

The Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding



The Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion

Synthesis Report on Findings from Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa and Uganda

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The Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding

Between July 2014 and December 2015 the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, a partnership between UNICEF and the University of Amsterdam, the University of Sussex, Ulster University and in-country partners, addressed one of the UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme (PBEA) key objectives, *'contributing to the generation and use of evidence and knowledge in policies and programming related to education, conflict and peacebuilding'*.

Consortium teams carried out research in four countries over the course of the project: Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa, and Uganda. Each team produced a specific country report which, alongside thematic Literature Reviews, formed the basis for three synthesis reports addressing the following specific thematic areas:

- the integration of education into peacebuilding processes at global and country levels;
- the role of teachers in peacebuilding;
- the role of formal and non-formal peacebuilding education programmes focusing on youth.

In addition, throughout the research project and as a cross cutting theme in all three areas, the research project aims to understand the dynamics and impact of various forms of direct and indirect violence in relation to education systems and educational actors in situations of conflict. Each thematic focus will also include a gender analysis.

The research seeks to generate evidence that can inform policy and practice aimed at the global and national peacebuilding community, and the global and national education and international development communities.



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The authors are responsible for the choice and presentation of views contained within this report and for opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of UNICEF and do not commit the organisation.

A complete set of Literature Reviews and individual Country Reports can be accessed through the Research Consortium for Education and Peacebuilding Web Portal <https://educationanddevelopment.wordpress.com/rp/research-consortium-education-and-peacebuilding/>

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Cover Photograph: Government school teachers attend a four day training workshop on inclusive education for teachers in a government school in Quetta City, Balochistan Province, Pakistan ©UNICEF/Zaidi

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Abbreviations

AEPAM: Academy of Educational Planning & Management
 ASER: The Annual Status of Education Report
 B.Ed: Bachelor of Education
 BTVET: Business Technical and Vocational Education and Training
 CAPS: Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements
 CBO: Community Based Organizations
 CCT: Conditional Cash Transfer
 CESR: Comprehensive Education Sector Review
 CPD: Continuing Professional Development
 CPE: Cultural Political Economy
 CSO: Civil Society Organisation
 CT: Certificate of Teaching
 CURASSE: World Bank Curriculum Assessment and Examination Reform
 DAS: Development Appraisal System
 DBE: Department of Basic Education
 DEO: District Educational Officer
 DEPT: Department of Education Planning and Training
 DFID: Department for International Development
 DHET: Department of Higher Education and Training
 DoE: Department of Education
 EAG: Ethnic Armed Group
 EC: Eastern Cape
 EFA: Education for All
 EMIS: Education Management Information System
 ESP: Education Sector Plan
 ESSP: Education Strategic Sector Plan
 FET: Further Education and Training
 FGD: Focus Group Discussion
 GBV: Gender Based Violence
 GCPEA: Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack
 GDP: Gross Domestic Product
 GEN: Gender Equality Network
 GIEACPC: Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children
 GMR: Global Monitoring Report
 GoU: Government of Uganda
 GPE: Global Partnership for Education
 HEC: Higher Education Commission Pakistan
 HEQSF: Higher Education Qualification's Sub-framework
 HET: Higher Education and Training
 His: Horizontal Inequalities
 IJR: Institute of Justice and Reconciliation
 ILO: International Labour Organization
 INGO: International Non-Governmental Organisation
 ISPFTED: Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development
 JICA: Japan International Cooperation Agency
 LGBT: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
 LO: Life Orientation
 LRA: Lord Resistance Army
 MCTE: Ministerial Committee on teacher Education
 MNEC: Mon National Education Committee
 MoE: Ministry of Education

MoESTS: Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Sports
 MRTEQ: Minimum Requirement for Teacher Education Qualification
 NACTE: National Council for Teacher Education
 NC: National Curriculum
 NCCT: National Ceasefire Coordination Team
 NCDC: National Curriculum Development Centre
 NCJP: National Commission for Justice and Peace
 NCS: National Curriculum Statements
 NDP: National Development Plan
 NEMIS: National Education Management Information Systems
 NEP: National Educational Policy
 NER: Net Enrolment Rate
 NESP: National Education Strategic Plan
 NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation
 NPFTED: National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development
 NQF: National Qualifications Framework
 NRM: National Resistance Movement
 NSC: National Senior Certificate
 NSE: Norms and Standards for Educators
 NTC: National Teaching Colleges
 OBE: Outcomes-Based Education
 PBEA: Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme
 PEIRA: Private Educational Institutions Regulatory Authority
 PGCE: Post Graduate Certificate in Education
 PITE: Provincial Institute of Teacher Education
 PMDS: Performance Management and Development System
 PP: Post Provisioning
 PTC: Primary Teaching Colleges
 RA: Research Area
 RNCS: Revised National Curriculum Statement
 SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
 SACE: South African Council of Educators
 SACOS: South African Congress of Students
 SACP: South African Communist Party
 SADTU: South African Democratic Teachers Union
 SAFRON: Ministry of States and Frontier Regions
 SAQA: South African Qualifications Authority Act
 SASA: South African Schools Act
 SCR: Social Cohesion & Resilience
 SCRA: Social Cohesion and Resilience Analysis
 SD: Senior Delegation
 SDG: Sustainable Development Goals
 SEF: Systemic Evaluation Framework
 SGB: School Governing Body
 SIAS: National Strategy on Screening, Identification, Assessment, and Support
 SIGI: Social Institutions and Gender Index
 SITE: School Based In Service Teacher Education
 SLORC: State Law and Order Restoration Council
 SMC: School Management Committee

SPARC: Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child
ST: Student Teachers
START: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
STEP: Strengthening Teacher Education Programme
TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TRIS: Teacher Rural Incentive Scheme
TTP: Pakistan Tehrik-e-Taliban
TVET: Technical Vocational Education and Training
UN: United Nations
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund
WC: Western Cape
WCED: Western Cape Education Department
WSE: Whole School Evaluation

Tables, Textboxes and Figures

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Table 2: Peace Education vs. Peacebuilding Education

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A Note on Referencing

In each Consortium Synthesis Report some specific references are sourced to individual Consortium Country Reports. The final Country Reports have been produced as complementary documents to each of the Synthesis Reports and therefore provide a first point of reference within this publication.

Each country report can be accessed in full at:

<https://educationanddevelopment.wordpress.com/rp/research-consortium-education-and-peacebuilding/>

Executive Summary



Executive Summary

The purpose of this synthesis report is twofold. First, it explores the role of teachers in peacebuilding and social cohesion in four distinct conflict affected environments (Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa and Uganda). Second, it compares, summarises and critically reflects on key issues, policies and governance aspects that relate to how teachers might contribute to peacebuilding and social cohesion processes. In doing so, we pay close attention to aspects of redistribution, representation, recognition and reconciliation (see: Novelli et al. 2015).

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Analytical Framework and Methodology

Our research methods are outlined from page 27, highlighting the consortium’s theoretical framework alongside a short overview on how we define and approach key concepts and terms. The methodology for this report builds on:

- The consortium’s 4Rs theoretical framework: the role of key processes of redistribution (equity in the distribution of resources - economic), representation (participation in decision making - political), recognition (affirming the diversity of identities) and reconciliation (healing across divides) within peacebuilding and education sector planning and policy;
- The report is also informed by an initial literature review on the role of teachers in promoting peacebuilding and social cohesion (Horner et al, 2015).
- This was followed by fieldwork in all of the countries which included semi-structured interviews (individual and small group) with various actors at country level, including: government officials, UNICEF and any other UNCT staff, representatives of international donors and INGOs, academics, civil society organisations, schools officials and many other country- and context-specific actors.

Four Country Case Studies: Pakistan, Myanmar, South Africa and Uganda

An overview of the four case-study countries is provided from page 38. The four country case studies (Pakistan, Myanmar, South Africa and Uganda) represent a variety of contexts relating to the relationship between education and peacebuilding, in terms of geographical diversity, the nature and temporality of the conflict and the drivers and root causes that underpin them. South Africa emerged out of the struggle against apartheid, a conflict rooted in racism and social exclusion, whose legacies and inequalities remain more than two decades after conflict. South Africa provides us with a rich resource to reflect more historically on the challenges and possibilities for the education system to contribute to promoting sustainable peacebuilding. Uganda, another country in Africa, remains divided between a peaceful South and Central Region and a Northern region that has suffered a series of punctuated armed conflicts for almost three decades. Pakistan, in South Asia, is a huge country that has suffered from a series of conflicts in recent years, linked to instability in Afghanistan, the global ‘war on terror’, regional tensions with its neighbour India, and violent internal political unrest. Finally, Myanmar presents us with a case study from South East Asia, of a country on the brink of entering a post-conflict period after decades of authoritarian

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military rule, challenged by a range of armed and non-armed ethnic and political movements. The rich diversity of research sites emphasises the need for conflict sensitive, contextually coherent approaches to enhancing the role and potential of education in peacebuilding processes in each context, while serving to enrich globally relevant insights and reflections on the differing challenges, possibilities and potentials of education, as a key social sector, in the promotion of sustainable peace-promoting societies. In each of the countries attention is paid to:

1. Conceptions of teacher agency
2. Teachers and violence
3. Teacher governance focusing on teacher recruitment and deployment
4. Teacher accountability and trust
5. Teacher professional development (initial and continuing)
6. Curriculum and textbooks

Pages 49-76 summarise the main findings emerging from these studies in relation to these issues.

10 Key Reflections on Teachers, Peacebuilding & Social Cohesion

Building on the findings of the study in relation to the key issues, 10 key reflections are offered to deepen the empirical findings and to raise key issues for dialogue and debate amongst researchers, policy-makers, teachers and teacher-educators committed to building peace and sustainable development in societies engaged in and emerging from conflict.

1. *In transition moments there is a window of opportunity and space for a more explicit approach to peacebuilding and social cohesion in education*

In contexts where countries are emerging out of armed conflict, the transitional period represents a real moment of possibility, whereby issues of social cohesion and peacebuilding can be placed at the top of the agenda. Of course this depends on the outcome of armed conflict, the balance of social forces, and the political will of emergent governments. But all post-conflict societies, to different degrees, will seek to address issues of reconciliation through policies of social cohesion and peacebuilding. Armed and non-armed opposition groups contesting governments in power have, as the country studies show, created and established schooling systems and possess a vision of a future education system. Such experiences include how they understand and approach peacebuilding and social cohesion in post-conflict contexts. As such there is no blank slate for developing education systems and policies orientated to peacebuilding and social cohesion. These experiences are crucial in shaping dialogue about the future. International agencies therefore need to acknowledge and recognise such experiences in their efforts at supporting post-conflict contexts. Moreover, as the case of Myanmar shows, the transition space is an important moment in embedding peacebuilding and social cohesion in education. In contrast, the South African case demonstrates the missed moment that was available to the opposition movements led by the ANC against apartheid in 1994 and in which they were to not able to fully

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develop a more progressive and more egalitarian education system making decisive choices about redistribution, recognition, and representation in and through education.

2. Teacher agency for social cohesion and peacebuilding as determining and determined

The cross-country study hints strongly towards the idea that teacher agency is conditioned in differentiated ways by the context they find themselves in. There are two interrelated ways in which this is manifest. The first is experiential determination. Social class and experiences of conflict determines much of the lived realities of teachers such as where they live, where they go to school, and who their friends are. This experiential determination is shaped by social class, race, religion, sexuality, gender, and geographical history. Peacebuilding and social cohesion as belonging and solidarity is thus to a large extent shaped by the social class determined basis of the everyday lived experience.

The second is determined within institutions of schooling and teacher education that shape what teacher and student teachers as future agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion experience. These institutions in diverse contexts continue to be shaped by contours of historic institutional configurations. Thus teachers and student teachers mediate understandings of policy aims and intentions, according to their institutional experiences which results in very differentiated and uneven approaches to peacebuilding and social cohesion.

Experiential determinations thus punctuate forms of agency in the different countries facilitating and inhibiting it in contingent and unequal measures. These determinations suggest that while efforts are made to create a united nation at the formal system level, there is separation at the individual school, community, institutional, and personal level. The agency of teachers then is often enacted in spaces that remain segmented and separated, with tools that are shaped by experience and institution, and in ways that are productive in as much as they are barren.

3. State policy and capacity for enabling teacher agency for social cohesion and peacebuilding

A vision of social cohesion and peacebuilding as transformative and transforming requires a policy framework that includes specific, measurable and achievable targets and indicators that measure activities, programmes, and events. It also has to be underpinned by a framework which challenges fixed and reified individual and group identities as exemplified by versions of liberal multi-culturalism. It needs to accommodate approaches such as anti-racism and radical cosmopolitan citizenship, which locates belonging in contexts of social class and institutional determination. On the other hand, realising the laudable intentions of policy frameworks relies on the aggregate capacity of the system to manage and monitor. Aggregate system capacity rests on the knowledge, skills and dispositions of actors, which include national, provincial and district officials, school leaders and teachers, and school governing body members. Thus there is a need for an explicit focus on peacebuilding and social cohesion across government departments and within government departments. For example,

“State capacity to effect peacebuilding and social cohesion is impacted by the nature of the system of governance.”

in Myanmar and Uganda there is need for curriculum, ITE, and CPDT to communicate. It is always a challenge dealing with a particular thematic area such as peacebuilding and social cohesion that transverses the work of other government departments and units, for example, there is mixed experience with regard to stand alone gender units in ministries of education. What appears important is the level of authority accorded to whoever is responsible for these cross-cutting themes such as peacebuilding or gender or equity. In addition, consideration might be given to a senior level Focal Point or champion who works within Ministries of Education and across other Ministries to provide a sustained focus on transversal concerns such as peacebuilding and social cohesion. Crucially, such champions need to be accorded a level of authority commensurate with the importance of this task to ensure effective mainstreaming. One way for this to be effective might be to nominate a single government department/unit tasked with peacebuilding and social cohesion in education.

State capacity to effect peacebuilding and social cohesion is impacted by the nature of the system of governance. The country case studies reveal diverse approaches to the centralisation and decentralisation of education governance. Myanmar seems to be decentralising education governance as is Pakistan, with the Section 18th Amendment, as well as Uganda. In contrast South Africa, which has a long history of education decentralisation, revealed ongoing inequities and conflict across different school types and communities resulting from such a policy. Many of the interventions for effecting equity and social cohesion in and through education for teachers has come unstuck as result of the way the system of education decentralisation has unfolded which, as the country case suggests, is an outcome of the contestation and compromise made between different social forces. There is much lesson learning across the country contexts and in this regard an important lesson is the need to provide a robust and sound framework for empowering authentic forms of education decentralisation which do not, by design or default, result in exacerbating group tensions which have been the drivers of conflict in the first instance. Empowering forms of decentralisation include devolving political authority as well as control of budgets and resources although there should be safeguards put in place to prevent elite capture and balkanisation which may have divisive and conflict engendering consequences.

“Conceptually, and in policy and practice the notion of peacebuilding and social cohesion is contested.”

4. Developing a more radical conception of teacher agency for social cohesion and peacebuilding

Conceptually, and in policy and practice, the notion of peacebuilding and social cohesion is contested. As noted in the conceptual framework, there are those who advocate peacebuilding and social cohesion, in policy and practice, as awareness of the ‘other’ for which interaction strategies are proffered. This is manifest in, for example, celebrations of different religious days, and teaching which focuses on an understanding of different religions and groups, cross-racial camps, choral choirs and sport events. In this form, peacebuilding and social cohesion is premised on largely intact, stable and cohesive group and individual identities. Changes within these are focused on an awareness of how the ‘other’ lives, thinks, and practices. Understandings of the ‘other’ lay the foundation of a form of nation building that extols difference but seeks to secure consensus about common goals. Alternative conceptualisations

“If we are to seriously empower teachers to be agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion, then we need to address the salary, conditions of service, morale and status of the teaching profession.”

of peacebuilding and social cohesion recognise the limitations of the above and seek to build an egalitarian and communitarian society in which identity and belonging is destabilised and critiqued. This approach questions ascribed and prescribed markers of belonging that are taken-for-granted. In this sense peacebuilding and social cohesion in and through agency could be viewed as a continuum with benign multi-culturalism on the one extreme and radical anti-racism, anti-sexism, etc. on the other. Radical conceptions of teacher agency for peacebuilding and social cohesion move beyond teachers respecting each other and learners but also encompass strategies in and through teaching which confront the historic inequities and drivers of conflict. Along this continuum there are several variations of peacebuilding and social cohesion that seek to balance difference with commonality, social class interest with cross-class solidarity, individual interest with societal imperatives, and loyalty and fidelity to the state with critical forms of citizenship. Conflict and contestation is not inimical to the process. A transformative peacebuilding and social cohesion agenda seeks to effect social justice and relies on difference being destabilised and re-assembled in diverse ways, and identities traversing ascribed markers, which consequently engender conflict and contestation. Conflict represents an important element of ‘peacebuilding and social cohesion as process’ which at an individual level is psychological and, at the societal level, structural. As process, peacebuilding and social cohesion conceived of in this way is never final nor complete; it is an outcome that requires continuous renewal and is always in a state of flux.

Furthermore, if we are to seriously empower teachers to be agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion, then we need to address the salary, conditions of service, morale and status of the teaching profession. While the case studies reflect different dynamics and challenges for teachers – all raised issues of status, income and conditions of service as major challenges. To attract the best, the brightest and the most committed sections of society – commensurate with the demands and aspirations that we are setting for teachers - then teachers need to be treated fairly, have a defined career path and be remunerated so that they can not only survive, but also flourish.

5. The balance of social forces in different contexts shapes the conditions under which peacebuilding and social cohesion teacher related reforms are developed and implemented

Approaches to peacebuilding and social cohesion regarding teachers differ across the four countries. In South Africa there is an explicit approach to equity and redress. In Myanmar, the agenda is mainly externally driven and politically cautious. In Pakistan it is highly contradictory – education reforms, many of which are resisted by a range of forces. In Uganda the approach is rather slow and implicit. Thus efforts at peacebuilding and social cohesion which challenge inequity, as a key driver of conflict, must contend with the range of social forces with vested interests in maintaining privilege and inequities. Thus the policy formulation and implementation process should give due cognisance to power and competing interests which might undermine progressive intended goals. Ignoring the political economy context of policy runs the risk of marginalising concerns with peacebuilding and social cohesion.

“Approaches to peacebuilding and social cohesion regarding teachers differs across the four countries.”

6. *Affective shift in education evident, but under-developed*

Evidence from the country case studies supports the idea that there is increasing global interest in education's role in promoting peacebuilding and social cohesion, reflecting broader global and national concerns around conflict, social strife, economic and political crisis and rising inequality, which all threaten stability. This slow, uneven shift to the social and affective is a welcome rebalancing to educational concerns linked to economic growth, efficiency and broader neoliberal reforms – a shift that needs nurturing and sustaining. As such the study highlights a shift in policy and practice as a response to on-going physical and symbolic violence, xenophobia, and the denial of the rights of groups such as LGBTIQ and migrants and refugees. This affective turn, this report notes, occurs in a context of an expanded notion of education quality nationally and globally as noted within the 2030 Sustainable development agenda. The specification of social cohesion as an important part of, but separate to, the education quality agenda is important as it ensures that affective goals in education are not delegitimated in favour of a strategy which privileges 'litnum' (literacy and numeracy). Yet, as noted above, there is a danger that the lack of specification of the peacebuilding and social cohesion goal in the 2030 agenda runs a risk of according peacebuilding and social cohesion less priority.

“The report argues that good quality education, particularly for the poor, is a foundational element of creating the bond of solidarity, belonging and critical citizenship that is necessary for social cohesion.”

In this context the report argues that good quality education, particularly for the poor, is a foundational element of creating the bond of solidarity, belonging and critical citizenship that is necessary for social cohesion. Good quality education therefore is intimately connected to the promotion of peacebuilding and social cohesion. Moreover redressing inequities in society should remain a core priority of good quality education. Furthermore, the report argues that peacebuilding and social cohesion is an education policy objective in and of itself. Thus, this report argues that there is no trade-off between the objectives of peacebuilding and social cohesion and equity and quality. However, strategies as discussed in this report remain partial, under-developed and need more collective and concerted action. In the case of teachers, it is clear that if we wish teachers to play their full role as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion they require an enabling economic, political and social environment as well as reining in both the affective and the cognitive. Thus, it is imperative the affective turn in education discourses is solidified and privileged.

7. *Moving beyond interaction and contact for peacebuilding and social cohesion*

A starting point for peacebuilding and social cohesion policy and practice as the country studies suggest, recognises the salience of individual and group contact. Dialogue and mutual interaction is the sine qua non of peacebuilding and social cohesion and is reflected in several programmes and interventions in teacher education across the countries studied. But a social justice approach requires more than contact. It requires effort, as the TRC in South Africa showed, albeit very partially, to confront the past and redress social inequities.

At the individual level, strong forms of peacebuilding and social cohesion involve challenging identities and confronting the privilege and benefits that individuals,

“A starting point for peacebuilding and social cohesion policy and practice as the country studies suggest, recognises the salience of individual and group contact.”

including teachers and teacher educators, accrued and accumulated from systems designed to benefit some at the expense of others. Moreover intergroup contact must be founded on approaches that do not deny the past, and which do not practice a 'politics of avoidance' that preclude discussion of group and individual investments in systems of privilege. Thus, peacebuilding and social cohesion beyond inter-group contact is psychological as much as it is structural.

At the societal level this necessitates more proactive forms of redistribution within programmes of affirmative action. Such programmes should not simply be short-term strategic interventions; they must be founded on the principles of social justice to redress substantive rights that were denied to a majority-oppressed population. They must also be more than 'levelling the playing field', and rather, to extend the metaphor, should be about 'changing the game and the rules of the game'. In essence, this may require an approach to peacebuilding and social cohesion founded in alternative progressive economic growth and development paths and visions.

"Across the case studies social cohesion and peacebuilding are treated unevenly and in a variety of ways. They range from implicit to explicit interventions, and from the generic to the specific."

8. An explicit focus on peacebuilding and social cohesion in teacher professional development

Across the case studies social cohesion and peacebuilding are treated unevenly and in a variety of ways. They range from implicit to explicit interventions, and from the generic to the specific. As such some interventions specifically focus on attaining peacebuilding and social cohesion whereas in others these objectives are subsumed as part of more general professional development support for teachers. To ensure that peacebuilding and social cohesion concerns are not delegitimised and deprioritised it is important to ensure that they are integrated in all policies and practices focused on teachers.

The report also highlights the importance of teacher educators and facilitators of training who support future and existing teachers in peacebuilding and social cohesion activities. However, as noted, they have histories and experiences of conflict both as victims and perpetrators, and carry with them prejudices and biases against others who do not share their identity and belonging. Thus, a focus on peacebuilding and social cohesion must provide support to teacher educators and facilitators of training as well as the institutions they are located in. In order for this to occur, institutions and providers need to be supported through policy, resources and the provision of professional development opportunities for teacher educators and facilitators. Whilst the country case studies show varied and differentiated CPTD opportunities for teachers to engage in their professional learning and in opportunities to empower them to become agents of peace and social cohesion, these opportunities remain fragmented, uncoordinated and often driven by international donors. To this end, there is a need to develop a more systematic, coordinated and integrated CPTD system for peacebuilding and social cohesion as part of a wider set of education reforms.

"Like teacher professional development, issues of peacebuilding and social cohesion in curriculum and textbooks is often present implicitly, located in a range of carrier subjects, and often under-prioritised."

9. An explicit peacebuilding and social cohesion curriculum focus

Like teacher professional development, issues of peacebuilding and social cohesion in curriculum and textbooks is often present implicitly, located in a range of carrier subjects, and often under-prioritised. Moreover, there is a dilemma between weak/

“Language policy and Language of Instruction policy is crucial to how peacebuilding and social cohesion is dealt with in the curriculum. The marginalisation of language is, in many contexts, a driver of conflict.”

generic and strong/specific approaches. The former emphasise skills such as respect and building trust. The latter focuses on the skills of conflict management, conflict resolution and resilience and works towards engaging more critically with the diverse identities and belongings which, in many contexts, are the drivers of conflict. Similarly to issues of gender, there is a debate to be had about whether issues of peacebuilding and social cohesion should be embedded in all subjects and across the curriculum and therefore, textbooks, or whether it should have a single carrier subject. Whilst these tensions and dilemmas are recognised, the reality is that a more comprehensive approach to peacebuilding and social cohesion will ensure that the textbooks and curricula are not in any way biased or prejudiced. The country analyses show how the curricula and textbooks in both conflict and post conflict contexts project exclusivist, narrow nationalistic and biased singular identities and conceptions of the other. There is thus a need to both mainstream issues of peacebuilding and social cohesion as well as ensuring it has dedicated curriculum space, and a dedicated carrier subject. However, the dedicated subject (whoever is chosen) must be given equal status to STEM subjects and must be examinable, as non-assessment of a carrier subject delegitimises the focus on peacebuilding and social cohesion as the different case studies demonstrate.

Language policy and Language of Instruction policy is crucial to how peacebuilding and social cohesion is dealt with in the curriculum. The marginalisation of language is, in many contexts, a driver of conflict. At the same time, in post-conflict contexts, there is often a need to ensure a common lingua franca which creates the bonds of nationhood and provide the basis for the development of a shared identity and belonging. Thus, the dilemma of language and language of instruction policy is that it can be simultaneously unifying and marginalizing. In post conflict contexts there is therefore a need for a curriculum which provides for a unifying language but which also affirms the language rights of specific groups and communities which has been denied during conflict.

Both teacher professional development and curriculum initiatives for peacebuilding and social cohesion should be integrated in an overarching policy framework to ensure that interventions are not disparate and fragmented.

“The country studies reveal, albeit differently and unevenly, the strong influence of international agencies and donor organisations on education policy in general, and peacebuilding and social cohesion interventions in particular in conflict and post-conflict contexts.”

10. Donors

The country studies reveal, albeit differently and unevenly, the strong influence of international agencies and donor organisations on education policy in general, and peacebuilding and social cohesion interventions in particular in conflict and post-conflict contexts. In Myanmar, Pakistan, and Uganda, for example, international agencies play a key role in shaping the nature and form of such interventions. However, such support should be aligned and led by national governments. This requires national governments developing comprehensive and holistic teacher policies which foreground issues of peace and social cohesion. Moreover, in the context of the 2030 global education and development agenda, it is crucial that agencies such as UNICEF maintain a focus on peacebuilding and social cohesion to ensure that it does not get marginalised in favour of a narrower focus on literacy and numeracy.

“The report highlights the need for political will coupled with a progressive bureaucracy invested in change linked to the affective turn in social cohesion and peacebuilding. Political will is demonstrated in leadership that places transformative peacebuilding and social cohesion at the heart of system-wide reform focused on improving education quality.”

“For the sake of policy efficacy key stakeholders need to be committed to and involved in policy efforts to promote peacebuilding and social cohesion, and understand its meaning, potential and the role that education and education systems can play therein.”

Enabling and Necessary Conditions for Enhancing Teachers Agency for Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion

Realising the options above, and any others, requires a number of important and necessary conditions for effective implementation, though the provided list is not exhaustive.

1. Political will

The report highlights the need for political will coupled with a progressive bureaucracy invested in change linked to the affective turn in social cohesion and peacebuilding. Political will is demonstrated in leadership that places transformative peacebuilding and social cohesion at the heart of system-wide reform focused on improving education quality. Such leadership needs to work across government, and in provincial and national departments of education, to develop proactive strategies of education redistribution in favour of the marginalised. Of course, political will is not some magic potion that emerges independently from the ether, but instead emerges out of political economy factors, social struggles and local, national and global dynamics. However, arguments need to be made consistently that the cost of renewed armed conflict, both in financial and human terms, and for both the national and international community, far outweighs the costs necessary for redressing the inequities that drive conflicts in different places. Promoting social cohesion and peacebuilding is a cost-effective preventative measure and prevention needs to be prioritised. This requires thinking about peacebuilding and social cohesion friendly education governance, policy and practice in development programming, not just in terms of ‘emergency and protracted crisis’ as it is currently framed in international debates.

2. Shared consensus and participation

For the sake of policy efficacy key stakeholders need to be committed to and involved in policy efforts to promote peacebuilding and social cohesion, and understand its meaning, potential and the role that education and education systems can play therein. This is particularly so when the strategy, as proposed in this report, seeks to redistribute, recognise, represent and reconcile, in favour of the most marginalised. To this end it is necessary in the countries which comprise this study to develop dialogue fora and consultative roundtables. These would inform the creation of a robust policy framework that includes a detailed and adequately funded plan for the implementation of a range of actions that address the issues that inhibit teacher agency, as identified in this report. Such a framework should, whilst recognising context, consider a variety of promising social cohesion and peacebuilding interventions. And in this regard, the voice and agency of social movements and civil society organisations is crucial to holding government, institutions, companies, and actors to account.

3. Mutual trust and binding behaviours

Policies, action plans, institutional reconfigurations, targets, and indicators are all important for promoting social cohesion. However, none of these will matter if individuals and groups do not trust each other or hold each other to account for agreed actions. Mutual trust and binding behaviours by groups and individuals are the basic building blocks of a transformative social justice agenda.

“Policies, action plans, institutional reconfigurations, targets, indicators are all important for promoting social cohesion. However, none of these will matter if individual and groups do not trust each other or hold each other to account for agreed actions.”

To conclude, realising social justice in societies emerging out of the shadows of conflict and violence, will necessitate a far more radical conception of peacebuilding and social cohesion, one which tackles inequities which are often the drivers of conflict. Such an approach should recognise how violence and conflict is mediated through widely different contexts, which themselves reflect broader societal norms and values and complex histories of violence within which teachers are located. In this regard, attention must be paid, as this report argues, to how teachers are trained, deployed, supported and motivated to become effective agents of peace and social cohesion. This in turn requires an enabling policy environment and effective teacher professional development delivery system with well trained and motivated teacher educators and facilitators. In this way the analysis and proposals suggested in this report animate and invigorate a social justice, peace building and social cohesion transformation agenda for teachers that is premised on the 4Rs framework drawing and building upon reforms already in motion.



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Introduction



Introduction

In general, there appears to be a consensus that teachers underpin the success of any education system, which is summed up by Barber and Mourshed's (2007, p. 19) assertion that, 'The quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers'. More accurately, it is teaching and not teachers, per se. In a speech at St John's school in 2014, the Deputy state President in South Africa, stated that the findings of the McKinsey report 'underline our contention that transforming our education system requires a sustained focus on the quality of our teachers and principals, and that 'Teachers are not the problem. Teachers are the solution to many of our problems' (2014). This is indeed a powerful statement and echoes what millions of learners know - that for 9 or 12 years they will face a teacher and they will experience both good and not so good teaching. And these millions of learners will spend as much if not more time with a teacher and in a school than with their parents/guardians. Therefore, teachers matter.

There are four important reasons why public primary and secondary school teachers and teaching is important. The first is that from a public expenditure point of view the single most important investment and budget line item is teacher salaries. At best teachers consume about 75% of education budgets and in reality in several countries teachers often consume about 80-90% of the budget. Thus any return on investment needs to take into account teachers. The second is that the most single important instrument or tool or resource any country has to effect equity is teachers. According to a review by the World Bank (2012, p. 1) "a number of studies have found that teacher effectiveness is one of the most important school-based predictors of student learning after home background. In the classrooms of the most effective teachers, students from disadvantaged backgrounds learn at the same rate as those from advantaged backgrounds (Hamre & Pianta, 2005). The third is that in many societies teachers tend to be held in high esteem at the socio-cultural level by the local communities. They frequently play a significant leadership role in rural or marginalized communities, especially when they are one of the few who have literacy skills. They are often looked upon for guidance, to mediate disputes or to give an opinion on local issues. Not only parents, but also the local political elites tend to rely on them. They often help with negotiations with the state, and outsiders. Hence we should not underestimate the influence of teachers outside of schools in everyday community life in bringing about social change. Fourthly, as noted by Winthrop and Matsui (2013:10), publicly funded teachers "usually form the largest cadres of civil servants, at times rivaling the military. For example, in Pakistan, a country with a significant military tradition, there are over 750,000 public school teachers, 100,000 more than active duty military personnel. Delivering education services plays an important part in state-building, an essential activity in all fragile contexts". Both their geographic scope and location and their numbers, means that teachers – if mobilized collectively, could be a powerfully transformative force.

For all these reasons teachers have the potential to promote sustainable peace and contribute to socially cohesive societies.

Furthermore, concern with teachers is not specific and particular to the countries that comprise this study. Regional organisations such as the AU in its second Decade for Education (2006-2015), list teacher development as the core priority (AU, n.d.). It states the goal as,

To ensure the provision of sufficient teachers to meet the demands of education systems and to ensure that all teachers are properly qualified and possess the relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes to teach effectively. Teachers should also be properly supported and adequately remunerated, to ensure high levels of motivation'. It notes that '... The issue of teacher shortages needs to be seen in broader terms: the quality of teacher education and the availability of stable jobs with clear career progression- conditions that keep teachers in the service of education. The deployment and utilisation of teachers also deserves better management, especially in cases of geographic distribution and subject shortage areas....

In an international context the 2030 education and development agenda, after a long process of consultation, debate, and dialogue, has one clear goal or overarching vision as 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all'. For teachers it notes that, 'By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing States'.

The policy recommendations in the 2030 Incheon Declaration and Education Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2015) highlight the central roles of teachers succinctly as;

... Teachers are the key to achieving all of the Education 2030 agenda.

... Teacher policies and regulations should be in place to ensure that teachers and educators are empowered, adequately recruited and remunerated, well trained, professionally qualified, motivated, equitably and efficiently deployed across the whole education system, and supported within well-resourced, efficient and effectively governed systems ... Relevant learning outcomes must be well defined in cognitive and non-cognitive domains, and continually assessed as an integral part of the teaching and learning process. Quality education includes the development of those skills, values, attitudes and knowledge that enable citizens to lead healthy and fulfilled lives, make informed decisions and respond to local and global challenges...

... Teachers also have socio-economic and political rights, including the right to seek decent working conditions and adequate remuneration. Governments should make teaching an attractive, first-choice profession with continuing training and development by improving teachers' professional status, working conditions and support, and should strengthen policy dialogue mechanisms with teacher organizations.

Clearly national, regional and international actors have placed education quality and teachers, teaching and teacher education at the heart of any future global agenda, which will last for the next 15 or more years. While there are many debates about targets and indicators relating to education quality and teachers, it is clear that teachers matter. But good quality education and teaching is particularly vital in societies emerging from and affected by conflict. Classrooms can be highly charged as children and young people from different backgrounds bring the legacies of hurt, trauma and prejudice in the wider community to schools. In such situations quality teachers require skill and competences to ensure that they act as agents of change and transformation, dealing with the ongoing and historical legacies of conflict and inequality both inside and outside of the classroom. This is why the SDG for education has as one of its core targets:

4.7 By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development.

But if teachers are to give meaning to this target, it is important to note that they themselves may be both victims and perpetrators of conflict and as such, they, like their students, need to think through their own backgrounds, schooling and communities to cross ideological and political boundaries as a way of furthering their own understanding in a setting that is pedagogically safe and socially nurturing and thereby to fashion new identities and possibilities (Giroux, 1992, pp. 30–33). Taking on this role requires teachers to enact pedagogies which promote social cohesion.

An expansive agentic perspective of teachers as argued above should however recognise that a vast and broad range of expertise and knowledge are expected of teachers - life skills, citizenship and peace education, moral and ethical education, child protection, human rights, skills for sustainable livelihoods, challenging gender inequalities, practising learner-centeredness (Sinclair, 2002; UNESCO-IIEP, 2006, pp. 2–3) to name but a few. While these are important concerns, such an ambitious variety of responsibilities runs the real risk of overstating the potential of schools and their teachers to effect broader social transformation.

Moreover, while an expansive agentic view of teacher agency posits that dialogue and mutual interaction and engagement in the classroom setting is important, it should be acknowledged that strong forms of social cohesion and peacebuilding recognise the historic and structural inequities produced and reproduced in diverse contexts. Thus, social cohesion in and through teaching is structural as much as it is psychological, recognising that education and teaching in and of itself cannot remedy all forms of inequity, particularly when they are enduring, systemic and structural in nature.

Within this framework this synthesis explores both teachers' potential and limits to be active agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion in and outside the classroom

“This synthesis specifically explores the governance of teachers, their training and professional development, their recruitment and deployment, their morale, terms and conditions and their role in promoting peace, reconciliation, social cohesion and violence mitigation.”

contexts, exploring how such agency is both enabled and constrained in four diverse country contexts: Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa and Uganda. This synthesis specifically explores the governance of teachers, their training and professional development, their recruitment and deployment, their morale, terms and conditions and their role in promoting peace, reconciliation, social cohesion and violence mitigation. The synthesis is based on a framework (Naylor & Sayed, 2014) which conceives teachers as active agents located in particular global, national and local policy contexts and structures and combines this with the broader ‘4R’ approach to peacebuilding and education that provides the umbrella framework for the research consortium’s work (Novelli, Cardozo, & Smith, 2015).

The synthesis and the case studies thus address fundamental issues and questions such as, if the goal of social cohesion is meant to be more than changing the minds and behaviours of teachers and learners in schools (and overall citizens), how then can state policies best effect this? How can structural issues and factors that perpetuate inequalities and increase disunity be addressed? Furthermore, how can policy and practice ensure the safety of teachers and learners and take account of the social, cultural, and political conditions that underlie unequal distribution within society? If the aim of peacebuilding and social cohesion initiatives is to provide social meaning and respect for all citizens (itself a contested term – see Section 1.3 for a discussion of the contested meanings of the concepts and how it is used in this study), how can current policy and practice ensure the kinds of participation that puts everyone on par with each other ‘as full partners in social interaction’ (Fraser, 2005, p. 73)?

In this synthesis, we recognise that there is a need to develop a contextualised and clear understanding of what pedagogical processes are needed in schools to generate the kind of quality learning that is able to effect social solidarity and change in particular structural contexts. A contextualised reading of teacher agency is therefore crucial, as Fenstermacher & Richardson (2005, p. 205, cited in Naylor and Sayed, 2014) note:

There is currently a considerable focus on quality teaching, much of it rooted in the presumption that the improvement of teaching is a key element in improving student learning. We believe that this policy focus rests on a naive conception of the relationship between teaching and learning. This conception treats the relationship as a straightforward causal connection, such that it could be effective, it could be sustained under almost any condition, including poverty, vast linguistic, racial or cultural differences.

This suggests that any discussion about teachers and their roles in social cohesion initiatives needs to avoid the narrow ‘school effectiveness discourse’ linked to managerialist and regulatory interventions. As such we recognise that the teacher, as an agent of peacebuilding’ and social cohesion, has to aspire to democratic values, foster critical thinking, teach for, and by, social justice, explore (and engage with) alternative truths, or interpretations, and offer practical approaches in action but in particular historic and structural contexts of inequity and other drivers of conflicts. What is needed is a value-driven, ethically defensible approach to teaching and teacher education which foregrounds the values of social justice and equity in conflict and post conflict contexts and seeks to not only change hearts and minds but also the difficult societal structures and inequalities that underpin conflicts.

Layout of the Review

The review begins by outlining the methodology for the research. This begins with a brief introduction to the research consortium and its focus. We then outline the consortium's '4R' theoretical and analytical framework, which provides the umbrella focus for the different studies undertaken. We then outline a framework for understanding teachers as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion, provide our main research questions, define key terminology drawn upon in the report and how the research was conducted. In the next section we provide an explanation for the selection of the four case study countries and provide a brief overview of each country. In the subsequent section we present a concise cross-country analysis of the major findings. Finally we present a series of policy relevant insights garnered from the research aimed at influencing future research and policy trajectories, concluding with some suggestions on how to make them a reality.

"We present a series of policy relevant insights garnered from the research and aimed at influencing future research and policy trajectories and conclude with some suggestions on how to make them a reality."

Photograph: Girls walk across a wooden suspension bridge in the village of Bhogar Mang in Mansehra District in North Western Frontier Province, Pakistan.

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Methodology



Methodology

This synthesis report on **The Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion** is part of the work of the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, which is co-led by the Universities of Amsterdam, Sussex and Ulster, and supported by UNICEF's Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme as well as a ESRC-DFID Pathways to Poverty Alleviation Research Grant led by the University of Sussex. The partnership with UNICEF (2014 -2016) seeks to build knowledge on the relationship between education and peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts. The consortium has carried out extensive fieldwork between September 2014 and July 2015 in four countries: Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa and Uganda. The research was carried out in partnership with colleagues in each of the participating countries and sought to contribute both to theory and practice in the field of education and peacebuilding, developing multiple theoretically informed, policy relevant outputs.¹

The consortium has worked on three key thematic research areas in each country:

1. The integration of education in UN peacebuilding missions and frameworks and vice versa, the integration of peacebuilding in national education systems, policies and programmes (led by Ulster University);
2. The role of teachers in peacebuilding in conflict contexts (led by the University of Sussex);
3. The role of education in peacebuilding initiatives involving youth in conflict contexts (led by the University of Amsterdam).

The entire research approach draws on a theoretical framework developed for the consortium (Novelli, Cardozo, & Smith, 2015), which gives a distinctive focus on the role of education in peacebuilding from a “4Rs perspective”, linking the analytical dimensions of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation.

Redistribution, Recognition, Representation & Reconciliation: The 4Rs Analytical Framework

The 4Rs Analytical Framework provides the overarching framework for all the research themes addressed by this study. This framework combines social justice and transitional justice thinking to develop a normative framework for the study of education and peacebuilding, which recognises the multiple dimensions of inequality and injustice that often underpin contemporary conflicts and the need to address the legacies of these conflicts in and through education. The framework is in line with broader and well-established peacebuilding thinking (Galtung, 1976; Lederach, 1995, 1997) of the need to address both negative peace (the cessation of violence) and positive peace (the underlying structural and symbolic violence that often underpins the outbreak of conflict – the drivers of conflict). It also recognises the importance of addressing and redressing the ‘legacies of conflict’ in tandem with addressing the ‘drivers of conflict’.

Within conflict studies, there has been a long and heated debate on the relationship between inequality, injustice and conflict. The debate is often framed in terms of

¹. All reports and further background to the research consortium are available at <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/partners/research-consortium/about-the-research-consortium/>

“Recent quantitative research drawing on two international education inequality and conflict datasets (FHI 360, 2015) demonstrates a robust and consistent statistical relationship, across five decades, between higher levels of inequality in educational attainment between ethnic and religious groups, and the likelihood that a country will experience violent conflict.”

“greed versus grievance” explanations, with the former suggesting that wars are driven less by justified “grievances” and more by personal and collective “greed” (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). Humans are viewed as engaged in conflict as “economic agents” making cost-benefit calculations and trying to maximize returns on engagement in violent conflict. For these thinkers, the route to peace and security is not through addressing injustice, inequality and structural exclusion, but through increasing the cost of access to resources for violent actors. A strong critique of this work argues that horizontal inequalities (between groups) are important indicators for conflict outbreak (Stewart, 2010), arguments supported by strong econometric evidence (Cederman, Wiedmann, & Gleditsch, 2011). Horizontal inequalities, which often relate to ethnicity, tribe, or religion, involve a range of dimensions: economic (access to land, income, and employment), political (access to political power and representation), social (access to public services), and cultural (respect for difference and identity, language rights, etc.). In armed conflicts, real or perceived horizontal inequalities can provide a catalyst for group mobilisation and uprisings. There is limited research on the relationship between education and inequality in the outbreak of armed conflict. However, recent quantitative research drawing on two international education inequality and conflict datasets (FHI 360, 2015) demonstrates a robust and consistent statistical relationship, across five decades, between higher levels of inequality in educational attainment between ethnic and religious groups, and the likelihood that a country will experience violent conflict. However, this research is less able to identify causal mechanisms, or explain the complexities of understanding those. Therefore, as the authors note in their conclusions, there is a need to explore the multiple dimensions of inequality beyond just educational outcomes, as well as the different ways in which the education system might contribute to or alleviate conflict.

The 4Rs framework builds on this thinking, developing a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (see Novelli, Lopes Cardozo, & Smith, 2015). The framework combines dimensions of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation, linking Fraser’s (1995, 2005) work on social justice with the peacebuilding and reconciliation work of Galtung (1976), Lederach (1995, 1997), and others, to explore what sustainable peacebuilding might look like in post-conflict environments. The examination of inequalities within the education system seeks to capture the interconnected dimensions of the 4Rs:

- Redistribution concerns equity and non-discrimination in education access, resources, and outcomes for different groups in society, particularly marginalised and disadvantaged groups.
- Recognition concerns respect for and affirmation of diversity and identities in education structures, processes, and content, in terms of gender, language, politics, religion, ethnicity, culture, and ability.
- Representation concerns participation, at all levels of the education system, in governance and decision-making related to the allocation, use, and distribution of human and material resources.
- Reconciliation involves dealing with past events, injustices, and the material and psychosocial effects of conflict, as well as developing relationships and trust.

The framework provides a useful tool to analyse the extent to which education is/ can support cross-sectorial programming for conflict transformation in terms of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation and as an analytical tool within the education sector, as outlined in Table 1.

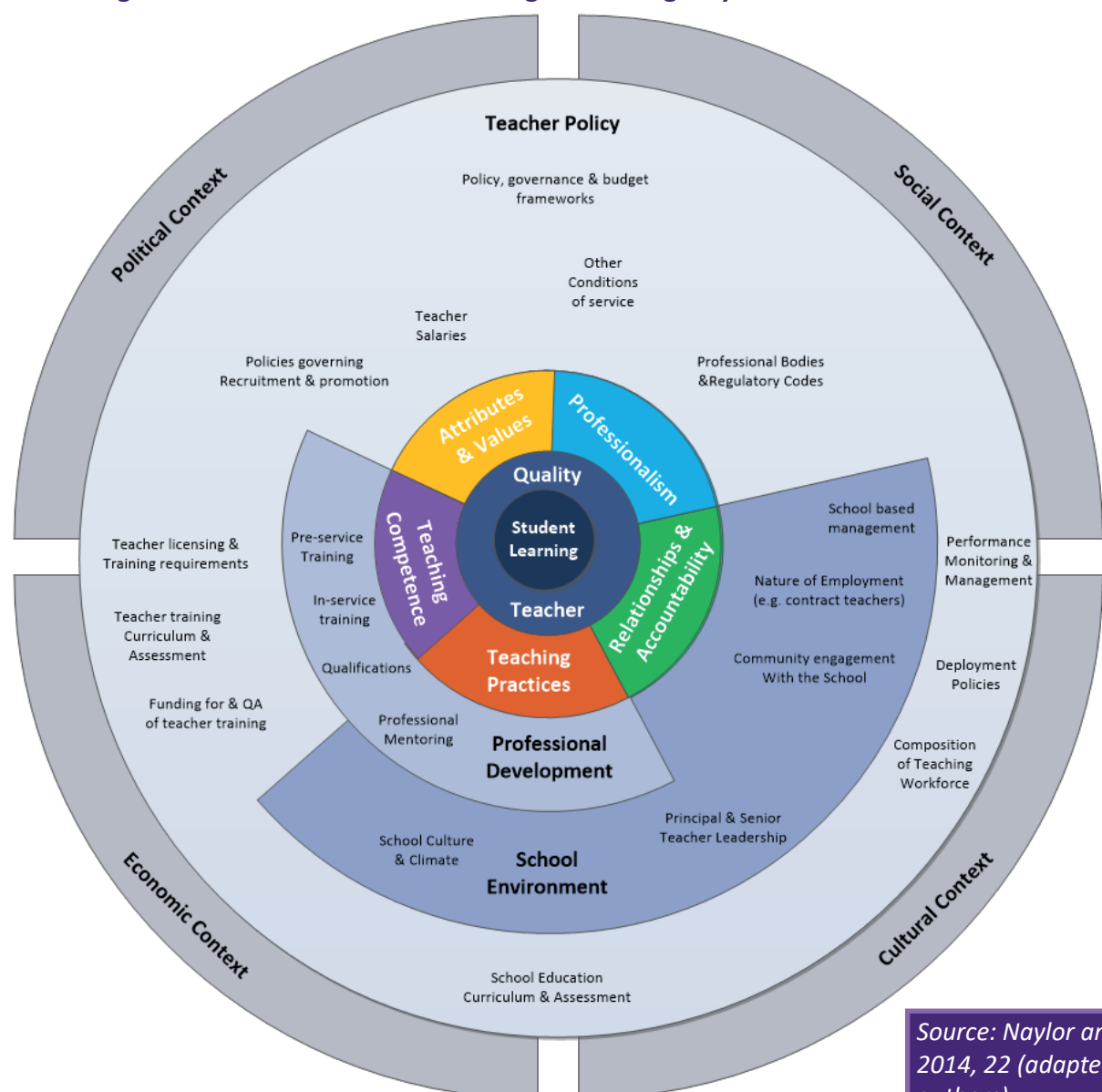
Table 1: Working Within the Education Sector - Analysing Education Systems Using the 4Rs

Analysing Education Systems Using the 4Rs: Potential 'Indicators'	
Redistribution (addressing inequalities)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vertical and horizontal inequalities in education inputs, resources, and outcomes (quantitative data). • Redistribution in macro education reforms or policies (e.g. impact of decentralisation and privatisation on different groups and conflict dynamics). • Redistributing equitably the deployment of teachers.
Recognition (respecting difference)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies on language of instruction. • Recognition of cultural diversity and religious identity in curriculum. • Citizenship and civic education as a means of state-building. • Recognition of learner identities by teachers.
Representation (encouraging participation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation (local, national, global) in education policy and reforms. • Political control and representation through education administration. • School-based management and decision-making (teachers, parents, students). • Support for fundamental freedoms in the education system. • Teachers ensuring that the classroom is a safe place for learner dialogue and discussion.
Reconciliation (dealing with injustices and the legacies of conflict)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addressing historical and contemporary injustices linked to conflict. • Integration and segregation in education systems (e.g. common institutions). • Teaching about the past and its relevance to the present and future. • Vertical trust in schools and education system, and horizontal trust between identity-based groups. • Building trust amongst diverse learners and teachers in schools.

Understanding Teachers Role in Peacebuilding & Social Cohesion

The figure below provides a conceptual framework for the analysis of interventions to capacitate teachers as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion. In particular it highlights the different interrelated levels of analysis which underpin the study of teachers, including the global policy environment, national policy frameworks and interventions about teacher governance, professional development, and the school-level environment and practices. It develops a realist framework which recognises both institutional change (at national governance, teacher training and school institution levels), as well as individual changes of teachers who are training to be or are already teachers, taking into account the specificity of diverse contexts. These interrelated levels are framed by global as well as the national political, economic, social and cultural context in each country. The two frameworks are used as complementary in the analysis of teacher agency in conflict affected contexts in the four country case studies. The 4Rs framework frame the various dimensions of teachers' work identified in the figure below. For example, how is teacher agency constituted in national and global policy contexts to effect peace and social cohesion? How are teachers trained for ensuring learner representation and recognition in schools and classrooms? Thus, the 4Rs framework provides a conceptual framework for applying a social justice lens to the study of teachers and their work and trainings for the dimensions listed in the figure below.

Figure 1: Framework for Researching Teacher Agency in Post Conflict Contexts



Source: Naylor and Sayed, 2014, 22 (adapted by authors).

Teachers, Peacebuilding & Social Cohesion: Methodology and Approach

This study is aimed at understanding the conditions under which education interventions focused on teachers can promote peace, and mitigate and reduce violence with a view to identifying measures and processes that can increase the effectiveness of such programmes in conflict-affected situations. It locates the analysis of the specific education interventions in relation to the macro global and national contexts as well as the context of schools as institutions. It focuses on the role of teachers who are both potential agents of peace and of enduring conflict. Lasting and durable peace and the building of institutions is crucially contingent on the workings of schools as civic institutions and teachers as agents. In addressing and evaluating interventions we deploy the '4Rs' framework as a heuristic device to allow us to explore the way teaching interventions and teachers themselves mediate social injustices that might lead to an undermining of sustainable peacebuilding, in terms of matters of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation.

"The study is aimed at understanding the conditions under which education interventions focused on teachers can promote peace, and mitigate and reduce violence with a view to identifying measures and processes that can increase the effectiveness of such programmes in conflict-affected situations."

The overarching aim of the study is to identify elements of education policy interventions that have enabled teachers to become active agents of peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries and that may inform future interventions. The specific objectives are to:

1. examine critically the role of teachers and teaching in supporting education for peacebuilding;
2. enhance national and global policy dialogue and understanding about teachers as agents of peacebuilding;
3. create and communicate new knowledge to policy experts, policy makers and civil society organisations at local, national, regional and international level on the effects of education peacebuilding interventions.

These objectives are achieved through an empirically grounded evaluation of the nature, implementation, and impact of large-scale interventions that are designed to support teachers as peace-builders in schools in conflict affected contexts. We look specifically at interventions focusing on teachers, found in the four countries. The selection of these interventions were agreed through discussion with UNICEF Country offices, local partners and relevant authorities and include:

- I. Conceptions of teacher agency
- II. Teachers and violence
- III. Teacher governance focusing on teacher recruitment and deployment
- IV. Teacher accountability and trust
- V. Teacher professional development (initial and continuing)
- VI. Curriculum and textbooks

"We look specifically at interventions focusing on teachers, found in the four countries. The selection of these interventions were agreed through discussion with UNICEF Country offices, local partners and relevant authorities."

Research Questions

The main research question that guides this study is: To what extent do education peacebuilding and social cohesion interventions in diverse country contexts promote teacher agency and capacity to build peace and reduce inequalities? In answering this question we examine the underlying theory of change and conception of equity and of teachers that underpin the selected interventions, paying particular attention to how they seek to mitigate gender, ethnic, religious and socio-economic inequities to,

in and through education. The overarching research question is explored through the following sub-questions:

RQ1	What is the global and national policy contexts within which the education interventions are located with particular reference to teachers?
RQ2	How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that teachers are recruited and deployed to remote and rural conflict-affected contexts?
RQ3	How, and in what ways, do the textbooks and curricula teachers' use promote peace and tolerance?
RQ4	How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that teachers are trained for peacebuilding?
RQ5	How have the selected interventions managed to ensure that teachers build trust and enhance accountability to the local community?

Research Operationalization

Desk Review: A review of existing literature on youth, teachers and policies and education was carried out in each of the country case studies, with a particular focus on their relationship to equity, inequalities, and social cohesion. Available government and donor policy and strategy documents, reports, academic literature, and education statistics were examined.

Data Collection: The research adopted a qualitative approach, drawing on a range of data sources including one-to-one interviews with diverse education and peacebuilding stakeholders in each country, focus groups, paper-based questionnaires (for student-teachers), lesson observations (teacher education institutions), analysis of existing statistical datasets, and policy documents. Research instruments are available upon request from the research team. This approach enabled the inclusion of multiple and comparative perspectives, with hundreds of student-teachers, policy makers, facilitators/teachers/principals participated in the study across the 4 countries. Using an inclusive approach, the language used in interviews was contingent upon research participants' comfort and in multiple languages.

Data Analysis: The vast majority of the data were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants and transcribed fully. Where languages other than English were used they were translated into English. Researchers analysed qualitative data, including interview transcripts and notes, and coded them. Reflections emerging from the data in each country were discussed in cross-country Consortium meetings, which enabled a refinement of the emerging findings. The findings have been reviewed in a series of validation events with stakeholders in each country.

Stakeholder Engagement: Throughout the research process, from conception to completion, we have engaged with a wide range of national and international stakeholders: International agencies, national government officials, INGOs, NGOs, teachers, youth and students. We have held inception and validation events in each of the countries, presented interim findings at national and international conferences and will continue to disseminate the work widely through a broad and strategic dissemination process. This is central to our approach and seeks to provide theoretically informed but policy relevant research that will hopefully contribute to the better application and promotion of education as a contribution to sustainable peacebuilding.

Key Concepts and Definitions



Key Concepts and Definitions

A number of key conceptual tools are central to this research. This section of the report lays out working definitions of some of the key research concepts.

Peacebuilding

While we recognise that there are multiple interpretations of the term “peacebuilding,” our framework draws on a conceptualisation that focuses on the need for core transformations in order for conflict-affected societies to move towards sustainable peace. Key post-conflict transformations necessary to produce sustainable peace, or positive peace, as Galtung (1976) calls it, requires going beyond the mere cessation of violence (negative peace) in order to address the root causes of violent conflict. This involves addressing both drivers and legacies of conflict and the promotion of both social justice and social cohesion, by addressing injustices and bringing people and communities together. This is in line with a range of contemporary theories of war and conflict (Cramer, 2005; Stewart, 2010; Stewart, Brown, & Mancini, 2005), which see horizontal and vertical inequalities as drivers of conflict.

Peacebuilding for this research is distinct from ‘Peace education’. UNICEF (2011) defines peace education as follows:

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

Peace education assumes that behaviour change is necessary to promote peace. It believes that by acquiring literacy, numeracy, and important life skills such as critical thinking, decision-making, communication, negotiation, conflict resolution, coping, and self-management violence can be prevented and conditions amenable to human development can be established (e.g. hygiene and sanitation, health and nutrition practices, HIV/AIDS prevention, and environmental protection, etc.).

Peacebuilding, on the other hand, roots the causes of conflict **not only** in individual behaviour but in different economic, cultural and political dimensions that either support or hinder the promotion of social cohesion, whereby trust, solidarity, and a sense of collectivity and common purpose are either strengthened or eroded within the communities. As such, peacebuilding focuses on structural dimensions, as well as psycho-social, and therefore peace education could be seen as a sub-component of education for peacebuilding.

Table 2: Peace Education vs. Peacebuilding Education

Peace Education	Peacebuilding Education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assumes individual behavioural transformation as necessary for peace. Emphasises values such as conflict resolution skills, values education, inter-group contact. Addresses the legacy of past and present conflicts in school curricula, textbooks and/or non-formal education programmes & promotes rights-based discourse. Pays attention to school infrastructures. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assumes structural transformations as necessary as psycho-social dimensions for peace. Emphasises equity in education (in terms of access, quality, redistribution of resources, learning outcomes, language of instruction). Seeks equal representation of diverse stakeholders in decision-making processes, recognition of different identities as well as reconciliation of historic legacies of injustice using social justice perspectives. Pays attention to societal structures in which school is located.

Social Cohesion

Social cohesion, like many key development concepts, is contested and open to a variety of interpretations (see Jenson, 2010). The Council of Europe defines social cohesion as “the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means.” This definition captures two key aspects of many definitions: “inequalities” and “social relations and ties” (Berger-Schmitt, 2002, pp. 205–5). The UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme (PBEA) similarly captures these two dimensions and defines social cohesion as:

the quality of coexistence between the multiple groups that operate within a society [...] along the dimensions of mutual respect and trust, shared values and social participation, life satisfaction and happiness as well as structural equity and social justice (UNDP Act, July 2013 cited in UNICEF, 2014a).

Social cohesion is a societal rather than individual property, based on the promotion of positive relationships, trust, solidarity, inclusion, collectivity, and common purpose. Social cohesion is also linked to social justice and equity. Higher income inequality has been associated with lower social cohesion, and more equitable societies tend to have greater social and political trust and less violence and crime (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2011). Educational equality has been linked with greater social cohesion across a number of measures, with educational inequality positively correlated with violent crime and political unrest and negatively correlated with political and civil liberties (FHI 360, 2015; Green, Preston, & Janmaat, 2006). Improving social cohesion therefore requires addressing structural, inter-personal, and inter-group domains. In this sense, social cohesion can sometimes be used interchangeably with the concept of peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts, as a kind of synonym for the aspirational production of a society with strong social inclusion, social capital, and social mobility (see OECD, 2012). In the UNICEF PBEA programme, social cohesion has been used in several contexts as a proxy for peacebuilding, due to local sensitivities related to peace

“Social cohesion, like many key development concepts, is contested and open to a variety of interpretations.”

“Social cohesion is a societal rather than individual property, based on the promotion of positive relationships, trust, solidarity, inclusion, collectivity, and common purpose.”

or peacebuilding language in some of the countries in which the PBEA operates.

Teachers

This review takes the ILO/UNESCO 1966 recommendation's definition for teachers as a starting point:

all those persons in schools or other learning sites who are responsible for the education of children or young people in pre-primary, primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary education (UNESCO/ILO, 2008).

However, the definition for our work is narrowed to primary and secondary education, and only included other learning sites than schools where they were the main provision in a given context.

Teacher Education

Teacher Education, Teacher Training, and Teacher Professional Development are all words associated with pre- and in-service teacher education. A distinction between education and training is illuminating here, where education is traditionally a learning process which requires the synthesis of knowledge, understanding principles and values while training is the about practice and acquiring techniques and skills, usually applied to standards and criteria. While there is a great deal of overlap between the two and teachers require both technical skills and procedures (e.g. reading and writing) and knowledge and insight (e.g. appreciation of the beauty and understanding of the meaning of the poem they are skilfully reading) the choice of language can arguably reflect the emphasis framing the teacher. In our work we use 'teacher education' and only refer to 'training' in quotes from other sources.

Teacher Agency

Integral to teachers' role as peacebuilders is their "agency" in peacebuilding. A pervasive dualism within social sciences is structure and agency. For Emile Durkheim (1912) structure took priority over agency meaning that social life is largely determined by social systems and conditions that regulate individual behaviour, whereas, in Weberian sociology this order is reversed. In this view, "social life is largely determined by those individuals "agents" without whom there would be no social structures" (Bullock & Trombley, 2000, p. 835). Later, sociologists have sought to synthesise this binary by seeing social systems as the result of interaction between individuals (agency), who are aware of the 'rules' (structure) that influence their actions but who are also capable of bringing about structural change by influencing the 'rules' that govern social action. Teacher agency as peacebuilders is understood in relation to their capacity to influence their conflict-driven surroundings. It is their ability to think, feel and act in order to foster "values and attitudes that offer a basis for transforming conflict itself" (Novelli & Smith, 2011, p. 7). Teachers' agency as peacebuilders can be seen as static, fixed and essentialised or as multidimensional, situated and dynamic. Teachers act as both the agents of change, for example, by promoting harmony between pupils including respect, justice and inclusiveness, and the agents of conflict, for example, in the way teachers use pedagogy and curricula to perpetuate inequity and conflict between opposing ethnic, religious or socio-economic groups. The lines between the two are not always clear and the same teacher may play out both roles simultaneously in different moments and contexts. This is because teachers' do not exercise their peacebuilding agency in isolation from their surroundings and their agency both influences their surrounding and is influenced by it (O'Sullivan, 2002; Weldon, 2010; Welmond, 2002). Teachers are selective and strategic actors in an often politically-charged context (Lopes Cardozo, 2011; Lopes Cardozo & May, 2009).

Country Case Studies: Background



Country Case Studies: Background

In this section we provide a methodological justification for the country selection and a brief and broad conflict context and research location summary for each case study to better illuminate the findings that are presented in the subsequent sections.

Comparative Insights & Rationale

In this section we briefly introduce the particular conflict and peacebuilding background of all four case studies to better contextualise the findings that are presented in this report. Data from all four countries is retrieved from country reports (see: Higgins et al. 2015; Durrani et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2015; Datzberger et al. 2015). The four country case studies provide a high degree of contrast relating to the relationship between education and peacebuilding, in terms of geographical diversity, the nature and temporality of the conflict contexts and the drivers and root causes that underpin them. They also offer a rich and nuanced understanding of the capacity and commitment of different states to effect durable peace and social cohesion in and through education. **South Africa**, emerged out of the struggle against apartheid, a conflict rooted in racism and social exclusion, whose legacies and inequalities remain more than two decades after the cessation of armed conflict. South Africa provides us with a rich resource to reflect more historically on the challenges and possibilities for the education system to contribute to promoting sustainable peacebuilding. **Uganda**, another country in Africa, remains divided between a peaceful South and Central Region and a Northern region that has suffered a series of punctuated armed conflicts for almost three decades. **Pakistan**, in South Asia, is a huge country that has suffered from a series of conflicts in recent years, linked to instability in Afghanistan, the global 'war on terror', regional tensions with its neighbour India and violent internal political unrest. Finally, **Myanmar**, presents us with a case study from South East Asia, of a country on the brink of entering a post-conflict period after decades of authoritarian military rule, challenged by a range of armed and non-armed ethnic and political movements.



Government school teachers attend a four day training workshop on inclusive education for teachers in a government school in Quetta City, Balochistan Province, Pakistan. ©UNICEF/Zaidi

Figure 2: Key conflict dynamic across South Africa, Uganda, Pakistan and Myanmar in CPE context
 (Based on data retrieved from country reports: Higgins et al. 2015; Durrani et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2015; Datzberger et al. 2015.)

Conflict Dimensions	South Africa	Uganda	Pakistan	Myanmar
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> much of the political, educational and physical landscape of colonialism and apartheid persists. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uganda's history of state formation has resulted in north-south fault line. high levels of inequities and violence in the northern regions. antagonism against Rwanda, (South) Sudan, Democratic Republic of the. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> military involvement in politics. violent internal political unrest. instability due to involvement in Afghanistan and the global 'war on terror'. historic and ongoing tensions with India. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the root causes may be traced back prior to the Anglo-Burmese wars of the mid-19th century and British colonial rule thereafter. decades of authoritarian military rule. violent internal political unrest.
	Poor governance, democratic deficits, human rights abuses, erosion of civil liberties, the lack of transitional justice, the politicisation of ethnic identities and corruption.			
Socio Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> racial discrimination. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> tensions between cultural institutions and the government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ethnic and religious violence. language politics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ethnic and religious violence.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> normalization of identity based inequities in society and policies. not much progress in reconciliation processes. social norms related to gender and violence. 			
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> classified as a middle income country but unemployment & poverty are among the highest in the world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> classified as a low-income country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> classified as low human development country. 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High levels of economic exclusions along social group identity, rural-urban populations, social class, and gender lines. Uneven infrastructure development, economic development, natural resource management, land disputes, and equitable government service delivery. 			
Current Progress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The CPE dimensions are highly interdependent and contribute to the historic and current climate of conflict, mistrust and grievances among different social groups. towards a more sustainable peace remains volatile given weak state institutions and the (positive and negative) impact of international aid on building confidence in the peacebuilding process. although slowly increasing, the government spends relatively little on the education sector in comparison to, for instance, the defence budget. 			

The rich diversity of research sites emphasises the need for conflict sensitive, contextually coherent approaches to enhancing the role and potential of education in peacebuilding processes in each context, while serving to enrich globally relevant insights and reflections on the differing challenges, possibilities and potentials of education, as a key social sector, in the promotion of sustainable peace-promoting societies.



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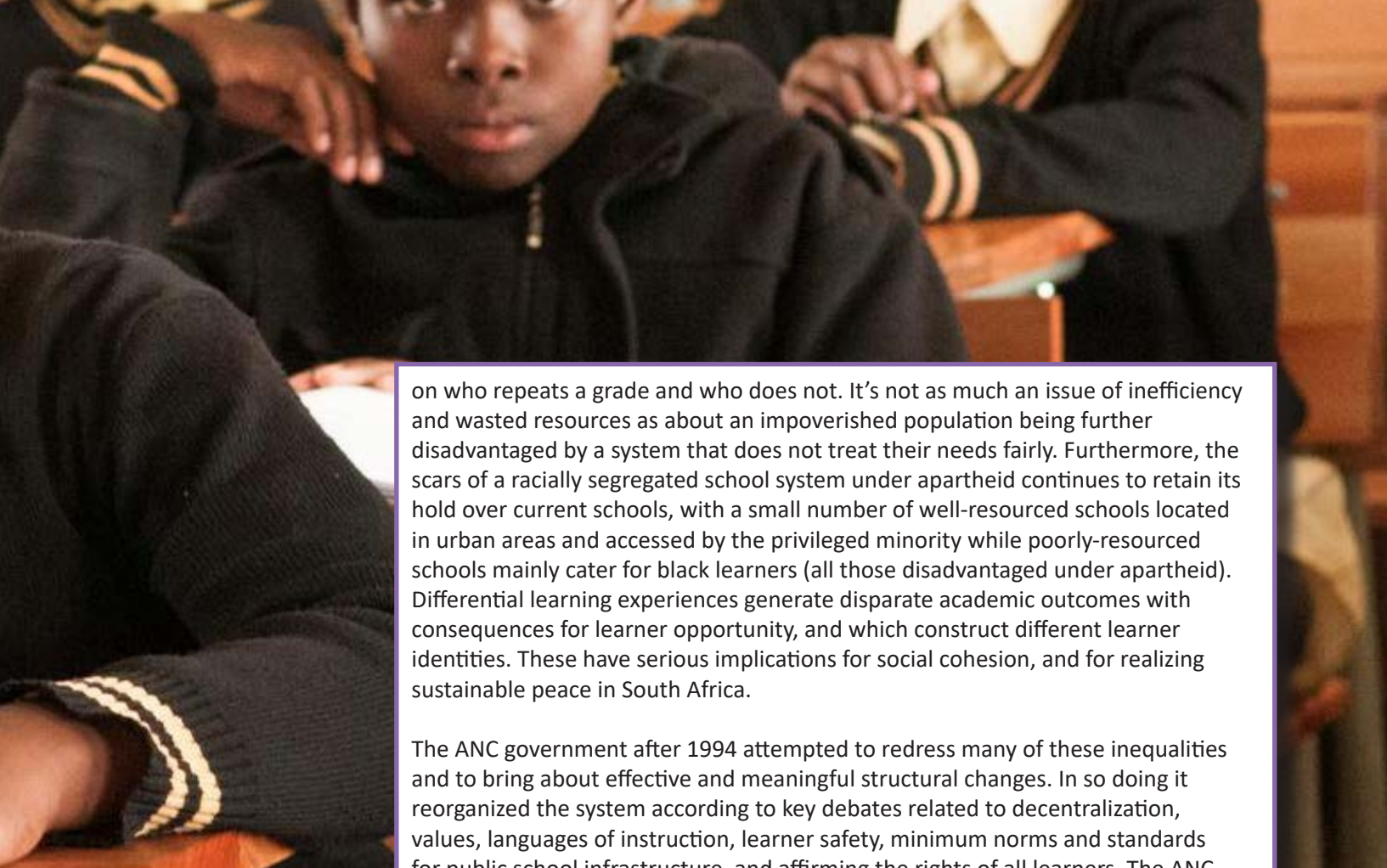
South Africa

South Africa has a population of approximately 54 million (53,675,563) people with a total land area of 1,219,090 square kilometers. It is classified as a middle income country with an emerging market and an abundant mineral resource supply, including manganese, platinum, gold, diamonds, chromite ore and vanadium. The biggest socio-economic and political challenges remain its high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality which are among the highest in the world, at a time when economic growth has increased by as little as 1.5%.

Most current South African conflicts are firmly rooted in a history of colonialism and apartheid that not only fractured social identities along the lines of race and ethnicity, but solidified them in unequal relations that continue to separate the population across unequally resourced spatial areas. Dealing with issues of equity, redress, and social cohesion were some of the things that the new government in 1994 committed itself to addressing. However, more than two decades after the end of apartheid the legacies of past policies remain, and much of the physical landscape of apartheid has undergone very little change. Perhaps the biggest challenge has been that the inequalities have become normalized and accepted as given within policy pronouncements, with the main casualties of this normalization living on the fringes of urban development, where they remain peripheral to development and integration. Despite deracialisation of the distributional system, white privilege, albeit bound up as social class, as the main basis of discrimination has continued largely unabated.

The education system mirrors the inequalities and legacies of apartheid. For example, in 2012 South Africa invested 6.8% of the Gross National Product (GNP) and 20.6% of total government expenditure in education (which is much higher than the world average), yet children from more privileged backgrounds continue to be given a higher chance of reaching matric by the age of 19 or 20 than children from poorer backgrounds. Statistics show that 88% of privileged students reach matric compared to only 17% of those from poorer backgrounds (SAHRC and UNICEF, 2014). Learner repetition is also quite high in South Africa compared to other developing countries, with geography, language and race having a huge influence

“Most current South African conflicts are firmly rooted in a history of colonialism and apartheid that not only fractured social identities along the lines of race and ethnicity, but solidified them in unequal relations that continue to separate the population across unequally resourced spatial areas.”



on who repeats a grade and who does not. It's not as much an issue of inefficiency and wasted resources as about an impoverished population being further disadvantaged by a system that does not treat their needs fairly. Furthermore, the scars of a racially segregated school system under apartheid continues to retain its hold over current schools, with a small number of well-resourced schools located in urban areas and accessed by the privileged minority while poorly-resourced schools mainly cater for black learners (all those disadvantaged under apartheid). Differential learning experiences generate disparate academic outcomes with consequences for learner opportunity, and which construct different learner identities. These have serious implications for social cohesion, and for realizing sustainable peace in South Africa.

The ANC government after 1994 attempted to redress many of these inequalities and to bring about effective and meaningful structural changes. In so doing it reorganized the system according to key debates related to decentralization, values, languages of instruction, learner safety, minimum norms and standards for public school infrastructure, and affirming the rights of all learners. The ANC government recognized the need to both engage with inequalities and social fragmentation inherited from apartheid and to identify emerging needs. It further recognized that social cohesion in the context of such deep-seated patterns of inequities and fractured social relationships would be difficult to attain. Yet, despite the attention given after 1994 to address issues of access to education and the equitable allocation of state funding (seen in further policies such as the Manifesto on Values, Education, and Democracy in 2001 and the National Policy on Religion and Education in 2003), the main inhibitor to social cohesion has been in how to transform and unlock an institutional framework that continues to perpetuate a variety of inequities.

The research project focused on understanding national interventions that addressed various aspects of social cohesion in the country that included concerns about violence, social development and employment. While the majority of the case studies selected for the project centred on the Western Cape, the individual interventions were chosen on the basis that they reflected the diversity, nature, and size of interventions that existed in other regions as well, and thus could be seen as illustrative of much broader overall experiences of social cohesion initiatives.

Picture: 14 years old Mbasa Mengzuva in his classroom in the Bijolo School, situated in a disadvantaged rural area of Eastern Cape, South Africa. "When I finish school, I want to become a pilot or at least work in aviation. It is not an easy thing to achieve and that is why I need to be a very good student" – says Mbasa.



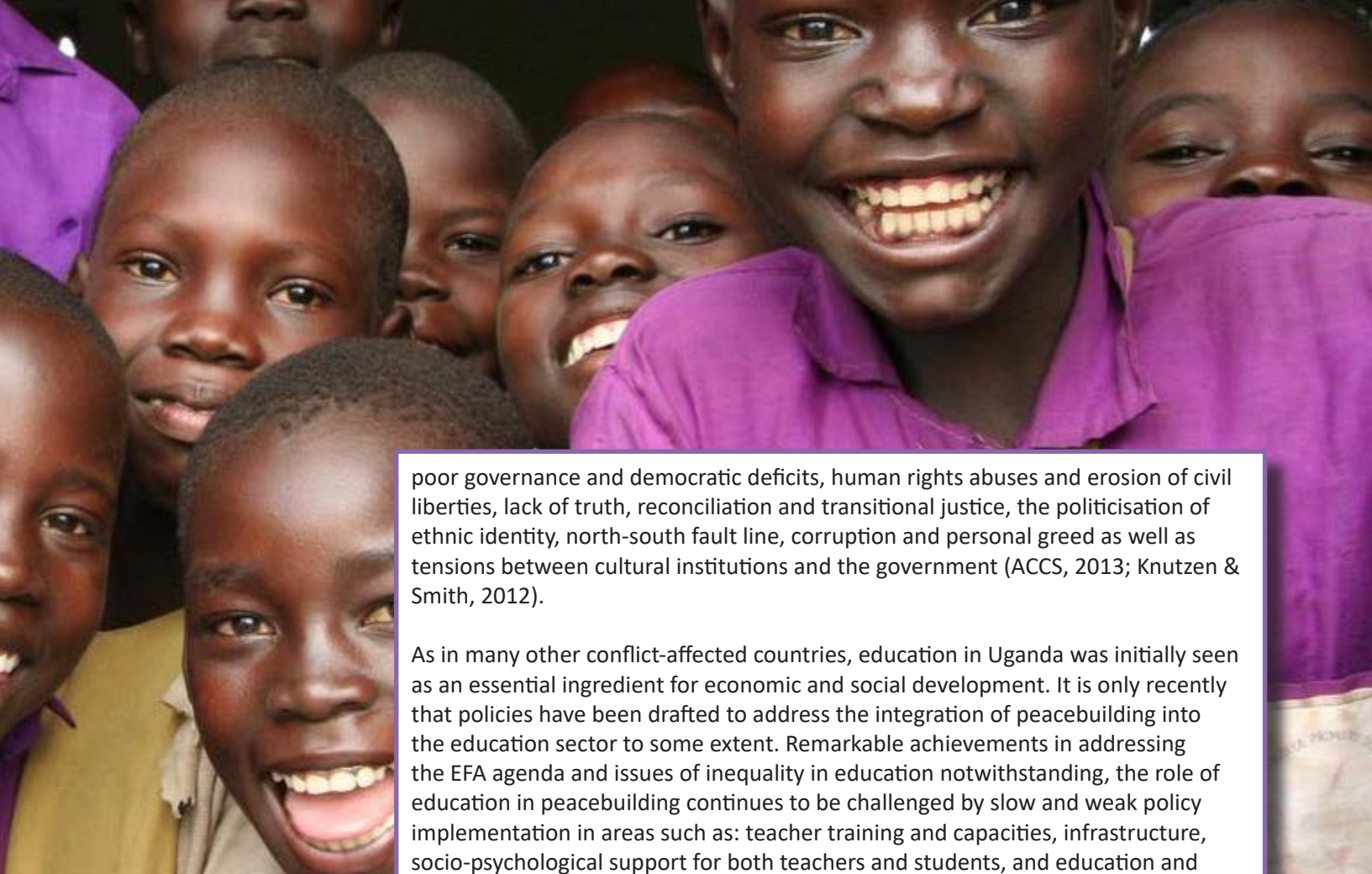
Uganda

Uganda is located in East-Central Africa, boarded by Kenya (East), South Sudan (North), Democratic Republic of the Congo (West), Rwanda (Southwest) and Tanzania (South). With a population of 37 million people, Uganda is not only the world's second most populous landlocked country (after Ethiopia) but is also home to the world's youngest population (with over 78 % below 30 years). It is a low-income country with a GDP per Capita equivalent to 3 per cent of the world's average, though the situation is slowly improving. Whereas Uganda's GDP per capita averaged 274.65 USD from 1982 until 2014, it reached an all-time high of 422.36 USD in 2014. In 2015 Uganda's literacy rate is 73.9 % (80.8 % male and 66.9 % female, gender difference of 14 %). Public spending on education was at 2.2 % of the GDP in 2013.

Uganda's history of state formation, as well as the conflict in the northern region, has split the nation into two countries, if not two identities. Since 1986, Uganda has experienced at least seven civil wars, located mostly in the northern regions. More than 20 militant groups have thus far attempted to displace President Museveni's government both within and beyond the Ugandan borders. External diplomatic incidents and/or armed incursions occurred with Rwanda, (South) Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Somalia (Insight on Conflict, 2014). Probably the most prominently debated conflict in the media, but also in scholarship and policy practice, is the civil war in the north against Joseph Kony's LRA (Lord Resistance Army) since the 1990s. Between 1987-2007 Uganda resembled a "war with peace" model, suggesting that the government in power embraced the antagonisms of conflict (in the north) alongside peaceful coexistence and development (in the south), in one country at the same time (Shaw & Mbabazi, 2007, p. 568). Whereas southern Uganda emerged as a showpiece for Western donors to highlight remarkable successes in combating HIV/AIDS rates or fostering economic growth and development, conversely, northern Uganda's developmental progress has been challenged by two decades of war (ibid.). In 2015, Uganda continues to rank 23rd amongst the world's most fragile states. Regional instability within the country persists, driven by factors such as: economic disparities and unequal distribution of wealth, resource competition, land-disputes, cattle raiding,

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Picture: Children from Gwengdiya Primary School, Gulu district, Uganda, during their morning break.

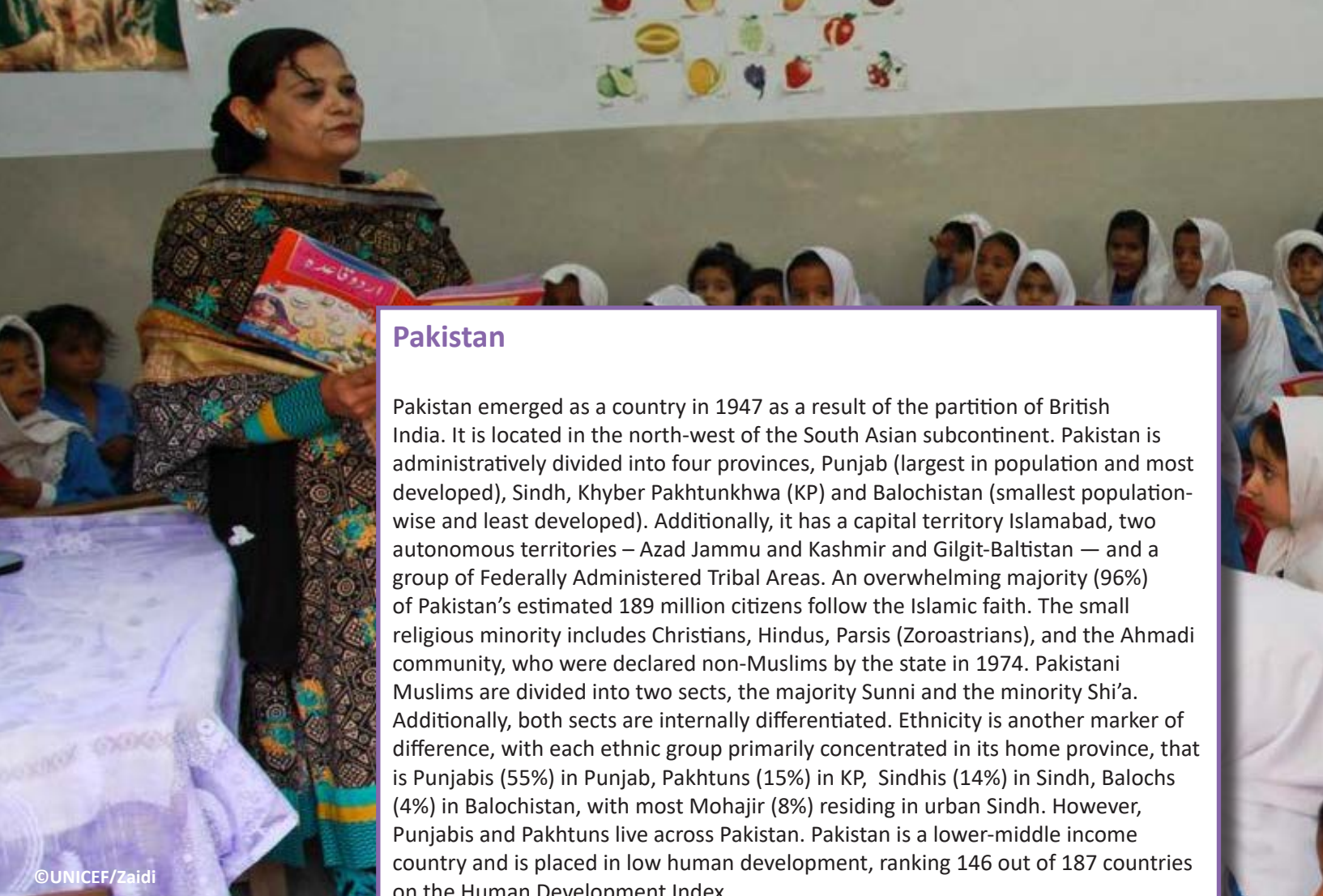


poor governance and democratic deficits, human rights abuses and erosion of civil liberties, lack of truth, reconciliation and transitional justice, the politicisation of ethnic identity, north-south fault line, corruption and personal greed as well as tensions between cultural institutions and the government (ACCS, 2013; Knutzen & Smith, 2012).

As in many other conflict-affected countries, education in Uganda was initially seen as an essential ingredient for economic and social development. It is only recently that policies have been drafted to address the integration of peacebuilding into the education sector to some extent. Remarkable achievements in addressing the EFA agenda and issues of inequality in education notwithstanding, the role of education in peacebuilding continues to be challenged by slow and weak policy implementation in areas such as: teacher training and capacities, infrastructure, socio-psychological support for both teachers and students, and education and livelihood generation for youth. In addition, ineffective decentralization processes and the emergence of low versus high quality schools (or privatisation), as well as corruption, challenge equality and social cohesion within and through education. Within the curriculum peacebuilding is approached and used as a pedagogical tool towards conflict prevention but not as a means to coming to terms with a conflict-shattered past.

Fieldwork was conducted in Uganda between January and April 2015 working with local researchers from Makerere University in the capital Kampala, and Gulu University in the north of the country across all three research areas. Research was undertaken at a variety of sites in the country, comprising rural and urban environments and diverse geographical regions of the country, namely Kampala, Gulu, Adjumani and Karamoja. Two senior local research assistants from Gulu University were employed, alongside 5 junior local research assistants in Kampala, Karamoja, Gulu and Adjumani. 60 interviews with a variety of stakeholders took place (some on more than one research area) alongside 13 Focus Groups Discussions (FGD) and 259 student teacher questionnaires. For each research area (RA1, RA2 and RA3) researchers interviewed government officials, education planners, teacher education providers, teaching professionals, student teachers, local and international NGOs, and local communities.

“Uganda’s history of state formation, as well as the conflict in the northern region, has split the nation into two countries, if not two identities. Since 1986, Uganda has experienced at least seven civil wars, located mostly in the northern regions.”



Pakistan

Pakistan emerged as a country in 1947 as a result of the partition of British India. It is located in the north-west of the South Asian subcontinent. Pakistan is administratively divided into four provinces, Punjab (largest in population and most developed), Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Balochistan (smallest population-wise and least developed). Additionally, it has a capital territory Islamabad, two autonomous territories – Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan — and a group of Federally Administered Tribal Areas. An overwhelming majority (96%) of Pakistan's estimated 189 million citizens follow the Islamic faith. The small religious minority includes Christians, Hindus, Parsis (Zoroastrians), and the Ahmadi community, who were declared non-Muslims by the state in 1974. Pakistani Muslims are divided into two sects, the majority Sunni and the minority Shi'a. Additionally, both sects are internally differentiated. Ethnicity is another marker of difference, with each ethnic group primarily concentrated in its home province, that is Punjabis (55%) in Punjab, Pakhtuns (15%) in KP, Sindhis (14%) in Sindh, Balochs (4%) in Balochistan, with most Mohajir (8%) residing in urban Sindh. However, Punjabis and Pakhtuns live across Pakistan. Pakistan is a lower-middle income country and is placed in low human development, ranking 146 out of 187 countries on the Human Development Index.

Major conflict drivers in Pakistan include religiously motivated violence and terrorism fuelled by the 'War on Terror' with its epicentre in KP, ethnic insurgency and sectarian violence in Balochistan and ethnic/political and sectarian violence in Karachi. The entanglement of Islam with Pakistani identity and a history of conflicts with India work to construct idealised gendered roles and masculinised identities for Pakistanis. This restricts the possibilities of female citizens and makes them vulnerable to verbal, physical and sexual violence. Additionally, socio-economic inequity, unequal access to resources and power, and a lack of political participation

“Pakistan emerged as a country in 1947 as a result of the partition of British India. It is located in the north-west of the South Asian subcontinent. Pakistan is administratively divided into four provinces, Punjab (largest in population and most developed), Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan (smallest population-wise and least developed).”



also contribute to conflict. The education system mirrors these inequities, with household income being the strongest determinant of educational opportunities, followed by rural and urban disparities, inequities across the different regions/provinces and gender gaps between females and males. These inequities are exasperated by the three systems of education—public, private and the madrassa/religious sector and language of instruction. The two provinces most-affected by conflict—Balochistan and KP—are also the ones with poorer educational indicators. Nevertheless, literature indicates a high proportion of educated youth from the prosperous Punjab province are engaged in conflict but outside their home-province.

Research was conducted in Urban (Karachi) and interior Sindh, KP (Peshawar) and Islamabad. Sindh province is the major research site, with RA2 focusing on urban and interior Sindh and RA3 focusing on Karachi. RA1 is covered in all research sites. Sindh was selected because significant inequities on the basis of uneven socio-economic development between rural and urban areas exist. The ethnic and language mix is also an issue for social cohesion especially as the large Sindhi speaking population in Sindh feels that Sindhi is marginalized due to the positioning of Urdu as a national language. Karachi with its large population has a wide range in the social class, ethnic and religious mix. Importantly, Karachi reflects key conflict-drivers—ethnic/political and sectarian violence, and both Karachi and interior Sindh exhibit structural violence. Peshawar was selected because it is the province most-affected by the ‘War on Terror’ and religious conflict. Islamabad, being the capital city was included because of the presence of the international development community and federal policy-makers.

Picture: A school teacher conducts English class in Government girls high school Killa Kanci, Quetta city, Baluchistan province, Pakistan.

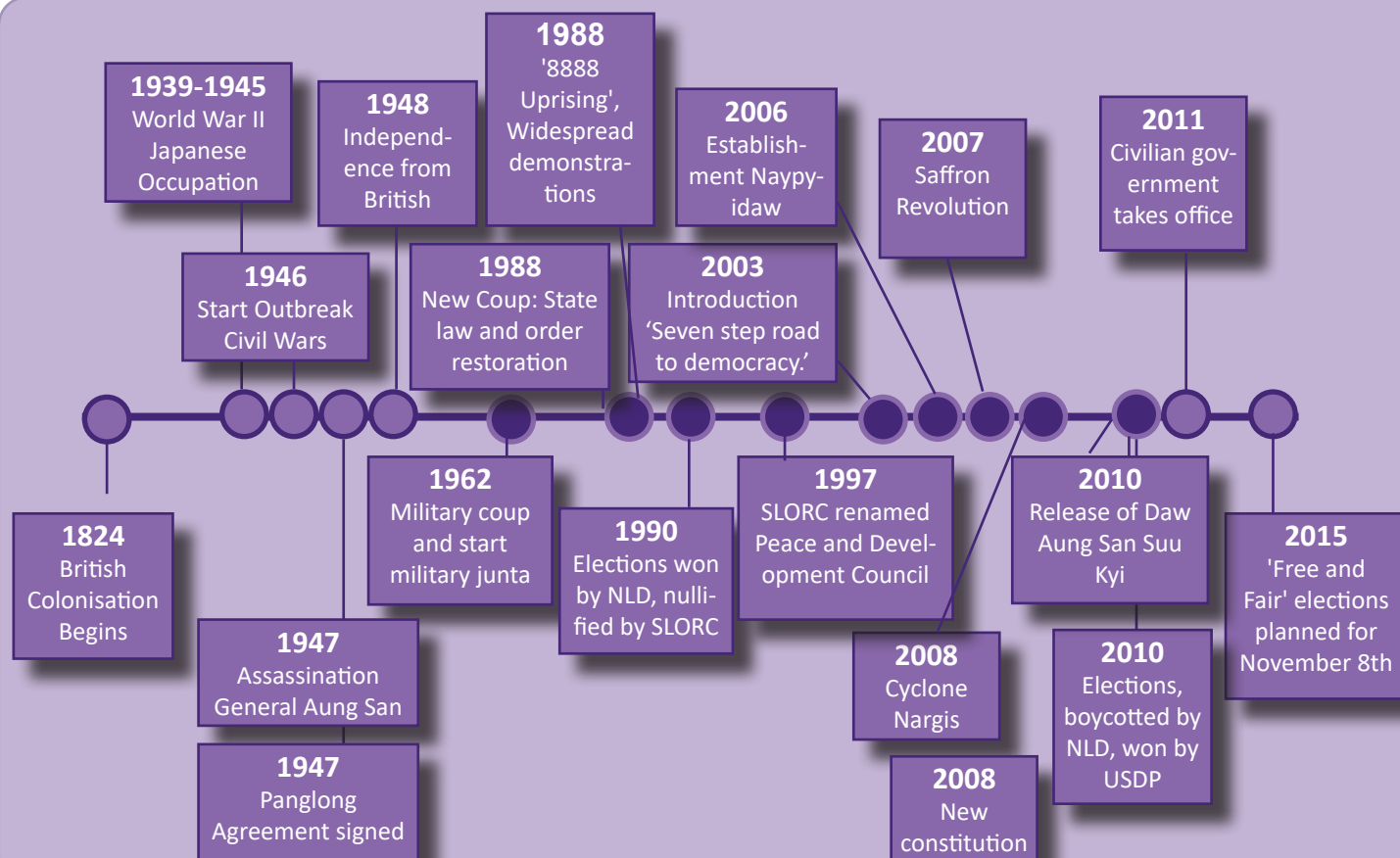


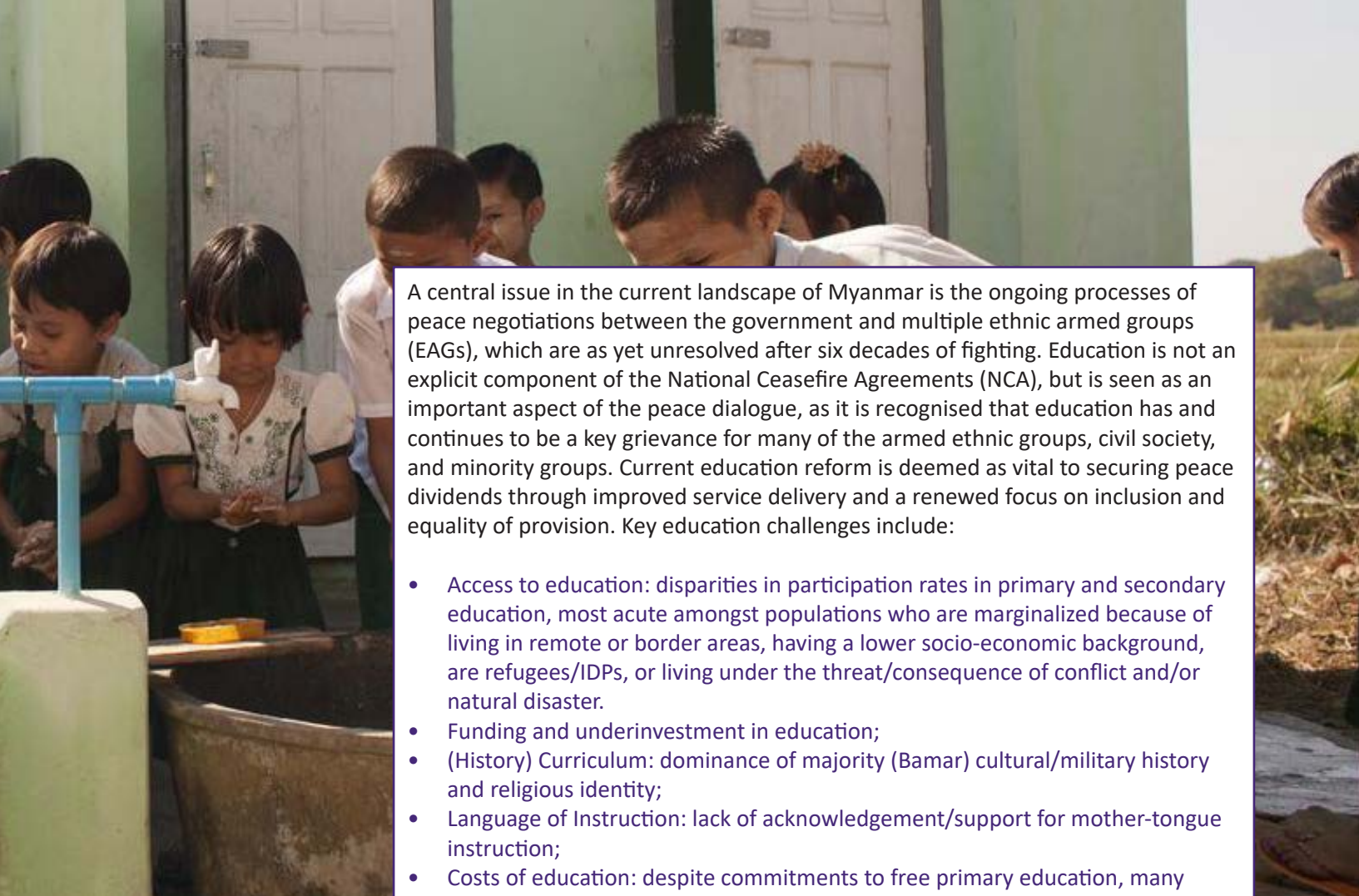
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Myanmar

Myanmar is known officially as the Republic of the Union of Myanmar (also known as Burma), and is located in Southeast Asia bordered by Bangladesh, India, China, Laos and Thailand. The root causes of the ethnic strife that characterise ongoing conflict in Myanmar may be traced back prior to the Anglo-Burmese wars of the mid-19th century and British colonial rule thereafter. Myanmar became an independent nation in 1948, initially as a democratic nation and then, following a coup d'état in 1962, as a military dictatorship. Conflict currently largely falls into three movements: the struggle of armed ethnic groups for greater self-determination; the pro-democracy movements resisting oppressive practices by the military-dominated State; and the more recent resurfacing of inter-religious tensions. These dimensions are highly interdependent and contribute to the historic and current climate of conflict, mistrust and grievances in Myanmar. After the election in 2010, there have been tensions around and only partial successes with regard to the government's quest for a nation-wide ceasefire agreement. Since 2011, the government has initiated multiple reform processes, including an education sector review. However, actual transformation towards a more sustainable peace remains volatile given weak state institutions and the (positive and negative) impact of international aid on building confidence in the peace process. Finally, although slowly increasing, the government spends relatively little on the education sector in comparison to, for instance, the defence budget. The current education landscape reflects the different historical periods, with four parallel education systems: state schools, monastic schools, ethnic schools, and community education.

Figure 3. Timeline with a selection of important political events in the history of Myanmar





A central issue in the current landscape of Myanmar is the ongoing processes of peace negotiations between the government and multiple ethnic armed groups (EAGs), which are as yet unresolved after six decades of fighting. Education is not an explicit component of the National Ceasefire Agreements (NCA), but is seen as an important aspect of the peace dialogue, as it is recognised that education has and continues to be a key grievance for many of the armed ethnic groups, civil society, and minority groups. Current education reform is deemed as vital to securing peace dividends through improved service delivery and a renewed focus on inclusion and equality of provision. Key education challenges include:

- Access to education: disparities in participation rates in primary and secondary education, most acute amongst populations who are marginalized because of living in remote or border areas, having a lower socio-economic background, are refugees/IDPs, or living under the threat/consequence of conflict and/or natural disaster.
- Funding and underinvestment in education;
- (History) Curriculum: dominance of majority (Bamar) cultural/military history and religious identity;
- Language of Instruction: lack of acknowledgement/support for mother-tongue instruction;
- Costs of education: despite commitments to free primary education, many families are still required to pay fees or purchase texts/uniforms to send their children to school.

Fieldwork was carried out in two regions, including the wider Yangon area and in Mon state. Hence, the data presented reflects a particular period and geographical focus and does not claim to be representative of Myanmar.

In the next section we provide synthesis of key findings from the four-country case studies, drawing on the longer country report from each research team.

(see: Higgins et al. 2015; Durrani et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2015; Datzberger et al. 2015 available at <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/partners/research-consortium/research-outputs/>).

“The root causes of the ethnic strife that characterise ongoing conflict in Myanmar may be traced back prior to the Anglo-Burmese wars of the mid-19th century and British colonial rule thereafter.”

Picture: Children wash their hands with soap at a hand-washing station, while other students behind them wait their turn to use latrines, at Katauk Sat Basic Education Primary School in Katauk Village in Pantanaw Township in Ayeyarwaddy Region. Hand-washing stations and latrines have been installed at the school with support from UNICEF.

Cross-Case Analysis: Teachers, Social Cohesion and Peacebuilding

Cross-Case Analysis: Teachers, Social Cohesion and Peacebuilding

While we strongly believe that any policy analysis and recommendations must emerge from and recognise the particular geographical and historical contexts of the individual case-studies, in this section we try to draw out some common thematic areas, challenges and tensions in relation to the role of teachers as agents of social cohesion and peacebuilding and the insitutional networks within which they are embedded.

Teacher Agency & Peacebuilding

Firstly, what is clear from the four country case studies is that we cannot begin to talk about Teacher Agency and Peacebuilding without locating the discussion contextually and in relation to several context specific issues including, teachers' status, morale, motivation and pay and conditions. While these conditions are not unique to conflict affected contexts, they are often intensified in these situations due to resource constraints and weak governance systems. In all of the case studies under review, but to differing degrees, teachers face a situation of declining status, where teaching as a profession is entered into often reluctantly, where attrition rates are high, where demands are ever increasing and where pay is both low and irregularly delivered, and conditions are increasingly being eroded. Ironically, this low status in some locations – Pakistan and South Africa – has led to the increased feminisation of the profession, and we should be cautious of seeing this as a positive outcome. In Uganda low morale appears linked to high attrition rates, high absenteeism and low motivation, which inevitably erodes teachers' potential to be moral leaders and agents of change. Uganda's legacy of tribalism associated with nepotism also impacts on teachers' understanding of their role and agency. Even in Myanmar, where the status of the profession was higher, this has been undermined by chronic underinvestment in the education sector as a whole, despite recent salary increases. Furthermore, we should also be cautious of generalising teachers' experience, as conditions of work, class sizes, social challenges vary widely within countries, as evidenced clearly in the data on South Africa. In Myanmar, there are palpable differences in morale and motivation between state and non-state schools, reflecting the role of education in ethnic struggles and a more political conceptualisation of the teaching vocation. In Pakistan, there appear to be real differences in pay and conditions between the state and private sector and within the private sector, with serious gender inequalities within the private sector. In Uganda the private–public divide is also significant, impacting on the equitable distribution of teachers and on teacher motivation.

We can draw a number of conclusions in terms of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation from the broad data. Firstly, though the issue varies in degrees both between and within countries, inadequate redistribution of resources is central to teachers own sense of well-being, both in terms of resources directed towards teachers themselves and the education system more generally. Issues of status and the recognition that teachers feel in society for their profession, compounded by low pay and poor conditions often further demoralise teachers and limit their potential as peacebuilders and agents of social cohesion. While many teachers express commitment to teaching and see their work as a vocation, this becomes undermined when pay, conditions and status are eroded, particularly when teachers are marginalised from key decision making processes and their representation is undermined. One can see from the Myanmar case, that many of the teachers working in ethnic schools, maintain high levels of motivation due to political commitment, but

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increasing demoralisation seems prevalent across cases. This undermining of teachers inevitably weakens their chances of both being an active agent of reconciliation and social change and being seen with the status of change agent. Improving teachers economic station, cultural status and participation is central to building those rights through their actions inside and outside of the classroom.

Secondly, what is evident from the case studies is the need to locate our understanding of teachers within complex local and national histories. As such peacebuilding interventions need to be context specific, acknowledging how individual and groups attitudes and values that have been formed and shaped by particular conflict ridden histories. Everything in South Africa, teachers included, remain influenced by the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, and the complexity of gender, race, ethnicity and class relations manifest themselves in multiple ways, impacting on teacher agency for social cohesion and peacebuilding. In Pakistan, an assimilationist and gendered national ideology limits teachers’ capability as agents of inclusion. In Myanmar, the complex history of struggle against authoritarianism and the balance of social forces enters the classroom both in the state and non-state sectors, with very different effects. Peacebuilding and social cohesion tensions emerge from all of these challenges. Policies intended to vindicate representation and recognition issues – particularly in South Africa and Myanmar - might come into tension with policies that seek to smooth over difference and build national unity. Similarly, policies of redistribution, encouraging teachers to work in remote areas, might produce resentment from local communities who see their identities threatened by the cultural and linguistic differences that teachers coming from outside their communities bring.

Thirdly, national and global policy influences and environments appear to inhibit or facilitate teacher agency in peacebuilding and social cohesion. Global discourses of quality and efficiency contrast with the need to redress inequities and promote redistribution; ideas of promoting ‘meritocracy’ (even if a positive attempt to redress cronyism and nepotism in the sector – as in Pakistan) appear to reinforce inequalities in representation of minorities or under-represented groups. Even where there are serious national efforts to redress historical under-representation, these measures can be undermined locally through the political agency of actors unwilling to change and vice-versa.

“National and global policy influences and environments appear to inhibit or facilitate teacher agency in peacebuilding and social cohesion.”

Fourthly, and in the context of the above complexities, there appears to have been a series of interventions in all contexts over the years to expand the role and function of teachers – from election monitors, HIV awareness transmitters, conflict mediators, counsellors, social workers – that can at times be seen as over ambitious. Linked to this, and evident from the data, is that much of these interventions are initiated by international agencies, whose resources are more readily available for the trainings, but not necessarily for ensuring that the new teacher roles are adequately compensated for or supported in the post-training period. Meanwhile, most states are overwhelmed with merely meeting the recurrent costs of the education system – not least teachers’ salaries, and therefore have little room for accommodating additional interventions. The question must be raised as to how much we can expect a teacher to do, particularly those in the most challenging environments – which are precisely where their role as peacebuilder and agent of social cohesion is most needed. In that sense we feel the need to add a touch of realism to some of the romanticism associated with the idea of teachers as agents of social change – not for lack of aspiration on our part, but in order to temper this with evidence of the reality of teachers’ lives in many places around the world, including the country case studies.

Table 3: A synthesis of 4R factors affecting teacher agency for peacebuilding in cross-country contexts (Based on Higgins et al. 2015; Durrani et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2015; Datzberger et al. 2015)

4Rs	South Africa	Uganda	Pakistan	Myanmar
Contextual Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers remain influenced by the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The North -South divide appears significant in understanding teachers' agency. Tribalism and nepotism. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An assimilationist interpretation of national ideology within broader patriarchal cultural context limits teachers' agency. Nepotism. 	The complex history of struggle against authoritarianism and the balance of social forces enters classroom both in the state and non-state sectors, with very different effects.
	The complexity of race (in SA), religion (in Pakistan and Myanmar), ethnicity, language, gender and class relations (across).			
Representation	Policies intended to vindicate representation might come into tension with policies that seek to build national unity.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ideas of promoting 'meritocracy' appear to reinforce inequalities in representation of minorities/under-represented groups. Low status leads to feminisation of the profession. 	Policies intended to vindicate representation might come into tension with policies that seek to build national unity.
	Teachers are marginalised from key decision making processes.			
Redistribution		The private–public divide impacts the equitable distribution of teachers.	Inequity in pay and conditions between the state and private sector and within the private sector.	Morale and motivation of teachers between state and non-state schools seem to differ.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Low pay and poor conditions, most states are overwhelmed with merely meeting the recurrent costs. Policies of redistribution, encouraging teachers to work in remote areas, might produce resentment from local communities who see their identities threatened by the cultural and linguistic differences that teachers coming from outside their communities bring. Global discourses of quality and efficiency, contrast with the need to promote redistribution. 			
Recognition	Economically undermined and socially experiencing declining status. Diverse ethnic, cultural race (SA) and linguistic heritages often undermined.			
Impact on Teacher Agency	Low morale, high absenteeism, and low motivations, yet, a lot is expected of teachers.			

“From the case study evidence, a complex picture of teachers’ relationship to physical violence emerges.”

“The most prevalent form of violence that emerges across the case studies is that of teacher on student violence through corporal punishment, which reinforces the culture of violence and thus may inhibit efforts at peacebuilding.”

Having noted the factors affecting teacher agency, teachers as potential agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion have some remarkable unique attributes. They are located in every almost every area in a country, which gives them a unique geographical reach; they are educated and therefore able to process and communicate information, and they have unprecedented access to the nation’s youth. But for this agency to be unleashed in progressive ways, they need support, training, adequate compensation, and recognition of their vital role and participation in the decisions that effect them.

Teachers & Violence

From the case study evidence, a complex picture of teachers’ relationship to physical violence emerges. Across the studies we can see teachers’ as victims of violence at a range of levels and of a variety of types; from victims of political violence – perpetrated by state and non-state actors alike, gender-based violence to victims of student attacks, crime and gang-based violence, and finally as victims of symbolic violence through discrimination in relation to cultural, race, ethnic, linguistic or socio-economic background. Similarly, teachers also appear as perpetrators of violence, particularly through engagement in corporal punishment and gender-based violence – both on fellow teachers and students. Furthermore, teachers may enact symbolic violence through discrimination in relation to the cultural, race, ethnic, linguistic or socio-economic background of students. The drivers of violence are clearly mediated through widely different contexts, which themselves reflect broader societal norms and values and complex histories of violence within which teachers are located. In all contexts, discussing and reporting violence in its different forms often remains a taboo subject and lack of evidence should not fool us into thinking there is not a problem, and more sensitive, and confidential research in this area needs to be produced to provide a more detailed picture.

In **Pakistan**, teachers have been victims of direct violent political attacks by design or default – where education institutions and the education system is caught up centrally in the fallout from the conflict in Afghanistan and the broader ‘war on terror’, particularly, though not exclusively, in the Northernmost regions. In this context teachers and education institutions are often perceived as representative of an external ‘western’ education system, perceived as collaborators with external powers – outposts of the state - ‘threatening’ particular Muslim identities. In **Myanmar**, particularly in the more conflict-affected regions, teachers feel vulnerable to attacks in militarised areas, and others feel threatened by the local community, fearing being seen – as in Pakistan - as civil servants and outposts of the state. In **South Africa**, the legacy of Apartheid, where state sponsored terrorism and political violence was widespread and structural inequality inscribed in the state, appears to have had profound effects on the post-conflict environment, where arguably violence has become normalised in everyday life. In this context attacks on teachers by pupils is widespread. This type of student on teacher violence is not documented in the other case studies.

The most prevalent form of violence that emerges across the case studies is that of teacher on student violence through corporal punishment, which reinforces the culture of violence and thus may inhibit efforts at peacebuilding. This appears widespread and culturally accepted in most of these contexts, despite national

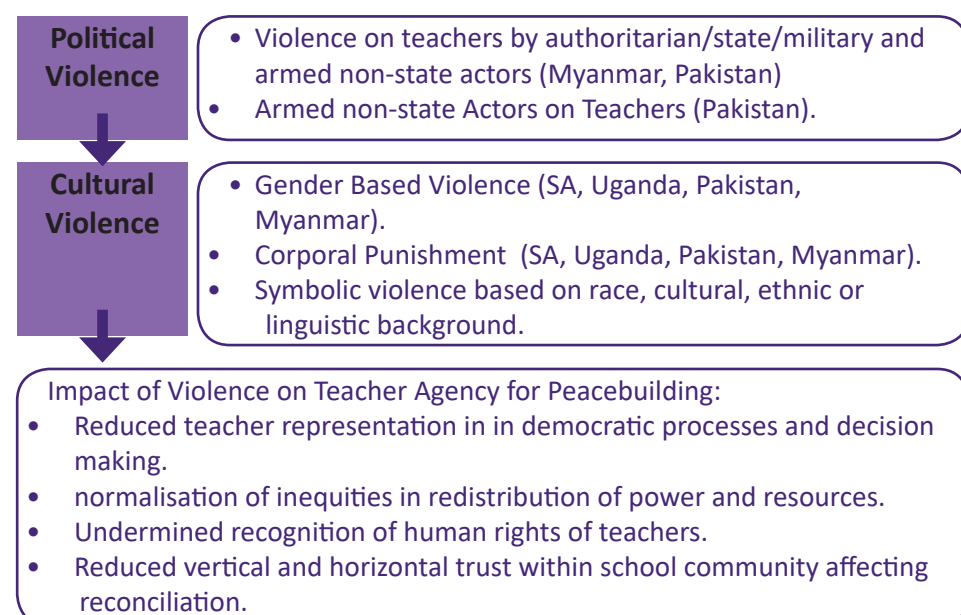
legislation in several contexts to prohibit its use. In **Pakistan**, ambiguous state responses to corporal punishment reinforce the pervasive culture of corporal punishment in schools, leading many students to drop out of education. In **Uganda** corporal punishment was banned in 2008. Nevertheless, it remains a dominant practice within a MoESTS study in 2012 finding that 74% of children in primary school and 75% in secondary reported being caned by an adult (UCRNN 2014). The cases of **Myanmar** and **South Africa** suggest similar findings. This appears to be a central domain where better and more informed teacher training and professional development could assist in challenging the practice and breaking cultures of violence in schools that are reinforced when educators – who are role models for students – normalise and model violence through corporal punishment.

“Gender-based violence appears as a key issue in all contexts, and one that is under-reported due to its taboo status. Evidence in both South Africa and Uganda point to a significant prevalence of teachers engaging in GBV against students and colleagues, including transactional sex for grades incidents.”

Gender-based violence appears as a key issue in all contexts, and one that is under-reported due to its taboo status. Evidence in both **South Africa** and **Uganda** point to a significant prevalence of teachers engaging in GBV against students and colleagues, including transactional sex for grades incidents. In **South Africa**, the evidence appears particularly damning, though this might reflect research focus and interest which may not have been similar in **Pakistan**, **Uganda** and **Myanmar**. In recent years, **South Africa** refined its legal framework to address the problem, legislating dismissal for teachers who carried out GBV on colleagues or students, and banned relationships with students where teachers were employed. However, weak implementation has meant that this had to date little impact on the ground. Furthermore, teaching, as a feminised profession, where men in all contexts appear more prevalent in management roles, facilitates teacher on teacher GBV as some men use their positional power to pressure and coerce female colleagues. And in Uganda gender violence impacts on teacher distribution and the capacity of teachers to engage in peacebuilding.

Figure 4: Key violence dynamic and its impact on 4Rs in relation to teachers in cross-country contexts

(Based on data retrieved from country reports: Higgins et al. 2015; Durrani et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2015; Datzberger et al. 2015.)



These different and complex modes of violence all in their own ways undermine peacebuilding and social cohesion and seem to all circulate around issues of identity, status and the exercise of power to try to produce certain desired outcomes. Whether that be armed groups over teachers and students, male teachers over female teachers, teachers over students and students over teachers. The pervasive nature of violence in many of the country case studies inevitably undermines processes of sustainable peacebuilding inducing both fear and the potential for both retribution and the cyclical transmission of cultures of violence from teachers to students to communities and vice versa.

Teacher Governance

Teacher recruitment and deployment are an important component in the relationship between education, social cohesion and peacebuilding. Questions of who has access to initial teacher training and the contents therein, the degree to which trainee and established teachers have opportunities to experience diverse environments and where they are subsequently employed, influence equality in relation to ethnic, regional, gender and socio-economic representation in the system. Once in post the distribution of teachers from different backgrounds, and their preparedness to work in a range of settings will influence the diversity experienced by the children and young people they teach. Therefore, it is vital to consider challenges experienced by each country in this regard.

We will first highlight the 4Rs challenges specific to each of the four countries in relation to teacher governance. Having done that, we will discuss challenges that cut across all the four countries and policy responses of the countries to those challenges and their outcomes.

The following country-specific textboxes list the particular 4Rs challenges in each of the four countries in relation to teacher recruitment and deployment:

“Teacher recruitment and deployment are an important component in the relationship between education, social cohesion and peacebuilding.”

Textbox 1: Key teacher governance challenges in South Africa, Uganda, Pakistan and Myanmar in relation to 4Rs

(Based on data retrieved from country reports: Higgins et al. 2015; Durrani et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2015; Datzberger et al. 2015.)

South Africa

Redistribution:

- Teaching profession suffers from broader financial inequities due to poor salaries.
- Inefficient teacher recruitment and deployment creates subject shortages and geographical inequities.
- Wealthy schools attract high quality teachers leaving poor schools further impoverished in terms of quality of teachers.
- Provinces do not have adequate influence on the deployment processes.
- Accurate information around posts available for specific placements is often not distributed sufficiently.

Recognition:

- Poor work conditions ignore diverse needs of teachers and the right to work in a conducive environment.
- The structural factors seem to lead to macro level devaluation of the status of teacher.

Representation:

- Teachers often lack sufficient participation in decision making processes in relation to recruitment and deployment.
- The needs of the local communities do seem to be adequately represented in recruitment and deployment processes.

Uganda

Redistribution:

- Teacher shortages are acute and unevenly distributed, with the North and East most affected.
- Lack of targeting.
- Reluctance of teachers to go to remote and troubled areas is a real obstacle. Urban settings retain their attraction for teachers.
- Gender is also factor with younger females hesitant to travel to remote areas.

Recognition:

- The hierarchical nature of the teaching profession reinforces inequalities. The equating of higher qualifications and remuneration with teaching older pupils acts against teachers establishing themselves as catalysts for change in primary schools.
- The recognition of the female teachers' safety-related needs appears to be lacking in policy making.

Representation:

- Schools and such systems are often in the hand of local officials whose capacity and desire to support teachers varies.

Pakistan

Redistribution:

- Issues for quality and equity due to clientelism and political intervention.
- Shortage is more acute for teachers of science and mathematics in rural high schools as well as in female schools.
- 2% quota for disabled teachers but the rate of participation of persons with disability is very low. It is further exacerbated in rural and remote areas.
- Teachers often get themselves transferred to urban areas or to locations of their preference.

Recognition:

- Allocation of quotas for women, disabled and the religious minorities may be a necessary but not a sufficient step. Additional steps beyond the quotas (and age relaxation for women) would be required to enable and facilitate the inclusion of those who are under represented in the profession.
- Teachers roles as election officers undermines their intrinsic value as teachers.

Representation:

- Teachers participation in democratic decision making processes is undermined.

Myanmar

Redistribution:

- There exist continuing material imbalances in resources (re)distribution and provision of teachers between the government and the monastic, ethnic and community education systems.
- Perceived and materialised imbalances in resources are especially felt by those educators in remote areas or otherwise marginalised positions.
- Gender is also a factor, with younger females hesitant to travel to remote areas for reasons of safety and/or proximity to family.
- Often the least qualified and the youngest teachers are sent to some of the most challenging learning and social environments, which might further reinforce inequities in outcomes and limit the social cohesion and peacebuilding potential of teachers.
- The majority of teachers and teacher educators are female. Anecdotally it appeared that more male trainee teachers were applying to the education colleges in 2015, compared to previous years, with teacher educators speculating that they may have been attracted by the salary increase for teachers.

Recognition:

- The neoliberal view of the role of teachers generates a certain suspicion of the current education reforms, associating them with a loss of dedication to service amongst teachers that was strongly linked to Buddhist notions of the teacher.
- The impact of policy reform in changing the nature of the teaching profession again points to the wide variety of conceptualisations that teachers bring to their own roles.
- Teachers deployed to remote rural areas frequently felt unprepared and untrained for the challenges they faced as well as ill-equipped to cope with related material hardship.

Representation:

- Centralised government system of teacher education and deployment does not seem to respond to the needs of local communities and teachers. Community-based approaches offer different models of training and accountability that seem to better respond to the needs of the community.
- Internationally driven, neoliberal inspired efficiency agenda that drives such a framework has the potentially negative effect of continuing or reviving authoritarian/coercive systems of control over teachers, rather than providing much needed support in difficult working conditions.

As can be gleaned from the above, the two key cross-cutting issues in all the four countries are of equity and attention to the context. As far as **equity** is concerned, among its multiple manifestations, the issue of equitable deployment of teachers in remote and rural areas, the issue of gender and the issue of lack of recognition of the local context emerge as some of the vital issues.

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In **Pakistan** (see Durrani et al. 2015), both teacher recruitment and deployment in the country has historically raised issues for quality and equity due to clientelism and political intervention, partly linked to teachers roles as election officers. As a remedy, a merit based system was introduced, but was poorly designed to address redistribution and recognition issues, thus reinforcing gender, and ethnicity imbalances. There are also issues with representation of women, disabled and the religious minorities in the teaching profession. The policy intervention only makes provision for quotas and though these may be necessary they are not a sufficient enough step. Additional steps beyond the quotas (age relaxation for women) would be required to enable and facilitate the inclusion of those who are under represented in the profession. Also there is a sense that incentives to attract teachers to remote areas and a waiver in age limit for female teachers and quotas for minority and under-represented groups do work as merit-based logics take precedence over the equity criteria.

In **South Africa** (see Sayed et al. 2015) the legacy of inequalities under apartheid and an ANC government committed to redressing this has led to more equity based policy interventions. However, results have been mixed. Between 1994 and 1999, the state undertook two main interventions to rationalise both recruitment and deployment and address the unequal remuneration between racial and gender groups. The intervention between 1994 and 1999, that aimed to rationalise both recruitment and deployment and address the unequal remuneration between racial and gender groups led to reduction in the teaching force as teachers left the profession rather than accept redeployment and it increased budgets which had adverse effects on other inputs such as teacher/learner ratios. The Teachers Rural Incentive Scheme (TRIS) had similar objectives, and mixed results. In South Africa, PPNS (post provisioning norms) were

introduced as a mechanism to ensure a fairer distribution of teachers in relation to both subject shortages and geographical inequities. Chisholm (2009) contends that PPNs entrenched the relative advantage of schools favoured during apartheid because the mechanism worked to the benefit of schools that have highly qualified teachers and could recruit more. This is exacerbated by the low attractiveness of teaching, poor working conditions, low salaries, inefficient teacher recruitment and retention processes, as well as deployment systems in place at provincial and school level militating against rather than promoting equity. The Funza Lushaka Bursary Programme (FLBP) is a multi-year, service-linked bursary scheme designed to raise the number of newly qualified teachers entering schools particularly in poor and rural areas, by offering full-cost bursaries to eligible students who enrol in specific ITE programmes. There are several challenges in implementing this policy. A key conceptual challenge for the FLBP is that it acts as a compromise between an incentive for broad-based teacher training, an incentive for teachers to choose to work in rural areas and an incentive for teacher training to address skill-shortages in the economy (maths and science). As such it has been introduced to work as a general incentive to attract students into teaching. Ensuring that graduates teach certain subjects/phases/geographies targeted has been a struggle. Whilst the strategy may be working well in terms of increasing enrolment rates and the overall shape of new graduates, this does not necessarily lead to effective absorption, retention or utilisation. Graduate absorption requires that provinces have a tight control on the deployment process and accurate information around posts is available for specific placements.

In **Uganda** (see Datzberger et al. 2015), as with many of the other countries, teacher shortages are acute and unevenly distributed, with the North and East most affected. Lack of targeting is a factor in imbalances found in teacher recruitment. In response to the challenges a variety of schemes have been set up to incentivise rural and remote deployment. The *Hard to Reach Hard to Stay* allowances have been offered to teachers in remote areas since 1997. However, as early as 2007 a World Bank review found that the strategy was not achieving these objectives. From the Ugandan case it appears that local hostility to external teachers being deployed, linguistic and cultural differences, and security and suitability of conditions all mediate against the success of the objectives.

In **Myanmar** (see Higgins et al. 2015), there is a sense of inequities in resources and provision of teachers between the government, the monastic, ethnic and community education systems. The policy of daily wage does not seem to work because it does not seem to resolve the disparity in educational conditions, a combination of harsh conditions, challenging relationship with school leaders and lack of affordable accommodation and unrealistic expectations towards teachers' multiple roles. Gender is also a factor with younger females hesitant to travel to remote schools, for reasons of personal safety or because of family obligations elsewhere. As a result of lack of demand, it is often the least qualified and the youngest teachers who are sent to some of the most challenging learning and social environments, which might further reinforce inequities in outcomes and limit the social cohesion and peacebuilding potential of teachers. The authors of the report suggest periodic transfer and incentives to work in remote areas.

“As is evident, there remain serious challenges to redressing equity and taking account of the local contexts. Incentives and interventions need to redress the legitimate concerns of teachers and be based on sound evidence. Similarly, reflection should be made, dependent on context, as to whether resources are better focussed on ensuring local marginalised community members are encouraged to enter the profession and be located in their own regions and stay there or measures to encourage diversity of teacher recruitment, deployment and retention is pursued.”

Attention to the context: In addition to the issue of equity discussed above, there is a sense that the internationally driven, neoliberal inspired efficiency agenda that drives much of the reforms in all the four countries do not seem to respond to the needs of the local communities and teachers while the community-based approaches seem to directly respond to the needs of the community as is evident in the case of Pakistan, Myanmar and Uganda. The efficiency agenda does not seem to take account of the support required by teachers in difficult working conditions, for example in Myanmar. Often the competencies-based frameworks are developed with an image that is much more favourable to relatively well resourced schools than the actual under-resourced school reality most teachers face in conflict-affected contexts (Higgins et al. 2015). In Pakistan, the merit based system poorly addresses redistribution and recognition issues, thus reinforcing gender, and ethnicity imbalances. In South Africa the policies do not take account of institutional cultures reinforcing racial inequities. Moreover, local communities may distrust the neoliberal view of the role of teachers embedded in the current education reforms, associating them with a loss of local values, an erosion of the local conceptions of the role of teacher and underestimation of the dedication to service amongst teachers that is strongly linked to local moral and intellectual traditions.

As is evident, there remain serious challenges to redressing **equity** and taking account of local **contexts**. Incentives and interventions need to redress the legitimate concerns of teachers and be based on sound evidence. Similarly, reflection should be made, dependent on context, as to whether resources are better focussed on ensuring local marginalised community members are encouraged to enter the profession and be located in their own regions and stay there, or measures to encourage diversity of teacher recruitment, deployment and retention are pursued. Training local teachers in remote communities and providing them with incentives might enhance and promote key local and regional ‘recognition’ issues – cultural, ethnic and linguistic, but may undermine the potential for nation-building and national ‘recognition’ issues. Conversely, deploying teachers to remote areas might promote national redistribution and recognition issues but undermine local communities sense of identity and self-worth and potentially place at risk the wellbeing of teachers deployed. Each has potential pros and cons in terms of peacebuilding and social cohesion, and policy needs to be grounded in evidence, consultation and developed holistically, with no easy standardised answers. Promoting reconciliation through education in post-conflict societies composed of often highly divided communities faces these dilemmas regularly with nation building finely balanced with the need to respect regional and cultural diversity. The crucial point here is that peacebuilding and social cohesion concerns necessarily need to be taken into close consideration alongside equity and efficiency arguments.

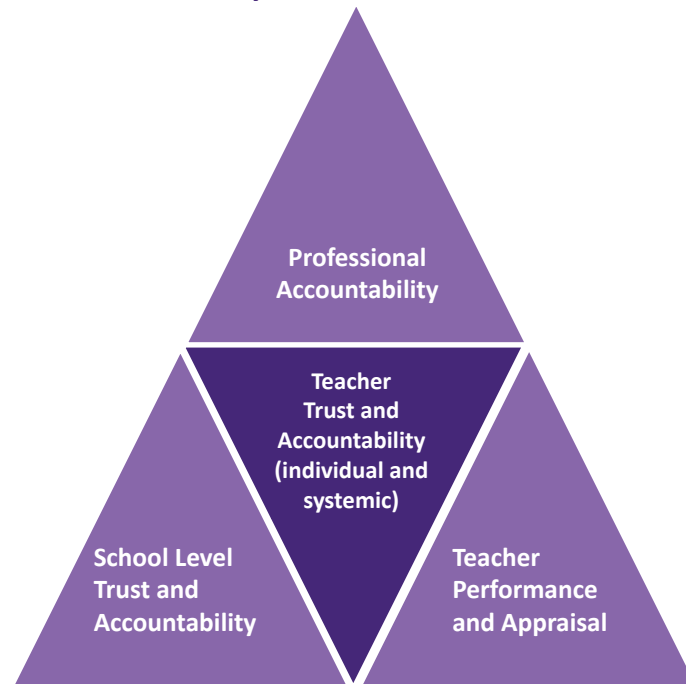
Therefore, a strategic approach to recruitment and deployment should take account of peacebuilding and social cohesion objectives alongside merit based criteria – balancing redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation concerns. For this to be the case, a robust administrative structure is necessary as a foundation and a clear strategy, but even with well thought out policy, the challenges of recruiting teachers equitably, getting teachers to the most difficult and underserved communities and retaining them are immense, and policies often have unintended outcomes.

Teacher Accountability

The state of teacher trust and accountability is an expression of the values that frame the education system. To whom and for what a teacher feels accountable to and who holds teachers accountable and for what, expresses what is valued in an education system. Across the countries studied, there are varied forms and approaches to teacher accountability and trust. They can analytically separate into three different though interrelated forms of accountability. First, there is professional accountability – which is accountability to a professional council or a professional association which often include a code of conduct/code of ethics which teachers are expected to subscribe to. This is akin to the idea of self-regulating professions. The second is trust building and accountability at the school level through parental and community participation in school governance structures such as SGBs and SMCs. These structures afford local actors a way in which they can render teachers accountable as well as offer spaces for collaboration between teachers and parents, for example. The third form of accountability is through state initiated and implemented forms of teacher performance management and evaluation systems such as the IQMS in South Africa. The figure below identifies the three different, though interrelated, forms of accountability to build and ensure trust.

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Figure 5 Forms of Accountability and Trust



From the country studies it is evident that while there may be accountability mechanisms and procedures in place, these are not effectively implemented and are resource-constrained and weakly co-ordinated and fragmented. As discussed above, how issues of teacher misconduct and violence are dealt with in South Africa (see Sayed et al. 2015) reveal the absence of cross-department and cross sectoral collaboration. Moreover, the absence of support, excessive workload and

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unequal resource distribution places more demands on teachers who do not have the resources to follow through on recommendations. For example, in Pakistan the supervisory visits are not regular and do not reach out to all the schools and teachers in a systematic manner, largely because the system is overburdened. The Sindh Education Sector Plan notes that in Sindh alone, a typical District Education Officer is required to oversee more than 2,000 schools and 10,000 staff and a typical supervisor in a Union Council may need to look after between 40 and 80 schools (see Durrani et al. 2015). In Uganda (Datzberger et al. 2015) there appears to be high teacher absenteeism and issues related to teacher conduct, which may be indicative of inefficient accountability structures. It is fairly evident that simplified and transparent accountability mechanisms which have buy-in and support are crucial to effectiveness.

Whilst in many contexts decentralisation and devolved structures such as SGBs and SMCs are advocated as important for accountability and participation, the reality is that in unequal and divided societies they often perpetuate and maintain privilege and in some instances exacerbate the conditions for a return to conflict. This is apparent in all the countries but particularly in Myanmar and South Africa (Sayed et al. 2015) which offer somewhat contrasting examples of the relationship between decentralised school based accountability mechanisms and conflict. In Myanmar (Higgins et al. 2015), there are strong moves towards decentralisation, which is understandable given the political context of authoritarian rule. Yet the moves towards decentralisation may reinforce existing ethnic division and inequalities which has been the cause of conflict. In contrast, South Africa offers an instructive case of a context where after more than 21 years of democratic rule, the political and progressive commitment to decentralisation as a means of democratic participation and accountability has resulted in local wealthy and middle class school communities retaining privilege. Decentralisation by design or default has not eroded the bifurcation of the South African education system and has arguably intensified class and race based divisions (Sayed, et al., forthcoming). In both cases, whether decentralisation in education is promoting social cohesion and peacebuilding or undermining it is dependent on both the details of the particular nature of the decentralisation process and the political economy factors that govern its implementation and outcomes. Similarly, in Pakistan SMC has had limited success because of a range of reasons, including meddling by locally influential persons, lack of capacity and training of the SMC and little understanding of the various stakeholders of the role and purpose of the SMC. However, there are also examples where SMCs play a positive role in the governance of schools.

While decentralisation mechanisms might promote regional social cohesion and peacebuilding amongst communities and teachers, it may provoke tensions between other regions and national social cohesion. Furthermore, decentralisation aimed at promoting peacebuilding and social cohesion in education through participation is likely to be designed quite differently than that driven by an efficiency focus, often dominant in education policy circles. For instance, in Pakistan, while the elite private schools or the well resourced large school systems have strong teacher governance and accountability systems, these are usually from a perspective of improving students' scholastic achievement and do not necessarily focus on issues of cultural pluralism and inclusion. However, lessons can be learnt from the

“Effective accountability systems balance a focus on inspection and support and development for teachers. Whilst many systems across the four countries intend to do so, the reality is that teachers experience these mechanisms as intrusive and disempowering as accountability systems mainly perceived as inspection based with little attention to support and development.”

approaches used in the private sector, where the community is seen to work with the schools to introduce ways of dealing with issues such as corporal punishment, violence and cultural sensitivity. For example, the Aga Khan Education Services in Pakistan, among the largest network of private schools, offers a successful model of community engagement in schools. It launched an innovative field-based teacher education programme for teachers in the Northern Areas of Pakistan (<http://www.agakhanschools.org/>) that require teachers in the schools to work with a ‘mentor’ in collaborative partnership between the school and an institute of higher learning. It focuses on support to the teachers in areas of local need and capacity building of parents in their role in supporting the school. An implication of the findings is that strategic partnerships of the public and private sector could facilitate the public sector in the development of governance structures that are robust and grounded in the local contextual reality of the community.

Effective accountability systems balance a focus on inspection and support and development for teachers. Whilst many systems across the four countries intend to do so, the reality is that teachers experience these mechanisms as intrusive and disempowering as accountability systems are mainly perceived as inspection based with little attention to support and development. In South Africa, for example, the iQMS, an integrated inspection and development mechanism, has been plagued by resistance as the balance sought has not been achieved. Moreover, as is the case in Myanmar and Uganda, such systems are often in the hands of local officials whose capacity and desire to support teachers varies.

A strong theme emerging from the country case studies is the convergence of most systems of teacher accountability being framed as competency frameworks. In South Africa and Myanmar, for example, teacher standards and teacher roles have also been formulated as competences which teachers are expected to achieve. Such competency frameworks encompassing roles and codes are important in developing transparent goals and expectations for teacher behaviours and tasks which are important for peacebuilding and social cohesion. Yet there is a danger that the generic nature of competency frameworks and a lack of context- and conflict-specificity is largely unresponsive to the needs of diverse contexts (Robertson, 2012). Furthermore, devolving the implementation of competency frameworks to local levels and individual teachers (Robertson, 2012), has the potentially negative effect of continuing or reviving authoritarian/coercive systems of control over teachers, rather than providing much needed support in difficult working conditions (Higgins et al, 2015). Furthermore, as the Pakistan and South African case studies point out, competency driven policy does not often explicitly articulate social cohesion as a role or competency; notwithstanding the fact that it is a key outcome of both governments.

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In some of the case studies (e.g. South Africa), the role of teacher associations and unions is crucial. Teachers and their representative organisations are key to ensuring commitment to peace building and social cohesion. As such, their effective participation in policies about teachers including teacher standards and competences, teacher initial and ongoing professional development, and teacher governance is critical. As the case studies show, importantly, teacher organisations play a crucial role

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in supporting and protecting their members from violence as well as sanctioning those that perpetrate violence. Moreover, teacher unions can, and should, support efforts to raise the status of the profession and build trust with communities, including local school communities and parents.

In countries emerging from and in conflict, fragmentation and residual and ongoing distrust and antagonism makes teacher trust and accountability difficult to achieve. The country case studies suggest that there is indeed a long road to walk to achieve equity and build teacher trust. Specifically there is a need for accountability mechanisms which do not treat teachers and schools as devolved isolated entities. Enhancing teachers’ sense of accountability and supporting their capacity to act would activate teachers as agents of social cohesion.

Teacher Education and Professional Development

Initial Teacher Education (ITE)

ITE programmes are impacted by the diverse policy environments in the four countries. In Pakistan and Myanmar the evidence suggested rapidly and recently transforming policy contexts for ITE. In Pakistan a range of recent policy measures seek to move toward ensuring teaching as a degreed profession whilst in Myanmar the changing political conjuncture has resulted in changes to ITE to make it more responsive and more receptive to the needs of diverse school sectors. In contrast, South Africa and Uganda have longer histories of ITE policy reforms. In South Africa there is an ongoing policy debate about balancing institutional autonomy as ITE is located fully within higher education institutions with the need for a convergence in programme offering. Not surprisingly across all country contexts, the policy discourse is about improving the quality of ITE to improve schooling and enhance learner attainment.

A key tension which runs across all the cases is the balance between a narrow cognitive focus on literacy and numeracy (e.g. the litnum strategy in South Africa) and a more expansive focus on ITE which includes non-cognitive aims. To put it differently, there is need for an affective turn in which the values of social cohesion and peace building as articulated in the SDG goals are embedded within ITE programmes.

Different attempts are made to integrate social cohesion and peacebuilding in ITE programmes across the four country contexts. On the one hand, issues of social cohesion and peacebuilding remain implicit in that a focus on classroom pedagogy, inclusive education classroom management and child centred pedagogy are perceived as enabling teacher agency for change as is the case in, for example, Pakistan and South Africa. On the other hand, explicit approaches seek to include content and pedagogies for social cohesion in ITE programmes as is the case in, for example, the PBEA Primary school initiative in Uganda and UNICEF Head Teacher Training in Myanmar. However, even the PBEA programme tends to emphasise generic issues such as college ethos and active teaching approaches rather than ethnic/group conflict. It seems to be the case that many of the explicit approaches to peacebuilding and social cohesion are often driven by international agencies with a strong focus on knowledge drawn from the discipline of psychology (e.g. psycho-social care). This is often to the exclusion of other knowledges including that which focuses on historical knowledge

(e.g. unpacking the histories of conflict) and sociological knowledge (e.g. addressing issues of power and inequity which are often the drivers of conflict).

Peacebuilding and social cohesion in ITE also range on a continuum from the general to the specific. Generic approaches emphasise key skills and competences in ITE such as critical thinking skills and reflective practitioner approaches. This is found across all ITE programmes in the four countries. For example, in Pakistan the revised ADE and B.Ed. curriculum is premised on the notion of the teacher as a reflective practitioner and lifelong learner. More often than not, besides the academic focus (e.g. numeracy and literacy) the donor-funded projects in Pakistan aim for inclusion in terms of gender and rural-urban equity. Curriculum does not address language of instruction, gender inequities, religious and sectarian differences, and the widening gap in the social classes. It would be necessary to target multiple issues of social cohesion explicitly in the teaching. Specific approaches are often rare but include modules/topics on peacebuilding and conflict resolution and mediation skills, pedagogies of discomfort, pedagogies of hope, and social justice modules, such as in South Africa.

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What is most revealing is teacher educators and teacher education students’ understandings and experiences of the ITE programmes in relation to social cohesion and peacebuilding. Teacher agency for social cohesion and peacebuilding is shaped crucially by how they experience ITE. Their experiences are shaped by the particular historical legacies of each country. In South Africa for example, ITE programmes offer many the first opportunity to interact across racial boundaries and simultaneously they experience clustering of students and groups by racial categories (the race, religious and ethnic comfort zones which the South African report speak to). Teacher educators report similar experiences in their observations of ITE in South Africa. South Africa reveals interesting and noteworthy understandings of teacher education students of social cohesion and peacebuilding. For many their understandings reflect a view of peacebuilding and social cohesion as personal and inter and intra psychological focused on notions of respect and trust. Rarely are ideas of social justice, inequality and social activism embedded in their understanding.

ITE programmes offer student teachers the opportunities to practice their pedagogic craft in the classroom through the teaching practicum. Across the case studies capacitating teacher student agency for social cohesion and peacebuilding through this approach remains implicit and is underpinned by the assumption that in managing classrooms and teaching, a student teacher will engage with dealing with diversity, trauma and conflict. In rare cases, as in South Africa, explicit efforts are made to ensure that the teaching practicum can become an important means for social cohesion and peacebuilding. Noteworthy is the cross over practicum in South Africa whereby student teachers are deliberately placed in schools which straddle racial boundaries and reflect different social-economic status. In this way a student teacher experiences what it means to teach in different schools which reflect the historical legacy of conflict. Yet such an approach is not formalised and is highlighted in one of the ITE case studies in South Africa as resulting in unintended outcomes such as students choosing not to teach in a school which is poor.

An abiding feature of the four country case studies is that student teachers often find

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it difficult to translate and transfer their learning from ITE programmes into school contexts upon their appointment as teachers. For example, in Pakistan the revised curriculum of education the course entitled ‘Methods of Teaching’ (HEC 2010, p.40) for the Associate Degree in Education (ADE) provides methods of teaching that are in very general terms (e.g. Inquiry method, Demonstration method, Activity & Cooperative Learning methods p.42), and the readings mainly draw on Euro-Western sources that may not necessarily have issues of language of instruction to the extent that they are prevalent in the schools in Pakistan. Also, the revised curriculum of teacher education does not take an explicit note of approaches to teaching and learning in multilingual classrooms. Likewise, in Myanmar, limited attention to practical challenges faced by teachers including multi-grade teaching, the teaching of languages other than Myanmar and inclusive education emerged as key local issues that remained secondary in teacher education. This is not surprising but suggests that ITE programmes are but a stage in activating teacher agency for change and transformation and need to be complemented by continuing professional development. Questions also emerge for locally appropriate teaching strategies to promote social cohesion. In Pakistan, for example, a contextually inappropriate teaching pedagogy in a donor-funded programme backfired and garnered the unwanted distrust of the community.

The country studies of initial teacher education programmes illustrate that they offer sustained opportunities for developing student teachers to be agents of social cohesion coming a long way from preparing teachers for a markedly unequal and segmented systems; segmented along lines of race, religion, and ethnicity. For example, in Uganda a notable feature of all the teacher education interventions reviewed was their frequently implicit and indirect approaches to enhancing the peacebuilding roles of teachers. These possibilities were uncovered by researchers when engaging with teachers who were reflecting on the impact of training on their daily professional realities. Thus while not explicitly referred to as peacebuilding, the development of pedagogical and managerial skills through the trainings was understood by teachers and head teachers to be relevant to establishing peaceful relationships in their schools and with their local communities.

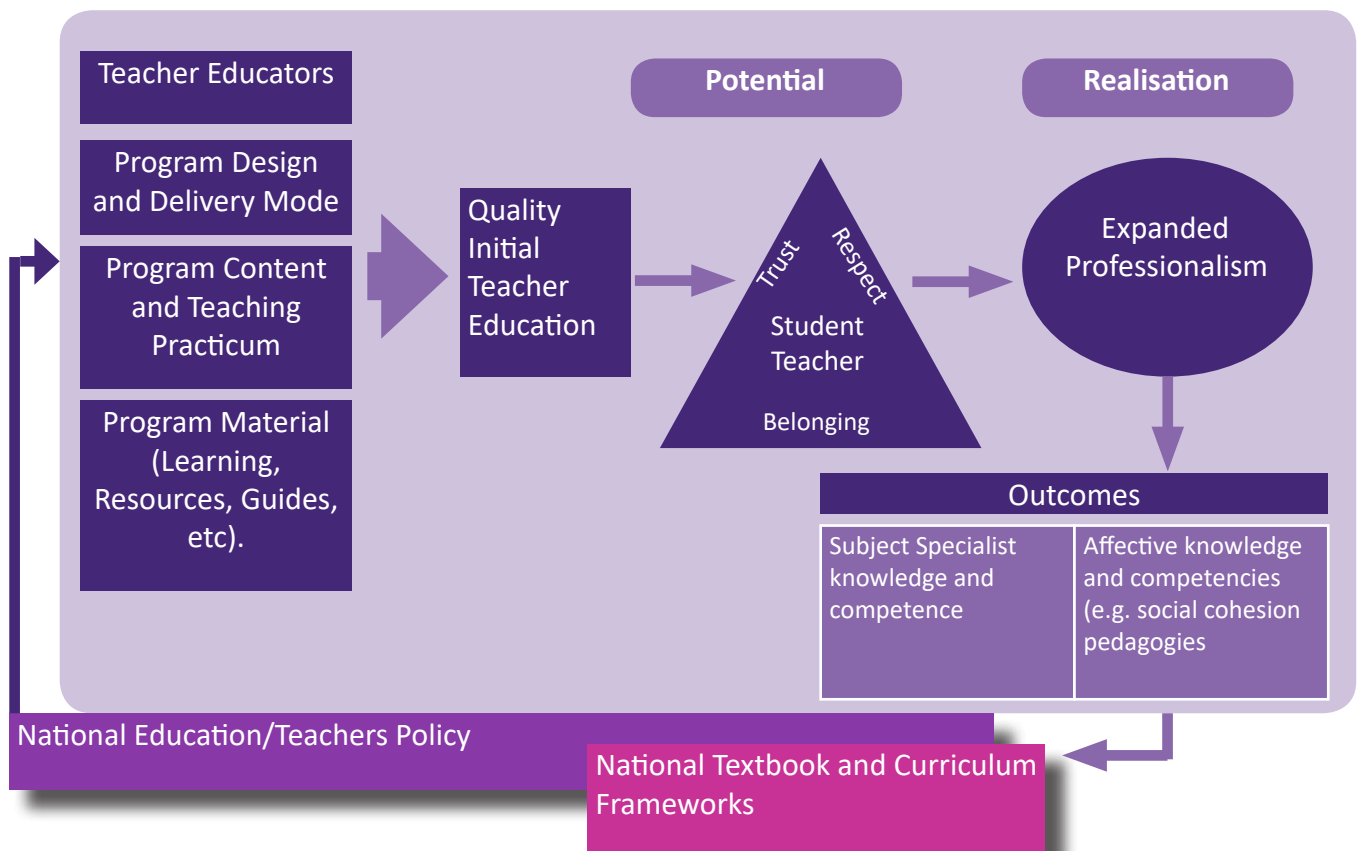
Despite, these possibilities, there was a sense that the educators were unable to realise the full potential of ITEs to enable teachers to be agents of social cohesion. At the ITE institutions visited by the researchers in Uganda, college management teams drew attention to diversity of recruitment as a positive factor, particularly in helping to bring Ugandans from different backgrounds together in the interest of national unity. Principals and senior colleagues extolled the benefits of students from different regions mixing to better understand each other, especially through extra-curricular activities in the college such as clubs and societies. Generally, colleges also provided occasional opportunities for groups to share cultural traditions such as dance with their peers. However, college staff were less explicit as to how diversity emerges in formal class time and the extent to which groups and individuals get the chance to express regional perspectives on issues of concern. Similarly, in Pakistan findings showed that student teachers were very politically aware and held deep insightful views about social cohesion and the role of education and teachers in working towards a unified society built on justice, mutual respect and trust, and held concerns on

issues of poverty and social class. Yet, it appeared that the emphasis was much more on commonality than exploring the potential tensions present in diversity. Teacher educators saw these issues as peripheral to the core curriculum or brushed them aside as ‘out of topic’.

“There is much to be done to ensure that student teachers experience their initial teacher education as empowering so that they can become active and critical agents of social cohesion. The case studies point to, fostering trust, respect and belonging in and through the programmes as measures to enable this.”

Notwithstanding this, there is much to be done to ensure that student teachers experience their initial teacher education as empowering so that they can become active and critical agents of social cohesion. The case studies point to fostering trust, respect and belonging in and through the programmes as measures to enable this. One way of understanding the experiences of student teachers in initial teacher education programmes is reflected in Figure 6 below, which, whilst drawn from South Africa, is more widely applicable. The figure shows how, across the country studies, context and what occurs in a programme prepares student teachers to develop an expanded notion of professionalism which is a core goal of all the teacher education systems of each country in which they convert their potential (given their diverse backgrounds) into a realised potential to act as agents of peace and social cohesion. However, this figure points to the idea that realised potential through initial teacher education programmes is always in a state of becoming and as such teachers need on-going support and nurturing and is conditioned and conditions national education and teachers policy.

Figure 6: Realising student teacher potential as agents of social cohesion in and through initial professional education programmes



“Central to our concerns in this report is that the need for subject-confident highly trained teachers who can work in schools and provide students from all backgrounds with high quality subject teaching is a crucial contribution to making possible peacebuilding and social cohesion aspirations of social mobility and employability – redistribution. However, teachers trained to be committed to and promoting of representation, recognition and reconciliation – that is to support democracy and the voice of their students, respect and value diversity and promote peace and reconciliation – are far more likely to deliver transformational learning that can build peace, social justice and social cohesion.”

Central to our concerns in this report is that the need for subject-confident highly trained teachers, who can work in schools and provide students from all backgrounds with high quality subject teaching, is a crucial contribution to making possible peacebuilding and social cohesion aspirations of social mobility and employability – redistribution. However, teachers trained to be committed to and promoting of representation, recognition and reconciliation – that is to support democracy and the voice of their students, respect and value diversity and promote peace and reconciliation – are far more likely to deliver transformational learning that can build peace, social justice and social cohesion. That is to say that there does not need to be a trade off between efficiency and equity – the cognitive and the affective – and more holistic teacher training has the potential to deliver this.

The ITE policies experience tension between autonomy and centralisation. In South Africa, there is an ongoing policy debate about balancing institutional autonomy as ITE is located fully within higher education institutions with the need for a convergence in programme offering. Similarly in Uganda, these issues raise the important questions of ownership and balance; between, on the one hand, the availability of funding at national and local level determining engagement; on the other, a genuine desire on the part of local actors to take ownership for societal change through education.

The geographical location of ITEs and regionally inequitable professional support mechanisms for teachers seem to contribute to inequities. For example, the Myanmar case study suggests that the logistics, upheaval and expense of undertaking teacher training in another area can make it difficult for aspiring teachers from ethnic and rural areas to access these institutions. As a result, the correct or incorrect association of government school teachers as belonging to the majority (Bamar, Buddhist) population is further reinforced, often leading to such teachers being perceived as outsiders in the areas they are deployed. Similarly, structurally, teacher education provision perpetuates the perception that conflict affected areas are less favourably treated in Uganda, reinforcing regional disparities. There appears a general perception in the northern and western regions in Uganda there is an inconsistency of resource and facility provision which works against those regions.

Teacher education seems to suffer from political economy factors. It emerges as an under-resourced area in all four contexts and is caught up in issues such as lack of accurate data, uneven implementation and uptake, administrative failures, gender inequities and hierarchy of qualifications. A hierarchical decision-making structure seems to dominate at all levels of the system. Teachers who suffer from a lack of recognition are unlikely to be convincing advocates of democratic practices. Financial stringency and management inefficiency have an influence on the capacity of the system to redistribute resources more equitably. These factors hinder the development of teachers capable of becoming agents of peacebuilding. In summary, teacher education’s potential for peacebuilding and social cohesion is tempered by both insufficient attention to the locally responsive transformational learning pedagogies, inadequate professional development opportunities as well as inadequate working conditions.

Continuing Professional Teacher Development

The policy environment for CPTD varies across all the countries. More formal and structured systems such as South African and Pakistan sit alongside emerging systems as is the case of Myanmar. Of the case study countries South Africa has the most formal policy environment which encompasses both policy texts/strategic plans as well as a formal point system for the recognition and accumulation of CPTD by teachers which fall under the remit of the South African Council of Educators.

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An important issue emerging from the research is that the patterns of CPTD are shaped by the historical legacies of conflict in which provision was uneven, unequal and differentiated. The flourishing of CPTD in Myanmar for the monastic, community and ethnic schools provided by international agencies under authoritarian rule has resulted in a system of provision differentiated by those schools falling under government control with government teachers and those that do not. Similarly in South Africa, under apartheid, NGOs became primary providers of CPTD for marginalised and disadvantaged schools. In both contexts, this situation is changed and changing as a result of the ending of conflict, and the emergence of an integrated system. In the case of Myanmar this is an emerging transitioning system whilst in South Africa, it is more mature and developed. These all represent challenges for building cohesive national systems that have been divided by conflict.

As noted above, in selected countries (Myanmar, Pakistan and Uganda) donors play a large role in providing CPTD. On the one hand, donor support is welcome in most countries as it relieves pressure on a state fiscal and education budgets where salaries account for the majority of spending, leaving very little scope for other education investment. On the other hand, as Myanmar sharply illustrates, ideas of CPTD are exported as ‘best practice’ which may not reflect the contextual realities and need including cultures of teaching and pedagogy. A particular example is how ideas of Child Centred Education are transposed without sufficient acknowledgment of the rich and diverse understandings and approaches to pedagogy in different contexts.

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Partly due to fiscal constraints and partly due to a strong focus on ITE, CPTD has often remained in the shadow of professional development although with notable shifts in all the countries studied. For example, the development of the point system and a system wide mechanism of government backed CPTD the proliferation of providers and approaches, whilst a strength, does result in an uncoordinated and fragmented system. Across all the countries the need for a clear and consistent policy framework which integrates all the different types of provision and providers emerges as a key necessity. Such a system should incorporate and support NGO provision as evident in the South African context.

Whilst CPTD provides an important tool to enhance teacher competence and pedagogy, the lack of explicit attention to issues of peacebuilding and social cohesion remains a concern. Thus peacebuilding and social cohesion are often seen as outcomes of more general approaches to support teacher professional development resulting in the delegitimisation of social cohesion content which is seen to be ‘soft’. Rarely are there explicit training approaches which support teachers to engage in approaches to peace and reconciliation in the school and classroom context. This is a key gap given

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the histories of conflict, ongoing in many contexts, across all the country case studies and the fact that many teachers themselves are affected by conflict.

A key problem for CPTD is the modality of training, particularly those initiated by international agencies and national governments. Often the modality of training is top-down, off site, and follows a workshop and cascade approach. The cascade approach is particularly unsuited in contexts in which training is intended to change the values and attitudes of teachers and provide them with pedagogic strategies for enacting peacebuilding and social cohesion in the classroom context. The CCT model of training used in Uganda highlights the limitations of a top-down cascade model, particularly when it come to changing pedagogic practices and capacitating teachers to become agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion in their classrooms.

The fragmented nature of provision makes it difficult to understand the real impact the CPDT provision has on enabling teacher agency for peacebuilding and social cohesion. Across all the countries there is a need for a more robust mapping of the different types of CPTD provision and provider and the need for a systematic evaluation of impact.

There are several promising models of CPTD provision in all the diverse country contexts. In Pakistan, PITE has, supported by donors and international agencies, offered courses ranging mitigating social violence, to building conflict resolution skills and resilience. In Myanmar, the UNICEF Head Teacher Training and the Yaung Zin training offers models of supporting teachers as peacebuilders. And in many cases the promising approaches to CPTD are characterised by strong school based support and training and engaging with teacher identities given their own histories of experiences of conflict and violence. Yet, these remain far and few between and lack integration and coordination. Moreover, it is unclear how many of the trainings can be scaled up as system wide interventions or will remain to receive long term support.

“In conclusion, where teachers are expected to be agents of peace and promote the values of trust and respect for others, they should be given the opportunity to engage in continuing professional development that is aimed at exploring these same values in themselves.”

Across all country case studies a significant challenge, similar to the experiences of ITE student teachers, is translating the training into realised pedagogic practices in challenging and difficult school contexts. Large class sizes, multiple demands for accountability, excessive workloads, non-supportive school management as well as weak CPTD delivery systems hinder teacher agency to effect desired changes learnt during their trainings. As such CPTD training needs to take into account teachers’ contextual realities and demands on their time in planning training.

In conclusion, where teachers are expected to be agents of peace and promote the values of trust and respect for others, they should be given the opportunity to engage in continuing professional development that is aimed at exploring these same values in themselves. The case studies illustrate the need for CPTD interventions that take into account teachers’ attitudes, contexts and possible prejudices. It further shows that while such interventions might increase awareness of roles and responsibilities

towards learners in their classroom, their sustainability requires on-going support to ensure translation into positive classroom practice. All case studies in the diverse country contexts show a potential pathway for supporting initiatives that build capacity for promoting teachers as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion through CPTD trainings. However, greater coordination, continuity in support and follow up are needed to ensure long term transformations in teaching practice and resultant effects and impacts on students, and this is often absent.

Teachers, the Curriculum and Textbooks

Curriculum reform is often a long and complex process. South Africa has provided a rich and complex example for this research, having more than two decades of post-apartheid rule to review and reflect upon. Political will appears central in promoting social cohesion, peacebuilding and reconciliation, and this is dependent on the particular configuration of social forces in each of the 4 country contexts.

In South Africa, when the ANC government was emerging as the governing party, there was clearly political will to remodel the curriculum, unify the messages, de-racialise and detoxify the divisive political culture under apartheid through the notion of the rainbow nation. As noted by Basic Education Minister Angie Motshekga in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) of 2011, these included:

- Healing divisions of the past, establishing a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights.
- Improve quality of life and free potential of all persons.
- Lay foundations for a democratic, open society where the government is based on the will of the people and equal exercise of law.
- Build a united, democratic South Africa.

The national curriculum in South Africa is formulated to respond to the dual, but often conflicting roles of developing human capital and fostering reconciliation in a historically divided society. This takes place alongside a policy commitment to informing students of South Africa's history, fostering caring and responsible citizenship. The present CAPS curriculum represents an attempt to make the aims of the curriculum more explicit and respond to the critical need for developing literacy, numeracy and problem-solving skills. One of its major outcomes, however, has been the devaluation of the capacity of teachers to work independently due to packed syllabi for all subjects. Another has been the transposal of the same syllabus across schools of differing socio-economic and racial composition, with little recognition of how the knowledge contained in the curriculum is taken up in different contexts. While both the curriculum and textbooks reviewed for this research are not without their critics, there is a clear attempt to be more representative of the different communities, religions, and divergent histories that encompass the new South Africa.

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In Myanmar, where transition from military rule remains a work in progress, political will and political divisions make progressive reform more complex. The parallel education systems each reflect the dangers of ethno-centrism in the curriculum, reflecting as they do very particular cultural histories that if transition is to be possible need to be reconciled. The research does note however some evidence of teachers on both sides of the divide mediating difficult texts in the interests of building unity and to “swim against the current” (Metro, 2015, p. 12, in Higgins et al, 2015). In Myanmar, as with other cases (Uganda, Pakistan), innovation appears often to be coming from external agencies. With support from JICA, Myanmar’s primary level basic education curriculum is being reformed in a process which started in March 2014 and is due to complete in October 2019. The reform addresses pedagogy, content, representation of different groups, and reducing reference to the military and issues related to violence. However, in the context of ongoing military rule, curriculum developers were aware both of the need to respect Ministry sensitivities while doing justice to their sense that curriculum reform should reflect national renewal and aspiration.

“In Uganda, dimensions of social cohesion and peacebuilding in the curriculum appear to have been periodically added, often with the intervention and support from external agencies.”

In Pakistan, post-9/11 curriculum reforms remain highly politically charged, with concerns around radicalization, militancy and marginalisation amongst Pakistan youth leading donors to actively engage in this domain, whilst being countered with concerns with external interference in the internal affairs of the country, fear of cultural reform and the undermining of the centrality of the Islamic religion in the public sphere. Current curriculum reform in Pakistan, as a result, appears to have been largely contested by various actors. Under the pressure of international actors and the local civil societies, curriculum reform processes resulted in National Curriculum (NC)2006. The NC2006 is technically an improved curriculum as it takes a ‘Standards and Benchmarks’ approach to curriculum content and process that provides a focus on learning outcomes. Textbook development has been liberalised so that it is no longer the sole domain of the provincial textbook boards. However, the stringent review process ostensibly for adherence to the NC 2006 is ideologically driven and coercive in nature. National messages and implications for social inclusion are varied across subjects - English IX and X promotes cultural sensitivity and inclusion, NC2006 in mathematics for classes IX and X is distant, and not situated in the socio-cultural and Pakistan studies for classes IX and X is assimilationist in orientation and privileges Muslims as citizens of Pakistan. In general, NC 2006 lacks adequate attention to space and voice for the populations’ diverse groups, particularly women and religious minorities.

In Uganda, dimensions of social cohesion and peacebuilding in the curriculum appear to have been periodically added, often with the intervention and support from external agencies. UNESCO’s influence in terms of citizenship education and UNICEF in terms of peacebuilding appears evident. There is evidence in the Uganda report of more ambitious reforms underway, with the NCDC developing a student centered approach to promoting peacebuilding, which has reached out to different stakeholders to consult on policy development. Also, there is a greater attention to the recognition of difference related to geographical, tribal, religious, gender and linguistic diversity. The authors of the Uganda country report underline the need to teach the revised curricula ensuring that in social studies and other areas of the curriculum they have the pedagogy to engage pupils on contemporary social, cultural

and political issues which impact on everyday lives; facilitate clubs, societies and activities which encourage positive social activism in the school and community and put greater emphasis in the curriculum and in extracurricular activities on aspects of traditional cultures which contain a reconciliatory dimension. As with many aspects of Uganda's educational system, curriculum policy is generally sound and informed but implementation is weak. Until the structures are in place for the effective communication of curriculum reform to colleges, schools and teachers, the undoubted progress made at NCDC remains aspirational.

"Debates around the history curriculum reflect the centrality of this subject across all contexts."

Debates around the history curriculum reflect the centrality of this subject across all contexts. In South Africa, critics lament an incomplete image of South African history that privileges Western history and development over the experiences of the country and the continent. There are also issues with the presentation of an ANC-dominant history of the struggle against apartheid and the emphasis on particular persons and symbols rather than a mass people's struggle. The New Generation History textbook for Grade 11 in South Africa reflects a growing interest in promoting pedagogies of critical inquiry whereby teachers should explore issues of race, gender, class, xenophobia, human rights, power dynamics, genocide and their historical impact if any transformational process is to occur. In Myanmar, History remains highly contentious in a divided education system rooted in very different ethnic and political traditions. While some teacher's attachment to sectarian approaches to teaching History seemed to limit their peacebuilding agency, other teachers within government and ethnic systems were aware of the potential of History to contribute to peacebuilding, but were constrained by existing curricula frameworks. Similarly, in both Pakistan and Uganda, the issue of who gets represented in History, whose heroes and heroines get mentioned, how conflictual relationships with other countries are represented (e.g. India in Pakistani texts) are central to the discussion.

"An interesting debate emerges across all the case studies on the difference and emphasis between how the curriculum and textbooks deal with peacebuilding and social cohesion."

An interesting debate emerges across all the case studies on the difference and emphasis between how the curriculum and textbooks deal with peacebuilding and social cohesion. One approach emphasises the generic inter-personal domain, focusing more on learning to live together, citizenship and values, rather than addressing difficult subjects and themes pertaining to justice more directly. In the case of Uganda, this is evident in the imprint of UNESCO's work, with the NCDC expressing a core set of values such as: the importance of serving societal needs; supporting literacy, numeracy and skills transferable to economic life; building national unity while reflecting diversity etc. As with other aspects of education, fostering national unity still remains central to both the primary and secondary curricula. The subject officers interviewed stressed individual qualities such as being responsible, cooperative, respectful, loving and appreciative. If these have connotations of conforming then they were put alongside the active skills of negotiation, decision-making, problem solving and resolving conflict. In other words a soft approach to peacebuilding – the nurturing of character. In South Africa, there is coverage of difficult issues: depression, suicide, rape, HIV, gun crime, and gangs etc. However, as noted in the review, there is a sense that social cohesion and peacebuilding subjects such as 'life orientation' are often seen as easy, non-essential subjects, often get crowded out with an ever expanding curriculum, and have the tendency to be relegated to second-order priorities over the important and difficult subjects of mathematics, science etc.

“Central to the debate on peacebuilding and social cohesion curriculum reforms in all the countries encompass issues of process (who is involved in the development of reforms), content (what is included and where), timing (when it is taught) and implementation (how it is taught).”

“There are indications that the international and the local actors cannot escape a genuine and deep intellectual engagement with the local communities’ history and traditions for human development and for a peaceful safer world.”

Similarly, a discussion over timing of different types of interventions in the school cycle is evident. More generic inter-personal content and topics are dealt with earlier and more difficult issues raised later in secondary education. However, as the authors of the Uganda report query, in a country where a majority of young people presently do not advance through secondary education can educators afford to leave the treatment of difficult national questions to the secondary curriculum? In an education system characterised by didactic teaching, the structure and content of textbooks can frequently be a dominating influence on what teachers teach. Textbooks therefore are important. However, as noted in the Uganda report, in resource-scarce school environments this must be tempered by the consideration that pupils will not always have easy access to books.

Central to the debate on peacebuilding and social cohesion curriculum reforms in all the countries encompass issues of process (who is involved in the development of reforms), content (what is included and where), timing (when it is taught) and implementation (how it is taught). There are clear challenges in all these domains. Curriculum reform, quite rightly, is a highly sensitive issue, particularly in relation to social cohesion and peacebuilding, and requires political sensitivity. As a result, agencies like UNICEF and UNESCO appear to favour implicit but quite generic – ‘learning to live together’ – approaches inherited from global ‘peace education’ models. The danger with these types of models is they tend to avoid local contextualised issues of conflict, ethnicity, and class relations which often constitute the drivers of conflict in favour of broad messages of peace and reconciliation. The danger inherent in this approach is that it avoids debating local issues of social injustice, redistribution, recognition and representation and may inadvertently contribute to reinforcing these inequalities through a ‘pacifying’ rather than transformatory approach, favouring forgiveness over justice and acceptance over social transformation. While dealing directly with key issues of racism, injustice, ethnic divisions, and conflict histories is difficult and requires teachers with strong skills, it has the potential to promote much more grounded and locally relevant knowledge that might contribute to more transformatory outcomes. These would also better link to broader peacebuilding strategies aimed at redressing issues of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation across the education system (affirmative action, targeted scholarships, support for historically marginalised groups etc).

In order to take these observations forward, there are indications that the international and the local actors cannot escape a genuine and deep intellectual engagement with local communities’ history and traditions for human development and for a peaceful safer world (Kadiwal, forthcoming). Field research in Uganda and Pakistan revealed that a reinterpretation of traditional and religious resources of a society amenable to human dignity, redistribution, recognition, reconciliation and representation is possible and these can hugely influence the peacebuilding agenda within teacher education and curriculum. For example, in Uganda one

National Teacher's College (NTC) a member of the college management group who was also a traditional leader talked passionately of work done in the community through traditional structures to re-integrate former victims of the LRA. The work was referenced in formal teaching in the college but he acknowledged that its potential was underdeveloped. Reflecting traditional values in the curricula of teacher education and schools, particularly in fostering reconciliation, is worthy of exploration. Similarly, in Pakistan, many students of Pakistan Studies curricula drew upon Islam as a resource for peace and inclusion and to that extent resisted the state's assimilationist agenda. The community engagement practices of the AKES in one of the most economically undermined, geographically isolated and politically marginalised Northern areas of Pakistan indicate that when development is introduced in a deep intellectual interaction with and continuous reinterpretation of the local community's traditions in relation to human dignity and development, it has the potential to accelerate the pace of development, allowing more members of the community are likely to own it, it reduces 'elite capture' of the resources and creates structures of hope within which youth, teachers and communities develop capacities to become agents of peace and social cohesion. Education can play a huge role in this. It requires a different level of openness, commitment and engagement from international actors and the local policy and academic elites.

These indicate that in the local communities' theological, intellectual and cultural warehouse, in line with what Hobsbawm (1983) has observed more generally, an elaborate language of symbolic practices, tools and resources are available to support social justice and human development. It is possible to draw from communities history and religious texts, historical moments and perceptions that engage positively with diversity and human dignity. This is the strength of historical religions and cultures. Change is easier when narrated as continuity. It makes the local communities feel that change is legitimate and grounded. It also helps address anxiety that comes with change. A participant in Uganda noted that tensions exist between aspects of local culture and knowledge of human rights. Often this tension around the interplay between traditional values and liberal norm promotion within teacher education can be seen as hinderance to the development of teachers as agents of social cohesion. This is where it must be realised that cultures and religions are never static, closed or isolated entities, they are fluid systems contingent upon a large number of contextual and historical factors and are negotiated by the communities themselves and individuals in everyday lives. This provides immense opportunity for international social cohesion specialists, the local academic and policy elites to value the local sources of fluid identities to root development, pluralism and equity in communities' heritage so that the community can own them. When we fail to do so, we leave a vacuum for the communities' history and traditions to be hijacked and reinterpreted by those actors whose aims might not be amenable to human dignity and development. It decelerates the pace of development, yet many members of the local community may own those interpretations because those are presented to them in the very language and modes that they stand on. It creates structures of despair within which

"It is possible to draw from communities history and religious texts historical moments and perceptions that engage positively with diversity and human dignity. This is the strength of historical religions and cultures. Change is easier when narrated as continuity. It makes the local communities feel that change is legitimate and grounded. It also helps address anxiety that comes with change."

teachers, youth and communities may lose capacities to remain agents of peace and social cohesion. The point is that a sincere effort to make a difference cannot escape a genuine and deep intellectual engagement with the local communities' history and traditions if development were to be achieved. Curriculum and textbooks can provide good starting points for such a deep engagement.



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Key Reflections on Teachers, Peacebuilding & Social Cohesion



Key Reflections on Teachers, Peacebuilding & Social Cohesion

The complexity of the analysis in this report suggests that policy conclusions and recommendations need to recognise peacebuilding and social cohesion as both process and outcome. Moreover, the end state is never permanent as each moment of positive peacebuilding and social cohesion carries within it the possibility of new forms of exclusion, with the inherent potential to rupture the very cohesion that has been produced. This relational analysis reflects an understanding of the interventions reviewed in this study as not following a simple and linear logic from aim to outcome but as engendering unintended outcomes, contradictory outcomes, and contested outcomes. Caution must therefore be exercised in replicating promising interventions in diverse contexts. Context matters for peacebuilding and social cohesion strategies, and context is important to render a historicised and realistic account of inequality and its relationship to peace and reconciliation. Tensions will always prevail between measures aimed at redressing redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation. Furthermore, compromises are inevitably necessary between redressing the drivers of conflict (often varying degrees of inequality in relation to redistribution, recognition and representation) and working on the legacies of conflict (reconciliation and bringing communities together). The latter requires compromise which the former can often inflame. With these caveats, this section explores and extends the analysis to raise key issues of theory, policy and practice that have emerged out of the study. As such we deepen the empirical findings to raise key issues for dialogue and debate amongst researchers, policy-makers, teachers and teacher-educators committed to building peace and sustainable development in societies engaged in and emerging from conflict. Thus, the focus on policy options in this section is to stimulate dialogue and debate, while more country specific recommendations for policy and practice can be found in the country reports.

1.**In Transition Moments There is a Window of Opportunity and Space for a More Explicit Approach to Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion in Education**

In contexts where countries are emerging out of armed conflict, the transitional period represents a real moment of possibility, whereby issues of social cohesion and peacebuilding can be placed at the top of the agenda. Of course this depends on the outcome of armed conflict, the balance of social forces, and the political will of emergent governments. But all post-conflict societies, to different degrees, will seek to address issues of reconciliation through policies of social cohesion and peacebuilding. Armed and non-armed opposition groups contesting governments in power have, as the country studies show, created and established schooling systems and possess a vision of a future education system. Such experiences include how they understand and approach peacebuilding and social cohesion in post-conflict contexts. As such there is no blank slate for developing education systems and policies orientated to peacebuilding and social cohesion. These experiences are crucial in shaping dialogue about the future. International agencies therefore need to acknowledge and recognise such experiences in their efforts at supporting post-conflict contexts. Moreover, as the case of Myanmar shows, the transition space is an important moment in embedding peacebuilding and social cohesion in education. In contrast, the South African case demonstrates the missed moment that was available to the opposition movements led by the ANC against apartheid in 1994 and in which they were to not able to fully develop a more progressive and more egalitarian education system making decisive choices about redistribution, recognition, and representation in and through education.

2.**Teacher Agency for Social Cohesion and Peacebuilding as Determining and Determined**

The cross-country study hints strongly towards the idea that teacher agency is conditioned in differentiated ways by the context they find themselves in. There are two interrelated ways in which this is manifest. The first is experiential determination. Social class and experiences of conflict determines much of the lived realities of teachers such as where they live, where they go to school, and who their friends are. This experiential determination is shaped by social class, race, religion, sexuality, gender, and geographical history. Peacebuilding and Social cohesion as belonging and solidarity is thus to a large extent shaped by the social class determined basis of the everyday lived experience.

The second is determined within institutions of schooling and teacher education that shape what teacher and student teachers as future agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion experience. These institutions in diverse contexts continue to be shaped by contours of historic institutional configurations. Thus teachers and student teachers mediate understandings of policy aims and intentions, according to their institutional experiences which results in a very differentiated and uneven approaches to peacebuilding and social cohesion.

Experiential determinations thus punctuate forms of agency in the different countries facilitating and inhibiting it in contingent and unequal measures. These determinations suggest that while efforts are made to create a united nation at the formal system level, there is separation at the individual school, community, institutional, and personal level. The agency of teachers then is often enacted in spaces that remain segmented and separated, with tools that are shaped by experience and institution, and in ways that are productive in as much as they are barren.

3. State Policy and Capacity for Enabling Teacher Agency for Social Cohesion and Peacebuilding

A vision of social cohesion and peacebuilding as transformative and transforming requires a policy framework that, on the one hand, includes specific, measurable and achievable targets and indicators that measure activities, programmes, and events. On the other hand, it also has to be underpinned by a framework which challenges fixed and reified individual and groups identities as exemplified by versions of liberal multi-culturalism. It needs to accommodate approaches such as anti-racism and radical cosmopolitan citizenship, which locates belonging in contexts of social class and institutional determination. Realising the laudable intentions of policy frameworks relies on the aggregate capacity of the system to manage and monitor. Aggregate system capacity rests on the knowledge, skills and dispositions of actors, which include national, provincial and district officials, school leaders and teachers, and school governing body members. Thus, there is a need for an explicit focus on peacebuilding and social cohesion across government departments and within government departments. For example, in Myanmar and Uganda there is need for curriculum, ITE and CPDT to communicate. It is always a challenge dealing with a particular thematic area such as peacebuilding and social cohesion that transverses the work of other government departments and units - for example, there is mixed experience with regard to stand alone gender units in ministries of education. What appears important is the level of authority accorded to whoever is responsible for these cross-cutting themes such as peacebuilding or gender or equity. In addition, consideration might be given to a senior level Focal Point or champion who works within Ministries of Education and across other Ministries to provide a sustained focus on transversal concerns such as peacebuilding and social cohesion. Crucially, such champions need to be accorded a level of authority commensurate with the importance of this task to ensure effective mainstreaming. One way for this to be effective might be to nominate a single government department/unit tasked with peacebuilding and social cohesion in education.

State capacity to effect peacebuilding and social cohesion is impacted by the nature of the system of governance. The country case studies reveal diverse approaches to the centralisation and decentralisation of education governance. Myanmar seems to be decentralising education governance and so is Pakistan, with the Section 18th Amendment, as is Uganda. In contrast South Africa, which has a long history of education decentralisation, revealed ongoing inequities and conflict across different school types and communities resulting from such a policy. Many of the interventions for effecting equity and social cohesion in and through education for teachers has come unstuck as result of the way the system of education decentralisation has unfolded which, as the country case suggests, is an outcome of the contestation and compromise made between different social forces. There is much lesson learning across the country contexts and in this regard an important lesson is the need to provide a robust and sound framework for empowering authentic forms of education decentralisation which do not, by design or default, result in exacerbating group tensions which have been the drivers of conflict in the first instance. Empowering forms of decentralisation include devolving political authority as well as control of budgets and resources, although there should be safeguards put in place to prevent elite capture and balkanisation which may have divisive and conflict engendering consequences.

4. Developing a More Radical Conception of Teacher Agency for Social Cohesion and Peacebuilding

Conceptually, and in policy and practice, the notion of peacebuilding and social cohesion is contested. As noted in the conceptual framework, there are those who advocate peacebuilding and social cohesion, in policy and practice, as awareness of the 'other' for which interaction strategies are proffered. This is manifest in for example, celebrations of different religious days, and teaching which focuses on an understanding of different religions and groups, cross-racial camps, choral choirs and sport events. In this form, peacebuilding and social cohesion is premised on largely intact, stable and cohesive group and individual identities. Changes within these are focused on an awareness of how the 'other' lives, thinks, and practices. Understandings of the 'other' lay the foundation of a form of nation building that extols difference but seeks to secure consensus about common goals. Alternative conceptualisations of peacebuilding and social cohesion recognise the limitations of the above and seek to build an egalitarian and communitarian society in which identity and belonging is destabilised and critiqued. This approach questions ascribed and prescribed markers of belonging that are taken-for-granted. In this sense peacebuilding and social cohesion in and through agency could be viewed as a continuum with benign multi-culturalism on the one extreme and radical anti-racism, anti-sexism, etc. on the other. Radical conceptions of teacher agency for peacebuilding and social cohesion move beyond teachers respecting each other and learners but also encompass strategies in and through teaching which confront the historic inequities and drivers of conflict. Along this continuum there are several variations of peacebuilding and social cohesion that seek to balance difference with commonality, social class interest with cross-class solidarity, individual interest with societal imperatives, and loyalty and fidelity to the state with critical forms of citizenship. Conflict and contestation is not inimical to the process. A transformative peacebuilding and social cohesion agenda seeks to effect social justice and relies on difference being destabilised and re-assembled in diverse ways, and identities traversing ascribed markers, which consequently engender conflict and contestation. Conflict represents an important element of 'peacebuilding and social cohesion as process' which at an individual level is psychological and at the societal level, structural. As process, peacebuilding and social cohesion conceived of in this way is never final nor complete; it is an outcome that requires continuous renewal and is always in a state of flux.

Furthermore, if we are to seriously empower teachers to be agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion, then we need to address the salary, conditions of service, morale and status of the teaching profession. While the case studies reflect different dynamics and challenges for teachers – all raised issues of status, income and conditions of service as major challenges. To attract the best, the brightest and the most committed sections of society – commensurate with the demands and aspirations that we are setting for teachers - then teachers need to be treated fairly, have a defined career path and be remunerated so that they can not only survive, but also flourish.

5.

The Balance of Social Forces in Different Contexts Shapes the Conditions Under Which Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion Teacher Related Reforms are Developed and Implemented

Approaches to peacebuilding and social cohesion regarding teachers differs across the four countries. In South Africa there is an explicit approach to equity and redress. In Myanmar, the agenda is mainly externally driven and politically cautious. In Pakistan it is highly contradictory – education reforms, many which are resisted by a range of forces. In Uganda the approach is rather slow and implicit. Thus efforts at peacebuilding and social cohesion which challenge inequity, as a key driver of conflict, must contend with the range of social forces with vested interests in maintaining privilege and inequities. Thus the policy formulation and implementation process should give due cognisance to power and competing interests which might undermine progressive intended goals. Ignoring the political economy context of policy runs the risk of marginalising concerns with peacebuilding and social cohesion.

6.

Affective Shift in Education Evident, but Under-Developed

Evidence from the country case studies supports the idea that there is increasing global interest in education's role in promoting peacebuilding and social cohesion, reflecting broader global and national concerns around conflict, social strife, economic and political crisis, and rising inequality which all threaten stability. This slow, uneven shift to the social and affective is a welcome rebalancing to educational concerns linked to economic growth, efficiency and broader neoliberal reforms – a shift that needs nurturing and sustaining. As such the study highlights a shift in policy and practice as a response to on-going physical and symbolic violence, xenophobia, and the denial of the rights of groups such as LGBTIQ and migrants and refugees. This affective turn, this report notes, occurs in a context of an expanded notion of education quality nationally and globally as noted within the 2030 Sustainable development agenda. The specification of social cohesion as an important part of, but separate to, the education quality agenda is important as it ensures that affective goals in education are not delegitimated in favour of a strategy which privileges 'litnum' (literacy and numeracy). Yet, as noted above, there is a danger that the lack of specification of the peacebuilding and social cohesion goal in the 2030 agenda runs a risk of according peacebuilding and social cohesion less priority.

In this context the report argues that good quality education, particularly for the poor, is a foundational element of creating the bond of solidarity, belonging and critical citizenship that is necessary for social cohesion. Good quality education therefore is intimately connected to the promotion of peacebuilding and social cohesion. Moreover redressing inequities in society should remain a core priority of good quality education. Furthermore, the report argues that peacebuilding and social cohesion is an education policy objective in and of itself. Thus, this report argues that there is no trade-off between the objectives of peacebuilding and social cohesion and equity and quality. However, strategies as discussed in this report remain partial, under-developed and need more collective and concerted action. In the case of teachers, it is clear that if we wish teachers to play their full role as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion they require an enabling economic, political and social environment as well as training in both the affective and the cognitive. Thus, it is imperative the affective turn in education discourses is solidified and privileged.

7.

Moving Beyond Interaction and Contact for Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion

A starting point for peacebuilding and social cohesion policy and practice, as the country studies suggest, recognises the salience of individual and group contact. Dialogue and mutual interaction is the sine qua non of peacebuilding and social cohesion and is reflected in several programmes and interventions in teacher education across the countries studied. But a social justice approach requires more than contact. It requires effort, as the TRC in South Africa showed, albeit very partially, to confront the past and redress social inequities.

At the individual level, strong forms of peacebuilding and social cohesion involve challenging identities and confronting the privilege and benefits that individuals, including teachers and teacher educators, accrued and accumulated from systems designed to benefit some at the expense of others. Moreover intergroup contact must be founded on approaches that do not deny the past, and which do not practice a 'politics of avoidance' that precludes discussion of group and individual investments in systems of privilege. Thus, peacebuilding and social cohesion beyond inter-group contact is psychological as much as it is structural.

At the societal level this necessitates more proactive forms of redistribution within programmes of affirmative action. Such programmes should not simply be short-term strategic interventions; they must be founded on the principles of social justice to redress substantive rights that were denied to a majority-oppressed population. They must also be more than 'levelling the playing field', and rather, to extend the metaphor, should be about 'changing the game and the rules of the game'. In essence, this may require an approach to peacebuilding social cohesion founded in alternative progressive economic growth and development paths and visions.

8.

An Explicit Focus on Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion in Teacher Professional Development

Across the case studies social cohesion and peacebuilding are treated unevenly and in a variety of ways. They range from implicit to explicit interventions, and from the generic to the specific. As such, some interventions specifically focus on attaining peacebuilding and social cohesion whereas in others these objectives are subsumed as part of more general professional development support for teachers. To ensure that peacebuilding and social cohesion concerns are not delegitimated and de-prioritised it is important to ensure that they are integrated in all policies and practices focused on teachers.

The report also highlights the importance of teacher educators and facilitators of training who support future and existing teachers in peacebuilding and social cohesion activities. However, as noted, they have histories and experiences of conflict both as victims and perpetrators, and carry with them prejudices and biases against others who do not share their identity and belonging. Thus, a focus on peacebuilding and social cohesion must provide support to teacher educators and facilitators of training as well as the institutions they are located in. In order for this to occur, institutions and providers need to be supported through policy, resources and the provision of professional development opportunities for teacher educators and facilitators.

Whilst the country case studies show varied and differentiated CPTD opportunities for teachers to engage in their professional learning and in opportunities to empower them to become agents of peace and social cohesion, these opportunities remain fragmented, uncoordinated and often driven by international donors. To this end, there is a need to develop a more systematic, coordinated and integrated CPTD system for peacebuilding and social cohesion as part of a wider set of education reforms.

9.

An Explicit Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion Curriculum Focus

Like teacher professional development, issues of peacebuilding and social cohesion in curriculum and textbooks is often present implicitly, located in a range of carrier subjects, and often under-prioritised. Moreover, there is a dilemma between weak/generic and strong/specific approaches. The former emphasise skills such as respect and building trust. The latter focuses on the skills of conflict management, conflict resolution and resilience and works towards engaging more critically with the diverse identities and belongings which, in many contexts, are the drivers of conflict. Similarly to issues of gender, there is a debate to be had about whether issues of peacebuilding and social cohesion should be embedded in all subjects and across the curriculum and therefore textbooks or whether it should have a single carrier subject. Whilst these tensions and dilemmas are recognised, the reality is that a more comprehensive approach to peacebuilding and social cohesion will ensure that the textbooks and curricula are not in anyway biased or prejudiced. The country analyses shows how the curricula and textbooks in both conflict and post conflict context project exclusivist, narrow nationalistic and biased singular identities and conceptions of the other. There is thus a need to both mainstream issues of peacebuilding and social cohesion as well as ensuring it has dedicated curriculum space, and a dedicated carrier subject. However, the dedicated subject (whoever is chosen) must be given equal status to STEM subjects and must be examinable as non-assessment of a carrier subject delegitimises the focus on peacebuilding and social cohesion as the different case studies demonstrate.

Language policy and Language of Instruction policy is crucial to how peacebuilding and social cohesion is dealt with in the curriculum. The marginalisation of language is, in many contexts, a driver of conflict. At the same time, in post-conflict contexts, there is often a need to ensure a common lingua franca which creates the bonds of nationhood and provide the basis for the development of a shared identity and belonging. Thus, the dilemmas of language and language of instruction policy is that it can be simultaneously unifying and marginalizing. In post conflict contexts there is therefore a need for a curriculum which provides for a unifying language but which also affirms the language rights of specific groups and communities which has been denied during conflict.


Both teacher professional development and curriculum initiatives for peacebuilding and social cohesion should be integrated in an overarching policy framework to ensure that interventions are not disparate and fragmented.

10.

Donors

The country studies reveal, albeit differently and unevenly, the strong influence of international agencies and donor organisations on education policy in general, and peacebuilding and social cohesion interventions in particular, in conflict and post-conflict contexts. In Pakistan, and Uganda, for example, international agencies play a key role in shaping the nature and form of such interventions. However, such support should be aligned and led by national governments. This requires national governments developing comprehensive and holistic teacher policies which foreground issues of peace and social cohesion. Moreover, in the context of the 2030 global education and development agenda, it is crucial that agencies such as UNICEF maintain a focus on peacebuilding and social cohesion to ensure that it does not get marginalised in favour of a narrower focus on literacy and numeracy.

Enabling and Necessary Conditions for Enhancing Teachers Agency for Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion



Enabling and Necessary Conditions for Enhancing Teachers Agency for Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion

Realising the options outlined in the previous section, and any others, requires a number of important and necessary conditions for effective implementation, though the provided list is not exhaustive.

Political Will

The report highlights the need for political will coupled with a progressive bureaucracy invested in change linked to the affective turn in social cohesion and peacebuilding. Political will is demonstrated in leadership that places transformative peacebuilding and social cohesion at the heart of system-wide reform focused on improving education quality. Such leadership needs to work across government, and in provincial and national departments of education, to develop proactive strategies of education redistribution in favour of the marginalised. Of course, political will is not some magic potion that emerges independently from the ether, but instead emerges out of political economy factors, social struggles and local, national and global dynamics. However, arguments need to be made consistently that the cost of renewed armed conflict, both in financial and human terms, and for both the national and international community, far outweighs the costs necessary for redressing the inequities that drive conflicts in different places. Promoting social cohesion and peacebuilding is a cost-effective preventative measure and prevention needs to be prioritised. This requires thinking about peacebuilding and social cohesion friendly education governance, policy and practice in development programming, not just in terms of ‘emergency and protracted crisis’ terms as it is currently being framed in international debates.

Shared Consensus and Participation

For the sake of policy efficacy key stakeholders need to be committed to and involved in policy efforts to promote peacebuilding and social cohesion, and understand its meaning, potential and the role that education and education systems can play therein. This is particularly so when the strategy, as proposed in this report, seeks to redistribute, recognise, represent and reconcile, in favour of the most marginalised. To this end it is necessary in the countries which comprise this study to develop dialogue fora and consultative roundtables. These would inform the creation of a robust policy framework that includes a detailed and adequately funded plan for the implementation of a range of actions that address the issues that inhibit teacher agency, as identified in this report. Such a framework should, whilst recognising context, consider a variety of promising social cohesion and peacebuilding interventions. And in this regard, the voice and agency of social movements and civil society organisations is crucial to holding government, institutions, companies, and other actors to account.

Mutual Trust and Binding Behaviours

Policies, action plans, institutional reconfigurations, targets, and indicators are all important for promoting social cohesion. However, none of these will matter if individuals and groups do not trust each other or hold each other to account for agreed actions. Mutual trust and binding behaviours by groups and individuals are the basic building blocks of a transformative social justice agenda.

To conclude, realising social justice in societies emerging out of the shadows of conflict and violence, will necessitate a far more radical conception of peacebuilding and social cohesion, one which tackles inequities which are often the drivers of conflict. Such an approach should recognise how violence and conflict is mediated through widely different contexts, which themselves reflect broader societal norms and values and complex histories of violence within which teachers are located. In this regard, attention must be paid, as this report argues, to how teachers are trained, deployed, supported and motivated to become effective agents of peace and social cohesion. This in turn requires an enabling policy environment and effective teacher professional development delivery system with well trained and motivated teacher educators and facilitators. In this way the analysis and proposals suggested in this report animate and invigorate a social justice, peace building and social cohesion transformation agenda for teachers that is premised on the 4Rs framework drawing and building upon reforms already in motion.

“To conclude, realising social justice in societies emerging out of the shadows of conflict and violence, will necessitate a far more radical conception of peacebuilding and social cohesion, one which tackles inequities which are often the drivers of conflict.”

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The Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding

Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR), University of Amsterdam

The AISSR Programme Group Governance and Inclusive Development (<http://aissr.uva.nl/programmegroups/item/governance-and-inclusive-development.html>) consists of an interdisciplinary team of researchers focusing on issues relating to global and local issues of governance and development. The Research Cluster Governance of Education, Development and Social Justice focuses on multilevel politics of education and development, with a specific focus on processes of peacebuilding in relation to socio-economic, political and cultural (in)justices. The research group since 2006 has maintained a particular research focus on education, conflict and peacebuilding, as part of its co-funded 'IS Academie' research project with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Centre for International Education, University of Sussex

The Centre for International Education (CIE) (www.sussex.ac.uk/education/cie) was founded in 1989 on the premise that education is a basic human right that lies at the heart of development processes aimed at social justice, equity, social and civic participation, improved wellbeing, health, economic growth and poverty reduction. It is recognised as one of the premiere research centres working on education and international development in Europe. The Centre has also secured a prestigious UK ESRC/DFID grant to carry out research on the Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding in Conflict Affected Contexts, which aligns directly with the research strategy of the PBEA programme and will form part of the broader research partnership.

UNESCO Centre at Ulster University

Established in 2002 the UNESCO Centre (www.unescocentre.ulster.ac.uk) at the University of Ulster provides specialist expertise in education, conflict and international development. It builds on a strong track record of research and policy analysis related to education and conflict in Northern Ireland. Over the past ten years the UNESCO Centre has increasingly used this expertise in international development contexts, working with DFID, GiZ, Norad, Save the Children, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank, providing research on education and social cohesion, the role of education in reconciliation and analysis of aid to education in fragile and conflict affected situations.

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