared to invest in developing new roles and skills to reflect the new role of the state as it moves from monopoly provider of services to steward of the entire sector.

Though education specialists may never agree on a list of priorities that fit every situation, the case studies reviewed suggest a brief list that can be used as a starting point. These are presented below for states coming out of fragility. In states heading toward fragility, the priorities would remain the same, though the actions would take a different cast.

- *Teacher training*: there should be an immediate rollout of basic teacher training workshops, along with first steps to rebuild a teacher training system.
- *Provision of learning materials*: immediate delivery should commence of whatever useful materials are available for teachers and students, and first steps should be taken to build a relevant curriculum and quality textbook procurement and distribution system.
- *Community support*: immediate measures are needed to reconnect families and communities with their schools, as are first steps to institutionalize school-community relationships.

- *Learning spaces*: communities should receive immediate help in finding safe and healthy places to teach, even if temporary, and first steps taken to map schools and set construction standards and procedures (USAID 2006).

Humanitarian and development mix—strengthening education systems

Despite 15 years of work on better analysis and programming in situations of fragility, the architecture of the international aid community remains fixed around humanitarian and development assistance. The prolonged nature of humanitarian crises and state fragility requires approaches that take a longer-term view, particularly with education, for which there can be no quick fix (Rose/Greeley 2006; Commins 2009).

Coordinating education during emergencies and reconstruction: challenges and responsibilities.

Coordinated education systems in humanitarian settings have the following advantages:

- Become longer-term connective tissue linking together people from the same country.
- Address fundamental value shared by families, communities, and nations.
- Enhance the relevance of education for children by connecting them to their peers.
- Unify people thought to be separated by ethnicity, region, or religion by using a common education system.

A simple dichotomy between humanitarian and developmental approaches is unhelpful. Many fragile and conflict-affected states are countries with protracted crises that last for many years, and often leave large numbers of people extremely vulnerable. Donors and aid instruments need to adjust to varying levels of extensive violent conflict, political uncertainty, and government capacity. There needs to be clear analysis of the short-term and long-term tradeoffs and the specific goals and objectives of humanitarian instruments, particularly if short-term interventions might run counter to creating local institutional capacity and create parallel systems that further fragment aid programs (Commins 2009).

Reforms must be approached by thinking beyond ministries of education. And, part of this is the necessity of addressing the difference between government and governance. Within a state, there need to be many instruments and approaches for service delivery, whether public, Non-State Providers, or a combination. To have external support, programs and policies will need to address mismatches of concepts and languages between donors and countries—that is, ministries of education are about systems and levels of operations; donors are about programs.

One key element that would contribute to fragility-informed programming is an analysis of power structures and social networks that shape education. This could be developed in relation to Education Systems Strengthening (as with Health Systems Strengthening), as this is not just technical, it is also about power relations. To ground this work, ESS approaches can be used through the development of community-level approaches.

In the case of supporting reforms, too much of the discussion of aid instruments has been a debate on design of instruments. But the key is implementation, not design. There are still serious

obstacles with donor organization mandates compared to time required: funding mechanisms, aid instruments, and transitions driven by donor politics and bureaucracies, not the realities in the country and the timeframes for making decisions.

New initiatives are emerging, such as the Education Cannot Wait Fund, which seeks to transform the delivery of education in emergencies—one that joins up governments, humanitarian actors, and development efforts to deliver a more collaborative, and rapid response to the educational needs of children and youth affected by crises. The fund aims to reach all crisis-affected children and youth with safe, free, quality education by 2030. (Nicolai et. al. 2016)

Social accountability

One avenue for overcoming the obstacles of fragility as it relates to learning is by engaging with local communities using mechanisms that ensure accountability in education. The starting point for many contexts of fragility is that these governments are poorly positioned for effective social accountability. There are diverse experiences with approaches to these processes and types of accountability structures that have emerged in selected contexts of fragility (Oosterom 2009). Different experiences with service delivery in fragile and conflict-affected states have pointed out the difficulties in establishing accountability mechanisms. In many contexts of fragility, accountability mechanisms have been weak—and establishing these mechanisms is time-consuming and fraught with obstacles (World Vision 2012).

There are useful lessons from experiences with implementing in fragile and conflict-affected states, such as that working with civil society actors can be effective even in situations where they have limited capacity and power to engage with the state (for example, in authoritarian settings). To achieve change, it is usually necessary to broker relations between civil society groups, other powerful nonstate actors, and the state (say, through policy days, public forums, and meetings seeking to overcome division and exclusionary factors).

In fragile and conflict-affected states, external agencies need to be careful to pay more attention to analyzing state and civil society capacity for engagement. Based on experience, external agencies may:

- Identify and support local accountability mechanisms based on a mapping of existing capacity and identification of potential change agents
- Strengthen partnerships across sectors and demographic and geographic divides, including through peer support and network building.
- Strengthen the social contract by understanding power dynamics and supporting alliances that cut across the public-private divide (Oosterom 2009; World Vision 2012).

The International Refugee Committee (IRC 2015) has undertaken social accountability mechanisms in the Democratic Republic of Congo under a long-term program called Tuungane. The project involves working with local government officials to build trust and develop ways for local development committees to engage with service providers. The rigidity and hierarchical nature of DRC systems presented significant obstacles both for engagement with and openings for greater citizen participation over time. Decades of conflict have both weakened services and created levels of mistrust that cannot be overcome without support for both officials and citizens.

IRC and partners invested in the training of more than150,000 community members in the community scorecard process and external evaluations found that community members noted an increase in health and education user committee members' involvement in the management of health facilities and schools, which they attributed to the community scorecard process.

There are also useful lessons from the experience with implementing the DFID-funded Within and Without the State program in Afghanistan, Israel, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, South Sudan, and Yemen. The program found that working with civil society actors can be effective even in situations where they have limited capacity and power to engage with the state (such as in authoritarian settings). To achieve change, it is necessary to broker relations between civil society groups, other powerful nonstate actors, and the state (again, through events such as policy days, public forums, and targeted meetings). This triangulated approach helps support the development of the social contract. Aid agencies should also develop a better understanding of gender inequality as a driver of conflict, and informal power arrangements that support or constrain change. Overall, the process of citizen-state engagement is as important as the outcome (Oxfam 2012).

There is a significant caveat, though, in terms of social accountability and citizen engagement, which also ties in to the next section on human resources. Communities are not equal regarding how social, political, and economic relations are shaped and then shape services, such as education. Before promoting accountability or engagement initiatives, external agencies need to be attuned to the forms of exclusion that exist within a community, and thus the potential for these initiatives to increase or reduce conflict and fragility, depending on the design and structure of the process.

Human resources for education

Four major, interrelated areas of common concern for human resource development in the education sector in conflict-affected and fragile states or situations of violence are:

- Quality and appropriateness of existing education and training programs.
- Gender.
- Aspiration and leadership.
- Employment issues (INEE/HFSN 2013).

The quality and appropriateness of current education and training models are problematic for education workforce development. Low quality of education, a key challenge globally, is particularly problematic in conflict-affected contexts in short supply of able school graduates. Academic certification processes are flawed and do not always correlate with skills. While secondary education is critical to long-term workforce development, informal and short-term technical and vocational education and training are more appropriate to produce education workers than school-based education, particularly in refugee, post-conflict, and other contexts where schooling has been disrupted and populations displaced. Lack of appropriate, effective in-service training also adversely affects workforce development.

Maintaining gender balance in the workforce is a challenge. In many conflict-affected contexts, fewer girls graduate from secondary school and fewer young women enter employment than do boys and young men. This perpetuates a vicious circle: fewer female teachers and healthcare workers means fewer girls and women can go to school or access healthcare. Among the serious

issues that limit secondary education access of girls is security—particularly about sexual predation in and on the journey to schools—and concerns for their safety and honor. Female teachers face the same security and honor issues. Schools can become safer and more acceptable for girls by increasing the number of female educators.

Closely related to the above concerns is that of aspiration: many marginalized and disadvantaged young people, especially but not only young women, have difficulties seeing a path or role for themselves in the education sector. Role modeling and mentorship are both useful strategies for workforce development. A parallel problem is that in some contexts young people's aspirations, focused on formal, government-salaried jobs, are too high: education and health workforce needs in conflict-affected and fragile contexts are not primarily for university graduates (doctors, graduate teachers).

Finally, education workers who have acquired the essential training and skills often cannot be employed where the needs are greatest due to irrationalities in the employment system, corruption, patronage, discrimination, and failure to recognize the qualifications of returnees who received training outside the country.

Addressing negative conflict

NGOs and civil society organizations (CSOs) can help address local forms of conflict when they are able to analyze how and why parents and teachers participate in local school committees and parent-teacher associations (PTAs). Where diverse groups are fragmented, agencies can assess the impact of different forms of participation on civil society building by measuring social capital indicators (types of networks among associations and program participants, confidence in elected officials and public institutions among parents and teachers, participants' levels of engagement, glimpses of trust or lack of it).

Different forms of education and training, along with monitoring, are required to address how teachers engage with students in situations of fragmentation or exclusion. Teachers and community groups can be supported to create bridges across ethnic and religious groups. Parents may be reluctant or even hostile toward meeting parents of other ethnicities and religions without careful introductions and the establishment of shared goals.

Reducing violence

The community's role in protecting education from attack is critical and should be an area of focus. While the community can be part of the problem of attacks as well, community ownership of local provision of education is essential to the protection of schools, teachers, and students. Educators work to engage local communities, especially parents and parent-teacher associations, in protecting and monitoring school safety. Finding synergies to improve community monitoring and protection could be a key area of collaboration (GCPEA 2014).

In addressing violence, greater attention to how local, regional, and national social norms and framing affect and sometimes promote bullying or corporal punishment is necessary. (Some of the concepts can be found in *World Development Report 2015*, though the report does not directly address this issue. The World Bank's *Invisible Wounds* workshop also provided some relevant

policy concepts.) Along with the norms and framing, the basic aspects of pedagogy are important regarding how teachers, principals, and other administrators seek to reduce violence, as it is difficult to change norms and pedagogy. One critical element in this effort is the recognition that, particularly in poorly resourced rural areas, the teacher is the face of the state, and thus carriers of authority that are not easy to question. Addressing forms of violence such as corporal punishment or bullying will require approaches that promote agency of groups that seek to reduce violence, and this often requires promoting girls' agency. But it is not feasible or practical to promote agency for just one individual: it is necessary to need to work with the community, however complex this proves to be.

Areas of interest for addressing on personnel, facilities, and students include:

- *School and community safety and protection committees* that organize unarmed protection measures.
- *Physical infrastructure* such as boundary walls, razor wire around schools, safety and security equipment, security cameras, metal detectors, and visitor screening at schools.
- *Demarcation of schools with symbols* to prevent targeted attacks.
- *Designing and constructing safe school sites,* including by building safe play areas and using strong construction materials able to withstand attacks.
- *Unarmed guards* from schools and communities used as safety patrols and escorts to and from school.
- *Teacher/student housing* near or on campus made available to reduce the risk of travel on dangerous routes to and from school (GPCEA 2016).

Given that attacks are largely politically motivated and that identity is so heavily involved in conflicts, the curriculum and content of education seem to be critical areas to analyze in explaining why attacks occur and how they can be prevented (GCPEA 2014, 2016).

Psychosocial responses to trauma in children require more attention as a long-term impact, as well as trauma that affects teachers. Mental health responses can be provided in schools, and teacher training to identify signs of trauma and refer students to health services is an area that can be jointly developed. A human resource gap exists in this area. Teachers and other education workers are well placed not so much to treat trauma, but to refer trauma victims to appropriate healthcare workers. In some cases, teachers contribute to the trauma due to entrenched practices that could also be addressed by training and sensitization initiatives influenced by both sectors (Mercy Corps 2014b; LIRS 2016; International Alert 2016).

Responding to displacement

Education programs need to be designed to address the needs of the urban displaced, returning refugees, and host communities in a way that promotes social integration and mitigates tension. Broad, inclusive approaches that address the shared vulnerabilities and needs of both displaced people and their host communities may help promote a sense of community that embraces the displaced, encourages positive interactions between the displaced and local communities, and helps dispel prejudice and hostility. A key focus should be expanding access to infrastructure and services for both displaced people and their host communities in areas with high concentrations of displaced people, which can alleviate the additional burden placed on host communities while

fostering perceptions that displaced people can bring positive benefits to the whole community (Norwegian Refugee Council 2016; LIRS 2016; Mercy Corps 2014; World Vision 2015; al-Saadi 2015).

Displacements and thus refugees and challenges involving internally displaced persons are long-term problems, not just humanitarian emergencies, and so cannot be addressed through humanitarian instruments only. In the instance of large-scale and protracted displacements, the approach should be to both respond to the current protracted crisis and prepare for future programs by improving education for both local populations and the displaced. This would include closing gaps in education services and balancing the requirements of local communities with the displaced. As noted, displaced people may arrive in borderlands that are already poorly served in terms of education services—or they may, increasingly, end up in urban areas where they are less visible to both the government and donors.

Conclusion

Among the service sectors, education has unique relevance for issues of national and cultural identity—issues that may be extremely contentious in situations of overt conflict. Education can provide the glue for social cohesion, an entry point for children into better lives, and the potential for reducing marginalization and improving cohesion. In situations of fragility, education services can provide important normative bases, encouraging a sense of normalcy and social stability in fragile contexts. There are specific ways in which fragility, conflict, and violence pose special challenges for education development policy (Appendix 2).

- Educational attainment is related to long-term outcomes, rather than short-term indicators.
- Identifying appropriate partners—such as community and religious organizations, or subnational governments—requires careful attention to longer-term institutional implications.
- Assistance priorities and opportunities will depend on the current context and phase of fragility.

In addressing fragility, conflict, and violence, key goals involve carefully addressing the complexities of how the timeframe or humanitarian versus development divide is manifested at various levels of the education system. The priority must be maintaining or restoring education services at some basic level, if the services have been destroyed or otherwise lost, and at the same time, taking a long-term perspective on what activities are needed to have a stronger, more effective, and more inclusive education system.

In situations of conflict or violence, the objectives in strengthening education will have some type of dual dimension that involves both ensuring that there is continuity in service provision while also seeking to significantly affect how the service is provided. This may involve such areas as:

- *Teacher training*. A focus on basic pedagogical skills for both teachers in the classroom (and done in the classroom, not separate from it); and the first steps to address existing norms and behaviors as related to mistreatment or marginalized groups, such as bullying or corporal punishment. This leads directly to the issue of:

- *Provision of learning materials*. In post conflict and other fragility settings, there is an understandable expectation that teaching will begin with whatever materials are useful and available. But steps must also be taken quickly to address how curriculums, textbooks, and the language of instruction may fuel future conflicts.
- *Community engagement*. A few measures are needed to reconnect families and communities with their schools and first steps taken to address how communities may reinforce negative forms of conflict, bullying, or violence unless there are direct and specific methods of reducing these problems.

A strong commitment is required to support policy and programmatic changes to address various elements of fragility, conflict, and violence in education. This includes improving the ability to institutions to function in protracted crises or amid sudden shocks (such as displacement), identify the priority areas of support for government and nonstate providers, and assessment tools for monitoring the impacts on children. Among the questions for further consideration are:

- *What will support a greater focus on education in emergencies*, as well as education in protracted crises, the conflict-laden aspects of pedagogy and the school site, and the social and political norms that condone or encourage violence against children?
- *What type of additional support through governmental and nonstate systems are essential services* and how should it be delivered? What kinds of essential services are most critical for diverse types of fragility, conflict, and violence in different contexts, especially for the most vulnerable (including girls, excluded groups, and those with disabilities)?
- *How can data and information be used to better target essential services for those affected by fragility, conflict, and violence?* The goal of this paper is to examine whether and how data can be used as part of decision making for when education services need to be scaled up as opposed to when basic reforms are required, as well as how to ensure that education services reach the most vulnerable when needs exceed capacity.
- *How can programs delivering education essential services be maintained through protracted crises and long-term manifestations of fragility?* The goal here is to determine how programs can be designed to enable education services to be maintained through humanitarian, transition, and post crisis phases, recognizing that these are not linear. This should include looking at financing mechanisms, delivery mechanisms, and how program design can adapt to fragility.
- *How can systems—including public and private institutions—delivering education services be responsive to manifestations of diverse forms of fragility, conflict, and violence?* Tailored approaches include an assessment of what makes an education system exceptionally vulnerable or resilient, and identifying way to strengthen positive elements in education programs.

Appendix 1: Fragility, Conflict, and Violence as Related but Distinct Factors
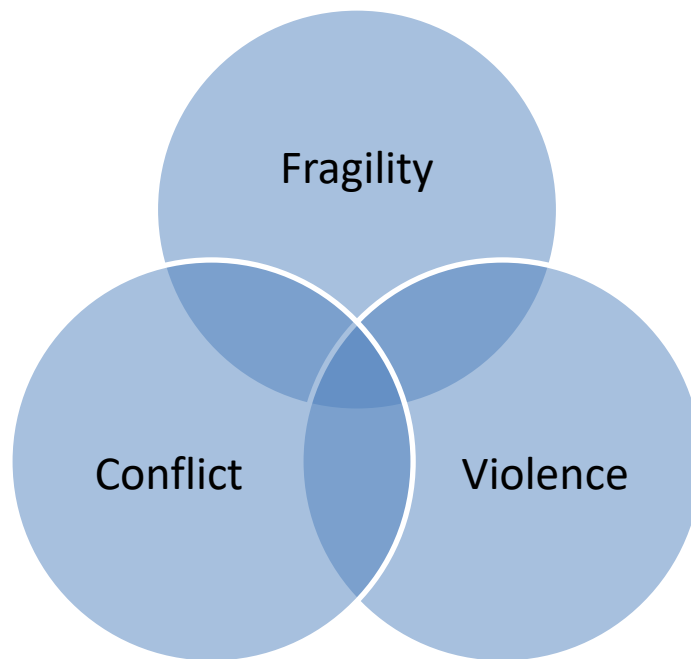
Fragility involves the nature of the state and its relationship to its citizens—both the capacity and will of the state to support education goals. Conflict involves entrenched and frequently perpetuated differences and tensions between different identity groups that can be exacerbated by state fragility. Violence is an outward and destructive manifestation both of state fragility (inability to provide security) and conflict (unresolved points of tension, power imbalances, lack of means to resolve conflicts in an equitable manner).

- Fragility contributes to greater unresolved conflict because the state is either unable or unwilling to reduce negative forms of conflict, or the state contributes to greater conflict, either deliberately or through lack of capacity to address underlying issues.
- Conflict contributes to fragility when unresolved conflicts reduce trust in the state as a source of security, fairness or services, such as education.
- Fragility contributes to violence through the lack of security for people affected by violence, through the perpetuation of violence as a form of state intimidation and control, and through the spread of differently governed spaces occupied by "uncivil" society.
- Violence contributes to fragility by delegitimizing the state, increasing the willingness of individuals and identity groups to seek alternative forms of retribution, and fostering grievances that require remediation.

- Unresolved conflict contributes to violence by promoting grievances from exclusion, giving legitimacy to violence against excluded groups, and undermining social norms that mitigate against violence.
- Violence increases negative conflict through shared trauma and a shared sense of injustice.

Appendix 2: Key Issues for Donors

Why Education Is Important to Address the Causes of Fragility

- Education can reduce conflict between groups when social cohesion is included as a core norm for programs, and can reduce exclusion by providing a shared platform for community cohesion.
- Education services can be an entry point for donors to engage with government and civil society.
- Education serves as one element of the "peace dividend" in post conflict countries.
- Good education services delivery enables government to be effective and increase its legitimacy.
- Good education services can help break the vicious cycle in which fragility causes poor education indicators, and poor education can be a cause of alienation and grievances.

Systemic Weaknesses of Education in Fragile States

Education systems in fragile states have myriad needs, including:

- Few functional management systems are in place and management capacity is lacking. Without systems, there is no basis for developing budgets, tracking expenditures, assessing workloads, or tracking the availability of human resources.
- Government is neither providing nor regulating education services. For the most part, education services are provided by nonstate providers but with no policy direction or monitoring by government.
- There are no systems for establishing policy. Education systems are like a ship without a rudder. There is no direction or course to follow. Education providers have been free to undertake whatever services they desire and to provide non-standardized training to education workers.
- Education systems lack infrastructure. There are insufficient facilities, human resources, equipment, and supplies.
- Policy implementation is nonexistent. Education systems and government have been in disarray, so national policies have not been established to steer education systems. Policies that do exist are not followed because there is no oversight of the education sector or of policy implementation.
- Education systems operate without adequate information. There may be no information at all. There is no information on learning outcomes, what kind of and how many education facilities exist, and where education workers are located.

Priority Tasks for Donors Assisting Fragile State Education Ministries

One feasible approach would be to develop a set of key systems indicators similar to those in Health Systems Strengthening[4]. This could contribute to a sharper, agreed focus on basic elements

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[4] Health Systems Strengthening is a broad concept, and there is no single set of best practices that can be put forward as a model for improved performance in every context. WHO, in an effort to fill this gap, developed the Framework for Action which consists

of Education System Strengthening—governance, finance, human resources, supply management and school sites, inclusion/access, pedagogy—as required in different contexts.

- *Donor coordination*. Establish one platform for humanitarian and development resources, explore the potential for pooled funds or a basic package for education.
- *Finance*. Provide reliability by committing to long-term financing, ensure flexibility in financing from relief to transition to development, and be willing to cover recurrent costs.
- *Outcomes*. Address urgent education needs, starting with a basic package of education services and expand the range of services over time.
- *Management systems*. Generate information for planning and management and build capacity to manage the education system.
- *Develop policymaking mechanisms* for policy implementation and regulation, as well as for gathering information and monitoring performance.
- *Capacity*. Develop human resources for education, ensure a regular supply of educational materials, and rehabilitate or reconstruct education facilities.

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of six building blocks that can be used to guide planning and priority setting by actors supporting health systems reforms. These building blocks outline the essential functions of a health system. They apply across the continuum from humanitarian relief to sustainable development, and they consist of (1) leadership and governance; (2) financing of health systems; as well as the strengthening of (3) health information; (4) service delivery; (5) human resources; and (6) medical and drug supply systems. Since each addresses a cross-cutting function of a health system, the building blocks complement and overlap with one another. (from Commins and Ter Veen 2011)

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